

By Mr. DENNEY:

H.J. Res. 1319. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GROVER:

H.J. Res. 1320. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

H. Con. Res. 690. Concurrent resolution relating to treatment and exchange of military and civilian prisoners in Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H. Res. 1152. Resolution providing for printing additional copies of House Report 91-1319; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H. Res. 1153. Resolution urging withdrawal

of Russian personnel from the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

H. Res. 1154. Resolution urging withdrawal of Russian personnel from the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H.R. 18574. A bill for the relief of Miss Maria Fedelia Martinez Hernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 18575. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Balo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 18576. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Crescencia Lyra Serna and her minor children, Maria Minde Fe Serna, Sally Garoza Serna, Gonzalo Garoza Serna, and James

Garoza Serna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

428. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to Pyramid Lake natural resources, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

550. Mr. PHILBIN presented a petition of the Newton, Mass., Board of Aldermen, calling for a reaffirmed U.S. commitment to a lasting peace between the Arab States and Israel arrived at by direct negotiation and by recognition by the Arab States of sovereignty of the State of Israel, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### YOU DARE NOT FAIL—ADDRESS

### HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, one of Kentucky's outstanding citizens in the field of industrial development is also one of our State's most devoted friends of education. He is Mr. Rexford S. Blazer, chairman of the board of Ashland Oil, Inc. In a recent commencement address entitled "You Dare Not Fail—You Must Succeed," delivered at Union College, Barboursville, Ky., Mr. Blazer voiced some challenging statements about some of the assumptions many people have made in connection with the present generation of college students. Mr. Blazer, who points out that Socrates and Cato and other ancients were dealing with the youth problem long ago, discusses some of what he calls the divisive myths and slogans such as the generation gap and the establishment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Blazer's address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### YOU DARE NOT FAIL—YOU MUST SUCCEED

(By Rexford S. Blazer)

It has been more than thirteen years since I enjoyed the privilege of visiting this campus on Senior Day to talk with high school students who had been invited to be the guests of Union College on that occasion. At that time I emphasized my feeling that the Commonwealth of Kentucky has many reasons to be proud of Union College; its scholastic standards are notable and many of its graduates have become leaders in Kentucky and throughout the nation.

And I mentioned that even though such occasions as Senior Day and Commencement are primarily for the purpose of honoring students, it is often true that the members of the older generation benefit most from such occasions. For us, there is the very real pleasure and inspiration derived from association with attractive, ambitious young men and

women at the threshold of a future bright with promise.

There is, of course, the temptation of an older person to lecture the young. This consideration imposes a duty upon me not to be impossibly boring and long-winded—for I realize that brevity is almost always a virtue. When I was last here I told the story of an uncle who took his six-year-old nephew to church. After the service, uncle said, "And how did you like it, Johnny?" To which his nephew replied, "I liked the music but the commercial was too long." So I'll try to keep the commercial within reasonable balance.

Nevertheless my position on this Sunday afternoon affords me a rare opportunity to congratulate you, your parents and your instructors on this moment of high accomplishment in which each of you has played an important part.

It is good to be invited back to Union College and to see the physical evidence of the great progress which has occurred here during the intervening years. Were this a less formal occasion, I would prefer that we found a comfortable, quiet place and simply sat down and talked. Each of us might profit and our exchange of ideas would be stimulating—at least to me. At heart, I am still a student myself and experience has continued to teach me that what I don't know far exceeds what I think I know.

Within the hour you graduating seniors will make the transition from students to alumni—and the beginning of a new journey toward horizons not yet visible. I wish only that I could make the trip with you and that we could return thirty years hence to ask where we had been, what we had learned, and what had been accomplished.

Although my wish will not be granted, ancient tradition requires that today I issue the charge and endeavor to point a course. I well remember my grandfather's words when I was preparing to leave the University of Illinois in 1928 to hitchhike several hundred miles, first to Kentucky and then to Cleveland, in search of a job. "Many people will offer you advice," he said. "The art is choosing your counselors wisely."

For today I have been chosen as your counselor. Whether this was a wise choice will be for you to judge. One thing is certain: I am honored by the opportunity you have given me.

As a Kentuckian and a senior officer of Kentucky's largest home-based industrial firm, I have strong personal feeling of our Kentucky colleges and universities which are doing such an outstanding job under condi-

tions which are often trying, worrisome and discouraging. I am a serious worker in behalf of my alma mater, the University of Illinois, and of Mrs. Blazer's alma mater, the University of Kentucky; and with great satisfaction I serve as Regent of The University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. Mrs. Blazer is a Trustee of the University of Kentucky—only the second woman to ever serve in that capacity—and she served for four years as Vice Chairman of the Governor's Commission on Higher Education in Kentucky. Additionally, she has given leadership and has worked hard in Kentucky and at the national level to bring Educational Television into our homes. So education is of profound interest to our family. Events occurring in recent weeks on college and university campuses across the nation have brought real sadness to our hearts and are to us a matter of deep personal concern.

Commencement addresses at colleges and universities in recent years have become repetitive in theme: Speaker after speaker, from government and education and business, has dwelt on the theme of law and order. Their conclusions have also been practically identical: "Freedom perishes unless law and order prevail." All responsible political segments agree on this thesis—they know that freedom is not free! These are, of course, fundamental truths for any organized society, but it is a mistake to oversimplify. The last resort, as Justice Holmes once observed, for the preservation of social order is the policeman's club. But it must be the last resort. Riots and civil disorder will rarely occur where the citizens are in basic accord on fundamental values. But a democratic society is in danger when there is profound disagreement on its underlying assumptions—what might be called its constitutional axioms. Thus, the effort of responsible citizens must be toward accord on the deep issues arrived at through persuasion and reasoned discussion, not through force and violence.

It's essential also in order to preserve our freedoms that we resist the efforts of forces designed to divide us—and having divided us, to exploit us and, eventually, to conquer us. One of the most diabolic of all the techniques of discord is the repeated insistence on "The Generation Gap." Frankly, I don't know where the Generation Gap occurs. Is it after high school? After college? After age 30? Or is the trick of this illusion that it automatically compels the listener—any listener—to identify himself as either young or old, committing him to take sides in a

contest, instead of participating rationally in a discussion?

Teachers of the Latin and Greek classics must be amused: Socrates, Cato, and dozens of other philosophers and critics have pondered over youth and prescribed for its problems only to be succeeded by the young who in turn grew old and raised a quizzical eyebrow at their progeny. Their writing was confined to philosophic observation, without the amplifications of mass media or an opportunity for immediate and direct reply from the young on video tape. It is the accelerated speed of communications in the twentieth century that encourages quick, hot replies in the place of the more carefully considered reactions of the past. All the more reason, I would suggest, for us to preserve communications at all age levels and to reject divisive slogans like "Generation Gap."

The situation is aggravated, I think, by overemphasis on youth as a distinct class in our society. Even in sophisticated circles, there is accepted an oft-repeated fallacy: Half our population is under twenty-five. That's not true, and probably never will be true within our lives. It was true once—very briefly—in 1920. Moreover, our median age is growing older because our birth rate is declining and people are living longer; also an important segment of the under-25 group includes babies still in diapers, school children and immature youth.

But I'm not talking about statistics. I'm talking about the cleavage so erroneously implied—perhaps first popularized in a book about nephew and uncle who exchanged life roles. It was called *The Generation Gap*.

In truth, there are no such distinct separations of ages—but a continuity of ages. Divisions into classes based upon birth dates are arbitrary and unreal.

And then there is another divisive myth called "The Establishment"—somehow it is no longer the thing to be a "doer". It is considered more respectable to be a "will-doer" (meaning will do in the future), or perhaps an "undoer" which is a fitting name for students who want to undo what has been done by earlier generations. They of the so-called Establishment have made it possible for their children to grow up in a world which, with all its imperfections, is still far better than anything their offspring have yet contributed.

Our generation has had its share of successes and failures—and so will yours. If your generation has more successes and fewer failures, we will say "God Bless You!"—but we feel rather strongly that the shouters, the burners, the rioters of your generation, even though they be only a very vocal minority, should hold their peace, go to work and be satisfied to rest their cause on the results of their own labors—their own successes and failures.

May I say that failure and success are relative terms. Neither exists in a vacuum, but only in relation to specific situations.

We cannot say it has been a failure to take an empty continent and in two centuries convert it into the most prosperous nation in the world.

We cannot say it has been a failure to accept millions of immigrants, most without education, and transform them into millions of prosperous citizens—many of whom have reached positions of outstanding leadership in business, science, education, the professions and the arts.

We cannot say it is a failure to produce the best educational system in the world, and the highest level of advanced education anywhere.

Seldom has there been a success story like ours—and most of it accomplished without excessive bureaucratic controls. It has been the triumph of democracy, and even today our so-called "poverty level" is above the

average income of all families in the Soviet Union.

Our country has not failed. Our standards and our levels of aspiration have simply been raised.

But we would be blind if we failed to see that we are passing through something very different at least in degree and scope than we have known before. Some call it a revolutionary age—yet virtually every age of our country has thought of itself in these terms. We are told that the modern revolution was touched off by the explosion in new knowledge—in the first instance, scientifically and technologically based—and that we now face incredibly complicated by-products of this scientific-technological revolution which are mainly political, social, economic and cultural in character.

Others see us reacting mechanically to another social force: the stress of too many people in too little space. Robert Audrey, social anthropologist, goes so far as to imply that a small part of our society may in fact be following the example of the lemming—reacting to congestion with stress symptoms—which, in our case, may include narcotics, antisocial behaviors and other forms of self-destruction.

Oversimplifications of this kind are gravely misleading. Our tendency today to talk in terms of mass morality may in fact be a distraction in itself. For the real problem today is individual morality: You and I are not only our brother's keeper, we are our own keeper.

Our fascination with the mass, with the big generality—with mountainous figures—tends to divert our attention from the rise in individual crimes, individual cheating, individual moral deterioration, and general disruption inspired by individuals. It provides an atmosphere for mob psychology—if others do it, so may I. All manner of vulgarity and aggression is justified in the name of doing the "in" thing and even its most disgusting exponents are dignified by newspaper and TV coverage.

Carried to its limit, the logical progression is to a dictatorship—a total loss of the very freedom for which we strive—as anarchy gives way to the imperatives of order.

The test of your generation could well be whether it can continue the forward progress of this country, while preserving the timeless values on which our civilization rests. If it fails, the alternative is to continue down the road of rebellion, destruction of property, defiance of authority until we must choose between the logical consequences—a country destroyed by revolution and delivered into the hands of International Communism or a homemade dictatorship demanded by the final need for centralized authority to prevent rebellion and mob rule. The clear lesson of history is that violence begets violence.

It is our great good fortune to meet here today, on this peaceful campus, with students, parents, faculty and a college administration under the strong leadership of President Mahlon A. Miller, who together have succeeded in preserving mutual respect and a willingness for each group to play its appropriate part in an institution dedicated to the best interests of our young people.

It is difficult indeed for us to realize that our world and our country and many of our colleges and universities are now in a state of crisis, approaching collapse, and that several have suspended normal functions. As much as we might like to isolate ourselves and our thinking from what is going on around us, we should not do so even if we could. Every one of us is a part of the world and if we would enjoy the ageless wonders and beauties of our world, we must contribute to the limits of our abilities to the solution of its problems which threaten the very future of civilization.

Your intelligence and your skills, your reason, your sensitivity, your active participation will be required in a world which is profoundly insecure—a world which perhaps was never designed to be totally secure in the Great Scheme of things. Security and happiness are never guaranteed—but we can tremendously improve the odds if we proceed intelligently.

And in the final analysis, solutions to our problems, most of which are inherently moral in nature, will not be won by an exploitation of differences but by a fusing of understanding and compassion based on fundamental Christian attitudes.

One could talk for hours about recent campus problems and we could speculate on the future outcome. The Communists told us many years ago that by 1972 every college and university in this nation would be closed by revolution. To our horror, we suddenly realize that this could be true! With hundreds of colleges and universities closed down for many days, or for the balance of the spring semester, there is room to believe that the Communist instigators and promoters of campus violence will do everything possible to keep many of our large educational institutions from opening this fall. If anyone here today doubts that our campus problems are being compounded and our differences magnified, or that the fires of hate among student groups are being fed by the Communist philosophy advocated by representatives of Communist-affiliated organizations which are providing financial support and firearms for the organizers they send from campus to campus—he is gravely uninformed. Documented evidence supporting my statement is freely available.

Those of us who would preserve peace and learning and mutual respect on our campuses are opposed by the same enemy who drew us into the Vietnam conflict. Whatever the merits of our initial involvement in Vietnam, we must now unite in seeking an honorable and orderly disengagement which makes adequate provision for the security of those whom we committed ourselves to defend. Our differences as to methods of de-escalation and ultimate withdrawal are sharply divisive, perhaps because our patience has been sorely tried and we have grown cynical as to our mission. But the national interest calls, above all else, for an end to internal feuds and civil strife. We must find our solution of this desperately urgent problem in a spirit of cooperative unity. Our present condition of anger and hatred for each other is the sure and certain road to a loss of national self-respect and purpose which would leave us helpless before the enemies of freedom.

