EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A FITTING MEMORIAL TO A BRAVE YOUNG AMERICAN: SGT. DAVID A. STRONG—SPEECH IN TRIBUTE BY REPRESENTATIVE BOB ECKHARDT

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on July 23, 1969, a fine young man from Houston, Tex., Sgt. David A. Strong, died of wounds received in battle in Vietnam. His service in the U.S. Army was distinguished by his heroism and devotion to duty. He was awarded the Bronze Star with an Oak Leaf Cluster for braving the dangers of heavy enemy fire to evacuate two wounded comrades. In addition to this decoration, Sergeant Strong also received the Air Medal for his participation in over 25 aerial missions over enemy territory and the Purple Heart.

Military accomplishments, however, were not the only thing for which Sergeant Strong will be remembered. His life was distinguished by his love for his family, for people, and for God. Sergeant Strong's family had its roots in the small east Texas community of Mount Enterprise. He loved this community and the people who lived there. It was his dream to be of service to this community and to help it grow. The mindless cruelty of war ended his life before he could make his dream a reality. David Strong's family and friends are determined not to let his dream die. They are raising money to build a new church in Mount Enterprise to serve the spiritual needs of this little community. This would be a fitting memorial to a young man whose love of God, country, and his family inspired him to write this prayer:

Lord, give me the strength to prove to them while I'm here in the far-away land that they raised a man worthy of their trouble.

On February 22, 1970, Representative BOB ECKHARDT addressed a memorial pageant in honor of Sgt. David Strong. This meeting was sponsored by Operation Morale. This organization is doing an outstanding job of supporting our servicemen and is presently assisting the friends of Sergeant Strong in their efforts to raise funds for the church. Representative ECKHARDT's moving speech is a fine tribute to this brave young man. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB ECKHARDT HONORING SGT. DAVID STRONG

We are here to give honor to David Strong. We cannot do that. It is his acts that give honor to his name.

We are here to read some words about him that may light a spark in us. Let me read to you his citation when he received the Bronze Star:

For heroism in connection with military operations against a hostile force: Specialist Four Strong distinguished himself by heroic actions on 13 May 1969, while serving with Company C, 3d Battalion, 22nd Infantry in the Republic of Vietnam. While on a reconnaissance in force mission, Company C came under intense automatic and small arms fire from a well concealed enemy force. Specialist Strong, seeing several men lying wounded in the enemy kill zone, moved forward through a holocaust of fire to reach the injured men. After successfully evacuating one wounded comrade, Specialist Strong again braved the fusillade of enemy fire to aid another wounded man. His valorous actions were responsible for saving two men's lives. Specialist Strong's bravery, aggressiveness, and devotion to duty are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit, the 25th Infantry Division, and the United States Army.

One thing that has always impressed me when I have heard a citation such as this is the fact that it has been earned by the single impulse and action of a man—a man acting essentially alone. The brave man's deed is not programmed by a team of scientists and engineers backing him up. It is not an act done with the aid of wealth and power. It is a lonesome act that sprang from the heart of one, single, individual soul. It is that which many men could do but few men would do. This is the basis upon which all citations for bravery are given, and it should remain so.

David Strong was a young man who had not had time to achieve wealth or fame but whose life was long enough to permit such individual acts of great courage. And, in performing them, he sacrificed his life. No country could ask more of a man. No family could be more honored by its son.

David had time enough to perform this solitary service—not time enough to enjoy the gratification of service done with others, which he yearned for.

Before he left for Vietnam, he spoke many times of his love of the little East Texas community of Mount Enterprise and of his intention of being of service to the community and the people there, just as many of his family before him had been.

He went to Vietnam because, as his father remembers him saying, he "would rather go serve his time for his country and then do the things he wanted in life." David knew, of course, that by making that choice he risked never being able to do those things.

He had a strong sense of duty, and after he arrived in Vietnam he wrote a prayer about his parents:

"Lord, give me the strength to prove to them while I'm here in this far-away land that they raised a man worthy of their trouble."

Well, he proved it, but he never got to do the things he wanted in life. He never got back to serve with his kin and his friends and neighbors at the old stamping ground in East Texas.

There is an old family church yard there where he and his grandfather now both lie. It is here that his family and friends feel that they should build a useful structure in his memory. They want to build a new church in Mount Enterprise—not to replace the old church which has stood there a hundred years—but to afford a good building to serve the community and to worship in.

The old church is no longer very useful, but it stands in memory of many other Strongs who came from Alabama and lived and built a community, raised their families and died in East Texas. It is a memorial of the past.

The new church will be a memorial of the present—to remind people how David Strong cared about others and thus to make him live on in their memories as an inspiration and a motivating force to cause them to accomplish that which he aspired to do. It will also serve to remind all those who worship there of the many young men and women who have sacrificed their lives for others. The church will ever remind us that the courtesies, favors, charities, and civic duties asked of us by our families, our friends, our communities and our country are small compared to that sacrifice.

They are not a burden but an opportunity presented to us because of the awe-inspiring fact that we are live in this world.

With all its flaws and turmoil, for us, this world is a good place to live in. And we, here, must feel doubly grateful for enjoying the full opportunities of this great country. But it would not be so had not many brave men like David Strong risked and given their all to make it so.

BLUE HILLS REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL GRANTED PERMISSION TO AWARD ASSOCIATE DEGREE

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives the achievement of the Technical Institute of the Blue Hills Regional High School in becoming the first public technical institute in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to be granted permission to award an associate degree.

Mr. William A. Dwyer, superintendent-director of the Blue Hills Technical High School, should be praised for his efforts in obtaining permission to grant degrees in applied sciences. Mr. Dwyer's reputation as an outstanding educator is well known in Masachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, too long vocational education has been neglected. The contributions that students can make to their school and community in technical expertise should be recognized.

I submit the following news item from the Quincy Patriot Ledger, announcing this new step for the Blue Hills Technical High School:

[From the Canton (Mass.) Patriot Ledger, Mar. 25, 1970]

BLUE HILLS TECHNICAL TO AWARD DEGREES

CANTON.—The Technical Institute of the Blue Hills Regional High School yesterday became the first public technical institute in Massachusetts to be granted permission to award an associate degree.

At a meeting in Amherst yesterday, the State Board of Education voted unanimously to allow the institute to grant the degree in applied sciences.

Last Friday, the State Board of Higher Edu-

cation also voted unanimously on the matter. Approval is needed from both boards.

William A. Dwyer, superintendent-director of Blue Hills Regional Vocational High, described the measure as "the greatest step that has ever been taken in the area of vocational technical education in the Commonwealth."

Mr. Dwyer said that the institute, founded in 1966, made application to the boards to grant the degree with its first graduating class in 1968. He said that institutions, before they are allowed to grant degrees, must be in operation for several years and must indicate through performance and evaluation that the curriculum offered is at a collegiate level.

The degree will be awarded to students successfully completing a two-year program at the college level of studies in the following five areas: advertising art and design, electronic technology, electro-mechanical technology, data processing and computer programing, and civil-structural engineering drawing.

Mr. Dwyer believes the degree status of the institute will increase the school's enrollment "to four times" the existing enrollment of 200 students. The school's board of trustees, the college level of studies in the following tion the possibility of establishing double sessions at the institute.

The degree will also mean that the institute will begin charging tuition, which according to Mr. Dwyer, will probably parallel state college tuitions. Admission requirements, he said, will remain unchanged.

The graduating class of 1970 will be the first to qualify for the degree. Mr. Dwyer said the board of trustees will also consider the possibility of making the degree applicable to past graduates.

LISTER HILL NATIONAL CENTER FOR BIOMEDICAL COMMUNICATIONS

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the importance of libraries as a pool of information is well known. In medical practice, a good library is an essential factor in diagnosis and treatment.

Moreover, the library of today is no longer merely a collection of books. It is also a storehouse of demonstration equipment.

In recognition of the need and potential of medical libraries in health care, my predecessor as chairman of the Health Subcommittee and the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the great Senator Lister Hill, caused to be created a National Center for Biomedical Communications, which was named the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications. It was typical of his humanitarianism and statesmanship that this was one of his final contributions to better health for the American people.

The May 1969 issue of the American Journal of Cardiology describes the value of the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE LISTER HILL NATIONAL CENTER FOR BIOMEDICAL COMMUNICATIONS [1]

(By E. Grey Dimond, M.D., F.A.C.C.[2])

To introduce my remarks, I will describe a recent experience of mine. I was in Washington temporarily and consequently away from my own library and from the library amenities which come with a position with a medical institution. I needed to have in my hands a copy of Paul Wood's book, The Heart and Circulation, published in 1956. I needed to document a statement in a manuscript I was preparing. Specifically, I wanted to be certain that in this particular edition of Paul Wood's book he had not indicated awareness of the altered heart movements in angina pectoris.

On this given day I therefore called the National Library of Medicine and asked if this particular book was available. Upon being assured that it was, I drove through 45 minutes of traffic to the Library and went immediately to the index file. There I found the catalog number, filled out the proper form and took it to the reference desk. I presented the card number and was asked to wait "a few minutes" while the book was brought to the desk from the stacks. At the end of some 30 minutes, during which time I interrupted the busy librarian three times to ask for progress reports, I learned that the book was indeed correctly cataloged and *should* be at the Library but that it was missing and presumed stolen. The librarian was concerned and helpful. She volunteered to obtain a loan copy but indicated it would take one or two days and I would need to return. I therefore drove to Georgetown University Medical School and went directly to the office of Dr. Proctor Harvey. I knew he had a copy of this particular book on his own shelf. I found his office locked and, upon inquiry, learned that both Dr. Harvey and his secretary were ill with Hong Kong flu and a key to his private office was not in the building.

Next I took myself to the nearby Medical School Main Library. There the librarian advised me that since I was "unknown" I would need to have some identification from a faculty member. We then called a Georgetown faculty member, who assured the librarian by telephone that it was appropriate for me to have access to the Library. Finally, the librarian placed before me a copy of Paul Wood's book, with the admonition that it could not be removed from the Library. I inquired about the possibility of xeroxing certain pages and learned that this service was not available. I therefore copied in longhand for more than 30 minutes the specific paragraphs and references I needed. A total of some four hours had now passed since I set out to get my reference, and my enthusiasm received its final blow when I returned to my automobile and found a parking ticket on the windshield. Therefore, the human variables of traffic, theft of books, the absence of universal identification, Hong Kong flu, lack of copying equipment and a parking ticket were hardly evidence that this famed electronic era had influenced an ordinary physician and his relation to a medical library.

By contrast, I would like to review the life of most of us in this room over the past 72 hours. There would be variations, but for most of us the following experiences would qualify.

1. You left your home and, upon presenting yourself at the check-in counter of the airline, the attendant glanced at your ticket, tapped the keyboard to a computer and in perhaps 15 seconds identified you, your class of travel, your location, your connecting planes and your destination. Remember the library where it took 30 minutes to identify a lost book?

2. Stepping out into the corridor you glanced up at the television screen which kept a constant record of every plane's coming and going, date and time. Remember the library where I waited 30 minutes, repeatedly interrupting the librarian while trying to understand the delay?

3. With 20 minutes to spend, you stopped at the bar and watched, live, the playing of the international golf tourney originating in St. Andrews, Scotland. Why cannot major medical events be seen routinely, privately, conveniently by physicians?

4. Aboard the plane you were able to watch a video film, hear classical or popular music, at your discretion. A printed program told you the sequence of the music, and you could switch from channel to channel as it suited you. Why cannot similar scheduling and programming, with a TV Medical Guide, be offered routinely, privately, conveniently to physicians?

5. The plane remained in constant radio and radar contact with the ground and, in addition, the captain reported to you the half-time score of a big game which was then being played on the ground thousands of miles away.

6. Unusual scenery passing below the plane was quietly called to your attention by intercom.

7. Upon your arrival you stepped up to a counter, greeted by a young lady who had never seen you before. You handed her a credit card; she did not glance at it but put it in a small press, moved her hand back and forth and handed you the keys to a $4,000 automobile. Remember that $15 book that was "on reserve" and could not be taken from the medical library?

8. At your hotel, you used the same magic carpet card and, next month, statements that literally no one has seen will come to your office. From signals put in motion by the credit card, the computer will compute the bill, address the envelope, stamp it and mail it. Can a patient routinely do this in your office? Clinic? Pharmacy? Hospital?

9. Just before going to bed, you picked up the hotel telephone, punched a sequence of perhaps 11 numbers and 10 seconds later the phone rang in your home and you were able to speak to your wife and children. From the beginning of the dialing until next month when the statement arrives, your conversation involved just you and your family and a computer. Computers, banked with medical facts, diagnostic analyses and clinical histories, could be reached equally rapidly and displayed on your personal television viewer.

10. You glanced at your watch, wondered about the correct time, picked up the telephone and a recorded voice told you precisely the local time. Your curiosity got the best of you and you decided to look at the phone book and see what else you could learn by quizzing the telephone. You were overwhelmed to learn that in Washington, D.C., you could:

Dial -A- Devotion.
Dial -A- Dietician.

[1] Presented at the First Conference of the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications, National Library of Medicine, December 17, 1968.

[2] Consultant to the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications and Special Consultant to the Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dial -A- Movie.
Dial -A- Prayer.
Dial -A- Saint.
Dial -A- Satellite.
Dial -A- Sermonette.
Dial Family Bible.

You could receive taped information on Alcoholics Anonymous, suicide prevention, poison prevention and the John Birch Society, also by telephone.

11. In addition, in this 72 hours, you undoubtedly read at least one newspaper each day, a current copy of *Time* or *Life Magazine* and a hard-cover book, enjoyed seeing and hearing the live performance of Meet the Press on television, and fell asleep after watching a video tape of a good movie.

I could add to this list, but my intent is already clear to you. Specifically, the technology for a biomedical network is all about us and in use. We do not need to labor over its availability. Instead, we labor within our complex profession without the expedition that we consider ordinary in our nonprofessional lives.

However, there are other varieties of significance in these comments. First, not one thing that I have described was *necessary*. In 1820 we could equally well have assembled here in Washington, D.C. A handwritten letter of invitation would have been sent you in 1819, and you would have left your home some weeks ago and by horse, carriage and barge arrived safely. Good food and amenities have not changed and, even more thought-provoking, the capability of cerebration has not altered in these 148 years.

Today, as in 1820, the ultimate objective would be a meeting of men and women, an interplay of human brains, all with the same intellectual capacities and the same gamut of emotions, securities and ambitions.

You perceive my cumbersome point: all the remarkable devices I have listed are but *to facilitate* us. Our innate abilities have not changed, but our capacities for the endeavors which are a human being's speciality are extended. Human beings think, plan, create, cry, anticipate, care . . . and, especially, human beings are preferred by other human beings for their medical care. Machines but extend the time we have for these human specialities.

Another objective in defining the ways we are facilitated is to remind of the obvious: the newer method does not necessarily replace the old. Things will persist or disappear on merit. The jet is here, the barge is gone. Television is here, yet the book, magazine, newspaper and radio remain.

Still another point needs expression: the gamut of things used in our travels needed both *regional* and *national* contribution. The local news offered by radio and television is essential coverage, yet how impractical it would be for every television and radio station to insist upon providing its own national news program. The regional personalities have ready access to the press, radio and television, but it is accepted that some things are done better nationally. Some things can be afforded only if costs are shared. Some things done regionally (St. Andrew's golf tourney) need to be shared nationally.

Another obvious fact: some of the learning process or communication is best done totally alone, as with a journal or a book. Some of it requires a physical movement of people to a common meeting place where communication takes place by printed word, visual image, organized lectures, informal conversations and by technics that have no scientifically proved rationale—coffee breaks, liquor and food, corridor chats.

Still another obvious fact; just as we have noted that some programs are best done locally and some nationally, some can be well done with video tape replay but, equally, there is a place for the sense of involvement and anticipation and the excitement of sharing an unpredictable moment. Specifically, there is a need for live television. The fact that television makes it possible not only to hear but to see, guides us too often into utilizing unnecessary props, animation and motion. Yet some of the finest use of television—panel discussions, new presentations—requires only simple dialog, no props, slides, or personal involvement of the listener.

I dwell at some length on this point because many of us in medical education find ourselves restricting our understanding of how television has involved us. We find ourselves excessive in our use of props and animation and forgetful that voices, faces and content, not the vehicle, still are the message.

DEVELOPMENT OF A BIOMEDICAL COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

We know that technology is available, that many media will continue to be needed and that there will be no violation of regional priorities with national imposition of programs. What, then, are some of the general or even new truths that must be considered in developing the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications Network?

I suggest that the following facts are pertinent:

1. Today's student is differently conditioned from yesterday's student. He arrives at college age having already watched 15,000 hours of television. He is comfortable with computers and programmed learning.

2. Although we usually think of educational categories—premedical student, medical student, intern, resident and practicing physician—in reality we are speaking of a continuum. From premedical to medical student, to house staff, to physician, we are speaking of the same human being at different stages of his life. Those technics of learning with which he becomes comfortable as a premedical student and medical student will stay with him throughout his lifetime. If our capacity for instruction during these formative years is limited to the patterns of the 1930's, how can we expect the mature practicing physician to be comfortable with the potential of his own computer console?

3. Medical care and medical education will increasingly share the same facilities and bring the medical school, community hospitals and the university campus all into a common endeavor.

4. The network potential is limited if we confine ourselves to thinking in terms of books and retrieval of book information. We must also think of universal medical records, universal insurance forms and universal data retrieval.

5. By a national program in which we define the design and the numbers of communication units needed, we can hurry along with standardization and the advantages of lowered costs. We can then move on to placing the peripheral units in the home and office of every physician, medical student, resident and house officer. What is the usefulness of a national network unless there is absolutely universal ability to receive? How can we have universal ability to receive until we have standardized design and have lowered the cost of production and installation by defining the maximal number of recipients? How can we have the maximal number of recipients unless we get on with the training of individuals during their formative years in the concepts and technics of utilizating such a network? How can we separate any one part from the whole? The proliferation of "micro-networks" on a regional basis requires careful coordination if all are to be compatible with the national facility.

THE LISTER HILL NATIONAL CENTER

The Lister Hill Center will provide a national focus for developing the needed medical communications network of television, electronics and computers. There is now the realistic promise of two or three channels of television received on the physician's personal set at his home, office and hospital, all keyed to a printed "TV Medical Guide" informing him of the channel and time for the variety of information needed:

1. Live transmission of any major medical meeting, from any place in the world.

2. Regularly scheduled repeat showings of such meetings, which he can see at a time convenient to him.

3. Formal, planned and sequential courses offered by medical school facilities, or a nationally representative faculty brought together under the sponsorship of the Lister Hill Center; programs which can be keyed to hospital staff conferences because of prior long-range scheduling.

4. A medical journal of the air, again regularly scheduled through the weekly TV Medical Guide, with articles presented in abstract, medical news, editorial comment, product information and the like.

5. Medical films stored regionally, requested by dial phone by the physician and seen at his own convenience on his own set.

6. Stored information, as vast and familiar as today's library, available at the physician's desk, either seen visually on the television screen or printed by his own copying device. All available by dial phone to computer-stored data banks; differential diagnosis, drug advice, consulting advice and bibliographic references, among others.

7. Self-examination televised quizzes; skillfully developed programmed learning.

One suggests that the time is right, the need great and the technics ready for this new legislation of August 3, 1968 (Public Law 90–456), formally establishing The Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications, and a benevolent giant in medical education has been launched.

THE FUTURE EFFECT ON HOUSING OF A CAMEL'S NOSE BUDGET

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pittsburgh, Mr. MOORHEAD, has made a notable contribution to the priorities debate now taking place in the Nation. I refer to his speech, "The Future Effect on Housing of a Camel's Nose Budget," which was delivered February 9, 1970, at the 45th anniversary celebration of Second Federal Savings & Loan of Pittsburgh.

Mr. MOORHEAD aptly calls the fiscal 1971 Nixon budget a "camel's nose" budget because, as he puts it:

> The budget proposes the first inexpensive steps towards the purchase of some incredibly expensive weapons systems. In other words, we would be buying a very thin end of a very fat wedge.

Examples given indicate that six weapons systems budgeted in fiscal 1971 at $2.2 billion are estimated to cost eventually a total of $136 to $152 billion.

Mr. Speaker, given our urgent needs in housing and other programs essential if we are to make our cities liveable, we

cannot afford Mr. NIXON's "camel's nose" defense budget. Mr. MOORHEAD ably makes this case.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

Good evening ladies and gentlemen and thank you for inviting me to speak before you this evening.

In preparing for this evening's speech I talked to two economists to try to get a fix on just what will be happening with the economy this year. Their forecasts were dismal. But remembering that an economist has been defined as a man who would marry Elizabeth Taylor for her money, I decided not to trust wholly in what these men tell me.

Naturally we will not see in 1970 the type of growth that would end many of our economic problems.

The type of spirit and market conditions that allowed men like Fred Reinhardt to more than triple Second Federal's assets in less than 15 years, is missing from the Nation's economic picture this year.

Even though the past year was not a happy one for the savings and loan industry, you should be proud of your efforts in making Second Federal one of Pennsylvania's 10 largest savings and loan associations. And I am quite honored to be with you on this happy occasion of Second Federal's 45th Anniversary.

With few exceptions, savings and loan institutions were hard hit by the inflationary thrusts of 1969.

As the publication Savings and Loan editorialized, "The lean savings year of 1969 did not match the seven-year famine of biblical times but it made up in intensity what it lacked in duration."

And I'm sorry to report that the very things that made 1969 such a bleak year for you do not seem likely to change much in the coming twelve months.

Your significant problems include: How to generate more housing starts?; How to keep your savings programs attractive and stop the drain of depositors cash?

I'm sure all of you are familiar with the recommendations to the President contained in the Report on Mortgage Interest Rates, released last fall.

Among the things this distinguished board called for were: an advisory commission to be established by Congress to report every year on a national housing policy; a shift in money allocations from other programs to home building; a continual flow of money into the mortgage market regardless of the tightness of money; more flexible fiscal policy with an eye toward home building; abolishing the 6% ceiling on FHA–VA mortgages, making them more responsive to market forces and more competitive.

All of these ideas are fine. So are the dozen or so more that the Commission suggests. They were all offered with a sincere desire to assist our aggravated housing situation. But as an economist who worked on the Commission's Report said to me last week, "They are not worth a damn if housing is not made the single most important priority in this Nation."

And, I am afraid, my friends, that under this Administration's ordering of priorities, housing will receive lots of rhetoric but little of what is necessary to place it at the top of our priority list.

There are several reasons for this. One of the reasons is that those people who need housing the most are not the strongest supporters of this Administration.

The poor and the Black who are horrendously ill-housed, and the young who will find themselves soon groping for homes in a tight housing market, are apparently not those whom Mr. Nixon thinks he needs as supporters.

There is another reason why housing has slipped in priority. This Administration has discovered the popularity that comes with attacks on air and water pollution.

Certainly, I am not opposed to these programs. Everyone who lives in Pittsburgh is surrounded by the necessity for pollution control. But houses in which we live and the cities in which we live are part of our environment. If the focus on air and water pollution is designed to make us forget our problems of housing and cities, then I call it environmental escapism.

Yet just as we are forced to take a sober assessment of our short falls from the goal of 26 million houses specified in the 1968 Act; to explore the reasons for our failure; to test the capacity of our institutions to produce; to see what promises we can fulfill—the public spotlight moves to another arena.

It is not yet three years since the Nation endured its domestic Pearl Harbor capsuled in the disorders of Newark and Detroit in August, 1967. At that time, the "crisis of the city" helped spark not only the 1968 Housing legislation, but The Urban Coalition, the 1968 Civil Rights Act and a rash of special supplements in magazines and newspapers, on radio and TV, all to the effect that city-building was the Nation's greatest need.

Yet scarcely have we buckled down to work, when the "crisis of the environment" is upon us and off we ride into a new round of priority speeches, legislative proposals and policy experiments.

We establish then a new set of goals for a new future before we begin to realize the goals of the very recent past. Forever mobilizing our resources to changing objectives, we may never have to allocate them at all—and so, evading discipline, work, and costs, we embrace environmental escapism.

We all should be concerned with the threats from pollution by industrial plants and power stations, automobiles, trucks and airplanes, the damage by the careless use of chemicals and the need to preserve natural beauty. But these objectives should not be pursued without regard for those whom we are preserving the environment.

There are a few possible answers to the housing problem.

Without reversing its tight money policy, the Federal Reserve could exercise the power Congress gave it to enter the mortgage market.

A second possibility, one that I favor and will push in Congress, would be to make the Federal government responsible for a specified number of housing starts yearly. This would, in effect, make housing construction a budget item, to be funded accordingly with the other departments which annually seek money.

Current hearings now going on in the Banking and Currency Committee, on which I serve, could result in legislation making all financial institutions allocate a fixed percentage of their funds, yearly, for housing starts. Although there is no legislation specifically endorsing this concept, it is being discussed in connection with other bills aimed at ameliorating the housing situation.

A fourth possibility is one that I have under consideration currently.

This involves allowing individuals to exclude from their gross income for Federal tax purposes the first "x" dollars of interest received from a savings account held in a thrift institution.

Assuming a 5% interest rate, such a proposal would mean the creation of $20 of housing capital for every dollar of interest exempted and an even higher ratio for every dollar of taxes lost.

The revenue cost of this exemption could not be figured with any precision unless the Treasury ran off some special tabulations from past income tax returns. There is not enough information about the income class distribution of interest on savings accounts to permit guessing whether the loss of revenue would be as great as the cost of Federal housing programs, which will have to be undertaken if the Congress does not create this inducement to hold more savings in the home financing institutions.

The exemption would give more equitable investment income to the saver whose savings are too small to put into market securities. It would at the same time be large enough, since it would be at the top bracket rate of the particular taxpayer, to attract the savings of persons of more substantial means who need security and liquidity and competitive returns on their investments. As the general level of income rises, the exemption would become more valuable, and provide stronger assurance of a net inflow of savings into thrift institutions.

The net effect of the proposed tax exemption of savings accounts is likely to be some loss of Federal revenue; but this will be offset by a general strengthening of the economy and thus enlargement of the Federal income tax base; net increase of the assets and greater competitive strength of the home financing agencies; and a savings of great expenditures on Federal housing programs which will be made unnecessary by more adequate private financing.

Certainly we are going to have to do something because the need for housing is urgent.

There is a significant gap in this country between housing starts and the need for housing. Based on census figures, there are in this country about 7 million substandard housing units which should be removed. There are a number of houses which are so dilapidated or lack elementary plumbing that they are not fit to live in and should be destroyed and replaced.

In addition, there are about 4 million substandard housing units which are overcrowded, that is to say, there is more than one person per room living in the same house, which is the census test for overcrowding.

About four million new units need to be built to house the second family in these standard overcrowded units and in the substandard units.

We, therefore, need a total of at least 11 million units merely to replace existing dilapidated units and to house those in overcrowded units.

This need is very conservatively stated.

In addition, a number of committees, commissions, and agencies have come to roughly the same overall estimates as to the amount of housing we should build if we are to meet these needs plus those brought about by new family formations, conversions, mergers, vacancy rates, and so forth.

Working independently, the Douglas Commission, the Kaiser Commission and the Department of Housing and Urban Development all estimated that we need to build from 2.25 to 2.6 million total housing units a year if we are to meet our housing needs in the next decade.

For the second time in less than four years the housing section of our economy has borne the brunt of our economic policy and more specifically our tendency to use monetary policy in handling inflationary pressures.

In the last quarter of 1969 the increase in money supply has come to a standstill and you know far better than I the taste of the crunch in the loan market.

It seems to me that we have the following alternatives among which we will have to make a painful choice if we are going to move toward closing the gap between housing starts and needs:

—raise taxes—the chances of which are not good in an election year;

—cut expenditures—increasing the surplus thus allowing the Fed to loosen monetary policy.

Where then are these cuts to be made?

The Nixon budget that was released last week was billed as austere. However, there are many programs in which money might be saved, if anyone has the political courage to do it. The farm price and income supports run to $4 billion a year. Highway construction costs us $4 billion a year. The Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers spend about $2 billion a year. And there is now talk about doubling the Maritime subsidy to $1 billion a year. One can list many other examples of expenditures that at the very least deserve searching reappraisal in the light of desperately important priorities of the moment.

But the part of the budget that most urgently calls for continuing scrutiny is the Defense budget. Of the $184 billion the Government paid out last year, some $80 billion went for Defense purposes. Thanks to vigorous public discussion, in which I participated, the Defense Department has worked to reduce that figure and has now submitted a budget in the $71 to $73 billion range for fiscal year 1971.

Let's assume for the moment that housing is a top national priority and that we are going to cut expenditures to do one of two things or a combination—increase the surplus, thus making it possible for the Fed to increase the money supply *or* shift federal resources to federal housing programs. These are two alternatives. Now from what part of the budget can we free resources?

For fiscal year 1971 only 40 percent of the budget is controllable. Over 80 percent of the controllables are in Defense. In other words, in the short run, if resources are to be freed for programs with high priorities they have to come out of controllables.

Regardless of the highly publicized cuts in the military budget the figures just don't bear them out. After forcing substantial cuts in the Pentagon's budget, the Congress appropriated $73.6 billion last year. Nixon came back this year asking for $71.0 billion—for a much publicized and heralded cut of only $2.6 billion.

The entire cut is accounted for by a cut of 300,000 men reflecting the deescalation of the war in Vietnam. Secretary of Defense Laird has made public statements that he fully expected a cut of 600,000 men from our Armed Forces by mid 1971.

Even considering the half a loaf of 300,000 men—calculated out this should mean a savings of $5–6 billion, *but it is not reflected in the budget.*

Just a year ago the Council of Economic Advisers predicted that the end of the United States involvement in Vietnam would bring a "peace dividend" of $22 billion.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the last Johnson budget estimated the cost of the Vietnam war to be $25.4 billion. And the current budget makes no estimate for the cost of the war, thus making it difficult to determine from the budget what the peace dividend should be.

Secretary Laird has predicted the cost of the Vietnam War will drop to between $17 billion and $18 billion by the start of Fiscal 1971. The impact of this reduction and other Pentagon economies have not shown up in the defense spending figure.

On August 25, Daniel Moynihan reported rather wistfully that the expected peace and growth dividends "turned out to be effervescent like the morning clouds around San Clemente"—there no longer would be any peace dividends. Which prediction is correct, is the peace dividend fact or fiction? Which course is ultimately pursued depends purely on national will and purpose. That choice will affect significantly the quality of life and general welfare in the United States over the next decade. I want to see that choice made in the direction of maximizing national security and I assert strenuously that national security will be maximized by creating a $22 billion peace dividend, thereby implicitly cutting defense spending significantly as Vietnam winds down.

It is interesting and instructive to point out Budget Director Mayo's observations, at his press conference, that a peace dividend after the Vietnam war was an "oddball" idea.

I can believe it after examining the Defense budget.

The reason for this is that this year's defense budget is a camel's nose budget.

The budget proposes the first inexpensive steps toward the purchase of some incredibly expensive weapons systems. In other words, we would be buying a very thin end of a very fat wedge.

I call this a camel's nose budget because of the Arabian proverb "If the camel once get his nose in the tent his body will soon follow."

I knew about the proverb but when I looked it up to get it exactly I found out that there was not only the proverb but a delightful poem about the proverb.

THE CAMEL'S NOSE

Once in his shop a workman wrought,
With languid head and listless thought,
When, through the open window's space,
Behold, a camel thrust his face!
"My nose is cold," he meekly cried;
"Oh, let me warm it by thy side!"

Since no denial word was said,
In came the nose, in came the head:
As sure as sermon follows text,
The long and scraggy neck came next;
And then, as falls the threatening storm,
In leaped the whole ungainly form.

Aghast the owner gazed around,
And on the rude invader frowned,
Convinced, as closer still he pressed,
There was no room for such a guest;
Yet more astonished, heard him say,
"If thou art troubled, go away,
For in this place I choose to stay."

O youthful hearts to gladness born,
Treat not this Arab lore with scorn!
To evil habits' earliest wile
Lend neither ear, nor glance, nor smile.
Choke the dark fountain ere it flows,
Nor e'en admit the camel's nose!

—*Lydia Huntly Sigourney.*

The 1971 Defense Department Budget is a camel's nose budget because it proposes the purchase of only the nose of what will become incredibly expensive weapons systems.

Let me give you some examples.

Weapons system	The 1971 Camel's Nose budget (in millions)	Estimated total systems cost or Nose, Humps and all (in billions)
F–14 (Navy fighter)	$938	$26 to $36.
F–15 (Air Force fighter)	370	$25.
AMSA (or B1A) (advanced manned strategic aircraft).	100	$15 to $20.
ABM (antiballistic missile)	600	$50.
AWACS (air warning control system)	87	$15.
CVAN–70 (3d nuclear attack carrier)	152	$5 to $6.
	2,200	$136 to $152.

This by no means exhausts the list of new weapons systems already a part of the defense posture. But they do give some idea of the magnitude of the expenditures involved.

In other words an innocent $2.2 billion spent this year will mean between $15 to $20 billion expenditures each year for the next 10 years—the bulk of which will come during the procurement phase over the next 2 or 3 years.

From past experience, I am confident that during the 10 year period we will be asked, in addition, to appropriate money for a new generation of weapons systems not yet conceived.

Of course, resources spent on these weapons means proportionally less for housing.

It is not my purpose here to offer a detailed examination of the fat and the lean in the current or projected Defense budget. It is probably sufficient simply to suggest a few examples and to restate my basic conclusions which are that much of the expected modernization and performance increase in weapon systems requests are unjustifiable; that billions of dollars worth of outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces could be safely excised; and that billions could be saved by improved management efficiency on manpower and procurement.

Let me pin point my concerns with a few illustrative questions in each of these three areas. First, with regard to modernization and performance increase requests:

Why build hundreds of F–14 and F–15 fighter aircraft at $10–15 million per copy involving complex electronic gear like that in the presently grounded F–111, which has not worked reliably—when we have as an alternative a simple, uncluttered $3 million per copy fighter model, the FXX, which promises better performance?

After the B–70 experience showed us strategic bombers were anacronisms in a missile age, why repeat that folly by launching a potentially $15–20 billion AMSA program?

Why build nuclear carriers, destroyers, and frigates at nearly twice the cost of conventionally powered ships when the only advantages are the minor increases in cruising speed and range of the fleet?

Switching over to outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces, consider these queries:

Does it make sense to maintain and modernize a 15 attack carrier fleet at an annual operating cost alone of over $3 billion—when the Communist world has no attack carriers and when the conventional war at sea scenario is no longer plausible in today's nuclear age? Would not a 12–0 superiority be sufficient?

How rational is it to maintain a fleet of 6 ASW carriers and to build a new multi-billion dollar airplane to put on them when performance studies show that the cheaper, land-based P–3 airplane now being phased in does a more effective job?

Is it still equitable for the United States to bear the cost of the 310,000 troops stationed in Europe long after economic prosperity has been restored to our Western European allies?

Finally, looking at the kind of management efficiency issues, reflect on the following:

Even allowing for inflation and technical complexity, might there not be something wrong with the procurement system in which we are told that $19.9 billion in cost overruns was experienced over original estimates of $74 billion—an overall increase of 26 percent—in 35 major weapon systems now being procured? Since these figures were released in December these overruns have been proven to be significantly underestimated.

