

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.
TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, if there be no further business to

come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order of Friday, February 20, 1970, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1970, at 10 a.m.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ANTI-AMERICAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it has come to my attention, through requests to my office for information, that certain so-called youth organizations in the United States, while prominent in the news, have so little information published about them or about their genesis.

I am indebted to members of the American Research Foundation for supplying me with carefully researched concise information about several of these groups which I believe should be more widely disseminated.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the information be printed in the RECORD.

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

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) is the youth and training section of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a militant revolutionary communist party based upon the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky. Numerically, the SWP is the largest Trotskyist-Communist organization operating in the United States. Like the SWP, YSA opposes Soviet and Red Chinese "bureaucracy"; however, it fully endorses their economic systems. It also lends wholehearted support to the Cuban revolution as well as other revolutions of Communist origin. Founded in 1960, YSA openly claims that it is a "nationwide communist revolutionary youth organization" composed of both students and young working people. It has a current membership of over a thousand and maintains 40 local chapters. YSA's national office is located in New York City, where it publishes a monthly journal, the "Young Socialist." YSA views the war in Vietnam from a broad international perspective. It advocates the formation of an international united front under the banner of Che Guevara's revolutionary call for the creation of "two, three, many Vietnams." YSA has publicly repudiated outright terrorist actions by certain small groups in the United States but has fully supported the concept of "self defense." While praising the Black Panther Party, YSA condemns the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), particularly its Weatherman faction. According to YSA's own pronouncements, it advocates "the concept of turning the campus into an organizing center for the anti-war, black power, and revolutionary socialist movements." Certain YSA members have been instrumental in fomenting disruptions on various college campuses. Following the pattern of the SWP, YSA maintains fraternal relations with certain international Communist elements. Prominent members of YSA have made recent visits to Communist Cuba. During the past several years, YSA has been exceedingly active in both anti-war and anti-draft activities. Both YSA and SWP members com-

pletely control the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, an organization which has fully supported the projects of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE). YSA is well represented on MOBE's Steering Committee which is composed of a high concentration of Communists and pro-Communists. A considerable portion of YSA anti-war activities is devoted to undermining the morale of the United States Armed Forces through subversion and propaganda. At its most recent national convention held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 27-30, 1969, YSA discussed plans to take over the leadership of the left-wing student movement and to fill the vacuum created as a result of the recent decline of SDS and the splintering of that group into various factions.

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) is a national organization composed of college and high school students united in an "uncompromising struggle" against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. The SMC was founded as an outgrowth of a conference held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1966, under the sponsorship of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) and the Trotskyist-Communist group, Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The purpose of this conference was to consider a proposal of Bettina Aptheker to call a nationwide student strike as a protest against the war in Vietnam. Bettina Aptheker, whose proposal failed to receive the support of the majority solely because the delegates felt that such a project was incapable of being successfully organized, was subsequently elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA. The CPUSA and SWP controlling factions within the SMC were in a state of almost constant disagreement from the beginning. This dissension reached a climax in June 1968 when the CPUSA withdrew from the organization, thereby leaving the SWP in complete control over the SMC. The SMC has sponsored several national anti-war demonstrations and has cooperated in various protest actions of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and its predecessors. It has also actively promoted agitational activities among members of the U.S. Armed Forces through demonstrations and other forms of protest. The national office of SMC is currently located at 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. Significantly, every prominent officer of the SMC on both the local and national levels is a member of the SWP and its youth section, Young Socialist Alliance.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a Negro extremist group which seeks a violent social revolution in the United States. Its members receive instruction in guerrilla warfare tactics, including the preparation and use of Molotov cocktails. Founded in Oakland, California in 1966, the BPP has a current membership of about 1,200 and maintains chapters in 30 cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland. The BPP initially gained nationwide attention when its members began openly to carry firearms on Oakland streets during what they called "defense patrols" to prevent alleged police brutality in black

neighborhoods. A group of Black Panthers, armed with a variety of pistols, rifles and shotguns invaded the California State Assembly while it was in session on May 2, 1967, to protest pending firearm legislation. Members of the BPP are armed with an assortment of weapons and many have criminal records. For example, while stopped by law enforcement officers for a traffic violation in October 1967, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton killed one policeman and wounded another. Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, who as BPP Minister of Information brought considerable growth to the organization, became a Federal fugitive as a result of criminal charges involving violation of parole and participation in a gun battle with Oakland, California police. David Hilliard, BPP Chief of Staff, was recently arrested for threatening the life of the President of the United States. Approximately 350 members of the Party were arrested on criminal charges in 1969 alone. Violence against law enforcement officers, whom the Panthers term "pigs" and consider prime targets for destruction, has been a notorious part of BPP activities. Gun battles between police and the BPP have occurred in Oakland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities. Some clashes with police have actually involved BPP-instigated sniping and ambushes. Police raids on the BPP in various cities have resulted in confiscation of large caches of guns and ammunition. The BPP ideology is based partly on the writings of Communist China's Mao Tse-tung and emphasizes the slogan "Serve the people." To win support among poor blacks, as well as middle-class liberals, the Panthers have organized "Free Breakfast for Children" programs in poor areas in many cities. These programs are supported in part by the BPP intimidation of local merchants to contribute food and supplies. Another source of funds for the Party is the sale of its weekly tabloid newspaper "The Black Panther," a publication devoted to disseminating BPP's doctrine of revolution and hate. The BPP seeks revolutionary allies among certain minority groups and white radicals. It is noteworthy that the BPP has recently received considerable support from the Communist Party, U.S.A. Certain officials of the BPP have traveled abroad to various countries including Communist ones, for the purpose of developing international contacts and gaining support. In view of its violent and revolutionary nature, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has declared that the BPP "represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) served as the youth group of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) for nearly the last six years. Named in honor of a deceased member of the CPUSA, the DCA is the lineal descendant of a number of Party youth organizations including the Young Communist League, American Youth for Democracy, Labor Youth League, and the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee. Since its founding convention held in San Francisco, California, June 19-21, 1964, the DCA has been substantially directed and controlled by the CPUSA and was operated for the sole purpose of rendering support to the Party itself. At various times, DCA has maintained a national office in San Francisco, Chicago and New York, its final location. A

considerable number of individuals having CPUSA leadership backgrounds were active in managing the DCA. The organization held several national conventions and its last one named Jarvis Tyner as DCA National Chairman. Tyner had become a CPUSA National Committeeman months before his election to the DCA top post. In addition to Tyner, other principal DCA leaders appointed to the National Committee of the CPUSA at the Party's 18th National Convention held in 1966 were Bettina Aptheker, Carl Bloice, Robert Duggan, Michael Eisenscher, Peggy Goldman, Matthew Hallinan, Donald Hammerquist and Robert Heisler. Actually, DCA never became a very effective youth group of the CPUSA, mainly because it functioned as a disciplined Communist organization and its program failed to win the support of thousands of radical and revolutionary youths who turned to the New Left and groups like the Students for a Democratic Society. In 1967, DCA's membership was down to about 300, scattered in 25-30 chapters throughout the country. DCA membership dwindled to such a point in the late 1960's that it became obvious to the CPUSA that DCA influence among American youth was quite negligible. In a concerted effort to revitalize its whole youth program, the CPUSA recently established a Temporary Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization for the purpose of scrapping the decadent DCA and forming an entirely new group representing "Communist, DuBois Club and Independent Youth." Under the direction of the CPUSA, the Temporary Organizing Committee scheduled a founding convention for the Party's new Marxist-Leninist youth organization to be held in Chicago, Illinois, February 6-8, 1970. Among the directives and other publications issued by this Committee was a secret report entitled "A Plan to Win." This document, using appropriate quotations from V. I. Lenin, set forth the need for a new CPUSA youth organization and discussed the necessity for a revolutionary solution to all social problems in the United States.

NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, commonly known as MOBE, is a Communist-oriented organization which has functioned as a coalition for numerous anti-war groups operating throughout the country. MOBE has a three-year history involving violence and civil disobedience. It originated at a conference in September 1966 organized by the late A. J. Muste, a radical pacifist and Communist sympathizer. In addition to Muste, others involved in the formation of this organization were Fred Halstead and Gus Horowitz, functionaries of the Trotskyist-Communist Socialist Workers Party; Stokely Carmichael, a former revolutionary leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Sidney M. Peck, a former State Committeeman, Wisconsin Communist Party; and certain other individuals having similar backgrounds. Active in the organization from its early operations to the present have been David T. Dellinger, who has publicly declared that he is a "Communist but not the Soviet type," and Arnold Johnson, Public Relations Director of the Communist Party, U.S.A. MOBE has been known under a variety of names. First organized as the November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in Vietnam, it subsequently changed its name to the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and still later to the National Mobilization Committee. At a National Anti-War Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, July 4-5, 1969, MOBE became known as the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, its present designation. MOBE has been involved in almost every major anti-war demonstration since its founding, and it appears that MOBE's violence-prone element

has become increasingly stronger with each succeeding protest. MOBE sponsored the October 21-22, 1967 demonstration in Washington, D.C., during which time repeated attempts were made to close down the Pentagon. It also jointly planned and executed the disruption of the 1968 Democratic Party National Convention held in Chicago, and sponsored the demonstrations in the Nation's capital on January 18-20, 1969 in protest over the inauguration of President Nixon. MOBE was the chief architect of an anti-war project called the "Fall Offensive" which included the staging of demonstrations in Washington, D.C. on November 13-15, 1969. Notwithstanding the fact that MOBE's so-called "Washington Action" was billed as a pacifist demonstration, considerable injury to persons and damage to property occurred. The MOBE Steering Committee, its leadership hierarchy, contains a large percentage of individuals who are or have been members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Socialist Workers Party and other Communist groups, including their youth branches. MOBE leadership has coordinated its anti-war agitational activities with the international Communist movement. This can be best illustrated by the fact that during the MOBE demonstrations of November 15, 1969, there were anti-American protests throughout the world on exactly the same day. During the height of the 1969 fall demonstrations, there were exchanges of support, encouragement and good will between various international Communist sources and MOBE. One such greeting to MOBE emanated from North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, who wished "brilliant success" for MOBE's Fall Offensive. MOBE held a Steering Committee meeting on December 13-14, 1969 for the purpose of assessing its future role. MOBE leadership decided to concentrate in 1970 on local activities involving many war-related issues as opposed to staging further massive demonstrations.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), together with its many factions and splinter groups, is composed of revolutionary communists who form the core of the New Left. These communists have been responsible for much of the disruption, destruction and unrest in high schools and on college campuses in recent years, mainly involving anti-war related protests. Many acts of violence have been directly attributed to SDS members, including assaults on private individuals, destruction of property, seizure of buildings, and in some cases, actual sabotage. SDS doctrine is based solely upon Marxism-Leninism, and its program is dedicated to the violent overthrow of the United States Government. It was originally formed as a successor to the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), a Socialist-oriented group which was established in the early 1930's as the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy. The SLID was a relatively insignificant group until 1959, when it changed its name to the Students for a Democratic Society. However, the real militant and revolutionary nature of SDS first began to appear at a SDS national convention held in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962. At this convention, in which the present-day SDS was born, the organization endorsed a lengthy statement prepared by Thomas E. Hayden which advocated militancy in connection with such concerns as civil rights, peace and poverty. Hayden's document, known as the "Port Huron Statement," referred to "participatory democracy" as an ideal form of society. In actuality, "participatory democracy" meant nothing but a political program bordering on anarchy which vehemently distrusts "the establishment," "authority," and "the system." The objective of SDS since its 1962 convention has been one of ever increasing opposition to the United States Government and the free enterprise capital-

istic system. By 1965, when SDS became more and more militant and revolutionary, the League for Industrial Democracy severed all connections with it, and thereafter, SDS functioned as an independent group. The youthful idealism of "participatory democracy" was subsequently replaced by Marxist dogma as SDS became entrenched with communists, particularly at the national leadership level. Members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) have been quite active in SDS and SDS has rather consistently operated in furthering the objectives of the Party. SDS claimed at its 1968 National Convention that it had a membership of 30,000 functioning in 300 chapters. Certain of its top national officers at this convention publicly identified themselves as "revolutionary communists," meaning a non-CPUSA type of Marxist-Leninist. During the period between its 1968 convention and the one held in June 1969, various factions within SDS fought for control of the organization. The bitter dissension and factionalism at the 1969 convention left SDS badly splintered and seriously weakened. It was at this last SDS convention that a faction called Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I, commonly known as Weatherman, joined forces with RYM II, for the purpose of expelling from SDS a third faction, Worker-Student Alliance (WSA). The WSA, a pro-Peking clique within SDS which had long sought to take over the entire SDS organization, is an affiliate of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a communist party founded in 1962 by former members of the CPUSA. As a result of convention action in which the extremely violent Weatherman faction won complete control of the SDS national structure, including the national office in Chicago, WSA formed its own SDS organization in Boston which claimed to be the true SDS. After the expulsion of PLP-WSA, RYM II became bitterly opposed to the SDS Weatherman leadership because of its violent, street fighting-type tactics and policies. During SDS's "Bring the War Home" action in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969, approximately 400 Weathermen went on a rampage, attacked police and engaged in indiscriminate destruction of property. The terrorist tactics of the Weathermen were also seen when they attempted to assault both the Embassy of South Vietnam and the Department of Justice building in Washington, D.C. during the November 1969 "Fall Offensive" sponsored by the Communist-oriented New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Among the other factions which have been active in SDS have been the Labor Committee, Independent Socialists, Mad Dogs and Running Dogs. Continued factionalism has brought about another SDS splinter group. On November 27-30, 1969, about 300 members of RYM II met in Atlanta, Georgia, and formed a new "anti-imperialist" youth organization called Revolutionary Youth Movement. Regardless of the internal differences among SDS factions and splinter groups, they all share the same goal, the complete destruction of the United States by force and violence based upon the Marxist-Leninist concept of revolution.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental

genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

JUSTICE—DARKLY SEEN

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Mr. Morrell L. Thomas Jr., publisher of the Darlington News & Press, Darlington, S.C., and the Lake City News, Lake City, S.C. I consider Mr. Thomas one of the outstanding editors and journalists not only of South Carolina but of the Southern States, and in his editorial he has properly explained the extreme damage to the Darlington County public school system caused by a recent court order.

I cannot understand why it is necessary to compel schoolchildren, and especially high school seniors, to change schools in the middle of a school term when integration was progressing satisfactorily. This one act will prevent a number of students, both black and white, from receiving their high school diplomas in June. They had already ordered their high school rings and their high school annuals were in the process of being printed. No one can criticize the people of Darlington County of both races, for being disturbed over this unnecessary action on the part of the courts.

Darlington County has always enjoyed excellent race relations between black and white people and I have not heard of any trouble previously. The integration of these schools was an orderly process.

I hope every Member of Congress will take time to read this article which presents the absolute true facts surrounding the Darlington school case. The article follows:

JUSTICE—DARKLY SEEN

When Thomas Paine wrote "These are the times that try men's souls", he could well have had in mind Darlington County, South Carolina in February, one hundred and ninety-four years later.

The unfair edict of the United States Supreme Court to integrate Darlington's public schools at this time and in the specified manner puts to the supreme test the patriotism of a people who in the past have defended America with much fervor. No heinous plot of the Kremlin could have more effectively rendered asunder the close-knit bond of fellowship which has for years existed between the homogenous people of this community.

We have no doubt that Americans throughout the land will rise up and demand an end to this ridiculous forced integration of schools. The nation will use its voice and the ballot box. It will not allow six misguided old men sitting on the Supreme Court to force on the country something which no one—a handful of radicals and misfits to the contrary—really wants. We have every confidence that within a few years a just Freedom of Choice plan will be operative in America's great public school system. What could be fairer than the privilege of sending your child to the school of your choice, regardless of color or creed; and what could be fairer than allowing a teacher to determine where she is to teach? This will develop even-

tually, but the pity of it all is the great and needless damage which is being wrought in the meanwhile.

The extreme to which "minority" crusaders aided by liberal legislators and unthinking and unconcerned Americans have carried this business is absurd; it makes a mockery of Democracy.

Listen to this 1952 statement: "The only thing that we ask for is that the state-imposed racial segregation be taken off, and to leave the county school board, the county people, the district people, to work out their own solution of the problem to assign children on any reasonable basis they want to assign them on". That, including the poor grammar, from Thurgood Marshall arguing before the Supreme Court (the bench he now graces) the Clarendon County school case, which lit the fuse of the bomb which drops on Darlington County this week. How diametrically opposed to his present day philosophy, subscribed to by a majority of his fellow "justices".

And if you doubt the scales will be balanced eventually, take heart from this pronouncement: "Massive school integration is not going to be attained in this country very soon, in good part because no one is certain that it is worth the cost. It creates as many problems as it purports to solve and no one can be sure it would yield to any educational return. There must be a better way to employ the material and political resources of the federal government." This from, not a rednecked Southern Senator, but from Professor of Law at Yale University, Dr. Alexander Bickel, writing in the very liberal New Republican magazine.

Turn now to the immediate problem facing Darlington County. Like snowflakes, no two people among the 60,000 of us have exactly the same feeling; and all 60,000 are saying exactly what they think. Thank God we still have that much freedom left!

The reaction can be categorized roughly, however, into: 1) those who feel we should integrate calmly and make the best of a sorry situation, 2) those who demand that their children be in the school of their choice, court order or no court order, and 3) those who will enter their children in a private school.

We respect the feelings of these groups; we can appreciate the turmoil of emotions at conflict within us all. The only action we cannot condone is open violation of the law, stupid and unfair though it be.

It is sad to sit by, seemingly helpless, and see lowered the standards of Darlington's public school system—for many years held up as an example to the state. No knowledgeable person can deny this will happen. And because of the ill-timing of the court edict 15,000 inquiring young minds for all practical purposes will lose a semester of the guidance and stimulus they need. Our school administrators—and teachers, with few exceptions—are able, dedicated men and women who will see that the quality of education is raised as quickly as is humanly possible. In recent days they have shown the stuff of which they are made; they have had and will continue to have our unqualified support.

We can particularly relate to the comelately supporters of private academies, since our children already are attending one. There will no doubt be one or two new private schools in the area by September. This is good . . . good for those who will be able to attend them and good for the public schools whose lightened burden with the same tax dollars rolling in will allow them to improve more rapidly than otherwise. Those who feel they cannot "afford" private schooling for their children should reassess their values. One mother who was bemoaning her lack of financial means admitted that if she "stopped smoking" she could pay the year's tuition with this savings. And we didn't tell her, but if she and

her husband stopped drinking, too, they could send their children to Phillips Exeter.

Darlingtonians at this time instead of being divisive and quarrelling among themselves must show the supreme respect for their neighbor's actions and reactions. This is no time for boycotts . . . no time for "are you with me?" . . . no time for vindictiveness and anger and hate. UnChristian words and actions can leave scars which will not heal in our lifetime.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE SPIRIT STILL BURNS BRIGHTLY

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, January 22 marked the 52d anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Ukraine after they had been enslaved for over 260 years.

It is usually my custom to call attention to this milestone each year, because I think it important that we continue to remember the millions of enslaved people who still live under the iron heel of Communist dictatorship.

In my State of Arizona, we have some wonderful citizens of Ukrainian descent. Unfortunately, this year I was not able to call attention to the continued enslavement of their homeland on January 22 as I would have liked to.

I do so now.

We are in continual need to be reminded that the Red flag of communism still has as its never-repudiated goal, the conquest of all other political and religious ideologies. We need to recognize and remember the plight of those thousands who would be free of the heavy yoke of their totalitarian oppressors. As a gesture of that remembrance, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Mr. Alexander Bunka, of Tucson, Ariz., which details the history of this brave people.

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

TUCSON, ARIZ,
January 2, 1970.

Senator PAUL FANNIN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: January 22nd 1970 will mark the fifty second anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine, after 260 years of enslavement. It was on this day 52 years ago that Ukrainians regained independence. The new Republic enjoyed this freedom for a very short time because Russia, Imperial or Communist could not accept the independence of the Ukraine which is the breadbasket of Europe and the gateway to the east and Russia needed both.

The Red army with great force, well equipped engaged the defenders of the new republic in a deadly struggle for survival.

The dedicated and courageous defenders of the new republic faced the superior communist forces, decimated by an epidemic of typhoid were defeated and forced into exile.

Ukrainians today are not asking any nation for help to liberate their country, being aware that under the present conditions this is not possible, but we do plead for understanding of the plight of these unfortunate people behind the Iron Curtain.

Ukrainians living in the free world are

grateful to Congress and the President of the United States for recognizing the rights of the enslaved people to freedom, by enacting the Captive Nation Resolution 89-90 which enumerates Ukraine as one of the enslaved nations dominated by Communist Russia.

We Ukrainians living in the State of Arizona respectfully request you to join us in commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day, that records might be preserved in the Congressional archives and our museums for posterity.

Yours truly,

ALEXANDER BUNKA.

THE SENIORITY RULE IN CONGRESS

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, we again are hearing considerable discussion of the seniority system in Congress. Unfortunately, these discussions provide more emotion and rhetoric than enlightenment.

This, of course, is not always the case and I commend to my colleagues and other interested individuals an article which appeared in the *Western Political Quarterly* almost a decade ago on March 1, 1961. The offering, "The Seniority Rule in Congress," is a scholarly assessment of the seniority system as it affects the Congress of the United States.

Although it was written some time ago, it is supported by the authority of a man who was then a very senior Member and is now the most senior Member of the House of Representatives—the highly respected chairman of the Judiciary Committee, EMANUEL CELLER.

In order that this timely article by an experienced and highly respected Member can be read by my colleagues, the text follows:

THE SENIORITY RULE IN CONGRESS (By Representative EMANUEL CELLER)

It is a rare session of Congress that does not produce its share of proposals to abolish that perennial red herring—the so-called "seniority rule." This long-standing congressional tradition, under which the House and the Senate organize their working committees, has become as popular a target as sin itself. It is intermittently bombarded by Democrats and by Republicans, by liberals and by conservatives, depending largely upon whose ox is being gored.

I do not entirely understand why this should be so. True, it is sometimes expedient to explain the defeat of a locally popular measure in terms of the tyranny of a committee chairman. Also, able and energetic young men and women who come to Congress and find the best seats occupied will understandably chafe at the tardiness with which their talents are recognized and rewarded by assignments to coveted posts. Thus, a distinguished United States Senator, after two years of service, called the seniority rule a "straitjacket," described it as "rigid, inflexible, and unyielding," and urged its discontinuance as "the sole determinant of Congressional sovereignty and influence" in committee chairmanships and assignments. An example of the intermittent assaults upon congressional seniority is the joint resolution, H.J. Res. 253, of the 86th Congress, which would have rendered senators and representatives who have served twelve years ineligible for re-election for a two-year period.

But the tendency to attack the seniority principle has not been confined to members of Congress, nor, indeed, to politicians. Students of political science regularly exorcise the rule for theoretical imperfections which no method of selection designed by human beings could conceivably eliminate. Even members of the working press—practical men and women who know their way around Capitol Hill—fall in with this approach. The seniority bugaboo is always good for a couple of sticks on a dull Monday; or for a feature in the Sunday Supplement, predicting what the Hill "leadership" will or will not "permit," with the clear implication that the congressional power is too narrowly held and dictatorially exercised.

From the tone of some of its critics, one would suppose that the seniority principle is firmly entrenched and sanctified by law, and that little short of a constitutional amendment could dislodge it. Properly speaking, however, it is not a rule at all, but is rather a custom or convention. Although operative in both the Senate and the House for many years, it is embodied in no formal rule of either chamber. And, far from being sacrosanct, seniority has been overridden by both parties, when circumstances appear to require. Instances of this include the ouster of Stephen A. Douglas from the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Territories in 1859, and the removal of Charles Sumner from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1871. It was a Democratic caucus that ousted Douglas, a Republican caucus that removed Sumner. Moreover, the rigor of the seniority rule has been modified in the current practice of Senate Democrats to allow no senator a second committee choice until each freshman shall have received at least one major committee assignment.

Recurrent criticisms also create the impression that the seniority criterion has wrested control of legislation from the members of Congress and concentrated it in the hands of autocratic committee chairmen, for the gratification of their personal whims. Yet despite these repeated assertions, no steps are even taken to change the basic operation of the system. Like the weather, much is said, but nothing done about it.

Just what role does seniority actually play in the operation of Congress, and why, if it is as unsatisfactory as its critics assert, has it not long been abandoned?

My thirty-eight years of continuous service in the House of Representatives spent first in acquiring the experience and understanding of legislative work which are implicit in "seniority," and more recently in the exercise of the responsibilities that go with a committee chairmanship, have given me a better than average opportunity to observe the working of the system. I believe that the seniority principle, though far from perfect, performs an indispensable function in the organization of the Congress, and that the alternatives that have been offered as a cure for its deficiencies would aggravate, rather than relieve them.

The significance and operation of the rule are best appraised against its history which, in turn, involves the history of the manner of selection of the members of standing committees. The first House of Representatives operated under a rule which placed the appointment of committees of three or less in the Speaker, larger committees being elected by the House. This proved unsatisfactory, and, at the opening of the second Congress it was specified that "The Speaker shall appoint committees until the House shall otherwise determine." By usage, the member first named to a committee served as its chairman.

Late in 1804, a vacancy in the House Committee on Claims was occasioned by the withdrawal from the committee of its chairman, Samuel W. Dana, of Connecticut, who was appointed "in his stead," maintained that this appointment placed him at the bot-

tom of the committee's list with respect to the chairmanship, because he was last named to it. The Committee thought otherwise claiming him as its chairman. In resolving the resulting impasse, the House framed a rule specifying that the first-named member of a committee should be its chairman and that order of appointment should govern succession, "unless the committee, by a majority of their number, elect a chairman." Although the Committee on Claims, availing itself of the last word which the closing clause of the rule gave it, elected Dana chairman, from the time the usage in the House, as among American law-making bodies generally, has been that the first-named member of a standing committee shall serve as its chairman.

Appointment of House committee members by the Speaker was under sporadic attack from 1806, when James Sloan of New Jersey unsuccessfully proposed that committees should be elected by the House, and their chairmen by the committees, until 1911, when the House "rebelled" against the rule of Speaker "Uncle Joe" Cannon, stripping him and his successors of the power of committee appointments. His autocratic power of appointment and the evils attending thereupon should be sufficient reason for never reinstating such power in the Speaker of the House. The House rules have since provided that initial appointments and permanent vacancies both in the membership and the chairmanship of standing committees shall be made by the House itself.

This rule, however, inadequately reflects the actual practice, for though the House has reserved the prerogative of making appointments, the formal process of election amounts to little more than the assignment of newly elected members to committees and the occasional transfer of members from one committee to another. Even in this, the two parties tacitly accept each other's designations of majority and minority members. Actually, the Democrats' new assignments of members to fill vacancies on committees are made by majority vote of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee. A Republican Committee on Committees, appointed by the Republican leadership more or less on a geographical basis, assigns the Republican members to fill vacancies on the House Committees. The House itself then confirms all new appointments to fill vacancies. Beyond this, a member who has served on a committee is regarded as entitled to continue to serve on it as long as he keeps his seat, and the seniority ladder determines the succession to the chairmanships.

In the Senate, standing committees have been appointed in various ways at different times: by ballot, by the President of the Senate, by the President pro tempore, or by the adoption of a full list of names submitted by the party leaders.

During the first thirty-four years (1789-1823) all Senate committees were appointed by ballot, and a plurality of votes determined the choice. According to John Quincy Adams, it was the prevailing practice of the Senate during this period that "the member having the greatest number of votes is first named, and as such is chairman."

From December 9, 1823, until April 15, 1826, the Presiding Officer appointed the committees. Appointment by ballot was the rule from April 15, 1826, to December 24, 1828. The President pro tempore appointed the committees of the Senate from December 24, 1828, to December 9, 1833, at which time the practice of appointment by ballot was resumed. From 1839 to 1845 the President pro tempore made the appointments. It was not until the 29th Congress (1845-46) that the Senate began to approve of lists of committees drawn up by party leaders. Since 1846 it has been the traditional practice (with occasional exceptions) for the Republican and Democratic committees on committees to draw up slates of committee assignments at the opening of each new Congress.

The procedure of the Senate in the appointment of committees is prescribed in a long-standing rule (Rule XXIV) which reads in part as follows:

"1. In the appointment of the standing committees, the Senate, unless otherwise ordered, shall proceed by ballot to appoint severally the chairman of each committee, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same. A majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee, but a plurality of votes shall elect the other members thereof. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, unless otherwise ordered, and a plurality of votes shall appoint."

For upwards of a century, however, the significant phrase—"unless otherwise ordered"—has usually been invoked; and unanimous consent has been given to enable the majority party to determine the chairmanships of the standing committees. Seniority of committee service has long been the principal guide in making up the list of committee chairmanships. Writing in 1938, George H. Haynes, historian of the Senate, remarked "In the shifting of chairmanships in the past half-century there probably has not been one instance in fifty where the caucus Warwicks have failed to place the crown upon this universally recognized 'heir apparent.' So assured is such an unchallenged succession that voters are often exhorted to consider it as a main reason for re-electing a Senator of great expectations."

The salient and long-established features of the committee system in the American Congress are thus seen to include length of uninterrupted tenure as the traditional determinant of choice in committee assignment, length of uninterrupted committee service as the rule of succession to a chairmanship, and minority party representation on committees roughly proportional to minority strength in the chamber. It may be noted that the bipartisan character of the committees was challenged by President Wilson as weakening party responsibility—a position reminiscent of Jefferson's asserted belief that only members in favor of a measure should be assigned to work on the committee charged with responsibility for its progress.

With respect to the designation of members to committees, moreover, John Quincy Adams believed that this should be by lot, a method which has not found favor in the United States or in Commonwealth countries but which is operative today in a number of Western European parliaments, notably those of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy.

As concerns the method of designating chairmen of standing committees, foreign countries today fall into two principal categories. The parliamentary organization and practice of the seventeen countries that compose the British Commonwealth are modeled on that of the Mother of Parliaments—the English House of Commons, where the practice appears to be for the Speaker to appoint the chairmen of standing committees.

Elsewhere among the fifty-seven parliaments that are members of the Interparliamentary Union, the general practice is for the chairmen of committees to be elected by the committees themselves. A curious departure is found in the Bundestag where chairmen of committees are allotted proportionally among the parties. The number of chairmen of committees allotted to a parliamentary party corresponds to the number of members of the different parliamentary parties. Chairmen of different committees are nominated by parliamentary parties on the basis of agreement between the parties. The chairman is then formally elected in committee. Up to the present, the chairmen proposed by the parliamentary parties have always been elected.

Appraisal of the American system against this background must take into account the realities of the legislative process. Neither house of Congress could conceivably give detailed attention to all the facets of its legislative program in regular session. Preliminary consideration of legislative proposals is therefore delegated to standing committees, which, with the aid of specialized subcommittees, study the bills, conduct investigations, hear and attempt to reconcile divergent needs and views, and finally report a measure to the full body. Thereafter the committee members perform their individual responsibilities in the ensuing debate. In addition, each committee has the task of keeping itself informed as to the effectiveness with which existing laws within its jurisdiction are being enforced.

What is more, legislation destined for ultimate enactment frequently falls of passage in the Congress in which it is initially introduced. Indeed, it is not unusual for legislative history of a measure to extend over more than two biennia. In such cases, although new bills must be introduced in each new Congress, the committee has a virtually continuing responsibility for managing, or processing, the legislative issue.

Against this background, the rationale of the seniority principle becomes evident. Over the years, manifestly, the effectiveness of a committee will bear a direct relationship to the stability of its personnel. If the legislative committees were to be reshuffled after each election—beyond what is necessitated by the retirement of members and the arrival of new ones—all issues pending unresolved in the House, and to a lesser degree those pending in the Senate would require consideration *de novo*. The time and effort necessarily expended by committee members in familiarizing themselves with the nature of the committee's work, the intricacies of its problems, and the identity and character of interested parties would indeed be lost. What has been said of the members applies with peculiar force to the committee's chairman. Upon the chairman rests the administrative responsibility for the committee's program and for the functioning of the subcommittees. He supervises the professional staff. Continued availability of the chairman's accumulated expertise, experience, and prestige is a central factor in a committee's effectiveness. Interruption of his tenure, other than is necessitated when the control of the Chamber passes from one political party to the other, would needlessly impair the efficiency of the committee's operations.

Fundamentally, the seniority system avoids the waste implicit in instability of committee composition and management. It invokes the presumption that, other things being equal, the man or woman with the greatest experience in a particular job is best fitted to participate and to lead in its performance. To quote Luce, in his work on legislative procedure, "Whatever the activity, we all know that experience counts for more than anything else, and promotion by seniority is nothing but the recognition of this." Since a senior congressman is more experienced than his junior, and since all congressmen aspire to posts of influence, choice of committee assignments may safely be left to seniority. Within a committee, similarly, since effectiveness is presumptively related to length of uninterrupted service, the seniority ladder properly defines the succession to the chairmanship.

The seniority criterion for selecting committee chairmen has the added virtue of being objective. It automatically eliminates the intrigues, deals, and compromises that characterize election campaigns. By the same token, committees are able to get down to work immediately, without having first to bind the wounds of disappointed aspirants to leadership.

To counter these salient advantages, opponents of the system offer two principal

criticisms. The first is addressed to its alleged effect upon the functioning of the committees. Here it is contended that the capacity to achieve re-election has no necessary relation to the qualities ideally embodied in a chairman; that under a seniority rule the potential contribution of an exceptionally able young legislator is sacrificed to the entrenchment of an aging incumbent whose energies may be waning; and that the relative inviolability of the custom operates to immunize chairmen against retribution, no matter how arbitrary and dictatorial their conduct of office.

