

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NEW LEFT: KIN TO BROWN SHIRTS?

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, Dr. Edward Teller, one of this Nation's truly eminent nuclear scientists, addressed a meeting of Research Security Administrators at Santa Monica, Calif.

At that meeting on February 26, Dr. Teller made some most interesting comparisons between the present student movement, the New Left, with the Brown Shirts in the pre-Hitler Germany.

He pointed out, in both cases, the revolutionary forces grew up with hardly any resistance in a permissive atmosphere. With both, he noted, there was no plan, no consistent ideology and, in his judgment, both were nihilistic movements.

He pointed out the differences, too: The Nazi movement was almost strictly national; whereas the New Left is worldwide. In the Nazi case, the Brown Shirts went straight for political power; but for the New Left, Dr. Teller said, its immediate aim is to destroy our educational system which, in his opinion, happens to be very poorly defended against revolution.

In view of Dr. Teller's prestigiousness, the fact that he can be considered an expert on the revolutionary scene at the University of California at Berkeley, where he is a professor-at-large and associate director of the Lawrence Radiation Lab, and the fact that he speaks from the viewpoint of the intellectual, I feel his remarks of more than casual interest. Indeed, I feel them of such moment that I urge their reading and minute examination.

Dr. Teller's remarks follow:

TALK BY EDWARD TELLER GIVEN AT A MEETING OF RESEARCH SECURITY ADMINISTRATORS, FEBRUARY 26, 1971

You may have seen in the program that I'm supposed to talk to you about the circumstances that history repeats itself. Of course, it doesn't.

Nevertheless, one is reminded of past occurrences. In connection with the unquiet times that we are having at various places, including Berkeley, I have been thinking of what happened years ago in pre-Hitler Germany. When the present student radicals and non-student radicals are violent, thoughtless, opposed to free speech (except possibly their freedom to use four-letter words), in these respects they resemble Hitler's Brown Shirts.

The similarity goes farther. In both cases the revolt is unmotivated by any serious grievance. In both cases, the movement developed in an exceptionally tolerant atmosphere. It developed then, and it is developing now under conditions where the institutions under attack had principles that prevented them from defending themselves. In both cases, the really remarkable characteristic is that the movement has no content.

Its followers are undisciplined. Hitler's Brown Shirts knew nothing of discipline, and only more than a year after Hitler took over was there a purge which brought the SA, his youthful supporters, into some sort of a clear-cut command.

To many of us it seemed incredible, but it is a fact that people can grow enthusiastic about nothing; about words that, as far as I can see, are devoid of meaning. "The establishment is rotten. We must destroy it. What will follow? No matter, whatever follows will be better." You realize I am repeating. The remarkable thing is that in these points the pre-Hitler movement was very similar to the present one.

The lack of resistance to this movement makes it exceedingly dangerous. One should not believe that if a movement has few followers it is not dangerous. There are plenty of people with grievances, and the great majority usually will not become active. But if there is a movement of this kind, devoid of principle, devoid of doctrine, completely lacking a plan, then in case they succeed is unpredictable. The leadership is up for grabs. And, to me there is little consolation in the circumstances that many of the violent revolutionaries will be most bitterly disappointed in case the revolution succeeds.

Now I would like to point out some differences. Because, as I said at the very beginning, the real point is that history does not repeat itself.

The Nazi movement was almost purely German. There was a similar weaker movement in Italy. The third partner of this axis, Japan, did not have a supporting mass movement.

The Nazi movement, indeed, started with little to complain about because on the whole conditions in Germany were improving, although Hitler came to power when there was a depression and when all over the world there were some justified complaints. The specific complaint was that Germany had lost the first world war, and lost it because of (so the Nazis said) treason. There may have been a shred of doctrine, if that is what you want to call it, and that was the well-known doctrine of the super-race. To my mind this is not much of a foundation for a big popular movement.

With respect to whatever little foundation existed, and with respect to the worldwide distribution of this disturbance, there is a remarkable contrast between the present radicals and the Nazis. Of course, you may guess that I will say the difference is that the Nazis were reactionary. They were the extreme party from the right. The present youth movement believes in third-world communism. Not the Russian kind, on the whole, but the Chinese, Cuban, Algerian type—the type which does not believe in discipline and believes in continuous revolution. Still it is Marxist; it is a revolution from the left. But this is not the contrast I have in mind. To my mind in these respects the right and the left can hardly be distinguished. The contrast is elsewhere.

The Nazi movement was almost purely German. The present movement is, in a very thorough sense, international. It started in South America where it was endemic for a long time, and became violent in the late fifties. We in Berkeley had the doubtful honor to have taken over this pattern, to have imitated it, in the so-called Free Speech Movement which was the very opposite of free speech. Now it is everywhere in the United States, and all over the free world. In China itself the Red Guard, with the support of Mao Tse Tung, did establish

something at least temporarily that had many features in common with our student radicals. And there are stirrings in Russia, which are suppressed to be sure, which are under control, but there is no question that there is some appearance of this movement even behind the iron curtain. In this respect, the new movement has something of a point. Not that they articulate, not that they make something of it, but they do perceive, or they seem at least to feel, that the world is indeed small, and that the problems which we face are common everywhere.

There is another difference. The Nazi movement did aim straight at political power. The student movement of today has an immediate goal, and that is to destroy the universities. The leaders say so in a very explicit manner. They are as clearly anti-intellectual as they possibly can be, even though they would deny it. The universities, in turn, are not prepared to deal with violence, to deal with revolution.

Here is a new discovery of the revolutionaries. They have discovered a weak point that they can attack; that they have already damaged to a very serious extent; and that has given a focus, a purpose and a promise of early success. To my mind, this point is a very tragic one, and from the point of view from which I look at the world, this is perhaps the worst part of what we are facing. To my mind, education is not only something beautiful and important, it is something vital—absolutely necessary for the survival of Western, modern civilization. The revolutionaries are attacking our structure, our basis for existence, at a fundamental point and a weak one.

I would like to say something about a way to defend ourselves, and I will say something although I have practically nothing to say.

I do not know what the answer is. There is, of course, the obvious answer. A few examples, like that established by Hayakawa at San Francisco State, show that with courage and discipline used with discrimination you can resist. More is needed. Understanding is needed. We have to realize what the techniques are on the other side; what it is that is working against us.

The people who want to upset society, and in the first place want to upset our educational institutions, are few. They have now recently turned to individualized violence. They are doing this in the conscious effort to provoke some reaction from the government, from the authorities, and then appeal to the sympathies of their fellow students and thereby broaden their base. All this is very well known.

There is a point which perhaps is just a very little bit less widely realized, and this point I want to emphasize. This new movement with all its terrible aberrations, drugs, and violence, has some support in the intellectual community for the simple and rather mysterious reason that the intellectuals, as a whole, are sorely dissatisfied. Why? I wish I could tell you. I can tell you a few indications, a few pieces of the mystery, not so much to explain, but to make my statement more believable.

This country is a democracy, and intellectual achievements are not what is interesting to everybody. The highest values, the most highly rewarded values, the most recognized values, in this country are the things that everyone can appreciate. And the intellectual? He is left out. Because he feels that society has told him, "We don't mind if you're crazy! Go and do your peculiar thing by yourself." The intellectual wants more than toleration; he wants recognition.

Then came the wonderful day when Jack Kennedy got into the White House and the intellectuals, at least apparently, were recognized, were brought in as advisors. Then, three years later when Lyndon Johnson succeeded, they were kicked out. Berkeley followed with a year. I think there is a little connection. Last May at the time of Cambodia, I could find some of my colleagues who were ready to burn down the campus. And a great many, I think the majority, who were willing to impeach the President. There was a mere handful to whom the idea occurred that quite possibly what we did in Cambodia was absolutely right. There couldn't have been a more lopsided situation.

Let me give you another example—a little private one. A couple of years ago I went for a visit in Rochester in connection with a Foundation which wanted to extend its help to Rochester. I talked to the head of Physics Department. He was a nice guy and talked rather freely to me. He was practically in tears. It had nothing to do with my visit, but he was just full of it.

He said, "You know, I signed a document today. A few months ago had something of this kind been presented to me I would have walked out of the meeting, and today I signed it." He said, "You see, there is a danger that some of our buildings will be occupied by the radicals. And the advisors of the president of the university, of whom I'm one, just signed, less than an hour ago, a statement that if a building will be occupied and if the occupants will not leave, it is justified to call in the police."

To my mind, if there is violence, if there is disorder, the obvious thing to do is to call in the police. Yet, to many intellectuals, the hallowed grounds of the university must be kept free of anything like the police. You know this. I think you should fully realize how widespread this feeling is, even among otherwise reasonable people. This is what makes the necessary cooperation between you and the intellectuals, who have a big stake in preserving the university, exceedingly difficult.

There is a second point which I would imagine could be handled a little more easily. But I am told this is not so. What goes under the name of education these days is sometimes quite remarkable. On educational television, a little less than a year ago on Channel 13 in New York, there was a program in which there participated three of the Chicago Seven and two "very conservative" newspapermen (one was the editor of the Washington Post and the other was similarly conservative). It turned out that the newspapermen couldn't put a word in edgewise, and the three radicals—on educational television, supported by government funds—had been saying "We are going to use violence. We shall motivate the sixteen-year-olds to blow up buildings and if necessary kill themselves in the process. And we are doing it in the name of idealism."

This, ladies and gentlemen, is called education. It is also considered educational when a fund uses its money to broadcast a program calling our President a war criminal and to ask for violence to be committed against him and his family. The foundation which supports this is tax-exempt, and remains so.

I somehow think that there might be a chance to define education in a slightly more narrow, and a slightly more appropriate sense.

I would like to close by repeating something that I have said. The movement is international. It is almost as strong in England as it is here. It is by far stronger in Germany. It flourishes in France, in Japan, in India. I believe that a wide-spread movement of this kind will not cease to exist of its own accord. This is probably not your specific business, but if the problem is raised on a

worldwide scale, in the end some of the answers will have to be given in the same arena.

I believe that what you are doing, can do, and will do, is to furnish at the moment a defense where defense is most badly needed. I hope that all these other questions, tied up with the tangle of the intellectuals, of education, all the worldwide relation, can also be solved; and since you and I are in this, even though we are in it from very different points of view, we have to find a way to work together and to talk about all of our problems.

THE GROWING ROLE OF RESEARCH

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to the major role contemplated for research in the reorganized foreign assistance programs. With related technical assistance activities, research projects, now in process and planned, will seek solutions to some of the most intransigent problems of development: Population growth; malnutrition; unemployment; and urbanization.

Our aid efforts were instrumental in spreading the results of the research which made the Green Revolution possible. We are now supporting further agricultural research, in cooperation with Government agencies, such as the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, land grant universities, and private agencies, such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. Efforts are being made particularly in tropical agriculture.

We are also helping finance the research that is so vital in the search to find effective and acceptable ways to curb population growth. AID's central research program is presently sponsoring 16 research projects related to this problem.

Another problem demanding immediate attention is that of malnutrition. Large numbers of people in the less developed countries are robbed of their energy and are vulnerable to disease, because they lack balanced diets. AID-financed research at the University of Nebraska and at Purdue University is now in the experimental stage of breeding new high protein strains of wheat and sorghum which would help alleviate the hidden hunger of protein deficiency. The introduction of high protein strains of wheat and sorghum in the less developed countries would be a great boon. They would enable millions of people to improve their diets without altering traditional foods or tastes.

These are samples of the research being sponsored by AID. Other projects are going forward in the fields of health, education, and economic planning as well. They are practical research projects seeking results that can be applied directly to development.

When we consider the immense gains at stake, the cost of research in a modern aid program is small indeed. The

productive use of our scientific and technological knowledge and experience is surely one of the prerequisites of the peaceful world we are striving to encourage.

EARTH RESOURCES TECHNOLOGY SATELLITES

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, a year and a half ago, President Nixon, in an address before the 24th session of the United Nations General Assembly, told the delegates, among other things:

We are now developing earth resource survey satellites, with the first experimental satellite to be launched sometime early in the decade of the seventies.

Present indications are that these satellites should be capable of yielding data which could assist in as widely varied tasks as these: the location of schools of fish in the oceans; the local of mineral deposits on land; the health of agricultural crops. . . .

This week, as the Nation commemorates Earth Week, I am reminded that by this time next year the first of the earth resources technology satellites to which Mr. Nixon referred in the speech will be in orbit, with the second in the series well along toward its planned launch in 1973.

The occasion of Earth Week again reminds me that this space program is a vital factor in advancing the quality of human life. Last September, in an article in Aerospace magazine citing a report by a large group of university and Government scientists, the director of Harvard University's Center for Population Studies was quoted as follows:

The Twenty-first Century may witness a world of half-starved, depressed human masses, gasping for air, short of sweet water, struggling to avoid one another, living at a degraded subsistence level. . . .

The Aerospace article went on to quote the report as follows:

If we are to retain a productive habitable environment and the hope of enhancing the quality of life, we must develop much more comprehensive and current knowledge of Earth's resources than we now possess. Fortunately, this can now be done both more swiftly and more economically.

This whole world's surface can be surveyed as often as necessary, and in a variety of ways, with cameras and other sensing devices on orbiting satellites.

The progress we have made toward developing these important satellites is most heartening. The work done by NASA and its contractors on the satellite system, and the planning and building done by other Government agencies for use of the data they will produce is to be highly commended.

It is my firm hope that as the Earth Weeks of the next few years are celebrated, the two ERTS satellites in the current program and those to follow will be contributing the vital information which we know is needed for this and future generations.

LILLIAN ROBERTS IN ISRAEL: WHAT I SAW, HOW I FELT

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Lillian Roberts is the associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. She recently visited Israel and saw there many examples of community living from which we in this country can learn a great deal. In the February issue of *Crossroads*, the monthly bulletin of the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, she spoke of the communal farms where the Israelis live in an atmosphere of equality without regard to color or social standing. She stated that she, as a black woman, had a new feeling of freedom while living in this atmosphere that she did not have at home, and expressed a hope that this feeling might someday prevail in the United States.

I share in her hope, but at the same time I fear, as she does, that too many black Americans have become inured to the attempts at racial equality because of a long history of discrimination. This is a complication that we as a whole people must solve, and the solution may be found through emulating the Israelis' communal spirit. We must, by all our words and actions, live in the spirit of the kibbutzim and thereby come to a higher plateau of social and racial equality. We cannot afford any longer to have a Lillian Roberts who is more comfortable in another country.

The article by Miss Roberts follows:

LILLIAN ROBERTS IN ISRAEL: WHAT I SAW, HOW I FELT

I had been in Israel two weeks when I suddenly knew why I felt so great. I was on a street in Tel Aviv when I saw a black man walking along with a free and easy stride. It seemed to me he was free. It hit me all at once that for the past two weeks I had been totally accepted; I was just another person. At some point soon after I came to Israel, I had put down the burden of safeguarding myself against the pain of discrimination and prejudice that is part of any American black's automatic equipment for dealing with the world. It's like a glass screen that you carry in front of you all the time, and you hope the glass is unbreakable.

There is dignity all over the place. Whether a person washes the floor or cleans the kitchen or sweeps the street or drives a bus, he knows his work is worthwhile, and everyone respects everyone else for the part he plays in building the country.

I was very impressed with kibbutz (communal farm) life—people living together in a community and sharing the labor, the profits, and the responsibility for their livelihood. A college professor might be assigned to waiting on tables or picking pears off a tree. In most instances, everyone took his turn, and this brought about more of an understanding and appreciation of man in every aspect of life in that community. I think the kibbutzim contributed to the dignity with which people in any job are re-

garded, because this concept of community living crossed many lives in this small country.

In Israel, all children, Jewish and Arab, must attend school up to the age of 14. The Israeli Arabs run their own schools, where courses are taught in Arabic. Since the Six Day War in 1967, Israel has had an intensive drive on to get families in the occupied areas to send their children, including the girls, to free schools. In terms of medical care, on the other hand, the Arabs have needed no prodding. They have flocked to join Histadrut to be covered by its medical and hospital program, and Arab women have walked miles to have their babies in Israeli hospitals.

A Christian Arab I met in Jerusalem told me that before the Six Day War the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem had had water only twice a week, except for the better hotels for tourists. One of the first things done by Israel after the unification of the city was to see to it that water was piped in seven days a week for everybody.

No matter what the future holds for these people, they have seen a more modern way of life and they cannot fail to be influenced by it.

I think that for a woman with children, kibbutz life would be marvelous. Everyone talks about how hard kibbutzniks work, but they forget that a working woman in this country has to go home after work and start cooking dinner. In a kibbutz, when she's through with work, she's through with work.

Not all blacks felt as I did about the lack of discrimination. I met a group of six young black men from the southern U.S. who were studying Israeli cooperatives. They insisted to me that Israel was racist, but couldn't give me any answers when I tried to pin them down. I felt that their own experiences at home had so marked them that they were unable to look at any white people with open minds.

I think that American blacks, as we work to build a future that we want to be so different from our past, can find a great deal in Israel's cooperative movement and some of its other institutions that we can adapt to our own needs.

Perhaps what increased my feeling for Israel was not just that I found so much to admire in their spirit and in what they had accomplished, but that I also identified with a people who had gone through so much oppression and suffering in Europe for so many centuries, and who in my own lifetime saw six million of their people coldly and systematically murdered. No normal human being could fall to be moved by that, and I think that for me, as a black woman, it had special significance. It may have made me take added joy in what I saw these people had accomplished in spite of what they had come through.

UAW STATEMENT ON THE CALLEY CASE

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the recent military trial of Lieutenant Calley and its relationship to the Nation's involvement in Indochina continues to receive heavy attention from coast to coast.

A few days ago UAW President, Leonard Woodcock, and Secretary-Treasurer, Emil Mazey, expressed the

thoughtful views of the UAW on the Calley case and its implications.

The statement follows:

UAW STATEMENT ON THE CALLEY CASE

The horror of Vietnam, which has brought death and disablement to a multitude of human beings, has brought a conviction of murder to Lt. William Calley.

We are profoundly disturbed by the American tragedy represented by the trial of Lieutenant Calley. We hope the leadership of our Union will, in this terrible time, see the Calley matter in perspective.

The raw tragedy of the horrible war in Vietnam has produced the horror at My Lai. In that sense, we are all guilty. When hamlets and villages were destroyed—in both North and South Vietnam—by explosion or by the searing fires of napalm, we all should have known the resulting human calamity. We have become too used to brutality.

So, with respect not only to My Lai, but also with respect to bombings and free-fire zones, all of those involved in the war, nations and their people, have some degree of guilt in the carnage and human misery of this terrible war. Lieutenant Calley, however, was found by a jury of Vietnam veterans to be individually guilty. Lieutenant Calley is not a "scapegoat"—a guiltless one who is made to bear the blame for others. Calley was convicted of the pre-meditated murder of 22 South Vietnamese civilians, some of whom were so feeble and old they were barely able to walk and others who were so young they had not yet learned to walk. At the trial it was shown that some soldiers under Calley's command *did* refuse to shoot the unarmed civilians and a helicopter pilot tried to stop the carnage.

On the other hand, those who have served with the military know how difficult it is for a soldier to disobey an order. Moreover, the often corrosive effects of combat and fear on human character must be recognized and deplored.

The President should avoid any further damage to the American system of military justice as when he announces his personal intervention amid the clamor for Calley's release before the appeals procedure had even begun.

Especially in the light of our proper demands for the humane treatment of American prisoners of war held in North Vietnam, we must avoid a response to My Lai and the Calley trial that could be characterized as inhumane, prejudiced and inconsistent with civilized standards. The clamor for the whitewash of Lieutenant Calley can endanger the lives of American prisoners held captive in North Vietnam.

The Calley verdict, returned by a jury of Vietnam veterans, must be allowed to stand. The sentence, however, should be reviewed by the military justice system in light of Calley's actual and potential rehabilitation, but even more in light of the sentences imposed on the many other soldiers now imprisoned for murders in Vietnam.

The verdict of the American people, however, must be to end this hopeless struggle. Let us stop the war which leads to Calley murders and Calley trials, which puts American boys in places where they ought not to be, doing things they ought not to have to do.

For all thoughtful Americans the cry must be, let there be no more bombings, no more My Lais, and no more Calleys—get out of Vietnam now!

Fraternally,

LEONARD WOODCOCK,
President.

EMIL MAZEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

LET THE BANKS PERFORM THEIR FUNCTIONS WITHOUT MORE FEDERAL SUBSIDIES AND GUARANTEES

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, there have been some trial balloons sent up to test congressional willingness to provide a group of commercial banks a "no risk" loan arrangement with the Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

In vague terms, the administration has indicated that it was considering—among other things—an attempt to gain congressional sanction for massive loan guarantees to Lockheed. In short, the Congress would be asked to place several hundred million dollars of the taxpayers' money on the line to take care of any loan losses suffered by commercial banks in their dealings with Lockheed.