Clearly many of the practices and forces pointed out in these observations do not make sense. Substantial cuts can be made in the Defense budget without adversely affecting our real security against external attacks. Let me state unequivocally that I would feel quite secure with a 1971 Defense budget in the range of $65 billion. Such a budget would mean $6 or $7 billion would be available for domestic programs.

On the surface it would seem that if the expenditure side of the budget were squeezed in earnest there would be enough money for expansion of domestic programs. However, President Johnson's Cabinet Coordinating Committee on Economic Planning for the End of Vietnam Hostilities surveyed recommendations by task forces or study groups for new domestic programs in the field of

education, health, job and manpower training, social insurance, welfare, urban development, crime prevention, air and water pollution control, natural resource development, transportation, space technology and science. They compiled a list of programs which have been prominently discussed and advanced by supporters as desirable to meet the needs of the nation. They estimated that the cost of implementing these programs would be about $40 billion in FY 72—and the cost would grow rapidly in succeeding years. And this does not include President Nixon's family assistance and revenue sharing plans.

There is, of course, wide spread controversy over the priorities that should be assigned to the domestic programs as well as controversy over the relative priorities that should be assigned to domestic as opposed to military programs. It is interesting to note, for instance, that one attack aircraft carrier task force costs between $300–$400 million a year to operate, which is roughly the equivalent of *twice* what we are spending in Federal grants for water pollution. You can look at what the mission of the extra, the 15th carrier is; is it worth twice what we are spending on water pollution?

It seems to me that these kinds of comparisons would be very useful information for the Congress to have as background for voting money for water pollution and money for aircraft carriers. I do not think one has to have lead a combat division to go through this kind of act.

The important point to recognize, however, is that *we cannot* afford everything. We must make choices based on our conception of national needs and interests. We can only do so intelligently if we have a clear understanding of the costs associated with the major issues that shape our Defense programs and if we have a vigorous and open discussion of the relative importance to the country of meeting various military commitments abroad as opposed to meeting domestic needs at home.

Some people have charged that we in Congress have made the military budget a whipping boy to hide some other fiscal sins. This couldn't be more wrong.

The military has gone for years getting its budget demands upon request with little or no resistance in Congress. That no longer will be the case.

Too many in Congress see that domestic problems, although not created by the military's voracious appetite, have been aggravated by underfunding, directly attributable to the Defense Department's largesse.

There is an obvious relationship between money spent in over-equipping an Army and a Navy and money not spent for pressing domestic needs such as housing.

So, while certainly not the sole source of our inflationary woes, a military budget that demands more money than any other single budget item is a ripe and justified target for inflation fighters seeking relief for a battered Nation.

HAWAII WELCOMES 20TH CENTURY IMMIGRANTS FROM PHILIPPINES

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii has long been famous for the harmonious blending and assimilation of the social and cultural backgrounds of the many races that comprise her population.

The history of the 50th State and life in Hawaii continues to be enriched by a diversity of races and cultures.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that last year approximately 72 percent of all immigrants to Hawaii were from the Philippines.

In a news article from the March 15, 1970, issue of the Honolulu Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser it was reported that in 1969 there were 4,151 Filipinos out of a total of 5,724 foreign newcomers to Hawaii. The article made special note of the fact that a large proportion of the Filipino immigrants had high educational attainments, including many with professional occupations such as medical doctors, teachers, and engineers.

The Aloha State welcomes these 20th century immigrants, for if the past is to be the measure they will make great contributions to the continued development of Hawaii and the Nation.

The news article concerning recent immigration to Hawaii, from the March 15, 1970, issue of the Honolulu Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser, follows for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FILIPINO INFLUX INCLUDES MANY PROFESSIONALS

Last year, about 72 per cent of all immigrants to Hawaii from foreign countries arrived from the Philippines. That's 4,151 Filipinos—out of a total of 5,724 foreign newcomers.

"A very high proportion" of these Filipinos were educated, professional types, according to Robert Schmitt, State statistician. Many listed occupations such as medical doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers, clergymen, and college professors.

"And we're not getting busboys either," Schmitt said. "They generally have the same educational attainments as the resident population. Those who look to these people as a source of cheap labor for hotels are kidding themselves."

For the last three or four years, about 60 per cent of Hawaii immigrants have come from the Philippines, John O'Shea of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service said.

One reason is the large Filipino population already here. "Relatives here can confer a preference on relatives in the Philippines for our quota. Some of those waiting also have large families," O'Shea said.

Since the relaxation of immigration quota regulations in 1965, numerous dependents of earlier immigrants have been coming in, including wives and children, Schmitt said.

He said another factor is the many cane workers who retired after World War II, returned to the Philippines, and then decided to return to Hawaii.

There are about 53,000 aliens in Hawaii. A year ago in February there were 49,642 aliens. But four years ago, when immigration totals first began to increase, there were 45,794 aliens.

Chinese from China and Taiwan, who comprise the second largest immigrant group to Hawaii are also entering in record numbers, according to the figures.

Last year, 510 Chinese arrived in Hawaii, compared to a recent high count of 327 in 1967.

On the other hand, the number of Japanese entering the State continues to drop. Only 313 moved in last year, compared to 344 and 382 in 1966 and 1967.

Others arriving in 1969 included 249 Koreans and 501 from other countries.

Schmitt and O'Shea agreed that no real problems have made themselves apparent because of the large numbers of immigrants. O'Shea said a "good number of the males" from the Philippines last year fell roughly into the labor age group, "and certainly with Hawaii's booming economy, I see no problem in assimilation."

REPORT ON PROGRAMS FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, last week it was my pleasure to release officially the report of the Republican Task Force on Education and Training entitled, "Report on Programs for Early Childhood." The report is a culmination of extensive studies on early childhood development done by the task force since last summer and contains an analysis of the need for early childhood services in the United States. The task force, of which I am chairman, was organized in the spring of 1969 by the House Republican leadership to take a long-range look at important issues which have not been the immediate target of the legislative process. In our attempts to explore the present situation of services provided for those children under 5 years and for the children of working mothers, we have found that there are only a little over a half million places for children in licensed child development or child care facilities, but that the need for such services total eight to 10 times that number, and can be expected to rise steadily in the coming year.

In order to get as complete a picture as possible of the early childhood services provided and to determine the need for increased services, the task force focused its energies on several aspects of the problem. Activities undertaken by the task force members included touring child care centers in Washington, D.C., and other cities, meeting with educational psychologists about the effect of early organized group experiences, consultation with administration officials, studying the experiences of European countries, and traveling abroad to Israel to learn more about the comprehensive early childhood effort being made there.

Today I would like to insert for the benefit of my colleagues the text of our report and our findings which we hope will be of interest and aid to anyone concerned with this serious national problem.

The report follows:

REPORT ON PROGRAMS FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD

(By the House Republican Task Force on Education and Training, House Republican Conference, March 25, 1970)

(Members: John Dellenback, Oregon, Chairman; James M. Collins, Texas; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; Orval Hansen, Idaho; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana; Robert H. Michel, Illinois; John T. Myers, Indiana; Albert H. Quie, Minnesota; Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina; Fred Schwengel, Iowa; William A. Steiger, Wisconsin; Fletcher Thompson, Georgia; Albert W. Watson, South Carolina, and John W. Wydler, New York.)

SUMMARY

Early childhood services in this country are woefully inadequate. Efforts should begin immediately to expand both their quantity and quality. The need, while already far exceeding the capacity of existing programs, will increase in decades ahead because of 1) a growing number of children aged five and younger; 2) the accelerating trend toward working mothers; 3) the increased emphasis

on providing child care services for welfare mothers who desire to work; and 4) the widespread realization of parents across the country that the first five years are of crucial importance to a child's future.

The Republican Administration has taken several important steps to strengthen the national commitment to early childhood—establishment of the Office of Child Development, experimental activities to develop improved programs, and the proposal of welfare reform which includes day-care services for children of welfare mothers.

But despite these significant steps in the right direction, several serious obstacles remain in the way of achieving the quantity and quality of early childhood services needed in this country, and Congress should take action to overcome these problems.

Evaluation: Evaluation procedures have been so inadequate that we do not know what impact the 60-plus existing programs pertaining to early childhood are having or which programs are successful, which need reform.

Recommendation: An immediate evaluation of all programs affecting the first five years of life should be undertaken and the results reported to Congress no later than 18 months after the beginning of FY 1971, and then kept up to date so that current information will always be available in the future. This on-going evaluation should be designed so that we can determine the long range effect of early childhood program when the students reach maturity.

Coordination: There are more than 60 federal programs which relate to early childhood either directly or indirectly. This diffusion of programs has resulted in confusion, lack of coordination, and ineffectiveness at federal, state and local levels.

Recommendation: A consolidation of those programs which provide directly for the operation of early childhood programs should be enacted at once. These half-dozen programs should be combined into a single program to be administered by a single federal agency. Further study should be undertaken to determine which other program areas should also be reorganized. As consolidation takes place, a major share of the administrative responsibility should be shifted to the states.

Research: A great deal of research is needed to learn what approaches are most effective in providing for early childhood needs under different circumstances.

Recommendation: Greater focus and coordination than currently exists in federally sponsored early childhood research is needed. Increased government support must be given to early childhood research, and the results of this research must be translated into the operation of early childhood programs.

Personnel: The lack of trained professional and paraprofessional personnel prevents the expansion of early childhood programs.

Recommendation: The Education Professional Development Act should be amended to expand training programs for professional and paraprofessional personnel. Community colleges should be encouraged to develop training courses for early childhood personnel. Attempts should be made to encourage more young people to prepare for careers in early childhood education. Finally, a number of federal programs which provide for career training should be reviewed and evaluated from the early childhood point of view.

Facilities: The lack of adequate facilities prevents the expansion of early childhood programs.

Recommendation: Federal child development programs should permit a portion of their funds to be used for the construction or acquisition of facilities in situations where this alternative is more feasible or more economical than the renovation and alteration now provided for under existing programs. Mortgage guarantees should be extended for the construction of child development facilities. Finally, consideration should be given to adding a measure to public housing laws to require local public housing authorities to provide for adequate social services, including child care facilities and programs, in low and moderate-income residential projects, unless it can be demonstrated that such services are not needed.

Private Sector Involvement: The total cost of child development services for all the children who need them can reach a total of $22 billion by 1975. Obviously, neither the Federal government, nor the State or local governments, can be expected to assume a financial burden of this magnitude.

Recommendation: The expansion of proprietary early childhood services must be encouraged. In this context, a sliding feescale should be instituted to encourage the inclusion of non-wealthy children in proprietary programs. Proprietary programs should be eligible to participate in mortgage guarantee programs.

Preventive Programs: Over the long run, the most effective, and the least costly, means of dealing with deprived children is to prevent deprivation in the first place.

Recommendation: A portion of the total resources devoted to early childhood programs should be used to establish and operate programs aimed at helping adolescent girls and expectant mothers who are economically disadvantaged to understand the principles and techniques of helping children reach their full physical, social and intellectual potential.

REPORT

During the summer of 1969, the House Republican Task Force on Education and Training began to study the question of what kinds of programs, if any, were needed for children younger than school attendance age. We toured child care centers in Washington, D.C. and in other cities, we met people experienced in organizing and operating early childhood services, we talked with educational psychologists about the effects of early intervention, we consulted with Administration officials, we studied the experiences of European countries, and one Task Force member made a trip to Israel to learn more about the comprehensive early childhood effort being made there.

As a result of these exertions, we concluded that early childhood services in this country are woefully inadequate and that efforts should begin immediately to expand their capacity. The Federal government currently spends about $1750 annually for each person aged 65 or older in the country but only $190 for every child younger than age 21. But while the Federal government clearly has an important role in bringing about this needed expansion of services, we feel that *the major* burden must fall upon state, local, and upon private initiative.

We feel that Congress has a responsibility to alleviate this serious situation. In the following pages we set forth some of the results of our investigation and our recommendations for action.

Need for day-care and child development services

In the United States, as of July, 1969, there were 22 million children aged five and under; according to Census Bureau figures:

Years	*Number*
Under 1	3,495,000
1	3,419,000
2	3,534,000
3	3,643,000
4	3,367,000
5	4,050,000

The Census Bureau estimates that the number of children being born each year will increase sharply during the next ten years. Therefore, in planning for future childcare needs, one must anticipate growing numbers of children.

While not all of these children require care in addition to that provided by their parents in their own homes, many need special services because their mothers work, because their home environment is inadequate for healthful mental or physical development, or because such services are needed to help the child achieve his maximum potential.

The working mother

One of the most fundamental changes occurring in our society today concerns the role of women. According to the Census Bureau, in October 1969, one-third of the wives in this country were employed outside the home—up from only one-fifth in 1952. The traditional concept of the woman's place in the home no longer matches reality—at some time during their lives, nine out of ten women will be employed. About one-fourth of the Nation's mothers who live with their husbands and have children of preschool age are in the labor force. Even among mothers of very young children (under 3 years of age) the proportion is as large as one-fifth. Among mothers with older children (6 to 17 years) the percentage who work (now 44 per cent) promises soon to become as large as the percentage who do not work. Among widowed, divorced and separated mothers of young children, the labor force participation is, and always has been, much higher.

As of March 1967, there were 4.1 million working mothers with children under 6 years old and 6.4 million with children aged 6–17. More recently, it has been estimated that as many as 4 million working mothers lack adequate care for their preschool children. According to a special Census Bureau survey taken in 1965, of the children of working mothers, only five per cent under age three and ten per cent aged three to five were cared for in group day-care centers. The other mothers had to rely upon an ad hoc combination of husbands, older children, relatives, baby-sitters and neighbors. Some women could not afford or were not able to make even these kinds of arrangements and their children—about 1 million in all under age 14—received no supervision at all while their mothers worked, while many more were looked after by brothers or sisters only slightly their senior.

The kind of day-care services needed by working mothers varies with the ages and special characteristics of the children involved. Infants and very young children might best be placed in day-care homes where, perhaps, only five or six children were being cared for. Children aged three to five might continue in the family day-care home setting or might benefit more from a group day-care center involving larger numbers of children, usually in groups of 10 to 15. School age children need after school, lunchtime, and holiday supervision which could be provided in a variety of settings.

The ability of the working mother to pay for these childcare services varies. In 1964, when the Social Security Administration poverty index for a non-farm family of four was $3,130, 19 per cent of all working mothers had a family income of $10,000 and over. Twelve per cent came from families with incomes of less than $3,000; nine per cent from families with income of $3,000-$3,999; 22 per cent from families with incomes of $4,000 to $5,999; and 37 per cent from families with incomes of $6,000 to $9,999.

The amount paid weekly, according to 1965 statistics, by working mothers for childcare services varied with the kind of service provided. Group day-care was among the most costly of the arrangements, requiring, on the average, a payment of $10 a week or more for 55 per cent of the children in this form of care. Family day-care was comparatively less costly, only 37 per cent requiring a payment of $10 or more. Where more than one child from a family was receiving care, of

course, the total amounts involved for some families are even higher.

The welfare mother

There are approximately a million mothers on welfare who had children under age six. Many of these women would prefer work to welfare, but the lack of adequate child care services has prevented them from seeking employment.

Elizabeth Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau, in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, reported that a 1966 Department of Labor survey, conducted in 10 economically deprived areas, showed that almost one of five slum residents outside the labor force was not seeking employment because of child care problems. Another study she cited concerning women welfare recipients with children in New York City showed that seven out of ten women preferred to work rather than to stay at home, and that, assuming the availability of satisfactory free day-care facilities, 60% of these mothers with preschool children preferred employment to remaining home.

Thus, in addition to mothers who are already working, there is another group of welfare and low-income mothers who would like to work and would seek employment or job training if adequate child care services were available at a price they could afford. Included in this group are many mothers who have already had job training under Federally-sponsored programs which provided for child care service during the training period but not afterwards. This lack of child care services has probably been the most serious single barrier to the success of the Work Incentive Program, for example. Without provision of child care services for these women, job training efforts can only be fruitless in terms of achieving meaningful changes in employment patterns.

Child development

The crucial importance of "the first five years of life" is far more important than just a political slogan. Benjamin Bloom (*Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*, Wiley, 1964) showed that in terms of intelligence measured at age 17, about 50% was developed between the time of conception and age 4, about 30% between ages 4 and 8, and only 20% between ages 8 and 17. Experiments with animals in which either deprivation or enrichment of stimulation took place during the infancy stage, have also suggested the critical nature of the early development period. Jean Piaget has chronicled the subtle process through which even the new born infant interacts with and learns from his environment. (*Origins of Intelligence in Infancy*, International Universities Press, Inc., 1956). Two separate experimental programs with retarded infants and young children have pointed to the conclusion that the earlier enrichment is begun, the greater the gains that can be expected (Skeels and Dye, "A study of the effects of differential stimulation on mentally retarded children," *Proceedings American Association for Mental Deficiency*, 1939, 114–136; and Kirk, *Early Education of the Mentally Retarded*, U. of Illinois Press, 1958). Other projects aimed at disadvantaged children have suggested similarly the importance of the early years. (Susan Gray, et al, *Before First Grade*, Teachers College Press, 1966, and Karl Bereiter and Engelmann, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

Despite the on-going controversy over whether human intelligence is influenced more by inheritance or by environment (Arthur Jensen, et al., *Harvard Educational Review*, 1969, Nos. 1, 2, & 3), there seems to be virtually universal agreement among those who have studied the matter that what happens during the first five years of a child's life will play an extremely important role in how well he is able to make use of his intelligence. In short, by the time a child is five years old, the kind of person he is going to be and his range of abilities and aptitudes have been almost irrevocably established.

The implications of these research findings have not been lost on the broad mass of middle-class parents across the country who send their children to nursery schools, surround them at home with "educational" toys, and generally make every effort to see that their children's earliest years are rich ones. Yet even these well-intentioned families, fortunate enough to have adequate material resources, sometimes find the business of providing their children with the "best" experiences a confusing one. How early should one attempt to teach a child to read, or should this be left until the school years? When should a child first go to preschool programs? How should the child be disciplined? Can one push a child too hard? While in a sense it may be a luxury even to be able to consider such questions, child development is a perplexing problem for all parents, regardless of their income. Yet the future potential of this country in a very real sense depends upon finding the answers to these questions. Unless we do, many children will not have the chance to realize their full potential, and that potential will go unrealized for yet another generation.

Recognition of the need

During the last decade, Republicans have repeatedly gone on record in support of early childhood programs. As early as the 1961 and 1962 Education and Labor hearings on Juvenile Delinquency, Republicans called for the enactment of preschool programs for disadvantaged children. The thrust of their proposals was, to a large extent, finally realized in 1965 with the organization of the Headstart program.

But Headstart is aimed at only a small portion of the total early childhood need. In March, 1968, the Republican Coordinating Committee called for expanding early childhood programs, as a matter of priority, to include all 5- and 4-year olds, and perhaps 3-year olds, from impoverished neighborhoods who could benefit from this experience ("Urban Education: Problems and Priorities").

During his 1968 presidential campaign, Richard Nixon expressed his concern that the needs of young children be met. This special interest was reiterated by President Nixon in February, 1969, in his message to Congress on poverty:

"So critical is the matter of early growth that we must make a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life."

The support of the American people in his assessment of this problem as deserving high priority was borne out in the results of a July, 1969 Gallup Poll which indicated that 64% of the country favors the idea of using federal funds to provide child care services for children of working mothers.

Steps already taken

Since taking office, the Republican Administration can point to a number of initiatives already taken to meet its commitment to the "first five years of life." These include:

1. The delegation of *Head Start* to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare where it can be supported and supplemented by other Federal programs dealing with children in the early years;

2. The creation of an *Office of Child Development* in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—this office, which reports directly to Secretary Finch, has been formed in order to take a comprehensive approach to the development of young children, combining programs which deal with the physical, social and intellectual aspects of their development;

3. The expansion of *Parent and Child Centers*, to serve the very youngest children and infants as well as their parents, as a result of research findings indicating that organized activities should begin as early as possible and last as long as possible to achieve maximum benefits;

4. The replacement of many summer Head Start programs with more effective *full-year and full-day programs;*

5. Emphasis on the greater use of Title I, ESEA funds for the *Follow-through* program to help students with Head Start experience make the most of their primary school years;

6. *Experimentation* with new program models, voucher systems which put purchasing power directly in the hands of parents, and stimulation of greater private participation in the development of early childhood resources;

7. The proposal of a *Family Assistance Plan* for reforming the welfare system. This plan includes provision of day-care services for 450,000 children, 150,000 of them preschoolers, so that their mothers who are now on welfare can take advantage of work and training opportunities.

Problems and recommendations

Despite these positive steps in the right direction, we are still capable of meeting only a small portion of our total early childhood needs. At present, there are only a little more than half a million places for children in licensed child care or child development facilities, even though 8 to 10 times that number of children need services. But, many obstacles stand in the way of efforts to expand our current capacities for child development and child care programs.

I. Evaluation

Over the last decade, the Federal involvement in programs relating to child care has burgeoned into a jerry-built network encompassing more than 60 separate programs which provide day-care, social, health, counseling, personnel, research, facilities and food services, either directly for child care, or indirectly through programs set up to meet other needs. Yet when the Republican Administration took over the management of these programs in 1969, Congress was shocked to find that federal involvement in child care had been allowed to grow to its present dimensions without adequate evaluation procedures. With more than 60 separate programs relating to early childhood, one would expect that the government is doing a great deal in this area. But, in fact, we do not know whether or not this is true. During the previous Administration, no attempt was made to develop an overall analysis of what impact these programs are having on the first five years of life, what needs to be improved, changed or discarded, how much money has been spent, or how many children have been reached.

Without this kind of basic knowledge, we cannot plan intelligently for the future, much less assist the results of past efforts. But obtaining the knowledge required to plan and assist will not be just a simple matter of compiling statistical tables. Much of the necessary basic data has not been collected and procedures will have to be developed to generate data at the state, local and even the project level. Such an effort, beginning at this late date, will be lengthy and complex and will require several years before we have a total picture of existing federal efforts.

Recommendation: An immediate, thorough evaluation of all programs affecting the first five years of life, either directly or indirectly, should be required and the results of such an evaluation should be reported to Congress as soon as possible, and no later than eighteen months after the beginning of the 1971 fiscal year.

Further, a mechanism should be established to assure that current information is always available in the future. This on-going

evaluation effort should be developed in such a way so as to make possible long range assessment of the effectiveness of key programs—we need to know what effect programs for young children have in years hence as those children reach maturity. Otherwise, experiments which do not produce immediate, observable results might be abandoned, even though they might have a substantial long-term impact on the children participating.

II. Consolidation of Existing Programs

Out of the more than 60 federal programs relating to the early childhood years, there are considerable areas of overlap. There are at least seven separate programs which provide funds for the operating expenses of child care centers or preschool education, some nine programs for training child development personnel, seven research programs, four food programs, four construction programs and three loan programs. Only a few of these, however, are aimed directly at child development. Most were set up for other purposes, and day-care or child development is only ancillary to their overall missions.

The result of this crazy-quilt pattern is that in some areas child care centers and programs funded under separate Federal authorities may find themselves in competition for the same children, while in other areas, proposed centers which would serve children who desperately need preschool educational opportunities cannot get the Federal funds necessary—either because such funds have been exhausted under the specific program for which they are eligible, or, more unfortunately, because in the confusing and complex puzzle of federal programs the applicants have been unable to identify accurately the various programs for which they are eligible.

Not only has the diffusion of programs been unproductive at the local level, but it has also caused needless difficulty and waste of effort at the Federal level, making it necessary to establish special offices to coordinate far-spread federal programs for early childhood and to appoint special personnel in the dozen or more federal agencies, offices and departments which administer the programs, whose job it is to see that their programs are coordinated with other similar programs. All too often, the result of this overly complex administrative arrangement has been confusion, not coordination.

Recommendations: A consolidation of programs which provide directly for the operation of child care and child development programs should be enacted at once. The half dozen or more existing programs operated under various titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Social Security Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act—programs in 1971 which will spend almost $600 million, $900 million if the child care under the Family Assistance Program is included—should be combined into a single program which would be administered by a single federal agency.

Further study should be undertaken to determine which other program areas might also benefit from consolidation and reorganization.

As program consolidation takes place, a major share of the administrative responsibility should be shifted to the States. This will encourage not only coordination of federal programs at the state level but coordination of federal, state and private funds as well.

III. Research

More than ever before in this country, concerned parents are placing a high value on education for their children—so much so that many parents believe that the more education the better, that almost any kind of early childhood schooling and academic stimulation is better than none at all, that schools by starting at earlier ages can make up for home deficiencies. But our sad experience has been that the Headstart and other compensatory education programs for which we had such high expectations have not always brought the results we desired and that, despite the proliferation of countless "Headstart" type programs for disadvantaged children and other programs for middle-class children whose parents want them also to have a "headstart," the fact of the matter is that child development experts do not know exactly how children develop and learn, or what kinds of educational experiences are best for what kinds of children, or how these experiences can most effectively be provided. Experts agree that the early years are of critical, importance and that many elements are needed—nutritional, health, educational, social, and emotional—in a total child development program. But how best to provide for these different needs, what approaches are best in different situations, how to prepare all our children for school—these are questions for which we just do not have answers at this time.

While there are now some government funds for research into child development and child care, efforts in this area are very limited with little or no coordination between them. For example, under the Child Welfare Service, some $4.4 million was spent for research and demonstration projects in the area of child welfare, $1 million of that to support 8 day-care projects to provide a basis for evaluation of the most effective ways to provide such care. Out of the almost $90 million provided under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in fiscal year '69, only 3.6%—$3.2 million—was spent for early childhood research. Public Health Service and the National Institutes of Health are also conducting some research into child development and learning.

Recommendations: The House Republican Task Force on Education and Training feels that more intensive research and development work is needed in the area of early childhood, to develop basic knowledge about child development that is now lacking, to translate this knowledge into actual programs for children, and to find ways of diagnosing and evaluating the development of individual children. Furthermore, the various research efforts now underway require better coordination so that investigations now dispersed among several agencies can proceed as rapidly and efficiently as possible avoiding duplication and using each agency's particular talents to best advantage. Dr. James O. Miller, Director of the National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education, has called for the formation of a National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education, to serve as a national focused effort in early childhood research and development. Another possible focusing agent might be the Office of Child Development within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. While we are not necessarily committed to a specific organizational device, we do feel strongly that greater coordination and focus that currently exists in federal early childhood research is needed.

Secondly, we call for increased government support of early childhood research to build the basic foundations upon which our future efforts must rest.

We do not agree with those who argue that the expansion of early childhood programs must await the results of this future research. We already know how to do some things of benefit for children, and programs should be estabilshed to do these things. We would hope, however, that programs would maintain enough flexibility so that they could incorporate the results of research as these become available in the future and that federal funding systems would prevent the paralysis of programs in traditional models and would permit and encourage development of improved child development efforts.

IV. Trained Personnel

One of the major obstacles blocking the rapid expansion of early childhood services is the lack of qualified, trained personnel. This shortage of personnel in the childhood area has been well documented. As early as 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity estimated that short-term training for 147,000 teachers and 290,000 non-professionals would be needed in order to provide full-year Headstart programs for the 2 million disavantaged 3 to 5 year olds, in addition to the other medical, nutritional, psychological and social workers needed in comprehensive child care programs. Projecting an eventual need for day-care for 1.31 million more children, nursery school for 3 million, kindergarten for 1.3 million and other services for 1.9 million, an additional 456,000 professional personnel (including supervisors) and 529,000 paraprofessional personnel will be required.

Colleges and universities are now graduating only about 5,000 early childhood personnel annually, according to an Office of Education 1967–68 survey. Almost all of these graduates are women, including many of whom take degrees in child development as preparation for raising their own families rather than for professional careers, and many others who teach only a few years before abandoning their professional responsibilities for family responsibilities. Also significant is the fact that in the same year, only 5 doctorates were awarded in this area and 100 in the field of nursery or kindergarten education—it is the Ph. D.'s and the Ed. D.'s who are the teachers of teachers, and therefore needed to build up teacher training programs on the college level.

The staffing problem at the professional level has been met largely with short-term training drawing on a pool of already-trained people with experience in other educational fields. Headstart statistics show that of the professional staff, almost a third have had less than two full years of college work, nearly 80% have had practically no experience with primary education and 80% have had little experience, if any, with disadvantaged children. But this limited resource cannot begin to meet the future staffing needs of early childhood programs undergoing rapid expansion.

Paraprofessional personnel have also been another promising source of manpower in this area. The benefits which can be derived from encouraging the employment of Older Americans as paraprofessionals can mean benefits far beyond those derived by the children being served. Older Americans serving as "foster grandparents" and aides in early childhood programs, can find that in addition to lending their special skills and interests to the program that they can assure their places as useful and needed citizens in one of the most important social efforts ever undertaken in this country. Parents who work in these programs learn more about child development and are able to apply what they have learned at home with their younger children as well as those enrolled in the child development program. Even older children and adolescents are needed as paraprofessionals in these programs. They serve as models for the younger children, and at the same time, they learn some of the principles of child development which will help them become better parents in future years. Finally, with the growing emphasis on social action by concerned individuals, the potential corps of volunteers who could assume regular and responsible roles in early childhood programs is perhaps greater today than ever before.

Despite this enormous paraprofessional need and potential, there are some serious problems which must be overcome before this resource can be fully utilized. Some early childhood projects in disadvantaged areas have found that classroom assistants recruited from the areas served have usually

had no training whatsoever, and that they often view their involvement more as job opportunity projects for the poor than as educational programs for disadvantaged children. Training paraprofessionals is necessary before they can participate effectively in the programs. Many do receive short introductory "how to get started" courses of only a few days' or weeks' duration, but all too often these short courses are not followed up with the kind of sequential on-the-job training which would enable them to develop their abilities more fully or to move up on a career ladder. Others who do receive on-the-job training often find that the same "lessons" are repeated time after time, and they make no progress toward positions of greater responsibility despite their long years of service.

In light of the magnitude of this problem, the Federal investment in training personnel for early childhood programs has been pitifully small. Short term training institutes sponsored by OEO have never been counted as substitutes for career development training, and might best be characterized as "start-up" sessions. Out of the $80 million available in FY 1970 under the Education Professions Development Act, only $5 million is slated for projects (40) to prepare personnel for the early childhood area. Yet first-rate proposals seeking a total many times that amount have gone unfunded for lack of money.

Recommendations: Because the Educational Professions Development Act stimulates the development of programs to train personnel, rather than merely paying out scholarships to finance the training of individuals, it has a built-in "multiplier effect." For this reason, the House Republican Task Force on Education and Training advocates greater expenditures under this program to establish training programs for both professional and paraprofessional personnel.

We also advocate enactment of measures designed to encourage community colleges to use their special potential in the training of paraprofessional early childhood workers. Short introductory courses could be developed for parents and community residents entering early childhood programs for the first time and arrangements could be made for continuing education on the job. Graduates of a two-year program receive an Associate-in-Arts degree enabling them to become child care aides; should they decide at a later date to extend their professional qualifications by completing a four-year program, that option would still be open. Thus, because of their flexibility, their unique responsiveness to community needs, and their ability to develop a career-oriented preparation for para-professionals, the Task Force favors federal programs which would encourage community colleges to help meet this pressing national need.

The Task Force endorses the development of measures which encourage more young people to undertake preparation for professional careers in early childhood, and also to utilize that preparation upon college graduation.

Finally, there now exist eight or more separate government programs to prepare juvenile delinquents, low-income or welfare adults and youth and others to work in child care and child-oriented mental health programs. Each of these programs is designed to serve its special clientele rather than the national early childhood priorities. We suggest that these programs be reviewed and evaluated from the early childhood point of view and that recommendations be made, as part of the overall evaluation of federal programs pertaining to early childhood, as to ways in which they might be coordinated or expanded to make the maximum contribution to our supply of personnel for early childhood programs.

V. Facilities

The lack of adequate facilities is another major obstable blocking the expansion of child development programs. Thus far, many day-care and Headstart programs have relied upon space owned by churches, nonprofit organizations and upon commercial facilities such as storefronts. The supply of such facilities is dwindling and in some areas—rural and suburban areas in particular—has been depleted. In 1966, OEO estimated that existing or renovated facilities could accommodate preprimary programs for perhaps half a million children—about the level of existing day-care program capacity today.

Even when facilities are available, they often require substantial renovation and even then they may not really be well adapted to programs for young children. Federal child development programs do not permit federal funds to be used for the construction of new facilities for child care programs, and consequently programs rely upon remodeling and renovation of existing facilities, even though this may not be the best, or even the most economical long-run solution. Some renovated facilities have deteriorated to the point where they require replacement or further renovation in order to continue using them; new construction in the first place would have prevented this situation.

At present, only a very little federal money can be used for new construction. Section 703 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 permits inclusion of child care facilities in the construction of neighborhood facilities—about half of the recipients of these funds have taken advantage of this opportunity. A similar provision exists in the program which provides for indoor community facilities in public or low-cost housing projects. Finally, under the Model Cities Programs, supplemental funds granted to each Model City area may be used for construction of child development facilities.

Recommendations: Federal child development programs should allow a portion of their funds to be used for the construction, or acquisition of facilities in situations where this alternative is more feasible or more economical than the renovation and alteration now provided for under existing programs.

The same kind of mortgage guarantees that are now extended for the construction of nursing homes and group practice facilities should be extended for the construction of child development facilities. This would help provide non-profit and proprietary programs obtain long-term financing for construction needed if they are to sustain economic viability.

The term construction should include in both of the above cases the costs of land acquisition, architects' fees and preliminary planning for the new facility.

Finally, consideration should be given to adding a measure to public housing laws to require local public housing authorities to provide for adequate social services, including child care facilities and programs, in low and moderate-income residential projects unless they can demonstrate that such services are not needed.

VI. Stimulation of Private Enterprise

As pointed out above (pages 2 to 6) the growing numbers of children, together with the accelerating trend toward employment of mothers of preschool age youngsters, mean that in the future we will have to anticipate an ever greater need for child care and child development services. The total annual cost of providing these services will be tremendous. Dr. Selma Mushkin of the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C. projects a 1975 cost of $10 to 12.5 billion for programs for 3- to 4-year olds and $6.5 to $10.25 billion for 0- to 3-year olds—a total of $16.5 to $22.75 billion and this is excluding 5-year olds, even though many States do not operate public kindergartens. Obviously, neither the Federal government, nor the State or local governments for that matter, can be expected to assume a financial burden of this magnitude.

The solution to this situation must be twofold. First, parents who are financially able to must be required to pay as much as possible of the costs of services for their children. Secondly, a network comprising the various kinds of services needed by the range of children being served—child care, nursery schools and enrichment programs, summer programs, afterschool programs—must be established in each community so that services will be available for all who need them. The role of the federal government in this process should be limited to stimulating the development of the needed child care and child development services and to providing partial or full financing of such services for those children whose families otherwise could not afford them.

Implied in this viewpoint is the necessity of heavy involvement of private enterprise in providing child care and child development services, rather than a continuation of the present heavy emphasis on the role of federal, state and local governments in the operation and financing of such programs and services. Indeed, this heavy emphasis on public and private non-profit participation in early childhood services overlooks the actual facts of the matter. According to a study conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare at a time when the capacity of licensed group care centers was 521,000, over 247,000 of these children were in proprietary centers—47.4%. If the 121,000 children being cared for in private "day-care homes" were added in, the percentage being cared for under private profit-making auspices would be 70.6%. A witness appearing before the House Education and Labor Committee reported that in his state of Maryland, about seven-eighths of all group child care was proprietary.