Likewise, on our campuses nothing is gained by endeavoring to rationalize or justify riots, property destruction and violence. Defiance of the canons of organized life by the disaffected and estranged is practically guaranteed to end in the withdrawal of public support for higher education, with disastrous consequences for us all, but especially for our youth.

Let me tell you candidly how I feel about this so-called younger generation—those who find themselves, willingly or unwillingly, involved in the turbulence of many of our university campuses. These young people are part of a college generation that is probably one of the most idealistic and humane of our history. These young people, to a greater degree than any previous generation, are devoted to racial understanding and justice and to religious tolerance.

I think that the human idealism of so many young people today, immature as their expression may be at times, is nevertheless a reflection of the fact that our world has moved so swiftly in the past twenty years. There has, indeed, been a tremendous ex-

plosion of knowledge, along with instant communications, with the result that this college generation, I believe, includes the best informed, the most worldly, and the best prepared class of graduating seniors that the world has ever known. You have passed your childhood in this postwar era of high mobility and instant communications and to a large degree it may well be that this exposure to a wide variety of American communities and cultural forms lies at the root of your tolerance and idealism. I remain very optimistic that as the great majority of today's young people mature, this idealism will be channeled in increasingly constructive directions, giving rise to a high degree of compassion and social commitment, a merging of our finest cultural traditions, and an exalted personal freedom based upon mutual respect.

If I should endeavor to put my finger on the one critical weakness of this college generation, it would be one that has existed throughout history—the inclination of a minority to follow any leader who promises an immediate release from authority, responsibility or the necessity for continued respect for established conventions. Of course, this willingness of some to be attracted by radical activists is not limited to youth. Labor unions in industry are of genuine value to the workers of this country but the substantial gains which they frequently accomplish for their membership are often overshadowed and destroyed by the acts of unreasoning and radical leadership. Just as the casual union member who is loyal to the purposes and objectives of his employer too often lets union leadership fall into the hands of the more radical and less restrained members, so do the large majority of our college students who just want to be left alone to pursue their education become victims of the more vocal and restless minority who, without regard to merit or experience, are impatient to usurp authority and to dominate the docile mass.

In recent weeks construction workers in New York and thousands of workers elsewhere have demonstrated their unwillingness to tolerate certain students, teachers, and administrators who advocate violent upheaval in our society. This should be no surprise, for these are mature workers who have struggled to earn their places in society, the right to own their own homes and to raise and educate their children in peace. They labor to earn wages and salaries and to pay the taxes that have built and support universities, colleges, courts of law, highways, cities and a thousand other structures and services for the use and welfare of society. And from their taxes are financed a benevolent government that endeavors to protect every one of us in our lives and property and to provide all the social services required for the aged, the sick and the very young. Would anyone expect these stable workers whose labors have done so much to provide the endless opportunities which are available to the succeeding generation, to stand still very long for the irrational irresponsibility of a minority of students, most of whom have never labored a day in their lives, have never paid a penny tax, have contributed almost nothing to the institutions of this country; and who now express their lack of appreciation through obscenities and defiance of authority at every level from college president to the President of the United States?

All of these failures are not with students—some of them are among the faculty and the administrators of some of those institutions which are in trouble. To me, it is ludicrous for corporate and private taxpayers to pay the salaries to feed, house and clothe those administrators who fail to perform the functions of their office; to recom-

pense teachers and professors who use their positions to expound their own biased opinions without recognizing that, in the true spirit of academic pursuit of truth, there are divergent opinions; and to contribute to the cost of the education of those students who dissipate time, defy authority or destroy property.

We have so many other problems confronting us today—pollution, overpopulation, poverty, hunger, neglect—that I can't help but wonder why youth's energy cannot be directed toward solving these problems. I was, for example, greatly impressed earlier today when several students asked to talk informally with me about the pollution problems of the petroleum industry. Here, at their very best, were interested, intelligent and thoughtful young people wanting to broaden the horizon of their own thinking rather than burning down buildings and demanding the right to run our colleges and universities, the right to decide when to have law and order and when to ignore them, and the right to dictate the policies of our nation and to criticize our President and those to whom authority has been delegated through the democratic processes.

To me, it is as simple as this: The college graduates of 1970, perhaps the most outstanding such group this world has ever known, may very well have the capability of assuming increasing responsibilities and making greater contributions sooner than those who have preceded them. The fact that 1970's graduates may be better informed and more mature at this point in their lives, is a tremendous plus for the future of America. This blessing, however, will not give you and your counterparts across the country the right to demand immediate authority or to dictate to others who have more and better experience, have made more contributions and are, therefore, entitled to the right of leadership until you are qualified to take over. Looking back over the forty-two years which have elapsed since I received my degree at the University of Illinois, I am grateful that God, somehow, gave me the patience, the ability and the humility to recognize that the privilege of leadership, and the opportunity and the right to direct others, were goals which I might some day achieve if I was able to labor and to learn and to wait until these marks of progress were earned and, having been earned, were deserved.

If you graduates are able to relate what I have tried to say to all here this afternoon to the tremendous opportunities which lie before this graduating class, along with the frightening risks and dangers which threaten to engulf everyone of us in this nation, I hope you agree that my counsel to you arises from the high respect I have for the vast majority of our young people, for the faculty and teachers who are the mainspring of our educational system, and for our college and university administrators who are working so diligently, often struggling against great odds to maintain the institutions of learning for the benefit of the young people of today and tomorrow.

It is because of the tremendous worth of the vast majority of those who are a part of our educational system; because informed and intelligent young people are our greatest hope for the leadership and preservation of our nation tomorrow; and because of the prayers and compassionate interest of your parents and the sacrifices they have so willingly made to provide educational opportunities for their children, that we must do whatever is necessary to make sure that in the future every American college and university can look forward to pleasant and peaceful commencement exercises. For this is a time when the finest groups of our nation's young people leave behind their college years, sometimes arduous but always

happy, to take their places in a world which is often demanding but will always promise just rewards to those who contribute their fair share. May you enter into your responsibilities as adults with a discipline of mind and spirit, a love of learning and a respect for truth and the rational processes by which it is to be discovered, upon which alone a civilized life can be built.

So to you graduating seniors and to all the others who are gathered here because of their sincere interest in you, I say that you represent the finest examples of human aspiration and hope. You are, roughly speaking, the 300,000th generation of mankind. Generations yet unborn, count upon your judgment, your wisdom, your good works. You dare not fail. You must succeed. And as you leave these hallowed halls of learning, remember that what you do and what you say can mark you as the most remarkable and most successful generation of all time.

You will find opportunities wherever you look and you will some day assume the positions of authority and responsibility which have been vacated by the generation which preceded you. And if God in His greatness and wisdom gives you the strength to prevail in your time, then you can expect some day to stand where President Miller, also where Mr. Edward L. Cawood and Mr. Richard Eubanks who are receiving Honorary Degrees, and others of our generation are privileged to be today—looking to the future which, because of your graduating seniors, surely will be brighter and better than ever before. May God be your constant partner along life's road which will be beset with problems and challenges but can reward you with peace, happiness and endless satisfaction! Thank you for the privilege of sharing this significant occasion with you.

#### SOUTH VIETNAM IS TASTING VICTORY

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, many times when we are away from a given situation, we can return to it and view it with greater clarity. Columnist R. D. Heinl, Jr., writing in the San Diego Union, has returned to Vietnam following an 18-month absence.

In his article "South Vietnam Is Tasting Victory," Mr. Heinl discusses who is winning, the success of the Cambodian operation, the status of Vietnamization, and the present strength of the Communists.

Having initially advanced the "phase-in phaseout concept" through the creation of a free Asian security organization, and because I feel Mr. Heinl's observations will be of interest to my colleagues, I request that this editorial be printed in the RECORD:

[From the San Diego Union, June 28, 1970]

SOUTH VIETNAM IS TASTING VICTORY

(By R. D. Heinl, Jr.)

Here is South Vietnam, the nearer you approach the front, the brighter things look. Despair and gloom and rumor are always thicker in the rear than among the riflemen.

Combat soldiers know this well. And even in this topsy-turvy war with no precedent, the pall lightens and confusion diminishes

as the distance lengthens from domestic America.

Here, then, are first impressions that registered most vividly on my return to Vietnam after 18 months absence from the war.

1. In the field, the war itself, we are winning. Inside South Vietnam, the Viet Cong fighting (or "main force") units shattered themselves at Tet in 1968, and have been pushed away from the populated areas where a guerrilla army derives its support and sustenance. The remaining fighting units, virtually all North Vietnamese, even in the far south, have also been shouldered back into remote and inhospitable sanctuaries. The government has never been stronger in the countryside.

2. The low-risk virtually sure-thing Cambodian incursions proceeded on schedule and lived up to—or exceeded—every prediction except President Nixon's forecast that we would find and overrun some kind of chopstick "Pentagon" in the jungles of Cambodia.

The real military objective of the Cambodian raids—to dislocate the Communists' logistic system in the south—is being handsomely attained.

Out of about 320 enemy base areas painstakingly plotted by intelligence along the far side of the Cambodian frontier, only 70 remain undiscovered.

Meanwhile, like archeologists probing for lost cities in the jungle, our soldiers and the South Vietnamese worked ahead tracing tunnels, opening caches, destroying what they could not haul away, and heaped up enemy documents to be translated and analyzed. Incidentally, they have killed just under 10,000 Communist troops in the process.

No doubt is expressed anywhere that the President's word will not be kept and the last U.S. soldier will be out of Cambodia by Tuesday.

3. Vietnamization has been greatly advanced. In the first place, the capture or destruction of many months' supplies and material (not just the rice, but more important, the weapons and ammunition, all of which come from abroad) incapacitates the Communists for many months to come.

The period immediately ahead—eight months to a year—is the crucial time when ARVN (the Army of the Republic of Vietnam) attains its final buildup and fighting capability and when, correspondingly, it will be most vulnerable to spoiling attacks by the Communists. The sins of such attacks during the months ahead are what we are destroying in Cambodia.

In the second place, Cambodia has served as a graduation exercise for the ARVN. For the first time in its weary history, the ARVN has taken the field in coordinated offensives, and has surprised itself and highly skeptical foreign observers by doing well.

The professional experience and self-confidence generated within the ARVN at all levels by Cambodia is the best possible practical augury for the eventual success of Vietnamization.

4. The Communists are in every respect—save for the hysteria in some segments of the American public—weaker now than at any point in this long war.

It seems unbelievable today to look back on 1965 when the Viet Cong were in the act of sawing South Vietnam in two from Duc Co, Pleiku, and An Khe to the sea; when every bridge in the delta was out and every village was solid VC; when Buddhist monks were immolating themselves and the government being clawed to pieces by internal factions at each other's throats.

Any negotiated end to the war that would accurately reflect the current state of the struggle would only be a defeat for Hanoi.

Were fighting to end tomorrow on the basis of political and military actualities, Hanoi would not have gained a single one of its stated objectives other than ultimate withdrawal of American forces (which, indeed, will continue ahead, but to our tune and in no fashion to cheer the Communists).

To some, those first impressions will seem euphoric. But it is impossible, after long absence, not to see the changes at first glance and to remember, as well, the 1918 remark by Ferdinand Foch:

"Victory belongs to the side that can hang on for the last 15 minutes."

### OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, AND OUR SACRED HONOR

HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, former Assistant Postmaster General Edward V. Dorsey wrote an excellent editorial recently in the Postmaster's Gazette. The tribute, for the Fourth of July issue, is a well reasoned and interesting commentary on the principles that have made this a great Nation. I ask that it be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it may receive the attention that it deserves:

#### OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES, AND OUR SACRED HONOR

We have been told (although we have never been able to verify it) that after "... The Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled" declared on July 4, 1776 "That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States," Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, observed that that event represented man's last opportunity to be free.

It is not difficult to imagine what may have been Jefferson's reasons for such an observation. His knowledge of history, political science, and man's centuries long quest for freedom must certainly have conjured up in his mind's eye a picture of past attempts by people to throw off the shackles of oppression and slavery only to find themselves under a despot worse than before.

Jefferson knew that freedom was a very fragile thing and nothing less than eternal vigilance could protect it so it could prosper and grow. It was this realization, we suspect, that caused him to have the signers of the Declaration of Independence to "... mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor." Nothing short of total commitment would suffice in an undertaking of that magnitude. A study of the men who dared to affix their signatures reveals that many were called on to fulfill that pledge. Had they not done so, we would not be enjoying the freedom we have today. Freedom which we all too often simply take for granted.

