

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY FROM
GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRY COOP-
ERATION**HON. HUGH SCOTT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 13, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am greatly encouraged by the willingness of the private sector to assist the Nixon administration in its war on pollution. The captains of industry very often double as civic leaders and, as such, they have recognized that the preservation of our precious natural resources is important to all Americans.

I would like to single out the Nation's coal industry as one of the enlightened participants in the battle to save our environment. I am aware of past abuses. I am also aware of inadequate and ineffective laws which allowed these abuses to continue. But we have begun to turn back the tide.

Under the leadership of Mr. Stephen F. Dunn, the National Coal Association has assumed a substantial role in the effort to conserve our resources. In my own Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Coal Association maintains and operates a modern research laboratory at Monroeville, 15 miles from downtown Pittsburgh, which is devoted to effective control of sulfur oxides, a dangerous air pollutant. The association has also worked closely with the National Air Pollution Control Administration in this endeavor. I am hopeful that we will all soon be able to breathe a lot easier if this important work continues.

Acid mine drainage is one of the tragic consequences of unchecked coal mining practices. The industry, itself, is searching for ways by which this problem can be controlled. The Coal Association's Monroeville research laboratory maintains a complete library on the subject of mine drainage. Channels of communication have also been opened up with the U.S. Bureau of Mines and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. Continued research will insure that free-flowing water will again be fit for human consumption.

Another consequence of careless mining operations is the strip mine—ugly scars on nature's landscape. Because of coal industry assistance, more land is now being reclaimed than mined. We must continue to reclaim this valuable land so that nature's visage can again be restored to its original state.

This effort to conserve our resources cannot be considered total without the full cooperation of our State and local governments. Speaking for Pennsylvania, I am proud of the work being done by H. Beecher Charnbury, secretary of Mines and Mineral Industries. Dr. Charnbury has coordinated Pennsylvania's drive to clean up the environmental mess. His efforts have all but eliminated the mining industry from its role as a major industrial polluter.

Pennsylvania's antipollution laws are strong, but fair. There is a healthy attitude on the part of the coal industry to comply with those laws. And there is strong, but equally fair enforcement by the Commonwealth's own department of mines and mineral industries. Secretary Charnbury has, on behalf of Gov. Raymond Shafer, committed Pennsylvania to a program of true environmental quality.

It is my firm belief that a full partnership between government and industry is the only way to preserve our resources. In Pennsylvania, it is working. In the Nation, as a whole, it is beginning to work. We must push on, clearing away the filth that blocks the road to a more beautiful America.

At this point, I ask unanimous consent to insert two letters concerning the efforts of Government and industry to salvage our environment. One, from the National Coal Association's President Stephen Dunn to President Nixon, outlines the industry's effort to clean up the landscape. The other letter, from Dr. Charnbury to Governor Shafer, tells of the Commonwealth's activities in relation to pollution control.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., January 6, 1970.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the organization designated to represent the coal industry in Washington, we take this opportunity to pledge our complete support of your environmental improvement program. Our industry is deeply concerned about environmental problems and is determined to make its contribution toward their solution. As a matter of fact, major coal producers for many years have been active in air pollution control, research on acid mine drainage and in reclamation of land following strip mining.

In air pollution, our concern dates back to 1941 when the Coal Producers Committee for Smoke Abatement spearheaded a voluntary campaign to clear the skies over such cities as Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Chicago. This committee was absorbed into the National Coal Association's air pollution control division in 1960. For the past ten years we have worked closely with the National Air Pollution Control Administration and with the most active state air pollution control agencies in our effort to insure sound control programs. Recently, our efforts have been concentrated more toward control of sulfur oxides, inasmuch as equipment is now available to catch more than 99 per cent of the dust and ash that comes from plant stacks. Much of the work at our modern research laboratory at Monroeville, Pennsylvania (15 miles from downtown Pittsburgh), is devoted to effective control of sulfur oxides.

Reclamation of mined land also has received the industry's close attention in recent years. Today we are happy to say that more land is being reclaimed than mined. Unfortunately, the eyesores which are frequently called to public attention are usually on land that was mined years ago, before anyone—including government agencies—gave serious thought to reclamation. Ownership of these lands now is difficult to trace.

Mine drainage is another problem which for many years has received constant attention from coal and allied industries. At our research laboratory, we also maintain the most complete library on this subject. We are also cooperating with various Federal agencies, including the U.S. Bureau of Mines and the Federal Water Pollution Control Association, and also with state agencies. We shall diligently pursue our efforts until we find an answer.

When the new Council on Environmental Quality is established, we will welcome the opportunity to serve the Council in any way you deem appropriate. In the meantime, we stand ready to be of any possible assistance to your Cabinet Committee on Environmental Quality.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN F. DUNN.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND MIN-
ERAL INDUSTRIES,

Harrisburg, Pa., January 6, 1970.

HON. RAYMOND P. SHAFER,
Governor, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
Room 225, Main Capitol Building, Har-
risburg, Pa.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I am most happy to report to you that tremendous progress has been made made over the past year in areas of this Department's primary concern.

For example, Pennsylvania's coal industry has not only made the Commonwealth the electricity capital of the nation, but it is also the best example in the state of an industry that's doing a good job in complying with our air and stream pollution laws.

Two of my main objectives when I first became Secretary of Mines and Mineral Industries back in 1963, were to do all I could to help the coal industry make Pennsylvania the electric power producing capital, and to see to it that the technological answers to this industry's air and stream pollution problems were provided.

I am most happy to report that both of those goals have been overwhelmingly realized during your Administration.

By and large, the coal industry of Pennsylvania, at least, has succeeded in reversing its former image as a wholesale contributor to the air and water pollution problems confronting our state. We're still fighting scars from the past, and we're making great strides in correcting them, too. But future generations of Pennsylvanians should not have to worry about the current coal industry from a pollution standpoint.

As a member of both the Sanitary Water Board and Air Pollution Commission, I have seen three major factors at work during the past year which, to my way of thinking, have all but eliminated the surface and deep coal mine industries from the roles of major industrial polluters in Pennsylvania. These are 1. our strong, but fair anti-pollution laws, 2. a healthy attitude on the part of the overall coal industry to comply with those laws, and 3. strong, but equally fair, enforcement by our own Department of Mines and Mineral Industries.

These factors may not exist in other coal mining states, in fact, I'm sure they don't all prevail at the same time. But they have all been combined in Pennsylvania to make our state a showcase of conservation achievement for the rest of the nation. For example, during the past year, our Department was host on several field trips to sportsmen, officials, and even other coal industry representatives from West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and the TVA. On each of these occasions, the visitors expressed amazement over the technology that was manifested and the progress we have made

in the areas of strip mine land reclamation and mine acid water control under our present laws.

By way of review of the past year, current surface or strip mine operators in the state restored 9,306 acres of despoiled lands during their active mining operations in 1969. They have averaged close to 10,000 acres per year in restoration for the past four years. Anthracite strip mine operators restored 432.56 acres in 1969.

In addition, deep coal mine operators now have some 140 treatment plants onstream in controlling their mine water wastes, while applications for another 204 such plants are now before the state for approval.

Not only that, Governor, but solid coal wastes or refuse from these active deep mines are being deposited, compacted, covered, and then seeded with suitable plant life so as not to create any new mountainous banks that are unsightly and potential air pollution hazards, too.

Bituminous coal production went up over the previous year, from 64,474,332 tons through November, 1968, to 71,606,742 tons through November of 1969.

The future of the coal-by-wire concept has also never been brighter due to the instant success of mine-mouth power installations and the unit coal train. As evidence, witness the fact that the Penn Central Railroad is now carrying Pennsylvania-mined bituminous coal to 51 different electric power stations scattered throughout the northeastern United States. These coal-burning installations have a combined power output of 24,304,320 KW.

Of that total, the Chestnut Ridge energy center located in the central highlands area of Pennsylvania is producing 6,757,130 KW, and that surpasses the combined output of Niagara Falls, Grand Coulee and Hoover Dams. Chestnut Ridge is made up of eight mine-mouth power installations, such as the Conemaugh complex near Johnston and the Keystone complex near Indiana, Pennsylvania. These mine-mouth power installations are currently employing 10,000 men, Governor, and by 1975, it is estimated that they will be employing 14,000 men all told. Coal production in the central highlands area totalled 26 million tons in 1965, and I expect that figure will be doubled by 1975 when planned new mine-mouth installations go into operation.

On the other hand, anthracite production, continued its downward trend, however, due to market failures experienced over the past years. Through November of 1969, only 9,500,000 tons were produced, while 10,027,324 tons were produced during the corresponding period in 1968.

In other areas, I would like to express my appreciation for your own efforts in helping us to obtain amendments to the oil and gas statutes which would help in preventing disasters such as the one occurring at Harding, Pennsylvania, last July, and killing four persons. If we can succeed in regulating underground gas storage in these areas, then we would be able to monitor the amounts put into them and thereby prohibit excessive buildups which tend to fracture the strata and cause accidental release.

Control of dust and gas accumulations in the deep mines through better ventilation procedures, along with more rigid roof control, remain pressing problems. Critical, too, is the urgency of finding trained manpower to fulfill the coal industry's market commitments in the months and years ahead, but unquestionably a key factor as to whether or not the industry finds that much needed manpower will be the intensity of our combined efforts to minimize the hazards created by dust, gas and roof falls.

During 1970, be assured, Governor, that I intend to see that research we began two years ago on these problems is completed and brought to the work faces in the mines

so that we can prove or disapprove the results.

We must find the answers, and we will, just as we did on acid mine drainage.

Our progress in mine area restoration work during the past year is also nothing less than a landmark conservation achievement which has vaulted Pennsylvania to the point of being 10 years ahead of other states plagued by similar problems.

In this regard, there is no question in my mind, that what Pennsylvania has accomplished and the progress we have made in attacking mine drainage pollution and air pollution from burning refuse banks constitutes not only a technological breakthrough, but a major scientific contribution to the world, wherever coal is or has been mined.

I must credit the \$500 million Land and Water Conservation Act (Project 500), which provides our Department with \$200 million in project money over a 10-year span, as the financial catalyst which is helping us to transform the coal regions of our state from an area of blight, to one of new industrial and tourist potential. Without the bond issue money, which is our principal source of funds, we would be just like the other coal mining states—and that is nowhere when it comes to action and results.

The rest of the nation seems to be just now awakening to the critical need for environmental pollution controls, while we have been working in the field for the past seven years doing something about them. If the nation, as President Nixon has indicated, is going to undertake an all-out effort on air and water pollution control, then certainly Pennsylvania's progress over the past few years on these matters should put us in the best position of any of the states to achieve maximum results.

Depending on the federal money allocated to the years ahead, and what's equally important, the dispatch with which that money reaches the state agencies to do the job, we can foresee the time within the next 10 years when Pennsylvania's coal regions will truly enhance the overall beauty of the state, not detract from it.

Our department successfully completed a total of 99 anthracite and bituminous mine areas reclamation projects under "Operation Scarlift" during 1969, at a cost of \$6,703,086. Besides the bond issue, additional funds for this program were supplied to the department from direct allocations by the legislature, matching grants from the federal government and Coal Research Board field-demonstration type grants.

Of the total, there were 28 stream pollution abatement projects completed at a cost of \$585,836; eight air pollution elimination projects (burning refuse banks), extinguished at a cost of \$2,430,258.03; 10 mine subsidence prevention projects completed at a cost of \$2,065,825.41; 14 underground mine fire extinguishment projects completed at a cost of \$1,309,826.33; 13 strip mine reclamation projects completed on public lands at a cost of \$286,879.75; and 26 abandoned deep mine openings sealed at a cost of \$24,457.05.