If we are to believe the banks' propaganda, the role of these institutions is to provide "venture" or "risk" capital in our economy. They are hardly fulfilling this function if all of their major venture loans are to be backed up with the hard-earned dollars of the American taxpayers. It appears that many of the large commercial banks are unwilling to continue to carry out their roles in the economy.

Certainly, through the years, the commercial banks—and their trade associations—have been the most vocal about free enterprise and have traditionally opposed the intervention of the Federal Government in their affairs. It now seems strange that they want the Federal Government to carry out their banking role in regard to Lockheed.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the administration will carefully consider all of the ramifications before it agrees to another bailout attempt for these large banks. Last June, the Congress was besieged by administration officials seeking guarantees for bank loans to Penn Central. At that time, we were told, in effect, that we had the entire economy in our hands and that we just had to provide the funds to save the railroad and the banks.

Subsequent events have plainly established that the American taxpayer would have lost hundreds of millions of dollars in the Penn Central fiasco had the advice of the administration been followed by the Congress. Perhaps there are differences between the Penn Central and Lockheed cases, but I trust that the administration will proceed more prudently than it did last June.

Obviously, this Nation has great needs and it is important that the commercial banking industry participate fully in providing capital for these necessary programs. It is important that the commercial banking industry not seeking subsidies—and golden guarantees—on every "venture" loan. It is essential to the future of our economy that the large commercial banks mature and stand on their own feet in a free enterprise economy.

FORMER REPRESENTATIVE McCARTHY TESTIFIES ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, when Richard D. "Max" McCarthy left this Chamber at the end of the last session, we lost a valuable friend, an able Congressman, and an effective champion against the battle to rid our air, water, and land of harmful pollutants. At a time when the ecological crisis grows increasingly severe, we greatly miss his leadership, his expertise, and his perseverance.

In his book, "The Ultimate Folly," published in 1969 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., with the subtitle, "War by Pestilence, Asphyxiation, and Defoliation," Max chronicles his struggle against chemical and biological warfare. In November 1969, President Nixon announced that the United States would end biological weaponry and destroy its germ stockpiles. He also announced that he would resubmit the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which bans chemical as well as biological warfare to the U.S. Senate for ratification. Later, the Government announced it would halt the defoliation of Vietnam. The New York Times states that:

More than any other man, the Buffalo Congressman took the initiative in revealing the dangers and follies of chemical and biological warfare, exposed the extent of the stockpiling, and fought, sometimes single-handed, for the renunciation that is now official policy.

On March 18, 1971, Max testified before the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate on the law prohibiting chemical and biological warfare. His words are forthright and frank, and well illustrate his knowledge in this area. I urge each of my colleagues to read Richard D. "Max" McCarthy's testimony:

STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. MAX McCARTHY

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: Most of us believe that our nation abides by the accepted standards of international behavior. Most of us also believe that we use our influence to foster international peace. We know that we are not perfect, that we make mistakes. But most of us would conclude that, more often than not, we stood on the side of right and justice. Unfortunately, the facts sometimes tell us otherwise. The United States of America is the only major nation in the world which has not ratified the basic law prohibiting chemical and biological warfare.

This is a serious omission because it happens to be one of the few international laws governing man's inhumanity to man that *has worked*. For more than four decades, the interval between the First World War and Vietnam, the nations of the world refrained from the use of gas warfare. There were some minor exceptions, incidents that called forth the indignant protests of most nations. But even the most ferocious fighting in the Second World War did not lead to the use of poison gas. Until Vietnam, the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the customary law of mankind appeared to prevent the use of this particular weapon of mass destruction.

There are a number of different views as to why poison gas was not used during this period. Some credit the force of international law, the Geneva Protocol, with this achievement. Others point out that it was the fear of retaliation that prevented the use of these weapons. The public aversion to poison gas and the attitude of key civilian and military leaders also clearly played an important part. My own opinion is that *both practical and legal* restraints were involved in limiting this form of warfare.

The question of ratification of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 by the United States would probably have not been raised were it not for the Vietnamese war. Every American President from Calvin Coolidge to Dwight Eisenhower had said that we would not be the first to use chemical warfare. Our policy was clear, or so it seemed. Towards the end of President Eisenhower's second term there was a growing recognition in Congress that our policy was beginning to change. Our rearmament, started after the outbreak of the Korean War, included an investment in chemical and biological weapons of war. In 1959 and 1960 the U.S. Army made a concerted effort to gain acceptability for chemical and biological weapons. At that time a Congressman, Representative Robert Kastenmeyer of Wisconsin introduced a resolution that restated U.S. policy on CBW, that we would not be the first to use it. The Administration refused to support that resolution, an ominous sign of what was to occur in Vietnam.

Our difficulties in fighting the war in Vietnam and the changes in technology that had occurred between the First World War in 1965 have led to the first serious breakdown in the Geneva Protocol. Our massive use of the harassing Gas, CS-2, and of Plant-killing defoliants against both crops and vegetation are, in my opinion, violations of the Protocol. But it is the official position of the United States that these chemicals are *not* covered by the Geneva Protocol. However, in a vote taken at the United Nations General Assembly, a majority of the nations signing the Protocol said that *they* believed it covered tear gas and defoliants. Also, in his introduction to the report on chemical and biological warfare, Secretary General Thant called on all nations to acknowledge that tear gas was covered by the Protocol. There is less of a specific nature that can be shown to include defoliants under the Protocol. But I believe that they are clearly covered in the prohibition against noxious chemicals even if not identified specifically.

The issue of whether the so-called tear gases and defoliants are covered by the Protocol is central to a number of policy decisions that are now before the White House and the U.S. Senate for action. I share the opinion of those who believe that the Geneva Protocol will be wrecked if the United States excludes the so-called tear or harassing gases and defoliants from coverage of this Treaty. It is very possible that some of the nations that have signed the Protocol will not regard us as a signatory if the Senate includes the Administration's understanding. And we will certainly lose any benefits in the international community that might be gained by ratification 46 years late if we attempt to exclude massive chemical operations such as those now being phased out in Vietnam. I cannot believe that other nations will not call into question the possibility that we would resume the use of plant-killing chemicals in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia or in future wars. I cannot believe that our large-scale use of CS-2 to help drive enemy troops into the open where they can be killed by conventional weapons will be ignored by other Protocol signers.

Although in my opinion there is no question that tear gas was included in the Geneva Protocol, there are some grounds for

those who claim it was not. Tear gas was not mentioned in the language of the Protocol specifically although Phillip Noel-Baker, a Nobel laureate and former member of the British Parliament, who was present at the discussion concerning the Protocol wrote in letters to the *London* and *New York Times* that the drafters clearly had it in mind. Countries have always reserved the right to use tear gas for domestic disturbances and some have confused this use with use in war. These factors and our initial use of newer forms of tear gas in combat in Vietnam without a top level policy decision have put us in a position where it is difficult for some to admit that these gases might be covered by the Protocol.

Similarly in the case of defoliants, initial decision to use plant-killing chemicals on a fairly small scale escalated without review and analysis so that we have defoliated an area in Vietnam roughly the size of the state of Massachusetts—6 lbs. for every South Vietnamese. Aside from the massive scale of this environmental warfare, we have done so without the sort of military analysis that would tell us whether this defoliation is useful. Like so many programs, defoliation had an impetus of its own in Vietnam.

The best illustration is the use of defoliants along the Rung Sat Canal. Defoliants were used to kill plant life on both sides of the 60-mile-long Rung Sat Canal that leads from the sea to Saigon. The argument for the use of this defoliant was that its effects prevents attacks on ships. Although no ships had been sunk in the Rung Sat Canal as of a year ago, either before or after defoliation the military argue that they cannot afford to have even one sunk. They go on, however, to point out that the Canal is only narrow enough to permit serious attack for about one kilometer. When questioned on this the military acknowledged that they really only need to defoliate for one kilometer but the broad-brush approach to decisions led to the much wider and more destructive use of this chemical over 60 miles. As it is we don't know for sure whether defoliation is militarily effective. I was also informed that no studies had been made of the effectiveness of the harassing or tear gases in warfare in Vietnam up to a year ago. We have the subjective opinions of some military that have used it in combat but we do not have the type of weapons analysis that usually precedes the adoption of any weapon. One of the few studies that has been made on the use of tear gas, done by the Rand Corporation, pointed out that civilians were particularly vulnerable to injury when tear gas is used since it drives them out of their protective shelters into the line of rifle and artillery fire. This is certainly a far cry from the justification that we have used in the past that tear gas cuts down casualties.

My understanding is that the Administration, after sending this Treaty up here, now is planning a policy review on CS and other tear gases and on herbicides but that they had not started as of earlier this week. It could be said that the White House has not done its homework and your Committee might want to consider voting to send the treaty back to the President suggesting that he return it here after their reviews and, hopefully, with the recommendation that it be ratified without any understandings or exclusions regarding the use of tear gas and defoliants.

I believe that indepth reviews would reveal that these weapons are of such marginal value that they would not be worth the propaganda disadvantage we would reap by excluding them in the overwhelming face of opposite international opinion.

I understand that there is a possibility that

some nation may ask for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the applicability of the Protocol to tear gas and defoliants. If the General Assembly votes to ask for such an opinion, and the International Court of Justice rules that tear gas and defoliants are covered, it would place us in an isolated position if we had excluded these two chemicals.

Officials who have studied the issues worry that, if tear gas (CS-2 could more aptly be called a "lung gas") is permitted in war, this could escalate into lethal gas as it did in World War I.

I believe tear gas can be used for humanitarian purposes as it was in the Korean War to help quell a prisoner uprising.

It will be recalled that White House officials indicated that the phase-out of defoliants would be completed by this spring.

No explanation was given for this action initiated by Ambassador Bunker and General Abrams but I assume that they were influenced by the studies of Professor Matthew Meselson of Harvard and Dr. Robert Cutting of the Walter Reed Army Research Institute on the effects of defoliants on the people, land, vegetation and forestry of Southeast Asia, and to which Sen. Nelson has alluded.

I might add that independent scientists, who studied the Cutting report subtracted Saigon hospital figures—where only a sixth of the population are refugees from the provinces—and found the still-birth rate 32 per thousand in 1960-1965 and 38.5 per thousand in 1966-1969. Moles, in the same periods rose from 3.1 to 5.3 and malformations in the same periods jumped from 2.3 to 3.1 per thousand births.

Another effect of our widespread use of herbicides in Vietnam has been an apparent proliferation. There is evidence that Portugal has used herbicides to destroy food crops raised by rebels in Angola.

It should be noted that Portugal and Australia were the only nations to vote with the United States on December 19, 1969 when the United Nations General Assembly—by a vote of 80 to 3—declared that the Geneva Protocol prohibits the use of herbicides and tear gas in war.

Unfortunately—Secretary of State Rogers—has stated "It is the United States understanding of the Protocol that it does not prohibit the use in war of riot-control agents and chemical herbicides."

While I applaud several of the actions taken by this Administration in the area of CBW including the phase-out of herbicide use in Vietnam, I believe it also should move to halt the use of all gases—including CS and CS-2 in Vietnam. These steps would help clear the way for U.S. ratification of the Geneva Protocol without "understandings."

By taking the position it has taken, this Administration is closing out an opportunity for progress, a chance to exert some leadership in setting a standard of international behavior. Because of the position that it is taking, the United States has been involved in trying to convince other nations to modify their stands on tear gas and defoliants. Our diplomatic pressures have been applied to support a position that is not tenable. It was particularly distressing to me to find the British changing their position on whether or not tear gas was covered by the Protocol. Britain has said as early as 1930 that tear gas was covered. But only last year we learned that the Home office and the War office used their influence to change this policy. This action flies in the face of their treaty obligations. Every effort should be made to see that signers such as Great Britain live up to the letter of the Protocol. Although the nuclear clouds overshadow chemical warfare, it still remains a weapon of mass destruction and should be eliminated from the arsenals

of man. If we are successful in abandoning biological warfare and in ratifying the Geneva Protocol with reservations or understandings, perhaps we can then move on to a verifiable system of inspection that would permit us to abandon chemical weapons altogether. In view of the marginal military effectiveness of these weapons I believe that we might succeed in this effort.

BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

Richard Dean Max McCarthy was born in Buffalo, September 24, 1927, into a family active in the business and political life of Buffalo for five generations. He was graduated from Canisius High School in 1945 after which he served with the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific. Following his graduation from Canisius College in 1950 and the outbreak of war in Korea, he entered the U.S. Army. He volunteered for the Far East where he served with the 24th Infantry Division.

After his return to the United States, Mr. McCarthy became a Reporter for the Buffalo Evening News. He also pursued post-graduate studies at Buffalo, Harvard and Cornell Universities. In 1953 he was named Public Relations Director of the National Gypsum Company.

From 1954 to 1964 he assumed a leadership role in organizations working to revitalize and rebuild the City of Buffalo. He served as a Vice-President of the Greater Buffalo Development Foundation and was an active member of other civic and business groups.

Mr. McCarthy resigned from National Gypsum in 1964 to run for Congress. A Democrat, he was elected by over 11,000 votes in a district in which Republicans outnumbered Democrats by almost 50,000. Re-elected in 1966 and 1968, left Congress in January 1971 following an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate.

In the House of Representatives, was Chairman of the Democratic Study Group's Task Force on the Environment and Natural Resources and a member of the Rivers and Harbors, Economic Development, Federal Aid Highway and Roads Subcommittees.

His book, "The Ultimate Folly", published in 1969 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., with the sub-title, "War by Pestilence, Asphyxiation and Defoliation", chronicles his struggle against chemical and biological warfare. In November 1969 President Nixon announced that the United States would end biological weaponry and destroy its germ stockpiles. He also announced that he would resubmit the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which bans chemical as well as biological warfare to the U.S. Senate for ratification. Later, the government announced it would halt the defoliation of Vietnam. The *New York Times* stated that: "More than any other man, the Buffalo Congressman took the initiative in revealing the dangers and follies of chemical and biological warfare, exposed the extent of the stockpiling, and fought, sometimes singlehanded, for the renunciation that is now official policy."

Mr. McCarthy was named a Chubb Fellow at Yale University in 1969 and was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree by Brandeis University in 1970. He is now Vice-President and Director of Community Development for A. Victor and Company of Buffalo and is a Trustee of the Niagara Frontier Housing Development Corporation; Vice-Chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Lower Voting Age; a Director of the Center for Justice Through Law; and a Director of the Citizens for Nuclear Responsibility. His second book will be published this summer by Houghton-Mifflin Company.

He and his wife, the former Gail E. Coughlin of Buffalo, reside at 73 Koster Row, Eggertsville, New York with their three sons and two daughters.

AN AFFLICTION OF NOISE

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, a recent edition of the University of Virginia Newsletter is devoted to the problem of noise pollution, which is fast taking its place with air and water pollution as a major hazard of urban life. The author of this article is Dr. Phillip M. Allen, of the department of clinical pathology in the school of medicine at the University of Virginia.

Dr. Allen is currently on leave of absence from the university, pursuing a special fellowship in biochemical engineering at the National Institute of Health.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Allen's thought-provoking study be printed in the RECORD.

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

AN AFFLICTION OF NOISE

(By Phillip M. Allen, M.D.)

I should like to approach this subject from a point of view which does not emphasize the technical aspects of noise. The latter can be found very capably discussed in a number of books, periodicals, and articles by acoustical engineers and by scientists in related fields.

Readers interested in this phase of the subject might well start with the Report of the Mayor's Task Force on Noise Control, which summarizes the studies in New York City on causes of noise, its effects on physical and mental health, legal measures for control, and proposals for future legislation. Another excellent source, containing comprehensive papers and bibliographies on many aspects of noise, is the book *Noise as a Public Health Hazard*, being the Proceedings of the Conference of the American Speech and Hearing Association held in June 1968. Of the technical periodical literature, perhaps the best known is the journal *Sound and Vibration*, which covers the entire field of noise abatement and control.

NOISE AND HEALTH

The Mayor's Task Force Report includes the following statement:

The burden of conscious or unconscious suffering from noise falls on the individual in his daily environment. The suffering—generally irritating and immediate—is intensified by the citizen's frustration at being unable to counteract noise assault.

The relevance of this observation to the question of noise and health is perhaps self-evident. Reports have appeared in recent years on studies of this problem by the National Academy of Sciences, the Stanford Research Institute, the Noise Abatement Panel of the Commerce Technical Advisory Board, the American Medical Association's Council on Environmental and Public Health, the Federal Government's Council on Environmental Quality, the U.S. Public Health Service, and other agencies of science and government, as well as from the laboratories of individual scientists, physiologists, and physicians, many of eminent standing in their respective fields.

While there are differences of opinion on details, there is general and often emphatic agreement that noise is a major public nuisance, that its seriousness is increasing, and that it exacts a price in terms not only of physical health but also, not surprisingly, of mental and emotional well-being.

The subjective effects of noise are those of heightened irritability, distraction, loss of ability to concentrate, and a sense of frustration. The physical effects can be summarized by noting that they closely resemble, and are not infrequently identical with, the changes which attend anger, fright, or alarm, and which, over the long term, may induce a state of pathologic stress.

I think it more than coincidental that many of the noises which we find annoying and unpleasant have characteristics which, in our prehistoric past, were intended to frighten or intimidate. It is perhaps understandable that loud, harsh, strident, or dissonant sounds, resembling the noises of the primitive environment out of which man evolved should still arouse responses of fright or alarm under the quite different circumstances of the present day. On the time scale of evolutionary history, we have only recently emerged from the ancestral environment, and the reactions built into our tissues, so to speak, have weakened but slightly.

In the advanced societies of urban industrial man, such reactions—dilation of the pupils, acceleration of the heart rate and respiration, constriction of some blood vessels and dilation of others—in contrast to their earlier utility for survival, are now in many instances actually dysfunctional, and may even be detrimental to survival. The various diseases and subjective states arising from exposure to excessive or prolonged noise—peptic ulcer, high blood pressure, heart disease, fatigue, irritability, anxiety and disquiet—are especially likely to affect the sick and the aged, the emotionally unstable, those under duress, and those in need of rest or of escape from exceptionally trying circumstances.

As Dr. Jean Rosenbaum, former President of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis, points out:

The average big-city dweller lives in an environmental disaster that overwhelms his capacity to ward off sensory stimuli. He almost never accomplishes normal sleep, which may in part account for the massive quantities of alcohol and/or sedatives he consumes. Paradoxically, the greatest cause of death in the big city is living there.

As to emotional and mental health, I might mention that I am not by nature, ill-tempered, and in fact try conscientiously, with varying success, to observe the interpersonal civilities which make daily living less abrasive. But after a prolonged assault by a nearby chain saw, or following the insistent buzzing of our neighborhood by a determined motorcyclist, or with the waning of a lovely Sunday afternoon rent from end to end by a local sports car enthusiast obsessively adjusting his muffler for maximum noise amplification, my temper is often so soured that the only civil gesture of which I remain capable is to avoid other people altogether.

I often wonder how many important decisions might have been influenced by such supposedly minor annoyances, which seem slight enough in the greater scheme of things but the consequences of which, magnified through the decisions of an influential person, may be large indeed. I am loath to suggest that noise alone is the basis of our failures as a society; I cannot, however, escape the feeling that my own reactions to the unrelenting, gut-searing affronts of noise must be shared by others whose important decisions are affected thereby, often at a level beneath awareness.

Impressions at the periphery of consciousness are known to be potent among the determinants of behavior. How many outbursts of temper, how many impetuous and ill-considered judgements, how many acts of sudden, unpremeditated aggression have been conditioned and precipitated by the inexcusable intrusions of noise? If my own experience is indicative, the effects cannot be negligible.

NOISE AND LIFE STYLE

Nostalgia for frontier freedoms is manifest in almost every facet of American life. . . . There is no place to hide from the stark realities of our crowded, city-centered society, with its inevitable frictions, conflicts, and turmoil. . . . Can we outgrow the values of our rural ancestors and adapt to civilized urban life?

The scope of the article by C. W. Griffin, Jr., from which this quotation is taken, extends far beyond the problem of noise, but his words are applicable to one facet of our present discussion. The image of masculine maturity fostered by certain elements of modern American society might have been appropriate to the rugged frontiersmen of the early West, but it is strikingly at variance with the optimum emotional and temperamental attributes of the individual to whom city-dwelling is a matter of choice or necessity. This is especially true of one who wishes to function effectively in our rationalized society, with its immeasurably more restrictive limitations upon human "freedom" as the latter was envisioned by the Argonaut, the Viking, or the rough-hewn man of the Gold Rush.

The most casual observation reveals the eagerness with which the frontier concept of manhood is seized upon, especially by adolescents and by those who have difficulty outgrowing adolescence. As a transient phase of normal maturation, this is expected and unalarming. What is significant and disturbing, however, is the unprincipled exploitation of this group, both young and adult, by various industries whose products are purposely designed to appeal to the poorly repressed or inadequately sublimated urges to self-expression, exhibitionism, or misguided "search for identity," which assume forms distressingly reminiscent of those of frontier masculinity. Perhaps the most obtrusive examples are powerful, noisy "pleasure" vehicles—sports cars, motorcycles, dune buggies, and snowmobiles.