There are those in the world who say that our kind of government is doomed to destruction. Nearly two hundred years of historical fact is proof that they are wrong. The forces of tyranny and oppression can never triumph in this country so long as Americans are mindful of their rich heritage and vow to do no less than the signers of the Declaration of Independence "... mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor."

There are many who say there are things

wrong with America. No rational human being can argue with that statement. The thing that is right with America is that we have never ceased to strive toward the full realization of man's everlasting quest for freedom and equity. A society which proclaims "... these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" is not without its problems. But they are problems that a free people can and will solve.

It may appear to some that our striving seems to be less than it should be. Freedom is not an easy task. But then anything that is worthwhile never is. It is an incontrovertible historical fact that we have never ceased our endeavor to rid from our people the fears of want and political and religious persecution and to confidently pass these gains on to the next generation for even greater achievements and accomplishment. This is the strength of America.

There are those that say the only way we can have true freedom is through violence. They mistakenly base this premise on the historical fact that this nation was born out of violence. What they overlook is that out of that violence there evolved a system of government that has proven to be responsive to the people who freely agreed to be governed by it.

Perhaps it can be argued that the response has not been as quick or as full as everyone might have wished but, nevertheless, the response has come. And, there is no reason to believe that it will not continue to respond in the days, years and centuries of the future if we and those who follow continue to use the orderly and political process to make changes. A process that is so much a part of our way of life.

The proclamation of forefathers to "... establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity" was not just so much high flown rhetoric. It was and still is the great American charter for human freedom and the good life.

There are some who look upon dissent as a threat to our survival. Orderly and peaceful dissent within our free political system is not a threat but a positive indication of the ultimate strength of our government and the fulfillment of true freedom. Freedom without orderly and peaceful dissent is not possible.

No one is free unless all are free. The very instant that Americans can not peacefully and orderly disagree with their government and use the established political processes to make the changes they want will be the day we pass back across that very thin and fragile barrier that separates a free people from those who live in constant fear and dread of their rulers.

As Americans, we should not allow even one day to pass without pausing to reflect how blessed we have been and each new day ought to start with a resolve that the freedoms enjoyed yesterday are to be protected and extended today.

We are still man's last opportunity to be free and if we allow that opportunity to slip from our grasp, we may never be able to retrieve it. Freedom will exist only as long as we want it to and have the will to protect and defend it. The moment we, as a people, are not willing to "... mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor" freedom, as we know it, will cease to exist.

Do we dare do anything less? Can we afford not to do more? Only we, as a free people and a free nation, can answer these questions.

DOLLARS FOR SCHOLARS

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, an enthusiastic Dollars for Scholars organization recently raised \$6,300 in Norwalk, Ohio. I am pleased to call attention to this most worthwhile civic project which I understand is one of 330 Dollars for Scholars chapters throughout the United States. The importance of private initiative and resourcefulness in supporting students desiring to attend college cannot be underestimated. The officers and patrons of this program in Norwalk, which includes hundreds of good citizens, should be commended for providing scholarships to 15 young people.

As part of the promotion for the 1970 fund drive an essay contest was sponsored. The two winners have presented important ideas which reflect on their maturity and wholesome outlook. I am pleased to include these essays so my colleagues might have the benefit of reading these inspiring statements:

[From the Norwalk Reflector, Tuesday, May 19, 1970]

LORD ADDS FEATURE TO BASIC MODEL

(By Bob Mayle)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Bob Mayle, a senior at St. Paul's High School, won the Dollars For Scholars essay contest at his school with this essay on "The Worth Of An Individual". He received a \$25 prize at the St. Paul Band Concert Sunday).

How in the world did God ever happen to make man as individual and priceless as He did? Maybe He started with something basic and added a little extra . . . maybe it was like this . . .

Hello there, Mr. God sir, . . . oh, your friends call you Lord. Well Mr. Lord Sir, I represent Human Being Industries, a subsidiary of General Animal Corporation, and I want to tell you about a new line of products we're coming out with called men. Today we are introducing for the first time our 1970 line in Humans. To keep things simple we offer only two models the "Male" and the "Female," and both sell for the same price. Because Humans are more expensive than other animals I imagine that You're wondering "Why should I spend all that extra money on a Human when I can get any other animal much cheaper?"

Well, let's run down the standard equipment you get with every Human Being. First of all you get a precision body built to last many times the life span of most other animals on the market. Various colors of hair, eyes, skin, as well as types of bone structure and weights, combine to give our product one of its most important assets—individuality. Other companies offer individuals in body styles, but we offer individuals in mental capabilities and personality as well. Personalities, by the way, are a feature available in no other line of animals.

Another standard item which sets Humans above their competition are their beautifully unpredictable emotions. These, together with the highest IQ offered anywhere, enable our men to actually help one another and even help other animals. The high IQ of which I spoke before not only enables Humans to communicate effectively, but also enables them to reason things out for themselves, thus removing part of your

work as God. Their tremendous capacity for loving can even be channeled toward You!!! Imagine, a creature that can return the love of a god. Notice I said return the love; You've got to be nice to them and maybe work for a few miracles, but they're not hard to keep in line. . . . What!!!!!! You say You're thinking of giving them a soul???? Going to make them part of You!!!!!! Good grief, aren't they good enough already???? Gee. . . . if You did give them a soul, You could never trade them in. . . . hee", they'd be priceless.

So we see that biologically, man is nothing more than the most intelligent animal on Earth. But by giving us a soul, God put a little of Himself in us. Think of that the next time you're going to hurt someone.

[From the Norwalk Reflector, Tues., May 12, 1970]

BALANCE PRIDE, HUMILITY

(By Charles Derby)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Charles Derby, a Norwalk High School junior, won a \$25 prize for this essay on "The Worth Of An Individual", written for the Dollars For Scholars competition. A winner from St. Paul's High School will be announced Sunday.)

Every person in this world has certain standards by which he is judged in the eyes of his fellow men. Although some individuals do not care about what the rest of the world thinks of them, the majority of people desire to be well liked by others.

Certain characteristics of an individual reflect one's worth in society. Without these certain virtues, a person will have difficulty in obtaining his goals in life. Social life is an important function in this world and to live happily one must get along with other people by using his personality.

Pride is the most important virtue. A person who takes pride in himself will also take pride in his school, his community, his church, his work and everything he undertakes in life. Pride, however, can be a fault as well as a virtue if a person is too proud. Humility is a virtue to balance with pride.

Ambition is necessary for an individual to progress in life. Striving to attain one's goal, be it in work, athletics, or learning, calls for ambition. To get a task done well, a person uses ambition, will power, and determination to overcome the urge to quit. Determination serves as a good foundation in preparing for responsibilities to come later in one's life, a determined person is usually, a reliable person.

A person who contributes to society is marked by still another trait—concern and respect for other people. Such a person has few enemies, and gets along well with other people; he tries his best to make his work enjoyable.

All of these factors help to mold a person's attitude toward life. Too many people consider themselves forgotten and unimportant to others. These people would benefit greatly if they would raise their goals higher in life and try to develop standards that other people admire.

CONTROLLING INFLATION

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, we cannot have it both ways.

We cannot control inflation while we spend our way into huge deficits.

The Democrats have been trying this sleight of hand nonsense for two generations now and all they have done is give us inflation, wars, and fancy programs that do not work.

It is time now that they joined the Republicans in facing up to the economic facts of life.

It is time they exercised the responsibility that their majority status calls for.

It is time at last that they began to serve all the people instead of trying to buy them.

Our Nation will be better off if they do.

SCHWEIKER SPORTSMAN AMENDMENT TO EXPLOSIVES LEGISLATION

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, on June 23, 1970, I submitted an amendment to S. 3650, a bill designed to strengthen Federal legislation concerning the illegal use, transportation, and possession of explosives. I have been shocked by the use of bombs and explosives to kill and injure innocent and helpless citizens. President Nixon proposed legislation to crack down on this distressing increase of violence in this country and I fully support this objective. We must have effective tools to fight crime and legislation which will deter these vicious criminals.

The broad scope of this legislation, however, would result in needlessly penalizing law-abiding sportsmen who, because of the expense involved in purchasing ammunition, and as a hobby, handload their own shells which are used for legitimate sporting activities. Many Pennsylvania sportsmen, and I am certain many others around the country, engage in this type of recreation. I am interested in seeing that the much-needed strengthening of Federal law have the effect of deterring criminals from crimes without penalizing sportsmen.

My amendment exempts a reasonable amount of smokeless powder and black powder which is used for sport shooting purposes from the provisions of the proposed legislation. The amendment exempts from the coverage of the legislation up to 25 pounds of smokeless powder and up to 6 pounds of black powder. I am pleased to say that, in addition to Senator SCOTT, who was an original co-sponsor of the proposed legislation, the following Senators have joined me as co-sponsors of my amendment: Senators BENNETT, BURDICK, CANNON, COOK, COTTON, DOLE, EAGLETON, EASTLAND, FANNIN, GORE, HANSEN, HARTKE, HATFIELD, HOLLINGS, MCGEE, MONTROYA, MOSS, MURPHY, PEARSON, SAXBE, SCOTT, STEVENS, THURMOND, and YOUNG of North Dakota.

## CAPTIVE NATIONS

**HON. SAM STEIGER**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 15, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in 1959, the United States first proclaimed Captive Nations Week, established through an act of Congress. The purpose:

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representative of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

"Freedom and independence" are the key words. Each people should have the opportunity to, by majority rule, choose its form of government.

This Nation publicly has stated and states that freedom of choice regarding form of government should be available to all. Free choice is essential. At least 17 other nations share this sentiment and have special observances to show their abhorrence for there being captive nations. In 1967, the World Anti-Communist League, comprising membership from more than 80 countries, adopted a resolution advocating an expansion of efforts to show solidarity with the legitimate aspiration of the captive nations to be free.

Since its inception, after the revolution, the Soviet Union has been an aggressive, expansionist nation. It has forcefully brought once proud, independent nations within its orbit, dominating every aspect of their nationhood, internal, and in foreign affairs.

Various nations, formerly loosely a part of Czarist Russia, were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. after the Bolsheviks took power. Subsequent to World War II, many independent nations were absorbed into the block. Twenty-seven countries have now been forcedly brought within the Communist sphere. Only Burma has ever elected a national Communist government; I do not count that within the 27.

Dominance by the Soviet Union through force has been clearly displayed for years. More than 1 billion individuals live under the sway of communism in the captive nations. The unwillingness of citizens to live under communism has been amply demonstrated. As examples: Ukrainians have long evidenced their unhappiness at absorption into the Soviet Union. The same is true of Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian citizens. Between 1953 and 1956, East Germany, Poland, and Hungary all tried to gain a degree of independence. All efforts were crushed. Czechoslovakia is the most re-

cent example showing the length of the Soviet Union's leash—it is not very long.

Thousands of individuals have independently decided to flee their homelands at great personal sacrifice and, usually, danger to themselves—Tibetans, Hungarians, East Germans, and so forth. They have swum, climbed barbed wire fences, crashed through barricades, dug tunnels, or defected through a third nation, as did the former Svetlana Alliluyeva—Stalin's daughter. More than 4 million East Germans alone are estimated to have fled the suffocating embrace of Communist government.

Imposition of Communist will upon residents of these nations is heavy-handed. Those who have read of life in Siberian concentration camps, heard of the Katyn Forest massacre, learned of the flight of Vietnamese from the north to the south, cannot believe otherwise. Czechoslovakia's Dubcek, removed from membership in the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union's Andrei Amalrik, sent to jail, or Zhores A. Medvedev, sent to a mental institution, clearly show the lack of basic freedoms.

It can give no one pleasure to participate in Captive Nations Week observances. It is my hope that there will be no need for such observances soon. Each country should be allowed the right to determine, freely, its own form of government. I am convinced that the repressions of communism are such in all phases of life—political, economic, religious, and so forth—that it would not survive honest elections.

The Soviet Union has frequently displayed its displeasure at the publicity given observances by this Nation and others of Captive Nations Week. The focusing of attention upon the lack of freedom given these nations and their citizens has been beneficial to those United States' citizens that would too easily dismiss the rights and responsibilities of our citizenship and to other nations that have been wooed by communism.

While these nations are enslaved, the likelihood of achieving lasting peace is slender. Therefore, all free men have a vested interest in seeing these injustices eliminated. It is hoped that the Communist system of government will evolve into one displaying true freedom of choice for the peoples and nations involved.

## THE DOUBLE STANDARD

**HON. JEROME R. WALDIE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, seemingly there is often times a double standard employed in rendering decisions concerning military court matters. Two of my constituents, Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Hardisty of Rodeo, Calif., were prompted to write me after having seen the two succeeding articles which I am about to call to your attention. The articles

were printed in the June 28 edition of the San Francisco Chronicle and concern two different trials.

On one hand, two marines had been tried for the killings at Que Son; one marine was acquitted and the other received a life sentence at hard labor. In another article, my constituents point out that a brigadier general and a major were cleared of charges that they attempted to cover up the alleged My Lai incident.