Sincerely,

H. CHARMBURY.

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD B. PATTERSON

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today I pay tribute to Edward B. Patterson, division manager of the

Southern Counties Gas Co. of San Pedro, Calif., who was recently selected by the San Pedro Lions Club as "Man of the Year." Mr. Patterson has long proven himself a devoted public servant, and a brief examination of his personal background indicates the reasons for his recent honor.

As division manager, Mr. Patterson heads one of the eight operating divisions in the Southern Counties Gas Co. of California. He is responsible for the direction of sales, customer service, construction, and distribution activities.

His career with Southern Counties began in 1937 in the service department and has continued with advancements to branch office chief clerk, local office supervisor, division sales manager, and his present position. In 1955 he was appointed manager of the Natural Gas Bureau, a two-company operation, to coordinate large exhibits and newspaper, radio, and television stories relating to the coverage of special events.

Edward B. Patterson received his B.A. degree from Whittier College in 1937 and did graduate work in business administration at the University of Southern California. At Whittier he played 3 years of all-conference football and 1 year of baseball. In addition, he played 2 years of professional football with the Los Angeles Bulldogs.

During World War II, Mr. Patterson served with General Patton's 3d Army and received a battlefield commission to 1st lieutenant. He was assigned to a tank destroyer battalion which had battle campaigns in Normandy, Brest, Ardennes, and Ruhr River. He was wounded, captured and held as a prisoner of war for 6 months in Germany and has been decorated with the Silver Star, Purple Heart, and four Bronze Stars.

In civic activities, Mr. Patterson has achieved an equally outstanding record. He is a member and past president of the Rotary Club of San Pedro and is presently serving on the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross, San Pedro Fishermen's Fiesta, and the YMCA. He has held the latter post for the past 8 years.

In addition, he has served on the board of directors—united way; budget committee, united crusade; board of directors, San Pedro community hospital; American field service panel for selection of students; mayor's advisory council; advisory board, Los Angeles Harbor College; advisory board, 15th councilmanic district; and executive committee of urban renewal program.

Mr. Patterson also was on the executive committee of the Urban Renewal Program in San Pedro; chairman of the Peck estate fund; chairman of the cancer research and development campaign; Community Redevelopment Agency—Beacon Street project; police review board; and the 1969 City of Hope Eighth Annual Salute of the Maritime Industry honoring Vincent Thomas. He is a member of both the Pacific Coast Gas Association and the American Gas Association.

Edward B. Patterson and his wife, Irma, make their home in San Pedro with two of their three sons, John and Larry.

The third, Jim, is married and lives in La Habra.

His selection as "Man of the Year" is certainly deserved recognition in light of the outstanding contributions he has made to the San Pedro community over many years. It is my privilege to join in saluting Edward B. Patterson for his long record of service to his country and his community.

FAIRNESS DOCTRINE—REPRESSION
OF DISSENT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last January 19, on the front of the State capitol in Richmond and amid impressive ceremonies, Virginia's Linwood Holton was inaugurated as Governor of the Commonwealth. As he is the first Republican to hold this office since the tragic era of Reconstruction, his inaugural address was a subject of unusual interest, not only in the Old Dominion but also in other parts of the Nation. Its importance was evidenced by its live broadcast and by subsequent editorial comment.

One of the significant statements in Governor Holton's inaugural address was to the effect that:

No more must the slogan of state's rights sound a recalcitrant and defensive note for the people of the South. For the era of defiance is behind us.

Like any inaugural address, these words were not off-the-cuff remarks but were carefully chosen. They represent an open appeal by the new Governor for the people of all States in the South to acquiesce in the criminal usurpation of power by Federal agencies of our Government. They encourage the States government to abandon the operation of their public school systems.

The thrust of the address was promptly endorsed editorially by Norman Davis over WTOP, the TV branch of the Washington Post, arousing the ire of many thoughtful citizens of Virginia and other States.

Among these were Capt. F. O. Willenbacher of Bethesda, Md., a retired naval officer and experienced lawyer, and Col. Matthew P. McKeon of Springfield, Va., executive vice president of the Defenders of the American Constitution.

In line with the announced policy of WTOP to permit the broadcast by responsible persons of opposing views of its editorials, Colonel McKeon wrote Mr. Davis on January 27, requesting that Captain Willenbacher be allowed to respond to the Davis editorial. With this letter he submitted an advance copy of the proposed rebuttal. The expected approval was not forthcoming and the matter apparently became the subject of concern on the part of WTOP management. Instead of authorizing the reply to be made while the original editorial was still fresh in the minds of WTOP listeners as any fairness would have indicated, the station by procrastination and omission to this day has not acted.

The request was timely submitted in conformity with the current fairness doctrine policy of the Federal Communications Commission.

Because of the long delay, Colonel McKeon has now withdrawn his application for equal opportunity to reply to Governor Holton's address and WTOP's editorial endorsement. The statement originally intended for airing under the fairness doctrine has now been published in a number of newspapers, among them the Southwest Virginia Enterprise of Wytheville, Va.

As this "denial by procrastination" of the opportunity to reply is a well-documented example of the repressive practices of news management by the controlled media, I include in my remarks the request, the subsequent letter of Colonel McKeon and the proposed reply as published by the Wytheville newspaper.

The items follow:

DEFENDERS OF THE AMERICAN
CONSTITUTION, INC.,

Springfield, Va., January 27, 1970.

Mr. NORMAN DAVIS,
WTOP Broadcast House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. DAVIS: This letter will confirm my telephone conversation this morning with Miss Linn McIntyre of your office.

On behalf of the Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., I am requesting the opportunity of making a free time commentary upon your TV editorial of 19-20 January concerning Governor Linwood Holton of Virginia.

Captain F. O. Willenbacher, U.S.N. (Ret.), tel. OI 6-5926, a member of our organization, is prepared to express a contrasting point of view at such time and place you may designate.

Thanking you in advance for your courtesy in this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

MATTHEW P. McKEON,
Executive Vice President.

DEFENDERS OF THE AMERICAN
CONSTITUTION, INC.,

Springfield, Va., February 9, 1970.

Mr. NORMAN DAVIS,
WTOP Broadcast House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. DAVIS: Reference is made to my letter of 27 January, 1970, wherein I requested that a member of our organization be given the opportunity to express a view contrary to that expressed in your TV Editorial concerning Governor Holton.

Two weeks have elapsed and having had no reply from you, other than week-old responses to our numerous telephone calls saying that "the matter was being considered by the board" as you yourself told me, I must assume my request is now dead. The time interval between your editorial and the possibility of a response from us is now too great to permit a connection in the minds of the listening public.

However, I would appreciate your advising me at your earliest convenience of the reason for your obvious denial to this organization of the rights proclaimed in your stated "Editorial policy".

Yours truly,

MATTHEW P. McKEON,
Executive Vice President.

[From the Southwest Virginia Enterprise,
Feb. 5, 1970]

TO THE EDITOR,
Southwest Virginia Enterprise,
Wytheville, Va.

DEAR SIR: On Jan. 19 and 20, WTOP broadcast over its Washington radio and television

facilities an editorial lauding Gov. Linwood Holton's inaugural address in Richmond, Va., especially its demand that the South silently acquiesce in the enforcement of federal Civil Rights program. The Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., a nationwide organization, with headquarters in Ormond Beach, Florida, has requested opportunity to reply to the editorial through a member, Captain Franz O. Willenbacher, USN (Ret.). The following statement was prepared by the Captain and submitted to WTOP-TV station for their approval, but no reply has been received to date: (Jan. 31).

"WTOP praised Virginia Governor Holton's inaugural, particularly his demagogic statement: 'No more must the slogan of states rights sound a recalcitrant and defensive note for the people of the South. For the era of defiance is behind us.'

"This is an invitation to usurpation! It advocates ignoble surrender to abuse of power—power not even possessed by the Federal Government—but reserved to the States or to the people.

"Peaceful defiance will continue. People will persist in demanding freedom of choice in school attendance and an end of 'busing' children merely to achieve racial balance—now enforced only in the South.

"Government cannot long endure, unless they 'derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' That, Governor Holton, is from our Declaration of Independence.

"President Nixon calls for a new federalism in which power 'will flow from Washington back to the states and to the people.' That, Governor Holton, clearly recognizes Article X of our Constitution which demands that powers, neither delegated nor prohibited 'are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.' That is no 'slogan' Governor Holton as you seem to regard it.

"The real defiers are not the people. They are the socialistic usurpers in Washington who defy the Constitution and the people. They will be met with sustained demand from the people to restore local self-government to them, where it belongs."

THE JOKE IS ON THE JUDGE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, there are several flaws in the record of Judge Carswell which cause me to oppose his nomination to a position on the Nation's Highest Court. I do not do so because the judge is a native of the South. I oppose his nomination because of an undistinguished and blemished record—especially as it touches on civil rights law.

A recent article by Anthony Lewis in the New York Times spells out the weaknesses in Judge Carswell's record and brings to light an incident about which I was previously unaware. I refer to the joke the judge reportedly told to the Georgia Bar Association. If true, this incident reflects a callousness and carelessness that should characterize no Supreme Court Justice.

I insert the article at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUDGE CARSWELL

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, March 6.—The dilemma that President Nixon confronts on the racial issue is plain enough. Many white Americans have come to resent black demands, and the President wants to take account of their

feelings. That is not in appropriate, for resentment and alienation among white people are a serious social danger.

But it hardly needs to be said that there are deep resentments on the other side as well. The intensity of black feelings at even an intimation of retreat from civil rights progress has been shown in the angry reaction to the memorandum by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the President's counselor. Mr. Nixon knows how easily bitterness in the black community could destroy the racial peace he desires.

SYMBOL OF INDIFFERENCE

The nomination of G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court has to be considered in this light among others. For it is becoming a symbol of indifference to racial justice.

When Judge Carswell was nominated two months ago, he appeared to be undistinguished but harmless, a Federal judge from Florida who would meet quietly the President's wish for a Southern appointment. But Senate hearings and newspaper explorations since then have changed that picture. Judge Carswell has a record in the racial field that cannot be overlooked.

In 1948, Harrold Carswell said in a political speech that he would yield to no one in his "belief in the principles of white supremacy." This year he termed that view "obnoxious" and said he no longer holds it.

ON THE RECORD

In 1953 he drafted a charter for a Florida State University boosters club that opened membership to "any white person interested in the purposes . . ."

In 1956, while he was a United States Attorney, he joined in a scheme to lease Tallahassee's municipal golf course, built with \$35,000 in Federal funds, to a private segregated club for \$1 a year. Although the local papers prominently displayed the racist purpose of the scheme, and the document he signed stated it, Judge Carswell said this year that he had been unaware of it.

In 1966, Judge Carswell sold land with a covenant attached that restricted its occupancy to "members of the Caucasian race."

Between 1962 and 1968 he was, according to Prof. Leroy D. Clark of the New York University Law School, "the most hostile Federal district judge I have ever appeared before with respect to civil rights matters." Professor Clark said Judge Carswell was "insulting" and "would shout at a black lawyer who appeared before him while extending every courtesy to white lawyers."

A young lawyer now working for the Justice Department, Norman C. Knopf, said that while acting as a civil rights attorney he had heard Judge Carswell express his disapproval of Negro voter registration projects. Another lawyer testified that he had heard Judge Carswell advise a city prosecutor how to "circumvent" a civil rights decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Judge Carswell denied any discourtesy or prejudice toward civil rights lawyers.