It is most unfortunate that since the advent of the Headstart program, the feeling has grown that only public or private nonprofit agencies are qualified or suitable providers of early childhood services. We find today that many people, when they think of profitmaking corporations organizing and operating child care and child development services, forget that the vast majority of high quality nursery schools, summer camps, kindergartens and most of the child care centers which serve only those middle-class families lucky enough to afford them, fit into the classification of private profit-making corporations. It is especially ironic when we remember that when Headstart was initiated, many looked upon that program as a way to obtain middle-class type nursery school services for poor, educationally disadvantaged children who would not otherwise receive the benefit of such a program.

Substantial expansion of the role of the private sector in the operation of early childhood services does raise a number of issues which require thoughtful consideration.

First, standards governing the licensing and funding of proprietary early childhood services should be just as high, and just as rigorously enforced, as the standards governing public and private non-profit services. The profit margin on proprietary services must come from superior management practices, economy of scale, and careful planning, and not from skimping on the quality of the services provided for the children.

Second, several proprietary childcare and child development corporations have documented their ability to provide the highest quality of early childhood services at a cost significantly below that of public or private non-profit agencies providing exactly the same services. This savings in the cost of services per child could be translated into providing more children with services, if ap-

plications for grants took the cost factor into consideration.

Third, proprietary child care and child development services are now oriented almost exclusively to middle-class and high income families. Welfare recipients and low-income families must rely upon public programs—Headstart, municipal day-care services, etc. Those in between, the lower-middle-income, blue collar, working class family, are caught in the squeeze of being too well off to be eligible for public programs and not well off enough to be able to afford private services. If the government undertakes measures to expand the role of proprietary services, simultaneous measures should also be taken to see that such services are made accessible to all who need them.

Fourthly, if proprietary services are to be expanded, private profit-making companies will need outside assistance in obtaining financing for the cost of constructing new facilities to house their programs. Tight mortgage market conditions, together with the newness of the idea of large scale proprietary early childhood services, have made it extremely difficult for companies to obtain mortgages.

Finally, some consideration has been given to the idea of a voucher system approach to financing child care and child development services for those who cannot afford the full costs. Under such a system, parents would be free to enroll their child at any center, school or other establishment licensed to provide early childhood services. The center or school would then be reimbursed totally or in part, depending upon the financial status of the child's family, for the costs of providing services for that child. Under such a system, all of the above considerations pertaining to proprietary child development and child care services become even more important since it is the profit-making corporations which would organize to compete most effectively in the overall early childhood "market."

The corporation organized to provide early childhood services is only one example of the involvement of private enterprise. Another potentially significant development is the provision of child care services by employers of large numbers of working mothers. Hospitals have led the way, but telephone companies, colleges, department stores, light industry, textile, and technological corporations are also responding to the realization that these services must be provided if they are to make full utilization of women workers.

A law enacted in the 1st Session of the 91st Congress provides for the establishment of joint labor union-employer trust funds for the purpose of providing child care services. Several unions have already been active in providing such services for their members. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for example, operate child-care centers in Baltimore, Maryland, and Staunton, Virginia, with other centers planned at Hanover and McConnellsburg, Pennsylvania, and one under construction at Chambersburg, Pa.

In the past, the greatest private involvement in early childhood services has taken the form of family day-care homes which care for up to six or eight youngsters, depending upon their age. The atmosphere and care provided in these family day-care homes ranges from outstanding to appalling. Under ideal circumstances, however, they can offer a very important alternative to group child care for infants, very young children, and some children who may not be suited to the group care situation.

Recommendations: The House Republican Task Force on Education and Training believes that the expansion of proprietary early childhood services must be a necessary and vital part of any overall national strategy to provide such services for all children who may need them. It sees the sliding fee-scale concept as encouraging the inclusion of non-wealthy children in such proprietary services and therefore endorses this approach. The voucher concept may also achieve this result and should receive careful consideration.

The same high standards which apply to public and private non-profit early childhood services must not be relaxed for proprietary services.

The Federal Government should extend a mortgage guarantee program, similar to that pertaining to nursing homes and group practice facilities, to early childhood programs, including proprietary programs, to enable them to finance construction costs of new facilities.

VII. Preventive Programs

Urie Bronfenbrenner, testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee in 1969, suggested that early childhood programs should begin ideally two years before conception. His point was a serious one. Over the long run, the most effective, and the least costly, means of dealing with deprived children is to prevent deprivation in the first place. Rather than treating the symptoms of deprivation in 3- and 4-year olds, our efforts might better be directed toward preparing the mother of those children to provide them with the nourishment, stimulation and enrichment necessary to prevent deprivation and toward seeing that she is properly nourished during pregnancy and that she receives appropriate medical attention.

The use of older children as volunteers in early childhood programs offers an effective method for instilling in these youngsters the importance of the early childhood years and for teaching them some of the rudiments of child development. Parent and child centers which work with entire families, from parents to infants, also offer another opportunity to help parents take on the responsibility of preventing deprivation.

Recommendations: A portion of the total resources devoted to early childhood programs should be used to establish and operate programs aimed at helping adolescent girls and expectant mothers who are economically disadvantaged to understand the principles and techniques of helping children reach their full physical, social and intellectual potential.

Early childhood programs should not be delayed until a child is three years old; they should have sufficient flexibility to allow them to direct their efforts to infants and toddlers as well as future parents.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF WNEX RADIO

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, April 1, 1970, radio station WNEX in Macon, Ga., celebrated its 25th anniversary in radio broadcasting.

WNEX has performed an outstanding public service during these 25 years by presenting excellent programs and news coverage to the people of Macon and middle Georgia.

Along with the many friends and listeners of WNEX, I extend my congratulations to Mr. Alfred Lowe and the entire WNEX family and wish for them many more years of outstanding service and operation in the public interest.

LAWLESSNESS IN GREECE

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that this country's foreign policy is in dire need of reformation. Not only has our disastrous participation in Vietnam warranted an unprecedented amount of dissent and mistrust of the Government, but our involvement in other areas, even though camouflaged by a reticent administration, is also coming under increasing attack. One such policy is our Government's support for the military junta in Greece. Now that the media are finally beginning to cover the atrocities that seem to be a daily part of that regime's political diet, many citizens are disputing our rationale for assisting such an undemocratic and irresponsible government. Not only has the junta denied the most basic civil rights of its own citizens, it has also refused to acknowledge the requirements of international law and has intentionally failed to provide legal protection for foreigners who happen to stop in that country.

To disregard such blatant lawlessness is indefensible. I have recently received a letter from two Greek ex-ministers and Members of Parliament which discusses what has happened in Greece. I have also received a letter from a Greek professor at Howard University which outlines police activities in that country. I hope all my colleagues will consider these letters most carefully, and move to reassess our responsibility for the conditions they describe.

The material follows:

DEAR MR. CONYERS: With great satisfaction we read in the Greek and foreign press about the struggle which you together with many of your distinguished colleagues have undertaken for the restoration of parliamentary democracy and normal political conditions in our country. For all your efforts, our fellow-countrymen and we are grateful to you.

We think it is our duty to inform you that your vigorous attitude has made a very strong impression on the political world of our country, because it is through this attitude that it was proved that the Greek political problem was comprehended to its full extent, this problem which you have rightly placed on the basis that serves the real common interests of our countries.

The majority of our people think—and this is our opinion as well—that our country was in a position to face its political problems without resort to a military dictatorship. The correctness of this aspect can also be proved by the postwar political history of our country. As you know, after its liberation from the German occupation, Greece faced successfully severe political and economic problems and an immediate communist threat, without resort to a military dictatorship. The parliamentary regime functioned with success, despite the—even then—acute party antagonisms. In spite of the fact that the territorial integrity of our country was endangered by the Communist aggression, no martial law was passed and the freedom of the press was not suspended, and Parliament functioned smoothly during all that critical period. In brief, we can say that communist threat exists in Greece in exactly the same way as it does in all the

western European countries and that Greece has proved that the only shield of the free nations against communism is the regime of the real parliamentary democracy. Only those people, whose interests are connected with those of the junta, spread the lie that democracy in Greece was corrupt. The truth is that it was not more corrupt than in any other country of the western world.

It must also be kept in mind that during the parliamentary regime, Greece knew a constant economic development. The rate of growth of the national income and of the exports was satisfactory and the Greek people gained the feeling of economic security and was convinced that the state of the balance of payments had been improved, in contrast to the economic policy followed by the military government today, which, as many eminent Greek economists and politicians have demonstrated in recently published reports, is leading us to financial anarchy and economic chaos.

Consequently, there is no excuse for those who have established the military dictatorship. We can positively say, that their only motives were their personal ambitions. Their arguments that the prerevolutionary political situation was acute cannot be accepted, since great European nations are confronted today by far acuter conflicts, and yet no one within them ever thinks of the possibility of an—even temporary—suspension of the democratic freedoms. But if we even accepted that the colonels seized the power on April 21, in order to carry out a national mission, in other words, in order to bring about the necessary reforms that would guarantee the normal evolution of our political life in the future, they could have done it already. Instead, their up to date policy has clearly shown that they have no will to keep their promises and that they aspire to perpetuate their odd regime.

A constitution was submitted to the judgement of the Greek people and it was voted through under conditions of terrorism, similar to those prevailing at the plebiscites in the communist countries. Many people believed that government's declaration that after the voting through of the constitution the nation would enter the path of constitutional legality, which would be respected by the leadership of the military coup d'état, too. Unfortunately, the military government deliberately misinterpreted the meaning of the popular vote, asserting that it expressed the confidence of the people to the "Revolution". And out of the prime minister's and his chief colleagues' statements, by which they declared that they are not prophets to know when the "Revolution" will quit the power, that with the existence of the parliament no great steps can be taken etc., is propounded without pretext that the Junta's aspiration is to convert the military coup d'état into a permanent regime, in full violation of the Constitution drawn up by it.

Thus fundamental principles are being violated, and this has as a further consequence a train of reactions that the government cannot avoid, even if it could govern the country profitably on account of the policy followed by the military government, the Greek "pyramid" is losing the traditional form of a sound political structure because at the top the establishment of a regime, the form of which has not been crystallized, is being pursued, while at its popular base blind reactions, strengthened by the persecutions and the oppression, are being harboured. If this situation will be prolonged, we all who believe in the free world, the democratic way of life and the national army as a guarantee of the national security, shall lose all hope. The Greek army will be a drawback for NATO, because it is being converted into an organ of police control in the interior and its role as a safeguard of the national security will be of smaller and smaller effect.

If the king and the national political leadership, which after the statements of Mr. Karamanlis and the other political leaders has been unified, will not be reinforced, so as to succeed to the present situation, then the popular reaction to the Junta will be absorbed by anarchist resistance forces. We must not forget that before the German occupation, the Greek communist Party was dissolved by the Regime of "August 4th" and that while the rightists started, the resistance,, the leftists took it over, succeeding finally in placing the whole movement under their own leadership. Thus in December 1944, only the active intervention of the British troops prevented the seizure of power by the communists.

We know that some American observers say that in Greece there is peace and calmness and that the masses are so loyal to the "Revolution" that they do not destroy the boards with slogans and other propaganda. But this is only a superficial estimation of the situation. Neither during the German occupation, nor during the guerrilla war were such boards touched by the Greek liberation Front, ELAS and Marko's democratic army. The fact however, is that the non-political spirit has taken the place of the spirit of struggle in the Greeks' souls, who are disappointed both by the old political world and the present regime. But this is precisely what ought to make us anxious. This nonpolitical spirit cannot suggest that the people support the Junta, but it must be interpreted as a loss for the cause of the Alliance in Greece, because this instability of the Greek spirit will be fit tomorrow for the anti-terrorism of the extremist anti-revolutionary elements.

You can realize what a great damage has been caused to the Atlantic Alliance and especially, to one of its members of such a vital importance, as is Greece, A big portion of the Greek people believe that, without the American support, the Greek military government could not have strengthened its position. Owing to this fact, the Greeks became doubtful as to the real political aims of the United States. As you know, there was no other people on the European territory as the Greek people that had such a strong belief in the purity of the aspirations of the American policy. Today, however, even the Greek people came to believe that the United States have imperialistic intentions and that the American policy does not hesitate to use all the possible means in order to achieve its aims. Such a situation, as you may understand, is disastrous both to the alliance of the democratic countries and to the Greek people, and as you declared at the Congress on October 29th, 1969, if the United States do not adopt a decisive policy as far as democracy in Greece is concerned, then will betray their traditions and ideals, beause we must keep in mind that the Fight for democracy and the human rights is indivisible and knows no geographical or national frontiers.

If you please let your colleagues know the contents of this letter and give them our friendly regards.

EMM. KOTHRIS,
Ex. P.M., Ex Minister.

CURRENT POLICE ACTIVITIES IN GREECE

Reliable information from Athens communicated to me reveals the following activities carried out by the Greek military police and officers of the General Security.

1. Night searches continue at an increased level. Such searches are carried out by both E.S.A. (Military Police) and officers of the General Security always without warning and without consideration of human rights or individual dignity.

2. Blockades of roads leading to and from Athens are set up by military police and officers of the General Security. During such blockades automobiles and their occupants are searched thoroughly. Searches are so systematically carried out that "even the seats of automobiles are removed and searched".

3. Night raids in places of entertainment and streets are carried out by "plainclothesmen, often jumping out of unmarked cars and detaining groups of people for body searches." Often and without warning plainclothesmen search patrons of night clubs and restaurants and women dressed up for an evening out are subjected to humiliating searches by police authorities. During such searches ladies purses are opened and contents examined very carefully. In all cases "even the lipstick tubes are opened completely and examined."

4. University students are still the main group from which large numbers of arrests are made. Often students arrested are subjected to tortures to "give information on underground organizations".

5. Anti-Americanism is intensifying and going from bad to worse. An indication of this is the fact that people entering the American Consulate for ordinary business are subjected to searches by the guards. Often such people are previously searched by Greek police authorities as they approach the American Embassy. As a result, the American Embassy, which was in the past a symbol of freedom and Democracy is becoming a place where Greeks are being searched by its guards.

6. Persistent reports come out of Athens accusing American military officers of "having betrayed the confidence of former Greek comrades". Such allegations are repeated too often (See Harpers Magazine, October 1969, p. 77) to be dismissed as groundless.

7. Greeks leaving their country are now subject to searches by port authorities. This never happened before, not even when the civil war was raging 30 kilometers outside of Athens.

8. Personal mail is still being opened by the authorities and people wishing to communicate with the outside world on important political matters must find methods of by-passing the searching Greek authorities. Personally, I often receive news and reports from Greece through London or West Germany. Such reports are smuggled out of the country by foreign tourists.

9. In their search for "accomplices" the present Greek rulers have introduced the American Army uniform for Greek Officers. Now a Greek officer walking down the streets of Athens would be easily taken for an American. Their uniforms are absolutely identical. This American-type army outfit replaced the famous Greek *khaki*, a uniform glorified in poetry and folklore of the Greek people and closely identified with the past glories of the Greek army. Presently the Greek officers corps are viewed upon as praetorian guards, "subsidized and dressed by the Americans" and I sincerely cannot understand why not a protest from our embassy for the "plagiarism" of our American Army's uniform.

10. I am told by knowledgeable people, (a former Minister of Public Order among them) that a moratorium of underground activities is presently in effect in Greece pending the arrival of the American Ambassador and clarification of U.S. policy. The activities of the resistance organizations will resume, I was told, "if the American policy will be more of the same".

NIKOLAOS A. STAVROU,
Professor, Lecturer in Government.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Andrew Brimmer, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System delivered the Founder's Day address at Tuskegee Institute on March 22. Dr. Brimmer's speech represents a thoughtful and provocative analysis of the economic progress of Negroes in this country.

A point central to Dr. Brimmer's address was that Negro citizens have made economic progress during the 1960's, but that true equality of economic opportunity, to say nothing of social equality, is far from complete. He further argues that governmental policy should be in the direction of a conscious effort to remove the vestiges of any discrimination that would confine any group of citizens to economic impotency. He perceptively points out a rather disconcerting trend within the black community—that of the well-trained Negro who is able to sustain substantial income increases while the untrained Negro is falling further behind, a situation that must be reversed.

One point in Dr. Brimmer's analysis is especially compelling—the strong correlation between increased education and increased income. To my mind, this point cannot be overemphasized. Although it is dangerous to stress education as a total or sole panacea, I still feel that there must be a strong Federal, State, and local emphasis on improving the quality of education. It is for this reason that I led the fight to fully fund our Federal education effort.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert Dr. Brimmer's remarks in the RECORD. It is a pleasure to recommend this statement to my colleagues:

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Andrew F. Brimmer*)

THE DEEPENING SCHISM

To be asked to address this Founder's Day Celebration in honor of the memory of Booker T. Washington is really a way of honoring the one receiving the invitation. Not only on this campus, or in this community, but in the country at large anyone with even the most modest sense of history knows that the memory of Booker T. Washington is honored every day by the simple fact that Tuskegee Institute is here. That memory is embossed and embellished each time that this institution can render another day of service to the Negro community, to its region and to the nation through its commitment to higher education.

Yet, it is also good to pause at least once each year to reflect explicitly on the founding of this institution in rural Alabama in 1881. Since 1917, Tuskegee has found the time for such reflection, and the roster of speakers testifies to the high regard for Tuskegee in this country and in the world. This annual celebration has drawn to this campus a President of the United States, the Head of a foreign government, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, members of the President's Cabinet, other leading representatives of the Federal and State governments—as well as eminent scholars and educators and outstanding figures in the private sector. However, in coming here, they came as much to encourage the work of a growing Tuskegee as to honor the memory of its founder. So I am flattered to be a part of this tradition.

Having accepted the invitation to speak before this assembly, I decided that you really did not want me to dwell on the obstacles which Booker T. Washington had to overcome in the creation of a viable institution; nor did you expect me simply to extol the record of Tuskegee's achievements during the last 89 years. Rather, given the nature of my own responsibilities, I assumed that I was invited because you thought I might have something to say with a bearing on some of the central economic issues which we face today—especially those issues of immediate relevance to the Negro community.

On that assumption, I decided that it might be helpful to focus on a question that has generated a considerable amount of debate in the last few weeks: did Negroes make such extraordinary progress during the 1960's that the best course for public policy over the years ahead is one of "benign neglect"? Obviously this is not a trivial question. While the exact meaning of this proposition is far from clear, it has been advanced in a context whose potential impact on public policy in the area of race relations can be considerable. Thus, it is crucial that all of us have a clear understanding of the extent of economic progress which Negroes have made—and we must also have a full appreciation of the extent to which important segments within the Negro community have failed to share in this progress.

To help provide such an understanding, I have pulled together a considerable amount of statistical information relating to the economic experiences of Negroes during the last decade. From an examination of this evidence, I am convinced that it would be a serious mistake to conclude that the black community has been so blessed with the benefits of economic advancement that public policy—which played such a vital role in the 1960's—need no longer treat poverty and deprivation among such a large segment of society as a matter of national concern. To accept such a view would certainly amount to neglect—but it would also be far from benign.

The evidence underlying my assessment is presented in some detail in the rest of these remarks, but the salient conclusions can be summarized briefly:

During the 1960's, Negroes as a group *did* make significant economic progress. This can be seen in terms of higher employment and occupational upgrading as well as in lower unemployment and a narrowing of the income gap between Negroes and whites.

However, beneath these overall improvements, another—and disturbing—trend is also evident: within the Negro community, there appears to be a deepening schism between the able and the less able, between the well-prepared and those with few skills.

This deepening schism can be traced in a number of ways, including the substantial rise in the proportion of Negroes employed in professional and technical jobs—while the proportion in low-skilled occupations also edges upward; in the sizable decline in unemployment—while the share of Negroes among the long-term unemployed rises; in the persistence of inequality in income distribution within the black community—while a trend toward greater equality is evident among white families; above all in the dramatic deterioration in the position of Negro families headed by females.

In my judgment, this deepening schism within the black community should interest us as much as the real progress that has been made by Negroes as a group.

Before concluding these remarks, I would also like to comment briefly on the new program of family assistance, recommended by the President and now being considered by the Congress. It is my impression that this program is a source of much discussion—and some apprehension—within the Negro community. In my personal judgment, there is more reason to support it than to campaign against its enactment.

Let us now turn to a closer examination of each of these main points.

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL UPGRADING

The economic progress of Negroes can be traced in the trends of the labor force, employment and occupational advancement during the last decade. In 1969, there were just under 9 million nonwhites in the labor force—meaning that they were holding jobs or seeking work. (Well over 90 per cent of nonwhites are Negroes.) This was a rise of 16 per cent since 1960, a rate of increase virtually the same as for whites and for the total labor force. However, employment of nonwhites rose more rapidly than it did for whites (by 21 per cent to 8.4 million for the former compared with 18 per cent to 69.5 million for the latter). Expressed differently, while nonwhites represented about 11 per cent of the total labor force in both 1960 and 1969, their share of the gains in employment during the decade was somewhat larger: they accounted for 12 per cent of the employment growth, although they held just over 10 per cent of the jobs at the beginning of the period.

Advancement in the range of jobs held by Negroes in the last decade was also noticeable. This was particularly true of the improvements in the highest paying occupations. Between 1960 and 1969, the number of nonwhites in professional and technical positions increased by 109 percent (to 692 thousand) while the increase for whites was only 41 per cent (to 10,031 thousand). By last year, nonwhites had progressed to the point where they accounted for 6½ per cent of the total employment in these top categories in the occupational structure (compared with less than 4½ per cent in 1960), and they got about 11 per cent of the net increase in such jobs over the decade. During this same period, the number of nonwhite managers, officials and proprietors (the second highest paying category) increased by 43 per cent (to 254 thousand) compared to an expansion of only 12 per cent (to 7,721 thousand) for whites. In the 1960's, nonwhite workers left low-paying jobs in agriculture and household service at a rate two to three times faster than did white workers. The number of nonwhite farmers and farm workers dropped by 56 per cent (to 366 thousand) in contrast to a decline of 31 per cent (to just under 3 million) for whites in the same category. In fact, by 1969, nonwhites accounted for the same proportion (11 per cent) of employment in agriculture as their share in the total labor force; in 1960, the proportion for nonwhites (at 16½ per cent) was more than 1½ times their shares in the total labor force. The exit of nonwhites from private household employment was even more striking. During the last decade, the number of nonwhites so employed fell by 28 per cent (to 712 thousand); the corresponding drop for white workers was only 9 per cent (to 900 thousand). Although roughly half of all household workers were nonwhite in 1960, the ratio had declined to just over two-fifths by 1969. The number of nonfarm laborers also fell (by 8 per cent to 876 thousand) over the last decade while the number of white laborers rose by the same percentage (to 2,809 thousand).

Nevertheless, as already indicated, the accelerated movement of nonwhites out of the positions at the bottom of the occupational pyramid did not carry through the entire

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occupational structure. For example, nonwhites in 1969 still held about 1.5 million of the service jobs outside private households—most of which require only modest skills. This represented one-fifth of the total—approximately the same proportion as in 1960. Moreover, the number of nonwhites holding semi-skilled operative jobs (mainly in factories) rose by 41 per cent (to about 2 million) during the decade, compared with an expansion of only 17 per cent (to 12.4 million) for whites. The result was that nonwhites' share of the total climbed from 12 per cent to 14 per cent. Taken together, these two categories of low-skilled jobs chiefly in factories or in nonhousehold services accounted for a larger share (42 per cent) of total nonwhite employment in 1969 than they did in 1960—when their share was 38 per cent. In contrast, among whites the proportion was virtually unchanged—26 per cent at the beginning of the decade and 27 per cent at its close.

While nonwhites made substantial progress during the 1960's in obtaining clerical and sales jobs—and also registered noticeable gains as craftsmen—their occupational center of gravity remained anchored in those positions requiring little skill and offering few opportunities for further advancement. At the same time, it is also clear from the above analysis that those nonwhites who are well-prepared to compete for the higher-paying positions in the upper reaches of the occupation structure have made measurable gains. These contrasting exeriences should be borne in mind because they point clearly to the deepening schism within the black community.

TRENDS IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Over the 1960's, unemployment among Negroes declined substantially. In 1960, about 787 thousand nonwhites were unemployed, representing 10.2 per cent of the nonwhite labor force. Among whites in the same year, about 3.1 million were without jobs, and the unemployment rate was 4.9 per cent. By 1969, unemployment had dropped by 28 per cent (to 570 thousand) for nonwhites and by 26 per cent (to 2.3 million) for whites. Their unemployment rates had fallen to 6.4 per cent and 3.1 per cent, respectively.

The incidence of joblessness among nonwhites continued to be about twice that for whites during the 1960's. Even in those categories where the most favorable experience was registered, nonwhite unemployment rates remained significantly higher than those for whites. For instance, among married nonwhite males aged 20 years and over, the unemployment rate in 1969 stood at 2.5 per cent, compared with 1.4 per cent for white men in the same circumstances. Nevertheless, one should not lose sight of the fact that—taken as a group—Negroes made real strides in escaping idleness in the 1960's.

But, here again, we should not stop with this over-view. On closer examination, one quickly observes that a sizable proportion of the remaining unemployment among Negroes appears to be of the long-term variety. For example, in 1969, just under 20 per cent of the unemployed nonwhites on the average had been without jobs for 15 weeks or longer; among whites the proportion was only 12½ per cent. Moreover, those out of work for more than half a year represented 7 per cent of the joblessness among nonwhites compared with 4 per cent for whites. In 1961, when unemployment rose substantially under the impact of the 1960–61 recession, nonwhites accounted for about 21 per cent of total unemployment and for roughly 24 per cent of those without jobs for at least 3½ consecutive months. However, by 1969, nonwhites made up 27 per cent of the pool of long-term joblessness—although their share of total unemployment had declined slightly to 18 per cent. So, while a significant number of Negroes did find—and keep—jobs during the last decade, a sizable number of others were stuck in idleness for fairly long periods of time.

Still other evidence can be cited which underlines the contrasts within the Negro community. During the first eleven months of 1969, the unemployment rate among nonwhites living in the central cities of the 20 largest metropolitan areas averaged 6.3 per cent; it was a full percentage point less among those living in the suburban sections of these areas. Among nonwhite teenagers (those members of the labor force 16 to 19 years old), the unemployment rate averaged 27 per cent. During the same period of 1969, there was very little difference in unemployment rates between whites living in central cities (3.1 per cent) and those living in suburbs (2.9 per cent), and for white teenagers, the rate was 10 per cent.

So, judged by the differential impact of unemployment—as well as by the trend of employment and occupational upgrading—some Negroes have experienced commendable improvement while others have lingered behind in relative stagnation.

TRENDS IN INCOME: A REEXAMINATION

Undoubtedly, income statistics are probably the most closely watched indicators of economic progress. This is true for Negroes as well as for whites. These figures also demonstrate that the Negro community recorded significant gains during the last decade. In 1961, aggregate money income of families in the United States totaled $306.6 billion, of which whites received $290.4 billion and nonwhites received $16.2 billion. Thus, the nonwhites' share was 5.3 per cent. By 1968, the total had risen to $488.4 billion—with $454.5 billion going to whites and $33.9 billion going to nonwhites. In that year, the nonwhites' share had risen to 6.9 per cent.

In terms of median family income, the same indication of progress is evident. In 1959, the median income of nonwhite families amounted to $3,164, or 54 per cent of that for whites—which amounted to $5,893. By 1968, the figure had risen to $8,936 for whites to $5,590 for nonwhites, thus raising the nonwhite/white ratio to 63 per cent.

These relative family income data are a useful concept for some purposes, but they must be interpreted carefully. Otherwise they yield a misleading picture of the comparative economic status of the nonwhite population. A principal source of error is the failure of data on median family income to account for the fact that nonwhite families on average tend to be substantially larger than white families.

Data on median family income adjusted to a per capita basis to account for much larger minority families are presented in Table 1. (Attached.) When further adjustments are made to differentiate among types of families, several important conclusions result. The first and most important of these is that, for all types of families, nonwhite per capita family income is substantially lower in relation to that for white families than was suggested by the unadjusted figures. It appears that in 1967 the median income data unadjusted for differences in family size may have overstated the relative economic status of nonwhite families by something on the order of 11 per cent.

The information in Table 1 permits a further analysis of growth trends in per capita family income compared to growth trends in relative median family incomes for different types of households. For all families and for husband and wife families, the relative gains on a per capita basis were only slightly less than the relative gains on a total family income basis. The picture for female headed families, however, is completely different. The latter have the lowest median family income in general, and nonwhite families headed by females have the lowest median income compared to their white counterparts. What is perhaps even more disturbing, however, is that—because of the much larger size of nonwhite female headed households [1]—the per capita differences in family income are substantially wider than the differences in median family income. In 1967, the ratio of family income per capital of female headed nonwhite families (at 44 per cent) was 18 percentage points lower than the ratio of Negro to white median family income. The data in Table 1 appear to indicate that the gap between white and Negro per capita family income has not been narrowing as rapidly as suggested by the most widely cited income figures.

The conclusion reached by expressing median family income in per capita terms is that the usually observed ratios convey an unrealistic picture of family well-being because they fail to account for the larger absolute size of nonwhite families.

Another indication of the widening gap within the Negro community is provided by the distribution of income among families and individuals at different levels of income. Data showing these trends, by race and broad groupings of income classes, are presented in Table 2.

In examining these data, the first thing to note is that the distribution of income is by no means equal in either the white or non-white community. If it were, each fifth of the families would receive 20 per cent of the aggregate income in each year. In reality, however, only those families around and just above the middle of the distribution come close to receiving approximately this proportion of the total income. The families constituting the lowest fifth receive between 3½ per cent and 6 per cent of the income, while those in the highest fifth receive over 40 per cent of the total. This general pattern of income distribution holds for both white and nonwhite families.

But looking beyond these overall characteristics, it will also be observed that within the nonwhite community the distribution of income is considerably more unequal. Among nonwhites from the lowest through the middle fifth for each of the years shown, the proportion of aggregate money income received by the families in each category is below that for the white community. The opposite is true for nonwhite families above the middle fifth; their share is greater than that received by white families in the same category. The same tendency is evident when the top 5 per cent of the families with the highest incomes in both groups are compared.

Moreover, in the last few years, the distribution of income within the nonwhite community has apparently run counter to the trend among white families. In both the 1961–65 period and the 1965–68 period, the income distribution for white families became more equal. For nonwhite families, the same trend toward greater equality was evident in the first half of the decade. However, it remained roughly constant in the 1965–68 years. And the share received by the top 5 per cent particularly showed no further tendency to decline.

Again, these figures seem to underline a conviction held by an increasing number of observers: a basic schism has developed in the black community, and it may be widening year-by-year.

POVERTY IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

Poverty is a difficult concept to define in any meaningful sense. Yet, quantitative estimates are necessary if policymakers are to have reliable information on which to make decisions. Since 1965, the United States Government has relied on the estimates developed by the Social Security Administration which, for whatever their defects, appear to

[1] In 1967, the average Negro husband-wife family was .76 members larger than its white counterpart, but the average Negro female headed family was 1.26 members larger.

be the most reliable data available. The poverty concept developed by the Social Security Administration classifies a family as poor if its income is not roughly three times as great as the cost of an economy food plan for a family of that particular size and farm or nonfarm residence. In 1968, a nonfarm family of four was assumed to be living in poverty if its total money income was less than $3,553. The income deficit of a family is that amount required to raise its income to the poverty threshold.

Table 3 reviews the 1959–68 record of the escape of individuals from poverty. These data demonstrate quite clearly that the rate of decline of poverty for whites has been substantially faster than the rate of decline for nonwhites. Between 1959 and 1968, poverty among whites declined by 39 per cent while poverty among nonwhites declined by 27 per cent. Thus, in 1968 nonwhites made up a greater proportion of the total poor population than they did in 1959—the fraction increasing from 27.9 per cent to 31.5 per cent. This much more rapid rate of exodus by whites from poverty is explained by the fact that in 1959 the average poor white family was not nearly as deeply in poverty as the average poor nonwhite family. In 1959, the median income deficit for white families was only $868 while for nonwhites it was $1,280, or 47.5 per cent higher. Clearly, it took less economic achievement to lift the average white family out of poverty. It should be further noted that in 1968 the median income deficit for poor nonwhite families was $1,260 while for white families it was only $907, a difference of 38.9 per cent. Thus, these figures suggest that the future will continue to witness a more rapid rate of escape from poverty by whites than by nonwhites.

The data in Table 3 are of further interest because they permit an analysis of changes in poverty status by type of family. Disaggregating the poverty data into male and female headed families highlights several important points. Between 1959 and 1968, the rate of decline in poverty among individuals in male headed families of whites and nonwhites was roughly equal and also rather rapid. In 1968, the number of individuals classified as poor in male headed households for both races was roughly half the number in 1959.

Distressingly, however, for female headed families, the pattern was quite different. For the white population, the rate of decline among poor individuals in female headed families was substantially below the rate for individuals in male headed families. By 1968, there were only 16 per cent fewer poor individuals in white female headed households compared with 1959. For nonwhites, the data on changes in poverty among individuals in female headed families are extremely disturbing. Between 1959 and 1968, the number of nonwhites in poor female headed families increased by 24 per cent, and the number of nonwhite family members under 18 rose by an alarming 35 per cent. Between 1959 and 1968, there was an absolute increase of 609 thousand nonwhite family members 18 or less classified as poor living in a female headed family. So while the 22 million Negroes constituted only 11 per cent of the countrys total population in 1968, the 2.3 million poor children in nonwhite families headed by females represented 52 per cent of all such children.

The data on the rate of escape from poverty for different types of families also emphasize the development of a serious schism within the Negro community. Negroes in stable male headed families appear able to take advantage of economic growth and are leaving poverty at roughly the same rates as whites. The opposite appears true for families headed by a female, who appear unable to earn a sufficient income to escape poverty. The rapid increase in the number of poor nonwhites in female headed families—and particularly the very rapid rise of children 18 and under in their families—suggests that the problem of poverty in the black community has by no means disappeared.

Having discussed recent changes in the overall poverty population, it is important to examine briefly the rural experience. For farm families the record is much more encouraging with a decline of almost three-fourths in the number of poor individuals in nine years. Moreover, the rate of decline was roughly equal for whites and nonwhites. These results may in part reflect a growing prosperity in agriculture, but in large part they are due to a migration of the poor of both races from rural to urban settings.

The conclusions from this section are that nonwhite poverty in general has not declined as rapidly as white poverty, primarily because nonwhites classified as poor tended to be substantially poorer than whites classified as poor. This section has also shown that in the last decade there has been an alarming rise in the number of poor nonwhite children under 18 living in female headed families.

PROSPERITY IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

The above discussion has obviously reflected a rather pessimistic assessment of several aspects of economic developments in the Negro community—focusing as it did on nonwhite poverty and the fact that actual white-nonwhite income discrepancies are wider than commonly observed statistics would suggest. To stop here, however, would present a somewhat unbalanced view of Negro economic progress. To present a more balanced picture, it is important to consider the source of some of the recent gains within the Negro community. In particular, it is important to discuss the role of education.