The articles follow:

Military justice was meted out to the first two Marines tried in Da Nang, South Vietnam, on charges of murdering 16 women and children near Que Son in cold blood. Two more Marines still face trial. Pvt. Michael Schwartz, 21, was found guilty on 12 of 16 counts, sentenced to life in prison at hard labor. A constantly weeping Pfc. Thomas Boyd, 19, who insisted he did not participate in any killing ever ("I was taught 'Thou shalt not kill.' It is never right to shoot at anybody") was found not guilty, and returned to his apparently peaceful Marine life.

In Washington, D.C., Brigadier General George Young, Major Robert McKnight and Colonel Nels Parson were cleared of charges by the Army that they helped cover up the alleged My Lai massacre in South Vietnam two years ago.

## A MARINE LIEUTENANT TELLS WHY HE IS FIGHTING FOR HIS COUNTRY

**HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a portion of a letter that was sent by 1st Lt. Tom W. Swihart to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Swihart of Valparaiso, Ind. Tom is presently serving in Vietnam and is, as all can see who read his comments, a very dedicated and patriotic American. In the interest of supporting the brave men now serving in Vietnam, I place this letter in the RECORD and urge my colleagues' attention to its contents:

JULY 4, 1970.

Now I will try to explain why I extended to fight in Viet Nam. It is very hard to express in words. It is not so much for the people over here. I don't think they are environmentally or mentally advanced to the level it takes to understand the democratic process. They are aware of the benefits, but they cannot maintain the means. I cannot justify the why's of being over here as a government. I will say (and I believe strongly in this) that I am an American and an officer in the Marine Corps. I love both my country and my Corps, and I will if necessary give my life for them. The U.S. has given me freedom and opportunity that very few countries can offer. People (especially young people) are not willing to pay the price required to maintain the benefits that the United States gives its citizens. The young people do not realize what it is like to be without the freedom that America offers. A good comparison is an individual working for a firm. The firm offers you vacations, stock options and other benefits all on the condition that one works and maintains the standards and policies of the firm. I work for the Marine Corps. The

Marine Corps works for the U.S. Government. I am in Viet Nam because my Commander-in-Chief says that to maintain the freedom of America we must stop the spread of Communism. I hope that you can understand my way of thinking. I have a job to do! When I feel that I have accomplished all that I can do, I will come home.

1st Lt. T. W. SWIHART.

#### INFLATION—THE ENEMY WITHIN

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I believe that many in this body recognize that I have time and again called attention to the damage being done to our Nation, families and individuals by the ever-increasing inflation.

The inflation of this era is one that threatens every program of Government directed at improving and developing all facets of life and endeavor in the United States of America for all of our citizens and the present and future of our Nation.

It is an inflation that is driving people to despair as they dig into their pocket-books and wallets to pay the everyday costs of living. They see the value of the cash assets they have carefully and prudently assembled over the years for educations, homes, retirements and some of the better things of life drop, drop and drop and with the growing realization the goals they set for themselves and their loved ones cannot be reached because of inflation.

The sleeping national administration may not realize what is happening because many in key positions are people of great wealth. Thus, it is the duty of the Congress to feed, by legislative force if necessary, awakening pills to the President and his financial and economic advisers.

Our constituents are demanding action that will throttle inflation, and I cite just one example of how one citizen feels about the situation by placing in the RECORD an article written by Mr. Leo E. Schwarzstein of Englewood, N.J., in my congressional district:

#### INFLATION—THE ENEMY WITHIN

(By Leo E. Schwarzstein)

Inflation, the enemy within, is a far more serious threat to our society than would be another nation or ideology against whom we would marshal all our forces, military, social and technological, perhaps even suspending civil rights and liberties for the common aim of defeating said enemy. It is far more dangerous because of its insidious nature wherein the total population of the United States is affected, whatever the color, whatever the religion, whatever the politics.

The common denominator of our society is money—our economic system, indeed, even our government is built on it. But it is the people who are caught in the vise of inflation, for even as they sleep, their money is disappearing. It is not even safe in banks where there are forty million families represented (well over 100 million people). Tens of millions of persons dependent upon Social Security checks (who have spent a lifetime contributing to their personal fund), as well

as those on pensions and living off annuities, life insurance, corporate bonds, and veterans' disabilities are finding themselves strangled by the grasp of inflation. Even a man who works all week finds that his Saturday paycheck will not buy the groceries they could have bought on Monday. Patriotic citizens who purchase government bonds find, in seven years hence, that the money they receive from them (which of course includes the interest paid) will not buy what the original investment could have bought at the time of purchase. But what is the government doing to correct this situation?

First of all, why doesn't the government call in all the bonds and stop paying out interest? The savings from the payment of interest would add about nineteen billion dollars to the national budget. Simultaneously there should be a freeze on all prices, profits, wages, and interest, thus halting the continuity of inflation. In addition, taxes should NOT be reduced and the monies used for the control of air and water pollution and in cleaning up the ghettos. Bank interest should be lowered to one or two, thus encouraging larger lending to big corporation for their expansion, which in turn, would supply more jobs, thus reducing the welfare payrolls. One must realize that we haven't been collecting interest in the recent past. Let us compare the national debt of ten years ago with that of today—the larger sum of now does not include the interest that was paid in each of the ten years, so you haven't paid any debt, you haven't paid any interest.

As far as the average working man is concerned, there ought to be profit-sharing as an incentive which would improve not only the quantity of work being put out, but undoubtedly, the quality as well.

Even if these ideas are unacceptable or impractical for some reason I have overlooked, at the very least, wages and prices must be controlled or frozen until the government decides just what it does want to do. But something must be done—the government cannot continue to do nothing, to close its eyes to the agony of the people and deceive us with "cost-of-living index only went up one-half of one percent" nonsense. You have only to go to the market to find out how much things have gone up. And we, the people, must save the government. We must save the economic situation. We must save ourselves—and most of all, we must stop being the silent majority and become very vocal indeed!

The unions recently indicated their diminished faith in the integrity of the greenback by demanding cost-of-living adjustments for their membership, so that no matter what the government does or does not do about the economy, the union member will be protected. Even the mild-mannered postmen were recently driven to desperation by inflation and struck against the government they are obligated to serve. This, alone, should have been a danger signal to those at the helm.

History teaches us that inflationary trends portend extreme reactions—either to the left or to the right. A pauperized people may start to feel that there should be a general distribution and equalization of property, or falling this, a nationalization of same. In case you don't recognize this—it's communism. On the other hand, the German inflation of 1923 produced Hitler, for the nice people had lost faith in their politicians. Sweet words and big promises had failed to tranquilize the situation—as it is beginning to do here. Do we have to wait for a Pied Piper—who may not be benevolent?

In my judgment, both the government and the economic system under which we are functioning will perish unless something is done, and that something done soon. As an

ordinary citizen representing no organization, but concerned as all persons of good conscience must be I have some ideas as to possible steps that could be taken to cure this disease called "inflation". But before dealing with specifics, let me say that I consider the present organization of our government, that is, government by elected representatives of the people, as the only truly intelligent and safe form of administration and control—but we may have to give up something to keep it. When a man is stricken and the doctor orders him to bed, restricting his activity and diet, he doesn't talk about civil rights! He has to make a decision—live or die! So it is with us—we may be confronted with the need for such a decision in regard to our economic system. It won't be easy, but it may have to be done. As I said, I have some ideas on how to improve our economic health; I leave it to others to decide on their practicality.

#### THE NATIONAL BLACK SILENT MAJORITY—THIS IS THEIR COUNTRY, TOO

### HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, we all realize that the black revolutionaries are a small, though vocal portion of our black population. It is therefore heartening to learn that Negroes who stand for solid American principles have organized a committee called the National Black Silent Majority.

The goals of this committee are admirable, not only for blacks but for all Americans. The purpose of the group and the character of the people who comprise it are recognized in a recent editorial in the Chicago Tribune entitled "This Is Their Country, Too." For the benefit of my colleagues, I request that it be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 8, 1970]

#### THIS IS THEIR COUNTRY, TOO

A National Black Silent Majority Committee has been organized in Washington to speak for all those who disavow black revolutionary and militant action. Clay J. Claborn, newspaper publisher of Atlantic City and national director of the new organization, described its aims as follows:

"We believe that black revolutionaries and militants, upon whom some segments of the news media seem to dote, are not dedicated to progress for our people. Blacks don't want to burn America down. We want to build America—and, like all patriotic Americans, earn enough money to own part of this great nation."

The committee said in a statement, "There are millions of black Americans who work every day, keep their kids in school, have never been to jail, pay their taxes, shop for bargains, have never participated in a riot—but are being shouted down by a handful of black militants."

Constructive activities planned by the Black Silent Majority are to develop a strong two-party system within black voting districts; to support candidates who adhere to principles of constitutional government, law, order, and justice; and to recognize that while no country is perfect, the United States is by far the finest country available to blacks. The organizing members, coming from 22

states, oppose forced busing and communism, as well as crime.

It is gratifying news that there is now a group professing admirable principles which can give expression to what we have always believed to be the outlook of the great majority of blacks who understand that America is their country, too.

## RUSSIA'S OVERALL GLOBAL GOALS

### HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the following interesting piece concerning Russia's overall global goals. Written by Ray Vicker, it appeared in the Wall Street Journal of July 21, 1970:

#### SOVIETS LOOK BEYOND THE MIDDLE EAST (By Ray Vicker)

CAIRO, UAR.—In the office of one West European diplomat here a map of the eastern hemisphere stretches on a wall beside an air conditioner which doesn't work. Dozens of pins with colored heads are stuck into capitals of various countries: Green for an unaligned nation, light red if the slant is toward Moscow, dark red for a Peking orientation and blue when the pull is Westward.

Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania's capital, has both a green and a dark red pin, reflecting Tanzania's increasing coziness with Communist China. Pretoria, South Africa, has a blue pin only. "A map is a wonderful instrument," says this one time geographer who now serves in his country's diplomatic corps. "Here you can see visually how the Soviet Union and Communist China are both thrusting into the Indian Ocean area confronting each other just as both are confronting the West."

#### THRUSTING SOUTHWARD

The Soviet Union is indeed thrusting southward in a many-pronged campaign which may be obscured because of the current furor over the Middle East. To be sure, the Middle East does play an important role in that drive. Should the USSR obtain any influence over Arab oil either directly or through providing "advisers" for Arab national oil companies, it would be in position to influence Western Europe's energy supplies. That hope is reason enough for the Soviets to inject themselves into the Middle East.

Yet the Middle East thrust is only part of a broader whole. In the Middle East the Soviets are, first, interested in retaining their position as champion of the Arab cause even should peace come. Second, they want the Suez Canal reopened in a way that doesn't prejudice this first interest.

When this is understood, the overall global goals of the USSR become clearer. Those goals summarized are:

To increase USSR influence in Africa and Southern Asia including the Middle East.

To counteract Communist Chinese influence in that area.

To isolate America and its allies from this area in a sort of John Foster Dulles-style policy of encirclement and isolation. Anything which denied raw materials from this area to the United States or which increased prices of those materials for the U.S. would be a plus for the USSR.

The Soviets realize that to be successful in this policy they must have nuclear parity or superiority to the United States. This they already have achieved, many observers believe. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in

Vienna, if successful, would assure that this situation continues without the need for an arms race which might make it economically impossible for the Soviets to undertake other tasks in its global campaign.

Kremlin leaders realize too that to conduct this campaign the Soviets also must become a naval power equal to or superior to the U.S. While both Britain and the U.S. have sometimes seemed to be downgrading their navies in this nuclear age, the Soviets have been busily expanding first their merchant marine and now their navy. Navies are only obsolete in the nuclear age if nuclear weapons are to be the number one line of defense. The Soviets are gambling that this will not be the case, but that conventional weapons may be a decisive factor in world power relationships for a long while to come.

It is certainly easier to use gunboat diplomacy in a place like Dar-Es-Salaam, for instance, than it is to attempt any nuclear threats. So the highly publicized Soviet Mediterranean fleet is only one part of an expanded navy which steadily grows larger.

Already the nucleus of a Soviet Indian Ocean navy is shaping up too. For years Soviets have used their large deep sea fishing fleet as the eyes and ears for their navy, and last year the Russians gained a foothold at Mauritius, the small Indian Ocean island state which resembles the popular concept of a south sea isle.

Under an agreement, the Soviets are providing Mauritius with modern fishing vessels and personnel to train the Mauritians in deep sea fishing. There are now signs that the Russians would like to get harbor facilities at the Mauritius dependency of St. Brandon Island. Currently a cluster of Soviet naval vessels already is located on the broad expanse of the Indian Ocean, though the ships are somewhat handicapped by their distance from home bases.

Certainly, the trend of events in Africa and western Asia has in recent years improved the atmosphere for whatever extension of influence the Soviets contemplate.

In North Africa and the Middle East, leftist governments now rule in the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Algeria. In those nations the United States now is associated with "imperialism."