EVIDENCE OF INSENSITIVITY

In December, 1969, Judge Carswell reportedly told the following joke to a meeting of the Georgia Bar Association:

"I was out in the Far East a little while ago, and I ran into a dark-skinned fella. I asked him if he was from Indochina, and he said, 'Naw, suh, I'se from Outdo' Gawja.'"

In a written statement last month, Judge Carswell denied that there were any racial overtones in that joke.

That record displays at the very least extraordinary insensitivity. It must raise questions about Judge Carswell's fitness for a lifetime position on a court that must decide some of the most sensitive and most important racial questions before the country. For the black community, the idea of Judge Carswell on the Supreme Court bench must now be a provocation.

ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED

Judge Carswell's record on race was obviously not known to President Nixon when he made the appointment. It is never easy for a political leader to admit a mistake, but in this instance the President could do so with grace and for the most urgent of reasons: the country's interest and his own.

Withdrawal of the nomination now would not even, necessarily, do permanent damage to Mr. Nixon's relations with the South. It would be demeaning—and untrue—for any Southerner to suggest that there are no Southern lawyers better qualified to sit on the Supreme Court than G. Harrold Carswell.

FEDERAL INSURED LOAN PROGRAM

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 3, Mr. Donald G. Hanson, executive vice president of Bryant and Stratton in Boston, Mass., testified before the Special Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, chaired by the gentlewoman from Oregon. I would like to bring Mr. Hanson's testimony to the attention of my colleagues.

Bryant and Stratton is an accredited junior college of business which is extremely interested in providing education for many disadvantaged youths. Mr. Hanson testified with regard to part B, title I of the Federal insured loan program. I am sure my colleagues know of my support for this program; I think it may be one of the most broadly supported education measures in the Congress, for this bill gives students who cannot afford a college education an opportunity to help themselves, to borrow money for an education that will enable them to advance in life.

Mr. Hanson and Bryant and Stratton are interested in having schools included as lending agencies eligible for "education warehouse loans" under the act. The school may then lend money to needy students.

The second point Mr. Hanson presented to the committee was that the maximum amount that could be borrowed during the first 2 years of postsecondary education should be increased from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year. I wholeheartedly support this. The Congress must realize that there are deserving students who do not have any financial resources available to pursue higher education. Some of these students work, others get scholarships, but there is very often a gap and in these days of increasing college costs, \$1,500 is simply not enough.

I commend Mr. Hanson's testimony to my colleagues not only for the recommendations it makes, but also because I think Bryant and Stratton's interest in providing an education for students who generally would not acquire an education is admirable. The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF DONALD G. HANSON BEFORE THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Madame Chairman and Members of the Committee. I should like to thank you for

the opportunity to testify before you today. Permit me to introduce myself and the school which I represent.

Bryant and Stratton is accredited as a junior college of business located in Boston, Mass. It has been training young men and women for the business world since 1865, one hundred and five years.

I am Donald G. Hanson, Executive Vice-president of Bryant and Stratton. Previously I was Dean of Faculty at Bryant and Stratton, and before that Professor of Economics at Bryant College in Providence, Rhode Island, and at Suffolk University in Boston. I am outgoing President of the New England Business College Association.

We are interested in Part B, Title I of this education bill, because we are convinced that schools should be included under it as lending agencies eligible for "education warehouse loans".

1. The experience of schools like ours is with students who would not normally go to four year liberal arts colleges or universities. Rather it is with students who come from average income families, the sons and daughters of working America.

Many of these students have had considerable difficulty in acquiring loans from banks. Schools such as ours are actually in a better position to administer loan funds for truly needy students. The bank, after all, has a primary responsibility to the interests of its depositors; whereas we as representatives of scholastic institutions are able to think more objectively of the needs, the potential, and the character of individual students.

We deal primarily with what we call the "specialty-oriented" student, that is the one who tends to have a specific career objective. In addition to this characteristic, he is often subject to certain types of educational problems. Our experience is that many of them suffer from having home environments that are not conducive to good school performance.

In case after case we find a remarkable improvement in performance, interest, motivation when we bring such students into a total academic situation where we can provide special teaching techniques and individual attention. This is a major reason why we have acquired a dormitory. The special needs and goals of these students, many feel, are best satisfied by private schools that cater to them specifically—1800 at Bryant and Stratton alone with its 1300 commuters and 500 dormitory residents. We estimate that close to 35% of all high school graduates could fall into the category which I have described.

2. Schools such as ours have considerable experience with the Federal Insured Loan Program under the 1965 Education Act. As a matter of fact, in our school there are approximately 400 students who are able to attend primarily because of this loan fund. We know, however, that the current serious shortage of loan money has prevented many average income students whose parents have neither a healthy savings account, or a checking account from attending school.

This past September alone, our admissions department processed fifty students who had been accepted to our school, but could not attend only because they could not find a bank to lend them the necessary money.

If our school is included as a lending agency eligible for "education warehouse loans" as under this bill, we shall be able to extend loans to many more needy and deserving students.

3. The students who attend schools such as ours come to us with specific and realistic goals in mind. They are eager to acquire the skills which will enable them to enter the business world at much higher income levels than they would attain as graduates from high school. There is a tremendous demand for these citizens in industry, and there is

no need, I am sure, to tell this committee what a valuable contribution they make to the economy.

For all these reasons, Madame Chairman and Members of the Committee, we feel that schools should be included as lending institutions eligible for the "education warehouse loan."

4. We also think that the maximum amount allowed to be borrowed during the first two years of post-secondary education should be increased from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per year. We find, particularly for students from low income families, that it is most important to provide them the wherewithal to enter post-secondary education and continue through the first two years. The key here is to assure the student that he can indeed continue his schooling. Our experience is that, if the student completes two years of post-secondary, there is a very good chance that he will find the funds to complete his work for a baccalaureate degree.

Again, as I am sure this committee is aware, there has been a tremendous increase in tuition, room and board since 1965. Our school, for example, in 1965 was charging \$750 tuition. This year, because of increased salaries for staff and other expenses, we have had to charge \$1,200 tuition. All other costs have been raised.

We would, however, not recommend raising the total maximum amount a student may borrow during his schooling. In order that the student may not go too deeply in debt, we would recommend that the total maximum amount borrowed remain at \$7,500.

To me, Title I, Part B, represents a long step in the direction of equal opportunity for every American to secure the amount of schooling for which he is suited by mental capacity, interest, and motivation. For this purpose, it is an excellent section. I look forward to the time, however, when the Congress sees fit to make these funds outright subsidies to needy and deserving students, rather than loans which must be repaid at precisely the time in a young adult's life when he is presumably starting out in his career and in process of establishing a home and family.

The underlying principle of the bill is sound in that it is consumer oriented; it places purchasing power in the hands of the student and allows him the option of selecting his course as well as his school—rather than giving the money to existing schools or creating new ones. This principle—purchasing power in the hands of the consumer of education, will go a long way toward alleviating the disaffection and frustration that is the cause of so much student unrest.

Many students feel that their interests are not given proper consideration by the "educational establishment"—that they are unable to make their voices heard as to the quality, nature and relevancy of the courses to which they are subjected. There are many measures we could adopt to make the education industry more responsive to the public it serves, but probably few of them would be more effective than that which Title I, Part B, can accomplish—placing more purchasing power in the hands of the education consumer.

Thank you for your time and attention. I would be pleased to answer any questions.

**UNITED STATES SHOULD VETO
ZAMBIAN IDIOCY**

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as I called to the attention of the House yesterday, the moment of truth has arrived with re-

spect to the African policy of the United States.

Following the dictates of their Soviet masters, the puppet diplomats from such remarkable contributors to the civilization of the world as Burundi and Zambia are again misbehaving in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Zambia's Moto Nkama, bearing the imposing title of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, is said to have made a special trip to parrot the line.

Even though it is patently assinine for any reasonable man to consider peaceful Rhodesia a threat to world peace, this little saber-rattler without a saber loudly demands that Britain bring down the Rhodesian Government by force. With absolute Marxist logic, the intended victim is the threat to world peace because someone else may attack him.

This specious reasoning makes the raped and murdered nuns of the Congo entirely responsible for their own rape and murder, for if they had not have been there, it would never have happened.

But because we are a civilized nation, given to the honoring of our international obligations, the possibility that a puppet Security Council may concoct another sanction ukase is important to us. After all, by the United Nations Participation Act, and by Executive orders both of President Johnson and President Nixon, we are helping the Soviet enemy impair our own national security—based on just such a toy sanction.

The time for foolishness has passed. The time to act adult and responsible is now here.

The United States should forthwith announce—and I do not care whether this announcement is made publicly or in private—that we intend to exercise our veto in the Security Council to terminate such idiocy.

So that our colleagues may fully understand the constitutional problems presented by the possibility of an outside sanction on the freedom of speech protected by the first amendment, I include the official English translation of the proposed sanctions—drawing particular attention to proposed action No. 6—together with pertinent articles in which the full manipulation makes itself visible, as part of my remarks:

BURUNDI, NEPAL, SIERRA LEONE, SYRIA AND
ZAMBIA: DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Security Council,
Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966 and 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968,

Reaffirming in particular its resolution 232 (1966), in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply concerned that the situation in Southern Rhodesia has deteriorated further as a result of the proclamation of a so-called republic and that the measures so far taken have proved inadequate to resolve the situation in Southern Rhodesia,

Gravely concerned further that the decisions taken by the Secretary Council have not been fully complied with by all States,

Noting that the Governments of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, in particular, in contravention of their obligation under Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, have not only continued

to trade with the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia, contrary to the terms of Security Council resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968), but have in fact given active assistance to that regime, enabling it to counter the effects of measures decided upon by the Security Council,

Noting in particular the continued presence of South African forces in the territory of Zimbabwe,

Affirming the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right of self-determination and independence,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle for the enjoyment of that right,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Condemns* the proclamations of so-called republic in Zimbabwe by the racist minority regime in Salisbury and declares null and void any form of government which is not based on the principle of majority rule;

2. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall refrain from recognizing this illegal regime and urges States not Members of the Organization, having regard to the principles set out in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, to act accordingly;

3. *Calls upon* all States to take appropriate action at the national level to ensure that no competent State authority gives official or legal recognition to any act carried out by the leaders and institutions of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia;

4. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, with regard to the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia;

5. *Condemns* the persistent refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to use force to bring an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

6. *Decides* that all States shall immediately sever all diplomatic, consular, economic, military and other relations with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, including railway, maritime, air transport, postal, telegraphic and wireless communications and other means of communication;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to abrogate any existing agreement on the basis of which commercial or other foreign consular missions can be maintained in Southern Rhodesia;

8. *Condemns* the assistance given by the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and by other imperialist Powers to the illegal racist minority regime in defiance of resolutions of the Security Council and demands the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the South African aggressors from the territory of Zimbabwe;

9. *Decides* that Member States and members of the specialized agencies shall apply against the Republic of South Africa and Portugal the measures set out in resolution 253 (1968) and in the present resolution;

10. *Call upon* all Member States and members of the specialized agencies to carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations;

11. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations, and, in particular, those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;

12. *Urges all States* to render moral and material assistance to the national liberation

movements of Zimbabwe in order to enable them to regain their freedom and independence;

13. Requests all States to report to the Secretary-General on the measures taken to implement the present resolution;

14. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress made in implementing the present resolution.

BURUNDI URGES END TO TIES: SOVIET UNION BLAMES UNITED STATES, BRITAIN FOR EXISTENCE OF RHODESIAN REGIME

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

UNITED NATIONS, March 12.—Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik blamed the United States along with Britain this afternoon for allegedly supporting the white supremacy republic in Rhodesia.