The modes of advertising chosen to promote such products and their use are especially reprehensible, utilizing as they do, any means of persuasion which might aid in capturing this market. For example, a recent commercial, seen repeatedly during prime time by every television viewer of whatever age, sings (literally) the praises of a new fuel additive which enables the user to "let your horses loose, man!" The presentation juxtaposes the ideas of speed, motor power, and sexual attractiveness; quite predictably, a beautiful young woman admires the protagonist of this edifying vignette in his powerful, racing symbol of sexual potency. Lest anyone miss the point, or be left embarrassed and groping for less suggestive synonyms of the name of the product, the illustration on the container is shown: a muscular, leaping human figure with the head of a bull, the traditional symbol of fertility and of brute sexual aggressiveness.

A child exposed repeatedly to the dramatic force of such advertising—and the example is by no means an isolated one—can scarcely avoid developing a concept of desirable masculine adulthood which stresses these attributes, emphasized as they are by the most skillful of persuasive techniques, supported, reinforced, drilled into his awareness by one commercial after another, elaborated and enlarged upon by magazine displays, cheap newspaper sensationalism, theater marquees, outdoor advertising, disc jockeys, the underground press, and every other avenue of expression through which the exploitative commercial enterprise and the highly profitable youth cult can reach susceptible eyes and ears. The example of his own father's life and person must, by contrast, seem bleak and pale to a child—an ineffective, dull, and shadowy figure compared to the dominating, carefree, exciting males of commercials and TV serials, who achieve all things effortlessly, usually with a maximum of physical violence,

and who have fun, power, and sexual gratification at their fingertips.

In brief, the image of the adult male, especially that afforded by television and commercial advertising, is dismayingly consistent. An integral part of this image is the lust for power—raw, physical power. Messages which arouse this lust are irresistible to most young males, and are not lost on many adults as well. Power and symbols of power become an answer to adolescent conflicts, a compensation for real or imagined shortcomings. And this power is for most such people embodied in vehicles, particularly noisy vehicles. Noise is the audible correlate of power and enhances its exhibitionistic value; hence, the noisier the vehicle, the better it serves the unresolved needs. Manufacturers are fully aware of the strength of this appeal, and not only provide but actively encourage the use of such vehicles, with what can only be regarded as cynical opportunism.

It is clear, I believe, that the noise of these vehicles—a plague of the spirit to its helpless, captive audiences—has so little redeeming social value that its proscription would represent a pure gain to the community at large. The point, I cannot emphasize too strongly, is that in any reasonable "cost-benefit" analysis, the costs to the community are quite high, as demonstrated in connection with the effects of noise on health, whereas the benefits to the noise-maker are negligible. In fact, if the evidence adduced above is correct, he may unwittingly bear a part of the cost himself, in terms of delayed psychological maturity.

All of this is well known, of course, to behavioral scientists, as indicated, for example, by a recent study at Harvard Medical School of the use of noisy motorcycles to compensate for feelings of personal inadequacy. But I was amused to hear it also from an unexpected quarter—a writer who would have been chagrined to be caught supporting an "establishment" position. In an article entitled "Survival on the Road" in one of our semi-underground student newspapers, in the course of a totally unself-conscious discussion of how to avoid detection by narcotics agents while carrying drugs and how to steal openly from supermarkets without arousing suspicion, the author offers to hitchhikers this bit of insight into human nature:

Cars are usually an extension of personality, so be careful about noisy, high-powered machines. The people who drive them are often trying to prove something; and the odds are that you don't want to get involved.

The craving for physical power and the need to display it publicly through noise, the drive for sexual conquest without the confinement of a loving relationship, the urge to dominate and command seem to be inseparable from our very beings at some stage of growing up. However, the havoc which they wreak in their unsublimated forms is evident in many of our seemingly intractable social problems, especially at the individual and small-group level.

This is a difficult point to make without seeming to overstate the case, and I do not wish to claim more for the strength of casual relatedness here than the evidence warrants. I do suggest, however, in the firm belief that the data will bear me out, that these phenomena are in fact related to a significant degree, and that some restraint upon excessive noise may reasonably be expected to mitigate, at least to a measurable degree, the other manifestations detailed above.

We need a massive, concerted educational effort to de-emphasize and redirect such modes of self-expression, and, at the very least, to dissuade commercial interests from stimulating and perpetuating the unsocialized impulses of childhood and adolescence. If we are to encourage the development of adults capable of putting aside a childish, pseudo-Nietzschean conception of masculinity for the sake of the rational self-control

for which our times cry out, we must constitute a body of public opinion which opposes the commercial seduction of the innocents for the mere sake of private gain.

NOISE AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE

A Greek philosopher once said, "Let us preserve our silent sanctuaries, for in them we perpetuate the eternal perspectives."

From time immemorial, interludes of silence and solitude have provided an essential respite in the lives of men of a certain cast. Persons given to the incessant quest for excitement, exhilaration, and "kicks" have been regarded as somehow aberrant, lacking a vital quality essential to the man of substance. Civilized man needs occasional remove from immediate involvements, from the relentless stimulation of sights, sounds, events, demands—the whole complex of public, urban life which so drains and enervates. Such a mode of living must be relieved by moments of solitude and of contemplation through which he can regain balance, a sense of proportion, a dispassionate view of his trials and struggles, even of the significance of life itself.

Everyone to whom such experience of solitude is important and necessary knows that incongruous or extraneous noise can be as disruptive of the mood as the cut of a vandal's switchblade through a Rembrandt. The raucous pursuit of "fun" has no part in this experience, whatever its merits in its own right.

I believe we should be genuinely concerned about the entire "fun ethic" which pervades our society at this time in history. Joseph Wood Krutch has emphasized the predominant trend today among a majority of people toward power and amusement. It is, to my mind, no accident that noise—noise, that obliterates, perhaps, the emptiness of lives deprived of meaning—is an inherent part of this, and seems to be inextricably associated with some of its least attractive and most destructive features.

One notes the catastrophic effects of deafening snowmobiles on wildlife run to death for sport, on fields and woodlands damaged for "kicks," and, concomitantly, the ruination of the wilderness experience for all who seek it among serene and silent winter scenes. One notes the devastation of beaches and sand dunes by ear-shattering dune buggies, which have upset the ecological balance of several shoreline wildlife preserves and have destroyed the tenuous stability of coastal structures delicately organized by natural forces, not to speak of rendering the seashore totally unfit for those who once found emotional strength and restoration in the remoteness of such areas, in the rhythmic lapping of waves and the slower cadences of the tides. One notes the sickening explosions of trail-bikes and motorcycles along the walking trails of the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah Park, the sudden and utter disruption of the stillness of the deep woods or of the subdued and muted sounds of Nature.

I do not deny the validity of the need for Dionysiac release. The celebrations of primitive societies, their fertility rites, war dances, raiding parties, marauding, rape and plunder, have perhaps always satisfied compelling urges in individuals who have sacrificed much of their spontaneity and animal impulsiveness in return for the guarantees of group cohesiveness and the social contract. But the need for spiritual sustenance is just as real, far more insistent even when unrecognized, and considerably more fragile and demanding of particular circumstances than the doubtless legitimate but nonetheless frantic, raging, cloven-hoofed exuberance which characterizes much of what passes today for "entertainment" and "recreation." The two are mutually exclusive with respect to time and place. What solace of the calm peace and tranquil beauty of lakes is to be had in the presence of nerve-wrenching power boats? What enjoyment of the quiet movements of canoe or sailboat is possible

among the indiscriminate wakes of shrieking water-skiers?

Restrictions upon the noise produced by these devices would not in itself, of course, correct the fundamental lack; much more needs to be done in this respect. But it would unquestionably help to restore what is now progressively less possible: the escape into silence and solitude from the turbulence of crowded, desperate, urban conditions which are rendered even less tolerable by the ulcerating cacophony which pervades our day-to-day existence.

We need, as well, humane concern. We need to renew the capacity for caring not only in man's relations to this fellow man but also, and perhaps equally, in his relations to Nature. Books such as Anne Morrow Lindberg's *Gift from the Sea* and Rachel Carson's *The Sense of Wonder* beautifully express these needs and, in their incomparable, poetic styles, show the many ways in which fulfillment of such needs can be both shared and taught. Our obligation as a society is to ensure that such education in sensitivity is possible by minimizing the encroachments by the insensitive upon the wilderness experience of others, both the adults to whom it has deep, spiritual significance and the children in whom we seek to instill its values. These values might, without exaggeration, be regarded as prerequisite not only to concern for others, but also to the transformation of attitudes and feelings through which alone the ecology movement can come to fruition. In addressing ourselves to the "reordering of priorities," we must surely rank this high on the list.

SUGGESTIONS

I would urge that communities and states, as well as the Federal government, move first against those sources of noise which are maximally irritating to significant numbers of people (surveys show that vehicles exceed all other sources of noise put together in this respect) and which offer little or no redeeming social justification. Agencies of government must establish a precedent by using vehicles and machinery which meet the desired standards, much of which is already commercially available, e.g. quiet chain saws and muffled jackhammers.

Rigid state inspection requirements and roadblock spot checks for defective equipment, reinforced by moving traffic surveillance, should be imposed upon vehicles of every type from trucks to minibikes, with unambiguous provisions governing acceptable operating equipment and emission of pollutants, including noise. Although such laws exist in Virginia, both in the form of city ordinances and a State statute, which assert that excessive vehicular noise is illegal, the provisions are so nonspecific as to make enforcement difficult. Distributors of motor vehicle accessories, particularly mail order supply houses, provide mufflers which satisfy the minimal structural requirements of the law but which produce noise levels far in excess of those tolerable in a crowded city or in suburban areas. Distribution and sale of such equipment should be forbidden by law. Several communities—notably Memphis, Tennessee—and states—notably Connecticut—include monitoring of noise emission as part of routine traffic control; this practice should be adopted here.

Criteria for acceptable levels and harmonic characteristics of noise produced by motor vehicles as well as legal measures for its control, are published in many sources, including those described in the opening paragraph of this paper: the ASHA Proceedings and the Task Force Report.

Other possible measures include zoning certain areas of communities with respect to the types of vehicles permitted, exclusion of vehicles from public parks of specified type and especially from regions designated as wilderness areas, strict enforcement of ordinances governing disturbance of the peace, and restrictions upon the use of power

equipment, such as chain saws and power mowers, other than at specified times and in accordance with regulations.

What is most urgently required is a conviction on the part of our public officials of the real and growing need to control the noise which permeates our lives and erodes our peace of mind. Given this conviction, for reasons I have attempted to set forth in this essay, legislators should have little difficulty devising means for its moderation.

LUMBER, PLYWOOD, AND TIMBER

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, in the last month there have been several signs of increased Government interest in the Nation's timber situation and the outlook for the future. Coming from an area rich in forest resources I am pleased to take note of the increased concern in this vital area. However, even more importantly, I believe that it is significant that our Nation is beginning to recognize that long-range planning and increased capital expenditures are necessary if we are to secure the full economic and recreational value of our Nation's forests.

The first of these signs of increased interest is the recent Forest Service announcement that it has started a new appraisal of the Nation's current timber situation and future outlook. The new study will, in effect, update the "Timber Review of 1952" and "Timber Trends in the United States"—1962—two earlier studies. This new study will help determine how best to utilize the Nation's forest lands in view of the ever-increasing demands placed upon them. It will also serve as a basis for judging the effectiveness of our current forest management program, and provide a basis for investment decisions by Federal, State, and private forestry groups.

The Forest Service should be applauded for undertaking such a study, for it is only with accurate resource information that a multiple-use, intensified management program can be used to achieve full utilization of our forest resources.

Another sign of increased concern was the recent President's Council of Economic Advisers inflation alert concerning softwood lumber and plywood prices. The alert pointed out that a fundamental problem is to assure increased lumber supply which will be necessary to meet the long-deferred backlog of national housing needs at reasonable prices while maintaining and strengthening the environmental quality of forest lands. It should be noted that upward price movement for softwood lumber and plywood has eased in recent weeks and that future contracts for these commodities are below recent highs. It is my hope that the attention focused on the forest products industry by the large increase in prices will prompt the necessary action to relieve the underlying timber supply problems.

Yet another action indicating concern was a recent White House report that the Cabinet-level Task Force on Softwood Lumber and Plywood is now reviewing the "current outlook for lumber demand and supply" and the progress made in implementing its June 1970 recommendations. As a result of interest in the work of the Task Force I recently met with Mr. Casper Weinberger of the Office of Management and Budget and Dr. Hendrick Houthakker of the President's Council of Economic Advisers to discuss the findings of the Task Force. It is my sincere hope that the findings of the Task Force, which found one of the causes of the problem to be inadequate supply, will be translated into a program of action which will allow for increased timber production without violating the concepts of multiple use and sustained yield management.

I am pleased to see Government concern being directed to these important questions. I hope that the Congress will join in working out sound solutions to these problems of great national concern.

PROPERTY ACQUISITION AND DISPOSAL REFORM OF 1971

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, last fall I first introduced legislation which would eliminate the General Service Administration's practice of exchanging surplus lands for the buildings and other real property it needs. Unfortunately, the press of business at the close of the 91st Congress prevented the consideration of my bill. However, I am today reintroducing the measure.

Known as the Property Acquisition and Disposal Reform Act of 1971, the bill requires that surplus lands and other real property be sold outright to the highest bidder so that there can be no question about whether or not full value is received by the American people. My bill would eliminate the poor business practices which result when the General Services Administration negotiates property trades rather than coming to Congress for appropriations to erect necessary facilities.

It is certainly true, Mr. Speaker, that the GSA needs sufficient latitude to act quickly on high priority projects. My bill takes this factor into account. Sixty percent of the proceeds of surplus real property sales would go into the U.S. Treasury. However, the other 40 percent would be retained in a Federal Property Fund and would be available to the GSA without going through the appropriation process, where the projects in question have been authorized by Congress. The establishment of the Federal Property Fund will enable the GSA to move even more quickly on high priority projects than is presently the case in exchange negotiations.

Additional flexibility is extended to the GSA Administrator by another provision

in the bill. Authority would be given to construct or acquire buildings without specific congressional authorization if the total cost of the project is under \$100,000. The same authority would be extended to the GSA to alter or renovate existing public buildings if the total cost of the project is under \$200,000.

When I first proposed the legislation I am introducing, Mr. Speaker, a number of persons asked me if it would affect trades made by the Forest Service for the purpose of shaping more manageable forest lands. It does not. The bill is limited to public buildings generally suitable for office or storage space for the use of one or more Federal agencies, including Federal office buildings, post offices, customhouses, courthouses, appraisers stores, border inspection facilities, warehouses, record centers, relocation facilities, and similar Federal facilities. Excluded are buildings or construction projects on the public domain—including national forests—Government property in foreign countries, Indian and native Eskimo properties held in trust by the Government, lands used in connection with agricultural, recreational, and conservation purposes, land used in connection with flood control projects and nuclear production, land used in conjunction with housing projects, land on military installations, and Veterans' Administration installations.

During the 91st Congress, the GSA took steps to tighten up its procedures for determining the fair market value of properties involved in trades, but in my opinion this is merely treating the symptom, not the ailment. In my mind, there is no doubt that irrespective of how scrupulously the GSA supervises its appraisal procedures, the exchange practice places the Federal Government in a poor bargaining position. The chance that full value will not accrue to the American people hangs heavily over every transaction.

By what I say here today, I in no way seek to criticize the GSA or its employees for the system which exists. They are dedicated public servants who want to provide the public with essential buildings and other properties with a minimum of lost time. The fault lies in the system within which the GSA must operate. That system was set up by Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I hope it will be possible to consider this legislation during this session of the 92d Congress.

IMPORTS CONTINUE TO DESTROY AMERICAN JOBS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the American shoe industry continues to be allowed to plummet toward total destruction. As the following imports bulletin from the American Footwear Manufacturers Association indicates, shoe imports for the first 2 months of 1971 are 28.7 percent

higher than for the same period last year. The value of the foreign footwear sold during January and February has increased 32.6 percent over the 2 months' period in 1970.

This situation long ago became intolerable. The most cursory examination will reveal that "free trade" exists only in the U.S. imagination. Outside of the United States, no other major country in the world today permits free access to its markets on the scale which this Nation does. As a result, imports have penetrated domestic markets to a startling extent. So much so, in fact, that our export surplus dropped over \$5 billion from 1964 through 1969, and continues to decline. And while it is only a statistic, the jobs of thousands of Americans are being lost.

To resolve this serious threat to American industry it is not necessary to close our doors to imports. Legislation limiting shoe imports to the average of the

1967-69 levels, with an annual growth factor, passed the House last year but failed passage in the other body. Identical legislation has been introduced again this year with broad bipartisan support. I urge it be considered as a matter of the highest priority. It is senseless to continue to subsidize foreign labor at the expense of the American workingman.

AMERICAN FOOTWEAR
MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION,
New York, N.Y., April 9, 1971.
IMPORTS—FEBRUARY 1971

FIRST TWO MONTHS 28.7% ABOVE LAST YEAR

Leather and vinyl imports of 26,419,700 pairs for the month of February has brought the two months' total for 1971 to 56,013,300 pairs—a 28.7% increase over the same period last year. The value of this footwear amounted to \$112,157,000 or an average value of \$2.00 per pair, reflecting a 32.6% increase over the two months' period in 1970.

All major types of imports showed tremendous increases:

TOTAL IMPORTS OF OVER-THE-FOOT FOOTWEAR

[In thousands of pairs; thousands of dollars]

| Type of footwear | February 1971, pairs | Percent change, 1971/1970 | 2 months, 1971 | | | Percent change, 2 months, 1971/1970 | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| | | | Pairs | Value | Average value per pair | Pairs | Value |
| Total, leather and vinyl..... | 26,419.7 | +27.7 | 54,514.3 | \$110,657.0 | \$2.03 | +29.5 | +33.5 |
| Leather, excluding slippers..... | 13,998.7 | +27.8 | 28,201.9 | 86,803.4 | 3.08 | +34.1 | +30.3 |
| Mens, youths, boys..... | 3,606.7 | +36.6 | 7,127.9 | 28,842.1 | 4.05 | +41.6 | +40.5 |
| Womens, misses..... | 9,050.0 | +22.2 | 18,545.8 | 53,498.3 | 2.88 | +30.9 | +25.4 |
| Childrens, infants..... | 1,045.3 | +55.3 | 1,961.4 | 2,664.5 | 1.36 | +50.6 | +49.6 |
| Moccasins..... | 55.5 | +57.7 | 86.9 | 108.7 | 1.25 | +16.6 | +29.4 |
| Other leather (includes work and athletic)..... | 241.2 | +18.9 | 479.9 | 1,689.8 | 3.52 | +7.0 | +8.7 |
| Slippers..... | 16.3 | +25.4 | 23.0 | 65.9 | 2.87 | +11.7 | +24.1 |
| Vinyl supported uppers..... | 12,404.7 | +27.7 | 26,289.4 | 23,787.7 | .90 | +24.8 | +46.2 |
| Mens and boys..... | 2,187.5 | +93.4 | 4,264.6 | 4,744.0 | 1.11 | +78.8 | +78.5 |
| Womens and misses..... | 9,205.9 | +20.9 | 19,776.1 | 17,355.3 | .88 | +18.6 | +41.6 |
| Children's and infants..... | 862.9 | +2.2 | 1,973.9 | 1,473.9 | .75 | +12.2 | +23.2 |
| Soft soles..... | 148.4 | +19.2 | 274.8 | 214.5 | .78 | +14.6 | +39.6 |
| Total, other nonrubber types..... | 668.5 | +27.6 | 1,499.0 | 1,500.0 | 1.00 | +5.5 | -11.1 |
| Wood..... | 176.9 | -9.7 | 256.3 | 669.5 | 2.61 | -42.9 | -37.9 |
| Fabric uppers..... | 387.4 | +39.7 | 908.5 | 583.1 | .64 | +3.9 | +16.4 |
| Other, n.e.s..... | 104.2 | +105.1 | 334.2 | 247.4 | .74 | +240.0 | +126.8 |
| Total, nonrubber footwear..... | 27,088.2 | +27.7 | 56,013.3 | 112,157.0 | \$2.00 | +28.7 | +32.6 |
| Rubber-soled fabric uppers..... | 4,902.4 | +47.1 | 9,498.4 | 9,462.3 | 1.00 | +25.8 | +67.8 |
| Grand total, all types..... | 31,990.6 | +30.4 | 65,511.7 | 121,619.3 | \$1.86 | +28.2 | +34.8 |

Note: Details may not add up due to rounding. Figures do not include imports of waterproof rubber footwear, zories, and slipper socks. Rubber soled fabric upper footwear includes non-American selling price types.

Source: American Footwear Manufacturers Association estimates from census raw data. For further detailed information, address your inquiries to the association, room 302, 342 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

RESERVISTS IN CONGRESS

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, considerable alarm has resulted from a recent judicial opinion which has held that it is unconstitutional for Members of Congress to hold Reserve commissions in the Armed Forces while they serve in office.