Recent data suggest that Negroes are making considerable gains in both secondary and higher education. Between 1960 and 1969, the per cent of Negro males aged 25 to 29 who had completed 4 years of high school or more increased from 36 per cent to 60 per cent while the white fraction increased from 63 per cent to 78 per cent. Thus, in 1960 the gap had been 27 percentage points, and in nine years this gap had narrowed to only 18 percentage points. In 1968, for the first time a greater percentage of Negro males aged 25–29 completed high school than Negro females.

In the case of higher education, the gains also have been impressive. Table 4 presents data on trends in Negro college enrollment between 1964 and 1968. In these four years, the number of Negroes in college rose by 85 percent. What is more striking, however, is the fact that during this period, 82 percent of this enrollment growth occurred in institutions other than the predominantly Negro colleges. Thus, in only four years, the percent of Negro college students enrolled outside predominantly Negro colleges increased from 49 percent to 64 percent. This fact suggests that the larger institutions are becoming increasingly aware of minority problems and are making a concerted effort to assist minority group students. In four years the number of Negro students at these institutions has more than doubled.

The importance of higher education in the economic achievements of whites and Negroes is underlined by the data in Table 5. It is clear that median incomes for men of both races increase dramatically with increasing amounts of education. What is even more important, the ratio of Negroes' income to that of whites rises at the level of education climbs. Stated in a slightly different fashion, the relative gaps within the Negro community between those with higher education and those with lower education are wider than for whites. In 1968 a Negro man, aged 25-54, with a high school education had an income 29 percent above that for a Negro man with only an 8th grade education, while for whites this gap was 26 percent.

The case of a Negro with some higher education is of particular interest. This is a man with the highest absolute income and the highest income relative to whites. Unfortunately, due to the unavailability of more data, the figures in Table 5 probably seriously understate the contribution of higher education to Negro income. The last line in Table 5 shows the income of whites and Negroes with 1 or more years of college. This category is really a composite of the categories 1 to 3 years of college and 4 or more years of college. Of all Negro men 25 years of age or over in 1967 reporting one or more years of college, 60 percent were concentrated in the 1–3 year category. For all white men reporting more than 1 year of college, there was a much greater tendency to have four or more years of college, with only 42 percent concentrated in the 1-3 year class. If a more complete breakdown of the data in Table 5 were available, they would probably indicate a higher return to Negro higher education.

A second reason why the data in Table 5 may understate the returns to higher education for Negroes is that they fail to account for the age distribution of those achieving higher education. Since major education gains among Negroes have been a rather recent occurrence the better educated Negro man will be substantially younger than his white counterpart. Table 6 documents this point by comparing educational achievements of whites and Negroes at similar age levels. These data show conclusively that the differences in educational achievements are in large part a function of age with the widest gaps among the older segments of the population. It is clear that the best educated within the Negro community are much more highly concentrated in the younger age brackets. Since income increases directly with age, when education is held constant,[2] due to factors of experience and promotions based on length of service, the failure of the data in Table 5 to account for the relatively younger age distribution of the better educated Negro population seriously underestimates the returns to education for Negro males. The figure for white males with higher education refers to an older population and thus, in part, reflects returns to age and experience as well as returns to education. Unfortunately, we will have to wait until the processing of the 1970 Census has been completed to get more complete data.

The conclusions from this discussion of education then are much more encouraging than the results reached above. Younger Negroes are making substantial progress in achieving secondary and higher education, and this increased education is associated with higher absolute income and income relative to whites.

NEGROES AND THE FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

As I indicated above, I would like to comment briefly on the proposal to change significantly the principal means through which the Federal Government provides assistance to needy families. In recent years, these programs have become an important source of income for many Negro families headed by females in which a sizable number of children are found. Thus, one can readily understand why the President's recommendation to change them submitted to Congress in August, 1969, has generated so much discussion (and some apprehension) in the Negro community.

It will be recalled that, in broad outline, the proposed family assistance program would have the Federal Government pay a basic income to all families who could not

[2] In 1967, the median income of all males aged 25–34, with four years of college, was $8,716, for those with the same education, aged 45–54, it was $12,267, or 40.7 per cent higher.

provide for themselves—whether they are employed or unemployed. It would be geared to dependent families with children. It would replace entirely the largest of the Federally supported public assistance programs (i.e., aid to families with dependent children). Under the proposal, persons (except mothers with preschool children) who accept assistance would be required to register for work or training. It is estimated that in the first year of the program, over half of the families covered would have one member employed or undergoing training.

As recommended to Congress, the family assistance program would work in the following fashion: A family's basic allowance would consist of $500 for the first two members and $300 per member for each additional member. Thus, for a family of four, the allowance would be $1,600 per year.

Cash payments to families would be computed by adjusting the basic allowance to account for the earnings of the family. The first $720 of family income would not affect the payments because it is assumed that there are basic costs of transportation, lunches, clothing, etc., associated with taking a job. Cash payments to families would then be reduced by 50 cents for each additional dollar of earnings above the $720 minimum.

A simple numerical example will illustrate the program's operation. Assume a family of four has a cash income of $2,000. The first $720 of this income would be disregarded, leaving a balance of $1,280. A family's cash payment would then be reduced by half this amount, or by $640. Since the family's basic allowance was $1,600, its cash payment after earnings would be $960.

So far only a rough idea can be provided with respect to the probable coverage of the family assistance program. The projections available are shown in Table 7, as prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in February of this year. According to these estimates, in 1971, about 3.3 million families would be covered; of these 2 million (three-fifths) would be white, and 1.3 million (two-fifths) would be nonwhites. These families would include close to 18 million persons—of whom 44 per cent would be nonwhites. Gross payments would approximate $3.5 billion, and nonwhites would receive about $1.5 billion—or 43 per cent. These annual payments would average around $1,060 for all families, about $1,000 for white families, and about $1,154 for nonwhites. However, since nonwhite families are expected to be somewhat larger (averaging 6.0 members vs. 5.1 members for whites and 5.4 members for all families), payments per capita would be about the same: $196 for all families, $198 for whites, and $192 for nonwhites.

It is difficult to compare the differential impact of the proposed program on particular groups of families compared with the existing program. However, it appears that a somewhat greater proportion of the families covered by the new program would be white compared with those covered by aid to families with dependent children (AFDC). In 1968, there were 1.5 million families participating in AFDC, involving 6.1 million persons, of whom 4.6 million were children. Outlays under the Federally aided programs amounted to $3.4 billion, and the average monthly payment per family was $168 (just over $2,000 per year).

In 1967, according to an HEW survey conducted in 1968, about 51.3 per cent of the families covered by AFDC were white, 46 per cent were Negro, and 2.7 per cent were other nonwhites. In 1961, whites constituted 51.8 per cent of the total, Negroes 43.1 per cent, and other nonwhites made up the remaining 5 per cent. So during the decade of the 1960's, Negroes as a proportion of total AFDC coverage increased while the proportion for all other groups was declining.

On balance, it appears that the new family assistance program would represent a considerable improvement—compared with the existing AFDC program—in about 20 States. Of these, 14 are Southern States (with a heavy concentration of Negroes), and most of the remainder are Western States (with a sizable proportion of Indians and Mexican-Americans among their populations). In 1968, the average annual payment under AFDC in the 14 Southern States was approximately $1,116. However, the average payment varies greatly among these States, and in some it is much below $1,000. Thus, given an annual payment of $1,600 for a family of four, there would be an increase of roughly $480 (or well over 40 per cent) compared with the amounts received by the average AFDC family in this region. While the exact status of families under the old and new programs cannot be determined, there appears to be no doubt whatsoever that the new proposal would result in a real improvement.

In 30 States there would also be an opportunity to make further improvements. However, in these cases, the outcome would depend on whether the States and local governments maintained their existing programs at substantially the same level. If these outlays were held at no less than 90 per cent of the 1968 level, assisted families would be better off in virtually every instance. Under the existing AFDC program, the average annual payment in these States in 1968 was $2,195 (of which $1,044 represented non-Federal payments). Under the new program (and assuming the 90 per cent maintenance factor), the average payment per family would rise to about $2,536. Thus, the new arrangement would imply an increase of roughly $340, or 15 per cent. The 30 States include primarily the heavily populated northern industrial States plus California. Most of these have a sizable concentration of low-income nonwhites in urban areas.

So, while these estimates of the probable improvement which might accrue under the new program of family assistance are obviously crude, they are suggestive. They imply that Negroes— and particularly the poverty-stricken families headed by females—would benefit substantially. And above all, it would create a promising basis for checking the increased dependence on public welfare of a growing segment of the population.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The analysis presented here has sketched a rather mixed picture of economic progress among Negroes in the United States. While not meaning to deny or demean the recent impressive economic gains by Negroes, we must be careful that no one is lulled into believing (falsely) that the economic problems of Negroes have been solved. In this regard, the commonly observed income statistics, when accepted at face value, convey an unwarranted sense of greater economic parity between whites and Negroes than actually exists.

It was also noted that a closer analysis of the available data shows clearly that a definite economic schism has arisen within the Negro community. Individuals in male headed households appear able to share fairly well in economic advances, while those in female headed households are sinking backwards into poverty. Those individuals who have prepared themselves for challenging careers by seeking and obtaining higher education are registering relatively large improvements in incomes, while those without such training are falling further behind. Clearly, the economic condition of those who currently are lagging should be made a matter of serious national concern.

For this reason, the proposed family assistance program is pointing in the right direction, and—despite reservations many might have about some of its components—it should be viewed with greater receptivity within the Negro Community.

TABLE 1.—FAMILY INCOME ADJUSTED TO PER CAPITA BASIS, BY TYPE OF FAMILY, BY RACE OF HEAD, 1959 AND 1967

	All families		Husband-wife families		Female-headed families	
	1959	1967	1959	1967[1]	1959	1967[1]
Median family income:						
White	5,893	8,274	6,089	8,269	3,538	4,879
Nonwhite	3,164	5,141	3,663	5,854	1,734	3,015
Ratio	0.54	0.62	0.60	0.71	0.49	0.62
Persons per family:						
White	3.58	3.59	3.66	3.66	2.93	3.03
Nonwhite	4.31	4.35	4.42	4.42	4.04	4.29
Per capita family income:						
White	1,646	2,305	1,664	2,385	1,208	1,610
Nonwhite	733	1,812	829	1,324	429	703
Ratio	0.45	0.51	0.50	0.56	0.36	0.44

[1] Data for 1967 refer exclusively to Negroes.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Income in 1967 of Families in the United States, series P-60, No. 59, Apr. 18, 1969, and, U.S Census of Population: 1960, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population. pt. 1, U.S. Summary 1964.

TABLE 2.—TRENDS IN THE INCOME OF FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1950 TO 1968

Income rank	1968	1967	1965	1961	1950
FAMILIES					
Total all Races percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest fifth	5.7	5.4	5.3	4.8	4.5
Second fifth	12.4	12.2	12.1	11.7	12.0
Middle fifth	17.7	17.5	17.7	17.4	17.4
Fourth fifth	23.7	23.7	23.7	23.6	23.5
Highest fifth	40.6	41.2	41.3	42.6	42.6
Top 5 percent	14.0	15.3	15.8	17.1	17.0
WHITE					
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest fifth	6.0	5.8	5.6	5.2	4.8
Second fifth	12.7	12.5	12.5	12.1	12.2
Middle fifth	17.7	17.5	17.7	17.3	17.3
Fourth fifth	23.4	23.5	23.4	23.2	23.1
Highest fifth	40.3	40.7	40.8	42.2	42.5
Top 5 percent	14.0	14.9	15.5	17.3	17.6
NEGRO AND OTHER RACES					
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest fifth	4.8	4.4	4.6	4.0	3.5
Second fifth	10.5	10.4	10.7	9.7	10.2
Middle fifth	16.5	16.4	16.5	15.9	17.6
Fourth fifth	24.6	24.1	24.7	24.3	25.2
Highest fifth	43.6	44.7	43.5	46.0	43.5
Top 5 percent	16.1	17.5	15.5	17.4	16.6

TABLE 3.—PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL IN 1959 AND 1968 BY FAMILY STATUS AND SEX AND RACE OF HEAD

[Numbers in thousands]

	1959	1968	Percentage change
White, Total	28,484	17,395	−38.9
In families with male head, total	20,211	9,995	−50.5
Head	4,952	2,595	−47.6
Family members under 18	8,966	4,298	−52.1
Other family members	6,293	3,102	−50.7
In families with female head, total	4,232	3,551	−16.1
Head	1,233	1,021	−17.2
Family members under 18	2,420	2,075	−14.3
Other family members	579	455	−21.4

	1959	1968	Percentage change
Unrelated individuals	4,041	3,849	−4.8
Negro and other races, total	11,006	7,994	−27.4
In families with male head, total	7,337	3,710	−49.4
Head	1,452	697	−52.0
Family members under 18	4,097	2,032	−50.4
Other family members	1,788	981	−45.1
In families with female head, total	2,782	3,439	+23.6
Head	683	734	+7.5
Family members under 18	1,725	2,334	+35.3
Other family members	374	371	−0.8
Unrelated individuals	887	845	−4.7

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census Poverty in the United States 1959 to 1968, Series P-60, No. 68 December 31, 1969.

TABLE 4.—NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS ENROLLED IN 1964 AND 1968, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

[Numbers in thousands]

	1964 (Fall)	1968 (Fall)	Change, 1964–68 Number	Change, 1964–68 Percent
Total enrollment	4,643	6,801	2,158	46
Total Negro enrollment	234	434	200	85
Percent total enrollment	5	6	(1)	(1)
Enrollment in predominantly Negro colleges	120	156	36	30
Percent of all Negroes in college	51	36	(1)	(1)
Enrollment in other colleges	114	278	164	144
Percent of all Negroes in college	49	64	(1)	(1)

[1] Not applicable.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; U.S Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

TABLE 5.—MEDIAN INCOME OF MEN 25 TO 54 YEARS OLD, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1968

	Median income, 1968 Negro	Median income, 1968 White	Negro income as a percent of white
Elementary:			
Total	$3,900	$5,844	67
Less than 8 years	3,558	5,131	69
8 years	4,499	6,452	70
High school:			
Total	5,580	7,852	71
1 to 3 year	5,255	7,229	73
4 years	5,801	8,154	71
College: 1 or more years	7,481	10,149	74

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 6.—MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED FOR PERSONS 20 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY AGE, 1969

Age	White	Negro	Difference
20 to 21 years old	12.8	12.2	0.6
22 to 24 years old	12.7	12.2	.5
25 to 29 years old	12.6	12.1	.5
30 to 34 years old	12.5	12.0	.5
35 to 44 years old	12.4	10.6	1.8
45 to 54 years old	12.2	9.1	3.1
55 to 64 years old	10.9	7.6	3.3
65 to 74 years old	8.9	6.1	2.8
75 years old and over	8.5	5.2	3.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 7.—RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF RECIPIENTS UNDER THE PROPOSED FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: 1971 PROJECTION

[Numbers in millions; amounts in billions of dollars]

Race	Families covered Number	Families covered Percent	Persons covered Number	Persons covered Percent	Gross payments Amount	Gross payments Percent
White	2.0	60.6	10.1	56.4	2.0	57.1
Nonwhite	1.3	39.4	7.8	43.6	1.5	42.9
Total	3.3	100.0	17.9	100.0	3.5	100.0

Source: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Selected Characteristics of Families Eligible for Family Assistance Plan: 1971 Projection," February 2, 1970.

A FURTHER ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the escalating conflict between the Arab nations and Israel in the Middle East has taken a new and serious turn. Today, Soviet pilots flying Egyptian Migs were reported downed by the Israelis in combat around the SAM–3 missile sites. This is the first report we have of Russians taking part in actual combat in that area. The larger Soviet initiatives heighten the conflict and impair the security of Israel still further.

Last week, President Nixon, through Attorney General Rogers, announced a policy of watchful waiting on the matter of arms to Israel. It was decided that no new military equipment would be sold to Israel before a thorough reassessment of the situation. Mr. Rogers then went on to insure us of Israel's ability to defend herself in view of her current level of military equipment and her trained personnel.

At that time, I took issue with Mr. Rogers analysis of Israel's military superiority. An examination of her equipment shows much to be outdated and past the point of repair. Her pilots and personnel suffer from mishaps caused by faulty equipment. At the same time, the Arab forces, already five times as large as the Israeli's, are being supplemented at the rate of 15 to 20 planes per month, in Egypt alone.

Last week I conceded that Israel's pilots were superior at this point in time. But, with the introduction of Soviet military personnel in an active combat role, I now believe that Israel's superiority in this area is open to further questioning. Trained Russian pilots seriously alter the balance that some say exists in the Middle East.

The role of foreign advisers in any country is a potentially dangerous situation. The status quo is necessarily altered—our own experiences confirm the rule. The announced introduction of thousands of Soviet advisers in Egypt seemed potentially dangerous. This potential has now become a full-fledged reality.

As the situation slowly changes, the likelihood of a decrease in hostilities on both sides seems to be fading. Once again, I am calling for a reassessment and a review of the situation, and of America's policy. I do not advocate for any further escalation on our side. I am asking rather that our earlier commitment to Israel be fulfilled, so that her situation does not deteriorate further.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT COMMISSIONING CEREMONIES

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased and honored to be invited by the Secretary of the Navy, John Chafee, to be the keynote speaker at the commissioning of the new U.S.S. *Detroit* in Bremerton, Wash., on March 28, 1970. This was a solemn opportunity to think about the real significance of a ship and its men for our American society, for today's world.

On behalf of the Secretary of the Navy, the captain of the ship and the crew, I wish to share my remarks for the public record.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

(By Congressman DONALD W. RIEGLE, Jr.)

Thank you Admiral Pratt, Admiral Petrovic, Congressman Hicks, Captain McClinton, honored guests, and ship's company of the U.S.S. *Detroit*.

Today, together, we commission the U.S.S. *Detroit*. This ship, the 5th naval vessel in our nation's history to bear the proud name *Detroit*, carries forward an honored tradition that began in 1813, 157 years ago. That long history reaches from the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813—across the years and around the world—to the attack at Pearl Harbor in 1941. So, this is a ship with a long and distinguished legacy, a ship with a proud crew, named for a proud city.

I salute the crew and express the appreciation of my colleagues and my people for your good efforts and for the efforts of those who have produced this ship under the leadership of Defense Secretary Laird and Navy Secretary Chafee.

And, as this great new U.S.S. *Detroit* begins its naval career today I wish you a safe and productive journey.

Feeling, for the moment, as if I too am a member of the crew—we do not know what test awaits you—tomorrow, next week, or next year. But whatever that test is that you are asked to meet I know you will persevere in meeting your responsibilities with courage, determination, and the will to do what is right, hoping to bring credit to the Navy, our nation, and yourselves.

As we know so well—these are troubled times. The age old conflicts haunt us today as we struggle to achieve a world order where men and nations can settle their differences

without warfare. While that is our goal we are not yet there and we find ourselves in a period of turmoil and confrontation. In Vietnam, Americans are dying in combat this minute with the peace we seek still somewhere beyond the bombs, and gunfire and shattered flesh of this sad time. For all our wisdom, it seems we have much yet to learn.

But we are seeking answers, we are seeking peace, even if our efforts along the way sometime seem unwise and counter-productive. Our goal, however, is peace—a workable union among the world's peoples—where equity, understanding and reasonableness are the operating principles.

In a sense, it is ironic that we must build items of war in order to insure the peace—that we must arm ourselves in order to lessen the chances that arms will be needed—that we must stand ready to fight in order to avoid a fight.

But, as long as suspicions and divisions exist between men and nations and when the capacity for aggression is held by those whose motives are in doubt and who are unwilling to negotiate mutual safeguards we are left no choice but to be strong and vigilant. We must be equal to any challenge that can present itself just as we must be equally ready to lay down our armaments and work together the moment a mutual agreement can be reached which insures equitable world order.

But, our vigilance is costly and it diverts us from other work that we might do. When in this world we can finally move from confrontation to cooperation we will be able to turn our attention from rocket fire and bombing missions to laying bricks and teaching children—

From defoliating to fertilizing;

We will be able to leave the opposing trenches of the battlefield in order to work side by side in building a better world that all can share.

It is significant that this ship today symbolizes that choice—it stands in the middle between war and peace—it is a ship that can serve both causes. For this U.S.S. *Detroit* is a supply ship—it is not outfitted to attack an enemy. Its primary role is not to fight, but to carry supplies. And while today it is required to carry supplies of war, tomorrow it could as well carry supplies of peace. It is important that none of us here today miss this point because this ship is not being commissioned to the questionable glories of war without end—rather she is commissioned to the unfinished search for peace. And, we all will have succeeded, when the day arrives that this proud ship can throw off her cold-war configuration and turn to the task of helping an afflicted world meet the pressing human needs of its people.

So, the future of this ship is *our* future and the future of the world. The question is whether, finally, we can find the ways and means to live together peacefully on this "good earth."

For the United States, this poses special opportunities and responsibilities. For our greatest national treasure is not our technology, or our military power, or our natural resources—our greatest national treasure is our unique view of man. A view which says that all men are created equal and that each person by the simple right of birth, is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—with his freedom protected by equal justice under laws of his own making.

This is the most noble and profound concept of man the world has ever known—and in the first and last analysis, it alone, is the enduring source of our power and influence in the world. For we cannot indefinitely impose leadership by force of arms, particularly when we are a minority of some 10% of the world's population. Strength alone does not win respect; our lasting power is the power of our ideas, the power of our philosophy of man, the power of our example of life here in the United States, the power of what we stand for that is good and just.

When wars end, the dust of the bombs settles to earth—and the smell of gunpowder fades and is gone—

When the dead are buried, the prisoners of war released, and the servicemen sent home to their families—what remains is more than a scarred battlefield and the remnants of war—what is left, that is alive, are the ideas that were in conflict—the fundamental questions about man—his nature, his meaning, his rights and his dreams.

And, if we are to endure as a nation, it will be on the basis of our ideas—our view of man—our national creed—the one we live day in and day out.

Today, in my judgment we have an unparalleled opportunity to offer leadership to the world but we will only lead to the extent that life for our people here in America is worthy of the respect and emulation of the people of the world. If we actually live the philosophies at home that we offer the world, then, to the people of the world we are credible and persuasive. But today, sadly, our world leadership is eroded by the fact that many of our citizens are denied the rights and dignity guaranteed by our founding documents.

In the eyes of a world population that is predominantly non-white—we lose respect when our own non-white citizens are denied the full measure of American citizenship. It is one more reason why we must reassert the fact that the number one moral imperative in America today is to finally insure the full and equal rights of all our citizens. And, when inequality and denial—based on race—is eliminated once and for all from our society, then we will have made what I believe history will later come to recognize the greatest contribution to mankind in human history.

It is the pursuit of that unrealized dream that this ship is all about. For the national strength that we possess today, and to which this ship contributes, gives us at the most a measure of time to find lasting answers to these burning human questions.

And, as you men on this ship do your job today, tomorrow, and beyond, we who are public officials must redouble our efforts to find workable answers in the time that is left—the time which your sacrifices and efforts are providing for us.

So this ship, without its crew, and without its national meaning, matters very little. That is why we commission this ship today in the name of the men who will breathe life into her, and give her meaning. We commission her in the names of the sons and daughters, and grandsons and granddaughters of this crew, the generations ahead, to whom we hope to pass the torch of liberty and justice for all.

And we should not forget those who have come before us—the spirit and lives of the men who manned the previous four U.S.S. *Detroits*. For those men met the test that they were asked to meet—and we salute those who once stood where we stand today—and who did so well, what we are now asked to do.

Finally, then, let us return to the namesake of this fine ship—the city of Detroit, Michigan. For the problems and dreams I spoke about earlier are the problems and dreams of Detroit and of our whole country. The hopes of Detroit go out with you today as you prepare to travel the oceans of the world. And we know, in terms of our national well-being, the fate of each person is finally, of course, the fate of every other person. So, this ship carries the hopes and dreams of the young and the old of our country—the people of all races, all economic levels, all cultural and religious backgrounds. So, this ship and this crew is America, it is Detroit in the full sense. Thus, it is appropriate for us to say, particularly at this event, that as a people, as a city, as a nation, we are truly all in the same boat together.

And, what is accomplished for one is accomplished for all. Our success and failures belong to us all.

If we go forward today in that spirit—in a sense of brotherhood—with a commitment to fulfilling our destiny in behalf of human rights, then what we do here is noble and good.

And, let the world go out to the people of the world that we wish to—help not hinder; heal not wound; share not dominate; listen not preach—and that we pledge our best efforts to building a world where men and nations are free to be themselves, in a world community where the rights of all are respected and insured.

I wish you good luck and God's blessing.

Thank you.

ALL IS NOT GOLD

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial by Tom Wicker in the New York Times of March 22 pinpoints some significant aspects of our rapidly expanding technology which tend to be overlooked and which I believe need to be brought to the attention of my colleagues in the House and the public. The editorial follows:

ALL IS NOT GOLD ETC.

(By Tom Wicker)

One airline now has asked for, and another is considering, a surcharge to be imposed on transcontinental passengers flying the big new 747 jet planes. This makes again the necessary, if bitter, point that even in the age of technology things are not always what they seem, and even less what they are predicted to be.

The 747, to which the public is now being seduced by the usual overblown advertising, was developed to carry larger payloads more economically and thus—so everyone was assured—to reduce long-haul fares. The craft's performance apparently justifies the expectation, but the public may have to pay the surcharge anyway.

UNEXPECTED COSTS

The trouble is that no one realized that the huge new plane would run up the cost of ground operations by as much as 30 per cent; or, if anyone did realize it, no one scrupled to warn the public or temper the advertising wind to the shorn lamb. So it may be a long time, if ever, before the passenger gets all the promised benefits of the 747.

It will be well to bear this in mind as pressures continue for the even newer supersonic jets. And the ironic lesson of the 747 surcharge—that technological and industrial

achievements can bring unexpected and unwanted side effects—is being frequently taught in far more dangerous ways. But it is much less frequently heeded.

Both President Nixon and the relevant committees of the Congress, for instance, are pledging to build sewage-treatment plants everywhere they are needed. The major issue seems to be how much money will be required for this quick response to the current environmental interest and what share of it the Federal Government ought to pay. Few question what the money will be spent for.

In fact, if a great many more large sewage-treatment plants of the usual kind are to be built, with the treated matter carried off to the nearest waterway, an increase in eutrification of our lakes and streams will follow. This is the process in which the treated matter simulates the growth of algae, which chokes the water and crowds out other species.

SEWAGE EXPERIMENT

The March issue of Environment Magazine makes this point in a report on an interesting experiment at Pennsylvania State University, where a "living filter" for sewage has been successfully developed. In this experiment, the treated matter was piped away and sprinkled on the earth. The result was an increase in agricultural productivity, a consequent decline in the need for chemical fertilizers (another water pollutant), a rise in the water table from a source that otherwise would have been carried by stream flows to the sea, and an ultimate ability to use the waste as drinking water.

The report warns that this plan is more adaptable to small-city and suburban needs than to metropolitan areas, but it makes the necessary points that in complex environmenal questions a variety of aspects—not just economics or convenience—has to be considered, and that now, not when it is too late, is the time to re-evaluate present concepts of sewage disposal.

LESS POWER NEEDED

The same issue of the same magazine raises even more challenging questions: Do we really need all the electric power we're producing and planning to produce? Is what we're planning to do with the power worth the consequences?

Electric-power production is doubling every ten years. At that rate, by the year 2000, power plants of all kinds will raise by twenty degrees the temperature of the total volume of water running over the surface of the United States each year. The amount of carbon dioxide (from fossil plants) and radiation (from nuclear plants) in the air may have drastic effects on the global climate and on all living species.

Since orders for new plants placed in the seventies will account for about half the expectable generating capacity in the year 2000, now is again the time to determine whether all those plants really have to be built. Population increase and over-all economic expansion do not require it. By far the major user is the primary metals industry, and aluminum production alone accounts for 10 per cent of industrial-power consumption.

BEER-CAN POLLUTION

This suggests at once that the aluminum beer can, a litter problem itself, is also a major air and water polluter through power-plant waste. By designing automobiles—an even bigger disposal problem—to be easily reclaimed by manufacturers, energy requirements for their production could be reduced dramatically because making reclaimed steel requires only about a quarter of the energy it takes to make it from ore.

There are many other ways to hold down the need for electric-power consumption—recycling paper back to its producers, for instance. Heedless acquiesence in more and more plants turning out more and more energy only means more and more poisoning of the environment—a surcharge that, ultimately, no one can afford.

LAW ENFORCEMENT CLUB SUGGESTS WAYS TO PREVENT CRIME

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the work of the Law Enforcement Club of Southeastern University of Washington, D.C.

The members of this club have published a series of bulletins informing the public of ways to avoid being victimized by criminals. Because of their work, the Law Enforcement Club recently received the coveted George Washington Honor Medal Award of the Freedoms Foundations of Valley Forge, Pa.

I hope my colleagues will join me in praise of this hardworking group of young men and women who are taking a constructive approach to solving this country's problems at a time when many of their peers are seeking only to destroy the old without building anew.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to include the following bulletins to prevent crime, prepared by the Law Enforcement Club of Southeastern University.

YOU AND YOUR AUTOMOBILE: A PROBLEM OF PROTECTION

To help protect yourself from the intruder, thief or attacker, requires numerous precautions that must be observed while driving a car.

The following may be helpful:

1. Drive on well-lighted streets.
2. Drive on well-traveled streets.
3. Keep ALL doors locked.
4. Never pick up hitchhikers.
5. Keep your car windows closed as much as possible.
6. Do not leave packages on car seats in plain view of anyone passing by.
7. Keep valuables in the trunk or the glove compartment.
8. Park in a well-lighted area.
9. If someone approaches your car and attempts to enter, sound your horn and continue its use until he leaves or help arrives.
10. Keep your car locked when parked.
11. Always keep the keys in your possession even though you may park your car in your own garage.
12. Leave a light on in your garage if you will be returning after sundown.
13. Do not keep identification cards, credit cards or registration cards in your car.
14. Do not leave your car parked for long periods of time at airport or railroad parking lots. License plates can be traced by thieves who are on the lookout for homes to burglarize.

FOR THE LADIES ESPECIALLY

15. If you have car trouble, place a white handkerchief on your car radio antenna. Put the hood up. Get back into your car. Lock the doors. Wait for help to arrive. When help does arrive, be sure of the intent of the individual offering it.

LADIES—PROTECT THAT PURSE!

Here are some helpful hints that may prevent the loss of your purse to the purse thief:

1. When carrying your purse hug it close to your side and under your arm.
2. Do not carry a purse loosely over your arm or carry an over-the-shoulder bag swinging behind you.
3. Do not lay your purse on store counters.
4. Never stop with an open handbag.
5. Never leave a purse in a grocery cart while shopping.
6. Never leave your purse on the floor of a theater, or on an empty seat next to you in the movie.
7. Never leave a purse in a baby carriage.
8. A purse with a clasp opening should be carried with the clasp facing the body to prevent a thief from opening the bag and reaching inside.
9. If your purse is snatched, call police immediately; do not wait until you reach your home to make a complaint.

Remember—Women as well as men steal. Powder room thieves are alert to the moment when a woman places her purse on a bathroom sink or on the floor near the water closet.

Dressing rooms in department stores are on the regular rounds of touring women purse thieves. Be as cautious with women strangers as you are with men strangers.

10. Do not display more cash than necessary when you pay or receive change for a purchase.
11. Be suspicious of people who follow you from counter to counter or from floor to floor. Go to a store official and advise him of your follower.
12. Handle your charge plates with care; get them back from store personnel immediately.
13. Be suspicious of strangers who offer to "give you a hand" by carrying packages for you. These "do-gooders" sometimes offer permanent relief from the burden of carrying packages by running off with the bundles.
14. Be careful when a car pulls up and one of its occupants asks for directions, location of a business or a family residence. A purse can easily be grabbed and the car can then quickly speed off.

PROTECTIVE TIPS FOR APARTMENT RESIDENTS

If you reside in an apartment these "protective tips" may help you and your family from suffering the loss of life or monetary valuables because of criminal acts, or natural disaster.

1. When listing your name in a directory or apartment mailbox do not use your full name. First name initial and full last name would be recommended. For example, J. Smith, rather than John H. Smith.
2. Keep a flashlight on hand with a substantial supply of batteries.
3. Transistor radio and battery supply would be helpful in case of a power failure.
4. Request new locks for your apartment door if you are moving into a previously occupied apartment.
5. Have a "peephole" installed in your door so that you can observe who is knocking.
6. Do not place your name and address in your key case or attached to keys. You will be inviting burglary.
7. Advise management or a neighbor if you are expecting packages or repairmen.
8. Lock your door when traveling to incinerator or to pick up mail.
9. Keep windows locked.

10. Ladies be careful when using washing machines. Try to do your laundering with a neighbor. Laundry rooms should be avoided after sundown and definitely after 9 p.m. The laundry room is an ideal location for the rapist—and he often uses it to attack women.

11. Do not leave valuable jewelry where it can easily be seen by visitors or intruders.

12. Require verification or identification of persons who claim they are from the delivery service or are there to repair a telephone or TV.

13. Have your key ready when approaching your apartment door. The sooner you enter your apartment the safer you will be.

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, shortly, national attention will be focused on the availability and dissemination of knowledge. I refer to National Library Week, which will be observed April 12 to 18.

Community libraries have made learning tools accessible to persons in every walk of life. With auxiliary bookmobile units, many rural Mississippians have an extensive library at their doorsteps.

All of this did not just happen. It is the result of hard and dedicated work by the Mississippi Library Commission and the Mississippi Library Association.

The availability of knowledge is necessary in a civilized nation as it contributes to the stability and harmony required of man in his relations with man. Librarians and library volunteers deserve our commendation for their efforts to enrich the lives of their fellow citizens.

The current issue of Mississippi Power and Light's publication, "Helping Build Mississippi," is devoted entirely to library services and resources in Mississippi. I include two of the articles as a part of my remarks:

MISSISSIPPI LIBRARY SERVICES, RESOURCES IMPROVING; GOOD READING MATERIAL AVAILABLE IN EVERY AREA

"Send us a man who reads."

So ran the headline of a manpower recruiting advertisement by a nationally known industry a few years ago. It pointed out that the "man with a future" must have certain good habits, a major one being that of reading.

Today, in Mississippi, people are reading more than ever before, due largely to the higher educational level of citizens, plus a steadily improving system of libraries—both public and private. Although those in the library profession are quick to admit that Mississippi libraries as a whole are still below the national standard, they are just as quick to point out that a report made on the situation 20 years ago, under the title of "People Without Books," is no longer applicable.

Here are a few facts showing the progress being made by libraries over the state:

Public libraries are to be found in 81 of the 82 counties (and plans are underway to establish a library in the one county without one.)

Multi-County library systems now serve 38 counties.

Bookmobiles cover 59 counties, town and county.

There are 60 special-field libraries in the state, such as college, university, and hospital, covering a varied field of technical and specialized subjects.

The annual expenditure for libraries per person is now slightly above $1.00—up from 11c per person in 1946.

Book collections in public libraries average about 2/3 book per person, compared with less than 1/3 book per person 20 years ago.