The U.S. and its allies "bear the main responsibility for the emergence and subsistence thus far of the racist regime" of Prime Minister Ian Smith, he charged in a cold-war-style indictment in the Security Council.

Contending that these countries had had a major part in "emasculating" sanctions voted by the council, he accused them of preventing extension of similar measures to Portugal and South Africa.

Why does Britain not apply the treason act to members of the Smith regime, he asked rhetorically, recalling that in the last century treason had brought a death sentence.

"Because Smith and his government are committing crimes not against the United Kingdom but against Africans—against the people of Zimbabwe," (the African name for Rhodesia) he declared. He added that Smith regards the British "as friends and patrons."

Apart from championing an Afro-Asian resolution for extension of sanctions, Malik appeared to be attempting to offset any credit accruing to Western countries for the closure of their consulates in Rhodesia. West Germany today joined the U.S. and six other countries that have recently withdrawn consular representation.

A British spokesman noted today that apart from the U.S. and Germany, Norway, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands and France have closed their consulates in Rhodesia and that Austria, which has been erroneously reported as having representation there has not had even an honorary consul since 1967.

Belgium and Switzerland are reviewing their policies, the British spokesman said, and only Greece, Portugal and South Africa appear unmoved by pleas to withdraw representation.

Burundi ambassador Nsanze Terence introduced the five-power Afro-Asian resolution calling on all states to sever immediately all remaining ties with Rhodesia including postal, telegraphic and air communications.

But Britain, which asked originally for a simple resolution calling on all states not to recognize the new republic, is understood to be considering a veto if the Afro-Asian measure should be put to a vote in its present form. The total communications ban also would pose constitutional difficulties for the United States.

The council will continue the debate Friday afternoon.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 13, 1970]

NEW BLAST AT RHODESIA BUILDS IN U.N.
(By Bertram B. Johansson)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The groundwork for still another UN Security Council condemnation of Rhodesia and for cutting all consular, and perhaps other, relations with the Ian Smith government, now is laid.

Zambia's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Moto Nkama, called for both types of ostracization of the Smith regime.

He suggested also, as did other African speakers, that Britain should bring the Rhodesian Government down by force.

Mr. Nkama made a special trip from Africa for the occasion to report the views of the Organization of African Unity. He asked for severance of "all consular, military, or any other relations with the illegal, racist, minority regime."

"This should include," he said, "rail, maritime, and air transport, postal, telegraphic, radio, and any other means of communications. These measures should also be applied by the specialized agencies and organs of the United Nations."

CONSULAR RELATIONS CUT

Since March 2, when the first of the current series of Security Council meetings on Rhodesia was called, several countries have broken off consular relations. These include the United States, Norway, Italy, France, Denmark, West Germany, and the Netherlands, at this writing.

The United States move, in particular, was praised by several African speakers as a hopeful sign of a new African policy by the Nixon administration.

The current Security Council sessions on Rhodesia are being held apropos of the Smith government's declaration March 1 of Rhodesia as a republic, independent of Britain. British and other speakers here have labeled the declaration as another in the series of illegal acts by the Smith government.

Britain is calling for a Council resolution condemning the independence announcement and for all nations to abstain from diplomatic relations with Rhodesia.

African and Asian members of the Security Council want a much more drastic approach. Zambia, Syria, Nepal, Sierra Leone, and Burundi call for condemnation of the "illegal, racist, minority regime."

BRITAIN BLAMED

They also call for nonrecognition of the regime. They want to "emphasize the responsibility of the government of the United Kingdom, as the administering power, for the situation that prevails in Southern Rhodesia."

They want a condemnation of the "persistent refusal of the government of the United Kingdom, as the administering power, to use force to bring an end to the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and enable the people of Zimbabwe [Rhodesia] to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with Security Council resolutions."

An African-Asian resolution also calls for all states "to render moral and material assistance to the national liberation movement of the people of Zimbabwe in order to enable them to regain their freedom and independence."

Zambia's Minister of State based his appeal for condemnation and the ostracizing of the Smith regime on the basis of its treatment of the black population since its presumption of establishment of a government on Nov. 11, 1965.

RUTHLESSNESS CHARGED

Mr. Nkama said the Smith government has not only "shown its ruthlessness to the indigenous inhabitants of Zimbabwe, it has also, like every despotic regime, treated liberal-minded white journalists with the same ruthlessness."

"It has kicked out no fewer than 50 journalists in its attempt to suppress the freedom of the press. It has refused entry into Rhodesia to no fewer than 400 applicants every year."

"Religious missionaries have been no exception in this campaign. In short, it is a regime that has shown every intolerance to all those opposed to it."

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has expressed its agreement with Britain that the Smith regime should be condemned, though it ap-

pears to advocate other methods for its downfall.

An official statement in Tass, the Soviet news agency, says the Soviet Union "consistently comes out for the adoption of measures directed at the elimination of the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia. It expresses full solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe who are conducting a just struggle for national independence and freedom."

SANCTIONS CALLED INSUFFICIENT

The Tass statement criticizes what it terms the "falsity of the British Government's assurances that economic and financial sanctions are a sufficient measure to liquidate the Smith regime. . . ."

The Tass statement then suggests that "in these conditions the policy of Britain, which has failed to ensure the handing over of power to the people of Southern Rhodesia and did not take resolute measures to liquidate the unlawful Smith regime, is an example of colonialist attempts to retain power by other methods. . . ."

With this wide divergency of views, there is some question here whether Britain may not have to use its veto once again to prevent a resolution advocating the use of force.

THIRD DISTRICT HOOSIERS DEMAND NEW PRIORITIES

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, I recently conducted a public opinion poll among the citizens of the Third Congressional District of Indiana on a number of important national issues.

The results indicated that the voters of my district share the general concern in this country for a redirection of our national efforts toward the solution of domestic problems.

I insert at this point in the RECORD the results of my poll, and I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

THIRD DISTRICT DEMANDS NEW PRIORITIES

Citizens of Indiana's Third Congressional District want the Federal government to reorder its priorities for the 1970's. They want the government to reduce spending on the Vietnam War, military programs and space exploration, and to redirect its resources into domestic programs aimed at solving the problems of pollution, crime, health care and education.

These are the most striking conclusions that emerge from an analysis of the results of Congressman John Brademas' poll of Third District residents.

The quest for new directions in national policies was made especially clear in the questionnaire when citizens were given a list of eleven areas of governmental activity and asked to indicate whether they felt government spending in each area should be increased, decreased or held at present levels. The results of this section are given in the table below.

The table shows that high percentages of the respondents want spending to be increased in four areas: crime prevention and control, pollution control, health and education.

Cuts in defense and space spending are favored by a majority of those returning the questionnaire. Sixty-five percent urge reducing expenditures on the Vietnam War, 57.1% want cuts in space programs and 54.3% favor decreasing other defense spending.

These conclusions received further con-

firmation from another section of the questionnaire which asked for opinions on a number of vital issues. Here are some of the most significant results:

Vietnam War: On the crucial issue of Vietnam, an overwhelming 81.5% of those responding favor withdrawal of American troops in some form, while only 15% urge a military victory through increased military operations. The 81.5% for withdrawal include the following three categories:

Immediate withdrawal, 11.5%.
Complete withdrawal before December, 1970, 16.2%.

Withdrawal only as fast as the South Vietnamese can assume the burden of the war, 53.8%.

Military Spending: Answers to this question reflect public reaction to the national debate over military spending: 68.6% of all respondents feel outlays for defense can be substantially reduced without hurting our national security. Only 7.6% want substantial increases in the interest of national security, while 19.6% favor keeping military outlays at present levels.

Space Programs: In spite of U.S. successes in space, 62.3% of those responding urge less spending on space programs in order to make more funds available for domestic programs. Only 6.1% want to increase our space effort to land on Mars, and 27.5% favor keeping space spending at current levels.

Pollution Control: Third District residents are more united on the question of fighting pollution than on any other issue. Almost eighty percent feel the Federal government is doing too little to combat pollution. Fifteen percent say present efforts are sufficient, and only 1.7% think the government is doing too much.

Below are the complete results for ten questions on national issues.

THE MAJOR ISSUES

You will find below the results of the opinion survey on ten important national issues. The figures show the percentages of those responding who chose the various answers to each question.

Vietnam

In Vietnam the U.S. should:

Increase military operations to secure military victory.....	15.4
Withdraw all our forces immediately.....	11.5
Withdraw all our forces by December 1970.....	16.2
Withdraw our forces only as fast as South Vietnam can assume the burden of the war.....	53.8
No answer.....	3.1

Tax relief

With respect to the personal income tax exemption, I would favor:

Keeping it at the present level of \$600 for each dependent.....	22.5
Raising it to \$800 for each dependent.....	40.6
Raising it to \$1000 for each dependent.....	34.0
No answer.....	2.9

POLLUTION CONTROL

With respect to controlling air and water pollution, the Federal government is doing:

Enough.....	15.0
Too much.....	1.7
Too little.....	79.6
No answer.....	3.7

MILITARY SPENDING

Military spending, now at an annual rate of almost \$80 billion:

Should remain at the present level.....	19.6
Can be substantially reduced without hurting national security.....	68.6
Should be substantially increased in the interest of national security.....	7.6
No answer.....	4.2

WELFARE

With respect to welfare programs, I would favor:

Retaining programs as they are at present.....	20.8
Setting minimum Federal standards for all states.....	51.7
Replacing present programs with a guaranteed annual income for the poor.....	16.6
No answer, miscellaneous opinions.....	11.0

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security benefits should:

Remain at present levels.....	21.3
Be increased by 10%.....	32.8
Be increased by 15%.....	39.9
No answer.....	6.0

THE SURTAX

The 10% income tax surcharge should be:

Ended when it expires on December 31, 1969.....	49.3
Extended at 5% until June 30, 1970.....	45.4
No answer.....	5.3

FARM POLICY

With respect to Federal farm policy, I would favor:

Maintaining present programs.....	25.8
Providing greater Federal support to farmers.....	14.4
Providing less Federal support to farmers.....	49.8
No answer, miscellaneous opinions.....	10.0

SPACE PROGRAM

In our space programs we should:

Continue expenditures at present levels.....	27.5
Increase expenditures in order to land on Mars.....	6.1
Reduce expenditures in order to make available more funds for domestic programs.....	62.3
No answer.....	4.1

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

With respect to pre-school education programs, the Federal government should:

Continue Head Start programs (for children of low-income families).....	47.6
Expand such programs to include children from middle-income families.....	20.6
Support neither.....	25.4
No answer.....	6.4

WHERE TO SPEND IN THE 1970'S: YOUR OPINIONS

This chart summarizes the responses given in the section of the questionnaire which dealt with national priorities. For each of the eleven categories of Federal activities listed, the respondent was asked to indicate whether spending should be increased, decreased or held at present levels.

[In percent]

	Federal spending should be—			
	In-creased	De-creased	Held at present levels	No answer
1. Vietnam war.....	7.6	5.0	22.2	0.2
2. Other defense spending.....	6.2	54.3	33.1	6.4
3. Welfare programs.....	26.0	29.5	36.9	6.9
4. Space programs.....	67.4	57.3	32.0	4.8
5. Pollution control.....	77.0	3.6	14.6	4.3
6. Farm programs.....	14.7	46.0	30.5	8.8
7. Aid to education.....	49.5	11.7	33.3	5.5
8. Programs for the poor.....	42.9	13.8	36.2	7.1
9. Aid to cities.....	31.5	21.0	39.4	8.1
10. Crime prevention and control.....	82.9	2.1	11.2	3.8
11. Health programs.....	56.8	7.1	31.7	4.4

FRANCIS MARION FOLSOM—
1894-1970

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on January 12 the country lost one of its great business and industrial leaders in the death of Frank M. Folsom, former president of the Radio Corp. of America.