A sharp focus on this situation was contained in a recent editorial in one of the newspapers in my home city. I am pleased to include it in the RECORD:

[From the Newport News, Va., Apr. 13, 1971]

RESERVISTS IN CONGRESS

Nearly one quarter of the members of

Congress hold reserve commissions of one sort or another in the various military branches of the United States.

This activity of members of the Congress came to light when U.S. District Judge G. A. Gesell of Washington ruled that it is unconstitutional for members to hold commissions while in office.

This ruling will have a rather considerable effect upon the 117 members who are officers in the reserves if it is upheld on appeal.

While it would be rather obvious that a conflict of interest is present as the 22 percent of Congress act on military matters while holding military commissions, that is not why Judge Gesell ruled as he did.

In his ruling, Judge Gesell cited a section of the Constitution that reads:

"No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States . . . and no person holding any office under the United

LEATHER AND VINYL IMPORTS

[Pairs]

| | 2 months | | Percent change, 2 months 1971-70 |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| | 1971 | 1970 | |
| Mens, youths, boys, leather..... | 7,127,000 | 5,032,500 | +41.6 |
| Mens, youths, boys, vinyl..... | 4,264,600 | 2,384,600 | +78.5 |
| Womens and misses, leather..... | 18,545,800 | 14,172,900 | +30.9 |
| Womens and misses, vinyl..... | 19,776,100 | 16,674,100 | +18.6 |
| Childrens and infants, leather..... | 1,961,000 | 1,302,600 | +50.6 |
| Childrens and infants, vinyl..... | 1,973,900 | 1,759,000 | +12.2 |

With only the first two months' data in, it is quite obvious that imports are continuing to stabilize their growing entrenchment in the American Market, and it looks like our estimated total for 1971 of 282,000,000 pairs will be realized and possibly exceeded.

States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office."

The court action was brought by the War Reservists Committee to Stop The War on grounds of non-separation of the legislative and the executive branches of government. The judge opined that not only the conflict of interest related, but more significantly, the duality of interest was in fact a violation of the legislative and the executive separation of powers required by the Constitution.

It is a fact that a great majority of members of Congress assigned to military affairs committees do hold reserve commissions. The present Congress has seven of the 16 seats on the Senate Armed Services Committee held by reserve officers who are also Senators. Rather fewer on the House Armed Services Committee—9 of 41—are reserve officers. The civil action lists these members of the House and Senate who are also members of the military reserve.

The speaker of the House, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, is a reserve officer. So is House

Democratic leader Hale Boggs of Louisiana. Senators Strom Thurmond and Barry Goldwater have long been among the more prominent reservists. Both are retired major generals receiving pensions. Thurmond is a former president of the Reserve Officers Association, the reservists' chief lobbying group in Washington. Senators Edmund Muskie, Jacob Javits, Charles Mathias and Daniel Inouye are other reservists.

But it is also a fact that members of very nearly every committee of the House and Senate have a specific interest in the work of their committees. Many were experts prior to their election to Congress, and by serving on the appropriate committee they have brought their expertise to the general profit of all the people.

And it is quite possible that by serving in the armed forces years ago, these members became aware of the processes of government and wished to participate in those processes. There are any number of former military men of either major party and of either philosophic persuasion, conservative or liberal, who are serving in Congress because of a motivation spurred by service in the military.

We can see no more danger in having a military expert form military policies than in having an agriculture expert shape farm policies or a specialist in maritime matters continue his sharp interest in the development of the merchant fleet.

Removal of reservists from two committees might, as some have said, make judgments more objective, but would they be as well-founded? That is the key.

FINEST AMBULANCE SERVICE IN UNITED STATES IN JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the handling of persons who are hurt in accidents, injured or who develop emergency health problems, such as heart attacks, is a key to the restoration of good health and the saving of lives. An important factor in this is ambulance delivery service.

In Jacksonville, Fla., the Third Congressional District of Florida, an alert city government has developed what has been called the finest emergency ambulance service in the United States.

The Jacksonville Rescue Squad is responsible for this wide acclaim for its fast and efficient service. This ambulance service is directed by the Jacksonville Fire Department and its communications system and highly trained personnel account for many lives saved every year.

To call to the Nation's attention this fine work by local government for the benefits of all citizens, I include in the RECORD an article "How Good Are Your Ambulances?" which appeared in the March 28, 1971, issue of Parade magazine and also an article from the National Enquirer of March 25. The articles follow:

[From Parade magazine, Mar. 28, 1971]

HOW GOOD ARE YOUR AMBULANCES?

(By Arthur S. Freese)

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.—"I'd like to feel that if I were knocked unconscious anywhere in the U.S., I'd have a sure chance of getting

to a hospital alive—but I don't have any such assurance." That stinging indictment of American ambulance practices comes from Dr. Robert H. Kennedy, one of our foremost experts in the field.

As though to prove his point, an ambulance recently raced up the drive of a busy Ohio hospital. The attendant and driver wheeled in an unconscious patient, half suffocating because he's been placed face down, mouth and nose buried in blankets. And Dr. Henry C. Huntley, director of the U.S. Public Health Service emergency division, contends that 60,000 lives a year are needlessly lost because of poorly trained ambulance attendants. He's joined by Dr. Sam F. Seeley, medical care expert for the National Academy of Sciences, who says that many deaths and disabilities from injuries are "due to the inadequate care of ambulance personnel."

The shame of poor ambulance service is doubly reprehensible because it takes only some dedication and persistence to make it good. Jacksonville, Fla., has demonstrated that. Many experts praise this city for "the finest emergency ambulance service in the United States," one that has a record of literally bringing victims back from the dead.

Yet, as recently as 1967, Jacksonville's service was far from praiseworthy and it took an unsavory incident to emphasize it. An auto crash brought out two undertakers' ambulances—they provided most of the community's ambulance service at that time. These vehicles raced each other at 80 miles an hour, eager to get some business out of the accident. Then, arrived at the scene, the drivers found the victim dead and actually began physical combat with each other over who would get the body.

JUST TOO MUCH

That incident proved to be just too much. A Jacksonville TV station started a crusade exposing abuse in the local ambulance service, mostly provided by undertakers and by a few private firms. Common were such practices as dragging car crash victims out of wrecks so rudely that injuries were compounded, refusing to take sick or injured who couldn't pay, and fighting over bodies. The pressure built up until in November, 1967, all Jacksonville morticians quit the ambulance business.

One hour later the mayor ordered the Fire Department to take over emergency ambulance service, and in less than three years the city had proved that it's possible to convert a typical ambulance mess into perhaps the most outstanding service in the U.S. The first step was to empty out five fire chief's station wagons and man them with firemen already trained in advanced first aid. Thus, the Jacksonville Rescue Squad was founded, an essential service as important in its way as police and fire protection.

The principal architect of Jacksonville's squad was Captain John M. Waters Jr., a Coast Guard rescue expert, who had been hired by the city to head its Fire Department rescue services. And his feat was doubly commendable because just about the time he took over the whole city's ambulance service, Jacksonville merged with the Duval County government, making it the world's largest municipality in area—842 square miles.

TELEPHONE HELP

By making the Fire Department responsible for ambulance service, the department's sophisticated communications system was immediately available and Waters made it even better by replacing the pull-lever fireboxes with telephones. When a phone is picked up, a light goes on a master map and the ambulance crew knows immediately where the emergency is.

Among other of Waters' innovations:

Replace the chiefs' station wagons with modern, specially-designed ambulances.

Give each of the firemen volunteering for rescue work 750 hours of training, including

the delivery of two babies in a hospital under a doctor's supervision. Also, pay each volunteer an extra \$30 monthly.

Stock each ambulance with a wrecking kit—firemen's axes, saw, wrenches, crowbar, all the equipment needed to cut a crash victim out of a crumpled automobile.

Place in each ambulance a complete supply of medical equipment—scalpels, hemostats, splints, tourniquets, adrenalin, drug, oxygen tank and hand-type resuscitators, backboards, stretchers.

And, finally, electrocardiographs so that the rescuing firemen can diagnose and monitor a heart condition and transmit the information to a hospital where a doctor may advise emergency treatment.

Captain Waters is justly proud of his rescue volunteers. He comments: "I think our people would rather do away with City Hall than the rescue people." Many a Jacksonville resident echoes this thought, none more so than Mrs. Ruth Norris.

"CLINICALLY DEAD"

Not so long ago she suffered a heart attack in her home and was "clinically dead"—heartbeat and breathing had stopped. It took her son Ray only a few seconds to flash a "cardiac red" alert to the Fire Department. The nearest available unit—in this case a fire engine—arrived in two minutes, an ambulance a minute and a half later. Two vehicles are always sent to heart alarms in Jacksonville so there will be sufficient crew to get the patient to the hospital—an ambulance driver and two men to work on the patient. In the case of Mrs. Norris, she was put on a rigid backboard so that manual chest depression by one fireman could help start her heart while the other administered oxygen and the driver alerted the hospital that a heart victim was en route.

In the hospital, a single "zap"—medical slang for an electric shock to the heart—restored Mrs. Norris' heart back to a normal beat and in 60 seconds she was awake, her mind normal.

Such a performance is almost routine for the Jacksonville firemen because they've had the training, equipment and communications. Yet, Dr. Huntley of the U.S. Public Health Service estimates that not one in 100 U.S. ambulances can communicate with a hospital and no more than one in 20 ambulance attendants gets better than minimum training. Dr. Seeley of the National Academy of Sciences says that about a third of our ambulance vehicles are station wagons and about a third of actual ambulances are more than ten years old.

VARIOUS SYSTEMS

Across the nation, according to the U.S. Public Health Service, undertakers still provide half of all ambulance service and there's quite a lot of variety in the other half. Baltimore uses a system much like that in Jacksonville and Houston, having studied the Jacksonville pattern, is installing it. Charlotte, N.C., gives an ambulance franchise to a single private service much along the lines of a utility under public supervision. In Louisville, Ky., all policemen are trained in advanced first aid and all police patrol station wagons are immediately convertible into ambulances. Calls for help go to the police and are radioed to the cars on patrol. Fort Dodge, Iowa, has devised a system of special application to small cities. Ten men, in relays, staff the three ambulances and are trained in advanced care for heart patients. The vehicles are kept at the hospital where the men work as orderlies between ambulance calls.

These examples, plus the case history in Jacksonville, show that there are no mysteries to the provision of the kind of good ambulance service that saves lives routinely every day. Any community with the will to have it can have it. But it's tragic that it probably will take more unnecessary deaths to jolt many of our cities into action.

[From the National Enquirer, Mar. 25, 1971]
**ABOUT 16,000 EMERGENCY CALLS A YEAR, BUT—
 JACKSONVILLE'S AMBULANCE SERVICE
 REACHES PATIENTS IN AVERAGE OF 4.2 MIN-
 UTES**

Retired diesel mechanic George F. Andrews, 64, threw back his head and roared laughing the night he "died." It happened in Jacksonville, Fla., at 6:30 p.m., Dec. 5, 1970.

George and his wife Hettie had just finished coffee and cake with guests, and she was coming back from the front door after seeing them off. He was sitting in the easy chair in the living room.

"All of a sudden he threw his head back and burst out laughing," said Hettie, a small woman with gray hair and gentle eyes.

"His face was pale and he was gripping the chair and I knew something terrible was happening inside of him. My Andy was having a stroke."

Hettie was shaking so much she was unable to dial the phone. She ran next door and a neighbor called the Jacksonville Fire Department Emergency Service. The time was 6:34 p.m.

On the second floor of city hall, in a room walled with lights and switches, a man puts down the phone after taking George Andrews' address. At the same time he presses one of 19 buttons.

Several miles away an alarm sounds in a fire station in one of the 19 inner-city zones. Two men scramble into an emergency ambulance as the Andrews' address comes over the radio.

Mrs. Andrews has just returned to her husband's side, when two firemen suddenly burst through her front door without knocking. The time is 6:37 p.m., three minutes from call to help.

One man carries a portable radio, oxygen cylinder and a breathing bag; the other brings in a defibrillator, drug kit, stethoscope, blood pressure cuff and a portable telemeter.

By direct radio contact, they report the victim's condition to a doctor who is waiting in the emergency room of Memorial Hospital. They note severe pain with a complete absence of pulse and breathing. George Andrews is unconscious, and more dead than alive.

The throat is cleared and the patient is given oxygen and anti-shock treatment under continuous radio instruction from the doctor; then Andrews is carried to the ambulance.

While the city flashes past the ambulance window at the legal speed limit, Andrews is hooked up to an electrocardiogram (EKG) machine and his EKG is transmitted to the hospital. It is read and interpreted by a doctor (one of four on the full-time emergency shift) and instructions are relayed back to the ambulance.

Drugs are given; there is equipment for intravenous or intramuscular injections, if needed. The defibrillator stands ready, to be used on doctor's orders only. It will electrically shock Andrews' laboring heart, should it be thought necessary. Andrews arrives at Memorial's emergency room at 6:44 p.m., where a 10-member cardiac team is already aware that his heart is in ventricular fibrillation—a death pattern.

Meanwhile, somebody has contacted Andrews' doctor, who has given relevant information from his case history records. The team in Room 2, designed especially to receive emergency patients, goes to work.

The time is 6:46 p.m. It has taken only 12 minutes to get George Andrews from his living room to the hospital's emergency room table.

George Andrews is alive today, although not completely well; but under Jacksonville's old ambulance system, operated by individual funeral home directors, he would most certainly have been dead and long buried.

George Andrews is one of over two dozen people alive in Jacksonville today because of a new concept in emergency care and transportation.

Dr. Roy Baker, of Jacksonville Memorial Hospital, maintains that his city is the safest in America.

Capt. John M. Waters, director of public safety, says of his government-run operation: "Our biggest advantage is that we can keep our staff because, as firemen to start with, ambulance attendants stay with us for 25 years."

"There is no costly retraining. "Also, emergency calls are received direct to our center from the caller. They do not pass through a central communications bureau, as they do elsewhere, and we are not concerned with non-emergency work."

While Jacksonville has the advantage of working with a single government department, firemen providing emergency ambulance service must cater for 530,000 people spread out over 842 square miles. Their average response time (delay from when the call is made to when the ambulance arrives) for 16,350 calls last year was 4.2 minutes.

An emergency ride in an ambulance in Jacksonville, regardless of drugs injected or equipment used, is \$22.50, but the actual cost is \$36.50.

Jacksonville started turning firemen into ambulance attendants over two years ago, when the service was provided by the town's funeral homes. Citizens became accustomed to seeing ambulances race each other to the scene of accidents, often to pay more attention to the dead than the injured.

When the funeral homes threatened Mayor Hans G. Tanzler that they'd quit unless he gave them considerable assistance, he picked up the phone, called the fire chief and said: "You're in the ambulance business. When can you take your first call?" The chief took his first call within the hour and Jacksonville's super-efficient service was born.

**FRED WILLIAMS OF WAHT RADIO
 WINS AWARD FOR RADIO PUBLIC
 SERVICE**

**HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN
 OF PENNSYLVANIA**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents was recently chosen to receive one of the broadcasting industry's foremost awards. The George Foster Peabody Award for Radio Public Service Programming went to Fred Williams and WAHT radio in Lebanon, Pa.

In his 16 years of broadcasting, Mr. Williams has received more than 40 awards and citations for radio journalism. But, as a recipient of the Peabody Award, he joins the select company of well-known broadcasters like Walter Cronkite, Chet Huntley, Harry Reasoner, Edward R. Murrow, and many others.

This latest award recognizes a series of programs called "Medical Viewpoint" which Mr. Williams created, researched, wrote and produced for WAHT radio. These programs explored problems and advances in the areas of public health, health education and medical science.

I think the significance of the Peabody Award is reflected by the fact that Fred Williams is the first radio journalist and WAHT, where he is operations manager, is the first radio station in the Common-

wealth of Pennsylvania to receive this award in the 31 year history of the presentations.

My congratulations and best wishes for future service go out to Fred Williams and WAHT radio.

REMARKS
 OF

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, as I have done in previous years, we mailed an annual questionnaire to all postal patrons in the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan. The mailing was March 15 and most returns were received in the 2 weeks thereafter. As usual, tabulation was done by an independent concern in the Washington area. There were 155,000 sent out and 13,500 were returned. About 23,000 persons actually responded because the questionnaire form afforded an opportunity for both husband and wife to answer. Complete results of the survey are as follows:

COMPLETE RESULTS OF SURVEY

| | Yes | No | opinion |
|--|-------|-------|---------|
| 1. President Nixon has proposed revenue sharing with the States. Do you favor this legislation?..... | 60.82 | 34.02 | 5.14 |
| 2. Do you support a national health insurance program— | | | |
| (a) operated by the Government, providing care to all U.S. residents and financed by payroll and income taxes?..... | 31.44 | 54.97 | 13.56 |
| (b) that would require all employers to provide private health insurance, financed by contributions of both the employer and employee?..... | 49.82 | 33.09 | 17.08 |
| 3. Do you believe the President's Vietnamization policy is working?.. | 49.69 | 44.88 | 5.43 |
| 4. Should the new Federal welfare program— | | | |
| (a) emphasize work as a condition for assistance?..... | 88.29 | 5.72 | 5.99 |
| (b) require job training when appropriate?..... | 78.33 | 9.48 | 12.18 |
| (c) be limited only to the sick and disabled?..... | 54.26 | 32.00 | 13.74 |
| (d) provide benefits to all incomes below the poverty level?..... | 48.30 | 37.71 | 13.99 |
| 5. Since Congress has passed legislation which allows 18-year-olds to vote for Federal officers, would you favor a U.S. constitutional amendment to allow the 18-year-old to vote in State and local elections?..... | 64.13 | 34.80 | 1.07 |
| 6. Would you favor wage and price controls as a means to combat inflation?..... | 78.24 | 20.17 | 1.59 |
| 7. Should the United States place a fixed limit on imports of foreign agriculture products?..... | 82.22 | 15.68 | 2.10 |
| 8. Would you favor placing import restrictions on goods that tend to put American products at a competitive disadvantage in the American market?..... | 82.52 | 16.07 | 1.41 |
| 9. Would you favor amending the Social Security law to provide for built-in cost-of-living adjustments?..... | 87.02 | 11.80 | 1.16 |
| 10. Would you be willing to pay more for products and services (autos, gas, electricity, etc.) if they would be made virtually pollution free?..... | 79.04 | 19.41 | 1.53 |

THIS TIME LET US PLAY TO WIN

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the recent visit of the American ping-pong team to China has aroused a great deal of interest and concern among many Americans. The question has been asked many times what is behind this sudden change in attitude by Red China. A most thoughtful analysis of some of the reasons back of the visit and its possible effect on our future involvements in Asia is ably discussed in the following editorial from the Mansfield, Ohio, News Journal. I enthusiastically recommend it to my colleagues for their study and consideration:

THIS TIME LET US PLAY TO WIN

One of the keys to success in international diplomacy is to know what you want. When the goal is definite, there is opportunity for almost infinite maneuvering to achieve it.

You can even invite the fellows over for ping pong.

Red China clearly knows what it wants from the United States. It feels this can be achieved more successfully by ending Chinese isolation than by continuing it.

The first move is innocuous, almost silly, in view of the issues at stake. But the Chinese know the value of patience. If the U.S. Ping Pong Team tour goes off nicely—that is if it gets favorable publicity for China—then the next move can be carefully plotted.

What is China's goal in thus responding to President Nixon's broad hints over the past months that the U.S. is ready to modify its attitude toward Red China?

Some observers feel that the first Chinese goal is economic.

Trade with the U.S. could be profitable. The U.S. has surplus food and ample manufactured items. China has raw materials for sale.

China could also profit by direct U.S. investment in new manufacturing facilities in Mao's vast backward country. The trick will be not only to control U.S. investments but to expropriate them when the time is ripe.

But there's another angle: Japan.

The Japanese have prospered mightily since World War II through world and U.S. trade. They have also saved money on armaments, enjoying military protection at the expense of American taxpayers.

Now Japan is ready to handle its own defense.

The Chinese are well aware that the same weapons that defend Japan can be used to invade the resources-rich Chinese mainland. An American commercial involvement in China, plus resultant political amity, would give the U.S. an interest in the defense of China against Japanese assault.

Now then if the U.S. is about to enter this Chinese ping pong game, what are our goals?

We'd better have some, and be pretty clear about them. Getting drawn into a new Asian involvement through China could make our misadventure in Vietnam look like a bowl of tepid bird's nest soup. In another generation we could find ourselves locked in a struggle on China's side against both Japan and Russia.

It's all very well to say, as President Nixon has, that a nation containing as much of the world's population as China should be an open participant in world affairs. But there is a lot more than that behind China's invitation to play ping pong.

The President and those Congressmen who are always loudmouthing him had better get

together and decide what our Asian policy ought to be. Then, as we return China's serves, let's make sure that we are volleying to implement that policy.

This time let's play to win!