Each of these claims has surface plausibility—and each has been overstated. Although seniority, alone, does not guarantee superior ability, success in effectively serving the state or district remains an indispensable attribute of the perennially successful candidate for election. The most backward electorate will not indefinitely return a congressman who wholly fails to serve its needs. Such a man is retired, if not in an election, then in a primary contest. By and large, the so-called "safe" state or district is one that has been getting the kind of representation it wants. And inevitably, the affirmative qualities that keep a man in office do contribute to his effectiveness as a committee chairman.

Each of us must some day lay down his burdens, but nature has not uniformly decreed when this must be. Some men remain vigorous and effective in their eighties; others may fall at fifty. As stated by Gross in *The Legislative Struggle*:

"The seniority system has often been mistakenly attacked on the ground that it puts too much power in the hands of old men. This argument misses the real implications of the seniority system. Age alone does not cause diminution of mental vigor, alertness, and leadership ability. Nor does it mean that a man becomes more conservative. Some of the outstanding liberals in Congress have been old men who have fought valiantly despite the other handicaps of age."

I am reminded of Longfellow in "Morituri Salutamus":

"But why, you ask me, should this tale be told

To men grown old, or who are growing old?
It is too late! Ah, nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty; Sophocles
Wrote his grand Oedipus, and Simonides
Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than four-score years,

And Theophrastus, at fourscore and ten,
Had but begun his "Characters of Men."
Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,

At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
Goethe at Weimer, tolling to the last,
Completed Faust when eighty years were past."

Public servants with long tenure should be able to retire with a measure of security, and recent amendments of the retirement system make this increasingly possible for members of Congress. But most men know when they have had enough and I fear that by imposing compulsory retirement of committee chairmen upon the attainment of any particular age we would as often lose as gain in terms of the vigor and capacity of the successor. With respect, also, to the criticism that able young legislators with special skills must today go too long without appropriate outlet for their talents, it is noteworthy that increasing use of subcommittees, as well as select committees, are enabling greater utilization of such members in chairmanships.

By far the most serious of this group of criticisms is that which implies arbitrary, one-man rule of committees. It is true that the prerogative of calling meetings and the control of agendas gives some chairmen wide powers, sometimes amounting to the prac-

tical equivalent of a veto. But it would be a mistake to attribute this to the seniority system. Seniority does no more than designate the chairman; it does not write the committee's rules of procedures, nor does it prescribe despotism in the conduct of the committee's affairs. Recent years have seen an increasing incidence of well-developed rules of procedure for the governance of committee business. It is always possible for the members of a committee to outvote its chairman. That this happens from time to time is wholesome. That it does not happen more often is as reasonably attributable to the respect and confidence with which the members regard their chairman as to any sinister implication of dictatorship. I believe that the charge of dictatorship is often an attempt to saddle the chairman with sole responsibility for the committee majority's unwillingness to act.

As Luce puts it: "Somebody must lead. If it is not the strong, it will be the weak. If it is not the experienced, it will be the inexperienced. Otherwise, chaos." Under any method of selection, the chairman will remain the committee's most powerful member. The cure for despotism, where it may still exist, is not to deprive the committee of the services of its most seasoned member, but to insist on democratic procedures. In this way, the committee itself can guarantee that the chairman will act as a guide and leader, responsive to the will of the majority, and not as a dictator.

The other major objection that has been leveled at the seniority system is that it concentrates the power implicit in chairmanships in congressmen from so-called one-party states and districts, at the expense of areas whose political complexion is mixed. It is further asserted that the prestige and influence of a high-seniority congressman becomes a political asset in warding off assaults upon his tenure, thus further entrenching him in office. Here, again, some truth and some exaggeration are encountered.

In a Democratic Congress, like the present one, the argument is usually illustrated by pointing to the preponderance of southerners, traditionally more conservative than northern and western Democrats, at the helms of the committees. It is true that of 36 standing committees in the House and the Senate, 21 are headed by men from the South. On the other hand, many important chairmanships are in the hands of northerners and westerners. Indeed, the dean at this writing among Senate Democrats, in his eighties, is the exceptionally able Senator Carl Hayden, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, who speaks for Arizona. So, too, the states of Nevada, Washington, New Mexico, and Missouri, none of them classed as southern, are represented among Senate committee chairmanships.

In the House, likewise, the important Committees on Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Interior and Insular Affairs, Judiciary, Public Works, and Un-American Activities, are chaired by men from non-southern states, including New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kentucky, and Colorado. And four of the six House committee chairmen having the greatest length of uninterrupted service are from non-southern states. Numerous northerners are also chairmen of powerful subcommittees.

Withal, it cannot be denied that the seniority system produces some disproportion in the distribution of committee chairmanships. Whether this justifies abandonment of the rule raises the question whether the one-party districts can properly be penalized, simply for being able to make up their minds, by being deprived of the fruits that normally accrue from the acquisition of experience and expertness by their representatives. Such considerations tend to become

academic, however, unless some satisfactory substitute for the existing rule can be found.

It is my conviction that the reason why the seniority principle has not long been abandoned lies not only in its demonstrable advantages but also in the difficulties that beset alternative proposals. I know of no substitute for the present system whose disadvantages would not outweigh its benefits. Proposals to require chairmen to step down at a specified age, or after a specified period of service, and to rotate chairmanships among committee members having a specified period of service would destroy continuity without necessarily producing more capable leadership. Proposals to elect chairmen in party caucuses would additionally give rise to campaigning with its attendant evils—again without any real assurance of the election of the best fitted candidate. Resort to secret ballot would slightly, but not wholly obviate this objection. The practice of foreign parliaments in which chairmen are predominantly elected by committee members may be appropriate in situations in which the members are themselves selected by lot. Such a system, however, makes knowledge or interest on the part of the committee members improbable. In systems like our own in which a premium has always been placed on continuity, election by committee members would be subject to all the infirmities of election by caucus. Appointment by the Speaker would generate inordinate pressures upon him from within and without Congress and would inordinately enlarge his power over legislation. I doubt whether the present Speaker would want such power. None of these alternatives would go to the real heart of the problem—the evolution of committee procedures that will guarantee democratic functioning.

I suspect that we shall continue to follow the custom of respecting seniority in the selection of congressional committee chairmen, not because it is perfect, but because it is better than any other method that has yet been proposed. And we could do much worse, for, to paraphrase Speaker Rayburn, the rules of both Houses of Congress are such that a determined majority can always work its will.

TO DENY THE RIGHTS OF MANY TO GRANT A LICENSE TO A FEW IS MEASURELESS FOLLY

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, a poignant petition has been sent to me by the Gordon, Ga., Jaycees, together with an inch-thick compilation of copies signed by other concerned citizens.

The communication reads as follows:

Because I believe that every man who lives under the flag of the United States of America is entitled by the Constitution of this land to live according to the laws and freedoms contained therein, I cannot condone the recent court action depriving me of my freedom of choice to send my children to the school in my county or community that I so desire. Therefore, I urge you as a representative of the people to initiate legislation that will restore freedom of choice in our public school systems.

I am amending the address to specifically include the Congress of the United States and file herewith the same with the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

To draft other children from unwilling

parents to serve as social leavening; to transport human beings from one end of the county to another to provide others with academic fellowship; to yoke together those of unequal learning readiness, ability, and cultural background in the faint hope of benefiting one at the almost certain expense of the other; to punish some to pamper others; to set the stage for disorder and educational chaos as an atonement for past real or fancied wrongs; to use educational institutions as factories for social experiment and reform; to deny the rights of many to grants a license to a few; is measureless folly.

"SIMPLIFIED" INCOME TAX FORM

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, I received a masterpiece of a letter from Dr. Edward J. Griffith of 800 North Lindbergh Boulevard in St. Louis, Mo. With Dr. Griffith's permission I have shared that letter of February 8, 1970, with my colleagues.

In this time of tribulation when millions of Americans are attempting to comply with their civic duty to file their income tax reports on earnings for the past year, I must compliment a citizen who retains his sense of humor even under duress and then has the ability to let that inimitable humor shine through even in a letter of protest.

Let me say, I agree with Dr. Griffith 100 percent, and it is in fullest appreciation of his wit and sympathy with his views that I share his puckish wit:

FEBRUARY 8, 1970.

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ICHORD: Help! Help! Help! Help! Help! Help! It is a hard time of year Mr. Ichord. The winter has been cold. The children have colds. The wife has cabin fever. The dog is in heat. The car won't run well. The heat bill is excessive. My boss doesn't feel well. The house payment just came due. I have a headache and the Congress of the United States has "simplified" the income tax forms. I consider myself to be a conservative but this morning I feel like joining the Youth Rebellion. No wonder they are rebelling. If these tax forms get any more "simple", God Himself will be unable to understand them. This assumes of course that He is not already in trouble with the IRS.

Now let me make myself completely clear to you. I do not object to paying taxes. I consider the moneys paid in taxes the greatest single bargain I get each year. I can see the beautiful highways, the wonderful schools, the fire and police protection and on and on. No, I do not object to paying taxes. No, I do not feel that the tax rate is unjust. I pay a reasonable tax load. And oh yes, no one has ever caused me trouble about my tax forms. I am an honest man and I file as honest a tax form as I am capable of filing. In fact in order to be sure that I do not have to waste time with long audits and trips to the tax office I usually calculate my taxes slightly to the government's credit.

Mr. Ichord I am not an uneducated man. My title at Monsanto is Advanced Scientist.

I have earned the B.S., the M.S. and the Ph.D. degrees. I am the editor of many books dealing with the chemistry of phosphorus. I am currently editing a book dealing with pollution. I understand Thermodynamics. I understand Chemical Kinetics. I understand Quantum Mechanics. I can use an IBM computer. I understand mathematics and I have a speaking knowledge of many other sciences. But Mr. Ichord I cannot understand that damned tax form. How any group of men could expect the average person in the United States to understand that tax form is beyond me. There just must be a more equitable method of collecting taxes.

Today we are not only taxing a man's property we are taxing his head. It cannot be just to tax a man in a manner in which he cannot understand. I am given no credit for the time and effort which goes into filling out those forms. I resent the fact that vast enterprises as H and R Block exist because congress has over taxed the heads of our people. Our country was founded on the cry, "Taxation without Representation". Today the cry is becoming, "Taxation without Comprehension".

Mr. Ichord, I have agreed with most of the ideas you have proposed since you have represented us. I split a ticket to vote for you. I have great respect for you. Let's get something started to remove the unjust load of these crazy tax forms from our people. Let's change it even if we must completely do away with the old laws and start over. There is a growing rebellion, Mr. Ichord. Most of the people I know are as bitter as I am. I repeat:

Help! Help! Help! Help! help! help! . . .
Sincerely,

EDWARD J. GRIFFITH.

INSURANCE PRACTICES THREATEN FUTURE OF WASHINGTON BUSI- NESSMEN

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey by the Mayor's Economic Development Committee of 100 random businessmen in Washington, D.C., showed that many businessmen are worried about the inability to obtain insurance or the high rates for this insurance and that unless the problem is solved, these businessmen may close their doors in the District of Columbia.

The survey further shows that one of seven businessmen is planning relocation, many to the suburbs where they feel will be free of the problems that face them in the city.

Mr. Speaker, Washington, D.C., as well as the other cities of the United States cannot afford to lose businessmen. Something must be done to make certain that they do not flee to the suburbs. One of the answers is to provide for Government insurance of crime losses in instances where private business will not accept the risk.

I introduced, during the first session, two measures to accomplish such a purpose and these measures have been co-sponsored by some 10 Members of this body. It is my hope that this legislation can be enacted before the end of the 91st Congress to provide some relief for inner-city businessmen.

Mr. Speaker, I am including in my re-

marks an article from the Washington Post of February 5 which outlines the results of the Mayor's study.

The article follows:

SURVEY SHOWS 1 IN 7 PLAN RELOCATION: DISTRICT FIRMS DISCOURAGED

(By Robert J. Samuelson)

Washington businessmen are so discouraged about the future that many—one out of seven—plan to close down and relocate in the suburbs. Almost none envision expanding their operations in the city.

That is the principal finding of a new survey of local businessmen by the Mayor's Economic Development Committee. For the survey MEDCO selected 100 businessmen at random from each of the city's quadrants.

The respondents, about 70 per cent of whom are white, complained that the rising crime rate and their inability to find adequate insurance protection threaten the survival of their stores.

POOR INSURANCE

Sixty-one per cent reported that they had either "poor" insurance coverage or none at all. And some owners with policies are apparently afraid to report losses.

"If you file a claim for anything, they (the insurance companies) drop you, so you can't afford to file a claim," one man is quoted as saying.

A majority of the businessmen (64 per cent) felt that police protection was "fair"—none thought it was "good"—but the remainder classified public security for their stores as "poor" (12 per cent) or "nonexistent" (24 per cent).

Facing these problems, most businessmen predicted a "bleak" future.

"We found little desire to expand. In fact one out of seven businessmen we contacted wanted to close down, relocate or simply stop doing business in the city," the study said.

Most local businessmen surveyed felt that prosperity has bypassed them, and that most increases in sales volume occur in the suburbs. Available statistics corroborate this impression: In November, for example, the downtown D.C. department stores suffered sales declines of 10 per cent over the same month in 1968, but the suburban department stores held even.

Even in black neighborhoods, the study said, most buyers can afford to shop selectively—and do, by going to the suburbs. Shoppers are becoming more sophisticated, credit availability is expanding, and Negro families are increasingly mobile, the survey said.

MINORITY MARKET

"Suburban competitors keenly sense the sophistication of the District's essentially minority market and meet its needs in the suburbs," according to the study.

As a result, the report suggested that new black businessmen should consider suburban locations as well as inner city sites for their stores. "The view of blacks selling to blacks is absurd and the whole concept of a separate market is invalid," the reports said.

The study was motivated, in part, to determine whether the expansion plans of District business firms were being frustrated in their expansion plans by a lack of capital. (The conclusion: they weren't.)

Another reason was to prepare for one or two Washington "leased department stores"—large shopping centers which MEDCO plans to sponsor. MEDCO would lease various businesses within the center to individual owners in an effort (a) to provide shopping variety to compete with the suburbs and (b) to offer a central source of financial and management help to the individual owners, many of whom would be black.

Any new businessman today, the report said, faces an exasperating time in starting a new firm:

"By the time he finishes his rounds of government offices, banks, and technical assistance companies, the enthusiasm he had for the business has dwindled. Thus, if he finally gets the money . . . it is doubtful that he will ultimately succeed."

FEDERAL JUDGE HENRY N. GRAVEN

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, death has eliminated from the courts of this country Federal Judge Henry N. Graven, of Greene, Iowa, one of the great judges of all time.

Judge Graven served for nearly 20 years as the U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Iowa. Retiring in 1961, he served thereafter as a senior Federal judge on roving assignment throughout the Nation. It was in that capacity that he was presiding in a Federal court case in San Antonio, Tex., when he was suddenly stricken and died.

Judge Graven had the unchallenged reputation of being one of the hardest working members of the Federal judiciary, and it was often said those who observed closely the workings of the Federal courts that there would be no backlog of cases if there were more jurists of the energy and drive of this man. He was also a "no-nonsense judge," and there has been speculation in recent months as to what would have transpired had he been assigned to preside at the trial of certain of the hippies and yuppies.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the February 10 issue of the Mason City, Iowa, Globe-Gazette is an excellent and well deserved tribute to this great jurist:

A GREAT JUDGE IS GONE

Death has taken unexpectedly one of North Iowa's finest minds and hardest workers.

Henry N. Graven spent practically all of his adult working life in public service, first as counsel to the Iowa State Highway Commission, then as judge for the 12th judicial district, next as judge of the U.S. District for Northern Iowa and finally as a senior federal judge on assignment throughout the country.

No lawyer who participated in a trial before Judge Graven will ever forget him. His diligence in pursuing the study of law throughout life was a source of wonder to many.

Seven of Iowa's foremost attorneys conceded in open court after a seven-month trial of a multimillion dollar lawsuit that the judge was in better command of the law involved than any of them.

During the trial, which involved hundreds of financial exhibits and also hundreds of pages of depositions, attorneys of the two sides frequently disagreed heatedly over preceding testimony. Their arguments invariably were interrupted by Judge Graven's quiet:

"Gentlemen, gentlemen! You will find that on Page 203 of the second Denver deposition," or a like remark, after he had thumbed through his private card file.

The judge enjoyed visiting in chambers with his many friends, but his courtroom was a model of decorum. He tolerated no horseplay or diversion by attorneys and was jealous of the time of his jurors. If a trial

could be finished by holding an evening session, the court worked.

It was more than just a joke when, as the story goes, a lawyer was told that court would convene at 7 o'clock and he asked: "A.M. or P.M.?" It could have been either.

Despite his diligence in the study of law, he found time also for community and church activities, particularly the latter.

No lawyer will laugh at the suggestion that Judge Graven could have graced the U.S. Supreme Court. He was a great judge and a fine man.

A PROPHECIC STATESMAN

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the House is meeting today for the purpose of hearing the Farewell Address of our first President, it seems appropriate to insert in the Record an editorial entitled "A Prophetic Statesman" which appeared last week in the Tidewater Weeklies, a group of newspapers serving the area where Washington was born and lived as a young man.

The editorial is set forth in full below for the information of my colleagues.

A PROPHECIC STATESMAN

George Washington not only provided superb leadership to make our embryonic republic work, but guidelines which are still timely and sound. This is particularly true of his Farewell Address which he used to give advice for the future. This future still has not been fully realized and many of his words can serve as a challenge today.

For example, in administering the affairs of the new government of the United States he urged "efficient management" with "as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty." He said, "Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian."

He valued religion highly, saying, "It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government." Our first President also emphasized the need for education when he said that, "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

He also saw the need for government economy, expressing his opinion that public credit should be cherished as an important source of strength and security. "One method of preserving it," he said, "is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it."

When he talked about the need for patriotism he showed both eloquence and wisdom:

"Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discrimination. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

Truly his words retain their validity as we seek answers to the problems of our day.

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SOLVING CRIME PROBLEM IS NOT GOING TO BE EASY

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Wichita, Kans., Eagle and Beacon which realistically discusses the crime problem: across the Nation and the actions necessary to resolve the problem. Many of us certainly agree with the conclusion that it will take patience, money, and leadership to make our country safe again, and it is to be hoped that the Congress will exert some of that leadership by moving ahead on the administration's anticrime proposals. The editorial follows:

SOLVING CRIME PROBLEM ISN'T GOING TO BE EASY

Crime in the streets has become a universal American problem.

Strong measures are being taken to curb crime in the nation's capital, and for good reason. Reported crime in Washington jumped 26 per cent over a year earlier, compared with an average national increase of 11 per cent.

Kansas has not escaped, nor has Wichita. A recent rash of home burglaries was the worst in years here, and two assaults in two days near Wichita State University have brought about a beefing up of police security in the area.

Why the increase in crime in this affluent society? There are many theories. Some think it is part of a general breakdown in respect for authority.

For example, a group of students at Topeka High School is so concerned that a complaint has been filed with members of the Shawnee County legislative delegation. Two girls who attend the school told the legislators they sometimes are afraid to walk the halls at the school.

Most of Washington is afraid of crime, and the Wall Street Journal recently reported that fear has changed the way of life of residents of the nation's capital and its environs, affecting everyone from cab drivers to senators.

The premise of the Nixon administration and a majority of the Congress is that "unshackling" the police and prosecutors will alleviate the appalling crime problem. That is the justification for cutting into the established rights of defendants.

There is talk of undoing many of the Supreme Court decisions which police and many prosecutors believe have shackled the law enforcers. Restraints on confessions, for example, are bitterly attacked.

But as Prof. James Vorenberg of the Harvard Law School and director of the President's Crime Commission, points out, only a tenth to a third of all crimes committed are actually reported to police.

There are arrests in only a fourth of those reported, and confessions are essential to resolution of only a tiny portion of those.

Other attacks on individual rights in the name of law and order include wire tapping and reducing the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

Real progress goes deeper. The root causes of crime must be found.

This will take a penal system with some hope of rehabilitating prisoners. Criminal cases must be tried swiftly and appeals taken care of rapidly so that conviction is a present threat.

Police must regain the confidence of the

ghetto, and the whole question of relations between the black and white communities—of welfare, education and employment and housing—must be explored.

A bitter, divided society isn't likely to be a law-abiding one. Upgrading the police is an immediate step that should be taken, but it won't erase crime.

There are no easy ways to solve the crime problem, and it a disservice to the people to pretend that there are.

It will take a great deal of patience, money and leadership to make this country safe again.

NONCONFRONTATION, THE NEWEST DREAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the President has outlined to us what he himself terms an unprecedented blueprint for a foreign policy for the 1970's. He says the basis of this policy is negotiation, not confrontation. There is only one thing wrong with this; the Soviet rulers have not got the word.

They are confronting us with rockets, tanks, howitzers, aircraft, and even personnel described as advisers, in Vietnam. They are confronting us so hard there that they are killing Americans daily.

They are confronting us in Cuba, recently visited by the Chief of Staff of the Red army. They are confronting us off the east and west coasts of the United States, off Alaska, and off Hawaii, with their submarines, trawlers, and electronic intelligence vessels.

They are confronting us in the Middle East with major units of the Soviet Navy, including surface vessels as well as undersea vessels, and they have recently rushed additional military weapons by plane to Egypt and to Syria. They have not rejected, but have simply ignored the pleas of the President and of his Secretary of State for cooperation in settling the Middle East problem. They prefer confrontation.

They are confronting us with Nigeria, which preferred the Russian Communists to us, after our weird hijinks in Biafra.

They are confronting us with air power poised on their airfields in Siberia across the Bering Straits from Alaska. They are confronting us across the North Pole with missiles.

Even more than this, they are confronting us with the United States on the streets, in the courts, and in their attempts to destroy the moral fiber of our citizens through dissemination of Chinese and Cuban dope, pornography, and salacious literature intended to debase our youth.

The President, himself, made clear in his state of the world message this week to the Congress, that the United States can no longer dictate what happens in the world. I have one simple question: "What makes President Nixon think he can end the Soviet policy of confrontation by his unilateral fiat?"

I fear that we can safely call his foreign policy for the 1970's a dream policy.

We must awaken. We must deal with the true state of the world, with the cold, hard facts as they are—not as we wish them to be.

As it is with men, so it is with nations; the loss of contact with reality is one of the sure signs of insanity.

EARL R. HAMMETT AND ALBERT S. GUERARD, JR., HONORED

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, Pascagoula, Miss., as well as the whole State of Mississippi is a better place to live and work today because of the contributions of two outstanding citizens, who retired recently. Mr. Earl R. Hammett, senior vice president of Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp., a division of Litton Industries, and Mr. Albert S. Guerard, Jr., manager of the Standard Oil Co.'s refinery at Pascagoula, Miss., have made outstanding contributions to the community and State as business and civic leaders.

Because of their contributions and splendid service to our country and our State, I am inserting in the RECORD the following resolutions adopted by the Jackson County, Miss. Board of Supervisors commending them:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF JACKSON COUNTY, MISS., COMMENDING MR. EARL R. HAMMETT FOR SERVICES RENDERED TO JACKSON COUNTY

Whereas, in 1939, Mr. Earl R. Hammett came to Pascagoula, Mississippi, to assist in the organization of The Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation and continued as Assistant to the President until 1942, during which period of time he was responsible for Industrial and Cost Engineering, Material Control, Estimating, Production Control and Yard Accounting; and

Whereas, since 1942 through 1969, he held positions of Controller, Assistant Vice-President and Production Manager, and Vice-President, and in 1968 was elected Senior Vice-President, in which position he was responsible to the President for the overall organization and management of shipyard operations, and he is now a member of Ingalls Senior Policy and Review Board and is also engaged in company forward planning and expansion and public affairs; and

Whereas, Mr. Hammett who was born in Laurel, Mississippi, and who received his B.S. Degree from Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama in 1928, announced his retirement from The Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation, a Division of Litton Industries as of December 31, 1969; and

Whereas, during the thirty (30) years from 1939 through 1969, while living in Pascagoula, Mississippi, he was an outstanding leader in civic affairs, having held business and professional membership in the following: Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers; Navy League; American Welding Society; National Security Industrial Association; National Association of Manufacturers; President; Mississippi Manufacturers Association; Director; Merchants and Marine Bank, Pascagoula, Mississippi; and Mississippi Research and Development Council (Executive Committee); and

Whereas, in December, 1969, Mr. Hammett was honored by a dinner, sponsored by the Pascagoula-Moss Point Chamber of Commerce; and

Whereas, his long years of civic service to Jackson County and the State of Mississippi will be greatly missed in the years to come.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Jackson County, Mississippi, that this Board does hereby commend Mr. Earl Hammett for his many years of service given to the people of Jackson County and the State of Mississippi, during the thirty (30) years in which he was associated with The Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation, a Division of Litton Industries.

Be it further resolved that this Board wish Mr. Earl Hammett well during his retirement for many years to come.

The adoption of the above Resolution was motioned, seconded and unanimously adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Jackson County, Mississippi, on this the 6th day of January, A.D., 1970.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
JACKSON COUNTY, MISS.,
EDWARD A. KHAYAT,
President.

OLIN H. DAVIS,
Vice President.

LUM R. CUMBEST,
J. C. MAY.

W. T. ROBERTS.

Attest:

WILBUR G. DEES,
Clerk.

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF JACKSON COUNTY, MISS., COMMENDING MR. ALBERT S. GUERARD, JR., FOR SERVICES RENDERED TO JACKSON COUNTY

Whereas, in 1962 Mr. Albert S. Guerard, Jr., came to Pascagoula, Mississippi, as Refinery Manager for the Standard Oil Company, Pascagoula Refinery, which was a new oil refinery located in the Bayou Casotte industrial area in Jackson County, Mississippi; and

Whereas, Mr. Guerard, who was educated in Asheville, North Carolina, and who received his BS in Mechanical Engineering from the University of California, announced his retirement from Standard Oil Company as of December 31, 1969; and

Whereas, during the short time he was in Mississippi, he was an outstanding civic leader, having held and served in the following positions, to-wit:

1. The first Chairman of the Mississippi Air and Water Pollution Control Commission.

2. Former Chairman of the Engineering Advisory Committee of Mississippi State University.

3. Past President of Pine Burr Area Council, Boy Scouts of America in which work Mr. Guerard received in 1966 the coveted Silver Beaver award which is the highest award a local Council can bestow upon an adult scouter and which is awarded for noteworthy service to boyhood, and in which work, in 1969, he received in behalf of the National Court of Honor the "Distinguished Eagle Award", that is authorized by the National Council based upon a person being an Eagle Scout as a boy and having distinguished himself for 25 years or more in outstanding service in his profession of service to his country.

4. Former Vice President of the Mississippi Manufacturers Association.

5. Past President of the United Fund of Jackson County, Mississippi.

6. Former Director and Member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Economic Council.

7. Past President of the Pascagoula-Moss Point Chamber of Commerce.

8. Past Treasurer of Gulf Pines Council, Girl Scouts of America.

9. Director of Gulf Coast Symphony Orchestra Association.

10. Member of the following organizations: Mississippi State Council on Arts. Mississippi Newcomen Society.

Mississippi State Advisory Committee on Scientific and Engineering Personnel, Selective Service System

National Association for Professional Engineers.

Society of American Military Engineering (Mr. Guerard having served as a Marine Corps officer in World War II in the Pacific Theater), and,

Whereas, in December 1969, Mr. Guerard was honored by a dinner sponsored by the Pascagoula-Moss Point Chamber of Commerce; and,

Whereas, his civic service to Jackson County and the State of Mississippi will be greatly missed in the years to come since Mr. Guerard will be leaving this area and traveling before going to his new home in Pebble Beach, California.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Jackson County, Mississippi, that this Board does hereby commend Mr. Albert S. Guerard, Jr., for his many services given to the people of Jackson County and the State of Mississippi during the time of his living in Pascagoula and being manager of the Standard Oil Refinery.

Be it further resolved that this Board wishes Mr. Guerard well during his retirement for many years to come.

The adoption of the above resolution was motioned, seconded and unanimously adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Jackson County, Mississippi, on this the 6th day of January, 1970.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF JACKSON COUNTY, MISS.

EDWARD A. KHAYAT, President.

OLIN H. DAVIS, Vice President.

LUM CUMBEST.

J. C. MAY.

W. T. ROBERTS.

Attest: WILBUR G. DEES, Clerk.

BILL O'MALLEY: A MAN OF FAITH

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, when a prominent constituent who has been an outstanding leader in his field passes on to his reward, his Member of Congress must try to evaluate whether the memory of the departed should be perpetuated by recognition in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Many times in the past I have reached a decision against such recognition. In a recent instance, however, I am justified to share with my colleagues and all the readers of the RECORD an editorial prepared by Meyer L. Goldman, publisher of the Kansas City Labor Beacon, in which he so aptly describes William T. O'Malley of Kansas City, Mo., as a man of faith.

In these days when emphasis is placed upon the poverty program as a Federal project to help the poor, we all too frequently omit and neglect to recognize and commend those who on their own without any desire for praise or applause proceeded with unpublished efforts in behalf of the unfortunate and the needy in his midst. As the editorial so appropriately points out, all during Bill O'Malley's life, his heart was open to any person who needed help. Because he worked on, in spite of rebuffs and setbacks, to better the condition of the poor—he was truly a man of faith.

The editorial follows:

BILL O'MALLEY: MAN OF FAITH

William T. O'Malley lived his faith for more than four score years. And his life was filled with faith—faith in his family, in his union, in his fellow-man. His passing this week removes a stalwart worker from the ranks of Labor.

For more than 25 years he was an active leader in International Association of Machinists Kansas City Lodge 92. For almost as long, he was active in IAM District 71, serving more than 15 years as secretary-treasurer. And he found time to devote eight years to the Kansas State Council of Machinists, also as secretary-treasurer.

But Bill O'Malley was more than a union officer. Many of his accomplishments were beyond the call of official duty. He was a champion of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League. In organizations, and as an individual he devoted his time to the uplifting of the unfortunate and the needy. His heart was open to any person who needed help. And he never retired from his humanitarian efforts.

When he retired from his post with the Kansas Council, he was presented with a resolution from the delegates. "We extend our highest respects and admiration for his past leadership and dedication to this Council", the resolution read.

"His resignation will create the absence of his wisdom, guidance, leadership, and the glowing light of his personality for all members."

All those who worked with Bill O'Malley, and those who benefited from his services, will join his family in the feeling of this loss.

PAINFUL POLITICS—USING FEARS OF THE POOR

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial by C. L. Dancy of the Peoria Journal Star of February 14, 1970, regarding the President's recent veto. This editorial will point out that the President had, in fact, proposed the largest budget for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in history—larger than any proposed under the Kennedy or Johnson administrations.

What happened was opponents trying to get an issue proposed still bigger increases in order to pressure the President into the veto. This is an extremely well-written editorial and I think all of my colleagues would be considerably enlightened by its reading.

The article follows:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Feb. 14, 1970]
USING FEARS OF THE POOR

Serious human tragedies result from the irresponsible bitterness of the political battle arising from President Nixon's recent veto of the Health, Education and Welfare spending bill.

The people most affected by federal health and welfare programs are those, very often, who least understand what has happened. As a result of the violent language of opponents of the President, speaking in terms of the "great human suffering" they say will result from the veto, too many of these persons have been made frightened and fearful that they are going to lose vital services they depend on today!

Even some confused folks on Social Security have been scared and upset that something is going to happen to it! (It is no way involved, even.) Such confusion and distress has come directly and intimately to our attention. It is very moving.

This is, certainly, pain and distress that we don't need. It is fear and distress which arises not from any fact basis but from political infighting, and it is a high human cost to pay directly for political gutter tactics.

One hates to see human beings caused to suffer needlessly in this way.

No person is better informed in detail on what these issues and funds are than the congressman from this district, as it happens.

Rep. Robert Michel is a ranking member of the Health, Education and Welfare committee and of the Appropriations committee. These are two of the most important committees in the House, and Michel is a veteran and influential member of both. They are also the two committees most closely involved with this issue.

Here are some of the things Michel said on the floor of the House where he was a major speaker on the issue, due to his particularly knowledgeable position.

"Let us get the record straight," said Michel. "The veto of this bill does not mean that we are summarily cutting off Federal aid to schools, hospitals, medical research, etc.

"The President did not veto this bill because he is opposed to air pollution control; his budget called for an increase of \$7.1 million over the 1969 level of spending.

"He is not opposed to rubella vaccinations. His budget provided for an increase from a 9.6 million figure in 1969 to 16 million in 1970.

"He is not opposed to the Food and Drug Administration. His budget provided for an increase from \$68.9 million to \$72 million.

"He is not opposed to health manpower training for his budget carried an increase from \$182.4 million to \$228.9 million.

"He is not opposed to health educational research and library facilities, for his budget reflected an increase from the 1969 level of \$93.2 million to \$127.1 million.

"In the field of education, the President's budget actually provided for increases in bilingual education, in education for the handicapped, in vocational education, and over \$100 million increase in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education act . . ."

And so it goes.

The President has, in fact, proposed the largest budget for Health, Education, and Welfare in history, by a country mile . . . and the first time in a generation that federal spending for "humane" purposes has exceeded defense spending in the proportions of the national budget.

It is not a cut back, but the most significant advance yet.

What happened was that his opponents, seeking an issue, proposed still MORE increases in order to pressure a veto against nice sounding labels—or put the President in the position of (1) another inflationary budget, or (2) very seriously compromising the U.S. defense position.

It was a "back door" sneak attack on the military, and on the administration's efforts to curb runaway inflation, with the price of responsibility to be an emotional political issue.

They didn't hesitate to USE the emotions of poor and needy people, to inspire fear and distress among those who already have more than enough distress, for the sake of such a maneuver.

The fact remains that this government is doing MORE not LESS in the key program affected by new HEW budgets, and impressions given to the country are simply false, unfair, and unscrupulous.

INSURANCE COMPANY APATHY REASON FOR FEDERAL REGULATION

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on a number of occasions, I have stood in this well to discuss the horrendous treatment that insurance companies are giving to inner city residents and businessmen.