Frank Folsom's career from his first job as an elevator operator in 1910 until his retirement as chairman of the board of RCA's executive committee in 1966, was typical of the American dream. His greatest success developed as a result of his faith and confidence in the potentialities of commercial television. During his presidency of RCA, from 1949 to 1957, the gross income of the corporation increased from \$397.2 million to \$1.1 billion, largely due to the application of his merchandising skills to the sale of television sets.

Much has been written and spoken about Frank Folsom in his capacity as a business and industrial executive. But, I believe, no one has portrayed the inner qualities of this great American so eloquently and ably as the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., in a sermon delivered at the concelebrated pontifical mass of the resurrection at St. Patrick's Cathedral on January 16, 1970.

I insert the full text of the sermon at this point in the RECORD:

FRANCIS MARION FOLSOM, 1894-1970

(Sermon delivered by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.)

I appreciate more than I can say the generosity and sensitivity of Terence Cardinal Cooke, the Archbishop of New York, in inviting me to say these few words at the Funeral Mass we are celebrating for our dear friend, Francis Marion Folsom.

It is given to every human being to deliver at least one sermon. Strangely enough, this sermon is mainly delivered after one has departed this life. People stop and think for a moment of the dear departed one. All that was for so long taken for granted suddenly comes into focus. And there, all bound up in a fleeting moment, is the totality of a person's life.

Each of us came here today to pray that the good Lord give to Frank Folsom the great blessing of eternal life. And, to each of us, Frank Folsom today gives his brief and powerful sermon, the sermon of his life.

Saint Thomas once wrote that the measure of a successful Christian life is to know truly what to have faith in, what to hope for, and what to love. Look at each of these and you have the measure and meaning of Frank Folsom's life—the theme of his sermon to us, as I see it.

When Frank stood at his mother's death bed, she had a simple charge for him: "Never forget that you are an Irishman and a Catholic." He never did.

The last thing I saw him do, less than a week ago, was to make the sign of the Cross feebly, yet firmly, and to wrap the Rosary around his wrist so that it would not fall off when he slipped off into oblivion, as he did shortly thereafter.

I cannot remember all the times and places he served my Mass and received Holy Communion with great devotion: in Rome and Vienna, in Madrid and Munich, in Paris and Tokyo, and, of course, here in New York.

And when we drove through the countryside abroad, he always started the day by reciting the Rosary; he leading, I driving. When we were almost killed one day in the Alps by a wild bus driver who wanted more than three quarters of the road Frank never flickered an eyelash. "Someone's watching us," he said calmly. He believed it. So did I, especially after that closest of calls, right after completing the Rosary.

Frank's was a simple faith, like his mother's, but again deeply penetrating. We were close enough to the Church's operation on the things we were doing together to see many of the human imperfections of the operation—but he used to reassure even me, saying, "Don't let's mix up the human and the divine, God's grace and what human beings do to neglect it, God's word and how poorly we follow it". He knew many Popes, more Cardinals than most Catholics know priests, Archbishops, Bishops, Monsignori, and priests without number. Though he loved them all, some more than others, they were not the substance of his faith.

He was relaxed about having been awarded about every honor the Church has to give. He only wanted to serve, and serve he did, in every way he knew how, with all the energy and all the considerable talent he could summon, without looking for anything for himself. And when he came home at night in some foreign land and emptied out his pockets, I was always edified to see a much worn Rosary and a blue Rosary Novena booklet that had more mending scotch tape than paper for a cover. He would kneel down and confess to a good friend like a child, which he was not, because in his faith he was talking about his faults to God through the mediation of a priest, asking mercy and forgiveness and promising to do better. He loved a sermon on Sunday, even if he was the only one at Mass in some far corner of the world.

I have heard him speak the truth to Popes and Cardinals when the truth was difficult to say and flattery and evasion would have been much easier, but less honest.

He had an instinct about the faith and its meaning for life, his life and the life of the Church. In these difficult changing days, he somehow always managed to land on his feet, to take the long view, to avoid disillusionment and frustration, and to see the positive good in change. He was a builder rather than a destroyer, a man for growth rather than decline, a doer in the middle of the action rather than a sideline critic.

This was all part of his faith in his Irish heritage. While perceptive in mind, his real talent was of the heart. He had a great feel for the human situation and there are thousands across the world who have felt the warmth of his greeting, the bounty of his limitless generosity, the thoughtfulness of his gifts, the understanding and affection of his great heart.

He had an abiding faith in human beings, even though he sensed with the Irish poets and songsters that human beings will often break your heart. Like all good Irishmen, he knew the heights and the depths of human feeling, the great joys and the deep sorrows, the wild triumphs of soaring success and the lonely anguish of personal failures. But those great eternal realities that claimed his deepest faith kept him on course through time to eternity, and he always knew deep down that he would some day come to a final harbor of light, refreshment, and peace, as we pray in the Mass today.

On the human side, his greatest faith was in the abiding reality of his family and friends. In this regard, his two favorite sayings were, "Nothing changes" which was his personal version of "semper fidelis"—always be faithful; and "Everyone must belong to someone and something". I have never known anyone who worked harder at making

his family and his friends know that he really and truly belonged to them.

His dear wife, Gladys, was his anchor while she lived. His girls and boys were his light of life; a light went out when one of the boys was killed in World War II. The only thing he loved more than his grandsons were his granddaughters, and each new great grandchild was a special treasure to be specially loved and cherished. Speaking as a special friend of his, I will candidly admit that the only person on earth who bragged about me more shamelessly and with less regard for truth than Frank was my mother.

His friends were endless, of every religion, of every nation, of every race, of every class, of every profession. He amassed them with abandon, from Pope to pauper, and loved them all. He was, as all of us are, accused of many things in his lifetime, but never of being without faith and never, never of being unloving. Where family and friends, Church and country, good causes and human hopes were concerned, his only measure of love was to love without measure.

What did he hope for? Certainly, he hoped for only the best for his girls and boys and their sons and daughters, and for his friends. He hoped for the best, too, for his Church and his country, both of which he served so well in so many ways. For himself, his only real hope was to be at the right place at the right time so that he might serve, and build, and be a positive influence for good.

If you asked him what was his greatest accomplishment as chief executive of a great corporation, it was not its phenomenal growth under his leadership in the post-war years, but the fact that he had inaugurated a generous pension plan that would greatly benefit its thousands of employees now and in the future.

It is a long road from the small rural towns of Sprague and McMinnville in the great Northwest to San Francisco, Sacramento, Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, and, finally, New York. But here he was finally at home, in this great Cathedral with an Irish Patron Saint, with a Cardinal-Archbishop named Spellman who for twenty-five years and more was a true brother to him, with the great charities of this Archdiocese, with the Knights and Ladies of the Holy Sepulchre whom he loved so well, especially the ladies, with a long list of other great endeavors centered here in the religious and secular world of New York.

A few days before Cardinal Spellman's death, Frank tried to give him an accounting of one such endeavor that the Cardinal was sponsoring and Frank was leading. The Cardinal kindly shut him off by saying, "Frank, I'm tired, and besides I know that everything you've done has been done with style, and integrity, and efficiency. If you must account to me, let it ride for awhile, and some day soon enough we'll get off together in a quiet corner of heaven and get all the accounts straightened out and squared away." If they haven't done it already, I am sure they will do it soon.

In simple terms, reflecting great realities, these are the life lines of Frank Folsom: what he had faith in, what he hoped for, what he loved. This is his sermon to all of us. I cannot tell it to you without sharing with you how I know he would have reacted to the telling—even this simply.

Since 1957, Frank and I have spent the better part of a year of our lives together representing three Holy Fathers in an endeavor called the International Atomic Energy Agency—Atoms for Peace. Frank was a very lonesome man in 1957, since his wife had died the year before. This new endeavor gave him an outlet for new faith and hope and love. Without any training in diplomacy or science, he became a perceptive and persuasive apostle for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and a diplomat who per-

sued even the Russians in those days that peace was possible if faith and hope and love could be allowed to flourish between us. When a high Church dignitary accused him of being soft on Communism, he quoted St. Matthew: "Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you".

No one will ever know how the power of his faith and hope and love mediated peace during a precarious and difficult period of history, and how much the more hopeful signs of today result quite directly from those efforts in darker days. But his faith begot faith, his hope engendered hope, and his very real love attracted those without much faith or hope and endeared them to what he stood for.

Late at night in Vienna, after writing up the results at the end of a difficult conference, I would sit in Frank's room and read to him the text of our report for his approval. At the end, he would smile and say, "You make me look better than I am". I'm afraid that is what he would say again today.

All I can say is that his life speaks for itself to all of you. His faith and hope and love speak for themselves. And because human words are always inadequate in describing human deeds, especially human deeds at their noblest, I must admit that the sermon of his life is better than I have portrayed it. Despite any disclaimer he would make, you and I know that the good Lord will be good to him in eternity because he was so good to so many of us in the days we enjoyed together. May the good Lord grant us more like him, and may Frank Folsom rest in peace eternal.

PUPILS SHOW GAINS IN WOOD-LAWN TESTS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, amidst the controversy over college student protests, we have often lost sight of our younger students. Many of these have suffered from the deprived environments in which they find themselves. The neglect of our central cities has spawned conditions that prevent many young children from being prepared to read when they begin school.

It is most exciting to see some groups tackling this problem on their own initiative, with Federal assistance. As a result of the Woodlawn experimental schools project in Chicago, there has been a significant increase in the reading readiness of participating first graders. I commend to my colleagues the following results; as reported in the Chicago Tribune:

In 1964, when the project began, tests showed that 36 percent of entering first graders at Wadsworth Elementary School were not ready to read. By 1969, only 5.4 percent were not prepared to learn how to read. This contrasts with a city-wide average of 13 percent not ready.

These results are most heartening. They show that community action and local schools can help to offset the environmental handicaps that retard the development of reading skills.

Of course, this experiment would have

never taken place without adequate funding. Neither should the results lead us to conclude that our cities do not need thorough rehabilitation.

I commend those responsible for these encouraging results and urge my colleagues to weigh their importance for Congress responsibility for public education.

METROBANK WOULD PROVIDE LOW INTEREST CREDIT FOR COMMUNITIES

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the bill H.R. 16448, contains several excellent ideas for making credit more available for municipalities now caught in a tight, expensive municipal bond market.

Because the ideas in this bill were actually developed by Hubert H. Humphrey during his term as Vice President, I am placing in the RECORD a very valuable address Mr. Humphrey gave before the Minnesota League of Municipalities last June:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINNESOTA LEAGUE OF MUNICIPALITIES, JUNE 19, 1969

Today we are part of a massive, concentrated society. Seventy percent of the U.S. population lives in metropolitan areas. Indeed, one out of five people lives within the limits of cities with a population of over one million.

We hope to land a man on the moon within a month. We are deciphering the innermost secrets of the human cell. We have created enormous energy from minute nuclear reactors. The science of communication—telephone, radio and television and radar and computers—has made commonplace occurrences which my father—and your father—would have regarded as supernatural.

We have an industrial economy which this year will record a gross national product of one trillion dollars. Only eight years ago we somehow existed with a GNP of only 500 billion dollars.

Can we keep pace with these changes? Can we preserve the dignity of the individual?

Can our educational institutions transmit an ever-increasing body of knowledge?

Can our religious institutions become a force for justice in a changed world which complicates spiritual and moral concepts?