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION CENSORSHIP

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year, "Homefront," a publication of the Institute for American Democracy which appears to be primarily dedicated to campaigning against what it regards as "the right wing" in America, filled more than half its issue with a review and acclamation of the steps being taken by the Federal Communications Commission to force broadcasting stations seen as politically or religiously "conservative" off the air.

The publication reviewed not only the FCC's refusal to renew the license of Brandywine-Main Line Radio, Inc., to operate Station WXUR in Media, Pa.—see my newsletter 70-9, September 9, 1970—a decision reaffirmed February 3—but also the recent FCC hearings on whether to take the same action against Station KAYE in Puyallup, Wash., and Station WMUU on the campus of Bob Jones University in Greenville, S.C.

In the WXUR and KAYE cases, the FCC is acting on the basis of its so-called Fairness Doctrine which requires every broadcasting station to "seek affirmatively to encourage and implement the presentation of contrasting viewpoints." In the first place, this assumes the equal validity of every viewpoint, regardless of objective standards of right and wrong. Secondly, as the findings in the WXUR case make very clear, it means that the FCC sets itself up as a judge of what is a controversial issue upon which contrasting viewpoints must be broadcast, and how much time must be given to the contrasting viewpoints. Its rulings in the WXUR case were even extended to the content of religious programs. When the licensee objected, the FCC responded with this statement:

Brandywine contends that for us to pierce its claim that Dr. McIntire's programs were devotional, and to decide for ourselves whether or not controversial issues were discussed on these programs, would constitute an unconstitutional abridgment of freedom of religion. We disagree. It is no more an abridgment of freedom of religion than of freedom of speech.

Whether it is actually unconstitutional, nobody really knows in these days when the Constitution is what five Supreme Court Justices may feel like at any given moment. But whatever else this FCC policy is or is not, I fail to see how it can actually be "fair," or actually allow for freedom of speech.

Most statements—virtually all which are interesting enough to be worth broadcasting—are, or could be considered, in some way controversial. To allow a Federal agency to decide which of these statements can be made only if free re-

buttal time is offered, is to give that agency in reality the power of censorship. As the current pattern of FCC license renewal hearings shows, that power is now being used. It is most unlikely to be used against the presently dominant ideology in our communications media, but rather is silencing the few remaining voices which speak out unashamedly for the values, the system of Government and way of life which made this Nation great.

Some believe that a major effort should be made to pressure the FCC to apply its "Fairness Doctrine" the other way, against the anti-American broadcasters. It can do no harm to try, so long as the FCC has this power and is using it. But the power itself should not exist. If we mean what we say about freedom of speech and religion, it ought to apply to radio broadcasters as well as newspaper and book publishers. They should be free to present their own views at their own expense.

I have introduced H.R. 6887 for this purpose, to strip the FCC of its power to deny license renewals to broadcasting stations on the basis of the political, ideological, or religious content of any of their programs, so long as the individual or group conducting the broadcast has not been convicted of libel or slander in a court of law, and does not advocate violation of law over the air waves.

A PERSPECTIVE ON BLACK BANKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, some questioning has arisen lately concerning the value of black banks to the economic development of the communities which they serve—a questioning with which I do not agree.

A member of the Federal Reserve Board, Andrew Brimmer, went so far as to describe black banks as "essentially ghetto ornaments."

What real value do these banks hold? An answer to this question was published in the January 17, 1971, issue of the Washington Post in an article written by the distinguished Dr. Edward D. Irons, executive director of the National Bankers Association.

Dr. Irons, in the article, "Serious Error Distorts Brimmer's Black Bank Analysis," convincingly argues the case for black banks, disputing the "ghetto ornament" position which radically downgrades these banks' importance.

Dr. Irons is a former professor and chairman of the Department of Business Administration at Howard University. His article follows:

SERIOUS ERROR DISTORTS BRIMMER'S BLACK BANK ANALYSIS

(By Edward D. Irons)

In a democracy, divergence of opinion is a natural consequence of the freedom of speech. In such an environment, doctors disagree, lawyers disagree, historians, economists and bankers disagree. This divergence is common even given the same sets of facts. A most recent occurrence of this phenome-

non was Governor Andrew Brimmer's (the only black member of the Federal Reserve Board) view that black banks are ornaments of the ghetto, with little potential as instruments of economic development.

Thus, while Governor Brimmer is entitled to his opinion, a careful examination of the facts indicates that Brimmer's analysis of black banks suffers from serious analytical errors. Because of his analytical errors, it is my opinion that Brimmer's conclusions regarding black banks are distorted about the present and myopic about the future. Equally fallacious is his assumption that commercial banks, black or otherwise, by themselves are instruments of economic development. The process of economic development requires a complex interaction of all the financial institutions in our economic system coupled with a balanced infra-structure fostered by an active participation of the government on all levels.

In addition, Brimmer's analysis suffers from the vacuum syndrome. He makes no effort to analyze the cause-effect relationship of the environment within which these banks operate, or the impact of past public policy of social mores on these banks. His conclusions, therefore, can at best be considered sterile.

Regarding the analytical error, Governor Brimmer incorrectly lumps both newly chartered banks and mature banks in the same category. He then analyzes their asset management experience and their operating experience (income and expense). Most serious students of banking know that the above management functions vary markedly between newly chartered banks and mature banks. For example, in the management of their assets, new banks typically cannot invest their funds in loans in their market area as rapidly as they come in during their early years. As a consequence, they generally buy government securities or participate with other banks in loans outside their areas. This pattern is continued until the new bank has gotten sufficiently acquainted with its market to prudently place most of its loan portfolio within its market area. This pattern frequently dilutes earnings potential while the expenses of the bank continue at a relatively fixed level. This, then, accounts for the difference in asset management of new banks as well as expense-revenue relationship vis-a-vis mature banks. In 1969, newly chartered banks represented 57 per cent of total deposits of black banks. Thus, to put them together in one analytical framework can only lead one to spurious conclusions.

In 1968, Brimmer issued a statement to the public that black banks, on balance, were in the red. He, therefore, questioned whether such banks should be encouraged as a matter of public policy. The facts that led Brimmer to his conclusion, again spuriously, was that of the 20 banks then in existence, nine were new chartered averaging 2.7 years of age, operating in the normal deficit period for new banks. Regulatory agencies typically require organizers of new banks to allow for three years of deficit operation in the estimation of the initial capital base. One need not be an Einstein to reason that the mature banks would have had to outperform the proverbial "magician" to stay in business as long as they have, while "on balance" being in the red during that period.

Similarly, in his paper which he read last week at the American Economic Association meeting, he concluded that black banks appear to be about one-quarter to one-third as profitable as the nation's banks generally. Ironically, this is an improvement over the experience of black banks over 1968 even using Brimmer's standards. However, his analytical methodology suffers from the same errors which he made two years earlier. The phenomenon which prevented Brimmer's conclusions from being the same as two years earlier, was the fact that most of the newly chartered banks which he had in-

cluded in his analysis two years earlier had broken even and begun to operate profitably. Nonetheless, he did include five banks that were chartered since his last analysis whose average age was 1.6 years old. Typically, new banks require about three years to break even and begin operating profitably.

It must be emphasized here that using averages with a small universe coupled with widely varying magnitudes, as in the case of black banks, can easily lead one to a spurious conclusion, however unintentioned. For example, given five banks; four banks with \$200,000 capital and one with a million dollars in capital; assume that the four banks with capital of \$200,000 each earn 10 per cent on capital or after taxes and that the million dollar bank incurs a 10 per cent deficit on its capital. If one simply averages the aggregate return on investment of these five banks, he will conclude that, on balance, these five banks are one per cent in the red. The facts are that four of these banks made a normal profit and one is unprofitable.

Of course, no one who examines the facts objectively could conclude that black banks, on the average, earn as much profit as banks generally. To understate these profits by one third to one half as does Governor Brimmer, is to drastically distort the total perspective of these banks in the eyes of the public. The facts are that, if one includes all black banks that are five years or more in age, he will find that during the last ten years, black banks, while profitable, have earned about three points less on their capital than banks generally. In this regard, in 1969, of the 18 black banks that were five years in age or more, eight of these banks have return on investment in excess of 10 per cent with a range up to 14 per cent.

Brimmer concludes that since black banks cannot serve as significant instruments of economic development, (i.e., invest in equities) a new institution should be created to serve this need. He then suggested that a domestic Edge Act Company, patterned after the International Edge Act Companies, should be established. Edge Act Companies are international subsidiaries of major money market banks of the United States with authority to invest in equities in the countries where they operate. The fallacy of Brimmer's thinking becomes apparent again. Even if these institutions were established, they would not supplant the commercial banking functions. The commercial banking functions would still have to be carried on by a commercial bank either by a black-controlled bank or branches of a major bank, as has been true in the past as well as today. As a matter of fact, there is an economic development instrument already available to major banks that would render the same service as an Edge Company, that is, the bank related Small Business Investment Company (SBIC). This type corporation has been available to the banking industry for 11 years. Its purpose is to permit the banks to invest in equities of their choice in small business. As a matter of fact, a number of major banks currently have wholly owned SBICs. Others have organized consortia to establish SBICs. At any rate, while there is nothing legally wrong with the establishment of a domestic Edge Company, it would seem to me that, at best, it would become a redundant financial institution in our system. Thus, while one can heartily agree with Brimmer that a source of equity capital is needed in the markets served by black banks, one must rationally conclude that equity institutions cannot supplant commercial banks, white or black.

Perhaps more important than the current status of black banks is the trend of these banks and how they got that way. Only after one views these banks in proper perspective can the role of these banks become apparent.

After thirty virtually dormant years, the last two thirds of the decade of the 1960's saw the organization of more black banks than

any prior period since the early 1900's. By the end of June 1970, there were twenty-six black-controlled banks in the United States. Most of these banks (16) have been organized since 1963. If this number does not sound impressive in relation to the more than 13,000 banks currently in the U.S., it isn't. When viewed with the perspective of history of black banks, however, the advent of this increased number suggests a microscopic revolution.

Briefly, these banks may be considered an emerging new industry within an industry, struggling with all the problems common to any new industry. Theoretically, there should be no need for these banks. The paradox, which these banks create in our "free enterprise system," stems from historical societal mores and public policy that decreed that blacks and other minorities had no place in the banking industry, as workers, as managers, or as owners of banks. While these walls are cracking slowly, their legacy hangs heavily over this emerging new industry.

The operating experience of black banks reflects the total environment in which they operate. Thus, while black banks generate the same relative amount of income on their assets as do banks of similar size in the industry, it costs black banks on an average 16% more to manage their assets. This additional operating cost for black banks is due primarily to small high activity deposit accounts, which average approximately one half of similar size banks in the U.S. with a concomitant of higher personnel costs. In addition, the loan losses incurred by black banks is two and one half times as high as banks generally. The upshot of this cost differential and higher loss experience for black banks is lowered return on capital as pointed out above.

With the above background, what about the future of black banks? What is the nature of the market they serve? What role does size play? What about management? Do black banks serve a need? Can't big banks meet this need more effectively? Don't black banks contribute to a separatist philosophy?

THEIR MARKET

The market that black banks serve, a product of total society, is one in which the black families earn 40% less than their white counterpart, maintain only one third as many checking and savings accounts, and own only 1.1% of liquid assets held by U.S. families. Moreover, this market has few significant businesses.

THEY ARE TOO SMALL

Black banks, in general, are small. These banks are increasing in size, however. In 1960 for example, the largest black bank was \$10 million in assets compared to \$46 million by the end of 1970.

However, it may be instructive to point out that 92% of banks in the U.S. fell below \$50 million in assets in 1969 while 85% fell below \$25 million.

WHAT ABOUT MANAGEMENT?

Deprived until recently of an opportunity to acquire the experience in the banking industry, blacks have not acquired bank management experience in any significant number. Within the last two or three years, however, there has been a change in industry practice vis-a-vis blacks in management. As a result, a number of blacks are in management training courses throughout the nation. If this pattern continues, within ten years there should be a pool of trained and experienced black management at all levels. In addition, black banks are increasingly using white management personnel.

DO THEY MEET A NEED?

It is unlikely that one black bank in each major metropolitan city of the U.S. will ever meet the total financial needs of the area; nor is it necessarily desirable that such a condition would obtain. If one accepts the premise that the general population needs a

commercial bank that is convenient and empathetic to its financial and economic needs, should the black population aspire to any less? Contrary to popular belief, the black population of the United States is increasingly relegated to highly concentrated black areas. Will these automatically have the type banking service referred to above as the years go by? Many observers have asked the question, "Can't the big banks meet this need better than the neighborhood bank?" The answer to that question is an emphatic yes. The next question becomes, however, "Have they done it?" Perhaps to some degree they have, but the preponderance of the evidence suggests that big banks, by nature or by policy devote a relatively small amount of their loan portfolio to small businesses, irrespective of race.

BLACK BANKS AS SEPARATISTS

Some observers believe that the development of black banks creates a separatist philosophy. Perhaps. But does a bank controlled by Irishmen create a separatist philosophy? Or by Germans? Polish? Italians? If it does, should we not dismantle all those institutions in the United States that are controlled by a particular ethnic group? The annals of banking are replete with evidences of the kind of ethnic controls suggested above. For the first time in history, blacks are beginning to move in that direction. Must we change direction at this time?

"But blacks should get management jobs in banks," many people contend. I would agree wholeheartedly, but unless they also own some banks, they will never influence what happens to the banking assets. And if history is any teacher, those who control the finances of a nation, control the direction of that nation. Up to this point in our history, blacks have been left out of this control process. What blacks are saying now is, "We want in."

PROSPECTS

The prospects of black banks in the United States can be summed up in two words. They are a "societal contingency." *Today's black banks are a mirror of contemporary American society, in the same manner as Black doctors, Black lawyers, Black businessmen or Black economists.* They reflect all the past constraints imposed by society. Potentially, they can be as sound as any group in the United States. If this is to happen, however, a whole series of fundamental actions must take place.

1. Public policy must never revert to the pre-1963 period when blacks were systematically discouraged from seeking charters.

2. The fundamental economic unit of the black community, i.e., the family, must ultimately be given the opportunity to earn on a parity with its white counterpart, thereby, eliminating the 40 percent earnings gap between these two groups.

3. The federal, state, and local governments must begin to utilize these institutions as depositories in the same manner as other banks are used.

4. The major corporations who, through the sale of their products in these communities extract substantial sums of money from them, should consider using these banks as depositories. *This would serve as a counterforce to the continual wealth outflow from these areas, a phenomenon which I term a chronic balance of payments drain.*

5. A supply of venture capital must be made available to the markets served by black banks as a means of stimulating significant commercial activity.

6. The fledgling start toward the training and upgrading of blacks to all levels of bank management must accelerate significantly, and continue unabated.

And finally, once these banks and the bankers who manage them become accepted as integral parts of our total economic system, they will be capable of rendering competitive service to every sector of our society.

THE SPOILED SOCIETY

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the modern methods of merchandising have now made it possible to acquire food for thought, as well as food for sustenance, at almost all of our local grocery stores.

During a recent visit to such an establishment, I permitted my wife to push the cart, while I read from an advertising "throw away" made available by the store.

I was delighted to find therein a treatise entitled "The Spoiled Society." However, I would like to add my 2 cents worth to his final conclusions.

It is obvious that this Nation has had too many years of regimentation: too many wars; too much misuse of the public trust; too many help agencies; and too many benefits in the name of security. All have worked to the detriment of individual freedom, and the deterioration of the Nation's moral stamina. Is it any wonder that unrest and chaos prevail?

The article follows:

A SPOILED SOCIETY

(By Timothy C. Miller)

America's the place to be. It is a wonderful country, interested in the welfare of all of us. For instance, if I were to list all the government supported "help agencies" I could print volumes upon volumes.

It has been said, that to find out how many friends you have, you must first have a downfall. And, in America there will always be some agency to help. I ask, "How much good do our 'help agencies' really do? In some cases, I think having all this help available, could really hurt us.

Let me illustrate.

A young boy full of life, eager, sits in his high school classroom wondering about the many thrills and excitements of the adult world. He longs for the freedom an adult supposedly has. He would like to be free from the regulations of classroom, studying history, biology, english, etc. The lure of freedom, money, a car, begins to fill his mind and he feels strongly, the temptation to quit. His thoughts could go like this. "Well," He thinks, "If I quit now, I can work at some job (any job with pay looks good to a kid) and maybe buy me a car, man then I'll be happy. All I really want is to be free. And so what? If things do not work out, there's always the chance to get my high school diploma later. I mean, I can take a correspondence course."

This is a thought which goes through many a young boy's mind. It is a dangerous thought inspired by our "help agencies." I wonder how many students would drop out of school, if they knew there would not be a second chance? And, how many do drop out of school with the intention of making it up later?

Many employers are disillusioned with the thought that a man who makes up his high school is a man who has character. They reason this folly by thinking that, if a man can do this on his own, he must be a good worker. Isn't the second chance an advertisement, that those who finish high school through home study, are most likely to find better jobs, than those who are responsible enough to stay in school?

Is it good to always have someone ready to catch you, if you fall? Struggling after a downfall can make us better men.

A nice clean cut kid could say to himself,

"Well, I'll try drugs. Maybe heroin. Because, if it's too much for me, well, the government has this new program out, which can help drug addicts." There is many a young boy who thinks he can try drugs, feeling that the government will help him get off the stuff if he can't handle it. I wonder how many would try this stuff, if they knew they would never get a second chance? It's bad enough that our help agencies only help ten percent of the drug addicts they see. Sometimes our "help agencies" can be an invitation to try risky things.

"Why should I pay for insurance?" a frustrated shop worker says. "If I don't like my job, or I get hurt, the welfare will pay for it." And they will. Welfare doesn't charge payments, they make them. The effects of these thoughts can be disastrous. It is true, if we get hurt, and can't work the welfare agency will pay for all of our medical bills and provide for us until we are able to go back to work. The welfare, apparently, without knowing it is the best insurance we can have. Why worry about our future, we always have the welfare? I wonder how many of those who are helped by welfare would find success in their jobs if nothing were offered to them but to stick it out?

You are a lot more careful when climbing a mountain, than you are swinging from a rope above a soft net. If that net wasn't there to catch you, you would not be so daring.

It is indeed sad, when a man reaches retirement and has nothing. We sympathize with him, but no one asked him way he has nothing. He had all of his life to prepare, and at the end he has nothing. I feel that we should help. We should help, simply because he needs it. But if there were no help available, would he arrive at old age in this state of helplessness? It's ironic that the help available for an aged, is considerably less than the welfare available to the young and able workers.

"Don't worry citizens," the government says, "regardless of the nature of your troubles or downfall, there is always some way out. There will always be someone to help you. So go ahead and take all the risk you want, surely someone will take care of you."

It is true, that no matter how much help there is, there is suffering in drugs, unemployment, and unplanned retirement. But I wonder, however, how many people are there, who would try drugs, if they knew there were no way out? How many would try unemployment because they didn't like their job, if there was nothing available to help him along. There are many questions here, but the most important one, is how much good do our "help agencies" really do? I'm afraid our nice sweet society is a little over-protective. What happens when a mother over-protects her children? They run wild!

CONGRESS MUST STAND UP FOR THE RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the ill-advised permission that enabled the establishment of Resurrection City in 1968 has come back to haunt us and will continue to do so until and unless the Congress takes legislative action promptly.

On Monday of this week, a three-judge contingent of the U.S. Court of Appeals, after only 30 minutes of deliberations, overruled a lower court injunction and permitted a group of antiwar protesters

to camp out on the Mall. It is absurd that these three judges so lightly dismissed the matter, and in so doing, negate the authority of the executive branch in enforcing the regulations respecting the use of public lands in the District of Columbia for overnight camping. This issue has nothing whatsoever to do with the freedoms of speech and assembly and it was ludicrous for Judge Leventhal to suggest that this particular camp-out has some element of symbolic value. Fortunately, acting in the interests of all citizens impartially, Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has reversed the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals and has banned overnight camping on the Mall.

Mr. Speaker, legislation was passed overwhelmingly by the House in the 91st Congress to prevent another Resurrection City. Of the 327 Members of the House at that time who voted for the legislation, 291 are Members in this Congress. The very fact that the courts this week have made hash of the present policy respecting overnight camping regulations should be sufficient evidence that legislation to firm up this policy is urgently needed. It is time we stand up for the rights of all Americans and not just the few who are here temporarily to demonstrate their right to dissent.

On April 7, 1971, Mr. SCHERLE introduced a bill identical to the measure that the House passed in the last Congress. On April 19, Mr. WYLIE and I followed with another identical bill to emphasize our concern. I trust that other Members will follow suit and that the House Public Works Committee will give prompt consideration to this legislation.

CBS CAUGHT IN ANOTHER DISTORTION

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, with each passing day, I find out what real professionals CBS has—professionals of misrepresentation, that is. Of course, I am referring to those CBS individuals who participated in the discredited "The Selling of the Pentagon," an antimilitary editorial which the network labeled a documentary.

When CBS said "a special, still unpublished report for the prestigious 20th Century Fund estimates the real total at \$190 million"—money spent on public affairs—I decided to write the organization and ask for a copy of that study.