Those in the inner city who are able to obtain insurance are being charged astronomical premiums but, for the most part, little insurance can be purchased at any price.

The tactics of the insurance industry in the inner city does not mean that those living outside of the inner city are receiving any better treatment and a number of situations recently have brought this sharply into focus.

Typical of the insurance companies apathy toward its policyholders whether they be inner city residents or suburbanites, is a case which came to my attention a few days ago. It involves a suburbanite whose home and automobile were insured by Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. of Washington, D.C. The individual was involved in a single car accident and his attempts to have his insurance claim paid by Liberty Mutual makes the television series "Mission Impossible" seem like child's play.

NO CLAIMS AGENT AVAILABLE

Following the accident, the Liberty Mutual policyholder called the company to determine what steps he should take to have the car repaired. He was told that the person who handled claims for policyholders whose names began with the letter "P" was out to lunch and no one else in the office could handle the claim. While waiting for the claims representative to return from lunch, the policyholder took his car to a garage to obtain an estimate but was told by the garage that there was interior body damage involved and that until the insurance company gave the garage an authorization the garage could not even make an estimate. Following this, the policyholder once again called Liberty Mutual, the claims representative was still out to lunch but the policyholder was informed that he should take his car to a Liberty Mutual appraisal service in Virginia. After searching for the appraisal service for more than an hour, the policyholder found the appraisers located in the rear of a building with no sign in front to indicate the location of the appraiser and only a small sign in the rear of the building on what appeared to be a service entrance identifying the appraiser. The appraisal service, after looking at the body damage, refused to ride in or drive the car to ascertain the mechanical difficulties stating that "we are not allowed to make mechanical appraisals."

The insured was not given a copy of the estimate nor was he even informed as to what damage the appraiser had surveyed.

The following day, the insured once

again called Liberty and after waiting half an hour for the person supposedly handling his claim because she was "talking on the line," the operator finally informed the policyholder that the line was clear and she could ring the number now. When the phone was answered, the policyholder was informed that the claims representative was not in the office. When he protested that he had been waiting on the line for half an hour while she was talking on the phone, he was once again informed that the people in the office had no idea where the claims agent had gone.

APPRAISER MAKES FALSE REPRESENTATION

The following morning, the policyholder received a telephone call from a person identifying himself as a Liberty Mutual appraiser and asking if he could view the car. When the insured told the appraiser that the car was parked in an office building garage in Washington, the appraiser quickly said that Washington was out of his territory and he could only appraise cars in Virginia. At that point, the appraiser stated that he was really not working for Liberty Mutual but was an independent appraiser used by the company.

The next day, the insured once again called Liberty Mutual and after being transferred from one claims representative to another was finally informed that the appraiser had valued the damage to his car at \$265.85. The insurance company, however, did not know what damage the appraisal covered nor whether it included any mechanical work. The policyholder was told it would be several days before the company would have that information. Since the policyholder had been told by the appraiser that he could not check for any mechanical damage, he asked Liberty Mutual if he could obtain estimates on any mechanical repairs. He was told that he could obtain estimates but to make certain that he only got them from garages who charged no more than \$7 an hour since that was the maximum that Liberty Mutual would pay for repairs. Liberty Mutual also gave the insured a list of garages approved by the insurance company. The insured called a number of the garages and not one of them indicated that it would make the mechanical repairs at any rate approaching \$7 an hour. The hourly rates ranged from \$8 to \$9.50.

ONLY LIBERTY-APPROVED COMPANIES ALLOWED

At this point, the insured took his automobile to an independent garage and asked for an estimate. He received an estimate of \$342.68 which included straightening the frame of the automobile. When he reported the appraisal to Liberty Mutual, the company protested vigorously that the appraisal was too much and that it was not one of the garages approved by the company. When the insured explained that it was a highly reputable garage which in the past had performed repair work at a rate much lower than other garages, including those recommended by Liberty Mutual, the Liberty Mutual claims manager became indignant and asked why the policyholder had sought another appraisal. When the policyholder explained that he felt it was his right under the

policy terms, the claims manager explained that if the policyholder had not been satisfied with the appraiser, Liberty Mutual would have given him the name of another appraiser to look at the car. The claims manager also demanded to see a copy of the policyholder's appraisal. The policyholder explained that the appraisal was at the repair shop and that Liberty Mutual should have its appraiser go to the shop, check the appraisal, and if he felt there was any discrepancy in the prices, to inspect the car. Liberty Mutual declined to do this.

CLAIMS MANAGER HANGS UP ON POLICYHOLDER

The policyholder then asked the claims manager for a copy of the Liberty Mutual appraisal which had been made 5 days earlier. The insurance company stated that it did not have the appraisal. The policyholder then complained that Liberty Mutual was making a large number of demands without even knowing what damage had been done to the car. The claims manager then told the policyholder that "We're doing everything we can for you." The policyholder replied, "You're not doing a damn thing for me." The claims manager then hung up the phone.

Mr. Speaker, the individual involved in this case had been a policyholder of Liberty Mutual since 1948. During that period, he has submitted only one other small claim on his automobile policy and a week prior to his accident, he called the company and increased the insurance on his home by \$235 a year. It should be pointed out that this individual has never missed a premium payment.

There is something else about this situation that disturbs me, Mr. Speaker. In the course of the discussion with the insurance company, the individual discovered that his insurance file contained information that was totally untrue; namely about the individuals place of employment. The individual was listed as being employed by a company for which he did not work and this information was contained in the insurance company's file without the knowledge and, of course, without the permission of the policyholder.

Mr. Speaker, this type of situation goes on every day in our country. Policyholders of a large number of insurance companies are being treated with total indifference by insurance companies. This applies whether or not the policyholder lives in the ghetto, a subdivision, or a large estate.

The time has come when we can no longer depend upon State agencies to control the misdeeds of insurance companies. We must have a Federal agency to make certain that insurance companies provide policyholders with the services for which they have paid. This is one fact that the insurance industry seems to ignore. Policyholders are not free-loaders asking for a handout. They have paid for a service to which they are entitled. If insurance companies such as Liberty Mutual are not willing to honor their contractual obligations, then the policyholder must have an agency to which he can turn and that will give him more than lip service.

PROBLEMS OF CROSS-BUSING

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks and days the President, Vice President, and other top Government leaders have taken issue with busing as a method of desegregating school systems. The President has stated that desegregation plans for school systems should involve minimum possible disruptions—busing or otherwise—of the educational routine of children. I am in agreement with these views, and supported amendments to the Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill considered by the House on February 19, 1970. Those amendments were aimed at preserving the neighborhood school system and freedom of choice to all students.

We must get on with the job of integration in accordance with the laws and the Constitution, but the methods used should not damage the quality of education.

The Wichita, Kans., Board of Education presently is working to develop a plan to desegregate certain elementary schools. The board of education already has implemented plans to satisfactorily integrate high schools, junior high schools, and the teaching staffs of the Wichita public schools.

Many citizens and parents are concerned that a desegregation plan for the elementary schools might involve cross-busing which would disrupt the educational routine of their children.

A heavy volume of mail has reached me in Washington on this problem of cross-busing. My constituents have requested that I bring their views and concerns to the attention of officials in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and this I have done.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a sample of the many letters I have received from concerned parents and other citizens regarding this important matter:

Congressman GARNER SHRIVER,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: We are writing as tax-paying citizens; and also concerned parents.

We are against compulsory cross-busing of our children to school as a means of integration in this city.

We believe that our children should be allowed to attend their own neighborhood school, and that this decision should be left up to our own Board of Education, with no alternatives or intervention from the Federal Government or HEW.

We regard this as a freedom; a freedom we do not wish to give up.

The solution may lie in voluntary cross-busing or fair housing, but not compulsory cross-busing.

Sincerely,

Mr. & Mrs. ROGER JOHANSEN.

FEBRUARY 1, 1970.

Representative GARNER E. SHRIVER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: I am writing

to protest the idea of mandatory cross busing and to state my belief in the "neighborhood school concept".

The small children of this generation are being asked to pay the price for the wrongs that have been allowed to develop for the past 100 years.

The people of this city have mostly agreed that housing integration is both necessary and desirable. However, a recent poll here has shown that 80 to 90 percent of the people are against cross busing except on a voluntary basis.

I wish to take this opportunity to request that you contact the necessary Administration officials to assist in a solution to our current controversy over the busing of elementary students in order to satisfy HEW officials.

We need more time to work this out without causing hatefulness on both sides by forcing anyone to do something they are so opposed to.

HAROLD A. SMITH.

JANUARY 30, 1970.

Mr. GARNER SHRIVER,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: As parents & home owners, we would like to voice our opinion on the cross-busing plan proposed for the city of Wichita for our grade school age children.

They have not found a plan for cross-busing acceptable as yet, but it seems to us that we are going to be forced to send our children to the school that the government wants them to go to rather than the neighborhood school.

It doesn't seem like a democracy that tells you that you have no choice & that the voice of the people doesn't count.

We are very much against being forced to send our children to any other school. We are in Minneko Grade School, Coleman Jr. High & Southeast High School.

Thank you for letting us air our opinion. Could you help make the voice of the people count?

Sincerely,

MR. AND MRS. MAX HERZET.

FEBRUARY 2, 1970.

Congressman GARNER SHRIVER,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: The intent of this letter is to inform you that I am opposed to cross busing of Students.

I am however, for the integration of our Schools on a voluntary basis.

Sincerely,

Mrs. CAROLYN S. RATHKE.

WICHITA, KANS.,
February 2, 1970.

Representative GARNER E. SHRIVER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: We wish to take this opportunity to express our view concerning a current problem facing this community. We are, here in the City of Wichita, Kansas, faced with the requirement of H.E.W. to integrate our schools now, and the possibility of cross-busing students to accomplish this, or be faced with court action or the withdrawal of Federal school aid.

We, as parents of two school age children (6 and 8 yrs old), are opposed to compulsory busing of any children, black or white, to achieve integration, but we are not opposed to our children attending classes with black students as they are already doing so. We as taxpayers surely have a right under the Constitution, as do those who are of a minority group have rights, to provide the type of educational system which we decide will best

serve to educate our children and produce leaders of tomorrow for this great country of ours, but it seems that we are gradually becoming subservient to minority rule rather than majority rule as has been the great Democratic way of life in these United States for many years.

Busing of children creates a severe hardship on the people it affects, economically as well as physically, and we favor the neighborhood school concept so we can have an active part in the school-parent relationship which is vital for maximum school achievement, and to have better control over our children's environment and activities. With the growing availability of drugs at all of our schools it is necessary to have as close a surveillance of our children as possible.

We, through taxation, finance the educational system which is already expensive enough, and the proposed alternatives will either be more expensive or some of the programs which are in effect to help the underprivileged will be cancelled because of the withdrawal of Federal funds.

We respectfully request that you contact the necessary Administration officials to assist in a solution to our current controversy, and we prefer to maintain the neighborhood school system.

Very truly yours,

DONALD C. GISICK.

JANUARY 30, 1970.

Representative GARNER SHRIVER,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SHRIVER: We're sure you must be aware of the crisis facing the Wichita School System over the issue of busing and cross-busing to achieve a racial balance in the schools.

We are not against integration. We attended integrated schools ourselves and are trying to raise our children without prejudice. However, we feel that integration should come about by open housing, not by forced busing. We are for the neighborhood school and can't help but think that the biggest share of the Negro parents must feel the same way if they could make their opinions known.

We wonder if, in their effort to push this busing, HEW isn't overlooking the most important thing—our children. We hadn't discussed the busing issue with our children, but they finally learned of it and wanted to know about it. When we tried to explain, our 2nd grader was terribly upset—he didn't want to have to leave his school and his friends. He surely can't be the only one to feel this way! Can you imagine the number of homes in Wichita where there will be this same problem if we are forced to bus our children next year?

We bought our home in this area so that our children could attend this school and we can see nothing fair at all about a system that now says they may not be able to attend this school.

There are many other reasons for our opposition, one of which is the fact of not being at all pleased to think of our children having to stand on a corner in some ghetto area waiting for a bus. We all know what goes on in these areas. What is right about sending elementary children who know nothing of these things into this situation?

The pressure should be taken off our Board of Education. They offered a fine plan to HEW and it was rejected, even though they included extra classes for the Negro children (pre-school and all-day kindergarten) to help them get a head start on their education.

We believe in equal rights and education for all Americans. Fair housing is the proper way, but it is going to take a little time, and in the meantime, our children should not have their rights taken from them.

We urge you to use your influence wherever possible to see that our children are treated fairly and allowed to stay in their own schools and are not forced into this busing situation.

Respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. JAMES F. LAY.

JANUARY 30, 1970.

Mr. GARNER SHRIVER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: This is to inform you of my opinion on cross-busing students of the elementary schools in the Wichita Public Schools; as well as schools across this Nation.

I am not opposed to a combination of black and white children in public schools. I am not opposed to black and white community living. I am opposed to cross busing. Why increase the burden on our children—the neighborhood school concept is a wonderful way of living. Parents can attend PTA and other conferences and meetings. Children take part in extra-curricular activities such as scouts, campfire girls, etc. This is part of our American heritage. Bus children for miles and make them miss the joy of childhood and participation is unfair and unsatisfactory.

Our taxes at the present time are of such magnitude that keeping our standard of living where we enjoy it and prefer it is very difficult now. How about the older people who are semi-retired or retired? Should they be forced out of their homes they own because the taxes are raised again? With cross-busing someone has to pay and it will be costly! This is true in every city in the Nation. The taxpayer (regardless of having school-age children or not) will ultimately foot the bill for cross-busing.

My solution—Please demand the repeal of Section VI of the Civil Rights Bill and preserve our American Heritage of neighborhood schools for elementary children.

Sincerely,

Mrs. EDWARD S. WEBB, JR.

HON. GARNER SHRIVER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SHRIVER: As a parent, an active member of the P.T.A., a room mother, and a den mother I can attest to the great success of the neighborhood school system. I know that through the employment of close personal contact, we are able to generate the vital enthusiasm and energy required to build and maintain an interested, concerned public.

Psychiatrists, theologians, philosophers, and politicians have long warned us of the dangers of alienation in our society; nevertheless, H.E.W. is literally attempting to annihilate our neighborhood school system which remains one of the last bulwarks of personal identity and group unity.

Our neighborhood school system works! It works superlatively, and being an involved parent I want to know that my time and effort will go directly to benefit my children and my immediate community with no vague maybes and no strings!

Please help us save our neighborhood schools.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. FRANCIS L. BOURKE.

FEBRUARY 5, 1970.

Mr. SHRIVER,

SIR: I've heard it said several times that cross-busing is illegal.

I don't know if this is from the bill of rights or civil rights, or where.

Can you advise me?

I want to go on record as being opposed to any kind of school busing.

I suppose I would make an exception where one school is overloaded and another under.

Sincerely,

E. V. PHILLIPS.

Re: Crossbusing at McLean Elementary School, Wichita, Kansas.

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER,
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Last week the McLean PTA board conducted a survey of the parents whose children attend McLean school in regard to the issue of crossbusing.

The attached questionnaire is self-explanatory and was sent to each of the 307 families in the school.

Of the 204 families replying, 194 were opposed to compulsory crossbusing, six were in favor of compulsory crossbusing, and three were undecided. We feel the results of this survey represent the true feelings of the majority of the people regarding crossbusing.

Why are we being led to believe that crossbusing is the answer to the problems that exist in the Wichita school system?

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) MARY LOU MEREDITH,
McLean PTA Board President.

Congressman GARNER SHRIVER: Have you considered the problem of cross-busing in Wichita?

We have tried for years to get good programs such as scouting for our children. If cross-busing goes through it will ruin the scouting program and all other such programs for our youth.

Please sir: Look this situation over and do what you can to help us prevent cross-busing. There has got to be a better way, such as open housing. Consider these children on both sides, it would be so hard on them.

Thank you,

Mrs. GLORIA FORSYTHE.

AMERICAN DESERTERS ATTACK CANADIAN HELPER

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time we hear of the good people of our neighboring Canada, lulled into carelessness by the pro-Red policies of their Trudeau government, aiding and encouraging deserters from the Armed Forces of the United States to enter Canada. At the same time, the leftists here hold out the hope to these sorry excuses for Americans that after awhile the Nation will forget, there will be an amnesty, and they can return home as leftist heroes.

Perhaps the story of a Canadian nurse, playing the Good Samaritan to such cowards in Montreal, should warn our friends in Canada that criminals are criminals—and are dangerous.

I include a pertinent clipping following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
Feb. 20, 1970]

GI DESERTER IS CHARGED

MONTREAL, February 19.—An American army deserter was charged yesterday with the attempted murder of a nurse who of-

fered him and a companion shelter until they got settled in Canada.

Donald E. Delauder, 18, of West Townsend, Mass., was ordered held without bail pending a preliminary hearing Feb. 26 on charges of attempted murder, assault with intent to commit robbery, and causing property damage estimated at \$1,000.

His companion, whose name was withheld, claimed to be 17 years old, and was held pending verification of his claim to juvenile status. He also is an army deserter.

CONGRESSMAN FRANK ANNUNZIO RECEIVES 1970 MAN OF THE YEAR AWARD FROM THE DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, a very distinguished award was bestowed upon a very distinguished colleague.

Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO received the 1970 Man of the Year Award from the Disabled American Veterans at a luncheon held in the Como Inn in Chicago.

Chairman Lou Farina, Cmdr. Les Kolom, Adjutant Robert Boyajian and the officers of the DAV were among those who arranged this high tribute.

FRANK ANNUNZIO has worked unstintingly to bring human dignity to our war veterans. As a member of the Bank and Currency Committee, he was instrumental in seeing that the loan sharks who charged our GI's usurious interest rates were put out of business by the establishment of federally chartered credit unions.

As a member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I can state that FRANK ANNUNZIO has been unwavering in his efforts to get more funding for our VA hospitals; improvement in educational benefits; loans for our veterans; low interest rates on VA mortgages; higher disability compensation and pension benefits; training programs for careers in Government and industry; and working on many other measures that benefit our war veterans.

FRANK ANNUNZIO has spent most of his life being a public servant. He exemplifies the highest virtues of dignity and compassion for his fellow man, working tirelessly to see that this great country which he loves so much is made a better place to live for all, and working endlessly to see that liberty, freedom, and justice prevails in an America founded on the supremacy of law.

And so it is only fitting that a high honor should be bestowed upon FRANK ANNUNZIO by a distinguished organization like the DAV. He embodies those lofty words spoken thousands of years ago by Plutarch:

No man ever asked a favour with less ofence, or conferred one with a better grace. When he gave, it was without assumption; when he received, it was with dignity and honour.

I am including in the RECORD today FRANK ANNUNZIO's speech delivered in acceptance of the highly distinguished award by the DAV:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN FRANK ANNUNZIO, DEMOCRAT, 7TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS, ON RECEIPT OF THE 1970 "MAN OF THE YEAR" AWARD FROM DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS, DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS, BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL CHAPTER No. 47, COMO INN, FEBRUARY 20, 1970

Chairman Lou Farina, Commander Les Kolom, Adjutant Robert Boyajian, distinguished officers and guests of the Disabled American Veterans: I am pleased and honored to be chosen as the 1970 "Man of the Year" by your distinguished veterans organization, and I want to express my sincerest appreciation to all of you for extending this recognition to me. For 50 years the DAV has faithfully served the disabled veterans of America, their widows, their orphans, and their dependents. For 50 years you have helped to maintain the honor, integrity, and supremacy of our country. Your members wear a common badge of chivalry—for each one has been wounded, injured or disabled while serving in the United States armed forces during time of war.

It is with great humility, therefore, that I come before your group today to receive this award, for I am so keenly aware of the sacrifices that each of you has made and of the common bond that has drawn you together in the great cause of helping your fellow veterans.

I have been privileged to join you in this cause since taking office as a Member of Congress almost six years ago. In fact, one of my first official acts was to contact the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and protest the proposed closing of VA hospital facilities. Since that time, I have been in the forefront of the fight to keep VA hospitals and medical care services second to none.

Right here in Illinois we have a million-and-a-half veterans from all wars. Only New York, California and Pennsylvania have more veterans than we do. The bulk of these men are from World War II—861 thousand to be exact. But we also have a new group of veterans who are becoming a large and determining factor in our nation. Illinois has 248 thousand men who have served in the Post-Korean and Viet Nam eras.

And I am proud to say that in the Seventh Congressional District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent, the largest and greatest medical center in the world serving veterans is located. I refer, of course, to the West Side Veterans Administration Hospital which has more than 1,200 employees dedicated not only to healing our veterans, but to doing research aimed at the eventual complete eradication of illness and disease.

In addition to modern medical facilities for our Nation's veterans, I have always supported better educational benefits; home, farm, and business loan assistance for our veterans; keeping the interest rate down at six per cent on VA mortgage loans; higher servicemen's life insurance; opportunities to train for public service, private industry, or a government career; increases in rates for disability compensation and pension benefits; and other measures which would benefit our veterans who have given heroic service in order to protect our liberties and keep America free.

I have recently been in close touch with my Colleague, Honorable Olin E. Teague of Texas, who is the distinguished Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. Under his leadership the Committee recently completed an investigation of the six Illinois Veterans Administration Hospitals, and the results of that investigation are astounding!

(1) Hospital Director Charles M. Turner at VA's Chicago Research 500-bed hospital reported a funding deficiency of approximately \$266,000 for Fiscal Year 1970.

(2) At Chicago's 500-bed West Side Hospital, Director Joseph J. Frankel reported funding deficiencies of more than one and a half million dollars for Fiscal Year 1970.

(3) Director Marvin A. Chapman of the 1,500-bed VA hospital at Danville reported a deficiency of about one million dollars for Fiscal Year 1970.

(4) Dr. William W. Bourke, Director of the VA's largest psychiatric hospital, the 2,487-bed facility at Downey, Illinois, reported a funding deficiency of more than \$217,000 for Fiscal Year 1970.

(5) Dr. Lee H. Schlesinger, Director of the Hines VA Hospital, reported a funding deficiency in excess of \$900,000 to operate his 1500-bed hospital.

(6) L. M. Frazier, Jr., Director of the VA's 176-bed hospital at Marion, Illinois, reported a funding deficiency in Fiscal Year 1970 of more than \$370,000.

All these figures add up to the staggering fact that the six VA hospitals serving Illinois veterans face funding deficiencies in Fiscal Year 1970 of more than four million dollars to operate about 6700 hospital beds serving one and a half million Illinois veterans.

I for one do not intend to sit idly by and allow shortsighted policies to destroy a medical program that is absolutely essential for America's veterans. A veteran returning home from a shooting war, suffering from wounds and service-connected disabilities, should not be expected to fight another war against inflation at the expense of his health. The VA hospital modernization program has been deferred, apparently because of inflation. In 1969, VA appropriations contained no funds at all for new hospital construction. Your distinguished past National Commander, Wayne L. Sheirbon, when he testified before the Veterans' Affairs Committee last year, emphasized that additional delays in construction would further increase the cost of the modernization program because construction costs are rising at the rate of more than ten per cent per year.

As a Member of the Banking and Currency Committee which has jurisdiction over all housing legislation, I am well aware of damage done to our building programs by the inflationary spiral which has gripped our country. I pledge to you, here and now, that I shall continue my vigorous efforts to insure not only passage of the best possible programs for our veterans but also to produce maximum funding for the implementation of these programs.

I also want to tell you that as a Member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I was directly involved in the Congressional investigation and public disclosure which took place of usurious interest rates, as high as 80 per cent, being charged to servicemen on U. S. military installations all over the world. I am happy to inform you that on military installations in Europe, Federally chartered credit unions have already been established and the unscrupulous "juice" operators and loan "sharks" have been eliminated.

I am also happy to report that on my recent visit to the Far East, I found Federally chartered credit unions established in that area of the world and that fraudulent automobile brokers had been put out of business there, too. It is estimated that as a direct result of Congressional investigations in both the European and the Asian Theatre, a racket of more than \$50 million has been broken and servicemen now are free of the "fast buck" operators.

What about the servicemen who have already been bilked out of thousands of dollars? Many of these men have already been discharged from the armed forces and are leading lives as private citizens. I felt strongly that the government was liable for the losses sustained by these servicemen, because

the Department of Defense, until our Congressional investigation took place, refused to take action against the companies involved in charging usurious interest rates to our servicemen. Therefore, in 1968 I introduced legislation that would allow repayments out of the U. S. Treasury to the servicemen who had already been bilked by these "fast buck" operators. I have just completed revision of the list of names of servicemen who had been bilked, and last Monday I reintroduced my bill with the additional names included. I am hopeful that the Banking and Currency Committee will take early actions on my measure so that these veterans can be reimbursed for their losses. The DAV has always stood for unwavering allegiance to America and over the years has held aloft the torch of true patriotism. That is why I am going to speak very frankly to your group this afternoon.

Today, in America, we are faced with many people in our society who are sick. They are mentally frustrated. There is a jealousy that is permeating our society. There is a materialism that is permeating our society. If we do not become aware of those who are spreading hate and prejudice, then these people will destroy those very liberties that are so sacred to all of us.

As Americans, regardless of race, color, creed, or nationality, we have a responsibility to maintain a society that will serve the needs and wants of all of our people in a democratic fashion. We must achieve this, just as our forefathers after the Revolutionary War, through the legislative and democratic processes, established a form of government in which the best interests of all the people were served.

In order to preserve our country, we must have law and order in the cities of America. We cannot allow people to seize control, as they do in totalitarian states. It is the obligation of every man and woman to understand the social needs of our time and the social ills of our time. As citizens of the greatest democracy on earth, we must understand these problems and meet these responsibilities.

Too many of our people are joining those who are causing destruction—not by physical means, but with their tongues and their propaganda. They speak evil of their fellow man and they shun their responsibility to understand the problems of their fellow Americans. Everybody seems to be taking delight in spreading vicious propaganda and lies about their elected public officials. There is no question that some of these public officials are misusing the trust placed in them, and we ought to expose those who are misusing this trust. On the other hand, it is our responsibility as Americans to extol and to praise the remaining 99.99 per cent of our decent, hard-working public servants who are serving the people in their towns, their cities, their states, and their country with honesty and dedication.

When we destroy our public officials, we destroy the very foundation of our democratic society. It is your responsibility, and my responsibility, as Americans, to praise the good that is done. We have too little praise in the press, television and radio for those who are doing a good job.

The preamble to the DAV constitution begins with the inspiring words—"For God and Nation." So today I am challenging you who have already given so much to our beloved America to work together in order to stop these people who are spreading hate, who are gossip-mongers, who are using the guilt-by-association technique, and who are spreading insinuations and vicious lies. The people who are using this technique are attempting to divide us as Americans and to ultimately destroy us. They are causing great harm, causing whites to hate blacks, and black people to hate white people, turning nationality against nationality, Jews against gentiles. All of this must stop. We are all

Americans. We all love our country and all of us must protect our free institutions and our great heritage of freedom. This war at home must be won if we are to restore understanding, tranquility, and love for each other.

Again, I thank all of you for extending this recognition to me, and I wish all of you Godspeed in the years ahead as you continue to serve our deserving veterans and a grateful Nation.

Thank you.

1732—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1970
WE NEED YOU

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. Latta. Mr. Speaker, a Bethesda man, Ralph Brown, has written a commendable piece on the Father of our Country, which I am pleased to insert in the Record in order that my colleagues and others may read it:

1732—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1970 WE NEED YOU

Up to a half century ago everyone knew who George Washington was. Parson Weems and the cherry tree episode helped instill honesty in our little noggins, and love of country was the guiding principle taught at home and in school. The picture of Washington praying at Valley Forge was proof that no law prohibited worship in school either. We thanked God in our own way and followed the precepts of the great man whose picture adorned every classroom. That was a long, long time ago.

The other day we asked a group of youngsters about Washington and one lad wanted to know what channel he was on. But to a youngster in Indiana fifty years ago, Washington was the nation's original hero, boy and man, who carved his way from cherry tree to first president. He fought his way through the British, crossed the Delaware, starved through the terrible winter at Valley Forge and won the war at Yorktown.

This was the simple faith of all Americans in the bygone days and these simple faiths sustained us and guided us because George Washington was real. America was real. We knew who we were and where we were going. A look at what has been accomplished by Americans in such a short span of years proves that we got there—further and faster and better than any country in the history of civilization making our citizens the most envied people in the world.

When we look at some of the confusion surrounding much of the atmosphere these days, we yearn for recall of the notions that grew up around the memory of Washington. They are not as corny as a lot of agitators would have us believe. The self-appointed sophisticates never had to face the scourge of Valley Forge nor cross an icebound Delaware. They accept liberty as a right while assuming no responsibility for duty.

It is difficult to match Washington's greatness against today's standards: he might even be different in viewpoint, but as a man, he would have been the same; this same man of destiny he proved to be in 1776 when we faced our most crucial period. Then, one man stood tall to lead us out of the wilderness of despair. No man, before or since, has ever come nearer meeting and conquering the challenge of such a crisis than did George Washington.

Rightly have we called him our greatest American. The principles and ideals for which he stood, tho battered and torn by enemies foreign and domestic, have survived and are the envy of the world. The keystone

of our government and its ethical standards are as sound today as when he established them two hundred years ago.

We might dust off the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington and put it back on every classroom wall to remind us of our great inheritance and help prepare today's youth to combat the enemies of America who keep whittling away at the foundations of this great heritage we are privileged to call home.

Indeed, George Washington, we need you!

ABANDONED CARS

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, on December 8, 1969, in this Chamber, I expressed my concern, as I have done on many occasions before, over the sad state of our environment. In my remarks I sought to call attention to the contamination of our lakes and streams and the infringements on our open spaces, and the pollution of the air we breathe. I stated at that time that we must begin at once, a massive, all-out war if we are to turn back slime and foul air, litter, and revitalize our once majestic landscape. Following up on those earlier remarks I am pleased to state today that the first of many related proposals I intend to introduce in the coming months, aimed at improving the quality of our surroundings, will be introduced this week. This proposal will deal with the problem of abandoned automobiles.

America is truly a nation on wheels. Today there are over 86 million cars in use on our streets and highways, and the trend is ever upward. We are fortunate to be able to afford the enjoyment and convenience of automobile travel. The number of cars owned by our citizens is unprecedented in history and stands as a measure of our technological greatness as a nation. But as the size of our auto population grows the number of vehicles becoming unusable and left abandoned also grows, and the Nation that relies on and loves the automobile is about to be overwhelmed by a proliferation of rusting hulks.

Here are the dimensions of the problem. Over the past several years 6 to 9 million automobiles per year have been worn out and rendered useless for transportation. Many of these overage vehicles have been picked up, stripped of usable parts, processed to remove impurities, and then melted down to make new steel products.

However, large numbers of cars have not been consumed for steelmaking, but rather, have been abandoned on city streets or strewn across the countryside as a less attractive measure of our national prosperity. Fully 10 to 15 percent of all no longer driveable autos, as many as 2,500 every single day, are being discarded yearly. The result is an uncounted backlog of these rusted, unprocessed hulks which dot the landscape.

At the same time, because of prevailing conditions in the industry, many worn out cars—10 to 20 million according to one estimate—which are hauled away, are piling up in auto graveyards

around the Nation and are not being reduced to usable scrap. Mountains of junk are rising on the outskirts of our cities. And yet, incredibly, all of this old metal is valuable. It is needed. We can put it to very good use.

A processed auto body used to make new steel substitutes for 1.5 tons of iron ore, 1 ton of coke, and 1 ton of limestone, all nonreplaceable national resources. Presently, the steel industry consumes 77 million tons of scrap steel each year. By 1980 the industry will require more than 100 million tons of scrap a year. The hundreds of thousands of cars now being left to corrode and spoil our open spaces can easily be absorbed into industrial use, and we can clean up the countryside if we take action along the lines I shall propose.

There are two problem areas which require immediate attention. First, large numbers of cars have been left to rust in remote areas. Transportation of these carcasses over long distances to processing points is expensive and unprofitable and this accounts for many of the unretrieved bulks around the country. It costs too much to go out and get them.

Second, industrial requirements call for scrap that is relatively pure and free of the many nonsteel materials such as fabric, plastics, glass, copper, and rubber goods which are present in today's cars. Expensive handling procedures with modern, high-priced equipment are required to prepare wrecked vehicles for reconversion. Many processors have been unable to purchase the needed equipment and so heaps of wrecked autos have been accumulating in junkyards throughout the land.

Others who formerly did away with impurities by burning them now find their activities restricted by local anti-pollution laws banning open burning. As a result many processors with bulging inventories of old cars are turning away owners seeking to dispose of worn out vehicles, thereby increasing the number of cars being abandoned on vacant lots, at service stations, in open fields and woodlands.

We must take action to deal with ever growing numbers of abandoned cars. We need an innovative program to assure that worn out vehicles are removed from the countryside and recycled back into the steelmaking process. With this aim in mind I will be introducing in the next few days, a bill to provide assistance to the States in retrieving abandoned automobiles and processing them for scrap.

My bill will offer Federal financial aid to the States to administer programs to remove abandoned cars from public thoroughfares and remote rural areas. Under this plan Federal guidelines are to be established to spell out requirements for State participation. The guidelines will include requirements for easing auto title and lien restrictions and for enacting and enforcing antiabandonment statutes, two significant obstacles to improving the present situation. State applications for aid in accordance with the guidelines may include either assistance for State-operated pickup programs, or for contracts with private operators to remove abandoned vehicles.

The aid program is to be financed by earmarking for abandoned auto removal 1 percent of the annual revenues derived from the Federal automobile excise tax. Last year revenues from this 7 percent tax on new car purchases amounted to \$1.9 billion. Setting aside just 1 percent of that figure, \$19 million, will finance the removal of almost 2 million cars each year, based on an estimate of \$10 per car. This estimate is in line with the experience of a program now underway in one of the States. At \$10 per car, \$19 million not only would facilitate the hauling away of all of each year's crop of newly discarded vehicles, but would make a significant start on reducing the vast junk car backlog as well.