Can our labor and business institutions change so that management techniques and technology are the benevolent servants of man, rather than their malevolent masters?

Can our financial institutions find new ways of allocating credit other than by increasing interest rates?

Can our law enforcement institutions, now costly and slow-moving change so that swift justice is available to all?

These are the questions which concern an ever-broadening cross-section of the American people—and these are the questions which concern persons—like yourselves—who are charged with making our municipalities true communities of people, living rewarding and satisfying lives.

Change is inevitable. Change creates crisis only when our response is inflexible and rigid. Today I want to propose two specific programs which I believe will provide a much needed flexibility and adaptability to our basic economic, political, and social insti-

tutions—those established structures which in large measure must decide the kind of local communities we are able to build in the final third of the 20th century.

My first proposal is for each state government to create and establish a new department or office for Community Development. The title and the purpose of the department should reflect the development of urban centers. Therefore, it could be called a Department of Urban Development or preferably a Department of Community Development. This new department in state government should be the equivalent of the state level, to the Department of Housing and Urban Development at the national level. The Department of Community Development should be authorized to coordinate and activate all housing and urban development programs, particularly those from the federal level which require state participation. This new department should have its own Community Development program and budget designed to assist and stimulate local activity. It must engage in broad research pertaining to urban needs such as community planning, economic development, the proper use of land and such areas as zoning, building codes and all social services. Urban research must not be the special prerogative of the federal government. We desperately need the input—the ideas the long-range proposals—of local and state government. This new department should be strengthened by the creation of a broadly representative advisory committee on urban and community development. This advisory committee to include representatives of local government, business, labor, the academic community, social services, financial institutions and other community leaders. Active participation by state government in urban development is essential if there is to be any hope for our cities. State governments must recognize that we are essentially an urban, industrialized nation with a highly mobile population.

But emphasis on development of urban America and new cities does not mean less attention to rural America. It means above all making rural America a more inviting place to live—making rural America modern, forward looking and attractive to its children. After all, when we talk of cities, we talk of people and new cities will have to find their location in rural America.

The second proposal outlines a new approach to amassing the credit cities need to supply basic community facilities for the coming years.

Even if our population remains stable—and it certainly will not—the amount of capital needed to clean our air and water—to build schools and hospitals—to improve law enforcement and justice is truly staggering. But this country is not standing still—we will have to provide for an additional 27 million people in the next 6 years.

A conservative estimate of the cost of replacing obsolete facilities, reducing backlogs, and meeting needs of an expanding population by 1975 is \$625 billion.

Between now and the turn of the century, the Institute of Public Administration estimates that \$6 trillion will have to be raised just for housing and community facilities.

In the past, current tax revenues supplied about ½ the cost of community facilities. For the other half, states and cities issued bonds—a well-established method of obtaining credit and one which should be preserved.

But we must realize that this magnitude of borrowing will likely force interest rates beyond the point which many municipalities can pay. In addition, procedures for issuing bonds are cumbersome, expensive, and time consuming.

Many municipalities will find it difficult—if not impossible—to raise the needed money. Moreover, a bond resolution creates rigid patterns of obligations which can be changed only at great cost to the municipality.

In order to lessen these burdens, I have proposed that the U.S. Congress establish a National Metropolitan Development Bank, and I have been developing legislation which I hope Senator Mondale will introduce.

The Metro Bank—as I call it—would provide an alternative source of low-interest credit for communities. It would raise money in investment markets throughout the nation from all groups of investors. Of greater significance to local governments, it would relieve the pressure on bond markets so that communities could pay less for money whether they borrow from the Metro Bank or whether they issue municipal bonds.

The Metro Bank would sell federally guaranteed bonds and debentures on the national investment market, and then lend to local governments at rates of interest 30-50% below the rates of the federally guaranteed bonds. The range of interest rates insures that local governments would not pay more to borrow from the Bank than they would to issue tax exempt bonds.

The Federal government would make up the difference by an annual appropriation. Because the federal bonds are taxable, however, this could not constitute a net cost to the government.

The Bank would be authorized to make long term—40 to 60 years—low interest loans for building basic community facilities. It would also make "soft" loans for up to 20 years to promote economic development in those areas where an increase in investment would be in the national interest. Such a determination would be made by the Council of Economic Advisors, with the advice of counsel of the various Federal departments with responsibilities for urban and economic development.

The Metro Bank would be chartered by act of Congress, but it would not be a Federal agency. It would work closely with the Federal government and appropriate Federal departments and agencies would be represented on the Board of Directors.

I propose the Bank be capitalized at \$6 billion—½ to be borrowed from the U.S. Treasury over a 10 year period, and the other \$3 billion by the sale of commercial stock. Each user would be required to purchase a portion of this stock based on the number of persons within its jurisdiction.

The Metro Bank would not only provide a wholly new alternative source of money for local governments, but it would also enable the Federal government to utilize flexible approaches in aiding the construction of essential community facilities.

The third proposal I want to discuss today involves a broader view of the future of our cities—how and where our people will live, work, learn, and play—30 years from today.

I believe we must find a way to build brand new cities. Whether they are located on the fringes of today's suburbs, on the sites of existing small towns, or on wide open spaces, we need no less than 100 new cities flourishing by the year 2000. Population increases alone could make necessary 20 new cities of one million population.

New cities provide an alternative to both excessive concentrations—up to 140,000 persons per square mile in New York's Harlem—and excessive sparseness found in areas of suburban and rural sprawl.

In new cities we have the opportunity to avoid the mistakes of unplanned cities—to eliminate parking on the street, on-street loading and highway clutter. We can begin with new communications, using tunnel economics for the delivery of essential services, utilities and goods, and we can plan open spaces and pedestrian pathways.

Can our social and political institutions meet the new challenge?

We already possess the technical knowledge for building such cities. We have the management tools and skills—computers, cost-benefit analysis.

We have an understanding of the economic

forces which must serve as a basis for a new city. The most vital task in building a new city is the creation of an industrial and employment base.

We know some of the social problems we want to avoid, and to a certain extent, we know how to avoid them.

What we lack is a public policy—a framework in which all our knowledge can be put to use. City planners, architects, sociologists, financiers, public officials and bureaucrats have produced considerable insight and knowledge about what to do—now we must generate the popular support and the governmental structures to carry out these plans.

I propose that a joint committee be created in the United States Congress charged with the responsibility of

defining the fundamental social, economic, demographic, and ecological objectives to help guide the growth of new cities;

deciding how many new cities we need and where they can be located;

designing the public development corporations that would be necessary to establish and manage the new cities until local governments are elected.

A word about the corporations themselves. First, it is absolutely essential that they be formed jointly by states and the Federal government. It is the state, and only the state, which can delegate the legal power of local self government. On the other hand, the national interest in the success of the city is so great that the corporations must reflect national developmental goals.

Second, the corporation must have available the planning skills and management skills necessary for such a complex undertaking. And the corporation should have the power of eminent domain to procure adequate land area.

But the work of our political institutions is not fulfilled solely by the activities of the Joint Congressional Committee. As I stressed earlier, the task of creating an economically viable city is essential. While much of this task can be accomplished by imaginative recruiting and promotion, or by inexpensive or free land, other incentives will be required. The Federal and the state governments can help provide these incentives.

This issue is not whether the Federal government should try to influence local development; the issue is whether the influence which the Federal government already exercises will be haphazard or directed by fundamental national goals for urban development.

The government is a major buyer. Its defense procurement practices have literally created Los Angeles.

The Congress must define national goals of development and then it must assure that practices of the Federal government contribute to those goals.

The placement of government facilities has a profound effect on local community life. The government is a major employer. The location of a defense installation, a new university, even a government office complex can mean new economic life for a community. Federal financial incentives such as tax, loan, or direct payment arrangements can foster growth in new cities. Placement of Federal procurement contracts and construction projects can provide jobs.

Federal policies such as resettlement allowances, on-the-job training allowances, and job placement, can neutralize the factors producing excessive population concentration.

These will be cities to protect and foster man's natural inclination toward community. The physical design of these cities can relieve the pressures of urban living pressures which too frequently result in the breakdown of the family. Families in our new cities can prosper, can develop a viable, modern form of this most natural and basic unit of human organization.

These cities can also relieve the pressures confounding our old cities. They can provide a moment of relief, a pause in their constant struggle against the intertwined problems of urban life.

In order to do the things which I have been talking with you about, we need a willing electorate—a clear political decision by the American people to get the job done.

We also need creative and decisive leadership from mayors, governors, and particularly from the President of the United States.

Because the task is so complicated, because the problems are so vast, our people must be inspired to act. Only qualities of real greatness can inspire our people to greatness.

DRUGS, THE DISTRICT, AND CRIME

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 3, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Crime, of which I am privileged to be chairman, held 3½ days of hearings in Metropolitan Washington communities February 25–28.

On the opening day, at the Abraham Lincoln School located at 16th and Irving Streets in Northwest Washington, the committee took testimony from 15 witnesses including victims of crime, police officers, ex-offenders, and private citizens who have taken leadership roles in the effort to prevent and control crime in the Washington community.

While all the testimony of our hearings will appear in printed form and be available to the Members of the House, I should like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a portion of the remarks made by two of our witnesses concerning drug addiction and abuse.

Both of these witnesses are former addicts. Both are now devoting themselves to the prevention of addiction among young people. Their remarks—concerning the best way to communicate with young people and to spare them from the desolate life of the criminal and the drug addict—may offer all of us new insight into these grave problems.

One, Mr. Laurence M. Helton, is the director of Project Progress, a group of ex-offenders who were formed after the serious Washington disturbance of 1968. Since then, Project Progress has established itself as an effective instrument in guiding young Washingtonians along constructive paths, away from those roads that lead to crime and to prison.

The other, Mr. Steve Matthews, is also a member of Project Progress, one who is particularly knowledgeable about the factors contributing to the growing menace of drug addiction.

At one point in our hearings I put this question to these two witnesses:

Gentlemen, one of the subjects this Committee is most interested in is the matter of youth crimes and drugs and narcotics in relationship to youth particularly. Now you gentlemen have had experience in these two areas. We are charged with the duty of trying to find out the facts in respect to these matters and making recommendations to the House of Representatives.

Out of your experience, I will ask each one

of you, what Federal legislation or policy would you suggest that we recommend to the House of Representatives that would be most helpful in keeping young people from committing crime and in correcting them if they do commit crimes, and in helping young people to stay off drugs, or, if they do get on drugs and narcotics, to help get them off them?

Here, then, is the testimony that question brought forth:

Mr. HELTON. First I think we are talking about a problem that has existed for a long, long time, and one for which we have never made anything available. By "we" I mean the whole system; I consider myself a part of the system at this particular time. There is nothing now available. There has to be an alternative, a hope for young people who don't have it.

Steve has told you about it. You just don't have it. A young man sees too many things going on around him that draw him to them rather than doing what is considered right in this society.

There have to be funds and programs available for young people where young people can become involved from the beginning of the program so that they can say: This belongs to me; I am a part of this. And you do that first by listening to young people to find out what they are really saying to you.

Then as adults, the people who are in policy-making positions do something about those things. Don't say that the young people are taking off the top of their heads. Before you can talk about prevention of crime, prevention of drug abuse, you have to understand these young people. First of all, I guess I'll give you a hypothetical thing. Just block all the boats and ships and airplanes that come into this country for a week, and you'll solve the drug problem. But, it has to be a community thing. There has to be a community thing to deal with this whole problem. There has to be some things available to the community.