I have received a reply to my inquiry from Mr. M. J. Rossant, director of the 20th Century Fund. He explains that the fund did finance a study entitled "The Military Establishment," which was prepared by Adam Yarmolinsky and a team of collaborators. The fund study was published prior to the airing of the CBS program, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

There is one inaccuracy. CBS said the \$190 million figure was obtained from an unpublished report of the fund.

Interestingly enough, the published re-

port did not, and I repeat, did not contain the \$190 million figure.

Mr. Rossant says that the figure appeared in research done for the study, and that the fund grants independence to its research directors and other personnel who work on its studies. In the case of the military study, Mr. Rossant notes that it is his understanding that one or more of the researchers involved with it was interviewed by CBS in connection with "The Selling of the Pentagon" program.

I quote from Mr. Rossant's letter:

The Fund considers that these researchers were independent personnel with respect to the Fund. As such, they have the right to grant interviews or make public their views in other ways.

Therefore, we have another CBS misrepresentation. The \$190 million figure is the opinion of an individual researcher and not the opinion of the 20th Century Fund.

CBS used the 20th Century Fund to add authenticity and credibility to its statement that the Pentagon spends \$190 million a year on public affairs, when in fact the fund takes no responsibility for that figure and the published report financed by the fund did not use it.

In my opinion, CBS deliberately misled the public on this issue as they did on many others in the broadcast.

I am going to insert at this point in the RECORD the letter I wrote to the 20th Century Fund and the response I received from Mr. Rossant to fully inform everyone on this situation:

APRIL 1, 1971.

Mr. N. J. ROUSSANT,
The Twentieth Century Fund,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. ROUSSANT: In the CBS program, "The Selling of the Pentagon," reference was made to an unpublished report of The Twentieth Century Fund which shows that the Pentagon will spend \$190 million on public relations.

Since I am responsible for looking into such matters as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and since this information was made available to CBS, I would deeply appreciate receiving a copy of the report.

Additionally, I would like to know if the report has been published and if it hasn't do you expect to publish it. Please furnish me with the name of the author of the report also.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

F. EDWARD HÉBERT.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND,
New York, N.Y., April 16, 1971.

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: I want to thank you for your letter of April 1 requesting certain information from the Twentieth Century Fund.

The Fund financed a study entitled "The Military Establishment," which was prepared by Adam Yarmolinsky and a team of collaborators and published by Harper & Row on February 3, 1971. I am sending you a copy under separate cover.

This Fund study was published prior to the airing of the Columbia Broadcasting System's program to which you referred, and did not contain the \$190 million figure you mentioned.

However, the Fund has ascertained that such a figure appeared in research done for the study. As the Fund grants independence

to its research directors and other personnel who work on our studies, insisting only that statements submitted for publication are justified, it is common practice in all of our projects to compile material that does not necessarily appear in published form. In the case of our military study, it is my understanding that one or more of the researchers involved with it was interviewed by CBS in connection with the preparation of its television program. The Fund considers that these researchers were independent personnel with respect to the Fund. As such, they have the right to grant interviews or make public their views in other ways.

I trust that this information and the copy of the Fund study being sent to you will be a satisfactory response to your inquiry. But if I can be of any further help to you and your Committee, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

M. J. ROSSANT.

DR. JOHN NEIHARDT, POET LAUREATE

HON. CHARLES THONE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, today is a celebration in the State of Nebraska. It is a celebration of a magnificent man and his work on this earth.

It is the celebration of the wisdom of the Nebraska Legislature that 50 years ago made Dr. John Gneisenau Neihardt Nebraska's poet laureate.

It is a celebration of spring and youth, of the eternal renewal manifest in this 90-year-old poet's love of life.

In making John Neihardt our poet laureate, the Nebraska Legislature said, 50 years ago, that he:

Has written a national epic wherein he has developed the mood of courage with which our pioneers explored and subdued our plains, and thus has inspired in Americans that love of the land and its heroes whereby great national traditions are built and perpetuated.

How relevant those words sound today.

In both word and deed, John Neihardt has richly shown the love and warmth and faith and courage so needed in today's world.

At the age of 31, John Neihardt undertook to write the American epic. Eighteen years later he had completed his major work—"The Cycle of the West." This pioneer epic of the West—especially the Upper Missouri Country—was in five parts: "The Song of Three Friends", "The Song of Hugh Glass", "The Song of Jed Smith", "The Song of the Indian Wars", and "The Song of the Messiah."

In 1953 "The Cycle of the West," was chosen one of 3,000 of the world's best books from Homer to Hemingway—a span of 3,000 years.

Not only has Dr. Neihardt written magnificent lyric verse, but he has lived among the Sioux Indians and translated this unusual rapport into sensitive and spiritual Indian prose.

Dr. John Neihardt has held his poet laureate longer than any other man. Alfred Lord Tennyson has the longest recorded poet laureate—46 years compared to Dr. Neihardt's 50 years.

Mostly self-educated, this amazing man was for 12 years the literary editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and poet in residence and lecturer in English at the University of Missouri at Columbia for 16 years.

Dr. Neihardt's many honors pale beside his beautiful years with his wife—Mona Martinsen, a sculptress and student of Rodin. They married in 1908, and there were many desolate and lonely years after her death in 1958.

But after time had healed the open wound of his loss, he began again to give of himself and his special vision to young and old alike.

From Bess Eileen Day's recent loving story of Dr. Neihardt, "The Music of What Happens," comes this warm portrayal of the man:

A humanitarian and indeed one who loves his fellow man, Dr. Neihardt has a greatness of heart and understanding that equals his greatness in the poetic arts, while his avid life-long pursuit of knowledge has made him a non-conformist thinker far in advance of his contemporaries, and a wise man and a philosopher as well as a scholar. Time has steeped him in learning and wisdom so that the young and the old from near and far come to sit at his feet; to gather his thoughts; and listen to his song.

Dr. Neihardt's work has brought meaning to many people—to those at Bancroft, Nebr., who watched him in his early highly-productive years and whose children and grandchildren keep alive and preserve those places in which he worked; to those old friends who have watched and loved his work and who now sustain him in his 90th year; to those thousands of people to whom his great works have communicated the spirit and beauty of his vision; and to individuals like you and me who have been honored to know him ever so slightly, to share his beautiful work and to occasionally see and feel the spark of eternity always and still burning in this most special of God's people.

For the record, I should like to include a biography, a list of works and a chronology of honors and activities of John G. Neihardt, our Poet Laureate, our Prairie Poet and indeed chronicler of the epic spirit of America.

JOHN GNEISENAU NEIHARDT: BIOGRAPHY

John Gneisenau Neihardt was born near Sharpsburg, Illinois on January 8, 1881, third child of Nicholas Nathan Neihardt and Alice Culler Neihardt. In 1886 the family moved to a sod house in northwestern Kansas, moving from there to Kansas City in 1888. In 1891 he moved with his mother and sisters, Lulu and Grace, to Wayne, Nebraska, where he attended a pioneer college, graduating with a B.S. degree at the age of sixteen. His first book, *The Divine Enchantment*, based on vedanta philosophy, was finished at the age of sixteen and published at nineteen.

After teaching a country school for two terms, he moved to Bancroft, Nebraska where he worked with an Indian trader among the Omahas, later editing a country weekly, the *Bancroft Blade*, for several years. Thereafter he devoted his time to the writing of fiction and lyric verse with rapidly increasing national success. During this time he lived much among the Sioux Indians, becoming an authority on their traditions and customs.

He was married in 1908 to Mona Martinsen (1884-1958), sculptress and student of Rodin, daughter of Rudolph Vincent Martin-

sen. Their children are Enid, Sigurd, Hilda, and Alice.

In 1912, at the age of 31, Neihardt began writing his major work, *A Cycle of the West*, to which he devoted eighteen years. In 1921 he was made Poet Laureate of the State of Nebraska by legislative enactment. He was literary editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* from 1926 to 1938, and poet in residence and lecturer in English at the University of Missouri, Columbia from 1949 to 1965.

He is a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, New York, and of the International Institute of Arts and Letters, New York, and of the International Institute of Arts and Letters, Lindau, Germany a member and founder of the Westerners; vice-president for the Middle West of the Poetry Society of America; and a former chancellor of the Academy of American Poets. Among other honors are the Poetry Society national prize, 1919; gold medal, foremost poet of the nation, Poetry Center, New York, 1919; first civilian member, Order of Indian Wars of the United States, 1927; bronze bust placed in the State Capitol Building, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961; first Sunday in August named annual Neihardt Day in Nebraska by the governor's proclamation, 1968; Prairie Poet Laureate of America by designation of Poets Laureate International, 1968. One of the most outstanding honors was the choosing of *A Cycle of the West* by consensus of expert opinion as one of the three thousand best books in the three thousand years from Homer to Hemingway.

Honorary degrees include Litt. D., University of Nebraska, 1917; LL.D., Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, 1935; and Litt. D., University of Missouri, 1946.

Author of some twenty-five volumes of poetry, fiction and philosophy, Neihardt makes his home with Myrtle and Julius Young in Lincoln, Nebraska.

JOHN G. NEIHARDT (1881 —)

- 1900, "The Divine Enchantment."
- 1902, "A Bundle of Myrrh" (5 copies printed on author's press).
- 1907, "A Bundle of Myrrh."
- 1907, "The Lonesome Trail."
- 1909, "Man Song."
- 1910, "The River and I" (Rev. edition 1927).
- 1911, "The Dawn Bulder."
- 1912, "The Stranger at the Gate."
- 1913, "The Death of Agrippina."
- 1914, "Life's Lure."
- 1915, "The Song of Hugh Glass" (Rev. edition for schools 1919).
- 1916, "The Quest" (collected poems).
- 1919, "The Song of Three Friends."
- 1920, "The Splendid Wayfaring."
- 1921, "Two Mothers" (drama and "Laureate Address."
- 1925, "The Song of the Indian Wars" (annotated for schools 1928).
- 1925, "Poetic Values."
- 1926, "Collected Poems."
- 1926, "Indian Tales and Others."
- *1932, "Black Elk Speaks": Translations, 1953 German "Ich Rufe Mein Volk"; 1953 Flemish "Zwarte Eland Spreek"; 1963 Dutch "Zwarte Eland Spreek"; 1968 Italian "Alce Nero Parla"; 1969 Danish "Black Elk Taler"; 1970 Swedish translation.
- 1935, "The Song of the Messiah."
- 1941, "The Song of Jed Smith."
- *1949, "A Cycle of the West" (in sequence, as originally intended).
- 1951, "When the Tree Flowered," 1935 (English) British version, "Eagle Voice."
- 1961, "The Twilight of the Sioux" (TV course, University of Missouri, continuing).
- 1965, "Lyric and Dramatic Poems."
- *1968, "The River and I" (reprint paperback, by University of Nebraska Press).
- 1968, "Autobiography" (in progress).
- 1969, "Black Elk Speaks" (Danish translation) "Black Elk Taler."

*1969, "Lyric and Dramatic Poems" (reprint paperback, single volume, new cover—University of Nebraska Press).

1970, "Autobiography" (first volume completed).

*1970, "When the Tree Flowered" and "The Splendid Wayfaring" (reprint paperback, by University of Nebraska Press).

*Available in paperback, University of Nebraska Press, or in most bookstores. All others are in libraries or rare book stores only.

A Cycle of the West contains the following five books originally published in single volumes: "The Song of Three Friends," "The Song of Hugh Glass," "The Song of Jed Smith," "The Song of the Indian Wars," "The Song of the Messiah."

LIST OF HONORS—JOHN G. NEIHARDT

1917, Litt. D., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1919, *Song of Three Friends*—Poetry Society of America Prize, Best Volume of Verse.

1920, Member, Sigma Tau Delta, Diamond key (journalism).

1921, Appointed Poet Laureate of Nebraska by act of State Legislature.

1922, Oil portrait by J. Laurie Wallace, Omaha City Library, Omaha, Nebraska.

1922, Bust (plaster) by Mona Neihardt, Wayne State College Library, Wayne, Nebraska.

1923, Neihardt Club erected and dedicated Hugh Glass monument at the Forks of the Grand River, near Lemmon, South Dakota.

1925, First civilian member of the Order of the Indian Wars of the United States, Washington, D.C.

1925, Granite and bronze monument to Neihardt in city park, Wayne, Nebraska, remembering "The Poet's Town."

1927, *Song of the Indian Wars* chosen one of 500 volumes of world literature for the White House Library by a national committee.

1928, LL.D., Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska.

1929, Neihardt Hall, Wayne State College, Wayne, Nebraska.

1936, Awarded gold scroll medal of honor as Foremost Poet of the Nation for *The Song of the Messiah*, by National Poetry Center, Rockefeller Center, New York.

1936, Award for poetry by Friends of American Writers Foundation, Chicago, Illinois.

1943, Member, National Institute of Arts and Letters, New York, New York.

1944, A founder and life member, The Westerners, Chicago, Illinois.

1946, Litt. D., University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

1953, *A Cycle of the West* chosen one of 3000 of the World's Best Books from Homer to Hemingway (a span of 3000 years).

1959, A Chancellor, Academy of American Poets, New York, 1959 to 1967.

1959, Fellow, International Institute of Arts and Letters, Lindau, Germany.

1961, Bronze bust, by Mona Neihardt, placed in rotunda of Nebraska State Capitol, Lincoln, Nebraska by legislative act.

1963, Fulbright Award, India.

1965, Bronze bust by Cordier, Wayne State College, Wayne, Nebraska.

1965, Highway marker near Bancroft, Nebraska.

1966, Bronze bust, by Mona Neihardt, Fine Arts Building, Wayne State College, Wayne, Nebraska.

1967, Old study of John G. Neihardt restored as a memorial by Neihardt Foundation, Bancroft, Nebraska.

1967, World Herald Newspaper, Omaha, Nebraska—one of the top ten persons making the most significant contribution to Nebraska in the first one hundred years of statehood (by poll of historians and history teachers).

1967, Governor's Award—Nebraska's Poet of the Century.

1968, The Thomas Jefferson Award for 1968, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

1968, Bronze bust, by Mona Nelhardt, dedicated, University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri.

1968, Citation and title, Prairie Poet Laureate of America, by the United Poets Laureate International.

1968, Golden Laurel Wreath presented by President of the Republic of the Philippines, Ferdinand E. Marcos.

1968, Annual Statewide Nelhardt Day (first Sunday in August), proclaimed by the Governor of the State of Nebraska.

1969, Hall of Fame—Wisdom Society of Wisdom Magazine and Encyclopedia.

1970, Nelhardt Study, Bancroft, Nebraska made a national historic site.

1971, 50th Anniversary of the laureateship of Nebraska.

EARTH WEEK, 1971

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, in the year since the first teach-ins, we have witnessed an increasing public concern with the environment. Awareness of man's close relationship with his environment which was triggered by Earth Day—the first nationwide event on behalf of the environment—has produced and intensified action against environmental damage and deterioration undreamed of only a very few years ago.

Certainly, we have much to worry about: Foul water, dirty air, mountains of waste, and unnecessary noise assail us everywhere. The costs of living in a polluted environment, in terms of property damage: Laundry bills caused by excessive soot and dust, and doctor bills to counteract the damage done to our health by pollutants, are rising steadily.

We demand new and better technology and more gadgets to ease our daily work, but do not assess ahead of time the possible damaging effects they may have on the environment. We demand that our fruit and vegetables come to market unblemished and in unvaryingly huge quantities; but did we take the time and make the effort to assess the possible damage DDT and other pesticides, insecticides, and fertilizers would have on human and animal health, on the quality of the land and the water?

We demand more roads and parking lots for our cars, bigger factories to supply us with a vast array of products, huge powerplants to provide the electricity needed to run our mechanized society. Before we build any of these, do we stop to think of our dwindling land, or the other natural resources consumed?

During this year's Earth Week, bolstered by our newly acquired awareness of the environment around us and our relationship to it, we should realize that some of our approaches to the problems are in need of change. We should know by now that trying to clean up pollution after allowing it to be generated, is an expensive frustrating job. Restoring paved over or eroded land after rendering it unfit for economically profitable use, ties up funds which could be used

to greater advantage in many needed endeavors.

Perhaps during Earth Week 1971, we should dedicate ourselves to the task of consciously and conscientiously assessing all of our endeavors in advance in order to prevent damage to the environment. Factories can have built-in pollution abatement devices. Roads can be designed to spare tracts of land which can profitably be put to other uses. Parking lots can be put underground. Pesticides can be used selectively, in the proper quantities; volume does not take the place of quality. Proper planning, advance assessment of the consequences to the environment, and preventive action can make good use of our economic resources and of our time and effort.

Effective management has been the cornerstone of our success as an industrialized, progressive society. It includes advance planning, advance allocation of resources, advance assessments of the results of a given course of action. It is time that we apply these concepts to the management of our environment also.

I believe that the resolution before the House to designate Earth Week would be a useful device to once again focus our thinking on the conflicting demands we place on the living landscape.

ENFIELD CENTURIONS

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed refreshing to bring to the attention of my colleagues the positive and constructive activities of the young people who are members of the Enfield Centurions.

The Centurions are the drum and bugle corps of the city of Enfield, Conn., and the young men and women who are members travel from city to city participating in parades throughout New England. At the recent All-America Awards dinner marking the designation of Enfield as one of the All-America cities, Mayor Frank Mancuso honored the fine reputation of the Centurions by proclaiming that they are the community's official goodwill ambassadors.

As a tribute to this excellent organization of young people and others like it across the Nation, I would like to enclose a brief statement about the drum corps and the scope of activities of the Centurions:

AMERICAN YOUTH IN ACTION

A relatively unnoticed, unpublicized youth activity exists in America which offers an exceptional outlet for the energies of our young people. This activity has more members than any other year-round youth activity except for Scouting. It is Drum Corps.

In Enfield the Centurions Drum and Bugle Corps is providing just such an outlet for youthful energy. Starting with 27 members in 1967, the Corps now numbers 75 young people from Enfield, Hazardville, Somers and Windsor Locks. In 1970 the members traveled over 4,800 miles making 53 appearances in

Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island and New York.

One of the most important aspects of this activity is the number of youth hours spent in participation. In Drum Corps youth hours are determined to be the total number of hours spent by members at rehearsals and on jobs, times the number of members. During this past year the Centurions Drum Corps members totaled 46,280 hours.

Another aspect of Drum Corps activity is what it teaches to its young members. Outside of providing travel, excitement and comradeship a Corps teaches discipline, neatness, coordination, responsibility, musical ability and esprit de corps. All of this on a year round basis from a little known, sometimes unrecognized, but important youth activity. We should all start to acknowledge its worth to our community and support the Corps in the area as we do other better known youth programs.

ECOLOGY BEGINS AT HOME

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, every day I receive letters from people interested in preserving and improving our environment most often asking the question, "What can I do?" A public service advertisement appearing in today's Washington Post contains some very good suggestions, which I commend to everyone's attention:

ECOLOGY BEGINS AT HOME

1. Plant a blade of grass . . . the grass-roots will spread and hold the earth together.
2. Start a window box, a garden . . . plants give off oxygen and our air needs more of it.
3. Join a car pool . . . it is economically and ecologically sound. Car fumes make the air unhealthy to breathe . . . contribute to asthma, emphysema and other respiratory diseases.
4. Get behind your own car sometimes . . . it may be exhausting.
5. Better yet, ride a bicycle . . . it doesn't dirty the air or clog the roadways . . . and it's good for you.
6. Kick the cigarette habit . . . it's bad for our air and yours.
7. Conserve water . . . Don't run it unnecessarily. Use vegetable water in making soups and sauces.
8. Catch rain water for your plants . . . it saves the drinking water for you.
9. Showers use less water than baths . . . and they're cleaner.
10. More suds does not a cleaner wash make. Most detergents are up to 70% phosphate . . . which promotes the growth of algae in our waters, which absorbs the oxygen, suffocating the fish and eventually killing the lake or stream.
11. Use the litter bag in your car, in your boat. Picking up after you costs you . . . money.
12. Compact your own garbage . . . crush milk cartons or fill them, stack cans inside each other.
13. Avoid buying foods and household items in plastic containers that cannot be reused. When burned these give off serious corrosive gases.
14. Wash and reuse plastic plates and cups for your picnics and barbecues. It's a matter of family economy . . . and it improves the environment.
15. The returnable bottle is still the best

buy. It's cheaper. Glass can be sterilized and refilled or crushed and reformed and that can keep the earth from looking too glassed over.

16. Consider that wooden toys last longer than plastic ones and are more apt to become heirlooms.

17. Share your bones with the neighbor's dog. Coffee grounds and egg shells are excellent fertilizer in your garden.

18. Utilize scrap paper. It does have two sides, you know.

19. Donate magazines, paperback books and old clothing . . . somebody needs them.

20. Reuse gift wraps, ribbons and cards . . . it will save you money and it's more creative.

21. Make fireplace logs by rolling up old newspapers . . . and save a small forest of trees each winter.

22. Buy an artificial Christmas tree. It will become a family fixture, save our evergreens, and won't go up in smoke after the Holidays.