In addition this bill will offer rapid amortization benefits to scrap processors who purchase modern, more effective equipment with which to reduce old cars to usable scrap. Efficient, expanded capacity is badly needed, but is presently beyond the reach of many processors. Installations of required equipment such as shredders, hammer mills, magnetic separators, and nonpolluting burning pits may cost as much as \$2 million.

For this program to succeed there must be sufficient processing capacity. Rapid amortization for purchasers of up-to-date auto scrap processing equipment represents a valid and necessary incentive to assure that adequate disposal capacity will be available to handle the large numbers of cars to be retrieved by the pickup program.

With an assist from my bill, industry capacity would increase greatly. Operators would be able to reach out for about-to-be abandoned cars before they are scattered across the land. Within a few years the huge accumulation of junk could be shrunk to nothing. The ultimate goal would be a smooth flow of old cars back to steelmaking facilities without intermediate stops on city streets, junkyard stockpiles, or the woods off a country road.

The bill will be a balanced, flexible, easy to administer plan to assist the States, which lack the resources to carry on this badly needed program. The funding aspects of this approach are consistent with proposals currently being advanced to deal with other pollution and waste-processing problems. Under this approach, the existing auto excise tax becomes a fair and equitable user tax. A small part of taxes already being paid by new car purchasers would be used to guarantee funding for the clean-up program.

At a small cost the plan I have outlined would remove rusting eyesores from the countryside, reduce air pollution levels by helping to eliminate open burning, save natural resources, and lower the cost of producing basic steel. All of these benefits can result from a concerted effort to put an end to the wasteful and ugly practice of littering the Nation with unwanted automobiles.

It is time for action. Americans want a cleaner America. We want a country free from trash and smoke, a nation of clear lakes and rivers, of uncluttered roadways and unspoiled wilderness. The Nation which sent three of its own to the moon in the sixties is ready to clean up

its own landscape in the seventies. We are ready to move ahead in this struggle to make America what we all want it to be. America the beautiful.

PRESENTATION OF JAMES FORRESTAL TROPHY TO 3-57(L) NAVAL RESERVE SURFACE DIVISION OF BUFFALO, N.Y.

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on January 9, of this year, I was privileged to participate in the program in which the James Forrestal Trophy for Naval Reserve efficiency was presented to the 3-57(L) Naval Reserve Surface Division of Buffalo, N.Y. The Forrestal Trophy is given each year to the division which has the most outstanding efficiency record among the 148 Naval Reserve Large Service Divisions in the competition. I am very proud of the 3-57th and extend my heartiest congratulations to Comdr. P. R. Lucci and his men for their outstanding achievements.

The trophy was presented by the Honorable James D. Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, who made the following remarks:

REMARKS BY HON. JAMES D. HITTLE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (MANPOWER AND RESERVE AFFAIRS), AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE JAMES FORRESTAL TROPHY TO NAVAL RESERVE SURFACE DIVISION 3-57(L), BUFFALO, N.Y., JANUARY 9, 1970

It is a genuine pleasure for me to be here tonight because it is my privilege to make the presentation of the James Forrestal Trophy to Naval Reserve Surface Division Three Fifty Seven. At this point I want to convey to you the greetings of President Nixon, Secretary of Defense Laird, and Secretary of the Navy Chafee. They are aware of this presentation ceremony and they send congratulations to the personnel of Surface Division Three Fifty Seven.

I think that it is very important that those of us here realize the very real significance of this trophy and what it means. The James Forrestal Trophy was first presented to the Naval Reserve after World War II. It was established in an effort to put the Naval Reserve Surface Divisions in close competition with each other.

The trophy was presented to the Navy Department in 1948 by the Reserve Officers of the Naval Service who later that same year merged with the Reserve Officers Association. It has been presented to the winning Large Surface Division each year since then, except 1950 when competition was temporarily suspended.

Your first place standing among all the other Large Surface Divisions throughout the country, 148 in number, is truly an outstanding achievement. In looking to see how Division Three Fifty Seven accomplished this, I was glad to learn that while leading all other contenders in the seven areas of competition, which include advancement, strength and attendance, the two areas that were truly excelled in were the areas of reenlistment and volunteers for re-call to active duty. These two areas are of immense importance to the Navy as a whole. Reenlistment, because this gives stability and increased readiness to the Reserve; and volunteer re-call, because this supports the active Navy with a

source of skilled personnel otherwise unobtainable.

The success that you have earned and that is being recognized tonight is a result of efforts of each of you, in Division Three Fifty Seven, and in the support that you have received from the Training Center and its staff. Every officer and man shares in the responsibility and in the glory. This trophy would not be here tonight if each of you had not put forth needed extra effort. And let's not forget the other ingredient of success that so often goes unrecognized when men are being recognized for achievement. That is, the wives, mothers and girl friends who understood and supported their men in their efforts instead of objecting to the time spent on drills and training duty.

This trophy is particularly meaningful because of the person whose name it bears—the late James Forrestal. He was Secretary of the Navy and became the first Secretary of Defense. James Forrestal was indeed a man in whom were combined the characteristics of personal leadership, great intellect, abundant common sense, and a rare understanding of sea power, and particularly the kind of sea power the United States needs to remain secure.

It was because of his understanding of the kind of sea power our nation needs that James Forrestal placed such great emphasis upon what he referred to as "The Balance Fleet". He used this term to characterize the type of U.S. naval power that emerged from the great naval campaigns of World War II. It was the kind of U.S. naval power that had been achieved by no other nation in all history. It is a naval power based on the integration of surface ships, submarines, carriers with their aircraft, and Fleet Marine Corps landing forces.

Each of these elements contributed to the strength, mobility, and combat versatility of U.S. naval power. And because of their organizational integration into the fleet, the sum total of their combat effectiveness is far greater than the simple mathematical total of the individual parts.

But James Forrestal knew something else that was very important. He knew the importance of a strong, vigorous, and energetic Naval Reserve. He took a lead in establishing the organizational pattern of the Naval Reserve. The basic concept of the role of the Naval Reserve and the Regular Navy within the Department of the Navy is known, and properly so, as the "Forrestal Principle". That is the principle of One Navy; a concept of a Reserve that is a partner of the regular establishment, and it is this same principle under which we are still operating today. I can assure you that the Forrestal principle is recognized, and moreover, being adhered to within the Department of the Navy today.

So, I think you will agree with me that it is highly appropriate that this annual award for Naval Reserve efficiency should bear the name of James Forrestal who so well understood the need for the Naval Reserve as an integral part of the kind of American sea power we know is vital to the protection of our nation.

I know that we have all heard the out-of-town speaker say that he brings the greetings of some high official and I suspect that you have taken my previous statement of conveying greetings from Washington with a certain degree of skepticism. But I want to let you know that the greetings I said I convey are not empty amenities. At this time it is my privilege to read to you, and particularly to those of you of Surface Division Three Fifty Seven, the following letter.

Comdr. P. LUCCI,
Buffalo Club,
Buffalo, N.Y.

Deeply regret that official business abroad keeps me from attending dinner and Forrestal Trophy Award ceremony at the Buf-

falo Club. Please convey my sincere congratulations to Assistant Secretary Hittle, who continues to be a vigorous force for leadership and wisdom in the United States Department of the Navy. I trust this voice will continue to be heard and help guide our Nation in the challenging and crucial years ahead. Regards to all present.

JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senate.

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., January 8, 1970.

Comdr. P. R. LUCCI,
USNR, Commanding Officer, Naval Reserve Surface Division 3-57(L), U.S. Naval and Marine Corps Reserve Training Center, Three Porter Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y.

DEAR COMMANDER LUCCI: I want to take this opportunity to extend to you and your members of Surface Unit 3-57(L) my official and personal congratulations upon the award, this evening, to your Unit of the James Forrestal Trophy.

The significance of this award cannot be overestimated. It is an appropriate recognition of the fact that the Surface Unit 3-57(L) has been the leader among large Surface Units in the U.S. Naval Reserves in overall efficiency, which includes advancement, recruiting, re-enlisting, and all of those many things that contribute to sea-going combat ability and the contribution which Naval power in turn makes to our national security.

The record which Surface Unit 3-57(L) has made during the past year is one which you, as the Commanding Officer, and all of the personnel of your unit can be justifiably proud. The Unit's record, on which the award of the Forrestal Trophy is based, sets a high standard for all other Naval Reserve Units to emulate, and I am confident, also, that the Unit will continue to maintain the high standards which it has so clearly established.

I would deeply appreciate it if you would convey, for me, to All Hands of your unit, the traditional Naval recognition of duty properly performed—"Well Done."

Sincerely,

MELVIN LAIRD.

ISRAEL MUST NOT BE LEFT TO STAND ALONE

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Arab commando group which boasted responsibility for the in-air destruction of the Swiss jetliner bound for Israel Saturday, are premeditated, barbaric, murdering animals. Will time ever erase from memory the grief pictured in the faces of weeping families at Israel's Lydda Airport when they were told there were no survivors.

U.S. citizens were on that plane of which Abou Marlam boasted, and later retracted, credit for destroying. Precious lives, dear to Americans.

What about it Beirut, Lebanon and Amman, Jordan? Will you sanction such atrocities and the cold fury they engender, or will you cooperate in making deterrent examples of those monstrous killers?

To capitulate to terrorism is beneath the character of free nations. Whether air service or people service, Israel must not be left to stand alone.

RESULTS OF SURVEY ON STUDENT UNREST IN THE NATION'S HIGH SCHOOLS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Subcommittee on General Education has completed an exhaustive survey on student unrest in American high schools. It is part of our committee's continuing investigation of the impact of Federal aid in American education.

A total of 15,086 high school principals responded to a comprehensive questionnaire which had been mailed to all of the Nation's 29,000 high schools.

The survey of student unrest activity

in the Nation's high schools was conducted as part of the subcommittee's overall study of the educational needs of the 1970's.

Results of the comprehensive questionnaire returns were tabulated for the subcommittee by the Division of Computer Research and Technology of the National Institutes of Health.

It is my hope that results of this thorough survey will help educators, social scientists, school administrators, as well as students themselves evaluate the nature and extent of student unrest. I am certain there is a wealth of information for social scientists to study in this survey.

The survey categorized schools by city, suburb and rural areas. It also went into detail on ethnic composition, ethnic increases, family income, degree of stu-

dent protest, and principal causes for such protest activity.

The survey included responses from principals in public, private, and parochial schools.

It showed what actions school administrators had taken to resolve problems leading to protest.

Mr. Speaker, the Library of Congress had researched for us previous surveys on student unrest, including Dr. Alan Westin's study at Columbia University. The largest previous survey of principals covered 1,900 randomly selected. Most previous studies covered much smaller urban or regional areas, and concentrated on newspaper articles about protests that have reached the proportions of newsworthy items. I believe our study here is the most complete to date. Results of the survey follow:

**SURVEY OF AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS, 1968-69 ACADEMIC YEAR
COMPARATIVE FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES**

[Number of U.S. high schools: 29,000 (approximately); number of high schools responding: 15,086; number of responding high schools that experienced student protest: 2,710 (18 percent of 15,086) number of responding high schools reporting 1 or more "riots" as protest activity: 149 (1 percent of total); number of high schools reporting significant increase in ethnic enrollment over past 5 years: 3,008 (20 percent of total); number of high schools reporting significant increase in ethnic enrollment that experienced protest: 788 (26 percent of 3,008); number of public city high schools with significant ethnic enrollment increase that experienced protest: 400; number of high schools with significant ethnic enrollment increase reporting "riots" as protest activity: 53 (36 percent of 149)]

| All schools responding (15,086) | | City public schools with significant increase in ethnic enrollment in last 5 years that experienced protest activity (400) | Schools reporting riots (149) | All schools responding (15,086) | | City public schools with significant increase in ethnic enrollment in last 5 years that experienced protest activity (400) | Schools reporting riots (149) |
|---|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|---|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Location of school: | | | | | | | |
| 25 percent, city | 100 percent, city | 70 percent, city | | 9. Protest planned in advance: | | | |
| 20 percent, suburb | | 21 percent suburb. | | 52 percent, yes | 74 percent, yes | 77 percent, yes. | |
| 54 percent, rural town | | 9 percent, rural town. | | 48 percent, no | 24 percent, no | 21 percent, no. | |
| 2. Enrollment: | | | | | | | |
| 68 percent, less than 1,000. | 21 percent, less than 1,000. | 22 percent, less than 1,000. | | 10. Percentage of students participating: | | | |
| 23 percent, 1,000 to 2,000. | 48 percent, 1,000 to 2,000. | 43 percent, 1,000 to 2,000. | | 59 percent, less than 5 percent of students. | 52 percent, less than 5 percent of students. | 46 percent, less than 5 percent of students. | |
| 6 percent, 2,000 to 3,000. | 19 percent, 2,000 to 3,000. | 22 percent, to 3,000. | | 19 percent, 5 to 10 percent of students. | 23 percent, 5 to 10 percent of students. | 24 percent, 5 to 10 percent of students (36). | |
| 2 percent, over 3,000. | 13 percent, over 3,000. | 11 percent, over 3,000. | | 10 percent, 10 to 25 percent of students. | 12 percent, 10 to 25 percent of students. | 15 percent, 10 to 25 percent of students (22). | |
| 3. Family mean income: | | | | | | | |
| 6 percent, less than \$3,000. | 6 percent, less than \$3,000. | 5 percent, less than \$3,000. | | 4 percent, 25 to 50 percent of students. | 7 percent, 25 to 50 percent of students. | 7 percent, 25 to 50 percent of students (10). | |
| 30 percent, \$3,000 to \$5,000. | 33 percent, \$3,000 to \$5,000. | 31 percent, \$3,000 to \$5,000. | | 2 percent, over 50 percent of students. | 2 percent, over 50 percent of students. | 2 percent, over 50 percent of students (2). | |
| 49 percent, \$5,000 to \$10,000. | 53 percent, \$5,000 to \$10,000. | 48 percent, \$5,000 to \$10,000. | | 11. Number of injuries in protest: | | | |
| 8 percent, \$10,000 to \$15,000. | 6 percent, \$10,000 to \$15,000. | 10 percent, \$10,000 to \$15,000. | | 91 percent none | 76 percent none | 33 percent none. | |
| 3 percent, \$15,000 and above. | 0.05 percent, \$15,000 and above. | 0, \$15,000 and over. | | 4 percent, 1 to 5 (133 schools). | 11 percent, 1 to 5 | 33 percent, 1 to 5. | |
| 4a. Composition of student population: | | | | | | | |
| 93 percent, white American. | 91 percent, white American. | 86 percent, white American. | | 3 percent, 5 to 10 (53 schools). | 4 percent, 5 to 10 | 16 percent, 5 to 10. | |
| 34 percent, black American. | 88 percent, black American. | 86 percent, black American. | | 1 percent, 10 to 25 (36 schools). | 2 percent, 10 to 25 | 7 percent, 10 to 25. | |
| 14 percent, Mexican American. | 28 percent, Mexican American. | 31 percent, Mexican American. | | 1 percent, over 25 (37 schools). | 4 percent, over 25 | 7 percent, over 25. | |
| 7 percent, Oriental American. | 23 percent, oriental American. | 27 percent, oriental American. | | 12. Property damage resulting from protest: | | | |
| 4 percent, Puerto Rican American. | 21 percent, Puerto Rican American. | 19 percent, Puerto Rican American. | | 91 percent, less than \$100. | 73 percent, less than \$100 | 55 percent, less than \$100. | |
| 7 percent, American Indian. | 9 percent, American Indian. | 13 percent, American Indian. | | 3 percent, \$100 to \$500. | 11 percent, \$100 to \$500 | 22 percent, \$100 to \$500. | |
| 4b. Predominant ethnic enrollment: | | | | | | | |
| 84 percent, white American. | 66 percent, white American. | 64 percent, white American. | | 1 percent, \$500 to \$1,000. | 2 percent, \$500 to \$1,000 | 8 percent, \$500 to \$1,000. | |
| 8 percent, black American. | 28 percent, black American. | 26 percent, black American. | | 0.05 percent, over \$1,000 (28 schools). | 3 percent, over \$1,000 (12 schools). | 10 percent, over \$1,000 (14 schools). | |
| 3 percent, Mexican American. | 3 percent, Mexican American. | 5 percent, Mexican American. | | 13. Police called as a result of protest: | | | |
| 0.36 percent, Oriental American. | 0.25 percent, oriental American. | 0.67 percent, oriental American. | | 24 percent, yes | 50 percent, yes | 83 percent, yes (124 schools). | |
| 0.50 percent, Puerto Rican American. | 2 percent, Puerto Rican American. | 1 percent, Puerto Rican American. | | 76 percent, no | 47 percent, no | 12 percent, no. | |
| 0.97 percent, American Indian. | 0.75 percent, American Indian. | 0, American Indian. | | 14. Tactics of student protest: | | | |
| 5. Description of school: | | | | | | | |
| 85 percent, public | 100 percent public | 97 percent, public. | | 15 percent, boycott (424 schools). | 32 percent, boycott (129 schools). | 41 percent, boycott (62 schools). | |
| 8 percent, private | | 0.67 percent, private (1 school). | | 17 percent, strike (473 schools). | 29 percent, strike (116 schools). | 30 percent, strike (46 schools). | |
| 6. Significant ethnic enrollment increase in past 5 years: | | | | | | | |
| 6 percent, parochial | | 0, parochial. | | 1 percent, riot (149 schools). | 13 percent, riot (53 schools) | 100 percent, riot. | |
| 20 percent, yes (3,008) | 100 percent, yes | 56 percent, yes. | | 22 percent, sit-in (583 schools). | 22 percent, sit-in (88 schools) | 27 percent, sit-in (41 schools). | |
| 79 percent, no | | 41 percent, no. | | 27 percent, underground newspapers (754). | 24 percent, underground newspapers (99 schools). | 34 percent, underground news (51). | |
| 7. Protest activity 1968-69: | | | | | | | |
| 18 percent, yes (2,710) | 100 percent, yes | 100 percent, yes. | | 46 percent, other tactics (1,254 schools). | 40 percent, other tactics (160 schools). | 23 percent, other tactics (35). | |
| 78 percent, no | | | | 15. Issues involved in protest: | | | |
| 8. Number of protests: | | | | | | | |
| 68 percent, 1 | 53 percent, 1 (212 schools) | 34 percent, 1. | | 18 percent, curriculum policy (487). | 25 percent, curriculum policy (102). | 34 percent, curriculum policy (52). | |
| 20 percent, 2 | 26 percent, 2 (102 schools) | 30 percent, 2. | | 33 percent, dress codes (913). | 22 percent, dress codes (91) | 16 percent, dress codes (25). | |
| 8 percent, 3 | 11 percent, 3 (42 schools) | 18 percent, 3. | | 15 percent, student political organizations (410). | 22 percent, student political organizations (88). | 34 percent, student political organizations (51). | |
| 1 percent, 4 (24 schools) | 2 percent, 4 (7 schools) | 4 percent, 4. | | 34 percent, general disciplinary rules (941). | 31 percent, general disciplinary rules (126). | 48 percent, general disciplinary rules (73). | |
| 3 percent, 5 or more (83 schools). | 6 percent, 5 or more (23 schools). | 12 percent, 5 or more (17 schools). | | 18 percent, teachers or principals (489). | 20 percent, teachers or principals (80). | 36 percent, teachers or principals (55). | |

| City public schools with significant increase in ethnic enrollment in last 5 years that experienced protest activity (400) | | | City public schools with significant increase in ethnic enrollment in last 5 years that experienced protest activity (400) | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| All schools responding (15,086) | Schools reporting riots (149) | Schools reporting riots (149) | All schools responding (15,086) | Schools reporting riots (149) | Schools reporting riots (149) |
| 24 percent, school services and facilities (671). | 28 percent, school services and facilities (115). | 33 percent, school services and facilities (45). | 21. Protest leaders rank academically in: | 10 percent, top 1/3 of class. | 5 percent, top 1/3 of class. |
| 9 percent, outside speakers (246). | 11 percent, outside speakers (47). | 22 percent, outside speakers (34). | 21 percent, top 1/3 of class. | 17 percent, middle 1/3. | 11 percent, middle 1/3. |
| 44 percent, other issues (1,198). | 50 percent, other issues (199). | 48 percent, other issues (73). | 17 percent, middle 1/3. | 25 percent, lower 1/3. | 38 percent, lower 1/3. |
| 16. Racial issues involved in protest: | | | 37 percent, cross section of above. | 37 percent, cross section of above. | 36 percent, cross section of above. |
| 30 percent, yes (803 schools). | 59 percent, yes (237 schools). | 83 percent, yes. | 22. Action taken to resolve protest: | | |
| 70 percent, no. | 36 percent, no. | 15 percent, no. | 44 percent, appointed faculty-student committees. | 50 percent, appointed faculty-student committees. | 60 percent, appointed faculty-student committees. |
| 17. Specific racial issues: ¹ | | | 27 percent, meetings with parents. | 43 percent, meetings with parents. | 25 percent, meetings with parents. |
| 25 percent, percentage of teachers, etc. from minority groups. | 35 percent, percentage of teachers, etc. from minority groups. | 31 percent, percentage of teachers, etc. from minority group. | 15 percent, meetings with minority groups. | 30 percent, meetings with minority groups. | 50 percent, meeting with minority groups. |
| 34 percent, ethnic studies programs. | 37 percent, ethnic studies programs. | 39 percent, ethnic studies programs. | 40 percent, alter various school rules. | 38 percent, alter various school rules. | 55 percent, alter various school rules. |
| 99 percent, other issues. | 83 percent, other issues. | 85 percent, other issues. | 5 percent, approve student political organizations or underground newspapers. | 6 percent, approve student political organizations or underground newspapers. | 13 percent, approve student political organizations or underground newspapers. |
| 18. Issues outside school policy: ² | | | 27 percent, other actions taken. | 29 percent, other actions taken. | 36 percent, other actions taken. |
| 22 percent, yes. | 30 percent, yes. | 33 percent, yes. | 23. Protest activity anticipated in 1969-70 school year: ³ | | |
| 78 percent, no. | 62 percent, no. | 62 percent, no. | 43 percent, yes (1,172 schools). | 51 percent, yes. | 65 percent, yes. |
| 19. Nonstudents involved in protest: | | | 51 percent, no. | 42 percent, no. | 28 percent, no. |
| 31 percent, yes (865 schools). | 51 percent, yes (201 schools). | 72 percent, yes (107 schools). | 6 percent, declined to respond. | 3 percent, declined to respond. | 7 percent, declined to respond. |
| 69 percent, no. | 45 percent, no. | 25 percent, no. | Protest activity anticipated in 1969-70 school year: ⁴ | | |
| 20. If nonstudents, they were— | | | 14 percent, yes. | | |
| 43 percent, college students. | 34 percent, college students. | 46 percent, college students. | 53 percent, no. | | |
| 49 percent, high school dropouts. | 58 percent, high school dropouts. | 77 percent, high school dropouts. | 28 percent, declined to respond. | | |
| 56 percent, members of community organizations. | 66 percent, members of community organizations. | 67 percent, members of community organizations. | | | |
| 28 percent, teachers. | 19 percent, teachers. | 22 percent, teachers. | | | |
| 32 percent, parents. | 31 percent, parents. | 34 percent, parents. | | | |
| 30 percent, others. | 28 percent, others. | 46 percent, others. | | | |

¹ Percentages are based on number of schools responding "yes" to questions 16 and 19.
² Percentage based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 7.
³ Percentages based on number of schools responding "Yes" to question 7.
⁴ Percentages based on total number of high schools responding.

Note: In this survey, percentages exceeding 100 percent indicate multiple response; percentages less than 100 percent indicate no response; numbers in parentheses are actual schools represented by percentages. Questions 8 through 16 are based on numbers of schools responding "yes" to question 7. Percentages in questions 18, 21, and 22 are also based on schools responding "yes" to question 7. Percentages in question 17 are based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 16. Percentages in question 20 are based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 19.

RESPONSE TO HIGH SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE SELECTED URBAN AREAS¹

| | Metropolitan Chicago | | Metropolitan Cleveland | | Metropolitan Detroit | | Metropolitan Los Angeles | | Metropolitan New York City | | Metropolitan San Francisco | | Metropolitan St. Louis | |
|---|----------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number |
| 1. Total number schools responding | 78 | | 42 | | 48 | | 43 | | 185 | | 24 | | 47 | |
| 2. Enrollment: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than 1,000 | 41 | | 43 | | 54 | | 26 | | 38 | | 54 | | 68 | |
| 1,000 to 2,000 | 26 | | 43 | | 29 | | 28 | | 37 | | 33 | | 9 | |
| 2,000 to 3,000 | 21 | | 7 | | 8 | | 5 | | 8 | | 8 | | 17 | |
| Over 3,000 | 12 | | 7 | | 8 | | 21 | | 15 | | 4 | | 6 | |
| 3. Family mean income: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than \$3,000 | 4 | | 2 | | 2 | | 2 | | 9 | | 8 | | 6 | |
| \$3,000 to \$5,000 | 22 | | 19 | | 19 | | 35 | | 18 | | 17 | | 17 | |
| \$5,000 to \$10,000 | 56 | | 43 | | 63 | | 51 | | 48 | | 58 | | 40 | |
| \$10,000 to \$15,000 | 6 | | 6 | | 10 | | 9 | | 13 | | 4 | | 23 | |
| \$15,000 and above | 8 | | 10 | | 0 | | 2 | | 8 | | 8 | | 13 | |
| 4A. Approximate composition student body: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White American | 82 | | 83 | | 90 | | 67 | | 91 | | 92 | | 96 | |
| Black American | 65 | | 55 | | 65 | | 77 | | 67 | | 71 | | 51 | |
| Mexican American | 32 | | 0 | | 27 | | 72 | | 1 | | 58 | | 2 | |
| Oriental American | 18 | | 5 | | 20 | | 42 | | 21 | | 63 | | 4 | |
| Puerto Rican American | 29 | | 7 | | 6 | | 5 | | 54 | | 21 | | 0 | |
| American Indian | 6 | | 5 | | 8 | | 12 | | 2 | | 17 | | 0 | |
| 4B. Predominant ethnic enrollment: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White American | 68 | | 71 | | 60 | | 47 | | 70 | | 63 | | 85 | |
| Black American | 27 | | 29 | | 31 | | 30 | | 11 | | 25 | | 13 | |
| Mexican American | 1 | | 0 | | 4 | | 19 | | 0 | | 4 | | 0 | |
| Oriental American | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Puerto Rican American | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 12 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| American Indian | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | .05 | | 4 | | 0 | |
| 5. Description of school: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public | 47 | 37 | 67 | 28 | 54 | 26 | 79 | 33 | 55 | 102 | 46 | 11 | 43 | 20 |
| Private | 26 | 2 | 19 | 8 | 17 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 25 | 47 | 21 | 5 | 36 | 17 |
| Parochial | 27 | 2 | 12 | 5 | 29 | 14 | 15 | 7 | 19 | 36 | 33 | 8 | 21 | 10 |
| 6. Significant increase in ethnic enrollment in last 5 years: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 51 | 41 | 29 | 12 | 42 | 20 | 58 | 25 | 44 | 82 | 54 | 13 | 32 | 15 |
| No | 49 | | 70 | | 58 | | 42 | | 56 | | 46 | | 68 | |
| 7. Protest activity in 1968-69: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 46 | 36 | 21 | 9 | 35 | 17 | 51 | 22 | 41 | 70 | 29 | 7 | 17 | 8 |
| No | 54 | | 79 | | 65 | | 49 | | 59 | | 71 | | 83 | |
| 8. If yes, number of protests: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 33 | 12 | 67 | 6 | 65 | 11 | 45 | 10 | 41 | 29 | 28 | 2 | 75 | 6 |
| 2 | 28 | 10 | 22 | 2 | 23 | 4 | 27 | 6 | 33 | 23 | 28 | 2 | 13 | 1 |
| 3 | 17 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 4 | 28 | 2 | 0 | |
| 4 | 33 | 1 | 0 | | 0 | | 5 | 1 | 4 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| 5 or more | 19 | 7 | 0 | | 6 | 1 | 14 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 14 | 1 | 13 | 1 |

Footnotes at end of table.

RESPONSE TO HIGH SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE SELECTED URBAN AREAS¹—Continued

| | Metropolitan Chicago | | Metropolitan Cleveland | | Metropolitan Detroit | | Metropolitan Los Angeles | | Metropolitan New York City | | Metropolitan San Francisco | | Metropolitan St. Louis | |
|---|----------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number |
| 9. Protests planned in advance: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 89 | 32 | 89 | 8 | 82 | 14 | 68 | 15 | 90 | 63 | 57 | 4 | 87 | 7 |
| No..... | 11 | | 11 | | 18 | | 32 | | 10 | | 43 | | 13 | |
| 10. Percentage of students participating in protests: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than 5 percent..... | 27 | | 77 | | 59 | | 54 | | 57 | | 14 | | 62 | |
| 5 to 10 percent..... | 19 | | 11 | | 24 | | 18 | | 29 | | 28 | | 37 | |
| 10 to 25 percent..... | 27 | | 0 | | 12 | | 10 | | 7 | | 43 | | 0 | |
| 25 to 50 percent..... | 22 | | 0 | | 0 | | 5 | | 4 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Over 50 percent..... | 5 | | 11 | | 5 | | 0 | | 3 | | 14 | | 0 | |
| 11. Number of injuries in protests: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None..... | 61 | | 88 | | 82 | | 77 | | 83 | | 57 | | 75 | |
| 1 to 5 injuries..... | 10 | | 11 | | 12 | | 5 | | 14 | | 28 | | 25 | |
| 5 to 10 injuries..... | 9 | | 0 | | 6 | | 10 | | 3 | | 7 | | 0 | |
| 10 to 25 injuries..... | 8 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Over 25 injuries..... | 9 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| 12. Property damage: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than \$100..... | 61 | | 77 | | 82 | | 68 | | 81 | | 43 | | 87 | |
| \$100 to \$500..... | 10 | | 0 | | 12 | | 0 | | 3 | | 28 | | 0 | |
| \$500 to \$1,000..... | 8 | | 22 | | 0 | | 5 | | 1 | | 28 | | 0 | |
| Over \$1,000..... | 8 | | 0 | | 6 | | 18 | | 7 | | 14 | | 0 | |
| 13. Police called as a result of protest: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 63 | | 33 | | 51 | | 41 | | 70 | | 71 | | 50 | |
| No..... | 24 | | 66 | | 49 | | 54 | | 30 | | 28 | | 50 | |
| 14. Tactics of student protest: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boycott..... | 53 | 19 | 0 | | 29 | 5 | 27 | 6 | 39 | 27 | 43 | 3 | 38 | 3 |
| Strike..... | 30 | 11 | 22 | 2 | 53 | 9 | 32 | 7 | 64 | 45 | 43 | 3 | 13 | 1 |
| Riot..... | 25 | 9 | 0 | | 12 | 2 | 18 | 4 | 13 | 9 | 43 | 3 | 0 | |
| Sit-in..... | 33 | 12 | 0 | | 6 | 1 | 32 | 7 | 27 | 19 | 57 | 4 | 50 | 4 |
| Underground paper..... | 36 | 13 | 44 | 4 | 18 | 3 | 50 | 11 | 40 | 28 | 43 | 3 | 38 | 3 |
| Other tactics..... | 36 | 13 | 77 | 7 | 53 | 9 | 27 | 6 | 40 | 28 | 43 | 3 | 50 | 4 |
| 15. Issues involved in protest: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Curriculum policy..... | 42 | 15 | 22 | 2 | 18 | 3 | 23 | 5 | 31 | 22 | 71 | 5 | 38 | 3 |
| Dress codes..... | 19 | 7 | 33 | 3 | 24 | 4 | 32 | 7 | 33 | 23 | 14 | 1 | 38 | 3 |
| Student political organizations..... | 30 | 11 | 22 | 2 | 29 | 5 | 55 | 12 | 27 | 19 | 71 | 5 | 38 | 3 |
| General disciplinary rules..... | 36 | 13 | 44 | 4 | 0 | | 18 | 4 | 37 | 26 | 57 | 4 | 25 | 2 |
| Teachers or principals..... | 36 | 13 | 22 | 2 | 41 | 7 | 14 | 3 | 20 | 14 | 0 | | 38 | 3 |
| School services and facilities..... | 39 | 14 | 33 | 3 | 24 | 4 | 18 | 4 | 36 | 25 | 100 | 7 | 25 | 2 |
| Outside speakers..... | 25 | 9 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 14 | 1 | 13 | 1 |
| Other issues..... | 42 | 15 | 22 | 2 | 53 | 9 | 45 | 10 | 46 | 32 | 71 | 5 | 63 | 5 |
| 16. Racial issues involved in protest: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 75 | 27 | 33 | 3 | 35 | 6 | 41 | 9 | 40 | 28 | 86 | 6 | 38 | 3 |
| No..... | 22 | 8 | 66 | 6 | 76 | 13 | 55 | 12 | 60 | 42 | 14 | 1 | 63 | 5 |
| 17. If yes, specific racial issues: ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percentage of teachers/administrators from— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Minority groups..... | 48 | | 33 | | 67 | | 11 | | 54 | | 83 | | 0 | |
| Ethnic studies..... | 48 | | 33 | | 33 | | 11 | | 54 | | 100 | | 67 | |
| Other issues..... | 74 | | 66 | | 67 | | 100 | | 93 | | 17 | | 100 | |
| 18. Were issues outside regular school policy: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 26 | | 11 | | 43 | | 23 | | 44 | | 14 | | 25 | |
| No..... | 59 | | 77 | | 57 | | 54 | | 56 | | 86 | | 75 | |
| 19. Nonstudents involved: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 56 | 23 | 55 | 5 | 57 | 10 | 63 | 14 | 56 | 39 | 100 | 7 | 25 | 2 |
| No..... | 29 | | 44 | | 43 | | 32 | | 44 | | 14 | | 75 | |
| 20. If yes, they were: ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| College students..... | 26 | 6 | 0 | | 30 | 3 | 36 | 5 | 49 | 19 | 43 | 3 | 50 | 1 |
| High school dropouts..... | 78 | 18 | 60 | 3 | 60 | 6 | 36 | 5 | 38 | 15 | 71 | 5 | 100 | 2 |
| Members of community organizations..... | 70 | 16 | 20 | 1 | 60 | 6 | 71 | 10 | 44 | 17 | 86 | 6 | 100 | 2 |
| Teachers..... | 26 | 6 | 20 | 1 | 30 | 3 | 29 | 4 | 51 | 20 | 29 | 2 | 50 | 1 |
| Parents..... | 30 | 7 | 0 | | 50 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 26 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 100 | 2 |
| Others..... | 35 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 20 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 44 | 17 | 43 | 3 | 50 | 1 |
| 21. Protest leaders rank academically in: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top 1/3 of class..... | 11 | 4 | 33 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 18 | 4 | 24 | 17 | 0 | | 12 | 1 |
| Middle 1/3..... | 8 | 3 | 22 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 18 | 4 | 13 | 9 | 28 | 2 | 12 | 1 |
| Lower 1/3..... | 44 | 16 | 22 | 2 | 0 | | 32 | 7 | 13 | 9 | 43 | 3 | 37 | 3 |
| Cross-section..... | 36 | 13 | 11 | 1 | 71 | 12 | 27 | 6 | 43 | 30 | 43 | 3 | 37 | 3 |
| 22. Actions to resolve protest: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Appoint faculty/student committees..... | 53 | 19 | 66 | 6 | 64 | 11 | 41 | 9 | 73 | 51 | 100 | 7 | 87 | 7 |
| Meetings with parents..... | 53 | 19 | 77 | 7 | 43 | 7 | 63 | 14 | 34 | 24 | 86 | 6 | 50 | 4 |
| Meetings with minority groups in community..... | 36 | 14 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 36 | 8 | 16 | 11 | 86 | 6 | 25 | 2 |
| Alter various school rules..... | 50 | 18 | 33 | 3 | 47 | 8 | 27 | 6 | 44 | 31 | 71 | 5 | 37 | 3 |
| Approve student political organs or underground newspapers..... | 8 | 3 | 11 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 43 | 3 | 0 | |
| Other..... | 42 | 15 | 11 | 1 | 29 | 5 | 36 | 8 | 30 | 21 | 28 | 2 | 0 | |
| 23. Protests anticipated in 1970: ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes..... | 28 | 22 | 26 | 11 | 38 | 18 | 33 | 14 | 26 | 49 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 6 |
| No..... | 41 | 32 | 48 | 20 | 46 | 22 | 51 | 22 | 49 | 90 | 67 | 16 | 64 | 30 |
| No reply..... | 31 | 24 | 26 | 11 | 16 | 8 | 16 | 7 | 25 | 46 | 17 | 4 | 23 | 11 |

¹ Percentages in question 23 are based on total number of schools responding from each city, per question 1.