Most high school libraries have expanded in recent years, and numerous churches of various faiths have established libraries within the past few years.

Five of the 12 senior colleges and universities have had new library buildings built since 1948, with book collections being over 1.5 million.

Forty-two public libraries are tied together in the MINIT (Mississippi Instant Network of Information by Telephone) system used to speed service in obtaining items and information not available at the local level.

When it comes to the liabilities, or "needs," side of the ledger, librarians admit they can make quite a list. However, here are some of the more obvious ones:

Current shortage of trained librarians for positions in the state is near the 1,000 mark.

While the state has no American Library Association accredited school of library science, three state institutions of higher learning, Ole Miss, State, and Southern—offer courses in library science; an accredited library degree available in the state is needed.

Financial support of libraries, although increased during recent years, is still lower than desired.

The number of books per person is still lower than the average nationally, and should be greatly increased.

However, those charged with carrying out the state's library program are optimistic, as other articles in this issue point out.

STATE SUPPORTS NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK IN APRIL

Mississippi, along with other states, will spotlight its library system April 12–18 during National Library Week, a seven-day period set aside for the purpose of making everyone aware of the need to read more meaningfully and more often for education, inspiration and enjoyment.

Alex McKeigney, Jackson utility executive and chairman of this year's National Library Week Citizens' Committee in Mississippi said, "The need for continuing education is one of the most vital needs facing the American public today. If we are to understand the critical issues of the day, secure jobs in a technological society, utilize the potentialities of increasing leisure time, we must multiply the availability of reading materials in the homes, schools and libraries throughout the state and nation. Reading is basic to the continuing process of learning."

McKeigney pointed out that, "Where there are schools without libraries, children are handicapped in securing information on many subjects. Where there are homes without books, parents cannot lead in teaching literary appreciation. Where life is less than it should be, there are normally too few reading opportunities. We must strengthen opportunities for all persons to master the skills of reading and to have books and other materials available for their use."

One of the goals of the Citizens' Committee for National Library Week in Mississippi is to encourage everyone to visit his library, to find out how easy it is to check out books, and to discover the books, phonograph records, and other materials available to him. Currently only one in four adults in the United States has a library card.

The theme of the 1970 National Library Week is "Reading Is for Everybody."

During National Library Week in Mississippi, citizens' committee in every town in the state will sponsor activities to call attention to the value of reading and the use of libraries.

Serving on the state committee to plan the event at that level are the following leaders in business, industry, education, civic and cultural endeavors:

Charles B. Allen, Jr., Amory; Hembree Brandon, Winona; W. J. Caraway, Leland; Stewart Frame, Greenville; Earl R. Hammett, Pascagoula; Henry Harris, West Point; Mrs. Milton Hill, Gulfport; Charles A. Johnson, Jackson; Dr. Chester McKee, Jackson; George McLendon, Raymond; Homer Mann, Jackson; Robin H. Mathis, Houston.

Dr. Mercer Miller, Gulfport; Herman Moore, Natchez; Mrs. Paul Phillips, Tunica; Bob Pittman, Jackson; J. C. Redd, Jackson; Bob W. Roland, Jackson; Jack N. Tucker, Tunica; Albert Sanders, Jackson; Pat Scanlon, Jackson; Mrs. Willie Simmons, Columbia; Mrs. Boswell Stevens, Macon; Shannon Waller, Gulfport; and Mrs. O. B. Walton, Jr., Jackson.

E. J. "TIC" FORRESTER—A TRIBUTE

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to our distinguished colleague, Representative BRINKLEY, for this opportunity to say a few words in memory of our late colleague, E. J. "Tic" Forrester.

I had the pleasure of serving with Tic Forrester from the 84th Congress, to which I was first elected, until his retirement. I am one of those to whom our majority leader, Representative CARL ALBERT, referred when he said, in effect, that many of those who served with Tic disagreed with him from time to time, but always respected him. I did indeed respect Tic Forrester.

Tic Forrester had a long and distinguished career in public life. He served in World War I and successively in many posts of great responsibility until his retirement from the Congress. Tic was an effective and articulate spokesman for the beliefs which he so deeply held. Having been a lawyer for so many years, a judge, a county attorney, and a Representative, his legal arguments were extraordinarily well put. His view of the times and the remedies for the problems of those times were quite different than mine, and although I voted differently than Tic, I was always enlightened by what he had to say and had great respect for him.

Tic not only loved his wife and family deeply, but was very proud of the fact that she was born "a Yankee from Indiana."

Those of us who served with Tic Forrester have missed him on the floor of the House and in the cloakroom. He was a splendid man and fully deserving of the tributes being paid to him today by his distinguished colleagues from Georgia and the rest of us who served with him.

CHICAGO CENTER PROMOTES JOURNALISTS' EXPERTISE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken before in these Chambers on some of the problems journalists must face in trying to adequately and fairly cover the incredible range of daily events which shape our lives. The job they do is often a hazardous one and always an intricate one, and, despite widespread and often uninformed criticism, newsmen do not face their responsibilities indiscriminately.

In an effort to increase reporters' knowledge and improve their methods of newsgathering, especially on the volatile urban scene, the University of Chicago and its Center for Policy Study has been sponsoring a program specifically for advanced study of urban problems by professional journalists.

This associates program, conceived out of one of the center's conferences "The Media and the Cities," offers a challenging opportunity to upgrade the skills and technical knowledge of those newsmen who face the enormously complicated task of informing the public about the increasingly complex constellation of urban problems.

I feel my colleagues should know more about this outstanding program and at this time insert into the RECORD an exciting description of just what has been happening in this field:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CENTER FOR POLICY STUDY, THE ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

The Center for Policy Study is administered by Eddie N. Williams, University Vice-President for Public Affairs and Acting Director of the Center. Paul Gapp is Coordinator of the Associates Program.

The Center was established in 1966 to provide a forum for the review and public discussion of major issues confronting the nation. It has had direct and immediate impact upon the shaping of public policies on foreign and domestic issues.

When the Center held a conference on "The Media and the Cities," one point which became clear was that today's journalists covering the field of urban affairs can improve their expertise substantially if offered opportunities for specialized study in an academic setting. This conclusion led to development of the Associates' program, which has now become a major function of the Center.

Associates are selected from among news media applicants throughout the United States. Each received a stipend to cover his living expenses while at the University. Assistance is provided in obtaining comfortable housing.

Courses: Associates are registered as students-at-large in the Division of Social Science. Tuition is paid for them with University and outside funds. Associates may audit a maximum of three courses of their choice at the graduate or undergraduate level. Courses must be in the area of urban problems.

Individual Research Projects: Each Associate engages in a research project of his own choice within the urban problems area. The end product of the reesarch is a paper submitted to the Center for Policy Study. These may be published by the Center and the Associates may use them as departure points for articles they may later wish to write for their respective publications or other media.

Physical Facilities: Associates are provided with private, on-campus offices equipped with telephones, typewriters and a library of essential reference works.

Special Seminars: Informal, off-the-record seminars are arranged for the Associates with University and off-campus leaders in such fields as planning, government, race relations, transportation, pollution control, architecture, sociology, law, medicine, welfare and communications.

Among dozens of individuals with whom the current Associates have met or are scheduled to meet at seminars are Ira Bach, veteran chief of the Chicago City Planning Department; Mayor Richard J. Daley; Wilber Hasbrouck, executive director of the American Institute of Architects, Chicago; Thomas McDade, an authority on new towns and suburban development; William Marston, chief deputy planner for transportation, City of Chicago; Lorenz Aggens, of the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission; editors and urban affairs writers representing Chicago's four daily newspapers, and University faculty members whose disciplines bear upon many phases of urban affairs.

Associates also participate in, observe, or attend seminars, conferences, lectures and other events sponsored for larger audiences by the Center for Policy Study and other University organizations and departments.

The Program is based on this set of assumptions:

1. Urban centers are at once great liabilities and great assets to the nation as a whole;

2. Urban problems—violence, race relations, health, education, welfare, pollution, housing and employment, to name a few—pose a major threat to the nation;

3. To some degree—large or small—the fate of the cities and their population is, in one sense, in the hands of the media;

4. Despite the charges of the Kerner Commission and the Eisenhower Commission on violence, concerned and responsible media accept the challenge to report honestly, clearly, and thoroughly the causes and consequences of urban unrest and problems of inner-city life;

5. To do this, however, the reporting journalist must have a broad personal understanding of the underlying as well as superficial causes and consequences of urban problems.

6. Some journalists, by training or experience, have a broad understanding of these problems, but most do not;

7. Since the media do not offer scholarly studies of urban problems and since most journalists cannot ordinarily become students in institutions which provide such studies, the Associates Program contributes a much needed and acceptable solution to this dilemma.

The Associates Program enables journalists to become participant-observers within a major university community, auditing courses of special interest, following scholarly research, and participating in seminars.

In addition to its academic strengths in areas of urban studies, sociology, economics, law, psychiatry, medicine and social service, The University of Chicago is itself an important part of the urban environment. The University's setting—with all-black Woodlawn to the south and urban, liberal, integrated Hyde Park adjacent to the campus—provides a unique milieu—academic, civic, social, and political—within which to contemplate the urban crises.

It is from such a vantage point that the professional can take a dispassionate look at himself and his profession, analyze and evaluate media coverage of urban problems, and formulate improved or new methodologies for the consideration of his editors and fellow newsmen. This is consistent with the University's commitment to provide a community for the life of the mind and the pursuit of knowledge.

COMMUNIST "DOUBLE TALK"

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest assets the Communists have in today's conflict with the free world is our lack of understanding of their objectives, strategy, and tactics. And a prime reason for this lack of understanding is the "double talk" use of words by the Communists.

Louis Budenz, the former top Red editor says that the Reds developed this deceptive Aesopean language in order to confuse and mislead the non-Communist world.

I include a list of a few of the most common terms in this Red Aesopean lexicon, together with their real meanings as originally reported in the ABN correspondence bulletin of the anti-Bolshevik bloc of nations for May–June 1966. The only change noted in the passing of 4 years has been the more frequent use of the distorted Red semantics and the addition of their newly coined word "racist" which I discussed in my remarks of March 13 at page 7382.

THE KEY TO COMMUNIST SEMANTICS

Peace—non-opposition to Communism.

Peace-Loving—supporting Communism.

Peaceful Co-existence—non-resistance to Communist policy and moves towards world conquest.

People—Communists (People's China, etc.)

People's Democracy—Communist slave state.

Democratic or *Progressive*—terms used by the Reds to describe persons, organizations or policies which further Communist aims.

Aggression—any firm action to prevent or defeat Communist expansion.

Colonialism—possessing territory that the Reds want.

Colony—a non-Communist territory associated with the Western Powers.

Anti-Colonialism—the Communists' program for gaining control of territories presently associated with the Free World.

Oppressed Peoples—those living in countries the Reds wish to seize.

Liberation—the Communist takeover of a free country.

Fascist State—any country which takes firm action against Communist infiltration, espionage and subversion.

Militarism—creation of non-Communist armed strength or alliance.

Discrimination—a smear term used against people or actions which interfere with Communist plans and objectives.

Disrupter or *Stool Pigeon*—an anti-Communist worker or union man.

Traitor—a general term for anti-Communists.

Reactionary—a non-Communist.

Fascist—an anti-Communist.

Nazi or *Hitlerite*—an active anti-Communist.

Warmonger—anyone strongly opposed to giving in to Red demands.

Anti-Fascist—A Red or one who fights against anti-Communists.

McCarthyism—any action to expose Communist espionage and subversion within our borders.

Inquisition—any governmental or judicial inquiry into, or investigation of, Red infiltration or subversion in non-Communist states.

Religious Bigot—anyone who opposes Communism on religious grounds.

Anti-Semitism—a smear term used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and expose them. This technique of smearing their opposition as "anti-Semites" is an old and proven method of discrediting, isolating and destroying their opponents.

Hate Literature—any book, booklet or publication which identifies and exposes Communist and Red strategy and tactics. A current smear term used widely by Reds to discredit anti-Communist publications.

The importance of understanding this game of Red *semantics* becomes apparent, for instance, when examining current demands to "ban hate literature" and "introduce anti-hate legislation". Checking Red *semantics*, we find that this is *really* a crafty manoeuvre to censor or outlaw *anti*-Comunist literature and activity!

That's how important it is for the informed people to understand Red *semantics* today.

VIETNAM

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 26, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is with some reluctance that I take the floor today. I do so only because I feel that to remain silent would be intolerable.

The tragedy and absurdity of Vietnam becomes more realistic and clear everyday. The whole truth of the sad state of affairs in Vietnam must be more honestly sought. Assessing justice by finding guilt in one place without seeking and evaluating basic cases is not just and fair. Few things in the 200 years of our history have had so devastating an impact on the American conscience as what has become known, justly or unjustly, as the alleged U.S. military atrocities in Vietnam.

The stories that have emerged, corroborated, uncorroborated, blurred in emotion, fitfully cloaked in fear of exposure, leaves a large cross section of America in a state of revolution, anger, uncertainty, and profound moral misery. This is why I now recommend that we begin now to thoroughly investigate all the facts and facets that may have influenced and encouraged the alleged atrocities, and put us on the road to the truth, the full truth, the unadulterated truth. And no matter how ugly and how painful.

Mr. Speaker, last week the U.S. Army announced that it was bringing formal charges against 14 of its officers in connection with the incident at My Lai.

When word of the alleged incident at My Lai first became known, I immediately stated that it was my firm belief that a thorough and exhaustive study of not only the incident itself was necessary, but that the strategy or concept of search and destroy must also be carefully examined if the whole truth was to be determined.

It is my firm belief that search and destroy played a large role in whatever is alleged to have happened at My Lai. When I returned from Vietnam in 1967, in the import of the Volunteers for Vietnam to the President and to Congress, we called attention to what we considered the tragic mistake of search and destroy. The reasons were both moral and practical. First, it seemed to us that an unnecessary loss of civilian lives and property resulted from the policy. It definitely created a marked and deep feeling of anti-Americanism and of the government in Saigon. Needless to say, this was counter-productive to the rural development and pacification effort.

Yes, in my opinion search and destroy was wrong. The atmosphere created among our young men out on search and destroy missions was bound to end at one time or another in the kind of thing alleged to have occurred at Mylai.

The brutal slaughter of civilians in wartime, in a war zone, even in a guerrilla situation, is revolting to me. It can not be condoned or pardoned. If the incident alleged to have taken place at Mylai, indeed was reality, it will be a blemish on our record, it demeans our heritage, it is stamped indelibly on our collective conscience.

It is appropriate to review what has taken place since the specter of a Mylai was first raised. Lieutenant Calley has been charged along with certain of his men. Captain Medina has been charged. And last week, 14 additional officers were charged.

The latest charges evidently dealt not with the incident at Mylai itself, but with the alleged attempt to coverup what took place there. This came as the result of an exhaustive investigation by the Army itself.

I am in no position to quarrel with the results of the investigation undertaken by General Peers. But if I can be permitted a personal aside, I would like to say that as one who has met General Koster, I can say with all sincerity that I consider him to be a forthright and honest man. It is inconceivable to me that he knowingly was party to an attempt to cover up any wartime atrocity.

So where does this leave us. It leaves us with a large number of Army officers and enlisted men charged with violations of Army regulations. To me this is the easy way out. A trial of these men to me should also be a trial of the policy under which they were ordered to operate. We should attempt to determine what effect, if any, search and destroy had on the attitude of our men and the atmosphere of the situation. If the policy did play a major role in creating the setting for Mylai, an investigation should be just beginning.

Our conscience should not be soothed by the filing of a few formal charges, if the basic cause goes much deeper. Our guilt, if it can be purged, can be cleansed only if we agree to examine the situation in its totality. Who instituted the policy of search and destroy? Were its costs anticipated? Were the effects of its implementation constantly monitored? Were alternatives adequately explored?

These are question which must be answered. They relate directly on the Mylai incident.

We must not be satisfied until these questions are answered. It is clear that the Army's inquiry will not answer these questions. That should not deter us from seeking the truth. If a special congressional investigation is needed, then so be it. A special subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee is already at work. Perhaps the preview of its investigation should be broadened to answer the questions which have been raised here.

Deep, basic principles are involved. They concern the manner in which we fight war. They concern our moral standards in armed conflict. But most importantly, they concern the character and content of the policies used in warfare. In this case, the policy of search and destroy. If the policy of search and destroy is the root cause, what of those responsible for that policy?

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I think by now most Members are aware of the violence that erupted on the night of last February 25 in the small community of Isla Vista, Calif., resulting in the burning out of a branch office of the Bank of America. Most probably know, too, that through the energetic actions of the Bank of America, the Isla Vista branch was reopened for business in a matter of days.

To me, this represents a particularly meaningful gesture in these violence-filled times which find corporate institutions increasingly the target of mindless acts of terrorism on the presumption of their intrinsic evil simply because they are big and flourishing and also, one presumes, because they are there. Violence is its own reward and those misguided souls who think for a moment that they can find salvation and virtue in bombing and burning public buildings, heedless of the threat to human life, in the age-old obsession that evil can be identified, isolated, and destroyed, are themselves the dupes of a greater evil—the sin of presumption.

If there is a greater evil, it is to be found in acquiescing to violence and knuckling under to the ugly threat of force and intimidation. In this regard, the Bank of America's action in reopening as quickly as possible became a highly significant and meaningful act. So too is the statement issued in connection with the reopening and which I recommend to your attention:

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

Isla Vista, California, population 11,250. The business district consists of a couple of gas stations, a few small shops, some real

estate offices—and a bank. A large campus of the University of California is nearby. All in all, a normal American suburban community—perhaps very much like the one you live or work in. Normal, that is, until Wednesday, February 25, when violence shattered the peaceful calm of Isla Vista.

At about 8:30 p.m. on the night of February 25, rampaging demonstrators—students and non-students—protesting the "capitalist establishment" converged on the community's small business district.

Several protesters rolled a gasoline-soaked trash bin through a smashed front door in a Bank of America branch and set it ablaze. Other students extinguished the fire. But just before midnight, with the angry crowd in a frenzy, the branch was set ablaze again. While police and fire officials were held at bay by a rock-throwing mob, the bank was gutted by fire and totally destroyed. A police patrol car was overturned and burned. Numerous other fires were started. Windows were smashed and life and property threatened.

These events took place in a community calld Isla Vista. They could have happened in your community. They can happen anywhere and with even more disastrous results.

Why did the eruption in Isla Vista take place?

Participants in the violence say it was a protest against the "capitalist establishment," "the war in Vietnam," "the Chicago trial," "student repression," "police brutality," and a list of other grievances against America in 1970. Some of these grievances are real, some are fanciful and others are false. But all deserve to be aired. To the degree that they are not aired, are not taken seriously, Americans break faith with their young.

But all Americans, young and old, liberal and conservative, lose by violence. Violence and destruction are the seeds of anarchy and tyranny—whether it be the tyranny of the extreme right or the extreme left.

We believe the time has come for Americans to unite in one cause: a rejection, total and complete, of violence as a means of political dissent.

All of us, young or old, liberal or conservative, have for too long been silent on the issue of violence. We have been afraid of labels or slogans that would brand us as either arch conservatives or traitors to a liberal cause. Such sloganeering does all of us a grave injustice.

Let us, as a nation, find once again our ability to distinguish between protest and revolt; between dissent and chaos; between demonstration and destruction; between non-violence and violence.

Let us cease to condemn those who disagree with us, but let us also be prompt and resolute in putting an end to violence in our land.

To this end we applaud the courageous response of many dedicated public officials. They deserve the cooperation of all citizens. They will have ours.

Every American has a right to walk the streets in safety. No polemic should be allowed to obscure this right. Your wife or husband, son or daughter ought to be safe in visiting a supermarket, a filling station or a bank—regardless of whether another may choose to reject that institution as an onerous symbol.

It is for these reasons that we plan to re-open our Isla Vista branch on Monday, March 9. We realize that there is danger in this course of action. But we believe the greatest danger to ourselves and to all of the people in this nation is to be intimidated by mob violence. We refuse to be so intimidated.

Is the branch worth this much? In monetary terms, the answer is no. Is it not, and never has been particularly profitable. But it is there to serve the banking needs of the community and we refuse to be driven out of any community by a violent few.

Is this a bad business decision? Perhaps in a narrow sense it is. But we believe that at some time and in some place Americans must decide whether they intend to have their decision, indeed their lives, ruled by a violent minority.

We are but one bank, but we have decided to take our stand in Isla Vista.

BANK OF AMERICA.

COURT DELAYS

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, nationally syndicated Columnist Edith Kermit Roosevelt devoted a column last month to the work of the Select Committee on Crime on the subject of court case congestion and its adverse contribution to the Nation's crime problem.

From its initial stages, the committee has given priority attention in its hearings across the country to recommendations to reform the courts and their procedures. This entails, of course, a comprehensive program that recognizes that funds for the upgrading of the courts will be futile if treated in isolation. Law enforcement, correctional institutions, probationary services, and the like are all in need of additional personnel and additional funding.

That is why I have recommended that a $1 billion commitment be made for fiscal 1971 to fund Federal, State, and local programs through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to prevent and control crime.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the column entitled "Court Delays" at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Shreveport (La.) Journal, Mar. 21, 1970]

COURT DELAYS

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—An enormous backlog of cases in the nation's courts is contributing to our rising crime rate and diminishing respect for our system of criminal justice. Unless we take prompt and substantial action to correct the congestion in our courts, we will soon be engulfed by untried and iltried criminal cases.

This conclusion emerges after eight months of hearings and testimony by more than 40 witnesses before the House Select Committee on Crime. In summarizing findings after a survey of crime in seven representative big cities, Committee Chairman Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) said:

"In many cities, police forces, which deservedly have been upgraded, are arresting more people than ever before—more than the rest of the system, the courts and corrections can handle. Justice that once deterred crime with its swiftness and sureness has become lumbering and uncertain."

In Dade County, Fla., for example, where the Crime Committee conducted its most exhaustive inquiry, legislators learned that the backlog of cases ready for trial jumped from 3,303 in August, 1968, to 6,976 in August, 1969—a 111 per cent increase in a year. Judge Jack M. Turner, senior criminal court judge of the Criminal Court of Record, Miami, estimated that most cases of those who can afford bail are tried within 12 to 18 months, "run of the mill" jail cases get to trial within three to six months, although other witnesses told of defendants who had spent as much as 18 months to two years awaiting trial.

Justice so long delayed benefits nobody but the criminal. The most effective deterrent to crime is not necessarily a lengthy sentence as much as the swiftness and sureness of the punishment. Dean A. Kenneth Pye of the Duke University School of Law has explained that the last thing in the world the criminal wants is a prompt and speedy trial. He figures that time is on his side and he is very pleased to wait until prosecution witnesses move away, get sick, die or forget the details of what they saw or experienced.

In all too many cases assembly line justice is being dispensed as hard-pressed, harassed judges, prosecutors and clerks try to handle mounting case loads. Florida's State Attorney, Richard E. Gerstein, former President of the National District Attorneys Association, testified that he had seen first-hand how serious criminal cases—felonies, burglary and robbery—are tried in big city and criminal courts throughout the country with little or no pre-trial preparation by the prosecutors. He told congressional probers:

"They are just tried 'from the hip,' so to speak, the prosecutor picks up the file. He calls out the names of the witnesses and he attempts by rote, by prior experience in these areas, to try the case. This is no way for serious crimes to be handled in America."

Even if the criminal is unlucky enough to have his case called up in court, he and his lawyer can always resort to what is known as "plea bargaining"—a device that too many judges and prosecutors welcome because of overwork. Thus it is not surprising, as District of Columbia Police Chief Jerry Wilson noted, that many automobile thieves, burglars, muggers and purse snatchers are allowed to plead guilty to such reduce charges as petty larceny and simple asult. In this way, he explained, "a great number of fairly serious criminals get off with little or no punishment."

The damaging effect of this practice on police morale was described by Rep. James H. Scheuer (D-N.Y.):

"There is nothing more discouraging to a police professional than to have risked his life in bringing in a suspect, particularly in the case of a violent crime, and then learn that we have to force the defendant to plead guilty to a lesser offense than what the police officer charged him with because society has not provided the judges, the juries, the prosecutors, the court clerks, the secretaries and the detention facilities to try people, particularly young people."

What is the effect of all this on the crime rate? In the District of Columbia, where it often takes a year to 18 months to bring a felony case to trial, there is documentation. On Jan. 28 of this year Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell told the House Committee on the District of Columbia that a study of crime in Washington, D.C., showed that in 1968, when 557 persons were indicted for robbery, nearly 70 per cent of those released prior to trial or 242 persons were rearrested and charged with a subsequent offense.

How can we cope with this overriding requirement for legal manpower in our court systems? Among the suggestions made were that professional court administrators be appointed to free judges to spend more time on the bench and that the Law Enforcement Administration spend a greater proportion of funds to hire more prosecutors, defenders and judges. As Representative Pepper said:

"It does little good to strengthen police forces without strengthening those other parts of the system, the courts and corrections, which must deal with those the police arrest."

VIETNAMIZATION A PLACEBO, NOT A PANACEA

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the interesting thing about numbers is that they so readily lend themselves to comparative thinking. Ten apples seem like a lot until one sees 10,000. Then the 10 appear inconsequential.

"Numbers" is the name of the game being played these days in Vietnam. A hundred soldiers killed this week, 90 the next, 120 the next—these tend to be overshadowed by announcements in June of a withdrawal of 25,000 men, in September of 35,000, and in December of another 50,000 by April 15.

It would be very comforting if only we could ignore and then forget the "small" numbers. But this easy solution—this balm to soothe the tensions of a nation now at full war for 5 years—is a chimera. Death is too final. It is too ultimate a fact to be discounted and disregarded. The Washington Post this morning reports that in the last 24 hours alone, 40 American soldiers have been killed and 190 wounded in Vietnam. And for the 2-day period starting Tuesday, U.S. deaths were listed as 61. It is interesting to note that this story appeared at page 22 of the newspaper—obviously, the public's interest is being successfully channeled by the administration.

But our concerns for the imminent missteps in Laos and Cambodia, our plaudits for the periodic withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, our worries over the flaring tensions in the Middle East, cannot displace our concentration on the death and destruction rampant and persistent throughout Vietnam.

The April 1 editorial in the New York Times correctly directs our attention to the numbers which the administration has been heralding as its resolution of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The editorial questions that policy of Vietnamization so proudly paraded as panacea by the administration, and accurately points out the inconsistencies in that policy which have been erected by the administration itself.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues. It raises the vital question which affects everyone of us directly—is "Vietnamization" going to be the balm which quiets and stifles the dissenters, while enabling the administration to pursue this war endlessly?

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 1, 1970]

"CUTTING INTO THE BONE"

President Nixon's Vietnamization program is approaching a critical test of credibility this month as the third phase of announced American troop withdrawals from Southeast Asia nears completion.

The White House has denied a report hat the Pentagon is budgeting for substantial new withdrawals that would reduce American forces in Vietnam to 225,000 men by mid-1971. The remaining forces would consist largely of air, artillery and supply units, with only enough combat troops to provide protection for their bases.

Such a reduction would be consistent with repeated hints from Washington and Saigon over many months that the United States would bring home all of its ground combat forces from Vietnam by that time or earlier. When former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford last June called for withdrawal of all ground forces by the end of 1970, President Nixon said he hoped to beat that target. A new withdrawal announcement, promised for this month, should provide a clue to the prospects for fulfillment of such hopes.

The President announced the first cutback of 25,000 men last June. A further withdrawal of 35,000 men was announced in September, and in December Mr. Nixon said he would bring home an additional 50,000 men by April 15, lowering the ceiling to 434,000. The actual reduction to date has been 84,500 men, from a force level of 538,500 when the first cutback was announced to a current total of 454,000.

While the staged reductions so far have succeeded in dampening criticism of the war at home, they have not really significantly affected the military balance in Vietnam. The current level of American forces in the battle area is close to that which prevailed at the time of the enemy's Tet offensive in early 1968. Since that time, South Vietnamese forces have been substantially expanded—and improved, if official sources are to be believed.

So far, President Nixon has merely been cutting fat from what many believed was a bloated American military establishment in South Vietnam. The next withdrawal, a Pentagon source observed recently, "will start cutting into the bone."

Administration spokesmen have insisted privately that the process of Vietnamization is "irreversible." President Nixon told the American people last November that he had adopted a plan "for the complete withdrawal of all United States combat ground forces and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces on an orderly scheduled timetable."

But the President appeared to contradict himself when he also declared that the rate of American withdrawal would depend on the progress of peace talks in Paris, the ability of South Vietnamese troops to take over the burden of the fighting and the degree of restraint shown by enemy troops. At the moment there are grounds for doubt on all of these counts, especially in view of stepped-up enemy activity in neighboring Cambodia and Laos.

The question in the minds of many Americans as another decision on withdrawal approaches is whether this Administration will continue to fulfill its promise of "orderly scheduled" disengagement, even at the risk of "cutting into the bone." Or will the pace of withdrawal be allowed to lag—as Army leaders are reported to be urging—strengthening the belief of some critics that "Vietnamization" may be another way of saying that the war will go on in a continued—but futile—search for military victory?

CHAMBER IS COMMENDED

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, on Friday a week ago, the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce received a most welcome surprise of a commendation by the President for the work it has done in recent years in forwarding education, improving housing, and providing employment opportunities.

It is my understanding that the chamber's work was singled out by the Department of Commerce for its outstanding effort. I offer it for the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 20, 1970.

Mr. ARTHUR J. LUMSDEN,
President, Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, Hartford, Conn.

DEAR MR. LUMSDEN: The outstanding leadership of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce in programs of service to the people of your area has come to my attention and I want to commend you and your associates for your splendid work. I understand that the Chamber has done a great deal to advance education, improve housing, and provide employment opportunities for the citizens of Greater Hartford, and that many observers have pointed to the remarkable progress in your community in recent years as a model for other cities in America.

You and your colleagues have my best wishes for continued success in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

BAN OBSCENE MATERIALS THROUGH MAIL

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, early in the first session of the 91st Congress I wrote to the Postmaster General of the United States protesting the volume of obscene materials being sent through the mails and I stated that it was time for the Post Office Department to take remedial action.

Subsequently, I introduced four anti-obscenity bills, and I am pleased to note that on March 16, 1970, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported out a bill, which is very similar to my own H.R. 12927, a bill to afford protection to the public from offensive intrusion into their homes through the postal service of obscene matter.

On February 24, 1970, I wrote to the Postmaster General requesting a status report on the law-enforcement activities against publishers and dealers responsible for the traffic in obscene materials, and the Post Office Department report indicates to me that enforcement of anti-obscenity laws at last has picked up, and the number of convictions, indictments, and arrests in fiscal year 1970 has increased substantially over a similar period in 1969.

My letter to the Postmaster General and the law-enforcement report from Chief Postal Inspector W. J. Cotter follow:

FEBRUARY 24, 1970.

HON. WINTON M. BLOUNT,
The Postmaster General,
U.S. Post Office Department,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. POSTMASTER GENERAL: With reference to my previous correspondence with you on the subject of prosecution of publishers and dealers of obscene materials, I will appreciate a current status report on the number of publishers and dealers convicted of violating anti-obscenity laws, the number of persons indicted, and the number of anti-obscenity cases now pending in court.

Last year I wrote to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General of the United States on the subject of strict enforcement of our anti-obscenity laws, and I continue to believe that publishers of obscene materials must be made to know that constituted authority intends to put a stop to their flouting of minimum standards of decency and for law.

I enclose for your information copies of legislation which I have filed with reference to this problem.

I will appreciate your early attention to my request.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. MONAGAN,
Member of Congress.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
CHIEF POSTAL INSPECTOR,
Washington, D.C., March 20, 1970.

Hon. JOHN S. MONAGAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MONAGAN: This is in response to your letter of February 24, 1970, which was referred to this Bureau by the General Counsel under date of March 2, 1970. Your letter requested a current status report on the number of persons convicted, the number presently under indictment and the number pending before United States Attorneys, for violations of the postal obscenity statute.

To date, in Fiscal Year 1970, there have been 12 persons convicted in Federal courts for violating the postal obscenity statute (18 USC 1461). Indictments have been returned against 39 operators charging violations of this statute, with 38 of them under arrest. In addition, 15 cases involving 23 operators have been presented to United States Attorneys for consideration of instituting criminal action under the obscenity statute.

These convictions, indictments, arrests and presentations to United States Attorneys represent Federal action against persons soliciting and selling obscene material on a commercial basis.

This Service also enjoys an excellent working relationship with State and local law enforcement agencies throughout the country. Many arrests and convictions occur under State obscenity laws and ordinances through the mutual effort of our services. We find this cooperation an invaluable adjunct in our efforts to prohibit the transmission of obscene material in the mails.

We have noted the three bills you have introduced which you furnished with your letter and appreciate your interest in the problem of obscenity in the mails.

We hope the above information will be of benefit to you.

Sincerely,

W. J. COTTER,
Chief Postal Inspector.

STOP DRUG ABUSE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Chain Drug Stores has published a pamphlet entitled, "Stop Drug Abuse." Because it contains some very practical and valuable information which should be helpful to parents and teachers, I would like to quote some excerpts from it at this point in the RECORD:

SOME FACTS YOU SHOULD KNOW

According to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, drug abusers fall into three main groups:

Situational: A student may use pep pills to cram for exams.

Spree: Used for "kicks" or the experience.

Hard-core addict: One whose activities revolve almost entirely around drug experiences and securing drugs.

If you have reason to believe that your child is experimenting with drugs, you should watch for any of the following general symptoms:

Loss of interest in school or social relationships.

Inability to relate to others.

Failure to accept responsibilities.

Lack of ambition for the future.

Marked alteration of usual behavior patterns.

Deterioration of physical/personal appearance.

Problems with parents, school or peer group.

Withdrawal and uncommunicativeness.

Overt hostility and outbursts of temper; lethargy.

Quick changes of mood.

Development of furtive habits.

Whatever you discover, don't panic! Adolescence is a very lonely time for youngsters. Your child may be seeking to fill this loneliness with drugs as a means of finding acceptance or as an attempt to "escape." Let him know that you are ready to help him—not condemn him. Be willing to seek outside assistance if necessary. You could consult your family doctor or neighborhood pharmacist for advice. Go to the school guidance counsellors for help. The National Institute of Mental Health has a staff located in the nine regional offices of the Department of Health, Education & Welfare throughout the United States ready to assist you, or there may be a community action group in your area from which you can obtain information.

In the back of this pamphlet you will find a list of films on drug abuse which are available for rental or purchase, and addresses of sources where you may write for additional printed material.