23. Cloth napkins aren't just for royalty . . . revive the napkin ring and use cloth hand towels.

24. Revive the metal lunch box. You'll know what they're having for lunch and cut down on unnecessary paper and plastic.

25. Keep phone calls to a minimum in quantity and length . . . they tie up the power and the lines.

26. In summer . . . turn off your air conditioning while gone for the day. It conserves power and saves your bills.

27. Likewise in winter . . . turn house heat down at night. It too takes power which has a limit . . . and you'll sleep better.

28. Choose fresh vegetables over frozen ones . . . they're better for you. The frozen variety need multiple wrappings and use a lot of electrical power in supermarket preparation.

29. Don't abandon that old car . . . it will wreck the countryside's beauty. Besides, you can sell it for scrap metal.

30. "Rejasing"—"Reusing Junk As Something Else"—is gaining in popularity and application throughout America . . . try it sometime.

KEMP RAILPAX BILL NOW HAS 37 COSPONSORS

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, today I reintroduced legislation to provide approximately \$218 million in additional capitalization to expand the basic Railpax system nationally. In addition, my bill includes a more realistic provision to enable the States to make agreements with Railpax to include routes that might not be included in the basic system.

Under the present law, the States, already groaning from financial pressure, must absorb a minimum of two-thirds of the losses. My bill reduces this to one-third—a necessary, yet reasonable amount.

I am hopeful the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce will expand the basic system as outlined in my bill and include the reduction to one-

third under section 403(c). If enacted this means it will become financially feasible for the States to work with Railpax to tie in other routes going through the various congressional districts throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I include the resolution with an up-to-date list of the cosponsors, and I may reintroduce the bill again at a later date.

The material follows:

KEMP RAILPAX BILL COSPONSORS

Mr. ANDREWS (N. Dak.), Mr. BAKER, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BRADEMANS, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. DOW.

Mr. DULSKI, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. FISH, Mr. GUBSER, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HANSEN (Idaho), Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HORTON.

Mr. KEATING, Mr. KING, Mr. LENT, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. McKEVITT, Mr. MCKINNEY, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. MORSE, Mr. O'KONSKI.

Mr. PODELL, Mr. POWELL, Mr. REID (N.Y.), Mr. ROE, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. SMITH, Mr. J. WILLIAM STANTON, Mr. STRATTON, Mr. TERRY, Mr. ULLMAN, Mr. WHITEHURST.

H.J. RES. 565

Whereas upon commencement of operations by the National Railroad Passenger Corporation on May 1, intercity rail passenger service, excluding the Northeast Corridor (Boston-New York-Washington, D.C.), where only minor adjustments will be made in the present pattern of service, the number of trains will be drastically cut by 68 percent and daily train-miles by 65 percent according to the following chart:

| Railroad | Present service | | Railpax proposed | | Railroad | Present service | | Railpax proposed | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Number of trains | Daily train-miles | Number of trains | Daily train-miles | | Number of trains | Daily train-miles | Number of trains | Daily train-miles |
| Penn Central | 57 | 26,436 | 30 | 11,080 | Missouri Pacific | 6 | 2,106 | 2 | 560 |
| Norfolk & Western | 8 | 3,092 | | | Denver & Rio Grande Western | 1 | 570 | 1 | 570 |
| Delaware & Hudson | 4 | 788 | | | Chicago & North Western | 10 | 1,717 | | |
| Chesapeake & Ohio | 13 | 3,285 | 4 | 1,540 | Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific | 14 | 3,169 | 8 | 1,352 |
| Southern (including Central of Georgia) | 10 | 4,538 | 2 | 1,787 | Union Pacific | 11 | 11,847 | 2 | 372 |
| Louisville & Nashville | 7 | 3,727 | 2 | 980 | Southern Pacific | 10 | 5,836 | 5 | 4,474 |
| Georgia Railroad | 2 | 342 | | | Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific | 4 | 684 | | |
| Baltimore & Ohio | 13 | 5,138 | | | Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe | 18 | 18,382 | 8 | 7,692 |
| Seaboard Coast Line (including Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac) | 26 | 17,392 | 10 | 9,954 | Burlington Northern | 32 | 26,972 | 6 | 6,858 |
| Gulf, Mobile & Ohio | 6 | 1,704 | 4 | 1,136 | Grand Trunk Western | 8 | 2,110 | | |
| Illinois Central | 15 | 7,618 | 4 | 2,456 | Total | 275 | 147,453 | 88 | 50,811 |

Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of Transportation in the fiscal year 1972, \$289,965,000 for expenditure by him to provide additional intercity rail transportation under section 2 of this Act and for the purpose of research and development in the field of high-speed ground transportation under section 3 of this Act. Amounts appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended.

Sec. 2. (a) Of the amounts appropriated under the first section of this Act, 75 per centum shall be used by the Secretary of Transportation to make grants to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation for the purpose of initiating and operating urgently needed intercity rail passenger service around the Nation, including but not limited to the routes within the basic system designated by the Secretary and the following specifically recommended routes:

(1) Buffalo, New York, to Chicago, Illinois; Erie, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Ohio; and South Bend, Indiana.

(2) Detroit, Michigan, to Toledo, Ohio.

(3) Denver, Colorado, to Portland, Oregon, via Cheyenne, Wyoming; Ogden, Utah; and Boise, Idaho.

(4) Fargo, North Dakota, to Portland, Ore-

gon, via Billings, Montana; Butte, Montana; Spokane, Washington; Hinkle, Washington.

(5) Denver, Colorado, to San Francisco, via Cheyenne, Wyoming; Ogden, Utah; and Wells, Nevada.

(6) Washington, District of Columbia, to Cleveland, Ohio, via Cumberland, Maryland; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Youngstown, Ohio; and Akron, Ohio.

The routes referred to in paragraphs (1) and (5) of this subsection are highly recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the routes referred to in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), and (6) are highly recommended by the National Association of Railroad Passengers.

(b) In any case in which the Secretary of Transportation makes a grant to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation from amounts appropriated under the first section of this Act, he shall negotiate with the corporation the terms of an agreement providing that, if the route initiated and operated by the corporation with such grant becomes a profit-making route, the corporation will agree to make reasonable payments to the Secretary (out of such profits) by means of installments until such time as the grant with respect to such route has been repaid in full. Amounts received by the Secretary under any agreement negotiated under this section shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Sec. 3. Of the amounts appropriated under the first section of this Act, 25 per centum shall be used by the Secretary of Transportation to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation, including but not limited to, components such as materials, aerodynamics, vehicle propulsion, vehicle control, communications, right-of-way research and development, and guideways, in accordance with the provisions of the first section of the Act of September 30, 1965, relating to research and development in high-speed ground transportation (49 U.S.C. 1631).

Sec. 4. (a) The first sentence of section 403(c) of the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 (84 Stat. 1336) is amended to read as follows: "For the purposes of this section, the reasonable portion of such losses, not to exceed an aggregate of \$5,000,000 annually, to be assumed by the State, regional, or local agency shall be 33 1/3 per centum of the solely related costs and associated capital costs, including interest on passenger equipment, less revenues attributable to, such service, and, the reasonable portion of any such losses in excess of \$5,000,000 annually to be so assumed shall be 66 2/3 per centum thereof."

(b) The first sentence of section 404 (b) (4) of such Act (84 Stat. 1336) is amended to read as follows: "For the purposes of paragraph (3) of this subsection, the reasonable portion of such losses, not to exceed an ag-

gregate of \$5,000,000 annually to be assumed by the State, regional, or local agency shall be 33 1/2 per centum of the solely related costs and associated capital costs, including interest on passenger equipment, less revenues attributable to such service, and the reasonable portion of such losses in excess of \$5,000,000 annually to be so assumed shall be 66 2/3 per centum thereof."

THE GREEK JUNTA: NO END TO THE DICTATORSHIP

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, 4 years have now elapsed since a military junta seized power in Greece.

The men who hold power today in Greece would never, under any stretch of the imagination, have been chosen to lead by a free electorate. The junta rules because it has the guns. The guns have been supplied primarily by the United States—which did not intend it that way but which cannot escape part of the blame, morally and politically, for the continuing dictatorship. Our policymakers have been guilty of complacency if not complicity.

The element of freedom has been taken out of Greek life for 4 years. We should not be surprised if the democratic leadership of Greece, past and future, carries a grievance against us, a grievance which grows more bitter with the passage of time.

From the beginning, in April 1967, there were voices in the U.S. Congress and the American press warning that the junta was repressive, that it was purging the army and the civilian leadership in a cynical effort to entrench itself in power, and that America should not be indifferent to the moral and political significance of the coup.

When we called for a strong U.S. stance of disapproval in 1967—an action which might well have been enough to topple the junta—we were told by the State Department and by junta apologists that the junta was "transitional," that the colonels were constitutional reformers, and that if the United States was too critical we might get something worse than Papadopoulos. Does anybody still believe this line now?

Time has confirmed that the critics of U.S. policy were correct and the policymakers were wrong. What is the U.S. position today? The Defense Department view prevails, and the Pentagon does not conceal its complacency and its satisfaction with the status quo. The State Department has squirmed to rationalize and excuse the situation for 4 years, envisioning trends where none existed and voicing occasional ineffective expressions of hope and disappointment.

The State Department and the administration should be embarrassed that the most the United States seeks even now is the lifting of martial law—which would still leave Greece a police state but which would give the United States a chance to sell the regime as more palatable. Rigged elections, believe it or not, would be the next acceptable step envi-

sioned by some U.S. diplomats. Of course, both steps would continue the junta in power. Both steps would be supportive of the junta and fall short of that signal for a turnaround of U.S. policy which has long been needed.

On April 19, the Washington Post carried a crisp and devastatingly accurate analysis of the Greek situation and the shortcomings of U.S. policy. The author was Roy Perrott of the London Observer. Under leave to extend, the article follows:

GREEK JUNTA TO STAY: NATION'S COLONELS
HAVE DECIDED NOT TO RELAX GRIP ON
POWER

(By Roy Perrott)

LONDON.—The colonels of the Greek junta—who will celebrate the fourth anniversary of their seizure of power with flags and parades in Athens next week, while the police remain ever-watchful for protest—have now privately resolved to make their regime permanent.

This information comes in reports filtering out to a few well-placed people in Athens of discussions within the junta's revolutionary council, the group of officers which decides the government's long-term strategy.

It has not been a sudden decision informants say, but rather a maturing assumption among the junta that a more ambitious future is within their grasp. Things have been going well for them in most respects. They have noted that the stiffer winds of criticism from outside seem to have blown themselves out. Within Greece, unrelenting police and security work has reduced protest to little more than daring gestures.

As for the last and most difficult obstacles—possible American objections to the entrenchment of a repressive dictatorship on the right flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—the junta has lately been testing the State Department's nerve with no regard for subtlety.

When, on various occasions during the past year, the United States has shown hesitancy or doubt about its support for the junta—as when leading congressmen challenged the resumption of arms shipments to Greece last summer—the colonels have instantly found the answer, either in flirtations with Iron Curtain countries or with the Arab world.

The outcome of these challenges has been game, set and match to the colonels. The State Department once again openly expressed its faith in the certainty of a move toward democracy in Greece. Arms shipments were renewed.

To rub in the fact of their independence, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos announced that there would be no constitutional change toward more democratic practices this year. Sparing the Americans no embarrassment, he added that martial law would be retained for its "psychological effect," though it is known that the U.S. embassy has been pressing hard for some months that this, at least, should be lifted as a show of good intentions.

The question now is whether a changed situation will continue to drift as before. The junta's new resolve for permanency should, presumably, bring the NATO powers that much closer to a confrontation with the big dilemma which has been allowed to lurk in the wings for four years: namely, that a regime which is fascist enough in style to recall the ghosts of the 1930s is allowed an important role in the defense of the West and its values.

CHANCES OF EVOLUTION

Much depends, probably, on how credulous the State Department is ready to continue to be in public about the chances of evolution towards democracy in Greece. The most recent statement showed a distinct fall in the scale of approbation. In a speech a fortnight ago, Secretary of State William

Rogers used the word "disappointing" to describe the degree of progress.

It is a form of reproof, perhaps, but it still carries the implication that a move toward a democratic system, within a reasonable measure of time, has been genuinely intended by the junta, and that it is still a real possibility. While the regime becomes less apologetic in its public statements, the pro-government newspapers still favour the word "transitional" to describe its aims. So there is still evidently a need to argue a case; and a reporter clearly has to produce better evidence, one way or the other, than simply assertions by unnameable informants.

I think this can be done. In my view there is now ample evidence (largely circumstantial, but that is the only kind commonly available in a closed society) to support the following statements.

First, that no recognizable democratic system, as the ordinary person in the West would understand it, is either possible or intended during the lifetime of the Greek junta.

Second, that no elections will ever be held on terms free enough to put the junta's continued existence at risk.

Third, such things as free opposition parties and a free press cannot be restored.

Fourth, that strong police "discipline" will continue to be needed and used.

Fifth, the regime will feel less need to justify this position to outside opinion, American or otherwise.

AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

Some of the strongest evidence that the junta means to be an unchanging, long-term authoritarian regime (though with the probable creation of an appearance of "democratic" institutions at a later date) lies not in the assertions of its critics, but in the way it sees itself.

The idea of the army as a caretaker regime, impartially ruling through a time of political stress, has a fairly respectable tradition in Greece, as elsewhere. But the colonels have always described their aims as "revolution": that is, a drastic change in society.

Critics of the regime scoff at the idea that it is a "revolution" or has an ideology, seeing the changes it aims at as shallow or colossal, wrong-headed at best. But it is important that the junta thinks of itself as "revolutionary". This is certainly not the attitude of any caretaker regime.

The ideology is largely contained in the speeches of Papadopoulos, the seventh volume of which is soon to be published.

The ideology is that of a headmaster who claims that a sense of duty has pushed him into trying to reform a school full of wayward children. The anarchy and individualism of Greece must be eliminated, the "good citizen" produced, before the people can be trusted with a share in power.

No "transitional" regime bothers with education. It has no interest in such basic change. The junta, however, is clearly bent on leaving a permanent mark on the educational system. School history books, instead of stopping short of politically controversial periods, as is common practice in all democracies, take the story all the way from the denizens of Olympus to the junta and its achievements in eradicating Communism and rebuilding, with photographs of the leading colonels.

The attempt has occasionally been made (the U.S. Embassy in Athens has taken this line) to suggest that the junta is merely one of the ups and downs of turbulent Greek history, here today and gone tomorrow like previous dictatorships—"10 military governments since 1909" is the way it is put.

But in the past they were really transient affairs, usually run by one man who eventually handed power back to the politicians after only the most minor changes. The junta's policy is entirely different.

In the schools and universities all teach-

ers who have been remiss enough to show any skepticism about the regime's intentions have been expelled. Army officers are now the most influential part of the inspectorate of all education.

One professor, who has managed to hold on to his post because teachers of his subject are rare, told me that despite the purge of some 400 professors and lecturers, about a quarter of the remaining staff were "positively anti-regime."

He thought (and a colleague with him agreed) that every class now contained one or two paid informers and every campus had its watchful police unit.

The junta's grip on almost every sphere of society is now so little "transitional" that it would take a considerable effort to undo its work.

After four years of martial law there is no important institution which the army, through its officers or the police, does not control. The trade unions have been purged of all intractable officials. The government fixes wage levels.

While there is no longer any pre-censorship of the press there is that more risky thing for journalists, the strong possibility of being hauled up before a military court if you publish anything seriously critical. There are newspapermen serving five-year prison sentences for having done so.

I do not think a regime like this will ever feel secure enough to allow the free play of criticism. It is quite alien to its ideology of attempting to iron out the skepticism and "anarchy" of Greek life. I asked every informant I talked to, diplomats and others, how much positive support the regime had among the people. The general guess was about 10 per cent of an electorate of nearly 6 million, and some thought this too high.

It is possible that a section of the peasantry likes the regime because it has spent twice as much on rural public works as the previous government. There is probably a fair degree of acquiescence among the middle classes, by people who believe the colonels' line that they are being saved from the unpleasant turbulence of politics. But I did not meet any observer who would predict a respectable-sized vote in a free election.

REGIME'S EVIDENCE

On this point, the regime again presents its own evidence, not so much in words as in actions. The prime minister still drives to and from his office four times a day in a bullet-proof limousine along a route cleared and guarded by 300 policemen. No previous leader has bothered with so much protection.

As a rough-and-ready definition one might say that, for a start, "democracy" means the rule of law and some public participation. I did not see any convincing signs of either in Greece.

Martial law allows arbitrary detention without warrant and it is so used, as in the case of the approximately 150 people (political "moderates" mostly) arrested last November and December and still detained without trial.

If the regime did set up "democratic" institutions, how much participation would they offer? The only example available, set up by the Junta last December, is the consultative committee known in Athens as the mini-parliament. It has 56 members. Of these, 46 are chosen by a group of government-appointed electors. The remaining 10 are chosen directly by the regime. The prime minister reviews the final list and can discard any name that displeases him.

On April 21, the anniversary of the coup, Athens will be decked with flags, one draped from every single house and apartment balcony. Even the critics will put one out. There is a law which says they must.

GOOD NEWS FROM LAOS

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 20, 1971

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I shall insert the following news item in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I believe it typifies the unselfishness of the great American democracy, which apparently feels that to do anything that would benefit us in any way, shape, or form in a foreign country is beneath our dignity.

I am very much in favor of the dam under construction in Laos which is being completed by the Japanese and Laotians, and I think it should be brought to the attention of the American public and Members of Congress. You will note that the Japanese, who are on a peaceful and humanitarian mission, enjoy special consideration from the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese soldiers, as this project will benefit Laos and North Vietnam.

The most important fact, of course, is that the United States is one of the nine countries paying for it, and, if I miss my guess I will apologize, but I say we are paying for most of it. The Japanese will have the run of the plant and be responsible for additional equipment and work to be performed after the dam is constructed.

The item follows:

[From the Tribune (Greensburg, Pa.), April 12, 1971]

PLANT NEARS COMPLETION—NEWS FROM LAOS NOT ALL BAD

(By Horst Faas)

NAM NGUM, LAOS.—Not all the news from Laos is bad. A giant hydroelectric plant deep in the jungles is on schedule and nearing completion.

The \$30-million project will harness the Ngum River, a tributary of the Mekong, and generate power for Laos and Thailand. It was planned and executed in a 10-year period when war often came near the site.

The dam is a project of the Mekong Committee, comprising representatives of the governments of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam. This was set up under auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

The site is carved into three-canopy jungle through which the Ngum twists like a snake in green moss.

HALFWAY

It is about halfway between Vientiane and Long Cheng, the secret U.S. CIA and Laos base at the edge of the Plain of Jars. Much of the fighting in northern central Laos has been taking place around Long Cheng.

Project manager Teruo Yoshimatsu, working for a Japanese company, has been with it all 10 years. He says that the project site has never been attacked although fighting has taken place nearby. In 1969 some of the contractors' heavy equipment was fired on.

Yoshimatsu believes that an appeal by Secretary-General U Thant, pointing out the peaceful and humanitarian mission of the Japanese and Laotian dam builders, can be credited for the peace at the dam site.

Vientiane workers for the U.S. international development office say the Japanese engineers and their well marked vehicles enjoy special consideration from the Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese allies in the area. They consider the road from Vientiane

to the dam site not secure enough to encourage travel there.

COMB WOODS

Laotian troops recently combed the jungled foothills and valleys north of the site looking for isolated villagers and woodcutters to move them out of areas to be flooded. By July the landlocked kingdom of Laos will have its first large lake. Some of the flooded valleys will be 23 miles from the dam. The reservoir will store seven billion cubic meters of water from the Ngum River and the annual monsoons.

The power station, now 80 percent completed, will begin to operate early next year, initially producing 30,000 kilowatts for Vientiane and northern Thailand.

For Laos the project is significant because the country lacks modern industrial facilities and technological resources. Cheap electric power will provide a base for industry in Vientiane and run irrigation pumps for farmers in Vientiane Province, where the rural population has risen due to an influx of war refugees. The population of Vientiane has grown to 15,000 from some 20,000 in colonial days.

Japanese engineers and supervisors have given on-the-spot training the Laotians, many of them hired from nearby villages with no construction experience. Seven Laotians who will eventually be on the supervisory staff of the project are studying in Canada with grants from the Canadian government.

HOPES FOR FUTURE

Within a few years the power station will be run exclusively by Laotians, Yoshimatsu hopes.

The United States is among nine nations that contributed funds to finance the project, and has also contributed to a fund gathered by the Mekong Committee for the first stages of an ambitious development program for the whole lower Mekong Basin.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEEDS DOMESTIC OIL

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, every day we see more aggressiveness from foreign countries as they take over the oil industry. As the United States continues to use more and more oil for its energy needs and its energy needs continue to expand every year, the critical oil shortage becomes more important to us.