Note: This represents returns received from schools in the metropolitan areas in and surrounding the cities indicated. In this survey, percentages exceeding 100 percent indicate multiple re-

sponse; percentages less than 100 percent indicate no response; percentages in questions 8 through 16 are based on numbers of schools responding "yes" to question 7; percentages in questions 18, 21, and 22 are also based on schools responding "yes" to question 7; percentages in question 17 are based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 16; percentages in question 20 are based on number of schools responding "yes" to question 19.

DR. ARTHUR F. BURNS SHOWS
SCOPE FOR THE JOB

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, there was an interesting story by Hobart Rowen in the business and finance section of yesterday's Washington Post regarding Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the very capable new Chairman of the Federal Reserve System. It quoted him as saying that we are not in a recession at present and that he does not think we are going to get into one. I found the article quite reassuring and therefore bring it to the attention of those of my colleagues who may have missed it:

BURNS SHOWS SCOPE FOR THE JOB AS ECONOMY
BEGINS CRUCIAL TEST

Best show in town last week was a set of hearings conducted by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress—and the star performer was Arthur F. Burns, new Chairman of the Federal Reserve System.

One didn't go for laughs: this was all serious stuff. The underlying theme, as Nixon administration witnesses put it, was that a sluggish economy is now entering a crucial, question-mark period.

Will it spill over into a recession with heavy unemployment? Will a disastrous inflation in prices and interest rates ever come down? Will the Federal Reserve Board, riding to the rescue, misjudge things as it did in 1967 and 1968, rekindling the inflationary fires?

Like the old-time movie serials, the only certain answers will come in future instalments.

But Burns, although warning that "I'm no prophet," was willing to lay his long and distinguished reputation on the line. "There's been some loose talk in this country about a recession," he told the Committee. "But we don't have a recession (now) and I don't think we're going to have it."

More than any other man in the country—not excluding the President himself—Burns is able to make a meaningful prognostication of this kind. For it is up to the Federal Reserve Board and its Open Market Committee, both of which he heads, to establish and change the basic monetary policy of the country.

And while he was careful, adhering to the Central Bankers' code of not tipping capital markets of precise plans, Burns clearly indicated that monetary policy had been drawn too tight, and would be cautiously relaxed in 1970.

Congressional Democrats are maintaining a professional degree of skepticism. They both fear and anticipate a recession and higher unemployment; this naturally would work to their advantage in elections later this year.

But it was also evident after the hearings last week that Burns' appointment to the Federal Reserve Chairmanship has brought with it a new mood of confidence that the country will emerge from its current economic trauma in pretty good shape, albeit not unscathed.

"Your appointment," said Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), "is probably the best that President Nixon has made."

Not a bashful man, Burns no doubt privately agrees. He has enormous confidence in himself and his capacity to keep cool under stress. He is something of a task-master and is said to be difficult to work for, but he undoubtedly has the scope for the job.

This all came through in a three-hour session in which he didn't hesitate to point

a finger at the Nixon Administration for underestimating the strength of inflationary pressures last year. Burns had been saying this privately while still Counselor to the President. Now, he put it on the record:

"The unified budget concept (masking a federal funds deficit) caused a little difficulty. It gave us the feeling we were being a little more conservative on the fiscal side than we really were. Then, we talked a little too much about 'gradualism.' The policy was all right, but talking about it so much helped to sustain strong inflationary expectations." (This was an open poke at Economic Council Chairman Paul W. McCracken.)

But as a card-carrying Republican he insisted that inflation had really begun to get out of hand as early as 1963, and "the deepest mistakes" were made in the Johnson Administration.

Nor was the Fed's own staff spared a sharp critique: he said bluntly that staff projections last year helped to create a belief the Fed was planning merely a brief period of monetary restraint. Actually, the kind of austere monetary policy that proved to be needed was much greater than the Fed staff (or anyone else) had dreamed.

The general impression is that things are going to be much different at the Fed. The pipe-smoking economist told Senator Javits of New York, for example, that if he had been in charge "some months ago," he would have been sympathetic to credit controls that would have choked off part of the flow of loans to businesses for less essential expansion.

That's something the Democrats would still like to see done, but they couldn't move Burns to their side: "Let's keep this under observation," he said. "Let's not be ideological or dogmatic."

A willingness to be flexible and open-minded was a constantly restated theme. For example, while he told Senator Stuart Symington that he opposed wage and price controls, he added: "I'm not an ideological economist, and I'm always ready to reassess my position." In respect to changing the standard mortgage instrument so more money might flow into housing, "we have got to be more inventive and less lethargic."

He's against "jawboning," but promptly indulged in it to suggest that businessmen and union leaders follow the example of the President in postponing a Federal pay increase: "Something like moderation if not a moratorium (on pay increases) would be very helpful at the present time."

He wound up with a bow to the "brilliance" of the Fed staff of economists (balm for the earlier criticism) and a bit of wrist-slapping for other academic types. "I'm going to draw on business and banking economists as well as academic economists," Burns said.

"I think our discussions will be a little more realistic. I've noticed that when academic economists enter a discussion, they fix their gaze on some other economist, and try to impress him. We may get better results this way."

Time will tell, as Burns himself said. By next year, Democrats may find Burns as good a whipping boy as William McC. Martin. But for the moment, there's a honeymoon.

THE HONORABLE STEPHEN A.
MAERAS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, February 16, of last week I was saddened to learn of the death of the Honorable Stephen A. Maeras, mayor of Madison, Ill. A longtime personal friend

and political ally, Steve Maeras served as the first and only mayor of Madison after its incorporation as a city in 1942. His political and civic career date back to the mid-1930's, and he had been a partner in an insurance company since 1944.

Born in Bucharest, Rumania, July 4, 1906, Steve Maeras moved to Madison with his family when he was 4 years old. He attended Madison elementary schools and graduated from Madison High School. In 1932 he graduated from La Salle Extension University and continued to attend classes at Washington University, St. Louis.

Elected to the Madison School Board in 1937, Steve Maeras served on the board for 6 years, during which time he won election in 1939 to the Madison Village Board of Trustees.

When the village of Madison was incorporated as a city in 1942, Steve Maeras was elected mayor and served in that capacity until his death. During his tenure the city of Madison developed into one of the soundest communities financially in the area.

Mayor Maeras is survived by his wife, Mrs. Nigel Maeras; one son, Jerry S. Maeras; one daughter, Mrs. Robert "Penny" Phillips; one stepdaughter, Mrs. J. C. "Betsy" Ritchie; one brother, Madison County Treasurer John Maeras; two sisters, Mrs. Peter "Vicki" Skundrich and Mrs. Marie McDaid, and five grandchildren.

It was my privilege to join in eulogizing Mayor Maeras. At this point in the RECORD, I am including the eulogy I delivered Wednesday, February 18, at the 2 p.m. funeral services for Steve Maeras at the Madison First Union Methodist Church:

To eulogize my dear departed friend Steve Maeras is to reflect on thirty-eight years of warm friendship with a man whose word was his bond, whose courage was stripped of vanity and whose conviction was without brashness.

It is with a sense of profound respect and admiration that I speak of Steve in mourning his loss, humbly thankful for the time I knew him. To speak of a friend like Steve in the past tense does not come easy for me. But I am consoled by the fact that his memory will remain with us because of his devotion to his family, his community and his fellow man. His legacy of great leadership will stand the test of time and sustain his memory for those who follow.

To eulogize Steve Maeras is to speak of a man skilled in the political process. He was a political man to whom ideas and people were the stuff of life.

He was a public man who gave himself to the public's business with zeal and enthusiasm.

He was a man of courage and independence.

He was a man of talent, enterprise and skill.

He was a man gifted in the art of government.

From the time we first met in 1932 until his death I liked Steve as a man. Loved him as an American. Enjoyed him as a friend. Admired him as a leader. Supported him as a Mayor.

Our relationship was forged in a crucible of mutual trust and respect. To be here today is the least I can do to honor a man devoted to his family, his friends, his religion and his chosen work.

What is lost by Steve's passing can be remembered in our minds, recalled in our

words and revered in our hearts. But what has not been lost will endure in more meaningful ways. So very much has not been lost. So very much remains.

The industrial park which he championed vigorously remains as a living memorial to Steve. His foresight, his vision and his tenacity in making that complex a reality symbolizes Steve's sense of purpose and his untiring devotion to his community.

He loved Madison and its people. He came from the people and he remained part of them throughout his life. A week barely went by in my office that I did not receive a call or a letter from Steve on behalf of someone in the area. Steve was truly devoted to serving the people, regardless of their politics.

Steve was partisan in his politics and one of the finest Democrats I ever met. Yet when it came to serving people in the community and Madison County he knew no partisanship. People were people and Steve Maeras saw to it that when they were in need he was there to help.

Today we hear a lot of talk about the dawning of a new age, the Age of Aquarius; that is the age of the humanist. For Steve Maeras there is nothing new about this. He was always a humanist, firmly believing in the dignity of his fellow man and the Christian principle of lending a helping hand to some one in need.

As we eulogize Steve today, we pay honor to a man who felt deeply about the political process. Steve was a man who participated in the political life for the better part of his adult life. He was steeped in the principles of democratic government and party politics. He believed that the political parties were the most effective institutions for translating the public will into public policy. He saw in the parties the lifeblood of American political life. And he was right.

Steve worked for his principles at the local level—the cornerstone of democratic government. He was a democrat in terms of party as well as political theory. He believed strongly in participation in political life. It is because of men like Steve Maeras that American political life flourishes.

Steve brought to public life the experience of a businessman. He utilized that experience as Mayor, believing firmly that the city government should operate efficiently and effectively. As a result, the people of Madison benefited from a public interest administration under Steve and witnessed the industrial and commercial expansion of their community under his leadership. His record was one of success from which the citizens of this community profited immensely.

To have known Steve as I did was a distinct privilege. To have worked with him was a personal honor. To pay him this final tribute is only fitting.

To his beloved wife and family, I hope that you will be consoled in the memory of his work and life.

IF HANOI IGNORES TREATY OBLIGATIONS, WHY NEGOTIATE?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a number of the Members of this House have called to the attention of our colleagues the plight of those Americans—taken captive in their country's battles in Vietnam and held by the enemy in Hanoi.

We have also called to the attention of our colleagues the plight of their loved ones—wives who know not whether they

are wives or widows, children who cannot be told whether their father lives or has given his life for his country.

We continue to hear great sermons from the left on the subject of humanitarianism, world peace through law, the United Nations, world public opinion, and similar claptrap. Not one of these devices has shown any interest or any potential value in obtaining the treatment of our fighting men which is provided by the Geneva Convention, to which Hanoi has acceded.

It becomes abundantly more clear. The Nation which has no will to prosecute a war to its victorious conclusion has abandoned its fighting men taken prisoner, and cannot redeem them. Perhaps its citizens, acting independently, must do so.

A timely editorial comment by the distinguished David Lawrence, in the current U.S. News & World Report, again reminds us of our obligation, and I insert it in the RECORD with my remarks:

DOES HANOI HAVE A HEART?

(By David Lawrence)

What has happened to the 1,354 American servicemen missing in action in Vietnam over the past five years? Information has been received from one source or another that 422 are being held in North Vietnam, but nothing whatsoever has been disclosed about the fate of the other 932.

Undoubtedly many of these men are secluded in the prisons of North Vietnam. They are deprived of all contact with the outside world. They are not permitted to receive mail or packages. Their families are not allowed to know whether any are alive, and, if so, how they are faring.

This is a kind of torture that not only outrages all sense of humanitarianism but is banned by international agreements. The Hanoi Government itself gave formal adherence to the 1949 Geneva Convention on the humane treatment of prisoners, but now scorns these obligations. The pact specifically provides:

"Immediately upon capture, or not more than one week after arrival at a camp, even if it is a transit camp, likewise in case of sickness or transfer to hospital or to another camp, every prisoner of war shall be enabled to write direct to his family. . . . The said cards shall be forwarded as rapidly as possible and may not be delayed in any manner.

"Prisoners of war shall be allowed to send and receive letters and cards. If the Detaining Power deems it necessary to limit the number of letters and cards sent by each prisoner of war, the said number shall not be less than two letters and four cards monthly. . . . Such letters and cards must be conveyed by the most rapid method at the disposal of the Detaining Power; they may not be delayed or retained for disciplinary reasons."

The agreement also calls for prompt identification of prisoners, adequate diet and medical care, communication with other prisoners, quick repatriation of the seriously sick and wounded, protection against abuse or reprisals, and inspection of camp conditions by a neutral intermediary, generally the International Red Cross.

Besides North Vietnam, 125 countries are parties to the Convention, including the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Rumania and Hungary.

For the first time in modern history, the Red Cross has been denied all contact with prisoners of war. Similarly, the United States Government has unsuccessfully sought in every way through diplomatic channels for news about the missing men. Wives of the

men have tried appeals to representatives of Hanoi in Paris and through other sources to learn whether their husbands are alive. The efforts have been in vain.

All this has cast a shadow over the "peace" negotiations at Paris. A question is raised now whether any regime in Hanoi can be relied on to adhere to future agreements it may sign.

Why does the Hanoi Government withhold information concerning the prisoners? Why will it not furnish at least a list of those who are still alive? What possible military purpose is served in keeping this information secret? There is no logic whatsoever in the position taken by the North Vietnamese Government, and surely it can win no friends by such a course.

What are the other nations of the world doing about it? What are the allies of North Vietnam—particularly Red China and the Soviet Union—saying to Hanoi? The people of the world have a right to know why military assistance continues to be given to a government that treats human beings with incredible cruelty.

Isn't it about time, too, that the countries of the free world spoke out? Isn't there a humanitarian instinct somewhere in the United Nations that can be expressed in a cause like this?

Surely the world hasn't been broken apart to the extent that an international organization such as the United Nations can stand aside and pay no attention to what is happening in North Vietnam with respect to the treatment of the captives and their families!

There can be no greater agony for the wives and parents of the prisoners than to be kept wondering whether a husband or son is being tormented and what suffering he might be undergoing.

What is even more incomprehensible is the silence on the subject by the free world. Acts of inhumanity in the past have usually been denounced unequivocally. Little has been said, however, about the American prisoners held by North Vietnam.

No international organization can afford to allow to go unchallenged such brutishness as the continued failure of North Vietnam to disclose the identity of prisoners and to permit them to communicate with their families. This example of inhumaneness should no longer be ignored by the United Nations collectively or by the governments of the world individually. North Vietnam must realize that belligerents are expected to give decent treatment to prisoners.

Most of the North Vietnamese leaders have a background of Buddhism—a faith that certainly calls for humaneness.

THE GIANT HARVEST FROM SPACE— TODAY AND TOMORROW

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James J. Hagerty, noted author and one of the country's leading aerospace writers, has provided a definitive article on the value of our national space program in the February 1970 issue of Air Force Space Digest.

Because of the accurate and lucid description of the benefits of our national space program portrayed by Mr. Hagerty's article, I believe that it commends itself to the attention of my colleagues and the general public; therefore, I am including this important article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE GIANT HARVEST FROM SPACE—TODAY AND TOMORROW

(By James J. Haggerty)

"What is space research doing for me?" John Jones, average American citizen, shrugs. "I was awed and thrilled by the moon landing. I had a great feeling of national pride that we, and not the Russians, had done it. But as for benefits, all I can think of offhand is international television. Maybe the moon rocks are important, but I don't understand that part of it."

John Jones's attitude typifies that of many people, but it is a myopic viewpoint. The US space investment is already paying handsome dividends, "hard" benefits of practical value as well as the little-understood gains in scientific knowledge and national prestige. The benefits include new techniques, new processes, new services, new products, even new companies formed to exploit the wealth of technological know-how accumulated in twelve years of concentrated space effort. Collectively, these innovations contribute to an improved standard of living and produce a concrete boost to the general economy running to tens of millions of dollars.

Substantial as it is, the current flow from the well-spring of space technology is only a trickle compared with the flood to come. And it is coming not in some nebulous, distant future, but *now*—within the decade just starting.

The transfer of technology from the realm of space science to the civil economy is not an overnight process; it takes years, sometimes a decade or more. Because the primary space-research thrust came with Apollo, which reached its technological peak in 1965 and 1966, a rapid acceleration of technology transfer is expected in the next few years. Space systems that promise enormous practical benefit to mankind have progressed from the theoretical to the "feasible" stage, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has initiated their development for near-future civil use. That these programs will get the requisite backing is clear from stated Administration policy, supported by congressional leaders, that aims to "increase utilization of space capabilities for services to man through an expanded space applications program."

Thus, the real payoff is about to begin. The evident benefits are tremendous in potential. They span a broad spectrum ranging from new levels of convenience to direct applications in the most pressing areas of global concern—food shortages in an overpopulated world, public health, air and water pollution, education, transportation safety, law enforcement, and urban development. They promise new levels of business efficiency, improved resources management, acceleration discovery of oil and minerals, and reduction of life and property losses from natural disasters.

And they offer economic returns of a very significant order. Existing estimates, admittedly conservative, warrant the prediction that, by the end of the decade, the direct economic benefits stemming from space-originated technology will far exceed the anticipated annual funding for space research.

APPLICATIONS SATELLITES

Space benefits are grouped in two categories. "Derived" benefits are those, like new products and processes, derived from the general fund of technological knowledge. "Direct" benefits are those provided by orbiting spacecraft, or "applications" satellites, which do earth jobs better or perform tasks that cannot be accomplished by earth-based systems.

A type of spacecraft that has special utility in practical applications is the "synchronous" satellite, whose movement in space is synchronized with the earth's rotation. The satellite is directed into an orbit

22,300 miles high; at that altitude, its requisite speed is such that it remains stationary with respect to a point on the earth's surface. From its lofty perch, a single satellite can "see" approximately forty percent of the earth: three of them can cover the globe with considerable overlap.

The synchronous satellite is already in regular operational service in the global communications network operated by the sixty-nine-member International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (Intelsat). It serves as a relay tower in the sky, picking up signals beamed from an earth station and transmitting them to another point on earth or to another satellite. Synchronous capability is now being extended to other applications satellites whose primary payloads will be a variety of earth-watching "remote sensors."

Sensor development was pioneered by the Air Force, as early as 1958, for use in surveillance and early-warning spacecraft. The technological foundation thus provided led to recent development of several types of highly sophisticated civil-use sensors, which can be used to monitor various conditions of the atmosphere, the surface, or the subsurface. Some sensors are detectors—for instance, instruments that take temperature readings of the atmosphere. Others are picture-taking devices, though not cameras in the ordinary sense; called "multispectral imagers," they photograph in both the visible and nonvisible bands of the light spectrum and show many features of the earth that the human eye cannot see. The combination of synchronous satellite and remote sensors opens up a fascinating new range of earth-surveillance capabilities, which promises concrete benefits of staggering dimensions.

THE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE

The communications satellite, or "comsat," owes its exceptional utility in long-distance message relay to the fact that, generally speaking, radio waves must travel in a straight "line-of-sight" path; they cannot bend with the curvature of the earth and, therefore, the distance that a radio signal can be transmitted through the atmosphere is sharply limited. Before the comsat came along, it was necessary to route long-distance radio signals either by cable or by means of tall relay towers, each in line-of-sight, or within about thirty miles of its neighbor. Either alternative is expensive, but the yearly cost of a satellite channel runs about one-sixth that of a circuit on a submarine cable.

The major benefit accruing from the comsat, of course, is international television. It is generally agreed that, without the comsat, overseas TV would still be a "someday" thing, because a single TV channel is equivalent to about 1,000 voice channels, and that imposes prohibitive cost and capacity considerations.

Television, however, constitutes only two percent of the Intelsat system's current workload. The broader benefit of the comsat has been in direct economic gain to world commerce, due to increased business efficiency by virtue of cheaper and more reliable long-distance communications. The comsat has also greatly increased the availability of circuits for transoceanic phone conversations. In 1963, there were only 500 such circuits and one could count on a lengthy wait for a connection. Today, the Intelsat system alone provides more than 3,000 simultaneously usable circuits; a single satellite already operational—Intelsat III—has roughly ten times the channel capacity of an in-service submarine cable.

The comsat paid an extra dividend to the US economy in stimulating the formation of Communications Satellite Corp., Intelsat's American member, which develops the space hardware and manages the global network for the consortium. Comsat Corp., a privately owned company that did not exist six years

ago, now has 132,000 shareholders, total assets approaching \$300 million, and annual operating revenues of about \$45 million.

Impressive as are the benefits to date, the comsat has barely scraped the surface of the lode. Already in hardware development are new types of satellites that offer exciting potential for the near future.

Channel capacity is the major key to further growth of the comsat network because higher capacity is directly translatable into lower costs, hence wider usage. The comsat is inherently a high-capacity system and advancing technology is widening the capacity gap between satellites and terrestrial cables. The most advanced cable, in development but not yet in service, has 720 channels. A new satellite called Intelsat IV initially will have some 6,000 two-way channels—a greater capacity than all currently operating satellites combined—and later versions may have as many as 10,000. Intelsat IV is a *now* advancement; it is already being fabricated and it is slated for regular service starting next year. Behind it, inevitably, will come even larger comsats.

Capacity of the order offered by Intelsat IV will spark a number of innovations. A probability, already proposed, is a domestic satellite system for the US, a single satellite hanging stationary over Los Angeles and linking the United States from Hawaii to the Virgin Islands. The system would supplement, not replace, the existing terrestrial system, and it would offer particular advantages to Alaska, where cities are widely dispersed and landline connections are inadequate.

Greater capacity will also stimulate increases in international TV programming, and direct-dialing phone calls to London, Hong Kong, or Tokyo may become as commonplace as the holiday long-distance call to the folks back home. And that long-awaited Buck Rogers device, the videophone, bids fair to become an everyday reality. Channel capacity has slowed its arrival, because it takes the equivalent of 100 telephone circuits to carry on a single two-way photophone conversation. But the new breed of high-capacity, low-cost comsats will bring the videophone into wide usage as a tool of international commerce. Since the videotube can carry charts, graphs, and other information presentations, as well as face-to-face long-distance conversation, it offers vast potential as a tele-conference system for businessmen, capable of more than paying its way in travel expenses saved.

Some experts feel that the biggest impact of the comsat may lie neither in TV nor telephony, but in the rapid transmission of data from source to user, by linking together widely separated computers and other data-processing equipment. Such systems might have video channels, but in most cases video is not needed; the information can be sent in computer-language and teleprinted in readable form at the other end of the circuit.

A major example is transmission of management information—inventory and production-control data, for example—from a number of plants to a central headquarters. Another is transfer of the latest medical knowledge from research centers and great library complexes to outlying precincts where such information is not available. Services like these are not particularly new. Computer interconnection was pioneered by the military services in the 1950s, and it is now making inroads in commercial applications. But existing systems employ landline interconnections that, in most instances, are more costly. The coming generation of comsats can bring about a big boom in data transmission.

THE BROADCAST SATELLITE

From the standpoint of general benefit to the world, rather than direct economic benefit to the U.S., the most important project

in the space communications field is a completely new type of comsat called the broadcast satellite. This is a system that can send its signal directly to the home TV set or to a community antenna, bypassing the intervening complex of ground facilities needed by the point-to-point comsat.

Existing comsats, designed with size and weight considerations in mind, operate at extremely low power levels; their small antennas can pick up only a very strong signal from a ground station, and their transmitting equipment sends only a very weak signal back to earth. This is no handicap in point-to-point communications, such as are being relayed around the world by Intelsat. Intelsat's ground complex has forty stations, which generate great power and have giant antennas, ranging in diameter from thirty to almost 100 feet, and capable of picking up the weakest transmission from space. The ground equipment amplifies the signals and directs them via landlines or microwave towers to local TV stations, whose own powerful transmitters beam the image to home TV sets.

In the broadcast satellite, a reverse technique is employed: the satellite, rather than the ground station, has the primary power source. This is accomplished by equipping the spacecraft with nuclear power, huge batteries, fuel cells such as those that supply electricity to Apollo, or with enormous "solar arrays"—banks of thousands of cells that draw energy directly from the sun. The broadcast satellite also has a very large antenna, as big as some of those on earth, and it can be sharply focused to increase signal strength.

This means that a space communications signal can be acquired by a simple, inexpensive ground station with a relatively small antenna, which can receive broadcasts directly, eliminating the necessity for the elaborate ground complex. If the satellite has enough power, the home TV can qualify as a ground station with slight modification, costing an estimated \$125. An interim alternative for underdeveloped nations that have no TV is the community receiver, capable of displaying a large-screen picture in the local school, town hall, or the village elder's backyard.

Direct broadcast to the home tube can be available within the decade if demand is demonstrated. Community TV is much closer. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is already developing the first spacecraft capable of such transmission. Called Applications Technology Satellite F (ATS F), it is a large, sun-powered craft with the biggest antenna ever designed for in-space use, a thirty-foot dish that is folded during launch and deployed automatically in orbit. In 1972, the governments of the United States and India will use ATS F in a joint space-benefit demonstration of extraordinary significance, a far-reaching experiment in satellite-relayed mass-instructional TV.

Soon after its launch in mid-1972, ATS F will be jockeyed into a stationary position over India where it can "see" the primary ground station at Ahmedabad in the west coastal state of Gujarat, several auxiliary transmitting stations, and low-cost receivers to be set up by the Indian government in some 5,000 villages. TV programs—focused initially on population control and improvement in agricultural practices—will be beamed from the ground stations to ATS F and retransmitted to hundreds of thousands of people in the receiver-equipped villages.

If the year-long experiment is successful, and there is every reason to expect that it will be, India can move on to the next step, an operational, direct-broadcast system of its own. A study by one aerospace firm working on direct-broadcast satellites indicates that it is both technically and economically feasible to provide India, as early

as 1974, with a single satellite capable of linking all of the nation's 560,000 villages. The potential is enormous. With a dearth of teachers and educational facilities, no interconnecting system of TV landlines and insufficient funds to build one, India can use the space satellite as an immediate instructional tool for the uplift of its 500,000,000 people.

The project has excited wide discussion in the United Nations, in other international forums, and in the executive chambers of developing nations all over the world. The low-cost aspects of direct broadcasting by satellite have implications of enormous dimensions. At a fraction of the cost and about one-tenth the time it would take to build a conventional communications network, a developing nation can acquire a nationwide communications network. The broadcast comsat can help knit a burgeoning country more closely together, speed the growth of commerce and technology, and bring entertainment to people who have known little. More importantly, it affords a direct attack on some of the world's most pressing ills through its use as an educational medium. India's planned targets, for instance—overpopulation and low yield per acre of tillable land—are examples of major problem areas susceptible to improvement by mass instruction.

THE WEATHER SATELLITE

Last September, shortly after the launch of Nimbus III, NASA's most advanced meteorological satellite, there occurred an incident that received scant attention from the news media but had space scientists turning cartwheels. Orbiting 600 miles above Kingston, Jamaica, Nimbus III relayed to earth a complete "profile" of the temperatures at every altitude from the ground up to the top of the atmosphere. Later comparison showed the readings to be completely accurate; the profile coincided almost identically with one taken by a balloon launched from Kingston at the same time.

The achievement may not sound like much to the layman, who might think that temperature-reading equipment is standard on all weather satellites. It is not; until Nimbus III, the informational capability of the weather satellite, or "metsat," was confined to photographic coverage of the earth's cloud cover.

Nimbus III's accomplishment represented a very important breakthrough in metsat development. Made possible by a new instrument called SIRS (for Satellite Infrared Spectrometer), it pioneered a technique known as "vertical sounding," in which highly sophisticated sensors in the satellite measure the various conditions in the atmosphere that contribute to changes in the weather. These sensors, coupled with other metsat technological advances and concomitant improvement in the ground-based weather-analysis system, hold the key to accurate weather predictions two weeks or more in advance. Obviously, long-range weather forecasting is potentially one of the most productive areas for harvesting benefits from space technology.

The weather satellite system that the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) has been operating for the past four years has proved the value of the metsat. The thousands of cloud-cover photographs being transmitted daily by ESSA's eight satellites have contributed substantially to upgrading the professional dignity of the weatherman, long the butt of the jokester. When the weatherman says "zero probability of rain tomorrow," it's pretty safe to get out the golf clubs; the metsat has made possible an accurate increase in predictions for up to forty-eight hours.

The satellite's most important utility has been in provision of storm warnings. From its vantage point in space, it can detect the buildup of a destructive storm, track it, es-

timate its force, and predict when and where it will strike inhabited areas. Metsat warnings have cheated many a hurricane or typhoon of its anticipated toll of casualties.

But the capability of the existing metsat system is limited. The satellites operate in relatively low-altitude orbits, circling the earth every two hours or so. In that way, they can photograph most of the earth in a twenty-four-hour period, but they observe no given area continually, as would be possible with a stationary satellite. Although cloud-cover photos are a valuable addition to the meteorologist's data file, they are just that—a supplement to conventional methods of gathering atmospheric data, rather than a primary system.

Reliable forecasts need more than cloud-cover input. The source of the earth's weather is energy radiated from the sun, which penetrates the atmosphere and triggers a variety of changing conditions. The primary clues to the distribution of solar energy, hence the type of weather that can be expected, are temperature, pressure, the movement of air masses, and the moisture content of the air. Such information is currently obtained from aircraft, ships, rockets, balloons, ocean buoys, radars, and visual observations from the ground. There are some 7,000 stations reporting the data, but even so they cover only one-fifth of the earth's surface and reports are periodic rather than continuous.

What is needed for a global, long-range weather-forecasting system? First, atmospheric measurements over the entire earth, by means of satellites equipped with vertical sounding sensors capable of providing all the data now acquired by other means. The space system will probably include low-altitude satellites for certain applications, but the main workload will fall to a network of synchronous, stationary metsats that can relay simultaneous and continuous information.

But the satellite segment of the system is "only one leg of the stool," as one space scientist puts it. The satellite simply acquires information; the information must be put to work by people. It must be collected from the satellites, transmitted to regional receiving stations, analyzed, translated into usable form, and delivered to weathermen all over the globe. This demands a system of interconnected, computerized data-transmission facilities far beyond anything in existence today.

An even more important requirement is what scientists call a mathematical model. This is a computerized numerical representation of the composition of the atmosphere, a basic reference point for determining what the weather will be like under a given set of conditions. One might think that in an explosive scientific era that has witnessed landings on the moon such a model already exists. But weather is a complex subject, and there are still major knowledge gaps to be filled.

Important steps are being taken toward realization of both the mathematical model and the worldwide data-relay system. More than 100 members of the World Meteorological Organization are pooling their resources in two massive projects called the World Weather Watch and the Global Atmospheric Research Program (GARP). The Weather Watch is an operational surveillance system, the major aim of which is the establishment of a worldwide, computerized telecommunications network for transmitting and processing meteorological data. GARP is an extremely broad research program from which scientists hope to attain a level of understanding of the dynamic processes of the atmosphere sufficient to develop the long-sought model.