In Aden, capital of South Yemen at the base of the Red Sea, the Soviets already have filled the vacuum left by the departure of Britain. This vital seaport overlooks the entrance to the southern end of the Red Sea. The Soviets through Arab clients support Eritrean guerrillas who are trying to establish a new leftist state on the west side of the Red Sea. Eritrea currently is a province of Halle Selassie's kingdom of Ethiopia.

Russian influence played a role in last fall's leftist revolt in Somalia, the dirt poor, dry nation at the horn of Africa. Somalia's 8,000-man army now has Russian "advisers." The revolutionary council which took power has declared its intention "to develop socialism."

Close to 500 Russian technicians and advisers now are in the Sudan, a nation which also experienced a leftist coup. A \$100 million arms deal has been concluded in Khartoum, Sudan's capital, and Soviet military equipment already is pouring into the country.

Thus it is evident that Soviet clients have just about encircled Ethiopia, long a strong American friend in this part of the world. One of the biggest air bases maintained overseas by the United States Air Force is at Asmara, Eritrea. Somalia claims Ethiopia's coastal strip, a contention which the Soviets are likely to support.

#### Ceylon and Infiltration

At the southern end of the Arabian peninsula Russia is supporting rebels in Dhofar, a province of Oman. This sultanate is strategi-

cally located in a position to dominate the southern entrance to the oil rich Persian Gulf. A recent electoral swing leftward in Ceylon has opened that island nation to Communist infiltration from both Russia and Communist China.

The Soviets seem to have the inside track in developing India's Gulf of Cambay oil, while India consistently leans more to the Communist than to the Western camp. Singapore considers granting port rights to the Russians while Russia courts Malaysia using rubber purchases as a lever in political discussions.

It is the growing Soviet influence in that part of the world which helped prompt Britain to reconsider its policy on selling arms to South Africa. The U.S., however, still seems less concerned about the situation, for the Nixon Administration reports it has no intention of following Britain's lead in dropping the arms embargo to South Africa.

Communist China-Russian competition intensifies Soviet interest in the whole vast Indian Ocean area. In East and Central Africa Communist China is building a railroad from Dar-Es-Salaam to Zambia. It is the biggest foreign aid project Red China has ever attempted. With the railroad, one may expect propaganda specialists who will try to undercut both the West and the USSR in that part of the world. The Soviets have been trying futilely to counteract the project with warnings about the dangers of Chinese infiltration.

Recently, President Nyerere of Tanzania laid the foundation stone of a new naval base to be built with Red Chinese help at Dar-Es-Salaam. A diminutive Tanzanian navy consisting of six armed patrol boats already has been supplied by the Chinese. Its crews currently are being trained by Chinese instructors.

Any reopening of the Suez Canal would greatly strengthen the Soviet hand not only in its competition with Red China but with the West. Currently the Soviet east of Suez campaign must be conducted via the long haul around the southern tip of Africa. This slows Russian aid shipments to North Vietnam and inhibits development of the Indian Ocean fleet.

The scope for Soviet troublemaking in this part of the world is virtually unlimited. Kenya may see a struggle for power when elderly Jomo Kenyatta, the nation's first and only president, dies. The Soviets have lost ground lately in jockeying for position there but have not given up hope for a leftist swing.

Ethiopia, too, may see a power struggle when Emperor Selassie passes from the scene. This may be the time when Eritrea flares into a much broader rebellion while Somalia asserts its claim to a big chunk of Ethiopia. Soviet and Red Chinese arms feed rebellions in the white states of South Africa and Rhodesia and in Portuguese held Mozambique and Angola. Saudi Arabia and sheikdoms of the Persian gulf make prime targets for Soviet supported would be rebels.

#### A BARRIER TO RED CHINA?

The USSR still has not abandoned hopes for creating a southern Asian defense tier as a barrier to Communist Chinese expansion in that part of the world. It will be a lot easier to exert pressure in that direction once the Soviet Indian Ocean fleet becomes a more formidable force. This all adds up to a picture much broader than that supplied only by the Israel-Arab war. The war, though, to be sure, has provided a wonderful opportunity for the Soviets to press a broader drive which might be decades behind its schedule had there been no Israel in the Mideast to arouse Arab passions.

The Soviets seem little interested in crushing Israel in the present conflict, some knowledgeable observers here contend. The



Soviets have been clearly emphasizing that nobody now wants to drive the Israelis into the sea, but the Soviets undoubtedly will want to make sure that once peace comes, Suez Canal traffic will never again be subject to an Israeli veto.

It would not surprise some sources here if the Soviets demanded a right to station some troops along the canal, with Egyptian acquiescence of course, when hostilities cease. Failing that, Russia may offer the UAR technical assistance in clearing the canal, and those technicians might wind up on the canal indefinitely.

Having already gone so far as to station some of its military forces in the UAR, Russia is not likely to be turned easily from its overall global goals.

#### INCREASED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR AMERICAN INDIANS

### HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration has recently initiated an interesting, innovative program for the benefit of the American Indian. The gist of the new proposals can perhaps be summed up in President Nixon's special message to Congress when he states that the "Indians can become independent of Federal control without being cut off from Federal concern and Federal support."

The reactions to the President's recommendations have been overwhelmingly favorable. In one such editorial, "More Rights for U.S. Indians," the Sioux City Sunday Journal goes into various facets of this legislation, noting that its adoption would be a giant step forward. I believe that this editorial published July 12, 1970, merits special attention and therefore include it to be printed in the RECORD at this point:

#### MORE RIGHTS FOR U.S. INDIANS

President Nixon has put his finger on what could well be the right road to improving the status of the American Indian. In a special message to Congress, the President said he was proposing legislation that would empower Indian tribes or tribal groups to take over control and operation of federally-financed programs for their benefit—programs now operated by government employees.

In similar vein, Mr. Nixon also proposed that "every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its own Indian schools" by setting up school boards like those in other communities.

Additionally, President Nixon called for increases in federal funds for a number of Indian aid programs and asked Congress to set up a new position of assistant secretary of the Interior for Indian and territorial affairs.

"We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group," the chief executive said. "And we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of federal control without being cut off from federal concern and federal support."

Over the years, numerous government programs have been instigated to help the

American Indians. Most proved unworkable. Few basic problems were solved. But the approach by President Nixon—to give the Indian tribes the right to control and operate the federally-financed programs affecting them—offers the Indians a real opportunity to guide their own destinies.

Certainly a tribal council would be more alert to the needs of its people than would a bureau in Washington. Responsible tribal leaders acutely are aware of what needs to be done to improve living conditions and opportunities for tribal members.

As we understand it, the Nixon proposal would place in the hands of the tribes or tribal councils the decisions on where and how federal funds should be spent on their reservations. This makes sense. The tribes would be given local autonomy, to a large extent, which they have not heretofore had.

Some sort of federal auditing would be necessary, obviously. But the bulk of the responsibility should be left to the Indian leaders.

This would be a giant step forward. It would encourage more interest on the part of Indians in directing their own affairs; it would give them a chance, which in most instances they have not had before, to spend federal funds where they would do the most good, rather than having them flaked off in salaries for a bureaucracy that historically has shown an inability to do much about improving the Indians' future.

The course has been charted promising change in the direction of the United States policy toward its Indian population. Its implementation is long overdue.

#### TAKING POLITICS OUT OF THE POST OFFICE

### HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I suppose that the same thing means different things to different people.

For example, the administration's policy of taking politics out of the Post Office apparently means that political mail should not be delivered in one post office in the Fourth Congressional District of Kentucky—the district I am pleased to represent.

I offer as evidence a page 1 article from the July 18, 1970, Kentucky Post:

CLARK JUNKS SNYDER'S MAIL—U.S. INSPECTORS PROBE "A STUPID MISTAKE"

(By John Murphy)

Possible negligence and improper conduct in the Newport Postoffice's handling of Congressman Gene Snyder's primary election campaign mail is under investigation by a postal inspector.

Cong. Snyder confirmed yesterday he asked for the investigation several weeks ago when Campbell County constituents complained of late delivery or no delivery at all.

Newport Postmaster James (Bus) Clark admitted to The Kentucky Post yesterday he ordered the discarding and destruction of a portion of undelivered Snyder campaign mail after the May 26 primary.

Told of Clark's order, Snyder declared: "I am shocked, and think disciplinary action by the Postoffice Department is in order."

Clark, the \$15,700 a year postmaster since 1963, told me in an interview, he realizes now his post primary decision to throw out rather than deliver what he considered "useless mail" was a mistake.

"It was a stupid mistake," Postmaster Clark added.

Snyder observed the postmaster does not judge which mail should or should not be delivered.

Postal inspector Howard Hunter spent two days three weeks ago questioning Newport Post office employees about the discarded political mail.

But C. A. Maddux, chief Postal Inspector of the Cincinnati division, said the probe is incomplete and that he could not discuss it.

Snyder disclosed, however, he has received an "interim report" from the Postoffice Department that "negligent and improper action by the Newport postmaster and members of his staff was under investigation, and that appropriate disciplinary action would be taken where warranted."

Until The Kentucky Post talked to Postmaster Clark and then to Snyder, the latter said he was not formally aware that a part of his campaign mail had been destroyed.

"All I knew up to this point," he said, "is that some of it had not been delivered."

Jack Porter, Wilders, outgoing distribution supervisor at the Newport Post Office, said he noted the Snyder bulk mail had been marked received May 25, a day before the primary.

He said he made this discovery on primary election night, May 26, and that he and another postal clerk had distributed 1000 or more of approximately 1800 pieces for May 27 delivery.

"The remainder were gone when I reported to work on May 27," Porter disclosed.

Assistant Mail Superintendent James Merling, Ft. Thomas, a 34-year postoffice veteran, said he noticed several hundred of the Snyder mailing pieces had not been taken from holding trays and sorted for delivery by mail carriers May 26.

But the carriers were already on their routes, he added.

Postmaster Clark said he was notified of the mixup on May 27, the day after the primary, and decided the election mailing piece at that date "was useless."

"There was no political motive involved," said Clark four times elected Campbell County Commissioner as a Democrat. Snyder is a Republican.

Clark continued:

"I'm out of politics, I can't even talk politics since I've been postmaster.

"It was just a stupid mistake. I don't know why, really. I ordered the mailing piece thrown away, except that I considered it at that point of no use to anybody."

Clark said he has never before nor will ever again, make such a decision, even though mail is delayed.

Postmaster Clark explained he talked about the mailing with Merling after the primary and Supt. Harold Wilcox, Ft. Thomas.

"The decision, however, was mine," Clark said, "I don't want to involve these two fine gentlemen."

Clark said another Snyder mailing piece had been received and delivered promptly prior to the Primary.

Cong. Snyder told The Kentucky Post, however, he had alerted some Campbell County constituents after his own investigation revealed his first class mail "News Letter" needed one to two days for delivery in other counties of the Fourth Congressional District, while the delivery required 10 to 12 days in Campbell County.

Clark says normal procedure at the Newport Post Office is to give First Class and "political mail" of any class top priority.

He added, obviously Snyder's primary election mailing piece was not handled promptly, but that he had not been aware of this until after the primary election, which Snyder won 10-to-One.

Stan Sears, Ft. Thomas, a Newport Post

office clerk and president of the United Federation of Postal Workers Local 352, said similar instances of late delivery of third class bulk mail have occurred, but that it always was delivered.

Snyder said he mailed the primary campaign piece to Republican-registered families in Campbell county.

The total could have been more than 10,000, but the majority apparently was delivered, for only about 1800 appear to be involved in the late delivery or discard.

"Somebody owes me some postage," Snyder said.

Merling conjectured there are a number of "subs" working in the Post office and that they are not trained in the handling of mail, and could have contributed to the Snyder mail delay.

Clark said to the best of his knowledge the undelivered Snyder mail was thrown into a scrap paper baler and disposed of along with the scrap, which is sold to dealers.

**SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
CLIFFORD M. HARDIN'S ADDRESS  
AT THE AGRICULTURAL HALL OF  
FAME AND NATIONAL CENTER**

**HON. CHESTER L. MIZE**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I was honored to welcome Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin to the Second Congressional District of Kansas last Sunday for a tour of the Agricultural Hall of Fame and National Center. Secretary Hardin joined many national agricultural leaders at Bonner Springs to pay tribute to American agriculture—past, present, and future.

While at Bonner Springs, Secretary Hardin delivered a timely and warm address, which I should share with all Members and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The text of the Secretary's address, delivered July 19, 1970, at the Agricultural Hall of Fame, Bonner Springs, Kans., follows:

Chairman Keeler, distinguished members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted to be with you today, here in the heartland of America, where this shrine is being created for the agricultural industry.

The planners and sponsors, many of whom are present, are to be commended on their decision to build a living memorial to the role of agriculture in the lives of Americans.

This site will be more than a tribute to agriculture's inspiring past, even though historical accomplishment will be shown in the Hall of Fame, in the exhibits and replicas, and in the Pioneer and Indian villages.