I know that you men from the Congress, when you were young boys, there were certain things that you would do and certain things you would not do because you knew that that was the way these things were done by the whole community. Not just your parents, but the whole community was looking at you. There has to be a team effort of everybody in the community, professionals and nonprofessional people coming together, dealing with the whole problem as it exists there in the communities. Because there is a difference in every community. You have to make some type of funds available to community oriented groups so that they can deal with particular segment of the community.

If you took any trip into Washington, D.C., there's a difference in every community. Every community has a different environment. You have to let the community be involved in all the policy-making decisions that influence their lives. They, in turn, would be the controlling factor in the community. You can bring in all the police dogs and all the policemen you want to bring into the community; if there's no pride or dignity in this community, there will be crime in the community, as you have now.

You see, people in the community know what crimes are being committed and who commits the crime. But there has to be a vehicle in the community for the community to deal with these individuals, and we say again, not a vigilante. Not vigilante groups in the community, a pride in the community that makes the individual understand that he just doesn't do these things anymore. That there is something available for him; an alternative for him; the person that's committing the crime, the person that's on drugs, another alternative. That there are people to help him, and people, his own peers, professional, nonprofessional peo-

ple are there to make things available for him. That's what we are trying to do with our program.

The reason we are having trouble is because there are no funds, they say, for this type of thing, and we're going to be out of business, I think, at the end of June. But there has to be a vehicle in the community that belongs to the community, and that everyone in the community understands. This is part of the community. This is our thing. That would be my recommendation.

Mr. PEPPER. Thank you very much, Mr. Helton.

Mr. Matthews, let us have your advice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, first I would like to start on the crime thing about younger kids. When you go into that, first of all I'd like you to realize that some people are just going to do wrong regardless. And as far as the drugs go, it's a two-faced thing in crime. Like crimes of violence, as far as addicts are concerned, you may as well forget that. Most of that isn't by addicts. There are other reasons for that. That's an altogether different problem.

Now so far as your shoplifting, housebreaking and crimes of this nature, the majority of that is probably drug-related. And in answer to stopping the flow of drugs so far as to prevention, it has to be done through a realistic education standpoint. I mean, like you have to put someone before the students who can relate to the students; someone they can relate to.

When you put a doctor who hasn't been to college in 20 years, maybe, and has read 75,000 books and never lived the life any of these kids have lived, there's nothing in this doctor that they can relate to. He is alienated to a degree right there. And we have a program where we go into schools, I personally, and only two more people. This is all the funds that they could find for us to go into every school in the District from elementary to high school, but yet when we speak to those kids, the response—I mean, you know—it's amazing. The questions that they ask and their opinions that we break down and use to show them the realistic viewpoint, you can practically see them changing their attitudes. We get letters in our office from students, not only teachers, but from students saying things of this nature.

Yet, when I was in school, when they were using doctors, psychiatrists and people of this kind, giving me a lot of long terminology, things I could have read in a book, it just didn't reach me. So I say you have to recognize the paraprofessional.

You know, there are people who have been involved in these things who would gladly, who can tell a youngster far more about a drug and give him far more logical reasons why not to go on a drug than a doctor can. I've heard doctor after doctor describe what life is like on drugs. But, if you hear a former addict describe it to you, if he describes one part of it, even just a cold turkey, one withdrawal, it will stop you from using drugs. As far as the penalties and things are concerned, I say that our laws are too strict on things like first offenders.

And that new no-knock law they have, as far as I can see, that is a way of just appeasing. You know, just like saying to the public, look, we are doing something. I believe all of you ought to know that that no-knock law is not solving any drug problem, because the only doors getting kicked down are the ones right here in the inner-city. And there's no one, but no one, in this inner-city who has the money or pull or power to bring these drugs in or to really wholesale supplies.

So, therefore, when you kick his door in, and you take these drugs, you are stopping part of the problem, but you are only delaying. The right doors aren't kicked in. If they were kicked in, a whole lot of this drug traffic would be stopped. Like a lot of our drugs are brought in by people who have diplomatic

immunity, people who maybe they wouldn't dare stop and try to prosecute.

This is where a lot of our drugs come in. A lot of our drugs come in by big money people. I mean there's no way—if you give me \$400,000, if you give me a million dollars—there's no way that I could get a drug into this country. It would be hard for me to get a drug from California over to the District with no connections, you know. It takes a rich man to do it. He's not going to get scratched. As long as he's not getting scratched, you are not going to solve the problem.

Mr. PEPPER. What is the economic status of the boys that drop out? Are they poor or are they from middle-class homes?

Mr. HELTON. No economic standing; it's just a man that does not have any ray of hope. They're helpless.

Mr. PEPPER. You mean they could come from all financial groups?

Mr. HELTON. All walks of life.

Mr. PEPPER. Any other questions?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is one other thing I would like to say to you. You all give these grants to various programs in the city. Lexington, Kentucky is another Government program. And as far as I'm concerned, seriously, about being an addict, that's actually a farce. I would be ashamed to say I was part of the Government that funded something like Lexington, Kentucky, or I would be ashamed to say I was part of the District of Columbia that set up St. Elizabeths. I mean when is the day going to come that you all realize that in order to cure an addict, first of all no doctor, no one can do what he has to do to himself.

Something that's worth more to him than shooting drugs. He himself will know that he cannot accomplish anything using drugs. With paraprofessionals and doctors working together we can cure an addict far faster than anything before. When you keep splitting like it is now when the paraprofessional is ignored by the doctor or vice-versa, you will never get anywhere with it, and that's exactly what they are doing in Lexington and St. Elizabeths because I have been in a lot of those institutions. And all I have to do is lay there on the couch and find out which way that doctor wants me to go, what he wants me to say, and I can say it and smile, and in six months or 30 days, I'll be back out in the street, with the same habit. Psychologically, they haven't done anything about it, and that's the worst part.

Mr. PEPPER. Well, gentlemen, you have both been very helpful to us. We thank you very much, and we commend you upon wanting to help your fellow man, and we hope that spirit will actually benefit more people and help us solve some of these problems.

Mr. HELTON. Let's hope so.

Mr. PEPPER. Thank you very much, Mr. Helton. Thank you, Mr. Matthews.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 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?

"RACIST"—A COMMUNIST-COINED TRIGGER WORD

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 13, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a typical high-powered subliminal thought-control process is well under way in our country. Through the transmission chain of the mass media there is running from the propaganda and psychological warfare experts to the unsuspecting American people the ringing repetition of the word "racist."

Americans should understand that this word is a weapon of the enemy. It is a Communist-coined trigger word. It is repeated and repeated—again and again—always in a bad context. Unsuspecting listeners, just like Pavlov's dogs, develop a conditioned reflex to the sight or sound of the word. And just as the dogs' saliva flowed when Pavlov rang the bell—so will conditioned Americans react with disfavor when they hear the word "racist."

The difference between a conditioned reflex and the use of a free mind is quite simple. Among free men it is just as right and natural to notice the differences—good and bad—between the races of men as it is to recognize the distinction between the sexes, the various flowers, and the different breeds of pedigreed dogs.

If it is necessary for Communists to convince every American each time that it is bad, wrong, sinful, or immoral to notice obvious truths of nature, the Communist brainwashing cannot succeed. But Pavlov's technique has been proven terribly effective.

By constantly repeating the Communist-coined trigger word "racist" in a bad context, the innocent listeners and readers subconsciously associate the word with the Communist-desired reaction—scorn, disdain, repulsion, hate, and untruth.

This is the desired psychological function of a trigger word. Once established, it is never necessary to explain, justify, or prove an accusation, no matter how fantastic. All that is required is the use of the trigger word and the conditioned mind immediately reacts as it has been trained to do.

The truth and the facts are unimportant. When something or someone is labeled racist, the whole burden of proof is neatly shifted to the accused.

An outstanding example of the operation of the Pavlovian technique is the connection between the Russian Communist reaction to the Watts riots 5 years ago, and the current rabble-rousing of Communist mouthpiece Kunstler.

In 1965, Columnist John Chamberlain warned us of a Soviet intention to exploit this technique by associating America's racial problems with Nazi Germany, and by identifying white Americans with the bad image already established of Hitler and his master race philosophy.

Two weeks ago Kunstler was ranting to a California audience about "the swastika on every courthouse, on universities, on Government buildings and even on

the apartment next door." The conditioned reflex worked perfectly—his audience burned a bank right on cue.

The infamous Kerner Commission conveniently blamed Negro misconduct, riots, arson, and other violence on "white racist America" without making any effort to establish a connection between the two. The trigger word is supposed to perform that job, so reason is surplusage.

Now, the Civil Rights Commission, under a wildly liberal interpretation of its "clearinghouse" role, has published at taxpayers' expense a slick propaganda document accusing most American whites of being "racist," even if they protest their pseudo-intellectual purity. This attack on the American people was promptly followed by a byline article in the local press to further the gains made by the left in the use of the trigger word "racist" by the Government itself, which is now in the domestic propaganda business using the Communist technique.

Yesterday, I had occasion to speak at length on the true facts of the obvious double standard applied by our Government under three Presidents to our relationships with the nations of Africa. Since the truth is not complimentary to some of those so-called nations, I should be surprised if a response were not made by their friends. Since the nauseating facts cannot be denied, ignored, or otherwise disposed of in honest debate, I do not expect that we shall learn anything new.

I anticipate being called a "racist"—which is the routine Communist slide-off to dodge the issue and is the standard defensive use of this Communist-coined trigger word.

I insert several related news clippings to be included in my remarks.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State Times, Sept. 3, 1965]

SOVIETS GOING ALL OUT TO PORTRAY AMERICANS AS HEIRS TO HITLER MASTER RACE PHILOSOPHY

(By John Chamberlain)

The Communists have never had anything more than the most cynical interest in the American Negro. A generation ago the American Communist party was preaching "self-determination for the Black Belt"—meaning a sort of apartheid in reverse for the states of the deep South.

This was completely out of tune with American possibilities, but it made good overseas propaganda. Lately the Communists have shifted to support integration. But, for reasons best known to themselves, the Russian Communists have not made anything more than a sporadic international issue of American race relations.

Now, however, they appear to be going all out to portray Americans as cold-blooded heirs to the Hitler master race philosophy. In its issue of Aug. 21 Pravda, the mouthpiece of the Russian Communist party, printed a long open letter addressed to President Johnson accusing Americans of a cold-blooded execution of the civilian population in Los Angeles.

The letter was signed by some 30 Russian intellectuals including scientists, composers, and writers. These intellectuals professed to be shaken to the depths by the "monstrous butchery" in Los Angeles. How, so they asked of President Johnson, could the America that had given Jefferson, Longfellow, Lincoln, and Edison to the world be guilty of such a thing?

With "no end" to the rule of the nightstick and the machine gun in sight, how

could Johnson go on speaking of a Great Society? The final clincher was the intellectuals' statement that the Los Angeles blood bath cannot but be related to the barbarous acts of American soldiers in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

And there you have it: The Russian Communists have decided to risk the hypocrisy of calling American racists simply because of foreign policy necessities.

The whole thing could be made to backfire if only our own propaganda agencies would get on the ball. For the Soviet Communists are the last people in the world who can afford to throw stones in the glass house constructed by their own record in race suppression. The erasure of Russian Jewry, begun by Stalin, continued unabated under Khrushchev and still goes on.

The Balts of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have been shifted about with an eye to their liquidation as an ethnic group. The Katyn Massacre of World War II days took care of the flower of the Polish Army. The Volga Germans are no more.

As for the colored races, Victor Lasky's recent book, "The Ugly Russian," is packed with instances of Communist animosity toward African Negroes and Laotian and Burmese Asiatics. Moreover, Africans who have gone to Moscow to study have returned home to complain about discriminatory treatment at "Apartheid University."