The pacing factor in two-week-plus weather forecasting is development of the requisite sensory devices. The outlook is

promising. A variety of atmospheric sensors, based on photographic, infrared, microwave, radar, and laser principles, is already in or approaching flight status, and NASA will space-test them over the next few years with its Nimbus and Applications Technology Satellites. In addition, ESSA expects to have a degree of vertical sounding capability in its new generation of operational satellites, and the Agency plans to have stationary metsats in orbit by 1972. It seems very likely that the mid-1970s will bring forth the synchronous metsat with a full range of sensors and that at least a prototype of the global, long-range forecasting system—satellites and earth components—will become a reality by the end of the decade.

When such a system becomes fully operational, it can provide staggering benefits. Since everybody is a weather expert, one can conjure up his own vision of a world in which the weather is known two weeks, three weeks, even a month in advance. Some major examples of the advantages include better planning for all forms of transportation, particularly aviation; reduced loss of crops from weather changes; reduction of flood and storm damage; optimum scheduling of work force, machinery, and materials delivery at construction sites; and better management of public utilities through advance knowledge of load requirements and efficient scheduling of maintenance operations.

Among the broadest benefits, aside from general public convenience, are savings of life and property, a substantial gain in worldwide crop yield at a time when population expansion threatens the world food supply, and hard economic returns of tremendous scope.

Because of the myriad factors involved in a subject so broad, it is very difficult to make precise dollar-benefit estimates. There is, however, a generally accepted yardstick, an estimate made by a study panel of the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council, which rated economic benefits of a long-range forecasting system at \$2.5 billion a year. The figure, the Academy admits, is conservative and, it is for the United States alone. Further, it covers only the four broadest and most visible areas of benefit—agriculture, construction, transportation, and flood/storm control. There are hundreds of others—on-location motion-picture filming and programming outdoor sports events, to mention only a couple—whose individual dollar savings are less impressive but whose aggregate might run to additional billions. Applying even the most conservative estimates, the yearly economic return of the global system is potentially several times the amount of all the money expended on metsat research and operation since the first such "working" satellite went aloft in April 1960.

And, once the system is fully operational, man will be able to realize one of his oldest and fondest dreams—to "do something about the weather." With current and foreseeable advances in the art of weather modification, abetted by the vast encyclopedia of atmospheric knowledge provided by the mathematical mode and the metsat reporting system, it appears not only possible but probable that weather conditions can be altered. Scientists feel that it will be possible to change the timing, amount, and distribution of rainfall; to take the sting out of destructive storms by reducing their intensity or directing them into harmless paths; to suppress hail and lightning; to clear fog; to prevent frost; even—though it is farther down the road—to effect large-scale changes of climate.

Fantastic? Today it seems so. But what was more fantastic, only a decade ago, than the wild talk about landing men on the moon?

NAVIGATION/TRAFFIC CONTROL SATELLITE

Another area in which the satellite offers great promise is in precision navigation and

traffic control for aircraft and surface vessels.

Since 1964, the Navy has been demonstrating the utility of the navsat with an operational system used to pinpoint the location of fleet ballistic-missile (FBM) submarines. Before the advent of the navsat, the Navy frequently experienced navigational errors of two to three miles in good weather, and as much as fifty miles in bad weather. The network of navigational satellites makes possible position "fixes" with errors as small as the length of a submarine.

The Navy navsat, however, is oriented toward position determination for the individual boat rather than surveillance of a large number of craft, so it cannot be readily adapted to civil use. Using the Navy's experience as a departure point, civil agencies are working toward development of a combined navigation/traffic control system for both marine and aviation employment. It has sweeping potential for benefits in safety and in economic return.

The proposed system envisions a pair of stationary satellites over each of the oceans. Each satellite, its location in space known precisely, becomes in effect an artificial star, a reference point for fixing aircraft and ship positions. In operation, each of the two satellites sends a continuous radio beam which is picked up by a receiver in a "mobile"—the term used to embrace both planes and ships—and triggered back to the satellites. Computer translation of the time it takes the signal to travel from mobile to satellite gives the exact distance between them, hence a line of position. The point at which position lines from the two satellites intersect is an exact fix, available simultaneously to the mobile's navigator and to the land-based traffic control center to which the information is relayed by the satellite.

Although it may someday be applicable, the navsat is not now a panacea for the problem of air traffic control in high-density areas. It can, however, be of significant value in overwater air movement, where there are no watchful radars along the flight path and where existing earth-based, long-range radio navigation aids do not provide the degree of precision needed for efficient air traffic control. The situation over the North Atlantic, the most heavily traveled overwater route, serves as an illustration of navsat benefits.

Because of navigational shortcomings, traffic control regulations demand a 120-mile lateral separation of aircraft as an anticollision measure. This means that, when a number of planes depart a terminal within minutes of each other, only one of them can take the direct, shortest-distance-between-two-points route. The second must move out 120 miles to one side of the direct course; the third, 120 miles to the other. The fourth and fifth airplanes must fly 240 miles off course, and so on.

Aside from longer travel time for the passenger, such directional inefficiency costs the airlines in increased fuel expenditure. It is estimated that extra costs run from \$30,000 to \$50,000 per year per airplane, which amounts to a very substantial figure for airlines operating large fleets. The satellite system can reduce required lateral separation to thirty miles at a dollar savings for the North Atlantic alone estimated at close to \$20 million a year.

The new breed of airliners, like the Boeing 747, will have very accurate onboard navigational equipment, an inertial navigation system that is a direct spinoff from Apollo. This is not, however, a substitute for the navsat; effective traffic control demands an independent ground-monitored system to confirm the onboard position determination.

The navsat may find even greater utility in the field of surface shipping. There are some 3,000 ships of more than sixty countries reporting to the existing traffic control sys-

tem and probably a greater number of non-reporting smaller craft, such as deep-water yachts and fishing boats. Ship traffic control is relatively new; it is subject to the vagaries of long-range radio transmission; position reports are not mandatory and those that are made frequently are suspect because only the largest and most modern ships have adequate all-weather navigational equipment.

Collision avoidance is, of course, the primary advantage of the navsat system, but there are other benefits, due to the fact that the navsat also doubles as a communications satellite, permitting voice linkage between ship and shore. This allows the transmission of up-to-the-minute regional-weather advisories so that ships can steer clear of storms. It also offers more reliable, lower-cost direct contact between company offices and ships anywhere in the world.

There are no concrete estimates as to the economic potential of the navsat as regards surface shipping, but it is clear that they are of a substantial order. Precision navigation is, in itself, a money-saver in fuel costs and reduced time at sea. Direct home-office-to-ship contact offers wider flexibility in scheduling and routing, an important factor in merchant shipping. And the prevention of even a minor collision offers corollary savings far beyond the cost of damages. Take, for example, the oil-shipping industry, where efficient operation entails tight coordination of ship dockings and oil flow. The removal of a single ship from service can cause a temporary shutdown of an oil field with losses running to a million dollars a day.

The real benefit of the navsat system, for both ships and aircraft, is in human safety, not only in collision avoidance but in post-accident rescue. All too frequently search-and-rescue craft experience delays—or complete failure—in their efforts to find a downed aircraft or a distressed ship, because the last known position reported was miles from the real location. Through continuous monitoring, the traffic control centers will know the precise position of any troubled craft, eliminating the search period of a rescue mission wherein time is literally a life-or-death factor.

A major part of the effort needed to bring this important system into being involves development of on-board equipment cheap enough to be available to the smallest ocean-going craft. Fortunately, the mobile will not need elaborate and costly computers, since the computing function will be handled by the satellites and the land stations. Ships and planes need only a new-type receiver and antenna and a signal booster capable of reaching the satellite, orbiting some 22,000 miles high. It appears quite feasible to produce such equipment at relatively low cost.

Technology for the civil-use navsat is well advanced. With the Applications Technology Satellites I and III, NASA and a number of airlines have been conducting satellite-to-aircraft tests for several years, and the results have demonstrated the workability of the system. NASA and the Federal Aviation Administration are developing plans for the prototype, one-ocean air-traffic-control system, and the European Space Research Organization has expressed interest in joining the experiment. No major breakthroughs are required, and it is generally accepted that an operational system, for ships as well as aircraft, can be put in service by 1975.

EARTH-RESOURCES SATELLITES

Perhaps the greatest potential for realizing hard economic returns from applications spacecraft lies in earth-resources surveys, or keeping satellite watch on the globe's natural resources with the aim of better managing nature's bounty. This program can alleviate many of the world's paramount ailments, in that it can help to produce more

arable land, more water, food, clothing, shelter, and fuel to meet the needs of a population that is growing at an alarming rate.

Like the advanced weather satellite, a close relative, the earth-resources survey spacecraft reaps its harvest of benefits by means of remote sensing devices. Generally, earth-resources sensors focus on the earth's surface and subsurface rather than on its atmosphere. An example is a crop-imaging sensor, designed to take advantage of the fact that various types of vegetation reflect light in different bands of the spectrum and in different degrees. This makes it possible to program an imager to "see" one particular kind of vegetation—wheat, for instance. From either a stationary or a "moving" orbit, the sensor can take a picture of a large region in which the total wheat crop is imaged in a given color. This provides the basis for predicting crop yield and planning its distribution, important factors in agricultural management.

The sensor provides an extra bonus in reducing crop losses, because the image would also pinpoint areas where the wheat crop is threatened. A slightly different coloration would indicate plant disease, and it would show up sooner because of constant surveillance. As is the case in human physiology, disease detected early can most readily be treated.

The information provided by the satellite's battery of sensors will be relayed to an earth-based, computerized data-handling and analysis network like that being developed for the global metsat system, perhaps the same one expanded to accommodate the additional input. Thus, regional data banks all over the world will receive daily volumes of information that can be put to work for man's benefit in three basic directions: The information will provide more of everything through far better management of the world's resources; it will uncover new resources; and it will identify trouble zones for earliest remedial action.

Here are some examples of what this information would mean to the world:

In agriculture, besides controlling losses, it would facilitate national land-use planning—what to plant and when, where to build roads for movement of harvests, where to locate irrigation works, and a variety of other management considerations. Good land management is vital to agricultural output, as is evident in the high-yield nations of North America and Europe, each of which already has some sort of information-reporting system. Even for these countries, the earth-resources system offers a vast improvement in efficiency because of the rapidity with which the information can be obtained as contrasted with existing methods. But the real potential of the system lies in upgrading the management capability of the underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and South America, many of which have never surveyed their land resources.

In hydrology, the earth-resource system would detect water-pollution trends, provide a complete inventory of lake and reservoir levels, show rainfall and snow levels, allow quicker prediction of potential floods, and locate freshwater reserves in underground springs and streams, which collectively are believed to hold thousands of times more water than all rivers.

In oceanography, it would benefit the fishing industry by accurate location of fish schools, aid maritime commerce by better charting of sea conditions and wave profiles, and spot ice fields for iceberg warnings.

In geology, it would allow continuous monitoring of glaciers and volcanoes, improve earthquake prediction and warning, and, most importantly, identify terrain features associated with oil and mineral deposits, particularly in those remote areas not explored by aircraft.

In geography, it would produce a con-

stantly updated "living" map, showing population densities and spread trends for use in urban development and transportation planning.

These are but a few of the more visible potential benefits. Experts have identified a great many more, and experience with the system undoubtedly will open up broad new ranges of application not yet considered. One space scientist sums it up with the statement that the earth-resources satellite system is applicable to "all the conditions of the earth's surface that are of economic or cultural interest to humanity."

What is such a system worth? Clearly, a subject so broad does not readily lend itself to accurate appraisal, and many of the benefits are humanitarian rather than economic. There is one study that serves as an indicator of the enormous scope of the potential benefits. NASA investigated agricultural losses in the United States and calculated that an earth-resources survey could reduce them by ten percent, an extremely modest gain. The resulting estimates showed savings approaching \$400 million a year in reduced crop losses; increased meat output valued at \$350 million annually due to early detection and correction of nutrient-deficient rangeland; and \$100 million a year in agricultural land saved from floods.

From these guidelines, which embrace only a single area of benefit in a single country, even the most conservative assessor must assign to a global system an economic value running to billions of dollars a year.

Experience with the worldwide communications and weather satellite networks shows that the nations of the world are ready to band together to reap the advantages of space technology, but conclusion of the necessary international agreements leaves open the question of when the global system can become an operational reality.

The technology is now or soon to be available. NASA has already signaled the go-ahead for the first Earth Resources Technology Satellites (ERTS), experimental models whose assignment will be the evaluation of certain types of resources-monitoring sensors and other data-collection equipment. Design contracts for the ERTS were awarded last October, hardware fabrication will begin this year, and the first ERTS will be sent into orbit in 1972.

Although ERTS is purely a developmental program, it will have a limited operational capability. It will produce a land-use map of the United States, classify surface geological features for agricultural purposes, and collect information from unmanned earth-based devices, such as river gauges. The ERTS spacecraft will provide the developmental base for an operational earth-resources survey system, which, technically speaking, is a "within the decade" probability.

DERIVED BENEFITS

Less dramatic, less sweeping, not as easily understood, and in some cases practically unknown are space benefits of the "derived" category, those that stem from general technological advances rather than from the application of satellites to earth uses. The primary source of this class of benefits is the Apollo program, the broadest and most rapidly progressive technological undertaking ever attempted by man.

So extraordinary were the demands for performance and reliability needed to land men on the moon that the Apollo team had to create an entirely new order of technology and to compress several decades of normal technological gain into less than one. Advances in aerospace technology were not, by themselves, sufficient for the task; it became necessary to force progress in virtually every scientific and technological discipline.

The results of this monumental effort reach far beyond the ability to build better aero-

space vehicles. The knowledge acquired affects many channels of man's way of life; its yield embraces thousands of new ideas, inventions, materials, and processes for the betterment of human existence.

On an ever-accelerating scale, the vast library of know-how is being put to work. Through its Technology Utilization Program, NASA is working hard to achieve maximum return on the space investment by transferring the know-how to nonaerospace applications.

The space agency is not simply waiting and hoping for technology transfers. It is actively pushing them by means of a well-managed program operated on a minimal budget. Specialists at field installations and in the plants of contractors scrutinize every research and development project, trying to find new applications, and report their "possibles" to the space agency's headquarters. Working with independent research institutes, the technology utilization staff sorts out the "possibles" and the "probables" and disseminates information on the latter to almost 7,000,000 potential users. So far NASA has identified some 2,800 probables, and about a third of those have already found their way into the civil economy.

Most familiar are the new products coming into the market. The list is far too lengthy to recount more than a random sampling: A hand-size, battery-operated TV camera, used to photograph rocket-stage separation, is being used to monitor industrial processes; spacecraft-coating research produced an ultra-long-wearing paint for home use; a device employed to find space capsules in the oceans, the "undersea pinger," has new employment in the plotting of ocean currents and in tracing the movements of fish schools.

The medical profession has been a particular beneficiary of technology transfer. For example, a lunar-gravity training device has become a tool for teaching crippled persons to walk again; a tiny space-sensor, so small it can be inserted into an artery without discomfort, has been adapted to medical use; a plastic-metallic spray for attaching heart electrodes to pilots makes it possible to radio ahead to a hospital an electrocardiogram of an ambulance patient.

Among the larger direct economic benefits of technology transfer are a great variety of new tools and processes that are bringing new efficiency to American industry. Examples: An electromagnetic hammer, invented for launch-vehicle construction, causes metal to flow like soft plastic, so that it can be smoothed and shaped without weakening; an electron beam devised for spacecraft construction can accomplish on one welding pass what might take fifty to 100 passes by earlier methods.

Still another area of transfer is new materials. An extremely thin, high-strength aluminum foil, a requirement for an unmanned satellite, is employed in packaging sensitive pharmaceuticals; pyroceram, developed for radar tracking domes, has brought increased durability for kitchen utensils; Apollo's spray-on foam heat-shielding has application as a home insulator.

For each of these examples, there are multiscore others. Some of them amount to little more than a small increment of added convenience, but others represent economic benefits of a very substantial order, and in many instances new companies have been formed solely for their exploitation.

DATA BANKS

Taking the process of technology transfer a step further, NASA has set up six Regional Dissemination Centers, operated by universities and research institutes, to serve fee-paying industrial clients. NASA calls the Centers "knowledge brokers." Their stock in trade is a vast warehouse of some 750,000 technical documents whose contents have been abstracted, categorized, and computer-

ized for ready access; NASA's own input is backed by reports from the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Updated every two weeks, these great data banks contain the latest scientific lore in all of the many disciplines that space research encompasses. They are information gold mines to businessmen exploring new markets, looking for answers to operating problems, or simply seeking to keep their technical personnel abreast of developments in their fields. The system works this way:

A client is provided a librarian, to whom he spells out his needs. The librarian, an engineer or scientist skilled in the client's field of interest, prepares a computer query, narrowing as closely as possible the area the machine must search. The electronic search produces the titles of perhaps 150 technical reports that seem applicable. The librarian discards most of them, selects a score or more that seem most pertinent, and asks for brief summaries of the reports. The automated system provides printed briefs, or single-page abstracts, which the librarian digests and weeds out. The remainder are given the client, who may then order the complete reports.

A single search may cost \$150 and bring a hundred-fold return to the client. For example, a textile manufacturer in North Carolina, skeptical of any relationship between his own business and the exotic research being conducted in space, was persuaded to give the system a try. He went to the Center in his area and presented the librarian a quality-control problem. The old equipment he was using could not maintain desired yarn consistency—output varied from too thick to too thin. Was there a solution short of replacing the equipment? The computer search turned up details of an infrared scanner that could be adopted to keep an electronic eye on yarn thickness and warning when it slipped out of tolerance. It is now in service.

The proper information usually gives a client's own technologists a line of approach toward solving the problem but, where information is not enough, the Center goes a step further and locates, in its computerized file, the most authoritative consultant for a given task. Example: A California company specializing in products for the oil-drilling industry came up with a design for a tool long sought by drillers, a device that could monitor the direction of the bore and warn of deviation from the desired path. Key to the design was an accelerometer, or motion-sensor. However, prototype construction was snagged because the company's engineers could not find on the regular market an accelerometer capable of withstanding the broad temperature range and sharp jolts it would have to take in its drillhead mounting. The company's president went to the application Center where a computer search turned up a specialist in small, superdurable accelerometers. He solved the problem, and the monitoring device it now in pilot production.

Many firms subscribe to the service on a yearly basis, seeking a competitive edge by keeping their technical personnel up to the minute. For one large company, a Center screened 63,000 abstracts in a six-month period, submitting 4,500 as "possibly pertinent" to the company's interests. The company's own technologists selected 153 of them for follow-up investigation. Impressed by the results, the firm has appointed its own technology utilization manager to provide liaison between the data bank and its research engineers.

NASA can't afford the machinery needed to trace every transfer and estimate direct economic benefits, but reports filtering in from beneficiaries indicates it is of a very substantial order. One major research and development organization credits data-bank

service with savings of \$1 million a year. Few reports are that impressive, but a thumbnail poll of fourteen companies during one quarter of 1969 showed that, as a direct result of Center services, five companies had sales increases totaling \$1 million, five effected production-cost savings amounting to \$20,000, and four had labor savings totaling 1,000 man-hours.

By themselves, such gains don't seem very significant, but the Centers are now serving some 700 customers, and the list of regular clients is growing at the rate of twenty to twenty-five percent annually. The oldest Center, with fees of almost \$300,000 in 1969, has virtually reached the self-sufficient stage, and others are approaching that level. When fees exceed the costs of maintaining the service, client charges will be reduced, increasing the attractiveness of the service and expanding its breadth. The biggest problem is spreading the word of the tremendous national resources stored in the data banks; many potential beneficiaries either are unaware that the service exists or believe, like the textile manufacturer, that space research is too remote from their operations to produce any concrete gains.

SOFTWARE FOR BUSINESS

In this age of the computer, more and more business firms are automating their operations for increased efficiency in everything from complex machining to simple accounting. Time-sharing plans make the computer itself available even to very small companies at modest costs, but a larger cost factor is developing a computer program for a specific application. Space spinoff is helping industry to reach new levels of efficiency at low cost, by making available programs that can be adapted to a wide variety of business uses. In the course of twelve years of space research, NASA has developed thousands of programs, which are simply taped sequences of instructions telling a computer how to solve a problem or produce desired information from its stored input. Usually, a program can be converted from one computer "language" to another, or from one machine to another. Many of NASA's programs are too esoteric for general use, but a surprising number can be adapted to everyday business purposes.

At the University of Georgia, NASA has established the Computer Software and Management Information Center (COSMIC) for the benefit of the business community. From field installations, NASA contractors, DoD, AEC, and university research laboratories, COSMIC gets a continual flow of computer programs which are reviewed for their adaptability to uses other than those for which they were designed. The Center now has an inventory of about 1,000 such programs, and NASA issues a quarterly bulletin stating the types available.

The broad utility of space-developed software is illustrated by the example of a program used in the design phase of the rocket engine that powers the upper stages of the Saturn V launch vehicle. Engineers at Bonneville Dam employed the same basic program in their design of control circuitry. General Foods used it for food-preparation research. The University of North Carolina adapted it to public health studies. With modifications for their specific needs, more than 300 American businesses found a use for this one program.

So far COSMIC has disseminated some 20,000 software items, a magnificent benefit to industry since NASA deliberately keeps the costs low to attract broadest interest. Prices run from \$125 to about \$1,200 per program and NASA estimates that a COSMIC customer can get a software package for from one-half to one-tenth what it would cost him to develop a similar program from scratch. COSMIC is still in its infancy—it was started in 1966—but early results indi-

cate it may become one of the really big areas of return on the space investment.

BIOMEDICAL APPLICATION TEAMS

NASA's manned space programs, particularly Apollo, demanded a great deal of research in the biosciences. This, together with other areas of intense developmental effort—such as microminiaturization, instrumentation, and telemetry—made the world of medicine a natural prime beneficiary of space spinoff. Noting that medical systems constituted an exceptionally high percentage of the new products and techniques being transferred to the public economy, NASA concluded that medical research offered a particularly fruitful field for a more sharply focused thrust. As an adjunct to the continuing business of promoting product transfer, the space agency launched an assault on specific problems of medical research, on the premise that space knowledge and expertise might offer lines of solution where none existed otherwise.

At independent research institutes, NASA organized three Biomedical Application Teams (BATs). Each team is composed of a mix of space technologists and medical men, and it is "multidisciplinary" in nature, meaning that a BAT is composed of a number of skilled specialists—physicians, surgeons, biologists, physicists, mechanical engineers, electronics engineers, information scientists, and so forth. Working with university medical centers and other medical research groups the BATmen seek first to identify problems that appear susceptible to space-technology application. They prepare "medical problems abstracts," which are used to search NASA's data banks for relevant technology and for existing expertise in the problem area. The experts thus located are then invited to join the attack on the problem.

As an example, a medical researcher at Duke University Medical Center developed a technique for more precise monitoring of human heart action by measuring electrical signals simultaneously at fifteen points of the heart wall. The problem was how to ensure good electrical contact at so many points without damaging the heart wall in the process of insertion. The BAT in the researcher's zone, operated by Research Triangle Institute in Durham, N.C., prepared the abstract, searched the data bank, and turned up an instrumentation engineer exceptionally qualified for the task. He designed a safe, fifteen-electrode probe that could be inserted by an ordinary hypodermic needle; it was thoroughly tested, found to be the answer, and it is now in use.

The BAT operation is a form of technology utilization activity to which no economic value can be assigned but which is nonetheless a "hard" benefit to mankind. It also exemplifies the "nonvisible" type of benefit; the heart probe may help prolong the life of many a person who may be completely unaware that he is a beneficiary of space technology.

In three years of operation, the Biomedical Application Teams have chalked up a strikingly successful record. They have identified some 500 problems and found a solution for one out of every five. A .200 batting average does little for a baseball player's image, but in medical research it represents a high order of success. It has excited wide interest among the medical community and NASA anticipates snowballing growth in this vital area of space benefit.

Encouraged by the success of the BATs, NASA recently broadened the focus of the application team concept with the organization of its Technology Applications Teams (TATs). "Technology," in this sense, means technology applicable to "people problems"—broad areas of national concern such as air and water pollution, highway safety, law enforcement, urban construction, and a good many others. Like the BATs, the TATs

are multidisciplinary groups, except that the nonaerospace input usually comes from other government agencies.

One of TATs' first problems, brought to NASA's attention by a metropolitan fire chief, involved the high number of casualties among firemen due to inhalation of smoke or toxic gases. It was established that existing protective breathing devices left something to be desired from the standpoint of efficiency, and the TAT at IIT Research Institute of Chicago was assigned the job of suggesting a new design approach. Interviews with a great many fire experts produced some tough requirements: The system had to be low-cost for widest acceptance; it had to operate for at least thirty minutes yet should weigh no more than ten pounds; for visibility, the face-mask visor should be fog-proof; and the backpack harness should not restrict the wearer's movement.

A technology search disclosed several areas in which NASA had done a lot of research. A space agency contractor had developed, for astronaut use, a "chlorate candle," which generated oxygen by the chemical decomposition of sodium chlorate, with high reliability and at considerable backpack weight-saving. Another contractor had developed a completely fog-free facepiece for full-pressure suits. Also available was a lightweight, nonrestrictive harness assembly originally designed for astronaut use. A bonus innovation was found in a liquid-crystal device incorporated in an astronaut's helmet to indicate the temperatures he is encountering. The Technology Application Team put them all together in a compact design, now being evaluated, that seems to be the answer to a fire fighter's prayer.

The TAT program, only nine months old, is moving into broader areas of problem-solving, in cooperation with such agencies as the Department of Transportation; the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration; the Department of Justice; the Bureau of Reclamation and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, both in the Department of the Interior; and the National Air Pollution Control Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. One current program, being jointly conducted with the US Bureau of Mines, aims at reducing the death toll in mining disasters. Here TAT personnel hope to be able to apply NASA's considerable expertise in rescue and survival technology, communications, sensors, and life-support devices. Under consideration is the use of such space-developed equipment as radar and sonic systems for locating trapped miners, chlorate candles for underground life support, sensors to identify mine sectors poisoned by carbon dioxide, and devices for restoring ventilation knocked out by explosions.

TATmen have identified a number of other areas in which space technology appears to have direct application to public problems. For instance, experiments in how much deceleration force an astronaut can sustain are applicable to minimizing injuries in auto accidents; sensor technology may prevent railroad train derailments; detection systems can measure the components of air pollution and existing mechanical devices can be applied to controlling pollution at the source; materials technology promises lower-cost housing construction; and a great variety of advanced communications systems are available for improved law enforcement, and space science techniques can be used to advantage by criminology agencies.

Space enthusiasts are fond of asserting that the people of the twenty-first century will look back upon the United States' venture into space and declare it to be the best investment in the future ever made by any nation. That seems very likely. But, from the evidence at hand, even those of us who cannot expect to see the next century may be able to say as much—within this new decade.

TALLY SHEETS ALTERED IN UMWA ELECTION

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have called upon both Tony Boyle and George Titler, president and vice president of the United Mine Workers of America to resign forthwith. Both officials have repeatedly encouraged and participated in violations of the law in running the union and the recent December 9 election. Mr. Titler particularly has engaged in a despicable defamation of the character of the murdered Joseph A. Yablonski.

On top of these developments comes the documented information that widespread illegal voting in UMWA District 26 in Nova Scotia, where Mr. Boyle allegedly received 2,677 votes to 470 for Mr. Yablonski, has been further corrupted by obvious alterations in the tally sheets. It took a free lance television producer for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., Mr. Strang Ferguson, to develop this information rather than the Department of Labor. I am attaching a letter to Secretary of Labor Shultz, with Mr. Ferguson's memorandum appended, to reveal the full extent of these election violations as well as other illegalities within the United Mine Workers of America.

DEFAMATION OF CHARACTER

In the face of these revelations, the vice president of the United Mine Workers of America, George J. Titler, has sent up a very smelly smokescreen in a desperate attempt to divert attention from the sight and smell of his own illegal activities. Aside from calling the murdered Jock Yablonski a thief and a liar, Vice President Titler falsely charges that—

There were millions and millions of dollars behind Joe Yablonski, trying to destroy the UMW. He was hired for that very purpose.

Mr. Speaker, such a fantastic statement comes only a short time after Joseph A. Yablonski, Jr., testified under oath to the Senate Labor Subcommittee that approximately \$60,000 had been expended on his father's campaign.

Mr. Titler descends to the very depths in insulting the character of a dead man when he is confronted with the unanswerable question of why Mr. Yablonski could hold a high UMW office for so many years if he is now as bad as Mr. Titler says he is. Here is Mr. Titler's response, quoted in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette for February 19, 1970:

You don't know that foreign element of coal miners from Russia and Yugoslavia and the like up there in Pennsylvania. I don't mean there's anything wrong with being foreign, but they stick together and stick behind their man. It's not like down in the Kentucky fields or someplace where everybody's Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. Speaker, if Mr. Boyle and Mr. Titler spent one-tenth of the time they are devoting to maligning a dead man's character to a small effort to find who

put up the money for Mr. Yablonski's murders, the crime would be quickly solved.

There follow the articles in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette of February 19, 1970, concerning this incident, as well as the letter from Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., to Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, dated February 21, 1970, as well as other pertinent telegrams concerning illegal activities within the United Mine Workers Union:

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, Feb. 19, 1970]

BECKLEY UMW AFFAIRS "CURIUSER, CURIUSER"

(By James A. Haught)

BECKLEY—Before his hideous murder, Joseph A. Yablonski wrote a letter saying there's something peculiar about the United Mine Workers in Beckley.

Such as a little one-room office that cost \$1,354 to operate in 1963, and \$31,540 to operate in 1968.

And an \$83,622 loan that seems a mystery to everyone.

Today, Beckley UMW leaders give vague answers or decline to answer.

Involved are UMW District 29, the largest district in the entire union, and Local 7086, the largest local in the entire union. Both are located in the same building, a former coal baron's mansion on W. Va. 3 east of the city.

Local 7086, a catch-all for pensioners and workers at little mines too small to have their own locals, occupies a single room in the massive gray mansion.

On Nov. 24, in the final days of the savage UMW election campaign, presidential candidate Yablonski asked for an investigation of the Beckley offices. He wrote to a UMW auditor:

"... I have been frequently questioned about the financial dealings of the local unions which are located in the district offices of our organization. Again and again, the local in Beckley, W. Va., Local Union 7086, has been brought up.

"I have made a cursory examination of the limited financial records available and am deeply troubled by what I have discovered...

"As you know, since 1959, locals have been required to file annual records with the federal government. The first report ever filed by Local 7086, filed while George Titler was president of District 29, showed an outstanding loan from District 29 in the amount of \$83,622.

"In my many years in this organization, I have never seen a 'loan' of such size. Over the years, the local has made 'payments on the loan' of \$17,000, \$9,000, \$8,500, \$5,700, \$3,000 and \$8,000, as well as an outright transfer of \$20,000 to the district.

"But the district's reports have never acknowledged the existence of the loan or the receipt of \$71,200 listed above. I would like to know what has happened to this money.

"Additionally, there would appear to be something unusual in the local's administrative and office expenses over the past six years. The local is housed in the district office; therefore, the sharp rise in these costs is all the more perplexing:

"In 1963—\$1,354; in 1964—\$8,025; in 1965—\$8,004; in 1966—\$6,761; in 1967—\$8,314; in 1968—\$31,540.

"... The 1968 figure exceeds the administrative cost of almost every district. The administrative and office expense for all of District 29 in 1968 was \$28,008..."

Yablonski's letter pointed out that Local 7086 has 2,850 members of whom 2,400 are pensioners. Since it is largest in all the

UMW, he said it has 24 votes in the national convention—and all its delegates to the 1968 convention were District 29 officials or employees.

One of Yablonski's charges during the election campaign was that many of America's 80,000 retired miners belong to some 600 "bogus locals." He said such locals have no meetings, no real officers and no actual activities for the members, but the members pay dues and vote in UMW national elections.

Since Yablonski's death, his letter about Beckley was unearthed by Rep. Ken Hechler, D-W. Va., and reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Last week at the UMW headquarters, it seemed evident that district officials, rather than rank-and-file members of Local 7086, handle the operation of the local.

The secretary to the district president, questioned by a newsman, couldn't remember the name of the old pensioner who is listed as this year's local president.

In the room designated as local headquarters, a grandmotherly secretary sat amid filing cabinets. She said she was paid by the district, not the local. She said the local had no paid employees. She said she had handled the local's affairs for 10 years. When asked what caused the local's administrative costs to rise from \$1,354 to \$31,540, she said she wasn't permitted to discuss such matters.

Larkin S. Philpot, outgoing district president who has been elected to the UMW international board, agreed to a brief interview.

When asked about the \$83,622 loan from the district to the local, he said it was "before my time" and he knew nothing about it.

When asked about the twentyfold increase in the local's administrative expenses.

"I don't care to go into a lot of detail here. Those accusations are untrue."

Asked if he could remember any special expenses that might have caused Local #7086's costs to soar in 1968, he replied:

"Well, I don't want to get into that. A lot of things would cause that."

He gave no examples. He said he'd prefer not to be quoted by name. He said all answers about costs should come from the union finance officer.

Philpot concluded with an accusation against Yablonski:

"It's all clear in our labor management reports filed with the government. What he left out could have given a complete picture. He just took part of it to make it look like something was wrong."

J. Carl Bunch, secretary-treasurer of District 29, was less cooperative. He said:

"That's a matter of public record and I wouldn't have anything to say about it . . . They've just got them (the federal reports) garbled up, that's all. I'd rather not comment on it."

On the other hand, George Titler, the old warhorse of District 29, was willing to talk at length, even though he's bedridden with spinal arthritis in Appalachian Regional Hospital at Beckley. Now vice president of the entire UMW, he spoke nearly two hours about operations in the Beckley district.