The other day I pointed out on the floor that the United States of America's oil industry had just experienced its lowest rotary drilling activities. While our domestic oil and gas exploration is declining, foreign countries are expropriating oil reserves within their country. A case in point of which we read last week was Algeria, which has offered to pay \$1 for each \$8 evaluation for the oil properties it just nationalized. Then it promptly raised the prices of oil exports from \$2.85 to \$3.60. This makes all of us more concerned with the need to strengthen domestic oil production.

Let me quote the Algerian oil facts to you just as they are. On March 20 of this

year, Algeria unilaterally raised the posted price on its oil exports from \$2.80 to \$3.60 per barrel. This notice was made in April, but Algeria went back and made the price increase effective as of March 20. President Houair Boumediene of Algeria has said that Algeria will offer \$100 million compensation for the 51 percent of French oil assets nationalized by an Algerian Government decree February 24.

Informed French sources had estimated the actual value of the nationalized Algerian oil assets at \$800 million.

With the nationalized oil, we see the latest posted price by Algeria to represent the world's most expensive posted crude oil price.

IS IT NOTHING TO YOU, AMERICA?

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the public RECORD, for all to see, a recent church sermon which poignantly indicates the thinking of some of our own American religious leaders over the continuing undeclared war in Southeast Asia. The conscience of our Nation is more and more deeply troubled as the awful realities are better understood.

Reverend Hastings of Christ Church in Greenwich, Conn., points out that nearly 900,000 have died—including 55,000 American fatalities—and 2 million more have been wounded—many being civilians, women, and children. And the killing does not stop as America supplies the deadly hardware, technology, and military support for continuing warfare and human destruction.

Yet the administration claims to be winding down the war with the same rationale which took the United States into the war: The credibility and honor of America, helping a South Vietnam regime of U.S. choice defend itself against communism so that the South Vietnamese people may live life as they wish.

After nearly 1 million deaths and 2 million wounded, can the Vietnamese people, Southeast Asians, the world, or the United States of America justify continuation of this war even at a moderated or winding down level? Has anyone been saved from a worse fate? Has U.S. intervention helped people live more freely, become more self-determining, made the Southeast Asia or world safer? Safer than the mutilation of 3 million human lives?

These issues are troubling America. The silent majority is not silent, they are just not being listened to.

The sermon follows:

IS IT NOTHING TO YOU, AMERICA?

"If my people who are called by my name humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their land." 2 Chronicles 7:14

Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by." Lamentations 1:12a

I have here in my hand one of the little palm crosses which will be offered to you as you leave this morning. I would like to hold onto it now with a good deal of pressure, pressure not so much of my hands but of my life, of my mind, of my heart, and the very innermost depths of my being. As I hold onto this cross I am led by it out into a far away place. I am led to a one time hamlet called "My Lai" and there I see set up in that desolate place a great cross of tragedy. As I hold onto this little cross and let it draw me out into that desolate spot, I sense the destruction, I sense the defoliation, I sense the terrible death that lies around the base of that cross. I can smell the stench of burning ruins, of bleeding bodies and rotten flesh, I can smell the stench of humanity at its lowest ebb. There heaped at the base of the cross are supposedly twenty-two civilians, innocent civilians, but more than twenty-two, there are hundreds of thousands heaped beneath that cross—dead or dying. They are dismembered, their faces gouged, their bodies bleeding: men, women—even little babies.

As I hold onto this little cross and let it take me out to the base of that big one in that far-away hamlet of My Lai I see more than 54,000 American boys and men, killed and heaped on top of that ugly pile. And I see crawling around the base of that cross how many thousands more maimed and mutilated men of our country? This little cross as I hold onto it draws me out where I see dead 121,000 South Vietnam soldiers and more than a million casualties of the people of that land. Still more, this cross makes me feel in my heart and in the depths of my being those 698,000 dead NFL and North Vietnam soldiers plus at least a million casualties among their people.

My cross takes me out there to see heaped in this carnage of man's sin Cambodians, Laotians, allied personnel, and off in the distance I hear the cry of prisoners of war. Off in the background I see the refugee camps with hundreds of thousands of broken, starved, and desolate peoples; and as far as the eye can see there are ravaged lands and crops, resources laid waste, cities and towns in smoke.

Yes, I see a great cross of tragedy standing tall in the midst of this desolation and I hear a voice crying out from it, "Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by?" Is it the voice of Jesus or is it the voice of First Lt. William L. Calley? Somehow for me it is both!

No, I would not for a moment mean by this identification of Christ and Calley to be condoning that which Calley has been convicted of doing. I pray that we will not have a whitewashing of this whole affair, either by public sentiment or presidential strategy. Like many of you I have a hard time rationalizing the inconsistencies of the case and how it is being handled as compared with what we did at Nuremberg and Tokyo after World War II. There responsibility for war crimes was assigned to higher levels of command and now we place this full blame on the man who has been brainwashed by the higher-ups and their war machine.

Nevertheless—nevertheless whatever Calley's actions, whatever the right or wrong of the handling of his case, as I have followed his trial, as I have followed especially the events of this past week, I have had a strong sense of identification with that young man—seeing focused in him the atrocity of the war in Indochina. I have seen focused on him, as the scapegoat of us all the atrocities of that terrible tragic thing. The more I have followed the investigation of the My Lai "incident" (so called) and the more I

have followed the case of William Calley, the more I have seen the futility of this war and the futility of all war. People saying who did what to whom and when did they do it. "Grown men" somehow trying to bring logic and reason out of totally illogical, irrational, and insane human behavior. The more I have seen this the more I have seen the futility and the horror, the destruction of moral fiber and the degradation of man's humanity. As Calley himself described it, we have been making men into fingers or fragments of a Frankenstein monster. He said the army never told him that his enemies were human. The enemy was never described to him as anything but communism. "They didn't give it a race, they didn't give it a sex, they didn't give it an age"—even to the little babies.

As Calley obviously lost his humanity and his moral sense and his sanity, so I have seen in that lonely man, I have seen in this one person man's loss, our loss, yours and my loss of our humanity, our moral sense and sanity. So on that cross with Calley I see Jesus suffering, I see Jesus suffering and agonizing over what we have come to. I see Jesus the Son of God being crucified afresh. The self-righteousness of man is despoiling the righteousness of God and I hear him cry out across the world, and especially to America, "Is it nothing to you all you who pass by?"

Fortunately I believe it is something to all of us, I believe it is something of deepest concern to a great majority of Americans, and certainly to all the people of the world. We have just become numb and anesthetized by the futility of the whole thing, and it takes something like My Lai and Calley to awaken us, to shake us alive again. This has been evidenced by the national response to Calley's trial and sentence, a kind of mixed undecipherable moral indignation. But indignation alone is not enough. It must lead to real repentance if any good is to come. It must lead to real repentance if any healing is to come to the world and to our land. This is the kind of repentance that God calls for through Solomon in our first text when he said, "If my people who are called by my name humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and will forgive their sins and heal their land."

Most Americans have been saying for a long time now that the Vietnam war is a great mistake, that America ought never to have gotten in there in the first place. This I see as a partial confession, a partial act of repentance on the part of the people and yet we continue to justify this massive crucifixion and to seek strategies whereby we can gracefully extricate ourselves. But there are no graceful strategies for confession and repentance. You cannot do it by stages, you cannot sneak out from under the burden. No, even as in the case of conflict with a member of one's family, we cannot admit to our error in a half-hearted way; we have to be ready to say, "I was wrong," and to be willing to stop the wrong. There can be no healing, says the Lord God, unless my people turn, unless they turn from their wicked ways.

As in this Holy Week I see that tragic cross rising up out of My Lai, and as I hear my Lord crying from it in the voice of William Calley "Is it nothing to you, America", I see no other way than for the greatest nation in the world to rise to her full height and greatness and to say: "We have been wrong! Father forgive us for we did not know what we were doing!" What a re-birth of integrity would come to this land of ours! What a re-birth of integrity would come to America, if we would die to our false pride, and get on with the business of healing and love!

I used to feel that the policy of Vietnam-

ization made sense as a way for America to extricate herself from this moral shame. But now that it means Cambodia and Laos and possibly North Vietnam, now that it seems to mean inevitable escalation, heaping more men and women and children at the foot of the cross of tragedy; *I see no alternative than this outright confession and repentance* and for us to come home immediately with the President setting a clear time of withdrawal based on what it will take to protect the lives of our soldiers. I personally can no longer believe that the political oppression which might follow our departure can justify our continuing along this senseless path. I personally can no longer believe that the possible fall of the already questionable Saigon regime can justify our continuing along this senseless path. And I can personally no longer believe that even the tragic losses of American lives to date can justify our continuing on with more and more destruction, desolation, and death.

Now I know that what I am saying is not comfortable to hear, nor is it meant to be because the whole thing is very uncomfortable. (The war in Indochina cannot leave us in comfort even though we tend to be numbed by our continuing frustrations about it). I know that there must be uneasiness among you and disagreement with what I am saying. But as Christians we need to be honest with each other learning how to disagree with each other *in love*. We need to share what we are thinking and to let it come out of our hearts, and I would feel it irresponsible of me as a person and as your rector if in pointing you to the cross of Good Friday, I did not point to that awful cross in My Lai. We cannot always agree about these things but we can agree, we must agree about our sense of the shame and the horror, and the spirit of repentance must be in our hearts as Christians for that's the beginning of what we are all about. Confession and repentance are the birthmarks of our very life and it rests with us, it rests with those who bear the name of Christ, to make this confession before him and his Cross this Holy Week—that healing may come in this land and in this world. It rests with us his Church to bring this mighty land of ours to her knees that she may be healed and rise to newness of life at home and abroad.

This is the meaning of the little palm cross which will be offered to you this morning. I hope you will want to take it, and I hope that you will want to take it as something more than a piece of ritualistic mockery—that you will see it as that great cross of tragedy in My Lai. I hope you will hold it strongly and let it go deep into your heart and mind—to the very depths of your being, and that you will go forth into this land to do everything in your power as a Christian to turn the cross into a way of life rather than a way of destruction. I pray that we all may do it for our beloved land.

And now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost be ascribed as is most justly due, all majesty, might, power, dominion and praise, world without end. Amen.

MIAMI POLICE CHIEF BERNARD GARMIRE INTERVIEWED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. PEPPER, Mr. Speaker, Miami is fortunate to have as its chief of police

one of the most knowledgeable and resourceful minds available today in law enforcement.

Since becoming head of the Miami Police Department several years ago, Chief Bernard L. Garmire's reputation for enlightened law enforcement has gained him national acclaim and recognition.

I was interested to read in the April 11 edition of the New York Times his concept of "Police Strategies for the 20th Century" calling for community participation in law enforcement.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Record I submit the article as it appeared in the Times:

NEW POLICE ROLE IS URGED IN MIAMI—SOCIAL SERVICE EMPHASIZED IN PROPOSAL BY CHIEF

MIAMI, April 10.—A major reorganization of Miami's Police Department, with an emphasis on the social functions of the police force, has been proposed by Police Chief Bernard L. Garmire.

His proposal, which will be presented to the City Council next week, envisages eventual community participation in maintaining of law and order.

The text of the 3,000-word proposal, entitled "Police Strategies for the 20th Century," was released here yesterday.

While stating that in the immediate future the primary duty of the Miami police would be to curb crime and violence, Mr. Garmire said it was necessary to develop a "new definition of the police role in an urban, democratic community such as Miami."

DADE COUNTY METROPOLIS

With a population of about 350,000, Miami is the largest city in Dade County and has the area's largest black community.

"The new police role has been forged out of the civil conflict and cause of the nineteen-sixties and will be tempered by the realities of the nineteen-seventies—realities such as uncompromising demands for social and economic justice; accelerating militancy of the deprived and disillusioned, and acts of planned violence by those who have replaced hope with despair," the report said.

Chief Garmire proposed that the Miami police force be expanded in three years from the present 725 men to about 950, divided by functions into two sections: a uniformed, socially oriented "patrol service" and a plainclothes "tactical service" primarily concerned with crime.

"The patrol officer will act as a catalytic agent to initiate the process which will bring together two distinct groups: people with problems and the social agencies which will have the required skills and resources to handle the problems. On the street, the patrol officers will provide something akin to emergency or first-aid social service," the proposal said.

POLICEWOMEN BACKED

There would be two uniformed policemen for each plainclothesman. The present ratio is 4 to 1. Chief Garmire would also like to have about 10 per cent of the force consist of policewomen, who, he said, have proved more effective than men in solving such common police problems as domestic quarrels.

Later, chief Garmire plans to establish "area policing teams." The city would be divided into sections, each of which would have a separate policing team that would provide 24-hour police service and "aura of omnipresence to discourage criminal activities," the report said.

Chief Garmire hopes that by maintaining close contact with the people in the section and establishing rapport with them, the

police will develop community participation in law enforcement.

"We have to engender the people's confidence and obtain a degree of their cooperation. More of police problems today are due to general inattention to social needs," he said in an interview.

NEED FOR EDUCATION

The growing social role of the police will necessitate, according to chief Garmire, more education for new policemen. Under the proposal, uniformed officers would be required to have at least two years of college.

The scholarly looking, 55-year-old Indiana-born police chief, who has been faculty member at several universities, including the University of Chicago, said his proposal might cost about \$2-million to implement.

It was made in conjunction with a recently approved \$20-million bond issue for modernizing his department, including the purchase of computers and electronic communications equipment.

Part of the money is to be used to build a new police headquarters, which chief Garmire believes will meet Miami's need until at least the year 2000.

"I don't mean to imply that the mere acquisition of physical resources will result in crime reduction and elimination," chief Garmire said. "Crime is the product of a myriad of social, economic and political factors, and until the root causes of crime are resolutely and effectively dealt with, our society will be driven by crime and its attendant violence."

NATIONAL GUARD TECHNICIANS

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. Speaker, the legislation I am introducing today will serve to adjust circumstances of unique Federal employment for National Guard civilian employees and bring them closer to career service standards. These civilian employees are, in almost all instances, required to be members of the military service of the National Guard in order to retain their employment. As a consequence, this condition of employment has caused military obligations up to and in excess of 40 years. In other cases civilian employment has been terminated through loss of military status at times when these civil servants have reached the peak of their working value. I might add that there was little prospect of equivalent employment elsewhere at the time of their forced unemployment.

This legislation would serve to give these employees—National Guard technicians—security of career and to retain for the Government much needed talent, experience, and trained personnel. No longer would the rigors of being an infantry platoon sergeant in a field environment be the lot of a better than 50-year-old man whose primary civilian employment is administrative. No longer would the military physical examination create fear and anxiety in the minds of loyal employees or present possibilities of forced unemployment. The employment of these civilian employees, after 20 years of honorable military service,

would be without reference to military membership if all other qualifications for the job were met. After 10 years, the military physical would only serve to terminate military careers and not civilian service.

This legislation, the need of which was brought to my attention by the Association of Civilian Technicians, would also preclude the present application of the military grade structure as qualification for civilian employment and bring about the measure of a man, or woman, purely on the basis of training, experience, and traditional merit standards.

I submit this legislation as a primary need to balance, in some degree, the employment of National Guard Federal employees with other national civil servants. I have heard from hundreds of these loyal employees and their message has reached me as I am sure it will you. They threaten no violence, propose no strikes. They ask only that their military service be reasonable. They now come to the Congress for a solution to their problems. We can do no less than to give them a fair hearing.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I include a copy of this legislation as part of my remarks:

H.R. 7637

A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, relating to qualifications for appointment and retention in the civil service

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title 5, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Chapter 75 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subchapter:

"SUBCHAPTER V—NATIONAL GUARD TECHNICIANS
"§ 7541. SEPARATION

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a National Guard technician who has completed 10 years of service as a technician, is under 60 years of age, and is fully qualified to perform the duties of his position may not be involuntarily separated from his technician position solely on the basis of his separation from the National Guard because of inability to meet the physical standards of membership in the National Guard.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a "National Guard technician who has completed 20 years of service as a technician, is under 60 years of age, is fully qualified to perform the duties of his position, and has received an honorable separation from the National Guard may not be involuntarily separated from his technician position solely because of his non-membership in the National Guard."

(2) The analysis of chapter 75 is amended by inserting the following at the end thereof:
"SUBCHAPTER V—NATIONAL GUARD TECHNICIANS
"7541. Separation."

(3) Chapter 31 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 3111. EMPLOYMENT OF NATIONAL GUARD TECHNICIANS

"Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a specified military grade shall not be a qualification for any position of a National Guard technician."

(4) The analysis of chapter 31 is amended by inserting the following new item at the end thereof:

"3111. Employment of National Guard technicians."

PERSEVERANCE PAYS OFF IN NEWBURYPORT

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 21, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, often in the crush of bureaucracy, ideas which lack the complexity of mass statistics or millions of dollars are lost, and this country is the poorer for it. As a nation we seem consumed by a desire to tear down and build, with little heed given to history, art, or local sentiment.

Yet in some communities a change is taking place. The emphasis is slowly shifting from destruction to renovation. This shift is not easy; red tape and bureaucracy must be overcome, and the process is long and tedious. It requires the concerted efforts of government officials at all levels as well as continued public response and pressure.

However, in Newburyport, Mass., a charming seaport on the Massachusetts north shore, such a development is taking place.

Newburyport, a city of 16,000, contains some of the finest examples of Federal architecture in Massachusetts. Its U.S. Customs House designed in 1834 by Robert Mills is considered a model of Greek Revival architecture.

This historical worth coalesced with public pressure and the efforts of various agencies and individuals to save a historic commercial area. Involved is the Market Square area near the historic waterfront of Newburyport, the restoration of which has always been considered essential to the prosperity of the business district.

The citizens of Newburyport have succeeded in proving that the choice does not necessarily lie between wholesale demolition and continued neglect, and that imaginative renovation is possible. They have brought about the first Federal grant for urban renewal in which the project is based on the renovation of a historical district. Other cities throughout this country would do well to observe Newburyport's experience as a guide to their own future efforts. To this end I commend the following article from the April 19, 1971, edition of *Preservation News*, entitled "Perseverance Pays Off in Newburyport":

PERSEVERANCE PAYS OFF IN NEWBURYPORT

Letters, telegrams, telephone calls and the cooperation of officials on the federal, state and local levels coalesced in late February to save a historic commercial area in Newburyport, Mass.

A few days after preservation funds in the city's urban renewal application were denied by HUD, a portion of one of the early 19th-century buildings collapsed in seeming desperation. The \$430,000 allocation was restored within a month.

Involved is the Market Square area near the historic waterfront of Newburyport. Following a disastrous fire in 1811 that destroyed 250 wooden buildings, this area was rebuilt in uniform three-story brick struc-

tures. Thick firewalls reaching above the rooflines were built into the new commercial buildings as protection against further devastation. Some of the structures are noted for their Federal detailing. Close by is the Greek Revival U.S. Customs House (1834), designed by Robert Mills.

When Newburyport first considered urban renewal of its central business district in the early 1960's, Market Square was destined to be wiped out under the initial plan. Much of the 22-acre business area was to become a black-topped parking lot surrounded by a modern shopping center.

The controversy of wholesale demolition vs. restoration continued until 1969. Leading the preservation campaign were the Newburyport Historical Society, numerous local citizens and historians from throughout New England. Finally, the city and the redevelopment authority were convinced that restoration of Market Square and the waterfront area was essential to the business district.

In making an amendment to the city's request for urban renewal funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Newburyport Redevelopment Authority requested funds to restore the Market Square buildings. When the loan application was approved on February 5, no preservation funds were included.

Paul McGinley, the agency's new executive director, learned that the request was denied because the buildings were not listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

In a letter to George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Trust President James Biddle said, "We urge you to reconsider funding the preservation portion of the program, particularly in light of the President's message on the environment. The local public agency plan would preserve an important heritage for all Americans, at the same time providing Newburyport residents with an urban center retaining the architectural character of its great past."

Other letters to the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary for Renewal, Norman V. Watson, went out.

NOMINATION EXPEDITED

On February 12, the wheels started spinning to expeditiously place the buildings in the Register as part of a Market Square Historic District. The necessary documentation was prepared by the redevelopment authority in three days and submitted to Massachusetts Historical Commission officials, the Honorable John F. X. Davoren, secretary of the Commonwealth and Commission chairman, and Dr. Richard W. Hale, acting chairman of the Commission; the Commission serves as the State Liaison Office for the processing of Register nominations. Dr. William J. Murtagh, Keeper of the National Register, and the HUD Boston Area Office also aided in coordinating the nomination.

Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D-Mass.) closely followed the process from the beginning and was later joined by the state's Senators, Edward M. Kennedy and Edward Brooke.

The Market Square Historic District was listed in the Register February, 25.

On March 5, a supplemental urban renewal grant from HUD, including \$430,000 for preservation of Market Square finally made its way to the Newburyport Redevelopment Authority.

Plans now call for the renewal agency to restore some of the buildings beginning in the fall. These then will be sold for commercial, retail and office use.

The U.S. Customs House, which was also listed individually in the Register, may be restored by the Newburyport Historical Commission for use as a maritime museum—hopefully with a HUD preservation grant.