Nor will it be solely a representation of agriculture as it is today, although modern farm living and the latest and best in agricultural technology will be depicted.

More importantly, an effort is being made to establish a workable, useful National Center for agricultural progress. I understand, for instance, there are plans for a professional associations office building, and a transportation building, for the use of non-profit organizations concerned with various aspects of agriculture.

Also, of course, there will be a library and auditorium where agricultural groups of all kinds can meet, hold conferences and exchange information.

A National Center along these lines can offer a balanced blending of historical interest, educational and informational value along with entertainment and recreation, plus a working base for constructive future efforts on behalf of the agricultural industry. This would seem to me to be in keeping with the intent of the Congress when both the House and Senate voted unanimously to grant a Federal charter to this undertaking.

To bring this about is going to take time and patience, plenty of hard work, and lots of money—donated funds, since no governmental financing came with the Federal charter. Somehow, a long-term method of obtaining sustaining funds will need to be worked out. I am convinced that all the effort will be well worth while.

The plans we see coming into reality here are certain to produce benefits of many kinds, not only for agriculture itself but also for the complex of enterprises that supply and serve agriculture or process agricultural products. In fact our whole Nation will benefit because when all is said and done, agriculture and agribusiness exist to serve the 205 million persons who constitute the consuming public.

Agriculture comprises the largest single market for labor and industry. Agriculture employs 5 million people, more than the combined employment in transportation, public utilities, auto manufacturing and the steel industry.

Agriculture is a \$50 billion customer of the American economy. Farmers pay more than \$4.8 billion a year for tractors and equipment, for example. They pay an annual transportation bill of well over \$4 billion to move crops and livestock to market. Out of the total of 17 million trucks in America, more than 3 million are used in agriculture.

Figures like these emphasize that agriculture is a dynamic, essential part of our total economy. It sustains hundreds of agribusiness enterprises that provide jobs for millions of people in cities and rural areas alike.

Much that farmers pay out goes for improved technology—new equipment, better nutrients and pest controls—so that more food of higher quality is produced from less acreage.

Higher performance in producing goods and services is sought by President Nixon's National Commission on Productivity. Agriculture has an incredible record in that regard. Its rate of output per person in late years has gone up twice as fast as that of non-farm industry. This great increase in individual productivity is one of the reasons that the average American consumer buys his food supply, even today, with the smallest percent of his income in history.

We face a special challenge to see that this capability is maintained. Agricultural people can take pride in the efficiencies achieved in food production. But to the extent that this has occurred at the expense of farm incomes, we must try to obtain corrective action. We must somehow convince our urban friends that the primary function of farm programs is to help farmers share more nearly equitably in the benefits of expanding technology.

The center you are developing here can help bring the role, the accomplishments and the importance of agriculture into better national focus. Here that great story so important in the development of our Nation will be told constantly and kept updated.

And in this heartland region much of the future action will take place. Our population is likely to soar by another hundred million between now and the end of the 1990's. In just the next 10 years a half-trillion-dollar growth in economic activity is expected. It is imperative that people—not the Government—make plans and decisions right now to channel a substantial portion of that activity to rural parts of the Nation in a way

to assure orderly, wholesome growth.

As President Nixon says, we have much in America to be proud of, and it's time we talked more about the good things that make America great. Here at this National Center is a good place to talk about, and show, and recreate the things that make agriculture great. This is a good place to bring America's national spirit into meaningful new perspective. I wish you the greatest success as you move ahead.

**MAINE WELCOMES ALL ON HER  
150TH BIRTHDAY**

**HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY**

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend an invitation to those of my fellow colleagues who are planning vacation time with their families and have not as yet decided where to go. I would like to make you aware of the fact that in my own State of Maine, events are taking place in which I am sure you would be very interested in participating.

This year, 1970, the State of Maine is celebrating its sesquicentennial year. Individuals, organizations, and communities from all of Maine's 16 counties are joining in numerous celebrations of this anniversary. Because of the natural beauty of Maine's environment, clean air, clean water, and miles and miles of rocky coast, our celebration is uniquely fitted to showing off our land.

I would like to point out just a few of the events which thousands of out-of-Staters have and will be able to view and participate in, in the sesquicentennial year. Such events as lobster boat races, fishing derbies, parades, clambakes, golf tournaments, concerts, flower and art shows, boat cruises, tours of historic sites, and fireworks displays are taking place throughout the remaining year and with each event, there is an opportunity for our visitors to meet and get to know many of the "Mainers" who make the State of Maine so delightful.

The State of Maine has a wealth of history to share with the rest of the country. One-of-a-kind events that have already taken place are such things as the "Pea Pod" races. "Pea Pods" were the first lobster boats and the people have rebuilt them and returned them to the sea. It was an exciting event and one which may not be available in any other spot but the State of Maine.

Another fun event which happens every Friday night until Labor Day is the old-fashioned clambake. If you have never been on a clambake, you know that this is an event not to be missed.

The summer theaters in Maine are famous for their productions, and this year they have dedicated their seasons to the sesquicentennial celebration. For example, the theater at Monmouth will feature the works of a number of great playwrights, with productions such as "The Tempest," "Twelfth Night," "The Lady's Not for Burning," and "Romeo and Juliet." Also, in the Bangor area, the Bangor Symphony Orchestra, which is

the oldest in the country, will premier a sesquicentennial chorale.

For those of you who would like to relax with a fishing pole in your hand, the Tri-State Fishing Tournament will be taking place from September 11 to 13, with the headquarters for registering at the Brunswick Hotel in Old Orchard Beach.

In the Portland area, there are daily cruises, interisland golf tournaments, a small boat regatta, and a log race for motor yachts.

The events are varied and much too numerous to mention here but I can assure you that they are exciting, unique, and enjoyable for the whole family—a genuine vacation special that can be enjoyed in the State of Maine. A few of many of the attractions are listed in a release prepared by the Maine State Sesquicentennial Commission, which appears below.

If you would like any further information on these events, please feel free to contact my office at any time. As a representative of the great State of Maine, and in behalf of the Maine people, I welcome you.

**THE MAINE SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION**

In 1776 the 13 American colonies won their independence from England and a new nation began its long and arduous process of social, cultural, and economic development.

At this time Maine was not a state, but rather the northern territory of the State of Massachusetts. And it was not until 44 years later, in 1819, that the people of the sparsely-settled territory voted to separate from the mother state. Soon after the vote took place, a constitutional convention was held in the First Parish of Portland. A constitution was drawn up, presented to the people and adopted. Then, on March 3, 1820, Congress accepted Maine as the 23rd State of the Union under the Missouri Compromise beginning March 15, 1820.

The emphasis this Sesquicentennial year has been on the "Past, Present, and Future." This year's celebrations were kicked off by a joint session of the legislature in January. Since then nearly every day has had Sesquicentennial events of one kind or another occurring throughout the State.

In keeping with the theme of the past, there are several highlights of this year. One of the most successful events to date was the presentation of "The Birth of the State" in March at the historic First Parish in Portland. This play, written by Bowdoin College professor Louis Coxe, reenacts the first constitutional convention in Maine with the actors placed throughout the audience. The play will be reproduced and will be available for distribution to Maine high schools who wish to present the play this fall.

The Sesquimobile, a museum on wheels, is another attraction which will be at Sesquicentennial events throughout the year. The Sesquimobile, sponsored and funded by the Maine State Sesquicentennial Commission and constructed by the Maine State Museum, is a 40 foot van containing many artifacts and information—both written and audiovisual—about the State of Maine.

Also keeping with the past, numerous historical societies in the State have published historical books concerning Maine and its inhabitants. These publications include: the Pictorial History of the State of Maine, Maine: A Guide "Down East," History Calendar, and the Sesquicentennial Cookbook.

Old-fashioned clambakes are yet another typical Maine event which will be sponsored this summer. Each Friday until Labor Day

an old-fashioned clambake will be held on House Island in Casco Bay. During the same period, daily tours will be conducted through historic Fort Scammel on House Island.

A highlight of the year occurred on July 9 when the Maine Statehood Commemorative Stamp was issued in Portland, launching the issuance of 120 million stamps throughout the United States. The ceremonies featured a main address by Maine's Senator Edmund Muskie.

In contrast to these events linking us with the past, many fishing derbies, golf tournaments, parades and other such events have been scheduled from Aroostook County to Cumberland County.

Fishing derbies include: A Striped Bass Derby, from July 24 to August 2, in Kennebunkport; A Tuna Tournament from July 28 to August 1, in Harpswell; a fishing derby, August 8 and 9, at the State Pier in Portland; and the Tri-State Fishing Tournament, from September 11-13, with the headquarters for registering at the Brunswick Hotel in Old Orchard Beach.

There are four parades scheduled in August. The first is in Kittery on August 2. Two will be held on August 8; one being in Wayne and the other in Norway and South Paris. And on August 15 another will be held at Washington in Knox County.

Golfers will also be able to participate in the celebrations when two golf tournaments will be held in the middle of August. The Maine Sesquicentennial Gold Tournament is planned for August 12-14 at the Riverside Municipal Golf Course in Portland. The Chebeague Island Golf Tournament will be held at the Great Chebeague Golf Club on August 13 and 14.

The Maine people are keeping the spirit of the unique alive in their observance of Maine's 150th birthday. There will be a Tailboard Flea Market in Kittery on August 6, a Whaleboat Ocean Race at Kittery on August 1, a reenactment of the Means Massacre at Flying Point, August 2 to August 7 in Freeport, and the Sesquicentennial Covered Bridge Motor Rally starting in the Portland area on October 11.

Unusual and old-fashioned celebrations will be aplenty at Wiscasset, when Fun-Cassett day arrives on August 15. The celebrations include a Nautical Action, Horse Show or Horse Pulling, A Beanhole supper, and an old-fashioned Country dance, an old-fashioned political rally, and tours through historic homes.

In sponsoring many of the year's events, the Maine Sesquicentennial Commission has financed the production of Sesquicentennial glassware, ceramic ware, and jewelry along with a cookbook and a book of the pictorial history of Maine. These first four items may be bought at many gifts shop throughout Maine, while the pictorial history, which is in the process of being printed, will be distributed to various outlets in the State.

The past events and the planned events of this Sesquicentennial year in the State of Maine—from Kittery to Bangor to the towns of "Down East" to Madawaska—has seen man joining man and community joining community in the proud celebration of their State, its beauty and its heritage.

**MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?**

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother

asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

**MRS. VLACHOS VS. THE JUNTA**

**HON. SIDNEY R. YATES**

OF ILLINOIS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Helen Vlachos recently escaped imprisonment by the present government of Greece and has written a book to describe her experiences. That book has been reviewed by my good friend Christopher G. Janus in the Boston Herald Traveler for July 5, 1970, and I attach it hereto:

"... BUT WHAT'S A NON-PERSON?"

(By Christopher G. Janus)

(House Arrest, by Helen Vlachos, 183 pp. Gambit \$6.95.)

"I see by the papers," said Alice, sipping her morning tea, "that Helen Vlachos, the Greek newspaper publisher and author of 'House Arrest,' has become a non-person in the Greek dictatorship. In absentia, of course."

"Fascinating, absolutely fascinating," exclaimed the Dormouse who was still half asleep but who never wanted to miss anything especially if it sounded like a game. "But what's a non-person, and how do you become one?"

Alice wasn't exactly sure herself but she didn't want to appear ignorant of something she was reading, and anyway she was glad to get a conversation started: "Well, a person becomes a non-person in Greece, in Russia or wherever there is dictatorship by doing something that displeases the dictators—like calling for free elections. They proclaim that such a person's name must never be mentioned in the press or on the air and in very severe cases must not even be spoken in private. If you disobey the dictators you are in danger of becoming a non-person your self."

"This really sounds like cats and mice," said the Dormouse somewhat joyfully, "but what did Helen Black Horse do?"

"It's not Black Horse, though she says that's how many people pronounce her name and it really was her code name when her friends planned her escape from Athens. Her name is Vlachos, and she is one of Greece's most courageous, dedicated women; and she is an excellent writer, too."

By this time the Mad Hatter, who usually felt rather superior at these parties, became interested and he, too, wanted more details.

"First of all," Alice was glad to continue, "Helen Vlachos greatly displeased the Greek dictators because she refused to publish her widely-read morning and afternoon newspapers in Athens so long as there was press censorship in Greece. And at the time she was the only newspaper publisher in Greece who refused to publish."

"Oh, Alice," said the Dormouse, "this is such a puzzlement. Why would the dictators object to her not publishing? I thought all real dictators objected to people doing some things but not usually to not doing them!"