. . . he said there were "a lot of reasons for it." He mentioned the purchase of a \$7,000 bookkeeping machine, but acknowledged that it was bought by the district, not the local. Then he grew brusque:

"Local 7086 got big because it was a local that was looked after by district officials," he boomed. "I'll stack my life on it that there's not a penny off in any report. If we made a false report to the Labor Department, we'd all go to the penitentiary."

But he was unsure of details. When asked about the \$83,622 loan from the district to the local, he first said it must be a mistaken report, that it must have been a loan from

the local to the district, because 7086 was a "fabulously wealthy local."

Assured that the letter said otherwise, Titler ventured that the local may have borrowed money when it first was being started and encountered expenses. He shrugged off the matter. But he repeated that the local is wealthy.

"When I was saving money in that local for future benefits, I had more than a million dollars in it," he said. "I put it in a bank on the West Coast at five and three-quarters per cent. To ——— with these banks around here."

The "future benefits" the money was saved for, he explained, were the huge relief expenses the UMW encounters when miners are out on strike.

Titler spoke glowingly of the brotherhood between miners during the hard times of strikes, and how large sums are shifted from one group to help another group in need—"If it's paid back, all right, and if it's not paid back, it's still all right."

TITLER BRANDS YABLONSKI A THIEF

BECKLEY.—The vice president of the United Mine Workers says Joseph Yablonski was a notorious thief—"so ——— crooked he could hide behind a corkscrew"—that his campaign for union president actually was an undercover plot to destroy the UMW, and that his murder probably was ordered by persons he had swindled.

George Joy Titler, barrel-shaped, shaggy-headed, 75-year-old veteran of the bloody years in the coalfields, lay like a wounded grizzly bear in a bed at Appalachian Regional Hospital here. He was in constant pain from spinal arthritis that recurred in an old back injury he suffered in the mines. An armed guard was on duty outside his door because of telephoned threats.

A Gazette reporter was allowed to pass the guard and ask Titler about accusations which Yablonski made against UMW District 29 at Beckley, which Titler once headed, and Beckley UMW Local 7086.

The union chief dealt quickly with the accusations and then loosed this tirade against the slain Yablonski:

"Joe Yablonski was the crookedest ——— we ever had. I'll say that, even though he's dead. He stole more votes in the years he was in the UMW . . .

"All this talk to make him a martyr is just a lot of hogwash. There were millions and millions of dollars behind Joe Yablonski, trying to destroy the UMW. He was hired for that very purpose . . .

"The last time, they got a man from an insane asylum to run against Tony Boyle, and they saw that he got 25,000 votes, so they said, 'all right, next time we'll get someone on the international board.' But they made a mistake. They got a man so ——— crooked he could hide behind a corkscrew."

In a previous interview, Titler had hinted that oil millionaires, or maybe even the Mafia, may have been the source of Yablonski's funds. He didn't mention that possibility this time.

The union leader continued:

"I worked with Joe Yablonski 25 years, and I always made more money than he did, but, ——— I don't have no million dollars. That's what he's supposed to have had . . .

"Hell, you ought to talk to the guys in Pittsburgh who worked with Yablonski. The story is told and sworn to by dozens up there that they had what was called a 'kopez,' a kitty where they all put their money in for the UMW convention. They had \$5,550 collected and they told Yablonski 'you owe \$375.' He threw down his \$375 and then picked up the whole kopez and put it in his pocket and kept it."

"He was the small end of nothing shaved down to a point. He lost his own district by

300 votes after being an official there 25 years. . . .

"Joe Yablonski always worked himself up to the head of any organization so he could get his hands on the money in it. A guy was in here to see me the other day and he had a little newspaper printed by Poles up there in Pennsylvania. It said Joe collected \$3 million for the Polish underground that was fighting against the Russians, but he never turned the money over."

"It's probably something like that that got him killed. . . .

"Joe Yablonski and his family dealt with the big coal operators and bought water companies from them at a dollar apiece—you know, the water works that'd be left in a coal town after the mine played out."

"I've got deeds to them all to prove it . . . Last year it was estimated they were making \$180,000 a year revenue. . . .

"One operator told me, 'Yeah, I sold it to him for a dollar, and he never paid me the dollar.' He said Yablonski later was offered \$39,000 for the same waterworks."

"Once John L. Lewis called Yablonski in and asked him if it was true about one of the water companies. Yablonski said it was, and Lewis said, 'divest yourself.' So Joe gave it to his brother. It's called Redstone Water Co. . . ."

Titler continued:

"One time, Yablonski had a fellow stealing votes in a union election, and the guy got caught. Joe got in a fight with the man who caught him, and hit him in the eye with a spittoon and knocked his eye out. Everybody knows that story."

"Once before he became a union officer, Yablonski was one of the guys who hid in the back of a police paddy wagon and rode through a UMW picket line to work every day."

Titler didn't mention Yablonski's robbery conviction in his younger years—a record that was hit repeatedly during the union election campaign by UMW President W. A. Boyle—nor did he mention a campaign accusation that Yablonski had been a "child deserter."

As for titler's \$500,000 suit against Yablonski because of Yablonski's accusation that Titler made "under-the-table" agreements with coal firms, Titler said it's "too bad he died" and never had to answer in court.

Titler was asked why, if Yablonski was such a person, he was allowed to hold international-level office in the UMW. He said it was because coal miners in Pennsylvania elected Yablonski to the international UMW board and top leaders had no choice but to accept him.

"You don't know that foreign element of coal miners from Russia and Yugoslavia and the like up there in Pennsylvania," he said. "I don't mean there's anything wrong with being foreign, but they stick together and stick behind their man."

"It's not like down in the Kentucky fields or someplace where everybody's an Anglo-Saxon."

Titler's strong statements were made last week. He was released from the hospital Wednesday.

Appalachian Regional Hospital formerly was one of several operated by the UMW. It still has a big bronze plaque to John L. Lewis beside the entrance and a framed portrait of Lewis by the information desk.

"I guess that picture will stay up as long as the hospital does," a blonde receptionist said with a smile.

"But we don't have to bow when we pass it anymore."

JANUARY 20, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Mike Trbovich, vice president of Local Union 6330 of United Mine Workers and campaign chairman for Yablonski-Brown

ticket, has asked me to forward this message to you:

"I hereby challenge the December 9 UMWA election for reasons stated in Yablonski letter to International tellers and appendices attached thereto and in Rauh letter to you dated January 13th. I urgently request a Department of Labor investigation of election based on those letters. Massive violations of law and UMWA constitution committed by UMWA officers and those working with them clearly affected results of election. New nominations and new elections are essential to a clean-up of this union."

JOSEPH L. RAUH, Jr.

JANUARY 23, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.:

In our letter of January 13, 1970, we asked that you examine every voucher and every expenditure of the UMWA during 1969. This request was based on our knowledge that union funds (in addition to personnel) were being unlawfully diverted to the Boyle campaign in many ways. One such means is the subject of this telegram. During the course of the campaign we received unsolicited information from someone within the union headquarters which information generally proved to be reliable. This informant several times stated on the telephone that union personnel were ordered to contribute to miners for Boyle, Titler and Owens and promised recompense by later increase in salaries. At executive board meeting this week these unlawful promises were fulfilled. Stenographic notes are kept of union meetings but transcripts are doctored and do not accurately reflect stenographic notes taken. See Yablonski v. UMWA (C.A. 1799-69, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia). We request you subpoena stenographic notes at once before they are destroyed.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, Jr.

JANUARY 26, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.:

H. Elmer Brown, candidate for vice president of the Yablonski-Brown ticket, has asked me to send this protest to you concerning manner in which Labor Department is investigating election irregularities. Brown states that Labor Department investigators talk only to local union officials who are bought lock, stock and barrel by Boyle machine and that Yablonski-Brown supporters and even their observers have not been contacted by investigators. We also understand that no effort is being made to get at vast illegal expenditures of union money and personnel in support of Boyle election. We had long feared that Labor Department would be more interested in justifying your failure to investigate prior to the election than in providing new election to bring democracy to the union. Initial reports seem to justify these fears.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, Jr.

RAUH AND SILARD,

Washington, D.C., February 5, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This is in response to the letter of January 27, 1970, from W. J. Usery, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Mr. Usery purports to respond to my January 13, 1970 letter and my telegrams of January 23 and 26, 1970. But his letter does not respond to any of the allegations in my three communications except to make some form of general denial. The sad fact, as appears to be coming out in testimony before the Senate Labor Subcommittee, is that your investigators are limiting themselves to the least important of the four reasons why you

should upset the election. These four reasons, of course, are:

1. The pre-election violations of law, including the massive use of union personnel and union treasury, require a new election.

2. The incidents of violence and the atmosphere of intimidation and fear made a fair election impossible and require a new election.

3. The voting of pensioners through unconstitutional locals was obviously unlawful and requires a new election.

4. The hundred violations on election day, which Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski recounted in his affidavit, were probably matched some tenfold by those about which we have no information and these violations, too, require a new election.

What your investigators are doing (and apparently quite poorly) is investigating item 4, probably the least important of the four grounds for setting aside the election. Worse yet, many of your investigators appear to be union-oriented. For example, your Mr. Hollis Bowers seemed interested only in what the Yablonski forces had done wrong and acted as a wholesale apologist for the union position in interrogating Mr. Fred Barnes yesterday.

You will understand why we reject Mr. Usery's self-serving general denial.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. RAUH, Jr.

RAUH AND SILARD,

Washington, D.C., February 21, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
U.S. Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: For over 7 months the Yablonski forces inside the United Mine Workers have been determinedly and honorably pleading for just one thing: that you do your duty as Secretary of Labor and enforce the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 against the UMWA. For those 7 months your answer to us has always been "no." And, as we contemplate the wholly pusillanimous investigation that your Department is presently making, we fear that your answer remains "no" even today—or, what is just as bad, that you will seize upon the narrowest possible ground to upset the election.

Time and again we have asked for Labor Department action. Back in July and August we detailed over a hundred violations of LMRDA and asked you to use your admitted authority under Section 601 to investigate those violations. In your office on July 24, 1969 I told you that if the Department of Labor failed to enter the case there would be violence and more violence and this would be on your conscience and yours alone. You turned a deaf ear and thus courted that very violence which has now occurred. On December 1 we brought the sorry record of the illegal activities of Tony Boyle and his henchmen up to date. We asked you to start an investigation at once and to station an agent at every polling place. We pointed out that "if the incumbent UMWA officers are allowed to steal this election on December 9th with the Department of Labor standing by, then everyone will know that enforcement of this law is a joke." Again you turned a deaf ear; again our predictions came true. Immediately after the election, we asked you to start an investigation and to impound the ballots and tally sheets to prevent their alteration. Again you turned a deaf ear; and now, as you can see from the Canadian Appendix, *tally sheets have indeed been altered*. Finally, after the triple murder in January, we made one last desperate request for an investigation. Although your public relations people talked about putting 200 investigators in the field as your answer to our charges of inaction, all that they did is play "patty-cake" with the Mine Workers and even that type of investi-

gation ended quickly. We had feared that the Labor Department would be more interested in justifying its failure to investigate prior to the election than in providing an all-out basis for a new election to bring democracy to the union. Our fears have been fully justified by the weak and inadequate nature of its investigation.

Mr. Secretary, you and your advisers are apparently the only people in the whole United States who do not know how rotten things are in the Mine Workers. Why do you refuse to see what even a blind man could not miss? Is it the influence of Mr. Usery who denounces the Yablonski group with allegations that they accepted money from Walter Reuther and the UAW (a false statement which Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski under oath denied as "garbage" before the Senate Labor Subcommittee)? Is it your lawyers' prattlings about "volunteerism" in the labor movement and Mr. Silberman's desire to play the wheeler-dealer role with the UMWA? Or is it your own personal desire not to take any steps of which the powerful UMWA might not approve? We do not know your motivation for inaction and apathy in the face of tyranny and violence, but there is one thing we do know: We shall keep up this fight, whatever you do. Because the American people will not forever tolerate bureaucratic indifference to UMWA corruption any more than they would in the case of the Teamsters. The Yablonski supporters will never let you sweep this mess under the rug.

The evidence which we have presented to you over a 7 month period demonstrates beyond peradventure of doubt that the December 9th election must be set aside for each of the following four reasons:

1. Pre-election violations of law, including the massive use of union personnel and the union treasury, require a new election.

2. The voting of pensioners through unconstitutional bogey locals was obviously unlawful and requires a new election.

3. The over a hundred violations on election day, which Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski recounted in his Affidavit, were probably matched some tenfold by those about which we have no information and these, too, require a new election.

4. The incidents of violence and the atmosphere of intimidation and fear made a fair election impossible, and require a new election.

Your investigation has failed to deal at all with points 1, 2, and 4 and has been woefully inadequate on point 3. One can only conclude from this half-hearted investigation that, while you feel the need to avoid a public outcry if you failed to set aside the election, you have decided to act on some technical ground rather than on a basis that will get to the rest of the corruption, violence and tyranny in this union. We deal below with each of the four matters you should have investigated.

1. The Department has done nothing to investigate the preelection violations of law, especially the massive use of union personnel and the union treasury. In my letter to you of January 13, 1970 we asked that the Department examine every voucher and every expenditure of the UMWA during 1969; we asked that you interrogate all UMWA personnel (in the field and in the head office) and all the additional personnel added to the payroll during 1969. You have done virtually nothing about this. Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski outlined in his testimony before the Senate Labor Subcommittee the steps your Department would have to take to conduct a real investigation of the UMWA election: (i) lists of all persons employed at all levels of the union must be made for 1968 and 1969 and compared; only in this way can the extent to which the UMWA unlawfully padded its payrolls be made known; (ii) all expense vouchers for this

period must be carefully scrutinized to ascertain how much really went to the incumbents in the form of kickbacks to finance their reelection. (Privately we have been told that your staff regards this as an impossible task at this late date. We do not think it is. Moreover, had you begun your investigation when we first requested that you do so, the job would have been far easier); (iii) detailed itemized statements of all expenditures and income for all branches of the union, including the bogey locals, must be prepared and scrutinized with particular emphasis on money spent on postage, printing, telephone, and secretarial expenses to ascertain how much of the union's treasury was used to bankroll directly the incumbents' reelection bid; (iv) all loans to union personnel and union officers by the National Bank of Washington must be examined to determine how much of the incumbents' election expenses were financed by the union itself through the bank which it owns; (v) a list should be made of all union and union-related bank accounts in the National Bank of Washington and other banking institutions to determine how much of this money was siphoned from these accounts into the officers' campaign chest; (vi) a close study should be made of the relationship between the National Bank of Washington and other banking institutions—inter-bank loans should be bared and the union's loans to all closely held corporations and coal companies should be revealed along with the terms and amounts of these loans. Despite the fact that the transcript of this testimony was immediately made available to you, nothing was done to investigate along these lines either. The ineffectual nature of your investigation of the massive and illegal use of UMWA funds and personnel was demonstrated to us once again this week when several highly-respected miners from District 31 came into our office and told us of 13 men added to the UMWA payroll in 1969 to work for Boyle. Your people never even bothered to seek them out; they came to you of their own volition to make the facts known.

2. The Department has done nothing to investigate the illegal voting of pensioners through 600 bogus local unions. Mr. Boyle in his release of February 13 states that "Charges that there are 600 allegedly bogus locals in the UMWA were dismissed by federal district court in Washington, D.C. during the election campaign." We do not know if this "Boyleism" is the reason for your inaction in this area, but we know that his statement is false. Local unions, under the UMWA Constitution, are "composed of ten or more workers, skilled and unskilled, working in or around coal mines . . ." Secretary-Treasurer Owens in that pre-election case stated under oath that "there are some six hundred" local unions which do not report under LMDRA (Tr. 117). He explained that those locals do not report "because they are not workers in the mines" (Tr. 118). Far from rejecting our claim that the maintenance of these locals without workers in the mines was in violation of the UMWA Constitution, Judge Hart indicated that he was sympathetic to our assertion (Tr. 232, 236), but that since the case was being heard only a month before the scheduled election, it was "too late" for him to force the union to disband all those locals and transfer their members to lawful, working locals (Tr. 232). He further indicated, "I think the Secretary of Labor can probably take care of that one" (Tr. 238). Sadly for the forces of reform in the UMWA, Judge Hart's confidence in the Secretary of Labor, like our own, was wholly misplaced.

3. With respect to the election day violations, the inadequacy of the Department's investigation can be shown in many ways, but the simplest thing is to take a look at just one of our statements of violation. Para-

graph No. 61 of the election day violations covered by the Yablonski affidavit reads as follows:

"In Canada, in UMWA Districts 18 and 26, pensioned miners voted in their first International election, though they are not qualified to vote. The margin given Boyle in District 26 (Nova Scotia), 2677 to 470, is in large measure due to the illegal pension vote since most of the active mines have closed down. Local officers in one active Canadian local were offered \$50.00 apiece by District Representative Marsh to tabulate the unlawful pensioner vote, but they refused."

This statement was true as far as it went, but, as the Canadian Appendix to this letter demonstrates, the actual facts—never investigated by you but now handed to you on a silver platter—are far worse. Among other things, that Appendix shows that tally sheets were altered and another forged after the election. We told the Labor Department in December that this was going to happen, but we were scoffed at as we had been for so many months. Now we have the sworn proof that it did happen. Yet, despite the fact that we handed your Department on a silver platter the proof of altered and forged tally sheets, your investigators have made no effort to followup with a general investigation of other places where the tally sheets were likewise altered or forged. Equally outrageous, your Department stood idly by while the UMWA violated its constitution and its assurances to Judge Hart in failing to print and mail out the votes of each local by January 15, 1969, thus giving additional time for manipulation and falsification.

President Boyle knew where the Yablonski forces had no watchers and how to fake the results in those places. This was not just true of Canada. Within the past few days, we received for the first time the UMWA "official" local-by-local tally. It is utterly appalling that your people apparently had this information in their possession since January 26, 1970, and did not make it available to us or even inform us that you had it. Mr. Secretary are you trying to keep us in the dark? Does it make your job easier if the party on whom you have placed the burden of proof is not given notice of what figures he must disprove?

Nonetheless, in the short time we have had to examine these "official" results, we have pinpointed their inherent lack of credibility. For example, out of all the locals listed, in only two (2) did Boyle fail to receive a vote, while Yablonski was shut-out in three hundred and three (303) locals. In more than one-third of all the locals, 455 to be exact, Mr. Yablonski received two or less votes. The Yablonski forces did not have an observer in 98% of these locals; 90% of these locals are bogus locals, which are not even recognized by the Department as "labor organizations"; and their polling places were kept a deep, dark secret as the information already furnished to your investigators reveals.

In the UMWA's infamous Districts 19 and 20 Boyle supporters outdid themselves in the absence of Yablonski observers. Mr. Yablonski was denied a vote in 90 of the 127 locals that "voted". It comes as no surprise to us that District 19's "official" tally (3737 to 88) is almost identical with the initial figure posted at Boyle election headquarters in the UMWA Journal office at 8:00 p.m. on the night of December 9, 1969 (3725 to 87). The Alabama (District 20) figures similarly defy imagination. For example, look at these vote totals for Boyle: 98-0, 66-0, 87-0, 64-0, 373-2, 117-0, 280-2, 156-2, 92-0, 90-0, 75-1, 352-1, 145-1. In all of District 21, where Mr. Yablonski did not have a single observer, he received 9 votes, and was defeated by an astonishing ratio of 77 to 1. And even in a spot check of our observer reports which we furnished you, we note that certain reported re-

turns do not accord with the returns reported to us. Thus, for example, R. C. Owens, son of Secretary-Treasurer Owens, ran the election in Local 6, District 6. There our two observer reports indicate that Boyle received only 8 votes—the official tally, however, records 67 votes for Boyle and 2 for Mr. Yablonski. Mr. Secretary, I submit these figures are patently fraudulent.

There is adequate ground for overruling the election on these election day illegalities alone despite your once-over-lightly investigation. But the fact remains that the other three grounds for setting aside the election—which your investigation has not even touched—are even more significant and more determinative. We turn now to the most determinative one of all, the violence in this union.

4. It is not possible to repeat in detail all of the charges of violence and threatened violence to Mr. Yablonski and his supporters that we made during the course of these past months. Illustrative of these assertions are the following: we told you Mr. Yablonski had been brutally attacked in Springfield, Illinois on June 28; we told you a rally of his supporters had been forcefully broken up in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania the following day; we told you that John Aiello telephoned Mr. Charles Shawkey, a Yablonski supporter, on July 19 and threatened to kill him; we told you that Mr. James Torma had been threatened by Joseph C. Morris and that Mr. Torma and his wife had been harassed by threatening telephone calls. As Chip Yablonski told the Senate Subcommittee, "In every rally, in every coal mining town, from the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania to Kincaid, Illinois, that same fear prevailed. Every meeting was routinely attended by Mine Workers officials who made known their presence, who welcomed to the rally individuals they knew personally. They all carried notebooks and tape recorders, and in some instances I was told there were even cameras present."

We warned you concerning these and similar incidents. As early as July 9th, we wrote you: "What we have set out . . . is only the part of the iceberg above the water line. The terror inside a union where a candidate for President is knocked unconscious and where a rally for that candidate is broken up by goons is even greater when it comes to the individual members." That reign of terror—abetted by bureaucratic indifference—made a fair election wholly impossible.

Some of the violence connected with this election and with efforts to reform the UMWA were unknown even to us until after the brutal murders of the Yablonskis encouraged some people to come forward with the facts of the terror they felt due to repeated threats to themselves and their families.

Thus *Life* magazine reported that Dr. Hawey Welles, who campaigned for Mr. Yablonski, came home one night to a ransacked home and on another occasion found that the gas tank of his airplane had been stuffed with pine cones and leaves—he would surely have been killed had he flown the plane that day.

And Mr. Harry Huge, an attorney formerly with the Washington Research Project and now at Arnold and Porter, who filed a lawsuit against the UMWA aimed at correcting abuses in the administration of the union's welfare fund, gave the following account of a series of harassing incidents to the F.B.I. at their request:

"The law suit was filed against the U.M.W.A., the Welfare and Retirement Fund, and the National Bank of Washington on August 4, 1969. On August 19 some kind of black grease or dust was smeared on the steering wheel of my automobile. On August 20 my wife and two-year old son were followed home from a playground near our home by a man dressed in casual clothes

with a complex camera around his neck. When my wife arrived at home, she noticed a car with Ohio license plates, cream-colored, two door, American made, and relatively new. There was a young man in casual clothes in the area in front of the house, and the car was directly in front of the house. Several people in it—a man with red hair, a woman, several minutes later the Ohio car picked up the man with the camera. The car had three and another man.

"On September 6, 1969, I was leaving my house at approximately 8:30 a.m. to catch a flight to Charleston, West Virginia, when a red car with a black vinyl top, two door, late model like a Mustang or a Cougar, started up across the street and sped past me. The driver gave a motion with the flat of his hand across his neck or chest. He was a white man about thirty-five or forty years old with black hair. When I tried to start my car, it didn't turn over. The battery wasn't run down because the radio worked. I later learned from the garage that the wires to the distributor cap had been pulled loose or cut."

Violence pervaded and infected the election process from one end of the coal fields to the other. No miner—at least anti-Boyle miner—felt safe during the election process, just as none feels safe today. Fear may be difficult to measure, but no one could reasonably contend that fear and violence may not "have affected the outcome" of this election—the statutory standard for setting aside an election under LMRDA.

Each of the four grounds we have set forth above may have affected the outcome of the election; put together they obviously did affect it. Your duty to hold another election (after further nominations) is clear.

We do not know, of course, what your decision will be. From the day Mr. Yablonski started his fight on May 29, 1969 you and your Department have treated him and his reform group—whose only crime was a fervent desire to bring democracy to the United Mine Workers and end the present reign of corruption and tyranny—as untouchables who did not deserve even the protection of the law of the land.

We know we cannot affect your decision, but we do have the right as American citizens to demand answers to our verified evidence of violations of law. We ask that you give us an answer point by point to each illegality we have charged. We ask you to take each such illegality separately and tell the public whether it was proven, erroneous, or not investigated. We ask for an answer (1) to each and every allegation of UMWA wrongdoing in my letters to you (2) to each and every allegation in the affidavits of Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski and Mrs. Clarice Feldman in the December 18th election challenge letters, and (3) whether, in addition to the Mine Workers Journal, union funds and union personnel were used to further the reelection of the incumbent International officers, including the degree to which each union employee devoted his time and the money in the International, District or local treasury to advance the candidacy of Boyle and his ticket.

Your decision on this matter will be credible only if you tell the whole story by answering each and every allegation the Yablonski forces have made—proven, erroneous, or not investigated. Then the public can decide whether you have done your full duty—not only to set aside the election but to base this action on the full record of corruption, violence and unlawful activities of the incumbent officers and their supporters.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. RAUH, Jr.

CANADIAN APPENDIX

I, STRANG ("Jock") FERGUSON, being duly sworn, depose and state the following:

I am a free lance television producer for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In

January 1970 I saw a copy of Joseph A. ("Jock") Yablonski's challenge to the UMWA election. Paragraph 61 of "Chip" Yablonski's affidavit, attached thereto, caught my attention. That paragraph reads:

"In Canada, in UMWA Districts 18 and 26, pensioned miners voted in their first International election, though they are not qualified to vote. The margin given Boyle in District 26 (Nova Scotia), 2677 to 470, is in large measure due to the illegal pension vote since most of the active mines have closed down. Local officers in one active Canadian local were offered \$50 apiece by District Representative Marsh to tabulate the unlawful pensioner votes, but they refused."

Subsequently, I went to District 26 where for eight days I investigated the circumstances surrounding the December 9 election, interviewing hundreds of miners in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The facts as I found them reveal that paragraph 61 far understated the matter—there were election irregularities throughout District 26. These irregularities I also found were due to the efforts of District President Bill Marsh who at the order of UMWA President W. A. ("Tony") Boyle and with money given him by Boyle attempted to unlawfully pad the vote totals in this District to give Boyle an overwhelming majority of the votes tallied. Persons who spoke to me and revealed these events were threatened. The events I describe below have been publicized in the Canadian press and on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television network. They have raised concern on the part of the Canadian government and have resulted in a local union tribunal which after a hearing, has charged 9 Boyle-Marsh supporters with election irregularities.

There are twelve local unions in District 26. I went to five of the biggest which are Locals 8672, 4520, 4522, 4527 and 4529. I checked carefully by telephone—through conversations with responsible local union officials—the facts relating to the election in four other locals (Locals 4514, 4535, 7409 and 9938). Additionally I personally and with the aid of my researcher Fred Peabody interviewed District President Marsh, International Representative John Delaney and hundreds of miners in the area.

I read District President Marsh the charges in Chip Yablonski's affidavit. He laughingly brushed them off and said he would be glad to appear on national television to give his version of the election events. He did say that he was coming to an International Executive Board meeting in Washington but would fly back to Toronto on Friday evening, January 23, to tape the program for airing on Sunday the 25th of January. He never showed up for the taped interview, having heard from his henchmen on Wednesday, January 21 what C.B.C. had discovered in District 26. In this initial interview he said that he had been summoned to Washington shortly before the election and told by Boyle to vote the pensioners in his district. The pensioners have never before voted in any International election in this district and cannot vote since they neither pay union dues nor remain eligible to vote under the District's Constitution. (Although he did not say whether or not he had been paid by Boyle to carry out this order, Marsh was seen throughout the election period dispensing large sums of cash and cheques and it is widely believed in the area that Marsh received a substantial sum of money from Boyle to carry out this unlawful scheme.)

Two miners from this District, Jake Campbell and Leo P. (Lem) Chlason, appeared on the January 25th program C.B.C. Weekend and revealed the following facts. In local 4527, District President Marsh and local board member Pius Burke brought to the polling place a ballot box literally stuffed to the bursting point with ballots they said had been cast by pensioners. (Of all the

several hundred pensioners I spoke to I could find only 11 who said they had voted since they believed they had no right to vote and therefore refused to do so.) There was no list of names of voters accompanying the ballot box and the local executives refused to count the votes even though they had been offered \$50 apiece earlier in the day by Marsh. (This money was above and beyond the two-shift rebate each had received from the local union. Further investigation revealed that this money was offered to officials in virtually every single local in the district—certainly to the big locals in the Glace Bay area. The purpose of this money was never made clear, but local officials interpreted it as a bribe to persuade them to close their eyes to any election irregularities which might later develop.)

Marsh and Burge left and then came back for the stuffed ballot box, returning [2 hours later] with a ballot box—this time containing 54 ballots and accompanied by a voter list. On this voting list one name appeared twice and one name was that of a member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport Workers. This time the ballots were counted. All 54 were for Boyle. All this took place in Marsh's own local in New Waterford, Nova Scotia.

In Local 4529, the vote as given by Bill Mackenzie was 87 for Boyle, 51 for Yablonski with 12 spoiled ballots. At midnight he received a telephone call from Marsh's secretary who told him to add 170 votes for Boyle and 8 for Yablonski. This brought the totals to 257 for Boyle and 59 for Yablonski. There were never any ballots to back up the tallies in this midnight call nor was a voter list or any other evidence of this vote ever presented.

Local 4520, the largest local in the district, had a light turnout according to its President, Tom O'Leary. No election return sheet was received by the International office in Washington from this local. The total vote for Boyle in this local was very low and to quote President Marsh, "very disappointing". A local tribunal to deal with the charges of vote irregularities in this local has been convened and they have charged 9 men with having committed election day irregularities.

The Mechanics Local, Local 4522, had no pension vote. A member of this local, Junior Gardner, gave me the total of 78 for Boyle and 55 for Yablonski. He said there are 63 ballots left over at the Union office from 200 he received from the Union. There was no vote in the Broughton local, Local 9938, as President Ralph Smith said they had no money to set up the necessary election machinery.

In Minto, New Brunswick, Local 7409, the President, Garnet Day, said all four hundred members voted—350 for Boyle and 50 for Yablonski. There was no pension vote.

In the Princess Local, Local 4535, there are approximately 700 members according to Hugh Bushore, the Recording Secretary. There were 588 votes for Boyle and 78 for Yablonski. And in the Thorburn local, Local 8672, with 230 members, the vote was 129 for Boyle and 45 for Yablonski. River Herbert, Local 9835, with less than a hundred members, voted 83 for Boyle and 2 for Yablonski. Springhill, Nova Scotia, Local 4514, again with about 100 members, voted 214 for Boyle and 18 for Yablonski. The small Saint Rose local, Local 1047, voted 55 for Boyle and 0 for Yablonski. Local 7749, the Shiploading local in Sydney, voted 19 for Boyle and 3 for Yablonski.

I came to Washington Friday, February 13, and told the Labor Department what I had uncovered. The investigative staff showed me the original Official District 26 tally sheet from the International Headquarters which contained numerous changes from the original and was about one thousand votes short of the original announced totals for

this District. The discrepancies I saw lead me to believe that the International took advantage of the period of time since the election to juggle the figures in an attempt to hide the irregularities I had uncovered, and also to try to maintain the huge vote advantage they had previously announced for W.A. ("Tony") Boyle.

In 4527 the official results contain the disputed 54 ballots brought to the local by Marsh and Burke, the only "pension" ballots in existence in all of District 26.

In Local 4529, the midnight "pension" additions have also been retained in the official tally. It would be impossible for the district to ever produce the record evidence to support these extra votes.

In Local 4520 as expected, the local tribunal has charged the executive and tellers of the local with condoning election irregularities.

In Local 4522, the official listed totals are 133 for Boyle and 43 for Yablonski. There was no pension vote and therefore extra votes have been added to Boyle's total and subtracted from those cast for Yablonski. We are checking to see if the extra ballots have been tampered with at the local office.

The chicanery in this official tally is best illustrated by the tally in Local 9938 where 150 votes were counted for Boyle and 5 for Yablonski. But the head office has sent them only 95 ballots! *In fact this local held no election whatsoever.* To further implicate President Marsh in this unlawful activity, he realized that I knew there was no vote in this local and he phoned the International office and had them erase the totals from the official tally sheet, but the figures I have given above appear even through the erasures. President Ralph Smith never signed the return sheet—although his name is there as President on the fraudulent return! The forgery obviously took place in the District 26 head office under Mr. Marsh's supervision. In the official tally as printed in the UMW Journal, the words "over voted" appear beside "Local 9938". How can they have over voted where they in fact never voted?

In Local 7409 the membership listed on the official tally sheet is 550. This number had obviously been changed several times as there was heavy erasure marks over this spot on the tally sheet. The totals under the erasures were 488 for Boyle and 18 for Yablonski. This local's vote was also not counted in the official tally and is listed as "over voted". This local is sufficiently remotely located that Marsh could well have believed it was safe to stuff the ballots here and in the past has been reputed to have been involved in similar irregularities. Even the membership figure given earlier by local President Day—400 men—is in the opinion of many, grossly inflated.

In Local 4535, the only large local that I did not personally visit, I was able to obtain an estimate of 250 members having voted from a member of that local. Marsh, realizing that I had not gone to this local, felt some safety in jacking up a large surplus of votes for Boyle through this local. Careful checking of a membership list of this local would reveal, I am sure, a much lower number of votes had actually been cast. Is it probable that 666 out of 700 members voted when only about 30-40% of the other large locals voted?

In Local 8672, also well-removed from the Sydney area, I was able to ascertain that there had been a very slight turnout on election day. Again Marsh felt safe to pad the vote. In Local 9835, Marsh felt safe in voting the total membership and giving only 2 votes to Yablonski. In Local 4514, with less than 100 members, Marsh again felt safe in giving a total almost two-and-one-half times as large as the number of actual eligible working miners.

As these charges illustrate, gross election

irregularities have occurred in District 26 mostly in the pension vote which was under the direct supervision of "Bull" Marsh who told me he had been deputized by Boyle to personally supervise the pension vote. Well he has supervised it to the extent that Boyle has received between 700-1,000 more votes than we have ballots for.

Joe Yablonski was generously given eight pension votes by Marsh while he gave Boyle some 1,000 pension votes.