It so happened that publication of the intellectuals' letter in Pravda coincided with the issue in the United States of Varley Tarsis's "Ward Seven." This is the book written by a Russian who was consigned to an insane asylum because he had questioned the legitimacy of the Soviet regime.

The insane asylum was Khrushchev's substitute for Siberia; it enabled Nikita to pretend that there were no more concentration camps for intellectual dissidents. This column wrote about Tarsis's incarceration at the time; it is glad to salute his book now.

Tarsis's book offers a transvaluation of the Communists' own idea about Russia. To Tarsis, the inhabitants of the asylum are the sane ones. Those who maintain the power structure of the Kremlin, far from being concerned with the future of humanity, are mere killers. They are a gang of "apes," the builders of a "Sino-Soviet fascism."

No doubt the Soviet intellectuals who signed the letter in Pravda would publicly agree with the Kremlin that Tarsis was a fit candidate for a mental hospital. But anything that appears in the official Communist party newspaper is obviously manipulated by the party itself.

Tarsis had smuggled his book out of Russia to get it printed. By comparison, intellectuals in America are as free as birds; witness the unimpeded publication of books describing the assassination of John F. Kennedy as a Rightist plot.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Feb. 26, 1970]
PROTESTERS' FIRE GUTS BANK NEAR SANTA BARBARA CAMPUS

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.—Rampaging demonstrators burned a Bank of America branch to a skeleton early Thursday while outnumbered police and firemen watched helplessly.

The California highway patrol declared a state of emergency and sealed off the Isla Vista district near the campus of the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Sheriff James W. Webster described the situation as "completely out of hand" and asked Gov. Ronald Reagan for 500 National Guardsmen.

The young people numbering about 1,000 apparently were protesting both the Vietnam war and what a student spokesman called "increasing police repression aimed at stifling political dissent in Santa Barbara and around the country."

The outbreak of fires and window smashing followed a campus speech by William Kunstler, a defense attorney in the Chicago riot trial.

A deputy sheriff said scores of deputies and policemen from other California counties and cities were enroute to Santa Barbara to augment a force of 80 local officers and 150 highway patrolmen.

Firemen were ordered to stay away from the bank blaze for fear demonstrators might attack them.

"We went to the fire but the sheriff's men lined across the street wouldn't let us by," said Fire Capt. Clarence Saletti. "They feared for our lives because of the demonstrators."

Young people with fire extinguishers quickly doused a small fire demonstrators had set in the bank Wednesday evening. But sheriff's deputies said another fire was touched off shortly before midnight.

Deputies said they did not know who set the fires but that those who extinguished the first blaze were "student volunteers."

Douglas Trueblood, 20, a nonstudent, told a newsman that the branch of the nation's largest commercial bank was fired because "it holds the money for the war in Vietnam."

A solid phalanx of officers, helmeted and wielding night sticks, moved through a major disturbance center, Perfect Park, clearing demonstrators from their path.

The retreating protesters pelted the oncoming officers with rocks and taunted them with shouts of "Piggy! Piggy! Piggy" as they darted away.

Student unrest, including window-breaking, developed Tuesday in advance of a scheduled on-campus lecture by William Kunstler, a defense attorney in the Chicago riot trial.

When Kunstler's lecture ended Wednesday, about 500 of the audience wandered from the campus area to an Isla Vista vacant lot.

Members of the crowd began pelting passing police cars with rocks and bottles and breaking store windows on the main street, Embarcadero del Mar.

Shifting a block to a parallel street, demonstrators set fire to the Bank of America branch where \$3,000 worth of windows had been smashed Tuesday night.

Helmeted officers brandishing riot clubs moved two abreast from both ends of the street but retreated under a barrage of rocks and bottles.

Smashing auto windows along the way, the crowd ranged back to the Embarcadero where a police patrol car was overturned and set ablaze.

A spokesman for the Associated Students Lecture Committee which sponsored Kunstler's appearance, said the disturbance was "merely a consequence of the increasing police repression aimed at stifling political dissent in Santa Barbara and around the country."

Kunstler told some 5,000 persons attending the lecture at the football stadium that "the real violence doesn't occur in Santa Barbara."

"The real violence," he said, "occurs in the backrooms of police stations."

"I think the shadow of the swastika is on every courthouse, on universities, on government buildings, maybe even on the apartment door next to you."

He was accompanied by Nancy Rublin, wife of Chicago riot trial defendant Jerry Rublin.

"When there's no justice in the courtroom," Mrs. Rublin told the crowd, "we'll have to take the justice to the streets."

Four persons were arrested Tuesday night after a sheriff's deputy was roughed up and his patrol car damaged. A crowd of about 350 then milled through the Isla Vista area, setting numerous small fires and breaking store windows.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 9, 1970]

MOST WHITES ARE RACIST, RIGHTS PANEL ESSAY SAYS

(By Duncan Spencer)

Almost every white American is a racist—whether or not he thinks, knows, or does

anything about U.S. racial problems—according to an essay released by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights today.

In the 50-page pamphlet, written by an economist who was a consultant to the Kerner Commission, a new definition of the explosive term is attempted. Under the definition, practically every institution of government and industry here is part of a "system" that discriminates against non-whites.

Attached to the essay are the comments of five commission members, two of whom, vice chairman Stephen Horn, and member Robert S. Rankin, enter strong objections to some of the essay's methods and conclusions. The commission approved the essay as a whole, however, as a "catalyst" for producing national debate on the issue.

The author is Dr. Anthony Downs, senior vice president of the Real Estate Research Corp., and a consultant to the Rand Corp., the Urban Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Ford Foundation, and a number of federal agencies.

All whites, he says, have contributed to a system that "constantly produces racist effects from actions which are usually not overtly racist in either content or intention."

He says he was concerned, after publication of the Kerner report, which examined the causes of the 1967 riots and blamed white attitudes, that many whites were enraged at being labeled racists even though they had little opportunity to practice it.

He makes his new definition of the term "any attitude, action or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color."

Downs is quick to differentiate racism from racial pride. Thus, he argues, the black power, black awareness, and other minority solidarity movements are racist "only when these reactions involve some sort of subordination."

Downs outlines two main objectives to combat racism: First, to change the behavior of whites so they will no longer consciously or unconsciously support racism, and second, to increase the capabilities of non-white groups so they can overcome the handicaps racism imposes.

He proposes nine basic strategies, including the following:

Build up the capabilities of minority group members through political support and support for concepts such as black power and black nationalism to give minorities greater bargaining power.

Develop legislation to make it the self-interest of whites to support minority aims.

Develop alliances of non-whites and whites to obtain common goals in place of the separate efforts which are now the norm.

Open up "many more" opportunities for minority group members in business, housing, schools and personal daily life.

OEO MOVES TOWARD INCREASED STATE INVOLVEMENT IN ANTI-POVERTY ACTIVITIES

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Donald Rumsfeld, appeared before the Education and Labor Committee last June to testify on proposed amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, he stated his concern with bringing the States "into a more meaningful and active role" and concluded that "we can find new and better ways to involve the States in dealing with the problems of poverty."

I would like to include as part of my remarks at this point a recent press release outlining the many positive steps which have been taken by OEO to bring about closer cooperation and better communication with the States.

The press release follows:

Donald Rumsfeld, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced today that during recent months, the Office of Economic Opportunity has undertaken a major revamping of its approach to the involvement of state and local governments in poverty activities. The positive actions that have been taken in this area reflect the implementation of Mr. Rumsfeld's statement before the State Economic Opportunity Directors' Conference in September 1969, in which he pledged "I have decided to take steps to strengthen the state contribution to the poverty program."

Among the steps that have been taken with regard to closer cooperation and better communication with the states are:

Establishment of a new Division of State and Local Government under the Assistant Director for Operations, who is also responsible for regional offices and community action agencies.

New guidelines describing a greater involvement for the State Economic Opportunity Offices (SEOOs) are being issued this week.

Provision has been made to increase the amount of funds available for SEOOs in Fiscal Years 1970 and 1971.

The State Special Technical Assistance Program (STAP) is being expanded by eleven states to a total of fourteen. The Council of State Governments has received an OEO grant to support this program with technical assistance. The State/STAP program is designed to strengthen community action agencies and single-purpose grantees through the provision of long-term, on-site technical assistance for rural communities. The three states already involved in this program are: Tennessee, Colorado and Oklahoma. Maine, West Virginia, South Carolina, Minnesota, Arkansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, North Dakota, California, Alaska and Florida are expected to receive State/STAP grants in about a month.

A planning development program for the State Economic Opportunity Offices which now includes thirteen states is being expanded to five additional states. The states which have been involved in this activity during the past year are: Maine, New York, Alabama, North Carolina, Ohio, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Hawaii, Minnesota and Washington. South Carolina, Kentucky and three other states should be receiving funds for this program shortly.

Action is being taken to re-establish the State Economic Opportunity Office in Indiana and to establish SEOO-type offices in Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.

OEO is working with the President's Council on Youth Opportunity to provide funds for state youth program coordinators in a number of states.

Mr. Rumsfeld also announced that a series of demonstration grants will be made to a number of states that have indicated an interest in working with OEO to test out new ways to increase state government involvement in programs operating under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Mr. Rumsfeld indicated that it is expected that the first demonstration grant in this series will be awarded to the State of Oklahoma. The grant would provide for experimentation with performance by the State of a variety of grant administration functions for community action agencies.

Under the terms of this grant, the State would assume responsibility for some functions that have previously been performed by Federal employees on the staff of OEO's Regional Office in Austin, Texas. The State and the Regional Office would work closely at every step of the way during the duration

of the grant to ensure close coordination and to provide for evaluation of the effectiveness of this new experimental approach.

The Oklahoma demonstration grant is expected to encompass a two-year period and would require the state to focus greater state resources on the problems of the poor as a result of this expanded state role in the form of dedication of state monies to the project and ensuring greater involvement of other state agencies in anti-poverty activities. It is the intent of OEO that this demonstration result in the mobilization for the poor of additional state government program resources while, at the same time, serving the immediate needs of the grantees in the state.

The Office of Economic Opportunity will be negotiating other types of demonstration proposals with additional states that have indicated their interest in particular activities. These proposals will be directed at testing different techniques and levels of state government involvement in a variety of areas of poverty research, planning, training, technical assistance and grant administration.

It is anticipated that some of these additional demonstration grants will be approved by June 30, 1970.

EUGENE R. BLACK, DISTINGUISHED LEADER FOR PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 10, 1970

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, international development banks are, in my opinion, the most effective institutions now contributing to economic progress in developing nations, and one of the men most directly responsible for making these multilateral self-help programs a success is Eugene R. Black. As past president of both the World Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Economic Development, he has helped to shape these institutions which have done so much to give new hope to developing countries and to alleviate the deprivation and suffering of their citizens. The Asian Development Bank, which Eugene Black was instrumental in helping to establish, promises to be another effective implement for economic progress in developing nations.

His outstanding ability as a banker, his solid judgment, and his deep knowledge of and commitment to the solution of problems encountered by developing nations have made the concept of the multinational development bank a truly effective force for improving the conditions of life for millions of people. His constructive and enlightened counsel to President Johnson with respect to economic development in Southeast Asia is especially noteworthy, and the success already achieved there holds out fresh hope for peace and stability in that troubled part of the world.

Mr. Speaker, Eugene Black has done as much if not more than any man to show us how best to help developing countries. He deserves the thanks of all Americans and of all nations, and I only hope that we will continue to have the benefit of his spirited and responsible leadership in this new and promising form of international economic cooperation for progress.