"Let me answer that," volunteered the Mad Hatter somewhat pompously, "it's the kind of a conundrum I like: By not publishing her newspapers, Helen Vlachos vastly in-

creased her non-subscribers. That is, instead of having some 200,000 subscribers who normally read her papers everyday, she had nearly the whole 2 million population of Athens as non-subscribers talking about her because her papers were not there to read. And non-subscribers in England and the United States talked about her too. This of course displeased the Greek dictators very much and made them very mad for with everyone talking about her more and more it became impossible for them to keep her a really genuine and respectable non-person like the hundreds of other well behaved non-persons in Greece."

"Oh, dear," said Alice "this is a very strange conundrum, but since it's Greek, I suppose it's understandable. But I know this made the dictators very angry indeed because they put Helen Vlachos under house arrest for being a non-publisher and that is when she began to write her book 'House Arrest.'"

"But that can't be the end of the conundrum," said the Dormouse somewhat disappointedly. "what else did she or didn't she do?"

"She did something apparently very, very bad," continued Alice. "Instead of being quiet and meek and inconspicuous like you'd expect a proper non-person to be, she somehow managed to get a story printed in an Italian newspaper in which she called Dictator Stylianos Pattakos a clown!"

"Now what's so bad about that," remarked the Hatter, "every day somebody may call Spiro Agnew a clown or something worse and he doesn't mind. He just calls them some name right back like 'effete snobs.'"

"Oh, but it's different in a dictatorship," said Alice feeling quite proud of herself because she had the answer in Helen Vlachos's book. "You can call a dictator a strongman, a brute, a torturer—even a murderer. Those are good, strong words and instill fear in the people, and dictators can't rule unless the people fear them. But if you call a dictator a clown, and if he is Brigadier General like Pattakos who is in charge of all the tanks in Greece—why, that is very serious. For no dictator can risk being laughed at anymore than he can live with the truth. And, he, too, must sleep at night."

The mention of the word sleep was the Dormouse's undoing: "Dear Alice, can you tell us another little story, but softly?"

Alice put down her book and went back to her newspaper, but it seemed there was no getting away from the Greek theme. There it was, a report on President Nixon's brother, F. Donald Nixon, and his trip to Greece to conclude a business deal with the Junta. One of his hosts was Stylianos Pattakos, the deputy dictator who led the tanks in the takeover against the legal Greek government in 1967 and who, incidentally, placed Helen Vlachos under house arrest. He described Mr. Pattakos as "very kindly—he was a nice gentleman."

"I wonder," mused Alice, "whether Donald Nixon will be decorated by Mr. Pattakos or will he be made a non-person like Helen Vlachos. True, he didn't call Pattakos a clown, but who ever heard of a 'very kindly, nice gentleman' leading a tank corps. A dictator has got to be careful of his image!"

#### POEM TO PROTESTORS

**HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the young men in my district; namely, Sp5c. Clifford R. Srock of

Bradford, Pa., has recently returned from Vietnam. While in Vietnam, he found time to write various poems about the war and other related matters, and he very kindly sent me one of his poems, which I think is very well written and represents a true story. I am presenting it because I want to share it with other Members. The poem follows:

#### TO THE PROTESTORS

As I stand here today at this outpost,  
The one we call freedom's frontier,  
I think of my girlfriend,  
And the ones that I love so dear.  
I think of the days that lie ahead,  
And my family so far apart.  
I think of the things we used to do,  
And it causes a hurt in my heart.

My mind goes back to another time,  
And I think of another land,  
And then my mind returns to now,  
And the job we've got on hand.  
There are those back in the United States  
That hate our presence here.  
They hate the war and all the things  
That most of us call dear.

They walk the streets and hold up signs,  
And damn our presence here.  
But when the guns began to shoot,  
It's protestors to the rear.  
Well, we're not a bunch of heroes,  
We're just ordinary men  
Standing up to meet the force  
Of good old Ho Chi Minh.

Well, if some day we're bombed in war  
And their sons are called to go,  
They'll look the other way and say,  
"Well, son, I didn't know."  
"I didn't know that the reds would come  
And hit our motherland.  
I didn't know that you'd have to die,  
In California's sand."

They won't say they marched in streets,  
And held up protests signs.  
They'll just think of some other way  
To hide behind the blinds.  
They can't say that they fought in war,  
To keep the reds in place.  
They'll just say that they did their best  
To slow down freedom's pace.

Their sons will go, and some will die  
To keep their fathers free.  
What an awful thought to bare,  
I'm glad it won't be me.  
If we have another war,  
And I'm too old to go,  
I guess my sons will pack their bags  
And carry on the show.

But I can look them in the eye,  
And never turn aside  
And in the final moments  
With a heartache deep inside,  
I'll just try and hide my grief  
And take it all in stride.  
I can say to my boys,  
"Son, I really tried."

#### HELICOPTER LANDING FACILITY AIDS ST. ROSE HOSPITAL IN PROMPT TREATMENT OF EMERGENCY PATIENTS

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, St. Rose Hospital, a relatively new institution which has quickly become a center for health care in southern Ala-

meda County, has recently inaugurated a helicopter landing facility on the hospital grounds to aid in the prompt treatment of emergency patients. In cooperation with the California Highway Patrol, which provides helicopter ambulance service from the scenes of accidents, the hospital has installed a "helispot" landing pad to receive injured motorists.

This innovative facility is just another fine addition to the already outstanding emergency service at Saint Rose Hospital. In the 8 years since the hospital first opened its doors in 1962, the number of cases handled monthly in the emergency room has quadrupled.

The hospital, which is located in Hayward, Calif., adjacent to the heavily traveled Nimitz Freeway, is often called upon to provide care for traffic accident victims as well as for other emergency cases.

The new helicopter service was inaugurated on February 18, when the CHP crew and hospital emergency team demonstrated the new service with the help of a mock emergency patient. Since that date it has been a valuable service to the people of my district, and points the way toward imaginative, efficient emergency care.

The hospital's able administrator and president of the board of trustees is Sister M. Antoinette, CSJ. Her guiding hand has been largely responsible for the development and growth of the hospital services.

I would like to include the following article, which originally appeared in the View from St. Rose Hospital, outlining the expansion of the emergency treatment facilities and fine staff at St. Rose: EMERGENCY ROOM—A STORY OF GROWTH AND TEAMWORK

As St. Rose Hospital reaches out into the community to provide services, local residents look to the hospital as the center for health care. This is particularly evident in the accelerated growth of emergency and outpatient usage by the community. In 1963, the emergency room staff treated approximately 330 patients each month. Over the past seven years, that monthly figure has steadily risen to 1340 patients.

The helicopter landing facility is the latest extension of the services offered by the hospital's Emergency Department which began functioning on the hospital's opening day in 1962. At that time, the department was staffed by nursing personnel with physicians on call 24 hours a day. Within three months, physicians were added to the house staff covering the emergency room from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. on week days and 24 hours a day on weekends.

In 1969, Dr. John McGiff was appointed director of the Emergency Department with responsibility for providing round the clock physician coverage. Prior to his appointment, Dr. McGiff had been in General Practice of medicine in McLoud for nine years and in San Leandro for seven years. He recently completed a two week course for physicians in emergency medicine conducted by the Harvard University Department of Continuing Education. Offered twice a year, the course is designed to keep physicians current in new developments in emergency room techniques and care. During the course, Dr. McGiff worked daily in the emergency room at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

The St. Rose emergency room, located on

the north-east corner of the hospital, is equipped to handle most all medical emergencies. A heart lung resuscitator, cardioscope, defibrillator, apparatus to treat eye injuries, and an area for minor surgery are included in the vast array of equipment available to treat patients.

Equally vital is the ER team on duty 24 hours a day and especially trained to administer treatment in emergency situations. Backing up the medical staff in the department are Registered Nurses Joanne Cerruti, Eloise Anderson, Norah Bieniewicz, Jean Meacham, Barbara Reeder, Sandy Graham, and Joyce Pettay.

Orderlies Dave Johnson, Al Baca, Kenneth Graham, Thomas Wamer, and Gary Dickson; and Ward Clerks Patricia Pawloski, Linda Carter, Sharon Collett, and Joann Schwertscharf.

**THE FULTON-BROYHILL BILL:  
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE  
THROUGH THE "MEDICREDIT TAX  
INCENTIVE PLAN"**

**HON. RICHARD FULTON**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, to say that the Nation faces a crisis in health care is neither startling nor original.

We have heard this assessment from President Nixon; from former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch; from various Members of Congress; and from a host of editorial writers, news commentators, academicians, and health professionals.

There are, in fact, few Americans who would argue the point any longer.

Despite burgeoning governmental programs; the tremendous growth of private health insurance plans in recent years; a \$60 billion a year health industry; and a \$38 billion outlay annually in private expenditures for their own health care, the people of this country are viewing—with mounting concern—the widening gap between the promises and the realities.

We say that health care is a right, not a privilege.

But the difference between a right denied and a privilege withheld is of little moment to a person who needs health care and either cannot get it when he needs it or cannot afford it when he finds it.

And so we are far from the point where the goal that all of us share—adequate health care for all Americans—seems readily attainable.

But the search for solutions is on.

The problem is no longer whether we assure the right to adequate health care to those who expect it and demand it.

The problem is how we should go about it.

Let us be thankful that there is no shortage of ideas on that score. Already we have a double handful of proposed solutions and the likelihood of a dozen more being introduced in the months ahead.

And whether we are talking about the Rockefeller approach, the AFL-CIO approach, the Kennedy approach, or the approach taken by the Committee of 100, all of them advocate sweeping changes in our health care system.

For all propose, in one form or another, a national health insurance plan.

These plans deserve the most careful scrutiny, Mr. Speaker, as will the alternatives they are certain to generate. For no thornier problem confronts us on the domestic scene, none cries out for a workable solution with more urgency, none poses a greater need for hard, original thinking.

As Victor Hugo once wrote:

Greater than the thread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come.

The idea of national health insurance is an idea whose time has come. The question is no longer whether or not we need a national insurance plan. The question is what plan? And when can we develop one that works?

Early in this session—to be precise, in January a year ago—I introduced a bill which seemed to me to have considerable merit.

It stemmed from an American Medical Association concept and was drafted after extensive discussions with AMA spokesmen.

Essentially, my bill took a split-level approach to the problem.

The first part was designed to meet the needs of those presently covered under the title 19 medicaid program. Under the plan, each low-income person or family would receive a certificate for the purchase of a qualified and comprehensive health insurance plan.

This protection would be made available to those unable to pay for health care without cost or contribution to themselves, since the cost of the program would be borne entirely by the Federal Government.

At the second level, tax credits would be granted on the basis of the individual's gross income for the purchase of qualified health benefits coverage. These credits would be based on a sliding scale of gross income and would be larger or smaller according to need.

Since the introduction of that bill, a great deal has happened, Mr. Speaker.

We have held continuous hearings on the Ways and Means Committee from October last year until May of this year.

We have listened to hundreds of witnesses, heard dozens of ideas, and exchanged uncounted hours of dialogue.

Not surprisingly, my own thinking has been modified and rechanneled as a result of the experience.

If it is possible to identify a common concern, shared it seems to me by most, if not all of my colleagues on the committee, that concern is how we are going to control the costs of these programs.

Medicare and medicaid, for example, are beset by soaring costs. And they are limited programs.

How, then, are we to control the costs of an across-the-board national health insurance plan without bankrupting the Nation or wasting billions of tax dollars?

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today another national health insurance bill which represents, in my view, a vast improvement over its predecessor by reason of the fact that it encompasses a built-in mechanism for cost control.

I am being joined in this by my committee colleague, Representative JOEL T. BROYHILL of Virginia.

Let me outline the measure for you briefly.

"Medicredit," as the AMA has christened it, recognizes that our population falls roughly into three categories.

In the first are those who are unable to pay the cost of adequate health care for themselves or their families.

In the second are those who can pay a portion of this cost—small or large, but depending upon their respective abilities.

The third category consists of those with a reasonably full ability to pay.

For those unable to afford health insurance, the Federal Government would buy basic comprehensive health coverage by providing the individual, or head of the family, with a certificate that could be used to buy hospital and physicians' services.

Similar certificates would be provided for those with a law tax liability—say, \$300 or less.

Those with a tax liability above that amount would be given income tax credits upon their establishment of expenditures for qualified health care plans. The amount of the credit would vary with tax liability. For example, a taxpayer with a \$500 tax liability would receive 70 percent of the annual premium cost as a credit against the taxes he owed. A family with a \$1,200 tax liability would receive 20 percent against its tax liability.

Let me stress that this bill is based on net taxable income rather than gross income, as provided in my original bill. This seems to me an improvement, in that net taxable income screens out inequities in tax liability—thereby reflecting more fairly a taxpayer's ability to pay—and for that reason furnishes a better yardstick of need than gross income.

In order to receive his tax credit, the taxpayer would need to show that he has purchased a qualified insurance or prepayment plan.

A qualified plan would be one where both the benefit package and the carrier or group had been approved by the appropriate State agency, which would follow established guidelines in developing this qualifying program.