The two men who supplied some of this information have been threatened with loss of jobs and pension and Jake Campbell has had threats on his life.

I urge that the Labour Department request the Canadian Government to subpoena all District 26 financial and election records in order to further the investigation and throw out this diabolically corrupt election.

STRANG ("JOCK") FERGUSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of February, 1970.

CLARA IGHMAT,
Notary Public.

My Commission expires March 14, 1970.

INDEPENDENCE, KANS., CENTENNIAL

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, this year the city of Independence, Kans., will be celebrating its 100th anniversary. In keeping with the centennial celebration, Independence Mayor Paul Viets will place into a time capsule a letter to the chief political officer of Independence which is not supposed to be opened until July 23, 2070.

We live in unpredictable times. To insure that at least a copy of the mayor's letter will be available to the good people of Independence when the year 2070 rolls around, I include the mayor's letter as a part of my remarks:

INDEPENDENCE CENTENNIAL, JUNE 27-JULY 4, 1970

DEAR MAYOR: The year 1970 marks the Centennial Anniversary of the City of Independence. We are proud of the achievements attained during these first 100 years and only hope that the second century, which you will be recognizing upon receipt of this letter, will far exceed any goals which we might hopefully establish for you.

In the course of the first 100 years here in the Verdigris Valley we have moved forward from a handful of settlers living in log cabins trying, sometimes desperately, to seek out a bare existence against the forces of nature as well as not-too-friendly Indians, into the 1970 status of a prosperous community supported by a strong, agricultural economy and blossoming with new industry each year.

The 1970 citizenry of Independence is rightfully proud of the heritage given our people by her forefathers; we are proud of their dedication and foresight that has laid the foundation for the city which is today known as "The Queen City of Southeast Kansas."

It is our purpose to enter into the second century of our City's life with a devotion to progress which will move us forward in sound economic and social developments so that you, the Citizens of Independence, 2070 AD, can proudly hail this fair City's achieve-

ments during its second Centennial Celebration.

Sincerely,

PAUL H. VIETS,
Mayor.

SCHWENGEL DEFENDS ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal of January 6 contained an article highly critical of the efforts of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. I felt the criticism was unjust and unwarranted. A speech recently delivered by Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke, Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, before the Mississippi Valley Association in St. Louis, Mo., effectively responds to most of the charges leveled in the Wall Street Journal article. I would like to insert the text of General Clarke's speech in the RECORD at this point:

THE WHOLE ENVIRONMENT

(Remarks by Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke, Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army)

President Barcus, members of the Mississippi Valley Association and water users, all:

It seems like yesterday, in fact it was yesterday, that "environment" was something children were brought up in. Sociologists told us that a child raised in a good environment would grow into a stable member of society and an excellent citizen. On the other hand, if a youngster grew up in a bad environment he would be a problem to society for the rest of his life.

And so the words—good homes and bad homes, good kids and bad kids used in your day and mine were banished from common usage. But the sociologists found they didn't have a copyright on that fancy word "environment." They lost their exclusive rights when the word became the Nation's password.

Today, you and I, the man on the street, the conservationist, the preservationist, the educator, the doctor, the lawyer and the Indian Chief, are all using the magic word. I understand there is even a cemetery on the West Coast that has cranked the word into a new slogan which reads "Our environment produces a sounder sleep." Aside from this usage, the environment is really on center stage. It is the new campus cause for the Seventies; a filler for newspapers, books, television screens, crusades and, oftentimes the fuse which sets off a raging controversy. Although the word "environment" is getting tremendous play and, I might add, is misused on several occasions, the interest it is generating in our lives and the things that surround us is truly remarkable if not wonderfully welcome. Even though this awakening has come at the eleventh hour there is still time for us and for our children.

Some environmentalists tell us America was still a lovely land up until the 1920's, about the same time this Association was formed. They say it still offered scenic wonders, unspoiled wilderness, beautiful cities, pure air and clean waters. Those who hold these views are only partially correct.

True the air was fresher over our cities. Why wouldn't it be. We didn't have the large populations that swell today's urban centers. We didn't have the big industrial complexes needed to support city workers and the economy of the Nation. The automobile still

caused heads to turn in 1920. The old traders weren't piled high in the junk yards as they are today.

Prop driven bi-planes were around, but certainly not in any great numbers. They belched a little when they were cranked up, but they didn't leave a trail of black smoke in their wake as today's jets produce.

We didn't have as many billboards dotting the countryside. Of course we didn't have as many highways to accommodate them nor did we have the big inventory of products to advertise.

Compared with today's computer age civilization, the first three decades of this century were quiet years when man didn't make too many waves in his environment.

But if man was quiet, nature wasn't. The pure air over the cities and countryside oftentimes turned black as it spiraled out of the Dust Bowl carrying top soil across the Great Plains. Some forget that burning eyes, scratchy throats and hacking coughs were symptoms of the Thirties just as they are in today's smog covered cities.

Rivers certainly weren't as polluted in the Twenties and Thirties, but many were dark brown with the rich farmland they carried to the oceans.

Every now and then the rivers would carry away homes and barns, factories and shops, crops and livestock, and in many instances, people.

The wet cycles would suddenly change to the dry cycles and farmers and ranchers had to contend with a parched and cracked earth. Many went broke and to their graves in bitter frustration after trying for a lifetime to get a few good crops.

Yes, this was the other side of that peaceful environment where "the deer and the antelope played and seldom was heard a discouraging word." Today they sing a song called "Those were the days my friend." But many of you, I am sure, still remember the refrain, "River Stay Way From My Door."

And it was on the latter note—no pun intended—that the quiet men suddenly erupted. They were fed up with the whims and fickleness of nature. They adopted President Theodore Roosevelt's great line which you can still see today if you visit Theodore Roosevelt Island in the Potomac River just opposite Washington, D.C. It says:

"Conservation means DEVELOPMENT as much as it means PROTECTION."

And their demands led to a strong push by the Federal government into the field of natural resources. Snagging and clearing of our navigable streams developed into navigation and stabilization works. Dams and reservoirs, large and small, took shape in the dust bowl and elsewhere throughout the country. Earth levees and concrete floodwalls took their stands along the banks to keep the rivers in check.

Water stored behind the dams was sent to the lands through vast irrigation systems which made the prairies bloom. Hydroelectric power gave an all-electric label to farms and cities. Towboats and barges brought life to the docks and ports which had stood idle since the days of the packet boats. Water was available not only for crops but for municipal and industrial uses as well. It also provided guaranteed flows to keep streambeds covered. Fish and wildlife resources were improved as the working waters transformed heretofore dry places into water wonderlands. No longer did people have to stint and save for the once-in-a-while trip to the Northland for lakeside enjoyment. Prairie lakes brought a vacationland to the neighborhood.

And so things began to hum in the environment of the "silent majority". Organizations like the Mississippi Valley Association, pledged to the development of our inland waterways, put its organizational talents to work and the peoples voices were heard. Not the voice of the Corps of Engi-

neers but the voice of the people speaking through Congress demanding that these works be built.

Despite all the man-made river controls installed during the first half century of MVA, despite the benefits from these projects, the pace of development could not keep abreast of the demand. As the population grew so did the industrial and agricultural might of the country. More lands had to be given up to accommodate the ever growing, ever demanding populace.

The air became polluted, rivers and lakes became polluted, junk yards sprang up, water supplies dwindled, transportation networks had to be expanded to meet the ever growing demands. And today, the great environmental awakening. Angry words are exchanged and all of a sudden those who have been in the thick of the fight to improve the environment for better living suddenly find themselves the targets of criticism. I can think of no bigger bullseye these days than the Corps of Engineers.

In the last six months the Corps has been prominently featured in Playboy, the Reader's Digest, and the Wall Street Journal. We are well aware that people in public life and their agencies are fair game. We also know that it's the "in" thing these days to attack the establishment, in this case the Nation's oldest natural resources development agency.

I am not violating the unwritten law governing Federal Agencies whose function it is to serve the public, not argue with it when I attempt to set the record straight. As the Biblical proverb states: "There is a time to keep silence, and a time to speak."

And so in this vein let me address these words to that not so silent minority that has not only blasted the Corps and its program but, in my opinion, defamed some of the tried and true measures of water resource development.

When dealing with a basic resource like water, practically every proposal or new project (or any other public works project, for that matter) no matter how many it benefits, will step on some toes; hence practically all our projects are controversial to some degree.

The theory of our government is that decisions will be made, and controversial questions settled by the public through the democratic process. Every project we build is in response to a directive by Congress, which in turn is responding to an expression of need by some segment of the public.

We are not an elite contingent doing what it wants, when it wants. To those who say, we build, build, build, our response is that destruction has been the base for construction.

We know that the program we have been and are carrying out is good, sound and necessary; that it has conferred countless benefits upon all our citizens, that our country and its prosperity and enlightenment and advancement could not exist as we know it today had it not been for river and harbor works. A brief summary will tell you what I mean about environmental enhancement.

The Corps' navigation improvements, spanning 146 years, today lists some 22,000 miles of inland and intracoastal waterways which last year carried about one-sixth of the total freight traffic moved within the United States.

Our flood control program lists more than 340 reservoirs and other impoundments, completed or under construction. Some 644 local protection projects include over 9,000 miles of levees and flood walls plus 7,500 miles of improved channels. The program has already saved more than 14 billion dollars in damages—over 3 dollars for every dollar invested.

The Corps is the largest single builder and operator of hydroelectric power facilities in the Nation with an installed capacity of 11½ million kilowatts at 48 projects. This represents one-fifth of the United States' total hydroelectric power capacity.

Nearly 6 million acre-feet of water supply storage is now included in 61 Corps' reservoirs. This storage provides a dependable yield of nearly 3½ billion gallons per day for 110 cities and towns.

Some 5.8 million acre-feet of storage is being utilized either exclusively for irrigation or jointly for irrigation and other purposes. Reservoirs under construction will provide almost 2.6 million acre-feet of additional exclusive irrigation or joint-use storage.

Water quality control and low flow augmentation are receiving greater attention by the Corps today than ever before. To meet this end, several Reservoir Control Centers, regionally located, have been established to assure that all projects in the region are operated as a system to provide their multipurpose benefits most efficiently.

The Nation's outdoor recreational opportunities have been vastly expanded by the Corps' water resources program. The recreation visitations at Corps reservoirs were over 227 million last year. More than 4 million surface acres of water and about the same acreage of adjacent land offer camping, picnicking, boating, swimming, fishing, hunting, and other outdoor activities. That's an area larger than the State of Maryland. The shoreline of these reservoirs totals about 28,000 miles, which would more than circle the earth.

Construction of reservoirs throughout the country has been the greatest single contribution to sport fishing in this century. The lakes themselves are highly popular fisheries, and the improvement of the quality of river flows made possible by reservoir releases has transformed hundreds of miles of streams into excellent gamefish waters.

Many other forms of wildlife receive major benefits from Corps projects. Wildlife refuges, both Federal and State, have been established at many of them. Fort Peck Reservoir on the Upper Missouri River formed the nucleus and provided half the lands for establishment of the Fort Peck Big Game Range—larger than the State of Rhode Island. The major river systems of this Nation constitute the controlling elements of the continental flyways for migratory waterfowl. Built as they are in the heart of those flyways, the resting, feeding and nesting grounds provided by projects of the Corps as a chain from northern breeding grounds to southern wintering grounds have made a major contribution to the National Waterfowl Refuge System. The Upper Mississippi River National Wildlife Refuge has been extended to include the entire length of the 26 consecutive reservoir pools of the Navigation Project extending from St. Louis to Minneapolis-St. Paul. A new flyway has been created overland from the Great Lakes and Ohio River system to the Gulf by the series of reservoirs constructed by the Corps in the Cumberland, Black Warrior, and Alabama River Basins.

The Corps has also constructed some 500 coastal, Great Lakes, and waterway harbors, including almost all of those through which the United States carries on its vital waterborne domestic and foreign trade as well as about 250 small boat harbors and harbors of refuge.

Protection of critical coastal areas against beach and dune erosion and hurricane flooding is a function of increasing importance in the Civil Works program. To assist the Corps in improving its capabilities in the coastal program, a Coastal Engineering Research Center was established. This Center—located in Washington, D.C.—employs a staff of 75 research engineers and scientists.

Of all those who have written about us, who has mentioned these accomplishments? Until they too are told, what is written is not really true and certainly not fair.

If we are to believe what we have read, it would seem that the Corps is the number

one enemy of society running helter-skelter throughout the Nation building water resource projects which have ravaged the countryside and left nothing in their wake but waste and destruction; that dams, levees and channel works are disturbing influences on nature's intricate cycles; that things were much better before man started down that long road to try and strike a better balance between our land and water resources. Hogwash!

Have people forgotten, has time passed that quickly, have we erased those pages from our history that told of the devastating floods on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio. What about the New England floods of the Fifties, or those in California, the Pacific Northwest and the Rocky Mountain area in the Sixties. For those with shorter memories, let me point to the big snow melt of a year ago that triggered Operation Foresight.

These too were examples of nature's intricate cycles but the people involved hope they never return.

You know the loneliest man in the world is the fellow on levee patrol during nighttime hours. He walks along over the sandbags with only his flashlight to guide him, deep, rushing waters on one side and a frightened city on the other, praying that the levees will hold.

We have seen, indeed we have been a part of those patrols in Sioux City, Omaha, Sioux Falls, the Twin Cities, New England, and at many other places around the country. But I have never heard nor have I met an anti dam or levee builder during these long vigils.

Let me say again, that water resource projects in this valley and in this country have produced more immediate and long-range benefits to our citizens than any other type of resource developments. This thought above all is the one I hope you carry home from this meeting because if we, and I mean not only the Corps of Engineers, but the Mississippi Valley Association and all other agencies and organizations pledged to the development of our water resources, don't start coming through loud and clear and soon, we stand the chance of placing the whole environment in jeopardy. Think of the consequences to our children and their children's children.

Judging by the current trend, the day of letting our deed speak for us is long gone. We now will have to speak for ourselves, and we will have to spell out the environmental benefits of water projects throughout this Nation.

The Corps of Engineers would be the last agency to proclaim that all its projects have resulted in perfection.

We can see mistakes when viewed in the after glow of experience and operation. But, for every one which has created a problem, hundreds more have created a good which has never existed before.

Patrick Henry put it pretty well when he said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know no way of judging of the future but by the past."

And speaking of the future and the problems that beset us today, there is not one man in the Corps of Engineers, one member of this Association, one person in this Nation who doesn't want a quick solution to smog-laden air, mounting junk yards, burned-out forests and the filth which is discharged every minute into our rivers and harbors. There is not a man among us who is not aware that today's booming and shifting population poses great problems in meeting water supply needs, recreation outlets, transportation and urban rebirth.

We have been beset by these problems for a long, long time—but the public in general has ignored them until very recently. But let us not through impatience and disgust, destroy the orderly and the balanced development of our resources.

Let us not overlook the attempt to take

a new look at the whole environmental picture through the Comprehensive Framework Studies involving the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Ohio and other major river basins throughout the land. If these are not completely attuned to the problems that beset the whole environment let us quickly adjust to insure that every environmental ill is included in what we hope will bring the cure.

The road to success in achieving our goals does not permit stops for name calling, bickering, and scrapping over how the job should be done. Let us—the Corps of Engineers, the Mississippi Valley Association, conservationists, preservationists and environmentalists—and all who strive for betterment in life's surroundings—follow a balanced course which will permit both the development and protection of the whole environment.

A-7E'S JOIN THE FLEET

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have just reviewed in the February 6 issue of Aviation Week & Space Technology an article relating to the phasing of the A-7E's into the operations of the fleet. I am justly proud of the A-7 series of airplanes which are built at Grand Prairie, Tex., immediately adjacent to my own district. Many of the workers, engineers, and business leaders responsible for this airplane live in my district. The article indicates that this extremely modern airplane has greatly increased the striking power of the fleet.

We are indebted to the vigilance of the House Armed Services Committee, under the leadership of its distinguished chairman, the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, that the strength of our fleet is reinforced by new and adequate weapon systems such as the A-7E. I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that all of my colleagues can read about the performance of this promising new weapons system:

NAVY PHASING A-7ES INTO OPERATION: RELATIVELY FEW AIRFRAME PROBLEMS ACCOMPANY INTRODUCTION OF CORSAIR 2—AVIONICS STUDIED FOR CAUSE OF ERRORS IN BOMBING

(By C. M. Plattner)

LEMOORE, CALIF.—Navy/LTV A-7E Corsair 2 now being phased into the fleet inventory shows promise of becoming the most accurate bombing platform yet developed for the visual attack role once early system difficulties are overcome, according to Navy pilots at the Naval Air Station here.

The A-7E, like its Air Force counterpart the A-7D, is an improved—more expensive—version of the A-7A and A-7B (AW&ST Nov. 11, 1968, p. 84).

The A-7E has a new higher-thrust engine, a more elaborate navigation and bombing system and several other features common with the USAF A-7D, such as a Gatling-action M61 cannon.

BOMBING SYSTEMS

Early A-7E problems have involved the avionics systems rather than the airframe. Because of improved hydraulic plumbing connections the A-7E airframe actually has fewer difficulties attributed to it than the A or B versions. The major problem encountered with the Corsair 2 is a tendency for the bombing system to group hits off target occasionally.

The cause is being analyzed by Navy and LTV officials and is believed due to a computer program errors and faulty ranging information supplied by the forward looking radar. Nevertheless, the system has worked with surprising reliability and accuracy when the degree of sophistication is considered, officers report. Also, trouble-shooting has been prolonged by the fact that Navy acceptance trials and fleet introduction are being conducted concurrently, and there is little experience to go on.

The first A-7E with an Allison TF41 engine arrived at Lemoore Oct. 8 to join a block of A-7Es fitted with Pratt & Whitney TF30-P-8 engines. This block of 67 P-8 powered A-7Es will not be retrofitted with Allison engines.

The first two A-7E operational squadrons, VA-146 and VA-147, have completed intensive training and are set for deployment to Southwest Asia. VA-122, first A-7E pilot training squadron, is completing the switch from A-7A and A-7B aircraft to the new A-7E.

The navigation and bombing system in the A-7E comprises a variety of complex avionics equipments comparable to installations found in two-place aircraft such as the Grumman A-6 and General Dynamics F-111. However, Navy officers of VA-122 charged with training A-7E pilots consider mastery of the systems well within the ability of the average fleet pilot based on experience to date. They point out that the autopilot, head-up display, moving map display, and the computer-run navigation and bombing system all reduce the pilot workload.

MANUAL WORK

This is in contrast, they said to the McDonnell Douglas A-4, which the A-7s are replacing, in which pilots do much of this work manually.

Another Navy officer said the A-7E has the potential of realizing a long-time goal of being able to cut the average fleet pilot's circular error probability in half (see box, p. 42). In a hostile environment such as encountered over North Vietnam, this provides operational flexibility by improving standoff capability. Pilots may drop ordnance at a higher altitude with no degradation in accuracy while avoiding the heavy concentrations of anti-aircraft fire found at lower altitudes.

The Navy's decision to equip its visual attack aircraft heavily is an expensive one. Unit price of the A-7E is estimated at close to \$3 million. Another problem, the impact of which is yet to be fully felt, is the requirement for trained maintenance personnel.

The Navy continues to have a high turnover rate in trained maintenance personnel, particularly avionics specialists. Equipment such as the inertial platform, digital computer, head-up display, moving map display, and increasingly complex electronic countermeasures gear requires educated maintenance and trouble-shooting specialists for optimum operation.

The present philosophy of Commander Fleet Air Lemoore is that the full A-7E potential be utilized, meaning that flights with some systems not operating are discouraged. This will require special emphasis on maintenance.

From the training standpoint, no hard and fast rules have been established yet on how much backup work should be done with partially operative or nonoperative systems as backups but one high-level officer predicts that this will be minimized.

Some A-7E features include:

Automatic wind compensation for improved bombing accuracy. In early A-7s, pilots had to set in the wind parameters based on predictions and estimates. The A-7E's computerized bombing system keeps track of the wind on a realtime basis.

Fewer hydraulic leaks than in earlier models, based on extensive use of brazed

joints and redesigned fittings. An estimated 70% of the A-7E's fittings are the permanent brazed type, replacing aluminum fittings of the early A-7s. Maintenance personnel list hydraulic leaks as one of the annoying problems in early A-7s.

Improved automatic throttles. Large excursions of the autothrottles for the Pratt & Whitney TF30-P-6 and TF30-P-8s have been disturbing to many pilots. With the Allison TF41, throttle corrections normally stay within a 5-10% band compared with 30-40% for the A-7B, one pilot said.

Head-up display. Reaction to the display generally is favorable but with the limited experience gained so far a typical reserved comment is that "the pilots like it better all the time." The A-7E's head-up display is the first standard installation in a Navy attack aircraft. It provides steering commands for ordnance delivery and airspeed, altitude and attitude information.

Pilots say the display helps combat vertigo when flying wing in the clouds. It is helpful monitor on automatic instrument approaches and is excellent when maintaining a lookout for surface-to-air missiles. On the other hand, at night, the light on the windscreen tends to mask the lights from other aircraft and some pilots turn it off. Some also complain the symbology is somewhat hard to read and sometimes is superfluous.

Anti-skid brakes. This is one of several features resulting from the decision by Navy and Air Force to make the A-7D and A-7E alike. It is an Air Force-sponsored item but one Navy pilot says that the A-7 has a tendency to hydroplane on wet runways and the anti-skid brake system is most welcome. Maintenance officers anticipate increased tire wear with the anti-skid system, however, based on initial experience.

Increased thrust of the new Allison TF41 engine. The TF41-A-2 for the A-7E has a thrust of 15,000 lb. compared with 12,000 lb. rated thrust for the TF30-P-8 in the A-7B and 10,800 lb. thrust for the TF30-P-6 installed in the A-7A.

No problems with the Allison engine have been encountered with steam ingestion and compressor stalls. The TF-41 uses more fuel per hour than the TF30 but the endurance of the A-7 even without external fuel is well beyond the normal carrier cycle time of 2 hr. so this is not a problem. One pilot estimates roughly 800 lb. additional fuel will be used on a standard mission with the TF41. The A-7 carries 10,200 lb. of fuel internally.

General Electric M61A1 internal gunnery system. This Air Force developed 20-mm. cannon replaces two Navy Mk. 12 cannons. The M61 can be fired at either 4,000 or 6,000 rounds per minute. Capacity is 1,280 rounds stored in a bin behind the cockpit. Opening the panels on the left side of the aircraft for complete access to the gun is a lengthy procedure requiring uncoupling nose-wheel door linkages and unscrewing numerous fasteners. Routine inspections can be accomplished through smaller, quick-opening panels.

Pushbutton, lighted armament selection switches located in an arc just under the glare shield. This allows pilots to check armament status readily without sticking their heads down in the cockpit. Pilots need only depress the proper square button to select the appropriate armament stations, fuzing, and functions such as gun and camera. Green and amber lights glow to indicate status. The new armament layout is considered by the pilots as a welcome improvement in view of the often remote hard-to-reach locations of many armament control panels.

One of the future changes planned for the A-7E is a third hydraulic system. Purpose is to increase redundancy of the flight controls and improve survivability.

Of more immediate concern are the changes in the computer and forward looking radar. To improve reliability of the circuitry,

changes recently were incorporated into the APQ-126 radar made by Texas Instruments to ensure better radar ranging information. Another improvement is now being engineered and is planned for later this spring.

The computer program is being modified after analysis of early bombing results pointed up some errors in assumption such as the amount of g-forces used by pilots in pulling out of dives. Squadron pilots are optimistic that with these changes, bombing accuracy will be further improved.

The primary components of the navigation/weapon delivery system are the Doppler radar set, forward looking radar, air data computer, inertial measurement set, the central digital computer, the head-up display and the controls. System has been designed with automation in mind to permit the pilot maximum time for lookout and tactical flying tasks.

The digital computer does high-speed arithmetic calculations based on sensor inputs and, combined with memory items, sends these outputs to the displays. These include the head-up display, attitude director indicator, horizontal situation indicator, projected map display set and the computer panel.

For navigation, the Doppler radar, which has an antenna on the belly just aft of the nose wheel, provides ground speed and wind drift information. The forward looking radar serves the primary function of providing slant range information during ordnance delivery runs. The radar also has a ground mapping mode. Although fidelity is quite good at short range, permitting large buildings to be identified, there are no plans for blind all-weather radar bombing.

TERRAIN FOLLOWING

The forward-looking radar also may be used for terrain following although, again, Navy does not anticipate making all-weather, ground-hugging flights on a routine basis as it does with the Grumman A-6.

Terrain following at altitudes from 500-2,000 ft. above ground level can be done with reference to flight director commands on the attitude director indicator or the head-up display. The radar scope provides a special terrain clearance picture so the pilot can monitor progress. Radar altimeter is used with the forward looking radar to provide terrain clearance information.

The air data computer's function is to ensure an accurate true airspeed input into the system. The three-axis inertial measurement set provides attitude, speed and navigation information. It has functioned well so far, and error seldom exceeds 1 mi. in a normal flight.

Operationally, the inertial measurement set requires 2 min. for rough alignment after being turned on in the checks. Normally, a 9-min. fine alignment is then conducted while the aircraft remains in the same spot. Depending on the route chosen the pilot would enter up to nine en route checkpoints by punching latitude and longitude coordinates into the computer through a keyboard on the right console.

STEERING COMMANDS

After becoming airborne, the pilot selects the first checkpoint. Steering commands are automatically displayed on the head-up display. Horizontal situation indicator provides heading, bearing and distance information to the selected checkpoint. This is continued from checkpoint to checkpoint.

The computer also runs the projected map display, a feature that has received much enthusiasm, although it is not a vital part of the navigational system. The map display in the A-7E shows the location of the aircraft relative to a film projection of a standard topographical navigation chart. The system also can be used to project such things as letdown plates or emergency procedures, but the film for these is not yet available. So far, only a one million to one scale aero-

nautical chart is available and pilots would like to have a more magnified 500,000 to one scale.

Plotting with the primary Doppler/inertial/gyrocompass mode of navigation simply involves following fly-to commands on the HUD or ADI and HSI.

Tacan, and Loran, as well as a substantial number of degraded modes provide navigational backups in event of component failures.

The navigation system is updated en route visually by flying over known geographical points, or by using radar, Tacan, or Loran.

TARGET MARKING

Pilots also can mark targets of opportunity along the way by depressing a special button. These points can be recalled later and bearing and distance to them read out in case an attack is desired.

The bombing techniques possible with the A-7 include the dive toss, used to train pilots here, and others such as level, loft and over-the-shoulder. Steep angle bombing is viewed as the primary means and is the one practiced most frequently.

In bombing, strafing and firing rockets, pilots use the attack symbology on the head-up display for aiming and tracking while in the dive. The pilot first places the aiming reticle on the target and depresses the designate button. He then is free to maneuver in the dive, although at the release point he must have the target in line with a bombfall line (a vertically oriented line of predicted impact points) displayed on the head-up display.) Symbology also indicates when to pull out of the dive. During the dive, sensors feed the computer information on dive, angle, airspeed, wind drift, altitude and range to the target and the computer calculates the right time for release based on previously entered weapons ballistics.

The central computer is assisted in its job of keeping track of ordnance information by an armament station control unit located in the left side of the fuselage and accessible to ground crewmen. This unit helps to economize the computer workload and provides a convenient location for the ordnance crews to enter information about the stores carried.

The A-7E, like the early A-7 models, has the same airframe and carries a variety of weapons including the Texas Instruments Shrike anti-radiation missile, the Walleye television glide bomb, Rockeye, Sadeye, Weteye, Snakeye and Sidewinder missiles for defense.

There are no plans at present to use the A-7 for carrying Condor, Navy's large TV-guided standoff missile.

Latest electronic countermeasures gear, both passive and active are built into the A-7E to assist in penetrating areas protected by radar networks, surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft guns.

A touch-tune UHF radio set has been included in the avionics package of the A-7E. This enables pilots to select new channels or frequencies with finger-tip tuning bars.

The automatic flight control system of the A-7E is one of the most advanced systems of its kind and has such features as attitude hold, control-stick steering and capability of making a completely hands-off landing approach to a carrier landing. Completely automatic landings are not being practiced at this point however.

A-7E TRAINING

VA-122, which has added only 2 hr. to the A-7E training syllabus beyond that provided the A-7A/B students, has found that the A-7E is a relatively easy aircraft to transition to. Students include fliers directly from the training command and more experienced pilots. Length of the course of instruction is approximately 28 weeks, during which time about 100 hr. of A-7 flight time is logged. An advanced A-7E 6-deg.-motion simulator with sound and visual features is in use. It was developed by Link Div. of General Pre-

cision and Melpar Div. of American-Standard Co. Ground school course is about 540 hr. in length.

BOMBING ACCURACY

Bombing accuracy of the Navy LTV A-7E as demonstrated on the first concentrated bombing practice is substantially improved over that of the McDonnell Douglas A-4 and earlier A-7A and A-7B models.

The average bombing circular error probability (CEP) for pilots of two squadrons, VA-146 and VA-147 flying A-7E aircraft for two weeks of concentrated ordnance practice was 60 ft. This was the first A-7E squadron deployment and included some initial problems with systems.

Squadron officials believe on the basis of this first deployment that the average bombing CEP for the A-7E ultimately will shrink to 40 ft. These figures compare with an average 95-100 ft. pilot CEP for experienced A-4 squadrons at Lemoore and 70-75 ft for A-7A/B units. A 125-ft. CEP is required to qualify under Navy regulations.

Mode of delivery in the A-7E was dive toss in which the automatic system computed the proper release point and the practice bomb was released during the pullout. The A-4 and A-7A/B averages are based on straight dive bomb runs at a 30 deg. angle.

EQUIPMENT INTEGRATION

Major equipment components for the A-7E are integrated with a central computer to provide maximum automation and assistance for navigation and bombing with improved accuracy at any dive angle, speed or altitude the pilot selects.

Major components include:

- International Business Machines, CP-952/ASN-91 (V) digital computer.
- Elliott Bros., Ltd., AN/AVQ-7 head-up display.
- Texas Instruments, AN/AVQ-126 forward looking radar.
- Singer General Precision, AN/APN-190 (V) Doppler radar.
- Singer General Precision, AN/ASN-90 (V) inertial measurement set.
- Computing Devices of Canada ASN-99 projected map display set.
- Garrett CP-953/AJQ air data computer.
- LTV armament station control unit.

THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 23, 1970

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I am quite concerned over the recent turn of events regarding the military balance of power in the Middle East. Recent shipments of

arms to the Arabs by France and the Soviet Union put Israel at a major arms disadvantage.

While I deplore the escalation of the arms race and the increased intensity of hostilities, I refuse to silently stand by while our ally, Israel, is in need of help. The people of America will not and cannot accept Israel's being placed at such a disadvantage.

I am particularly disturbed over the recent sale of 100 French Mirage jets to Libya. This infusion of arms into a country whose army is smaller than the New York City police department is of major concern to me. Libya has virtually no trained pilots, and a nation of 3 million people, in my opinion, does not require 100 warplanes for its defense. France's action can only serve to inflame the fires which have been blazing in the Middle East.

The action is even more reprehensible when one recalls that Israel has paid for 50 French jets and that the French regime, contrary to all norms and ethics, has refused to honor its own contract. Since France failed to deliver jets after accepting Israel's money, our country remains the prime source of aid to Israel in its fight for freedom and survival. We must not turn our backs on that small fortress of democracy in the Mideast.

I have long feared that the Middle East which is vital to American interests could become part of a Communist enclave. Our country must help our allies so they do not fall to the forces of communism. I have been gravely concerned for some time over an ambitious program by the Soviet Union to subvert the entire Mideast.

The Soviet Union and France ship arms; we deliberate; the Mideast situation deteriorates. Those who advocate a so-called even-handed approach are actually jeopardizing our fight against world communism and risking the security of the people of Israel. Too often we have been placed in the position of reacting to the maneuvering of Russia.

I wholeheartedly concur with the President in his concern that the Soviet Union is not doing what it could toward peace in the Middle East. I fully agree with the President who said the "United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern."

The Soviet Union has a very strong interest in opening the Suez Canal since it would be able to supply Asia, especially the North Vietnamese Communists, with equipment on a much larger scale than is now possible by overland routes.

I, therefore, strongly urge for the President to give favorable consideration to Israel's request for additional Phantom and Skyhawk jets. Credit should be extended to Israel to pay for the jets in view of that country's dire financial situation.

It is high time that we take the initiative with a positive program for assistance to Israel to keep the spirit of democracy alive in that part of the world.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE BEN F. JENSEN

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 17, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to take this means of joining with members of the Iowa delegation and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of our late colleague and friend, Ben F. Jensen of Iowa.

I was saddened to learn of Ben Jensen's passing, as announced in the press. It was my privilege to serve with Ben Jensen on the Committee on Appropriations and as a member of the Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations.

Ben Jensen also served as ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Interior Appropriations. He played an important role in the development of our national parks and recreation areas. I was impressed with his concern regarding fiscal affairs and of his desire to effect economies in Government wherever possible.

Ben Jensen served his district, State, and Nation well and will be greatly missed.

I want to take this means of extending to the members of the Jensen family an expression of my deepest and most sincere sympathy in their loss and bereavement.

SENATE—Tuesday, February 24, 1970

The Senate met at 10 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, we thank Thee for the creative spirit mediated to American life by Thy followers in every age. We thank Thee for the godly heritage of this land, for the faith of our fathers, and for spirit-filled leaders in every generation. May the same spirit pervade our common days and guide us in all our actions.

May there arise in us the resolution to create that better world which proceeds from holy lives. Grant that the spirit of wisdom may save us from all that is wrong, and that in Thy light we may see light, and in Thy straight path we may walk uprightly.

Through Him whose name is above every name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of

the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, February 23, 1970, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS—ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS OF SENATORS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the transaction