The following charts should furnish you with a ready-reference to a few questions about the potential dangers in the misuse of drugs:

Nonnarcotic dangerous drugs	Known as—	Drug-abuse warning symptoms	Dangers
Sedatives—Depressants, barbiturates, tranquilizers: Seconal, Nembutal, Tuinal, Amytal, Phenobarbital.	"Redbirds," "yellow jackets," "barbs," "goof balls," "nemmies," etc.	Apparent drunkenness—Sluggish confusion, depression lethargy, quarrelsomeness, aggressiveness, loss of physical coordination, mental and emotional instability. With overdoses—coma.	Physical and psychological dependence (addictive), combined with alcohol can cause death, intentional or accidental suicide through overdose severe withdrawal from addiction: Dizziness, fainting, vomiting, tremors, delirium, coma, possible death.
Stimulants—Amphetamine, biet pills, pep pills: Methamphetamine, Phenmetrazine, Methedrine, Dexedrine, Benzadrine.	"Speed," "Ups," "bennies," "dexies," "meth," "A'S," "drivers."	Excitation, nervous energy, talkativeness, dry mouth, heavy perspiration, loss of appetite, sleeplessness. With large doses delusions, hostility, dangerously aggressive behavior, hallucinations, induced psychosis with panic.	Fatigue—Substitute drug for needed rest, engenders reckless behavior which can cause auto accidents, impairs judgment, person may become combative, can cause coma and death.
Hallucinogens: LSD (Lysergic Diethylamide), LSD–25, DMT (Dimethyltryptamine), DET (Dimethyltryptamine), DET (Diethyltryptamine), Peyote, Psilocybin, etc.	"Acid," "cubes," "Big D," "trips."	Effects vary greatly with dose and individual—may cause restlessness, inability to sleep, dilated pupils (user may wear sunglasses even at night), hallucinations, distortion or intensification of sensory perceptions, decreased ability to discriminate between fact and fantasy, unpredictable behavior, panic, or terror, psychotic reactions.	Possible permanent loss of sanity, or may cause permanent personality changes, "flashbacks" or same type of reactions may occur months later, irreparable chromosome damage with repeated use, may generate impulses toward violence and self-destruction, impaired judgment may lead to serious accidents.
Derivatives of the hemp plant Cannabis Saliva [1]: Marihuana, Hashish, THC (Tetrahydrocannabinol).	"Pot," "Tea," "Grass," "Joints," "Hash," "THC."	Effects vary with the method of ingestion (whether smoked or eaten). Can produce feeling of euphoria, altered conceptions of time and space, visual distortions, possible hallucinations, exaggerated sense of well-being; judgment may be impaired, can precipitate psychotic acts.	Can lead to aggressive and anti-social behavior, can lead to more serious drug abuse addiction through contact with "pushers" of other drugs; facts to date show that marihuana alone does not lead to physical dependence although emotional dependence is possible. Alteration of sensory perception may lead to accidents.

Hard narcotic drugs	Known as—	Drug-abuse warning symptoms	Dangers
Heroin, cocaine, codeine, opium, morphine, demerol, and all other opium derivatives and other synthetic narcotics.	"H," "Horse," "Smack," "Snow," "Big C," "Candy," "Coke," "Charlie."	Contracted pupils, bruises on arms and legs (the user will often wear long sleeves to cover arms), detachment, alienation; preoccupation (with securing the drugs), lack of interest in personal appearance and hygiene, itchiness, runny nose, loss of weight.	Physically and psychologically addictive, possible involvement in crime (to obtain money for habit), addicts are subject to blood infections, abscesses, tetanus, hepatitis, and venereal disease through unsanitary injections; also malnutrition through careless eating habits, withdrawal reactions are very serious; flulike illness, vomiting, running nose and tearing eyes, heavy perspiration, muscle spasms, aches and pains, alterations in blood pressure, pulse, respiration, and temperature, diarrhea. Can cause death.

[1] Classified under hard narcotics by Federal law.

THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE—EDUCATION AND OUR SOCIETY

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, a member of the Portland, Oreg., Board of Education, John C. Beatty, Jr., in an inspired speech to the City Club of Portland recently has managed such a masterful overview of the problems of education, particularly in urban society today, that I believe it well merits the time of Members of this House. The breadth of vision he displays is remarkable enough but the ability he shows to synthesize a variety of forces swirling about what he terms society "in the eye of the hurricane" illuminates the landscape with lightning flashes of truly brilliant perception. Although he goes about it with the engaging manner and pretense of being only an amateur, I can assure you that my good friend John Beatty knows wherefrom he speaks, as you will, I am sure, agree after a careful reading.

The speech follows:

THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE—EDUCATION AND OUR SOCIETY

(An Address to the City Club of Portland by John C. Beatty, Jr., member, Portland Board of Education, Jan 23, 1970)

This week Dr. Robert Blanchard, Superintendent of the Portland Public Schools, proposed a variety of measures to reorganize the administrative structure and educational program of our schools.

He asks, and I think rightly, that we decentralize administration, that we bring parents into schools on regular advisory committees, that we provide more educational meat for graders five to eight in Middle Schools, that our plant be modernized, that program budgeteers pursue efficiency by cost analysis, and that our blacks and whites be mixed more reasonably than presently is possible.

The Board will hold extensive hearings before we act upon these proposals. But even as we prepare to consider them, we need to bear in mind that, far reaching as they are, they deal with one instrument of education.

What is education itself? What function does it serve? What purpose should it serve? These are substantive questions which we need to think about.

These are questions to which we need agreement on the answers as we shape the instrument of education to serve us.

These are hard questions because the structure of human education floats like an iceberg, with eight-ninths of its intricate arrangement below the surface of our common consciousness.

My credentials to speak on the subject remind me of the cross-examination of Alice by the King as to who had stolen certain tarts.

"What do you know about this business?" asked the King.

"Nothing," said Alice.

"Nothing whatever?" persisted the King.

"Nothing whatever," said Alice.

"That's very important," said the King, turning to the jury.

I know scarcely more than Alice claimed, and none of us is an expert in all the fields involved. But our primary need now is to reason, and our ability to reason must be applied in areas hitherto screened from inquiry, either by myth or preconception.

When I spoke to you four years ago about "Public Schools, the Eye of the Hurricane," I described central city schools as buffeted in a social crisis. I spoke of population shifts, race and poverty, and of their effect upon the capacity of children to learn. I described the intensive efforts which the school system had undertaken to implement the report of the Committee on Race and Education under Judge Schwab. These efforts have been carried out with fidelity and energy.

Today I acknowledge that the crisis is far more intense and far more extensive than we then recognized. The attempt of the Public Schools to resolve the crisis must be extended to men and institutions throughout society because the crisis involves the very nature of our society. The School alone cannot change the attitudes and values of an entire people.

The crisis is man himself, a biological forest fire burning out of control, driven by the winds of his own expanding technology.

Man's physical activity is rapidly destroying the capacity of the land, the sea, and the air to support life.

A hundred miles from Los Angeles pine forests die, seered by windborne contaminents of concentrated automobiles.

Pesticides are concentrated by minor organisms, consumed by wildlife, become lethal to whole species.

Chemical fertilizers washed by the rains find their way into lakes, and rivers, and ultimately the oceans, changing the chemistry of water and the kind of life it can support.

We alter the air we breathe by burning fossil fuels; CO_2 is already 8% greater than in 1900.

His social behavior is reducing the security of those who live in the central cities to the condition of German peasants during the Thirty Years War. Poised over all are intercontinental missiles by the thousands, leashed by the uncertain will of a handful of men. They bear warheads which threaten the destruction of all living matter by fire and radiation one hour away at any time, day or night.

Anyone who thinks we can keep school in a placid evolutionary way in the shadow of these conditions is whistling Dixie.

Dr. Maurice Goddard recently compared the earth to a spaceship, describing both as "closed systems".

"Everything needed for a long voyage on a spaceship must be carried on board, nothing can be thrown away and everything must be recycled and reused. The earth, too, has everything on board that it will ever need—all of the air, water, soil, metal and fuel, but unlike a spaceship, earth takes on more passengers all of the time."

The differences between the way man manages the flight of Apollo and the way he manages his own flights on spaceship earth instruct us upon our deficiencies.

For hundreds of thousands of years, man, slowly evolving from ancestral primates, coexisted on earth with other species. Man's impact upon his environment was limited to the air he could breathe, the berries he could pick, and the meat he could kill with primitive weapons. His numbers were controlled by the natural supply of food. His debris was confined to his own organic waste, his weapons of wood and stone, and the bones which encircled his campfires. He lived in balance with the life systems of the planet.

In this relatively timeless environment education first began. Our hairless, clawless ancestor patiently taught his young the simple skills which had meant survival for hundreds of thousands of years: how to chip an arrowhead; how to shape a stone ax; how to chew and soften skin; how to snare small game. Education was the deliberate process by which he transmitted his primitive technology, his elaborate myths and his social rule from one generation to another. The technology, the myth, and the social rule were consistent with his life.

When the hunter, the fisher and the berry-picker learned to plant crops and harvest them at the close of the last glacial advance, perhaps ten thousand years ago, the relationship of man to nature was fundamentally changed. Man ceased to be a force in balance. He cleared forests, built dwellings, grazed cattle and changed small portions of the earth's surface. He accumulated food and his population was no longer limited by the availability of berries, roots, and game.

The transmission of knowledge from father to son, craftsman to apprentice, elder to youth, limited knowledge which could be accumulated. Written language developed, at first confined to priests and temples, and largely used for record keeping. And then writing began to be used to create and pass on technology. Man's knowledge ceased to be dependent upon storage in his memory. The accumulated knowledge of the past was stored in papyrus, stone and clay, then on paper, then in computers.

The technology we have today is the direct consequence of the application of educational system to a forest ranging human primate over four hundred generations ago—four hundred that is for those few of us descended from the inhabitants of the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Most of our ancestors, as Disraeli acidly pointed out, came out of the forests of Europe less than fifty generations ago.

This educational system conducted by family, church and school has also preserved many of the social values and the behavioral characteristics of primitive life, despite their increasing incompatability with developing technology. Consider two examples:

First, hostility to a stranger who invades a hunting ground. It survives today as a latent distrust of those who seem to be different. This sense of difference, so easily stimulated, in our century has resulted in the extermination of tribes, nations and races, and in the persecution of countless others. It has produced the massacre in modern battle of tens of millions of men, women and children in two world wars conducted by the advanced nations of the Western World in the name of patriotism and national interest.

Next, consider the instinct to breed as often as possible. This instinct, essential to survival of our species in a primitive environment, expressed as a religious concept, "be fruitful and multiply", survives despite technological development which has cut man's death rate to a fraction of its primitive level. The concept as well as the instinct paralyze man's capacity to limit his numbers. While the paralysis continues, the population of the earth has expanded from one billion in 1900 to three point four billion in 1970, and will go to six billion in 1990 under conservative projections.

Nor is this by any means the whole story. As Professor Wayne Davis points out, the drain per person upon land and resources in the United States is at least twenty-five times that in India. Expressed in those terms it would take five billion Indians to use up land and resources at the same rate as two hundred million Americans.

The malaise of spirit which has spread throughout our own country and the Western World since the end of the Second World War is not the consequence of affluence, nor of permissive parents, nor of conspiracies. It results from an erosion of individual purpose and common destiny. We have become aware of what we are doing to ourselves. Like squirrels, we store nuts for the winter and breed for the spring. But we know in our heart that spring may not come. We know for a certainty it will be less lovely.

The music and the lyrics of the song "Where Have All the Flowers Gone" convey this pervasive sense of loss. It is not God we fear the death of; it is Man.

Young men and women, less cumbered by tradition and practices of conformity, have recognized these incongruities more clearly than we and are infuriated by our passivity. They lack experience and social discipline; they have reacted in various ways, some with violence, some with withdrawal, and some with a simplistic and sometimes dangerous hedonism. But many are prepared to work in ways and with a degree of energy we have never witnessed in our time to build a world which they think worthy of belief.

Their assertion that technology is not necessarily progress and that affluence is not the sole criteria of accomplishment is unassailable. We should not be deterred by the length of their hair or trousers they wear from agreeing with them. The skill and discipline of the mature, if added to the energy and directness of youth, can create a powerful instrument for change.

How do we deal with problems which are by definition worldwide? These problems arise from the acts and failures to act of thousands of communities and millions of men and women. In the community education shapes the growing child and the attitudes which he will bear in his maturity. The community is where the local structures of society exist. The community is the one place where we ourselves can get a grip on a small chunk of human destiny.

People in this country grow restless as they see their cities and their schools squalid with episodes of savagery. Their passions stir them to strike back. But at who? And at what cost? And with what consequence? They ask "What should we do?" There is only one answer: We must travel a new road together.

The entire community must accept and act upon three imperative necessities:

First, the necessity that man physically live in harmony with the life systems which have evolved upon the earth over hundreds of millions of years; that he make only those changes in his environment that are compatible with those systems; and that he employ his technology to restore the imbalances which he has created.

Second, the necessity that man develop a public philosophy which comprehends his presence as a part of nature rather than as superimposed upon nature, and affirms his moral responsibility for managing the continuity of life on earth as a closed or sustained yield system.

Third, the necessity that man reorder his political, social and economic institutions to give him power through them to come to grips with the problems we face in restoring a harmony with nature.

These necessities must be made explicit to the community, and the curriculum of our schools strengthened by Dr. Blanchard's proposals must be reshaped to study and to affirm them.

The process of reshaping curriculum should involve at least three groups in the community: the educational experts who have the immediate responsibility for handling change in the curriculum they administer; the members of the general community who are experienced in the ways of technology and social institutions; and mature students at the secondary and university level who are the raw materials being processed by the curriculum.

Community consideration of these necessities and community projects built around them should be organized as a part of school program on regular occasions in every school. Young people should participate with parents and teachers. In this way everyone will sense the crisis, the relevance of the reshaped curriculum, and the common ground they share in addressing problems ranging from racial animosity to solid waste disposal.

Let me give three examples of how to work these necessities into curriculum:

Students should study history to learn the consequences of human acts over a sweep of years. History can show a student which acts led to results we think would be productive today and which did not. History so examined and used as a device to study present problems will mean far more to a generation with little interest in a simple chronicle of kings. Students should learn the skills of resolving conflict, the ways of getting people to work together. They should speculate about specific situations in history and in our time. What could have then been done if human actors had been aware of such techniques? Could our present racial problems have been anticipated and resolved in 1865?

The study of reproduction should be given a central place in the curriculum. Every student in secondary school should become sophisticated in his knowledge of the reproductive process in individuals and in populations. The social and personal consequences of uncontrolled fecundity should be accompanied by study of appropriate methods of controlling conception, both individual and social. As Senator Packwood commented last week, population growth must be stopped now.

Because the family is the basic unit of education, we should devote far more attention to the instruction of young people in the formation of families than we now do. Young men and women should study those factors which are important in selecting a mate and those attitudes and characteristics which will assist them to build an affectionate and satisfying family able to give its young the attitudes we seek.

In these examples there runs a common threat, a new emphasis: Study the basis of technology so we can live in harmony with our environment. Study the behavior of Man to learn his nature, how to modify it, how to make possible the continuity of life. Hopefully, no student will question the relevance of that curricula!

So great a change cannot be implemented by the educational system unless accompanied by parallel change in the rest of the community. To shift our social values and priorities from exploitative to conservative, from emphasis on expansion to emphasis on balance, will not be easy. Our schools can become centers of constructive ferment, but the articulation of a philosophy to guide us, and the alteration of political and social institutions to accommodate the energy so released calls for leadership by those who claim their business is to lead.

How do we develop a philosophy which comprehends man's presence as a part of nature rather than superimposed upon nature, which incorporates man's moral responsibility for managing the continuity of life on earth?

Scholars since time began have constructed systems of philosophy in an effort to reconcile the complexities of life as it appeared to them. I know of no example in history in which a community has consciously tried to state a workable public philosophy. I know of no law which forbids it. Our situation demands it.

How can we get such an examination under way? I suggest we put it to the presidents of our local colleges to convene a working committee. Let them select a committee from their faculties, from leaders of religion, from laymen, and from students. Let this committee study and formulate a statement of public philosophy for this community.

Let their draft, when prepared, be sent to those people whose function it is to provide moral and philosophic leadership for study and suggestion. After receiving this critical comment, and after broad public discussion, the working committee can reassemble and prepare a final draft for the community.

Is there a better way to collect our thoughts upon the meaning of life and organize them into a functional form? There may well be, but let's get the business under way. We need a public philosophy to arrange our thoughts and actions, to give us unity of purpose. We cannot wait for someone else to provide it. When it is done, the schools will have a working philosophy provided by their own community, and the community will have prepared itself for change consistent with it.

It is now time to think about the third necessity. How do we make it possible to change political, social and economic institutions to allow us to come to grips with the facts of crisis. The proposals so far involve changes in schools and their curricula and provide a way for the community to study and develop a public philosophy.

The next step is to start the process of institutional change beginning with government to give us the means to execute our policies. Any attempt to get a grip on our own destiny in our own community requires at the outset unity in our local government. It is impossible to bring balance and harmony into an environment while hundreds of minor and four major public bodies struggle with functions of government in our community.

There must be a single responsible, elected local government with adequate powers and adequate jurisdiction in the metropolitan community. Such a government must have the power to create a unified transport system, waste disposal system, land use system, police system, recreation system, pollution control system, as well as the tax resources to do the job.

Such isolated ventures as the South Auditorium project of the Portland Development Commission tease us with the possibility of unified community planning and operation.

How do we go about it? I think it requires a Metropolitan Committee much like the Race and Education Committee appointed in 1963 by the School Board. You will recall that the Board picked a Chairman who agreed to serve, provided the Board agreed to invite the members he thought could do the job, and provided the members invited agreed to serve.

Our Metropolitan Committee should be assembled in the same way. Its membership should be broader because its functions and the geographic area are broader. It will require a mixture of knowledgeable experts and working community leaders.

The present dispersion of political power suggests it will be wise to place the appointing authority beyond the localities involved. The better solution will be to ask Governor McCall to appoint a committee in the same way the Race and Education Committee was established. The Governor, having served on that Committee, is familiar with how it was organized and will enthusiastically support the purposes for which a Metropolitan Committee is organized.

The charge to the Committee should be to prepare a government for the Metropolitan area, to provide the fiscal resources and the political powers to enable this community to control its environment in accordance with the philosophy we have discussed. The Committee should likewise be charged with preparing the means for implementing their recommendations. They should be asked to make their report back to the Governor and to the citizens of the Metropolitan community one year from the date of their appointment.

All three of these enterprises, changing education, developing a public philosophy, and strengthening our local government, need to be undertaken now. Who will undertake them if Metropolitan Portland does not?

It is, of course, a revolution for which I call, a revolution in education, in public philosophy and in government. Against it lay the consequence of inactivity. What a legacy to our children! What futility to have given them birth!

The problems which we face are all enormous, but the greatest problem is getting started. The steps I have proposed all lie within the competence of this School System and this community.

In the last analysis, it is a matter of will, more than of anything else. Can we insist of ourselves, can we demand of each other, that we get up on our feet and start out on the difficult road to survival.

"I see nobody on the road," said Alice.

"I only wish I had such eyes," the King remarked in a fretful tone. "To be able to see Nobody! And at that distance too! Why, it's as much as I can do to see real people by this light!"

All this was lost on Alice, who was still looking intently along the road, shading her eyes with one hand.

"I see somebody now!" she exclaimed at last. "But he's coming very slowly. . . ."

JUDGE CARSWELL

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, today's Evening Star contains an interesting article by Columnist Charles Bartlett relative to the nomination of Judge Harrold G. Carswell to the Supreme Court.

Especially interesting was Mr. Bartlett's assertion that Senators, editorialists, and columnists opposing Carswell are members of a Washington luncheon club which will not consider Negro members and barely tolerates Negro guests. Yet, one of their arguments against Judge Carswell's nomination to the Supreme Court is that he allegedly participated in the formation of a private club which excluded Negro members.

Mr. Bartlett emphasized:

Northern Liberals need to be more cautious in applying yardsticks to Southerners which they do not accept from themselves.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I think it is worth noting that another private club, the Gridiron Club, has many members from the liberal news media. Of the hundreds of guests, at its recent annual dinner, only two were Negro. According to my information, there are no Negro members of the Gridiron Club.

As a part of my remarks, I include Mr. Bartlett's column. It follows:

CARSWELL'S CRITICS IGNORE HIS HUMAN QUALITY

(By Charles Bartlett)

The strategy of recommittal on the nomination of Judge Carswell is not justified by an obvious need for further hearings. In fact, the rolling attack on the Florida judge has been stuck in its groove for some days by a dearth of new disclosures.

The liberal establishment, with its sword unsheathed, generates an awesome sound and fury. It has succeeded in shaking the certainty of Carswell's confirmation and leaving him flayed and naked before the world. It has riled the controversy to a passionate pitch in which Carswell's human credentials are obscured by the assault on his qualifications as a judge.

This human quality is the missing ingredient in the picture being drawn by Carswell's critics. It is the reason why the nominee has not been decimated by the liberal onslaught. Its de-emphasis seems specially poignant to this reporter after meeting with the judge and hearing the sentiments of neighbors in his home country.

Carswell does not impart a mediocre impression. He wears an air of friendly outspokenness which suggests that he is perceptive and sincere. He has assurance and a graceful sense of humor. He describes himself as more aghast than any critic at the offensiveness of his disinterred campaign speech. His conservative bent is undisguised but he comes through as an imaginative man generously blessed with decency and warmth.

No disclosure of the Senate debate has pierced this impression. It is affirmed by men of character in Tallahassee. In fact the common denominator of Carswell's most bitter opponents is that they have not known him personally. A gamut of those who have—from LeRoy Collins to former NAACP lawyer Charles Wilson—yields reassuring evidence of respect.

Realistically, Carswell must also be measured against the Nixon commitment that produced his nomination. For better or worse, candidate Nixon appears to have promised that President Nixon would name a Southern Republican federal judge to the high court. Eliminating the Eisenhower appointees now too old for promotion and assuming that the pact precluded the selection of a judge whose rulings had alienated his region, the most appealing choices left for Atty. Gen. John Mitchell were Clement Haynsworth and Carswell.

The pragmatic inspiration for Mr. Nixon's commitment does not make it a less valid step towards healing scars left by radical change in the mores of the black belt South. This region will not always deserve a seat on the court because it is growing to be like other regions. But it does at this point deserve and need one to encourage and recognize its reluctant embrace of constitutional equality.

A Southerner yes, some say, but not Carswell. But where can the search lead from here? Perhaps to a less deserving judge or to some brilliant Southern lawyer whose private involvements will test the skill of an army of investigators. Civil rights activists may be able to probe their way through a whole phalanx of Nixon nominees, possibly making in the end the dubious point that no Southerner is pure enough in heart to sit on the Supreme Court.

Why not Carswell? The case against him is almost entirely based, as Sen. John S. Cooper has said, on speculative opinions concerning his ability and capacity for growth. He is charged with persistent racism because he participated peripherally in the revival of a private golf club in 1956.

But surely this was a no more serious departure from principle than the readiness of a distinguished group of committed liberals—Senators, editorialists, and columnists who staunchly oppose Carswell—to maintain through the years their membership in a Washington luncheon club which will not consider Negro members and barely tolerates Negro guests.

For all these men, from Carswell to the liberals, nothing more hypocritical than an accommodation to convenience is involved. But Northern liberals need to be more cautious in applying yardsticks to Southerners which they do not accept for themselves.

Carswell represents the evolution of the last bastion of Southern recalcitrance. It seems far wiser to accept him as a gesture of conciliation than to risk, in repudiating him, the renewed isolation of a region trying to break with its racist past.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, APRIL 1970

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events for the National Gallery of Art for the month of April 1970:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, APRIL 1970

Civilisation

Thanks to the generosity of its many friends, the National Gallery of Art was able to purchase a print of Kenneth Clark's magnificent thirteen-part film series, "Civilisation." Showings began again on March 22. Initially the films will be shown Mondays through Saturdays at 10:30, 11:30, 12:30, 2:30, and 3:30; and Sundays at 12:30 and 1:30. Additional Sunday showings at 5:30, 6:30, and 7:30 on March 29, April 26, May 17 and 24, and June 14.

March 29–April 4: II—"The Great Thaw."

April 5–11: III—"Romance and Reality."

April 12–18: IV—"Man, The Measure of All Things."

April 19–25: V—"The Hero as Artist."

April 26–May 2: VI—"Protest and Communication."

American Music Festival

The Gallery's 27th American Music Festival will take place on successive Sundays from April 19 through May 24. Six concerts are scheduled including orchestral, chamber, vocal, and piano music. The series is under the general direction of Richard Bales, who will conduct the National Gallery Orchestra in two of the concerts. There will be several premieres and a number of first Washington performances. A bulletin containing all the detailed programs will be available on April 7.

A. W. Mellon Lectures

Professor Sir Nikolaus Pevsner concludes the nineteenth annual series of the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts on Sunday, April 5. The subject is *Some Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Architecture: Shops and Stores.*

Wright of Derby

April 26 is the closing date for an exhibition of paintings and drawings by Joseph Wright of Derby from the British collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. An illustrated catalogue with introduction and notes by Ross Watson is available for $2.25 postpaid.

Summer evening hours

Beginning April 1 the Gallery will be open weekdays 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Sundays 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the building and to all scheduled programs.

Cafeteria hours

Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 7:30 p.m., luncheon service 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Sundays, dinner service 1 p.m. to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, MARCH 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, APRIL 5

Painting of the week

Renoir: "Mademoiselle Sicot," (Chester Dale Collection) Galley 90. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00.

11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, 25¢ each.)

Tour of the week

"The Realistic Tradition of Joseph Wright," Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour

"Introduction to the Collection," Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 and 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture

"Some Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Architecture (VIII)," Guest Speaker: Professor Sir Nikolas Pevsner, A. W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert

Mimi Poirier, Pianist, East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, APRIL 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, APRIL 12

Painting of the week

Gainsborough. Landscape with a Bridge (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 59 Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week

"The Reality of Appearance: The Trompe l'Oeil Tradition in American Painting," Central Gallery. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour

"Introduction to the Collection," Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture

"Bruegel's Paintings in Vienna," Guest Speaker: Anna Spitzmüller, Former Curator of Education, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert

National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor, George Wargo, Viola, East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, APRIL 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, APRIL 19

Object of the week

"Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis," French, c. 1140, (Widener Collection) Gallery G–2. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week

"The Realistic Tradition of Still-Life Painting," Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour

"Introduction to the Collection," Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture

"The American Tradition in the Arts." Guest Speaker: Richard McLanathan, Author and Art Critic, New York, Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert

27th American Music Festival: The University of Maryland Trio, East Garden Court 8:00.

For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue entrance.

MONDAY, APRIL 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, APRIL 26

Painting of the week

Perino del Vaga: "The Nativity," (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 15, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week

"The Realistic Tradition of American Painting," Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour

"Introduction to the Collection," Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture

"The Still-Life Tradition," Speaker: Grose Evans, Curator, National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert

27th American Music Festival: Thomas Beveridge, Bass-Baritone, Martin Katz, Pianist, East Garden Court 8:00.

The reality of appearance

"The Trompe l'Oeil Tradition in American Painting." Continuing through April, until May 3, in the ground floor galleries is the exhibition of one hundred examples of trompe l'oeil ("fool-the-eye") still-life paintings created in America during the nineteenth century. Assembled by the art critic and writer Alfred Frankenstein, the exhibition traces the history of American still-life painting from the works of the Peale family of the early 1800's to the early twentieth century, with outstanding examples by Harnett, Peto, Haberle, and a number of lesser known artists. William M. Harnett, the greatest American exponent of trompe l'oeil, is represented by thirty-four paintings. A fully illustrated catalogue of the exhibition, with an introduction and notes by Mr. Frankenstein, 9" x 11", 156 pages, is available for $3.50 postpaid.

In conjunction with the exhibition, three Sunday lectures will be devoted to different aspects of American art and still-life painting. See weekly listings for details.

NO PLANES FOR ISRAEL—DIPLOMACY OR DISASTER?

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Rogers has announced that the United States will hold in abeyance Israel's request to purchase jet aircraft. I, for one, am dismayed by this announcement, for it shows that this administration is willing to dabble in diplomacy while the survival of a progressive and friendly nation hangs in the balance.

Will the Soviet Union hold in abeyance the further deployment of SAM missiles or the influx of military technicians into the UAR and other Arab states? Will the Arab governments hold in abeyance their 22-year record of hostility toward Israel and at least recognize her right to exist? Will the Arab guerilla organizations hold in abeyance their policy of violence, treachery and sabotage, a policy which even the Arab governments cannot adequately control?

No, Mr. Speaker, the violence in the Middle East will not end because we refuse to sell Israel the aircraft she needs to survive. It will not end because we or others impose a so-called balance of power in the area. It will end only when the Arab nations are willing to conduct direct, face-to-face talks with Israel in search of a just and lasting peace. To play diplomatic games with Israel's future, to hypothesize about a balance of power when her survival is at stake will not end the hostilities in the Middle East. To think otherwise courts disaster.

Following the announcement by Secretary Rogers, the Israeli Government released a thought-provoking assessment of the impact of the U.S. decision on the situation in the Middle East. I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of that assessment along with an excellent editorial from the March 26 Hartford, Conn., Courant on the same subject.

THE U.S. RESPONSE TO ISRAEL'S AIRCRAFT NEEDS—AN ASSESSMENT

1. The decision of the U.S. Government to hold in abeyance Israel's request to purchase a supply of jet aircraft gives rise to four fundamental questions:

(a) What are the possible effects of the U.S. decision on Israel's security?

(b) What impact is the decision likely to have on Arab military and political thinking, both short-term and long-term?

(c) What lessons might the Russians draw from the U.S. decision?

(d) What impact may the U.S. decision have on the prospects of peace?

2. Israel's Security—The Balance of Power.—The U.S. decision is based on the premise that Israel's air capacity is sufficient to meet its needs for the time being. Israel contests this assessment. It has evidence of a growing shift in the Arab favor. Israel's original order for additional aircraft was placed in September 1969, for delivery in 1971 and 1972. The size of that order reflected a projection of the military balance as it appeared in September 1969. Since then, the Soviets have accelerated the shipments of planes and other sophisticated weapons to the Arabs, culminating in the introduction into Egypt of SA–3 missiles. The numerical disparity between Israel's air strength as compared with that of the Arabs is growing. And while the Arab countries can count on an unlimited supply of war materials of all kinds, Israel is found to be even more restricted than ever before in its ability to procure essential supplies of planes. Inevitably, this cannot but have an adverse effect upon the credibility of Israel's potential defensive capacity in the eyes of the Arabs and the Soviets.

In the given Middle East situation, the credibility of Israel's deterrent strength is the only effective guarantee against the outbreak of full-scale hostilities. The Israel airforce is a most vital element of that posture. Grossly outnumbered in men and weapons, Israel has to rely, in the first instance, upon the skill and effectiveness of its airforce to compensate for its deficiencies in other areas of defense. In very large measure, it is the airforce that is the key to the maintenance of the balance of power.

The term "balance of power" is not a scientific concept given to precise measurement. It can at best be estimated and is always subject to error. In Israel's case, an error could have disastrous consequences not only with respect to its immediate security, but in terms of its very national survival. Israel's request to purchase a specified number of planes was not arbitrary. It was based upon sober intelligence evaluations that reveal a steadily deteriorating ratio in numerical odds.

3. The Arab Response.—The U.S. decision must undoubtedly leave its mark on Arab military planning, short-term and long-term. It might serve to encourage an escalation of the Egyptian war of attrition, the Soviet and Arab calculation being that Israel will be inhibited in the deployment of its air force for fear of sustaining losses it will be unable to replace. The fact that the United States response to Israel's aircraft request has come at the very time when Egypt is being equipped by the Soviets with the SA–3 missiles (accompanied by a substantial number of Soviet personnel to operate the system) will surely serve to strengthen this projection. The missiles constitute for the Egytians the long-sought umbrella for the intensification of their war of attrition, unhampered by the measured Israeli air responses that have successfully countered the attrition effort in the past. Seen in this light, the SA–3's emerge not as a defensive but as an offensive device, operating in support of an offensive strategy.

Their introduction raises the prospect of the renewal of the massive Egyptian artillery barrages along the length of the Suez Canal, backed by Egypt's substantial artillery and manpower advantage which Israel cannot match. It was because of this Egyptian advantage that Israel was compelled to take to the air, its aircraft serving along the Canal as flying artillery. With the presence of the missiles, Israel has no choice

but to face the prospect of increased air losses at the very time when its request for more aircraft is being held up. This is a new situation and one that represents a material shift in the balance of power.

4. The Soviet Response.—Certainly, the U.S. decision is rendered particularly grave when measured against the Russian actions to increase the Arab military potential, backed by an increased Soviet military presence in Egypt. The absence of a positive U.S. response to Israel's request for aircraft at this time is liable to be interpreted by the Soviet Union as an assurance that its continued military and political support for the Egyptian attrition strategy may go forward and be further intensified without hindrance.

5. The Prospects of Peace and the Dangers of War.—Politically, the United States move must serve to encourage those forces in the Arab world bent on launching war in an effort to vanquish Israel. The first prerequisite for peace in the Middle East is the need to eliminate once and for all from Arab thinking the option of war and the notion that Israel can be destroyed. Herein lie the seeds of realism and the promise of peace. So long as Arab Governments believe they have a chance to trounce Israel in battle there will be no peace in the Middle East. The war of 1967 broke out because of the mistaken Arab and Soviet belief that Israel could be militarily overwhelmed. The only reason why renewed full-scale war has not erupted since 1967 is because the Soviets and the Egyptians have concluded that their chances of waging a successful battle are in doubt. This doubt has been planted, in the first instance, by Israel's air force. Were the Arabs and the Soviets to conclude that Israel's capacity for long-term defensive planning is now to be subjected to the limitations of restrictive aircraft supply, the prospects of all-out war will automatically increase. One cannot dismiss in this context the psychological impact of the U.S. decision upon the Arab leadership at the sight of what they might interpret as the sealing off, or at least the reduction, of Israel's last source of supply of crucial military equipment.

6. In making these observations, Israel is by no means unmindful of the U.S. declarations of readiness to assist it in meeting some of its current economic burdens through the extension of credits. This is deeply appreciated as are the expressions of friendship contained in the recent statements of both the President and the Secretary of State. It is in the spirit of this amity that Israel's Foreign Minister, Mr. Eban, was able to declare on March 23:

"The friendship between Israel and the United States has deep roots in the consciousness of both nations. This came to cogent expression during the meetings between President Nixon and Prime Minister Golda Meir last September, and in many subsequent contacts and discussions.

"We believe that Israel and the United States have many common values and a long record of friendship.

"The Government of Israel expects the close watch on the balance of arms indicated by the U.S. President to result soon in practical steps to prevent the increase of the dangerous imbalance and to supply Israel with the aircraft so necessary and vital for her security."

PLANES FOR ISRAEL "IN ABEYANCE"

It is not alone Israel that is dismayed by President Nixon's announcement that the United States "will hold in abeyance for now" a decision on Israel's request to buy additional jet fighters in this country.

Many Americans too will doubt the wisdom of the President's apparent reasoning. It is the Administration's contention that Israel's air capacity is sufficient to meet its needs for the time being. And it is the Administration's promise, despite the interim decision, to see that the security of Israel is not jeopardized as time—and enemy developments—goes along.

This might be all right enough if it were a sound appraisal of the military picture in the Middle East. But it is difficult to see where it takes into consideration the large superiority in men and materials the Arab countries have on the ground and in the air, or such a fact as the present deployment of Russian SAM 3 weapons in Eygpt, or the impressive number of technicians Russia has just sent to the United Arab Republic to bolster Arab military strength and train Arab pilots.

Mr. Nixon professes to believe none of this so far disturbs the balance of military power in the Middle East, nor places Israel in any immediate jeopardy. But even should this be granted, it does not take into consideration matters of further—and perhaps even greater—concern. It is Mr. Nixon's premise that the arms race in the Middle East should not be accelerated, that the road to peace demands restraint on the part of all potential arms suppliers.

This would be a very fine approach to the problem that has wracked the Mideast for two decades, if it were not for the fact it takes two to tango. Unfortunately it assumes that the Russians are going to take their cue from American idealism, and withhold arms on their part from the Arab countries. This is a very doubtful hunch to play from. And hunch is all it appears to be. When Secretary of State Rogers announced Mr. Nixon's "interim decision" to withhold the planes asked by Israel, he was very closely questioned by newsmen on this point. Does the President have some secret assurance, some under-the-counter sign from the Russians, that they in turn plan to de-escalate arms aid to the Arab countries? Has he noted anywhere on the world scene, for that matter, that Moscow is softening its aggressive stance?

To questions of this kind, Secretary Rogers consistently answered in the negative. Exactly where, then, does this leave the United States and its decision not to send more planes to Israel, not to add to the arms race in the Mideast? It certainly does not leave this country looking as if it were leading from a hand of strength. It seems bound to suggest to Russians and Arabs alike that we find ourselves in a weak position, in which we have to walk softly and play it cautiously. The Arabs are doubtless gleefully aware that we have oil interests to protect in their lands. Russians, only too aware of our problem in Southeast Asia which are reflected in our problems at home, can and probably will interpret our handling of the Mideast situation as rooted in essential timidity and worries.

That is why Americans as well as Israelis must remain very dubious of the wisdom of the President's interim decision. It may very well encourage Russia and the Arab states to further aggression leading to confrontation between East and West rather than avoiding it. A soft answer turneth away wrath. In maintaining dealings, it often invites a clout on the other cheek.

THE OIL LOBBY IS NOT DEPLETED

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, an exemplary article by Erwin Knoll on the privileges enjoyed by the American oil industry appeared in the New York Times of March 8.

Mr. Knoll points out the $1.3 billion annual loss in revenue to the U.S. Treasury through the oil depletion allowance, a sum most interestingly comparable to the Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation increase approved by Congress which the President recently found inflationary. In addition, the author analyzes the cost to the consumer of the oil import quota program, a device which protects the domestic petroleum industry from the competition of lower priced oil imports. In New York the average family of four subsidizes the American oil industry to the tune of $102.32 a year through the artificially high prices of gasoline and heating oil maintained by this protectionist program. Estimates of the cost of the oil import quotas to the American people range from $40 to $70 billion over the past decade, a hefty price for the public to pay for a vested interest with the high-powered lobbying resources and contacts that the oil industry has employed over the years.

I was consequently dismayed, therefore, when the President rejected the recommendation of his own task force that the oil import program be modified and thereby provide fuels at lower prices to the American people, a move which no less an administration figure than Paul McCracken declared would have a counterinflationary effect.

In the type of move becoming ever more predictable when the interests of the American consumer are at stake, the President reacted to these findings by appointing yet another committee to study the oil import program and presumably will continue to do so until he finds one which will concur with the oil lobby's wishes.

Because of this sequence of actions, and on behalf of the doubly-penalized American consumer, I joined 47 of my colleagues in urging the President last month to direct his new Oil Policy Committee to consider the total elimination of the controls on oil imports. Vested interests have dominated our national petroleum policies for too long, and it is time that Government actions should reflect the public interest rather than the dictates of a pampered, high-powered, low-taxed industry.

Because of the importance to the American people of the information concerning the privileges afforded to the oil lobby, I insert Mr. Knoll's article in the RECORD, in full:

THE OIL LOBBY IS NOT DEPLETED

(By Erwin Knoll)

WASHINGTON.—On Thursday evening, Nov. 6, 1969, the Governors of three states met over a quiet dinner at the Tavern Club in Washington with Frank N. Ikard, a former Texas Congressman who is now president of the American Petroleum Institute, the trade association of the nation's largest oil companies. There is no public record of what the four men discussed, although—by coincidence or otherwise—the same three Governors and a fourth were at the White House early the next morning to urge the Nixon Administration to retain the 11-year-old system of oil-import quotas, which costs con-

sumers more than $5 billion a year in higher prices for petroleum products.

The Tavern Club tête-à-tête and the subsequent White House session are examples of the close and continuing contacts between oil and politics—an intimate relationship that has prompted some critics to describe the oil industry as "the fourth branch of government." In recent months those contacts have intensified, for the industry's privileged status is being attacked with unprecedented ferocity. Under the benign patronage of such influential figures as the late Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, who rejoiced in being known as "the uncrowned king of the Senate"; the late House Speaker, Sam Rayburn of Texas; the late Senate Minority Leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, and former President Johnson—all of whom shared a profound and undisguised commitment to the industry's welfare—the petroleum producers enjoyed decades of virtually limitless power in Washington. Their strength probably still surpasses that of any other special-interest group. But with the departure of their most prominent and effective champions, their critics are for the first time emerging as a force to be reckoned with.

In one of the few genuine, although limited, reforms to survive the byzantine machinations that produced the final version of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, both houses of Congress voted decisively to reduce the sacrosanct oil-depletion allowance from 27.5 per cent to 22 per cent. The reduction—acquiesced in by a reluctant executive branch—constituted an acknowledgement that many Americans had come to regard depletion as the most flagrantly objectionable abuse in the loophole-riddled tax code.

In a statement that some of his colleagues thought was tinged with exaggeration, Senator Thomas J. McIntyre of New Hampshire declared that the vote to cut the depletion allowance signified that the Senate had "once and for all rejected its role as the bastion of the oil industry." The Senator was among those who had unsuccessfully sought a more drastic reduction to 20 per cent. "But the important thing," he said, "is that we have finally made a crack in oil's protective shield. If others develop in the days to come, American consumers and taxpayers may yet get a fair shake at the hands of this much-pampered industry."

The depletion allowance, which stood inviolate for more than four decades, has allowed an oil or gas company to deduct 27.5 per cent of its gross income from its taxable income, providing the deduction does not exceed 50 per cent of taxable income. With lesser depletion percentages provided for almost 100 other mineral products, depletion has cost the Treasury about $1.3 billion a year in lost revenues—a sum comparable to the "inflationary" spending increments that President Nixon cited as the reason for vetoing the Labor-H.E.W. appropriations bill for fiscal 1970. Special provisions in the tax laws also permit oil and gas producers to deduct many of their intangible costs for exploration, drilling and development, including off-shore drilling and production in many foreign countries. And oil companies are allowed to deduct against their United States taxes most of the royalties they pay to foreign powers—an arrangement cloaked in the convenient fiction that such royalty payments are "taxes."

The result of these privileges, according to Treasury Department calculations, is that oil and gas companies save in taxes 19 times their original investment for the average well. In 1968, American oil companies paid less than 8 per cent of their income in taxes, compared with more than 40 per cent for all corporations.

Clearly, the tax laws have played an important part in making the oil industry the formidable economic and political force it is. The industry's annual sales total more than $60-billion. Among the 2,250 largest American companies surveyed last April by the Economic Newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York, the 99 oil companies alone accounted for more than 25 per cent of the total profits. The industry's average profit of 9 per cent (based on net sales) is about double the average for all manufacturing companies; only one other industry—drugs—maintains a higher profit level. The 20 largest oil companies amassed profits of $8.1-billion in 1968 and paid 7.7 per cent of the net in taxes, according to U.S. Oil Week, an independent oil-marketing publication. Thanks to the generosity of the tax laws, one oil company—Atlantic-Richfield—avoided all Federal tax payments from 1964 to 1967, and actually managed to accumulate a Federal tax credit of $629,000 while earning profits of $465-million. Atlantic-Richfield's case is not unique.

A tax structure that lends itself to such egregious inequity is obviously worth defending. In Washington (and at state capitals across the country) the industry's interests are served by a costly and complex but closely coordinated lobbying apparatus. Among its principal components are these groups:

The American Petroleum Institute, whose membership roster of 400 companies and 8,000 individuals represents about 85 per cent of the total production, refining and marketing volume in the oil and gas industry. Despite its broad membership, A.P.I. is regarded as primarily the spokesman for the "Big Seven"—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil, Shell, Standard Oil of Indiana, Texaco, Gulf and Standard Oil of California. Among these, Standard of New Jersey is the dominant force.

The institute's annual budget is a closely guarded secret, and its quarterly reports to the clerk of the House of Representatives on lobbying expenditures are incredibly modest—a total of $39,119 for 1968. Industry sources report that the institute spends between $5-million and $10-million a year, much of it for "research." It has a staff of more than 250 at offices in New York, Washington, Los Angeles and Dallas.

The chief A.P.I. lobbyist is former Congressman Ikard, who represented Wichita Falls, Tex., from 1952 to 1961 and was a protegé of the late Speaker Rayburn. When he resigned from the House to join the institute—a move that he said was "a question of economics"—Ikard was praised by Lyndon Johnson, then Vice President, as "a heavy thinker and a heavy doer." Under his direction, says a Congressional source, the institute has been "a pace and precedent setter . . . vigorously seeking to adapt its positions and attitudes to the wave of the future."

The Independent Petroleum Association of America, with some 5,000 members representing about 60 per cent of the independent oil producers. Its "experts"—a professional staff of six operating out of an impressive Washington office suite—were highly visible among the oil men who flitted in and out of the back door to the Senate Finance Committee's offices while the committee, in sessions closed to the public, considered the oil provisions of the Tax Reform Act. The immediate past president of the association, Harold M. McClure, the Republican National Committeeman from Michigan, has acknowledged making "personal" campaign contributions totaling $90,000 in 1968. He recently testified before a Federal grand jury investigating allegations of political bribery.

The same Congressional source who admires the A.P.I. for its flexibility describes the Independent Petroleum Association as "sticking to the traditional line that the existing state of oil privileges is essential to the national defense and must remain sacrosanct."

The National Petroleum Refiners Association, composed of domestic refining companies and representing about 90 per cent of the refinery production in the United States. Donald O'Hara, the association's executive vice president, was formerly a registered lobbyist for the Petroleum Institute, with which he maintains close liaison.

The Independent Natural Gas Association of America, representing major pipeline companies. Its executive director is a former Texas Representative, Walter E. Rogers. He served in Congress as Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Communications and Power, which handles gas-pipeline legislation. He gave up his Congressional seat in 1966 and registered as a lobbyist in 1967 to represent 12 pipeline companies in a vigorous—and successful—effort to water down a pending bill that would have established strict Federal safety standards for the nation's 800,000 miles of gas pipelines.

A formidable array of regional and state groups—among them the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, the Western Oil and Gas Association, the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association and the Kansas Independent Oil and Gas Association—augments the national contingent. Executives of these organizations are frequent visitors to Washington, and they can draw on the talents of the capital's most prestigious law firms for missions of special delicacy. Individual companies also mount their own lobbying efforts; John Knodell, a genial and knowledgeable lawyer who worked the Congressional beat until recently for Humble Oil, was credited with establishing a new beachhead for the industry in the last year or two by opening lines of communication with liberal members of the House and Senate. He is now assigned to Humble's legal department in Houston.

By pooling their efforts, the companies are able to marshal formidable forces. In the carefully orchestrated campaign against reducing the depletion rate, for instance, one concern urged all its stockholders to write to members of Congress; another focused on mobilizing its retired employes; a third concentrated on service-station operators; a fourth sent brochures to its credit-card holders. The companies claimed all these efforts as deductible business expenses, but the Internal Revenue Service is, at the request of Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, examining those claims.

Instances of disarray in the ranks of oil are relatively rare—and when they occur, the dominant companies usually manage to muffle the dissenters. Last year, the small independent producers in the Kansas Independent Oil and Gas Association broke ranks to support a proposal by Senator Proxmire that would have instituted a system of scaled depletion allowances—a plan emphatically resisted by the majors. The Kansas oilmen were unable to persuade even their own state's Senators to support the Proxmire plan. When two executives of the Kansas group flew to Washington to enlist one Senator's assistance, he kept them waiting in an outer office while a representative of Standard Oil of Indiana delivered the pitch for retaining full depletion. "The local boys just don't understand the situation," the Senator later said.

Depletion and tax preferences are hardly the only—or even the most significant—perquisites the industry is eager to protect. In fact, some Congressional critics suspect that the oilmen were not entirely displeased when Congress voted to reduce the depletion allowance, since they hope that this action will ease the pressures against other oil privileges now under attack.

Chief among such privileges is the import-quota system—the topic the four Governors took to the White House on Nov. 7. Their meeting took place in the office of Peter

Flanigan, a Presidential assistant who has special responsibility for financial affairs and who serves as the President's staff expert on oil. The Governors present, representing the Interstate Oil Compact Commission[1] were Preston Smith of Texas, Robert B. Docking of Kansas, Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming and Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois; they brought with them telegrams of support from the chief executives of 13 other states. Among the Administration officials assembled to hear the Governors' views were Secretary of Labor George P. Schultz, who heads President Nixon's Task Force on Oil Import Control, and several key members of the task force—Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy, Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel and Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans.

"This meeting," Senator Proxmire told the Senate on Nov. 17, "was clearly the result of a planned campaign of pressure by the oil industry through the Interstate Oil Compact Commission. Even a cursory examination of the telegrams from the Governors who could not attend the meeting shows they are almost all in identical language. . . .

"The pressure on the Governors must have been fierce. The most interesting example of this is a telegram sent [by the State Commissioner of Conservation and Natural Resources] on behalf of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York. The telegram assures the White House that Governor Rockefeller supports oil-import quotas, though Mayor Lindsay has shown that the quotas cost New York City consumers a minimum of $95 million a year in increased prices and that the cost might go as high, just for New York City, as a quarter of a billion dollars."

Whether Governor Rockefeller was, in fact, subjected to "fierce pressure" is problematic; as a member of a family that founded its fortune on Standard Oil, he is presumably not entirely unsympathetic to the industry's point of view. But Senator Proxmire's reference to a "planned campaign of pressure" in behalf of the import-quota system was no exaggeration.

About the time the oil-state Governors were meeting at the White House with members of the President's task force, Michael L. Haider, the retired chairman of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and retiring chairman of the American Petroleum Institute, had a private audience with President Nixon. He emerged, according to the industry's trade journal, The Oil Daily, "feeling more optimistic about the handling of petroleum-industry problems in Washington." After a "very good conversation" with the President, the report said, Haider "believes Nixon has a good grasp of the problems surrounding oil-import controls and is more confident that the outcome will be favorable."

In the same interview, Haider offered a glimpse of the relative equanimity with which the industry viewed the reduction in the depletion allowance. "Of course we can live with the new taxes," he said. "We obviously aren't going out of business." The Petroleum Institute has estimated that the Tax Reform Act will cost the industry $550-million to $600-million a year.

The import-quota system, on the other hand, has been estimated by reputable economists to be worth between $5.2-billion and $7.2-billion a year. Using the more conservative projection of the quota system's cost, experts have calculated that the average family of four in New York State pays an excess of $102.32 a year for gasoline and heating oil. In Vermont, a family of four pays an additional $195.92. The comparable figure for Wyoming is $258.

President Eisenhower established the oil-import quota system on March 10, 1959, as a "national security" measure designed to reduce American reliance on foreign petroleum production. In taking this step, Sherman Adams recalls in his memoirs of the Eisenhower Administration, "the President had to go against the principles that he had fought for in his foreign-trade policy." According to Adams, the departure was made necessary by "the unpredictable human factor . . . the men who headed two large oil-importing companies that refused to join in voluntary restraints and to heed the warning of the Government of what would happen if they failed to do so. Oil was coming into the United States from foreign fields at such a rate that the American oil-producing centers were being forced into desperate straits." Adams, who served as "deputy President" in the early Eisenhower years, candidly dismisses the notion that the national security was at stake: "The imposing of import quotas on oil was primarily an economic decision brought about by an economic emergency, but the action . . . was based upon security considerations in accordance with the law."

The quota system restricts the entry of cheap foreign crude oil to 12.2 per cent of domestic production in states east of the Rockies. (The quota does not apply in the Western states because even a maximum rate of domestic production there cannot meet the demand.) The system operates in tandem with state laws that closely regulate month-to-month oil production on the basis of demand estimates furnished by the major producers. The effect is to assure domestic companies of a demand for all production, and to push up the cost to American consumers. A barrel of Middle Eastern oil can be landed in New York harbor for about $1.50 less than a barrel of domestic oil of the same quality.

"Import quotas have been instituted in order to insulate the domestic oil market from the challenge of foreign competition," Prof. Walter J. Mead, an economist at the University of California at Santa Barbara, told the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee last spring. "Given this barrier of free entry into the United States market, the price of crude oil in the United States is approximately double the free-market world price." During the first half of 1968, Professor Mead said, Japan paid an average of $1.42 a barrel for Middle Eastern crude oil. The American price for a similar grade of crude was $3 a barrel.

A Department of the Interior study made public on Jan. 16, 1969—and challenged by some economists as too conservative—found that the removal of import quotas would cause a 95-cent-a-barrel decline in the price of crude oil east of the Rockies. John M. Blair, the Senate subcommittee's chief economist, estimates that the quotas "have cost the American public $40-billion to $70-billion in the last 10 years."

Among the quota system's bizarre by-products is a complex of exceptions and evasions designed to suit the oil industry. In the interest of "national security," for example, Canadian oil imports, which can be shipped overland to the United States, are curtailed, while no limitation is placed on tanker shipments from Texas and Louisiana. Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, who has inherited Senator Kerr's mantel as the Capitol's chief spokesman for oil, once defended the Canadian restriction by invoking the likelihood of war between the United States and its neighbor to the north.

Another odd and costly arrangement exacts about $14-million a year from Hawaiian consumers because oil shipped to their state from Indonesia and Venezuela is refined in Hawaii, but priced as though it had been refined from more expensive domestic crude on the West Coast, then shipped to Hawaii in American vessels, which traditionally collect a top dollar for their services. "It seems hard to understand," said Prof. Morris A. Adelman, an M.I.T. economist, during the Senate hearings last spring. "If I looked into it, maybe I would find it even harder to understand."

Consumers and their congressional spokesmen, however—no matter how loud their complaints against the quota system—can claim only modest credit for the current assault. The Presidential task force whose work has worried the industry and preoccupied its lobbyists in recent months came into being as a result of competitive pressures among the companies themselves, which prompted some major producers to seek special Federal benefits under the quota system. The first important breach in the system came when the Johnson Administration granted quotas to a Phillips Petroleum refinery in Puerto Rico and a Hess Oil refinery in the Virgin Islands. Then Occidental Petroleum, a relatively small but aggressive company, discovered vast oil pools in Libya and decided to seek increased access to the restricted American market by requesting a 100,000-barrel-a-day quota for a refinery to be built in a proposed foreign-trade zone at Machiasport, Me. To New Englanders, Occidental promised a reduction of at least 10 per cent in the swollen cost of home heating oil. To the major producers, however, Occidental's request raised the threat of a series of "Machiasports" around the country, dissolution of the import-quota system and substantial reductions in profits.

Confronted with strong and conflicting pressures, the Johnson Administration fumbled indecisively with the Machiasport application during its last year in office, then passed the problem on to its successor. On Feb. 5, 1969, Chairman Haider and President Ikard of the American Petroleum Institute proposed to Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the President's principal economic adviser, that a Presidential task force be appointed to review the quota system. Their intent, it seems clear, was to block the Machiasport project, but surprisingly the task force took on some aspects of a runaway grand jury. The industry has not recovered from the shock.

In a forceful submission to the task force, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice challenged the major rationale for the quota system, arguing that "the import quotas themseves do nothing to preserve this nation's domestic oil reserves. Reserve productive capacity is maintained, if at all, by state regulatory action aimed primarily at other objectives, such as conservation. The resulting hodgepodge of Federal and state regulation seems ill-adapted for achievement of a coherent program designed to provide this country with sufficient emergency oil reserves." The import program, the Antitrust Division also noted, "is a keystone in preserving a dual price system as between the United States and the rest of the free world. By insulating the domestic market from the competitive pressures of world oil prices, the program intensifies the effects of the existing lack of competitive vigor in various domestic oil markets."

Under the direction of Prof. Phillip Areeda, a Harvard economist, the task-force staff compiled what is generally regarded as a full, fair and thorough record (although some industry sources passed the word that the staff was dominated by a most dangerous element—"theoretical economists"). In assembling detailed position papers and rebuttals, the staff shunned *ex parte* contracts with the ubiquitous oil lobbyists and withstood formidable pressures, including a telegram from Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, who

[1] The Interstate Oil Compact Commission is supposedly charged with one responsibility, conserving oil and gas within the continental United States. In theory it has nothing to do with the oil-import program, but it has engaged in heavy lobbying for retention of the quota system.

warned Professor Areeda against "tinkering with the matter of oil imports."

In its final report, the task-force staff found that the quota system has serious disadvantages, including "the hazards of fallible judgment, combined with the ever-present risks of corruption." These factors, the staff concluded, "counsel strongly in favor of getting the Government out of the allocation business as rapidly and as completely as possible." The staff recommended scrapping quotas in favor of a preferential tariff system for oil that would produce about $700,-million a year in new Federal recenues and reduce prices by about 80 cents a barrel—a quarter to a third of the price reduction that might be realized by the total elimination of all import controls. Under a probable tariff schedule, consumers might save a cent or two on a gallon of gasoline and about a cent on a gallon of heating oil.

Such a reduction would have a measurable counterinflationary effect. According to Paul W. McCracken, the chairman of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, "with annual consumption on the order of 80 billion gallons, a 2-cent cut at retail would translate into a reduction of about $1.6 billion in the total national bill for gasoline. Such a cut would be equivalent to a reduction of approximately 6 per cent in the average retail price."

The task force held its last full meeting in December, and a majority—five of the seven members, led by Secretary of Labor Shultz—was prepared to accept the staff's conclusions. The two dissenters were Secretary of the Interior Hickel and Secretary of Commerce Stans, who insisted, in what several participants have described as an angry confrontation, on retention of the quota system.

Present for the first time at a meeting of the task force was Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who emphatically told Secretary Shultz, "Don't box the President in." Some of those present interpreted the remark as a Presidenial request for the retention of quotas. Following Mitchell's appeal, the task force tempered its recommendations, though it reached the basic conclusion that quotas should be scrapped in favor of a tariff schedule.

The broad conclusions of the task-force report leaked out long before it was officially made public, and the oil industry lost no time in stepping up its efforts to win friends and influence people. For many weeks it bombarded Congress and the White House with demands that the quota system be retained.

A retired oil executive who maintains close contact with the industry reported in a confidential memorandum early in February that representatives of the Independent Petroleum Association had made "quite an impression" in a meeting with Flanigan and Bryce Harlow, another Presidential aide. The memo continued: "Theme was—oil revenues are key to the prosperity and state budgets, such as schools (over 90 per cent in Louisiana), of the oil-producing states. Stall any decision until after the election and in this way the Republican party can capture the Senate. This policy will assure Republican Senators' election in questionable states of Alaska, California, Wyoming, New Mexico and Texas. Harlow assured the group that the President is well aware of all the facts and will act to the best interests of the country."

Even more reassuring to the industry was a report published Feb. 6 by Platt's Oilgram News Service, an "inside" newsletter for the industry, based on an interview with a "high Administration official known to be opposed" to the task-force majority's tariff recommendation. The official, whom industry sources identify as Interior Secretary Hickel, said he was convinced that the Administration would not permit "anything drastic" to happen to oil imports.

Secretary Hickel's prediction proved accurate. When the 400-page task-force report, with its recommendation that the quota system be abolished, was released by the White House on Feb. 20, it was accompanied by a Presidential announcement that no "major" change would be ordered now.

The President thanked the task-force members and staff for their "devoted and discerning effort," then announced the formation of a new Oil Policy Committee to conduct further studies. The only task-force member missing from the new group is Secretary Shultz, the original body's most vigorous critic of the quota system. He was replaced by Attorney General Mitchell, who presumably will see to it that the President is not boxed in.

Understandably, the Petroleum Institute thought the President's action was "encouraging," while the Independent Petroleum Association declared that the move should "reassure consumers as to future supplies of both oil and natural gas at reasonable prices.

Meanwhile, the industry is reappraising its pressure tactics, assessing its past mistakes and preparing for such future battles as the developing national crusade against automotive pollution. Former Congressman Ikard predicts "a pretty substantial change" in the industry's expensive image-building program. "We aren't dedicated to anything we are doing simply because we have been doing it," he says. An industry committee headed by Howard Hardesty, senior vice president of Continental Oil, has been conducting an intensive study of oil's public-relations efforts.

In a speech last fall that attracted sympathetic attention in the industry—it was reprinted in full in The Oil Daily—Michel T. Halbouty, a Houston oil producer, engineer, banker and former president of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, complained that the industry's trade associations had "simply failed to inform and educate the public properly."

"Frankly," Halbouty said, "all of us took it for granted that our little red house would never be blown down by those howling wolves. So we find ourselves behind the eight ball. We now see depletion being hammered down. We see serious attacks being made on other incentives. The mandatory import program is in trouble. . . . The shortcoming in our own case has been a lack of communication with the people who really count in this country—the people who vote.

"We have done little to tell the history of oil and gas or the industry or the men who have made it. We have said little about how this industry ignited and sustained the age of liquid fuel and thereby helped lift the shackles of toil from labor. . . . We simply haven't put this information out properly, without wrapping it in a package which had the sign 'support depletion' on the outside. The people would automatically support depletion if they knew what our industry means to them."

From a Washington perspective, Halbouty's apprehensions seem overblown, or at least premature. While the industry's critics are increasingly outspoken and have tasted a few small victories, they have also been subjected to large defeats. Though some of oil's most stalwart champions have been removed by the process of attrition, others remain, steadfast and loyal, in Congress and in the executive branch. Despite a few cracks in the solid front the industry was long able to maintain in its lobbying effort, it remains a potent force in the capital.

When the American Petroleum Institute convened in Houston in November, Administration officials on hand to deliver speeches included Treasury Secretary Kennedy, Interior Under Secretary Russell E. Train and John N. Nassikas, the new chairman of the Federal Power Commission. A few days later Interior Secretary Hickel, whose department has broad jurisdiction over matters of importance to the oil industry, was in Houston to inspect offshore drilling rigs and hold private conversations with industry leaders.

Hickel, the former Governor of Alaska whose intimate ties to oil were the subject of stormy confirmation hearings when he was named to the Cabinet, seemed for a time to fall short of the industry's glowing expectations. Mindful of his vulnerability to conflict-of-interest allegations, he appeared determined to stress his independence of the industry. When an offshore oil blowout in the Santa Barbara channel became a national pollution scandal, the Secretary issued relatively stringent controls on drilling procedures, and oilmen complained of official "overkill." Such industry complaints are no longer heard in Washington, however, and Mr. Hickel seems to have dropped his guard. It was reported recently that an Alaska investment firm owned by the Secretary and his wife and managed by his brother, Vernon, had received a $1-billion contract to build an addition to the building in which Atlantic-Richfield maintains its Anchorage headquarters.

President Nixon, too, was well acquainted with leading oil producers long before Michael Haider paid his cordial call at the White House in November. California oilmen were prominent contributors to the Nixon personal-expense fund that erupted into headlines during the 1952 Presidential campaign. In Congress, Mr. Nixon was a reliable supporter of such oil measures as the tidelands bill, which divested the Federal Government of the offshore petroleum reserves. As Vice President, Nixon worked closely with Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in 1956 to block a sweeping inquiry into disclosures by the late Senator Francis Case of South Dakota that he had been offered a $2,500 bribe for his vote in behalf of a bill to exempt natural-gas producers from Federal regulation. The law firm with which Nixon was associated before his 1968 candidacy had its share of oil clients, and oilmen—including president Robert O. Anderson of rapidly growing Atlantic-Richfield—ranked high among contributors to Nixon's Presidential campaign.

No one knows precisely—or even approximately—how much money oil pours into politics, though experts on campaign financing agree that the industry outspends all others. Official reporting requirements, which divulge only the tip of the iceberg, indicate that executives of oil companies and trade associations can be counted on for hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions during Presidential campaigns—the bulk of it (except in 1964) to Republican candidates. The role of oil money in House and Senate campaigns is even more obscure, although occasional disclosures such as the 1956 charge of a bribe attempt and the more recent investigations of former Senate Majority Secretary Robert G. Baker indicate that money is easily—and bipartisanly—available to legislators who can be counted on to vote the industry's way. Baker, whose Senate mentors were Robert Kerr of Oklahoma and Lyndon Johnson of Texas, served as both collector and distributor of oil contributions funneled through the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in the late nineteen-fifties and early sixties.

Periodic disclosures of political bribery, which have a remarkably transitory effect on public opinion and political morality, are probably less significant than the day-in, day-out "legitimate" relations between Congress and the powerful oil industry. As Robert Engler observed in "The Politics of Oil," a classic study: "The spotlight here belongs more on lawmakers and respectable men with bulging brown briefcases entering the

portals of government than on lawbreakers and furtive men with little black bags using side entrances of hotels. Government policy on oil has increasingly become indistinguishable from the private policies of oil. . . ."

For some lawmakers, of course, the wheel of self-interest need not be oiled, even by political contributions. The late Senator Kerr who held a ranking position on the Finance Committee in the nineteen-fifties and early sixties and was always available to the oil industry, was simply advancing his own cause as a substantial shareholder in Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc. "Why, hell," he said, "if everyone abstained from voting on grounds of personal interest, I doubt if you could get a quorum in the United States Senate on any subject."

Senator Long, who now presides over the Finance Committee and the loyal oil contingent on Capitol Hill, shares his illustrious predecessor's view. "Most of my income is from oil and gas," he says. "I don't regard it as any conflict of interest. My state produces more oil and gas per acre than any state in the Union. If I didn't represent the oil and gas industry, I wouldn't represent the state of Louisiana."

According to records of the Louisiana Mineral Board, Senator Long has received income of $1,196,915 since 1964 from his interests in four state oil and gas leases, and almost $330,000 of that income has been exempt from Federal income taxes because of the oil-depletion allowance. The Senator is also a trustee of family trusts that have collected $961,443 from holdings in state leases since 1964; and he has an interest in at least seven private leases whose royalty reports are not available for public scrutiny.

Few of his colleagues can match Senator Long's oil holdings, but many share his solicitous concern for the industry's welfare. Among those on whom the oil moguls can generally count for unstinting support are Senators John G. Tower of Texas, Gordon Allott of Colorado, Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming, Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma, Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska, Robert J. Dole of Kansas, Peter H. Dominick of Colorado, Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, Theodore F. Stevens of Alaska, George Murphy of California and Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota.

Most—but not all—of oil's fast friends in the Senate are stanch conservatives. Nonetheless, such liberal heroes as J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota can usually be counted on to see oil's side. When a crucial vote on depletion came up in the Senate Finance Committee last fall and resulted in an eight-to-eight tie, Senator McCarthy, a member of the committee, was in a New York restaurant autographing copies of his book on the 1968 campaign, which includes a stern rebuttal of charges that he has favored the oil interests.

McCarthy, who voted consistently against oil privileges during most of his first Senate term, cast his first vote in favor of depletion in 1964 and has generally favored the industry's positions since. There were published reports in 1968 that he had raised about $40,000 for his Presidential campaign in one day at the Petroleum Club in Houston.

Senator Fulbright's unswerving loyalty to his state's oil and gas interests is perhaps more understandable, but he has occasionally carried it beyond mere routine support. When Senator Case of South Dakota disclosed the attempt to buy votes for the 1956 natural-gas bill, Fulbright accused him of being "irresponsible"; to jeopardize passage of the bill was "inexcusable," Fulbright explained.

In the House, the Ways and Means Committee, which writes the nation's tax laws, still has the essential make-up decreed for it by the late Speaker Rayburn, whose policy was to interview all candidates for assignment to the committee on issues relating to oil. (Former President Johnson exercised the same kind of control over the Senate Finance Committee in his days as Majority Leader.) Among those who passed Mr. Rayburn's test was former Congressman Ikard, who now serves as the industry's lobbyist in chief. With rare exceptions, the full House delegations from Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana serve as the hard core of the oil bloc.

Those legislators who are not irrevocably committed to oil's interests can count on frequent, cordial contacts with the army of lobbyists the industry maintains in the capital. One aide to a Senator who is active in legislative matters affecting oil reports that he receives about 20 calls and several visits *a day* from industry spokesmen. Written communication is rare.

And the oil lobbyists are doing more than socializing during those visits on Capitol Hill. As soon as the thrust of the task-force report on import quotas became clear, they moved decisively to protect the quota system. Already scheduled are two Congressional committee inquiries designed to attack the task force's recommendations. In the House, the Interior Subcommittee on Mines and Mining plans an investigation of the "national security aspects" of the quota system under the direction of Representative Ed Edmondson of Oklahoma. "He is a Congressman representing an oil-producing and refining state," one of Edmondson's aides explains. "He feels the smaller independent operator gets squeezed first in this kind of issue." In the Senate, a planned investigation will, from the industry's point of view, be in equally reliable hands—those of Senator Long.

In his announcement that he would not immediately implement the task-force report, President Nixon said he expected that such Congressional hearings would produce "much additional valuable information."

As they make their cordial way through the corridors of the Capitol, the oil lobbyists complain that things just haven't been going right lately. Some predict the most drastic consequences—not just for the industry but for the nation—if the quota system is scrapped.

But they don't really look very worried. The well is not about to run dry.

GREEN THUMB GAINS SUPPORT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial in which my colleague, the Honorable ROGER ZION from Indiana's Eighth Congressional District, commends the work of the Green Thumb job program for senior citizens in Indiana. I can only add that I have observed, first-hand, the growth and the success of this project and I am pleased to see it recognized as a meaningful program. The editorial follows:

[From the Paoli Republican, Mar. 10, 1970]

GREEN THUMB—BACK IN BUSINESS

The Green Thumb job program for senior citizens will be continued in Indiana, Congressman Roger Zion announced in a news release this week.

"Green Thumb employs older and retired low-income farmers to beautify the highways and build roadside parks and to carry out other conservation and beautification projects," explains the congressman.

The Department of Labor has signed a contract for Indiana extending the program for five months. The program in this state employs 282 men, all over the age of 55 and many who are in the 70's and 80's, who earn up to $1500 a year under the program. They work two days a week.

"Local government officials have told me," said Mr. Zion, "that this is one of finest federal programs. The money goes where it belongs—into the pockets of people who need work. These older workers have many skills and talents and they do an excellent job in improving their communities."

We agree. Sadly, too many of the well-intentioned schemes dreamed up in Washington collapse like a wet dishrag when they are put into operation at the grassroots level. Green thumb is a happy exception.

Perhaps the reason lies in the character of these old gentlemen. They are relics from another day, another world. When they hired out to a neighbor down the road, they expected to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. You can be assured they still feel the same way.

They are experts. Turn them loose in a park or on a highway right-of-way, they can see exactly what needs to be done. At their unhurried, deliberate pace, what they get done is done right.

MEDICAL CARE FOR VETERANS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the President is to be commended for his swift response to the problems of the Veterans' Administration hospital system arising out of the special medical problems of many Vietnam veterans.

His statement today shows both an understanding of the problem and a desire to do whatever is possible to assure the highest standard of medical care for veterans.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I shall do all in my power to make certain the additional funds requested are provided as speedily as possible. This program deserves and must receive the highest domestic priority.

In respect to the present situation in the VA hospitals, it is only fair to say that it is extremely difficult today, no matter what funds are available, to obtain the skilled medical practitioners we would like to have to provide superior attention for the Vietnam veteran. There is a shortage of such men and women throughout the United States and the Veterans' Administration must compete for their services with thousands of other institutions. The President has mentioned this problem in his statement today. I know it is a matter of greatest concern to Dr. Ekeberg, our distinguished Assistant Secretary for Health.

UNITED STATES SHOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY TO FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR INDOCHINA CONFERENCE

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the proposal issued yesterday by the French Cabinet to convene a general international conference on Indochina in the face of recent developments in Laos and Cambodia is a most welcome one. While I severely criticized recent French policy in the Middle East, I feel that France has maintained genuine neutrality toward Southeast Asia since 1954. The French initiative, therefore, should be regarded as both constructive and opportune. It offers, in my view, a fresh chance for this country to begin to extract itself from our predicament in that area of the world.

I have today communicated these thoughts to the President, urging him to respond favorably to the French proposal by immediately appointing an American of world stature to take charge not only of the Paris negotiations, but also of the wider negotiations we hope to enter. Such a response, along with several other steps which I have specified in my telegram to the President, would revive long dormant efforts on the part of the United States to achieve a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. It would also clearly indicate our readiness to extend the scope of the negotiations to include Cambodia and Laos as a means of reducing the alarming possibility that the Vietnamese war might spread to those areas.

Today's New York Times report on the French Cabinet proposal, and the text of the telegram I have sent to President Nixon urging a favorable U.S. response, follow:

FRANCE PROPOSES INDOCHINA PARLEY CITING WAR'S SPREAD, CABINET ASKS A MEETING—GENEVA FORMULA A POSSIBILITY

(By Henry Giniger)

PARIS.—The French Government called tonight for a general conference on Indochina to make the area as a whole "a zone of neutrality and peace."

A statement issued by the Cabinet said that the Vietnamese war was spreading to Laos and Cambodia and that all foreign intervention had to end if peace and neutrality were to prevail.

"The French Government is convinced," the Cabinet said, "that the extension of a war that tends to become indivisible can be avoided only by negotiation between all interested parties with a view to seeking and guaranteeing the bases of a peace, itself invisible."

Léo Hamon, the Government spokesman, said a reconvening of the Geneva Conference of 1954, which brought an end to the French-Indochinese war, was one possibility. The official statement implied that such a general conference could replace the talks being held here, with little result, by the United States, South Vietnam, the Vietcong and North Vietnam.

The French decision to speak out was backed by references made by President Pompidou two weeks ago to Laos and Cambodia as "islands of French culture and presence in that part of the world."

French interest in the neutrality of Indochina is long standing and officials here habitually refer to the 1954 agreements as well as to those of 1962, on Laos, as the principles by which the concerned parties should guide themselves.

It is not believed that there was a prior consultation on the possibility of a new conference before the French made the suggestion, but the statement said that France would "actively contribute" to bring about a general understanding.

Two weeks ago, when the Cabinet met, the Government expressed fear of a spread of the conflict and at today's meeting it found the situation aggravated and its fears confirmed.

The two cabinet meetings at which the Government took a stand on the Indochina problem followed a long period of silence imposed by the desire to lend a discreet hand to the participants in the peace talks here.

The renewal of French overt activity was also characterized by moves by French diplomats in Hanoi, Peking and Pnompenh, all designed to express French concern and exert a moderating influence on the parties.

The French ambassador in Peking, Etienna Manac'h, was reported to have conferred with the deposed Cambodian chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and to have told him he would not have French support if he set up a government in exile.

The Government said hope of keeping Cambodia and Laos neutral and peaceful was not lost. Success, the cabinet said, involves the cessation of all foreign intervention and the respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country.

The Government appeared to be warning the United States and North Vietnam and its allies in equal measure.

A reference to "a really independent South Vietnam" implied equal condemnation of the United States and North Vietnam for maintaining forces there. The phrase also suggested that the present Saigon regime was less than independent.

The Government noted that the Cambodian Embassy here had reaffirmed Cambodia's desire to be neutral. The Cambodian Ambassador said at a news conference today that this neutrality was being violated by the presence of foreign troops—North Vietnamese and Vietcong—which refused to leave.

APRIL 2, 1970.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washintgon, D.C.:

As a vigorous critic of recent French policy in the Middle East, I nonetheless welcome the French proposal of an international conference aimed at finding a solution for the problem of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. I hope you will respond promptly and positively to this proposal and will urge the other parties involved to do likewise.

I am sure that your Administration genuinely does not want to see the Vietnam war extended into Laos or Cambodia. However, I fear that you will feel compelled to extend our military involvement as a necessary consequence of our insistence on continuing the war in Vietnam to maintain an anti-communist bastion there.

The ouster of Sihanouk demonstrates the paradox that neutral leadership in Southeast Asia may serve U.S. interests better than provocative anti-communism.

The North Vietnamese pressure on Laos shows that Hanoi has the capability of outflanking our position in Vietnam even if our war there seems for the time being to be succeeding.

It seems clear that the developments in Cambodia and Laos were a consequence of the continuing American military involvement in Vietnam.

I urge you Mr. President to return to the posture of 18 months ago when the U.S. was genuinely pressing for a negotiated solution in Vietnam involving some compromise on both sides and to indicate our readiness to extend the scope of the negotiations to include Cambodia and Laos. First moves in this direction would be: (1) an explicit disavowal of the Dulles doctrine that neutrality is immoral; (2) the immediate appointment of an American of world stature to take charge not only of the Paris negotiations but also of the wider negotiations we hope to enter into; (3) announcement of a definite schedule for total withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam; (4) strong pressure on the repressive Thieu government to include representatives of all non-communist elements in Vietnam so as to make possible negotiations leading toward a genuinely neutral government.

The initiative of France, a power which has since 1954 been a genuine neutral in the area, offers a welcome opportunity for the U.S. to start getting out of the intolerable predicament we are in.

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Member of Congress.

THE MAILMEN "GIVE IT A JOLT"

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to seek an equitable resolution to the current postal dispute, we might well pay attention to the excellent analysis of the Government's obligations to its employees in a March 24 editorial in the New York Times by Tom Wicker. Because of my agreement with the conclusions reached by Mr. Wicker and because I believe it imperative that we move quickly in Congress to redress the longstanding grievances of our postal employees. I insert the editorial in the RECORD:

THE MAILMEN "GIVE IT A JOLT"

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, March 23.—Of course, President Nixon is right that the postal workers cannot be allowed to strike against the Government; and, of course, he cannot negotiate on their wage demands until they return to work, because to do so would be to legitimate an illegal strike. But neither these assertions nor the use of troops to deliver the mail in New York goes to the heart of the matter, which is whether the situation should have been allowed to come to such an impasse.

The postal situation, in fact, is all too exemplary of what so often happens in America today. An institution fails to respond quickly or effectively to the needs or desires of those it affects; they then take matters into their own hands; and the institution is forced to respond with tough measures—political repression or strike-breaking.

MISTRUST OF "THE SYSTEM"

When that happens, those—whether blacks, students or postmen—who tried and failed to get a response, before turning to the direct action for which they are rebuked, can hardly be blamed for developing a bitter mistrust of "the system." The first requirement of any institution should be that it function with reasonable effectiveness and equity; if it does not, it can hardly hope for and does not deserve allegiance and respect.

The postal workers, for instance, as well as other Government employes, have been asked to abide by the self-evident proposition that there is no right to strike against the

Government. But it is equally self-evident that, if that is so, the Government must take care to maintain its side of the compact. Its employers must not be put in the position of having no way to gain a just end except by breaking the law.

ECONOMIC PRESSURES

Without asserting that the postal workers' demands are entirely justified, it does seem clear that they are not well paid by the standards of other public service employes; and this is particularly so in the major cities, where both the cost of living and the risks of the job are likely to be higher than in the small towns.

The postal workers, moreover, have been caught in the Nixon Administration's fight against inflation (although if the President had been as militantly against corporation price increases as he has been against postal pay rises, the workers might be less irritated). And they are victims of the political maneuvering that has accompanied the linkage of a proposed pay increase to the difficult, if desirable, postal reform the Administration has been seeking.

Thus, while the strike that spread so swiftly from New York across the nation was certainly a "wildcat" which the Government cannot tolerate, it is unjustified only in the strictest legal sense. It would by no means be unjustified by the standards that govern most employe-union relations; and, in fact, since the Government claims the right to deny its employe unions the ultimate weapon used by other labor organizations, the Government has a greater obligation than most industries to consider in timely and sympathetic fashion the needs and welfare of its employes. It is at least questionable whether that obligation was met in the case of the postal workers.

The worst of the resulting strike is that there is no satisfactory way out of it. To try to break it with troops is not only distasteful; it could produce violence and bitterness that might even prolong the strike, and postal authorities say untrained soldiers can't do the job anyway. To negotiate a wage increase while the strike goes on is to invite more strikes by other dissatisfied Government employes.

UNSATISFACTORY RESOLUTION

Yet, to insist—as Mr. Nixon has little alternative but to do—that the union must return to work before negotiations can begin is to some extent unfair in that it puts the burden on the workers and denies the Government's share of the blame for the situation; it is self-serving, in that it asks the letter carriers to entrust their welfare to the very institution they believe has already neglected it; and it is ironic in that even if the union does go back to work, and a pay rise is granted in the subsequent negotiations, the postal workers still are quite likely to draw the conclusion that only the strike got results.

All this should have been avoided in a vigorous and effective political system. As it is, the strike is one more suggestion that the American system has become so massive and impersonal and therefore so unresponsive that the only way to make it act is to give it—in John W. Gardner's phrase—"a solid jolt." That is a basic reason for the harsh conflicts in American society today.

THE SMUGGLERS OF MISERY

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the April 1970 issue of the Reader's Digest features an article by Mr. William Schulz concerning contraband traffic in marihuana, heroin, cocaine, amphetamines, and barbiturates.

Included in the article, entitled "The Smugglers of Misery," is the story of Donald Rice, a 25-year-old San Franciscan who earned thousands of dollars from an initial investment of $25 in bootlegged amphetamine pills.

Rice's testimony was made at the San Francisco hearings of the Select Committee on Crime last October. It is a success story we can well do without.

As a result of those hearings and another in Washington, D.C., a bipartisan majority of the Crime Committee introduced legislation to place quotas on the number of amphetamines that can be legally produced each year and amendments to existing statutes to permit the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to crack down on the operators of clandestine laboratories.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Schulz' article at this point in the RECORD:

THE SMUGGLERS OF MISERY

(By William Schulz)

(As the nation watches in alarm, young America is being victimized by a massive drug-smuggling industry. Here is how it operates—and what is being done to stop it.)

Last year, smugglers deluged the United States with an estimated 300 *tons* of illegal drugs, an incredible increase in the traffic of more than *500 percent* in just three years. The contraband—marijuana, heroin, cocaine, amphetamines, barbiturates—came in by land, sea, and air, in false-bottom suitcases, in hollowed-out surfboards, in babies' diapers. When it was finally sold on the streets it brought the purveyors well over a billion dollars.

Trying to stem the daily flow of drugs across our borders and beaches is the awesome task of federal Customs officials. Their adversaries are a shrewd and tenacious legion, ranging from Mafia dons to respected diplomats, from South American gangsters to European financiers. And the methods they employ are sophisticated and ever-changing. "One thing is certain," say Assistant Treasury Secretary Eugene T. Rossides, who directs the government's efforts against the smugglers. "Without these highly professional, tightly organized rings of narcotics smugglers, the United States would have little or no drug problem." Federal Customs Commissioner Myles Ambrose supplies the statistics: Ninety percent of the marijuana used in this country comes from abroad, 100 percent of the opium, cocaine and heroin, substantial quantities of amphetamines, barbiturates and other synthetic drugs.

How do such vast quantities of dangerous drugs enter the country? What kind of profits do the big-time smugglers reap? What are their ties to organized crime? What is being done to deter these brokers of misery?

Seeking answers to these basic questions, I traveled from Miami to New York, from Tijuana to Montreal, probing the shadowy world of illicit narcotics. To understand this world, it is necessary to look at each drug separately.

MARIJUANA BY THE TON

Eighty percent of the marijuana used in this country originates in Mexico, where peons grow it on small plots, carry it to town by donkey and sell it for perhaps $4 a kilo (2.2 pounds). The marijuana leaves are then packed in one-kilo cellophane packages, and stored until transported up Mexico's highways to points along the Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California borders.

Much of it winds up in Tijuana, the wide-open border town just below San Diego. Because of Tijuana's heavy international traffic—more than 100,000 people cross the border every day—most of the college students, hippies and others who buy small amounts of marijuana there manage to get through Customs without being caught. But they account for a small percentage of the Mexican marijuana smuggled into this country.

Most of it is brought in by big-money professionals. In his new book, *The Smugglers*, author Timothy Green tells of a top Tijuana dealer who currently sends two or three cars into the United States every day, each carrying more than 300 pounds of "grass" hidden in gas tanks, secret panels or customized upholstery. He buys the marijuana for $12,000 a ton and delivers it in San Diego for $65,000, in Los Angeles for $100,000 and in San Francisco for $200,000. Local pushers then break down the kilo bricks into ounce bags, which sell for $25 to $35, and into individual cigarettes—which usually go for 50 cents to a dollar apiece. Thus a kilo of marijuana, purchased originally in Mexico for $4, can bring more than $1000 once it reaches big-city slums or college campuses.

Major Tijuana dealers—whose headquarters are sometimes protected by machine-gun-toting guards—supply the entire United States. Tipped off by an informer in September 1967 that a Ford station wagon loaded with marijuana would cross the border at Calexico, Customs officials decided to trail the smugglers. Four days and 3300 miles later, the couriers pulled into North Bergen, N.J., headquarters of Angel Roberto Millan, a Cuban national known as a major New York dealer. Right behind were the men from Customs. They jumped from their cars, grabbed more than half a ton of marijuana, and arrested Millian and the two couriers, all of whom were convicted in federal court.

Customs agents seized the cars of 1,516 smugglers as they crossed the Mexican border last year. But big-time operators use other forms of transportation as well. Yachts and high-speed launches leave Southern California for Ensenada and other Mexican ports, returning with caches of marijuana. Some smugglers rent small planes to bring in the stuff. Customs agents arrested nearly 1,700 of these other marijuana smugglers along the borders of the Southwest last year—"and still the stuff comes in," says a weary government official, "night and day."

PILL CARRIERS

Mexico is also the source of millions of goofballs (barbiturates) and bennies (amphetamines) that are sold in school yards throughout the United States. In four years the number of pills seized at the Tijuana checkpoint has increased 70-fold—and beleaguered Customs agents admit they get only a fraction of the illicit cargo.

A typical pill smuggler was Donald Rice, 25-year-old San Franciscan and admitted drug user. In testimony before a Congressional committee, Rice said he started in the business with $25, purchasing stolen pills from employes of a California military depot. As business grew, Rice and his 14-man organization turned to Mexican suppliers. Rice would purchase $3000 worth of Tijuana bennies and pay a local runner $1000 to take them across the border, stashed in an automobile gas tank. When sold to San Francisco wholesalers, the pills brought $12,000—a handsome profit for a weekend's work.

INVESTING IN HEROIN

The *really* big money, say agents, is made in the hard stuff—cocaine and heroin.

Poverty-stricken Indians cultivate coca bushes on the steppes of the Andes, selling the leaves for pennies a pound. These are

broken down to pulp, refined, and smuggled into the United States by Latin American syndicates. By the time it's cut and recut, a kilo of cocaine will bring $360,000 in street sales.

Pure cocaine is usually brought into Miami or New York by couriers who fly up from South America carrying false-bottom suitcases or wearing custom-made vests. Last year New York police arrested a Chilean smuggler who had brought in 44 pounds of cocaine secreted in specially made wine bottles. The courier worked for a Santiago syndicate that smuggled millions of dollars' worth of cocaine and heroin a year.

The major quantity of the heroin used in the United States originates in the poppy fields of Turkey, where licensed farmers supply raw opium for pharmaceutical purposes. Many of the same farmers also sell to black-market brokers who use mules and camels to transport the sticky, malodorous opium into Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. There, in clandestine laboratories, it is converted into a crude morphine, reducing its bulk by 90 percent, and is subsequently smuggled by merchant seamen to the south of France. In the area around Marseille, several groups of Corsicans employ skilled scientists to turn the morphine into heroin.[1]

From France the heroin is shipped to the United States, often by circuitous routes through Mexico, South America or Canada. It is carried on tramp steamers, and jet planes, in diplomatic pouches and home freezers. By the time it reaches the street, diluted time and again, a kilo of heroin that wholesales for $10,000 may bring more than a third of a million dollars.

U.S. street sales of heroin have been pegged at about $1.5 billion a year. Behind much of this traffic is La Cosa Nostra, whose smuggling and wholesaling profits are estimated at $90 million a year. Says Anthony Scaduto, a top authority on organized crime: "The men of the Mafia are at the top of the pyramid that makes up the international narcotics racket. They 'invest' in it with funds from their hidden gambling interests, their illegal gambling empires, their loan-sharking and extortion and myriad other rackets. They are the financiers." They never touch narcotics themselves.

A case in point is John S. Nuccio, a pudgy, manicured racketeer who directed an international heroin operation. Nuccio supplied the money for the drugs—anywhere from $20,000 to $70,000 a trip—to an Air France steward who shuttled back and forth from Paris to New York. Deliveries were made not to Nuccio but to third parties. Apprehended, the steward agreed to cooperate with federal authorities. Only then was it possible to convict Nuccio, who is now serving 15 years in prison.

Claims have been made in recent years that La Cosa Nostra is getting out of narcotics to concentrate on less dangerous enterprises. Actually, while the mob is no longer involved in the street-sale stages of heroin distribution, "most of the importation and virtually all of the wholesaling remain in Mafia hands," according to William T. Tendy, the assistant U.S. Attorney who has prosecuted many of the country's major drug cases in recent years.

The techniques of heroin importation are varied. A group of French smugglers shipped a 1962 Citroen back and forth between Paris and New York with as much as 246 pounds of heroin hidden in compartments that could be opened only if a certain upholstery button was twisted. Diplomats, who can move easily through U.S. Customs, are often used as couriers; in fact, envoys from Mexico and Uruguay are currently serving federal prison terms on narcotics charges.

COURIERS AND CODFISH

Some of the most ingenious techniques of all were practiced by a Geneva-based syndicate headed by ex-convicts Andre Hirsch and Robert Mori. Syndicate couriers would board Trans World Airlines flights in one European city, say Frankfurt, and deplane in another, usually London. While aboard, they hid six-kilo lots of heroin (stuffed in men's socks) behind lavatory waste receptacles. American-based couriers would then board the plane at its first U.S. stop—perhaps New York, perhaps Washington—retrieve the heroin in flight and get off at a second U.S. city, usually Denver or St. Louis. There would be no necessity to go through Customs. The couriers would return to New York, contact their buyer and receive $51,000 for each six-kilo load.

The operation worked smoothly for some time, with the U.S. couriers sending back as much as one million dollars a month, usually via secret Swiss bank accounts. Then, in July 1968, a TWA maintenance worker discovered the heroin and alerted Customs. The couriers were arrested, as were their U.S. buyers.

But within a month Hirsch had another scheme under way.[2] A 23-year-old Parisian, Christian Serge Hysohion, was dispatched to New York with instructions to set up the Panamanian Chemical and Food Co., Inc., a dummy import firm ostensibly handling Spanish foodstuffs. Then, in the Spanish port of Málaga, large quantities of heroin were sealed in cans of codfish and paella, and shipped to Hysohion in New York. On December 10, 1968, the *S.S. Ragunda* sailed with 702 cases of the tins. On January 31, 1969, another 400 cases left aboard the *S.S. Grundsunda*. In New York, the dope was to be separated from the legitimate foodstuffs and sold to a syndicate contact.

Unknown to Hirsch and Hysohion, however, a globe-girdling investigation by two New York-based Customs agents, Edward Coyne and Albert Seeley, had uncovered the operation. When the *Ragunda* docked in late February, Coyne, was on the scene. Using a high-powered X ray, he examined the 700 cases, discovering six in which heroin was secreted.

Coyne and Seeley bided their time. Undercover agents followed the precious shipment as it was delivered on March 7 to Hysohion's home in Queens, and kept up an around-the-clock surveillance. On March 8 an accomplice arrived from Paris, and early the next morning the two left, carrying a large leather satchel stuffed with heroin. Hailing a cab, they headed for Grand Central Station to hide the stuff in a public locker. They never made it. Customs agents arrested Hysohion and his partner and seized 62 pounds of heroin. Twenty-four hours later, the *Grundsunda* docked, and Customs grabbed another 62 pounds of the deadly white powder. Ultimately, more than 30 ring members were arrested, but in less than two years of operation, Hirsch and his coterie had shipped more than 800 pounds of pure heroin into the United States, enough to push tens of thousands of addicts closer to their graves.

FULL-SCALE ATTACK

In recent months, significant efforts have been launched to do something about the illicit drug traffic into the United States. For instance:

Operation Intercept, a program of rigorous border inspection ordered last year, dramatically cut the flow of Mexican drugs, at least temporarily. Operation Intercept, which caused long delays at border checkpoints, was followed by Operation Cooperation, a joint U.S.-Mexican drive designed to slash smuggling and also drug production south of the border. Six thousand Mexican soldiers were sent on "search and destroy" missions in areas where marijuana is heavily cultivated. And for the first time, Mexico imposed controls on the sale of amphetamines and barbiturates. New legislation is being drafted by Mexican authorities to punish drug producers and smugglers.

A vitally important agreement was reached last January with the French government to curb the illicit processing of heroin in that country. Pressed by Washington, Paris has pledged a stepped-up campaign against drug traffickers, with 10,000 French policemen to be trained in narcotics work.

At the insistence of President Nixon, nearly 700 new agents and inspectors are being hired by the woefully under-manned Customs Bureau.

Most important, perhaps, the President has declared an all-out war on organized crime. Federal strike forces have been set up in major cities to combat the syndicates that control narcotics and other rackets. The Attorney General has receivde permission to wire-tap major drug traffickers. A comprehensive anticrime package is moving through Congress.

Administration officials expect no overnight victories. They are taking on immensely powerful, well-entrenched criminal groups. But the government's full-scale attack is long overdue and deserves the determined support of every citizen.

[1] See "Merchants of Heroin," The Reader's Digest, August '68, September '68.

[2] Mori was arrested by French police as a fugitive in May 1968, extradicted to the United States, and convicted of smuggling. He is now appealing his conviction while serving a 20-year sentence in federal prison.

NEW JERSEY EXPERIMENT ON INCOME MAINTENANCE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, more than 25 million Americans live in what is officially described as poverty. The poverty line—approximately $3,744 in 1969—is, of course, a theoretical construct. It seeks by statistics to describe the plight of those who simply do not have enough money to live in dignity, with adequate food, adequate housing, adequate clothing, and adequate health services.

Needless to say, no statistics can adequately portray the plight of the so-called "official" poor. What is more, the imaginary cutoff of the poverty line does not really properly consider those additional millions of people who, although earning incomes above that line, do not have sufficient funds to live a decent existence.

For example, while the Government-recognized poverty line for 1969 was approximately $3,744 for a nonfarm family of four, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has developed figures describing a lower budget showing that it costs this same family $6,771 to live at a lower level in New York City.

I have long urged that Congress not simply deplore these statistics, but that it take action to establish a basic minimum income. In the 90th Congress, I introduced the first bill to provide for a guaranteed annual income. In the 91st

Congress, I introduced this bill in modified form as H.R. 14773.

In a few weeks, the House will be called upon to consider the income maintenance bill reported out by the Ways and Means Committee—H.R. 16311. While this bill is a major step in recognizing the concept of income maintenance, it does have major shortcomings, which should be corrected.

One of the most often heard objections to the concept of a basic minimum income is that it serves as a work disincentive, encouraging recipients of benefits not to work. In the March 30 edition of the Washington Post, Eve Edstrom expertly details the preliminary findings of the New Jersey graduated work incentive experiment being funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I think these findings clearly rebut the misplaced notion that a basic minimum income deters work motivation, and I commend Miss Edstrom's article to my colleagues:

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

"IT'S AN HONOR TO WORK": INCOME PLAN BREEDS SCORN FOR WELFARE

(By Eve Edstrom)

PRINCETON, N.J.—Giving poor families extra cash to supplement their earnings apparently brings out the Puritan in them.

A sampling of attitudes among 10 per cent of families enrolled in an experimental guaranteed annual income project shows that most families in the program express contempt both for welfare payments and for people too lazy to work.

One father who receives a cash payment to add to his working wages said: "It's not a good idea if you like to drink or you're lazy."

A Spanish-speaking father in the same plan said, "It's an honor to work." A Negro machine operator added a qualification, "I love to work—'cause I have to," he said.

The family heads who made the above statements receive the income payments under a program similar to the landmark legislation proposed for all of the nation's poor families by President Nixon. The bill is scheduled for a vote on the House floor next month.

Until now, the preliminary results of that $4.5 million government-financed experiment have been put forth in general terms or in cold statistics.

But last week, MATHEMATICA, a research group based here, released verbatim quotations from interviews with 10 per cent of the more than 7,000 families who receive the cash guarantees in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Although a few families expressed some reservations or misconceptions about the program, more typical responses included such statements as it is "four to five times better than welfare" or "it seems simple and uncomplicated compared to most government programs."

Unlike welfare, the families do not have to fill out complicated forms, do not have to account for how they spend their money, do not have to forfeit assets, and are not supervised by case workers and investigators.

In fact, the experiment's workers go out of their way not to advise families. If families need help, such as finding housing, they receive a list of agencies to contact so that they can learn to help themselves. The cash payments are strictly divorced from any services.

To be eligible for the payments, a family submits to a quarterly interview and reports its income and family composition each month. The income report form, as one family said, "couldn't be simpler. You'd have to be pretty stupid" not to understand it.

The one-page form, covering a four-week period, asks the family to list any changes in household members (because grants are based on family size) and to list earnings before taxes and other income such as Social Security benefits.

Families include their paycheck stubs with the report. If they don't have stubs, they can submit signed statements from employers. Their benefits are recalculated every four weeks, but are based on average earnings over the last three-month period.

Because the experiment is aimed simply at determining how income guarantees affect work patterns of those who receive them, the families are under no obligation to account for how they spend the extra cash.

But the families have shown a strong desire to prove they are worthy of the payments. Many have voluntarily attached paid bills to their income declaration forms to show how they have spent the money.

That the money is being used in a variety of meaningful ways was also shown by the interviews that MATHEMATICA conducted last month in Trenton, N.J., where the first project families were selected in 1968, and in Paterson, Passaic and Jersey City, N.J., and Scranton, Pa.

Two Scranton families are using the money, spread over a three-year period, to renovate their homes.

"This way we are increasing the value of our homes and will have something to show for the money," one family said.

That family has renovated one room and named it the "Council of Grants to Families" room. The Council is the subsidary which issues the payments to the families.

Another family, noting that the payments were enabling it to move from a "dump" to a nicer apartment, said:

"We are trying to plan ahead. In three years, I might be making good money, and by then the kids will be older and my wife could possibly work. It sure has raised our standard of living."

A 60-year-old mother, living with her son's family, said the payments would make it possible for her to delay in applying for Social Security benefits until she was eligible for the maximum amount.

The income guarantee is helping one railroad worker to sit out a layoff, and has helped factory workers to get through "vacation without pay" periods.

A commonly expressed view was that the money gave families a small measure of security in case of illness or job difficulties. This was best expressed by the family that said:

"We aren't using the money to pay the electric bill or things like that. We put a little aside and just having it gives you peace of mind in case anything should happen."

Several families were negative in their responses, saying the money wasn't sufficient to help them provide adequately for their families.

A few families looked upon their bimonthly checks as windfalls to be used for spending sprees.

One young father has been quite successful in using his guarantee to extend his credit rating so that he could lavishly furnish his public housing apartment—complete with bar. He also tried to con the experiment's workers out of giving him his payments in one lump sum so that he could have a "stake."

Among those interviewed, there was almost universal contempt for the existing dependent children's welfare program, which began in the 1930s and would be replaced by the Nixon administration's Family Assistance Plan of income guarantees.

One family said that "on welfare you can't go any place or raise your cultural level." Another said welfare "kills people," and a third said welfare "makes liars and cheats" out of people.

Only a few of the income experiment's families did not endorse the concept of a national income guarantee plan.

"I don't think it will work," one father said. "It's like putting the whole country on welfare."

But the overwhelming view was expressed by families that said the program was a "good idea," that "all the people in the cellars and in the slums need it," that "you need a program for those not rich."

"Professionals can always find a job in their field," one Jersey City father said. "But there is no such thing as a guaranteed factory job."

Similarly, a Scranton father said:

"It's giving those who are already trying a chance to get ahead. Everyone can't count on steady work . . . Take Scranton. Six years ago if you wanted a job as a dishwasher you had to fight at least 10 other guys to get it. Think how much this program would have meant then."

Most of the families showed a clear understanding that the income guarantees, which average less than $100 a month, go down as earnings go up.

"You work more, you get less," said one father.

Another said he took a job knowing that the guarantee would go down, because he wanted to better himself. And one enrollee, who now only receives $20 a month, said that small incentive has made him "work harder in the last months putting in overtime whenever I can."

Under eight different combinations of tax rates and guaranteed income levels, the guarantees are entirely eliminated when earnings go above a certain level. To date, 10 per cent of the families in Trenton, Paterson and Passaic have increased their earnings so that they no longer are eligible for the guarantees.

One father correctly figured the point where he no longer would be eligible for benefits and said, "I'd be happy to go above it"—indicating, as many of the answers did, that the cash payments do not slow down work effort.

Typical comments were "I'd rather work than sit," and "it's all I ever knew all my life." Another family head said work was necessary so a guaranteed income plan would be "more an insurance policy than a handout."

The experiment is being financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity under contracts with the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, and Mathematica.

Although developed under the Johnson administration, the experiment is proving to be a unique testing ground for President Nixon's revolutionary welfare reforms, which appear assured of Congressional passage this year.

The reforms are mammoth in that they establish the first uniform federal income guarantee ($1,600 for a family of four) and include working poor families, as well as the non working poor, for the first time.

Critics have said the program might lead to widespread loafing. But the Mathematica interviews suggest the program, in the words of one father, will give the "guy who tries the feeling that it is worth it."

NO EXPO FOR THE CENTENNIAL

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 2, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, in a New York Times editorial of March 19,

Tom Wicker has brought to the public's attention a thoughtful proposal developed in Cambridge, Mass., for a multicity 200th national anniversary observance in 1976. The Cambridge group's views are the most advanced and meritorious of the many being advanced for the bicentennial celebration, and I insert it in the RECORD with my full endorsement:

NO EXPO FOR THE CENTENNIAL

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, March 18.—John Canaday of The New York Times reports from Osaka that Expo '70 is "no more than the continuation of a pattern," the biggest and most fanciful version of Montreal and New York and Brussels and Seattle and Chicago and St. Louis and the other conventional fairs that in the past have served as showpieces of "progress"—as "a kind of supermarket" for modern technology.

Thus, he wrote, Expo '70 appears to be "the world fair to end all world's fairs, and there is a possibility that it will do just that." Maybe it should.

Why, for instance, to celebrate its 200th birthday in 1976, should the United States throw together in one of the presently competing cities—Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, Miami—another of these gaudy monuments to extravagance and vainglory? If past history is a guide, it would include all too many expensive, gadgety pavilions which, soon after closing, would be knocked down and hauled off by the junkmen with no lasting gain to anyone; it would both bamboozle and dazzle the multitudes with technological wizardry of little relevance to their lives; and both the expense and the irrelevance would mock the real social needs of America today, while symbolizing all too exactly the consumption-and-waste ethic that inflates the national economy.

All this is what a group of Cambridge, Mass., planners propose to avoid with a new multicity festival concept for the 200th anniversary. Its theme structure would not be a pretentious piece of bad sculpture but a high-speed rail transportation link between the participating cities—basically those stretching through the thirteen original colonies from Boston to Atlanta.

LONG-RANGE GOAL

Rather than seeking in an artificial environment of pavilions and displays something as elusive as "progress and harmony for mankind" (Osaka's theme), the multicity bicentennial would have as a specific goal a cooperative undertaking to improve in fact the actual environment of the participating cities and the areas between them.

Both the transportation link and the environmental projects—which would survive the passing of the bicentennial and act as functional models for other regions—would require great efforts from private interests, cities, states, the Federal Government, and regions as distinct as New England and the South; thus, these tangible efforts would virtually require development of the proposal's loftier central purpose of "bringing our people together."

The high-speed rail system linking the cities would beautifully symbolize that purpose. For the future, it would relieve dependence on air and highway transportation, and at the time it would provide the physical means by which visitors from all over the world could take in the various observations of the bicentennial cheaply, swiftly and comfortably.

These observations would take place in each of the various cities—first, by the exploitation of the existing historical, technical and recreational attributes of each; second, by their development with state and Federal aid not of temporary white-elephant pavilions but of permanent social improvements through new forms and ideas for housing, education, transportation, industry, communications and recreation. One standard project in each major city, for instance, could be the construction of a terminal that would provide maximum linkage of the rail line to air, highway, subway and bus systems.

NOT FOR EPHEMERAL GLORY

The cost would be great, the organization problems would be even bigger, and the time is so short that the plan might have to rely on some air links, particularly in the South. But that it would be the most challenging proposal the Commerce Department and the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission could put before President Nixon (the final decision will be his) only makes it the more appropriate for such an anniversary.

The greatest value of the idea has been expressed by the Cambridge Seven Associates, the group that developed it, in its title—not Expo '76, with all that that suggests of spectacle and ephemeral glory, but "Polis '76," with polis defined as "the city in its ideal form as a community" devoted to man's effort to live comfortably with himself.

SENATE—*Friday, April 3, 1970*

The Senate met at 10 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

The Reverend Dr. David Justin Davis, pastor, Plymouth Congregational Church, Coconut Grove, Miami, Fla., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, when we are in Thee, Thy wisdom illumines our minds and Thy power infuses us with moral and spiritual strength.

We pray for the Members of the Senate, for the President, for all advisers and counselors that they may guide our Nation wisely and rightly in these times of strife and turmoil.

Grant them strong faith, for faith can remove the mountains of fear, doubt, and indecision that weaken us.

Grant them lofty vision, for without vision the people perish.

Help them to set the example of justice, mercy, and righteousness which exalt a nation.

O God, rekindle in the hearts of all our people, the old and the young, the patriotic, the disenchanted, and the rebellious, a new appreciation of our blessings and an enlightened dedication to meet the challenges at home and abroad.

In the name of Him who said "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., April 3, 1970.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the permission of the acting minority leader, I should like to proceed for 1 or 2 minutes.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 2, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AND LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS THEREIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Florida (Mr. HOLLAND), there be a period for the conduct of morning business, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BAIL AGENCY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 756, H.R. 16612.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. H.R. 16612 to amend the District of Columbia Bail Agency Act to provide additional funds for the District of Columbia Bail Agency for fiscal year 1970.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in