A Health Insurance Advisory Board, to be chaired by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and to include the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and public members, would provide the guidelines necessary to carry out the program; plan and develop programs for maintaining the quality of medical care; oversee the financial aspects of the program; and concern itself with the effective use of available health manpower and facilities. The Health Insurance Advisory Board would report annually to the President and the Congress.

As basic benefits under any qualified plan, medicredit requires 60 days of in-

patient hospital services, including maternity services; all emergency and outpatient service provided in the hospital; and all medical services provided by an M.D. or a doctor of osteopathy, whether performed in the hospital, home, office, or elsewhere. Supplemental benefits could also be provided under the plan and paid for either with tax credits or, in the case of those unable to pay, with certificates.

This approach does away with the need for medicaid, Mr. Speaker. Under title 19, we have been saying—even to the self-sufficient who can clothe, house, and feed themselves—"spend yourselves to the point of indigency, and then we will move in to help."

Medicredit reverses that thinking. It says, in effect, "the Federal Government will see that you get insurance protection against the cost of illness so that you will not be reduced to indigency."

An advantage to the plan is that it takes into account the varying costs of health care from region to region by dealing with commercial insurance companies, Blue Cross, Blue Shield, or any prepaid group plan operating in any part of the country, on the basis of an acceptable program reflecting regional costs.

Before going into the third element of this legislation, Mr. Speaker, let me express my conviction that the use of the insurance mechanism is essential to any successful program of national health insurance. Without Blue Shield, Blue Cross, and the commercial carriers under contract to the Social Security Administration, medicare would have been an administrative nightmare. In fact it becomes increasingly clear that the private sector should be involved even further in the medicare program, as should any other program that seeks to deliver adequate health care at a price Americans can afford.

To summarize, then, the bill does away with the need for medicaid and places all those presently covered by medicaid in the mainstream of health care.

For the higher income individuals and families, the bill offers realistic incentives to purchase comprehensive health care coverage on a voluntary basis.

The bill utilizes to the fullest extent the private carriers and plans and allows the competition of the marketplace to operate in maintaining cost control and insuring quality of care.

Medicare would be unaffected by this bill's passage, for only those under 65 years of age would be covered by medicredit.

Briefly, now, a word on costs and cost controls.

As wealthy as this country is, there are limits to what we can undertake.

An across-the-board national health insurance plan, operated regardless of need, will carry a price tag of sobering size. And no such plan I have yet seen includes—at least to my satisfaction—a mechanism which promises effective cost control of the taxpayers' money.

This brings us to an essential element of medicredit—its provision of peer review.

This bill calls for a constant and unremitting policing mechanism.

The appropriate medical societies would be charged with establishing a peer review mechanism that would, among other things, review individual charges and services, wherever performed; review hospital and skilled nursing home admissions; review the length of stays in hospitals and skilled nursing homes; and review the need for professional services provided in the institution.

The process of ongoing review can have nothing but a salutary effect on the providers of services, thereby cutting down on the occasional or unintentional abuses that would otherwise occur.

Patterns of abuse would be detected, and the abusers either suspended from or excluded from the program. Exclusion could follow action by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare upon the recommendation of the peer review committee.

In the case of fraud, or other clear intentional misconduct, the peer review committee would be expected to bring charges before the appropriate licensing body.

And in the event that a peer review committee was not established by the medical society within a reasonable time, or if established was not functioning, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in consultation with the medical society, would be empowered to appoint a peer review committee that would function.

I am frank to admit, Mr. Speaker, that I am chary at this point of offering cost figures on medicredit or any other of the plans now under discussion. We have seen the cost estimates of medicare and medicaid, for instance, drastically underestimated in the past.

I will say this, however:

Medicredit will cost a third as much, or a half as much, as some of the alternatives we have heard proposed. And its total net cost will reflect tax savings to the Federal and State Governments of the money spent on medicaid—about \$5 billion a year presently, about \$7 billion in projected increases.

Mr. Speaker, I am requesting that this measure be laid on the table for 10 days in order to allow others to study it and, if they see fit, join Representative Broymill and me as sponsors.

Let me now summarize briefly the provisions of the bill I introduce—the "Health Insurance Assistance Act of 1970":

#### HEALTH INSURANCE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1970— SUMMARY OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION

It is proposed to incorporate in a single bill programs for: (1) the financing of health care for low income persons; (2) cash incentives through tax credits for the acquisition of comprehensive health insurance coverage; and (3) a structured statewide system for peer review of utilization, charges and quality of services. The first two are incorporated under Title I, the last under Title II.

#### TITLE II—FEDERAL FINANCING OF VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE

As to what the first two parts of the proposal, the federal government would assist

in the financing of medical and hospital care for individuals and their dependents through participation in the cost of insurance policies of their choice—100% premium payment for the low-income groups, and graduated participation in the payment of premiums for other persons, based on their federal income tax liability.

Entitlement to benefits would be determined with reference to federal income tax liability of an individual in a particular year (base year). A health care insurance policy would run for a 12-month period beginning in the calendar year following (benefit year).

#### PART A—HEALTH CARE PROVISION FOR LOW- INCOME GROUPS

##### *Certificates for health insurance*

An individual having a tax liability of \$300 or less in a base year would be entitled to a certificate acceptable by carriers for health care insurance for himself and his dependents. Insurance purchased with such a full-pay certificate would require no beneficiary participation in health care charges.

The carrier, as defined in the bill, would present the certificate to the federal government for redemption.

#### PART B—INCENTIVES FOR PURCHASE OF HEALTH INSURANCE

##### *Election of tax credit or insurance certificate*

Federal contribution to insurance purchased by individuals under this part of the program would be scaled in favor of low-income taxpayers—from 98% if the taxpayer's base year income tax is between \$301 and \$325, to 10% when his tax liability exceeds \$1,300. A table of allowable percentages for related tax liabilities is included in the bill.

As an example: If in 1970 a family of four has \$6,500 of income, and uses the standard tax deduction its tax liability will be \$493. The family would receive a tax credit of 73% of the premium cost. If his premium for a qualified health insurance plan or policy is \$600, the taxpayer could reduce his income tax liability from \$493 to \$55 (\$493 less \$438). The same family with an income of \$10,500 would receive a 20% tax credit and reduce the tax liability by \$120 (assuming the same \$600 premium cost).

A policy purchased under this program will contain deductibles: \$50 per hospital stay, and 20% coinsurance on the first \$500 of medical services.

##### *Qualification of participating carriers*

To participate in the plan any carrier would have to qualify under state law, provide certain basic coverage, make coverage available without preexisting health conditions, and guarantee annual renewal. An assigned risk insurance pool among carriers would be utilized as appropriate.

##### *Health insurance coverage*

Basic benefits in a 12-month policy period would include 60 days of inpatient hospital care. To encourage utilization of less expensive facilities, two days in an extended care facility would count as one day of the 60 days allowed. Other basic benefits would include emergency and outpatient services, and all medical services provided by a doctor of medicine or osteopathy. These are minimal requisites to any qualified insurance policy under the program.

A supplemental coverage could provide, in addition, one or more of the following: prescription drugs not otherwise covered, additional days of inpatient and extended care services, blood in excess of three pints, personal health services when furnished or on written direction of a physician, diagnostic and therapeutic services, and catastrophic coverage of all hospital and medical costs, up to \$25,000, after the first \$300 of incurred expenses borne by the beneficiary.

**Health Insurance Advisory Board.**

A health insurance advisory board of eleven members, including the Secretary of HEW and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and other persons qualified by virtue of education, training, or experience, would be appointed by the President with Senate consent. The Board would establish minimum qualifications for carriers, and in consultation with carriers, providers and consumers would develop programs designed to maintain the quality of health care and the effective utilization of available financial resources, health manpower and facilities. It would report annually to the President and Congress.

**PART II—PEER REVIEW (PRO)**

Peer review would be employed as a system of review of utilization, charges and quality of services. As proposed in the bill, the Secretary of HEW would enter into agreements with State Medical Societies for the establishment by the societies of peer review organizations.

In establishing administration within a state, the State Medical Society would appoint a five-member Commission and a nine-member Advisory Council. The Commission would then divide the state into administrative areas, and appoint a three-member Local Review Panel and a five-member Local Advisory Council for each such area. All members of the Commission and of the Panels would be doctors of medicine or osteopathy. The Advisory Council would have consumer, provider, and carrier representation. If the State Medical Society would not or could not establish a peer review organization, the Secretary would create the Commission and carry out the peer review organization provisions within the terms of the act.

**Hearing and review**

Each Panel would consider and review information supplied by individuals, institutions, hospitals, government agencies, and carriers. Random selection would also be employed for peer review.

When the facts as alleged so warrant, the Panel would have authority to order a hearing of a provider, and the provider would have the right to counsel. If the provider is a member of a specialty or allied health service, a person representing such service would be required to sit with the Panel in an advisory and consultative capacity. On the basis of its determinations on the hearing, the Panel could recommend, but not impose, disciplinary action.

Any recommendation for disciplinary action would be reviewed by the Commission, which could accept, reject or modify it. If the Commission finds that disciplinary action is warranted, it will make such recommendation to the Secretary.

**Disciplinary action**

The Secretary will review and act upon a Commission's recommendation for disciplinary action and may impose a penalty no greater than that recommended by the Commission, providing, however, that in the case of a first-time penalty, the provider may be suspended from participation in the program for a period no longer than one year. Continued violations giving rise to a subsequent hearing and recommendation for disciplinary action would be punishable by longer suspension or complete exclusion by the Secretary from participation in the programs. Upon showing of course, however, the Secretary could reinstate a provider or reduce the period of exclusion.

The provider would have a right to judicial review of a determination of suspension or exclusion.

**Evidence in other proceedings**

Evidence and information adduced under PRO and determinations made with respect

thereto would not be admissible in any other action, civil or criminal.

**Notice to patients**

An individual under suspension or exclusion would be required to take steps to advise his patients that medicare (or other federal health program) will not pay or reimburse for his services during the period of his ineligibility.

**Protective action and communication**

Action of a Commission or Panel member, or the supplying of information in carrying out the purpose of the PRO program, would not be a basis for legal liability.

**Reimbursement of expenses; termination of agreement**

Expenses of PRO would be reimbursed by the federal government. An agreement to establish and operate a PRO would be terminable by the Secretary if the State Medical Society failed to discharge its obligations and responsibilities thereunder; or by the Medical Society by giving reasonable notice.

**WHAT'S GOOD FOR BUSINESS IS GOOD FOR AMERICA****HON. JAMES M. COLLINS**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, who was it a few years ago that made the statement, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country"?

He was a GM executive and proud of his company. But even more he realized that for America to prosper, it is essential to have healthy, dynamic business. Factories must be booming to keep folks busy on full-time jobs.

My friend George Heit in Houston sent me a copy of a speech made by Mr. Geneen of ITT. I read and reread the message last Saturday afternoon as I was working in my office. Mr. Geneen asks a good question, "Who speaks for business?"

We have a good man in Secretary Stans of the Commerce Department. Yet we never have him present testimony or recommendations to the Labor Committee. I have heard many officials from the Labor Department come before the House Labor Committee and explain a bill's effect on labor. But what effect the bill would have on business is not presented by a Government official.

It seems like a sound proposal to have Secretary Stans outline some points. How will the new rules affect production costs? Will it have any inflationary reactions? Does it help us in sales in the world competitive market? Are all Government regulations and redtape necessary?

In Congress a major target for criticism is business. The favorite internal enemy today is bankers. We want to know why bankers charge high rates of interest. We never explain that excessive Government spending is a major cause. We never say that the Government spends and spends and the private sector has only the residual balance. We do not mention that the United States with the best credit has climbed to a rate of 8 percent so industry has to pay more.

Bankers built my hometown. Men borrowed money, built business, worked hard, repaid the loan. Bank loans are essential and good bankers are a community's best assets.

Read the headlines. Who did we blast today? Are we after the oil companies? How many committees are working over the automobile manufacturers? How can the railroads operate their unprofitable passenger business?

Congress does give business some special attention. As a Christmas present last year, we gave American business a most repressive, negative tax burden bill to carry on their sore backs. So, is it a wonder that this spring there is talk of possible recession, narrow operating margins, tight money, and employment layoffs?

Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote some excerpts from the sound address made back in January before the conference board at the Waldorf in New York City by the president of International Telephone and Telegraph, Mr. Harold S. Geneen:

Today we are already into a new decade, but an adjective to be applied to the 1970's has yet to be coined. The "Insatiable Seventies" might be appropriate. The U.S. population now has an unparalleled desire for a higher standard of living, more conveniences, better accommodations, more luxuries and more leisure, and this will have profound effects on the changes businessmen will have to manage.

This insatiable demand results in increased pressures on government, both Federal and state, and on the American businessman. It results in such things as rising interest rates and a tightened money supply, on the one hand, and proposals for a guaranteed annual wage and increased Social Security benefits on the other.

These pressures sometimes produce highly charged and biased emotions, and with few exceptions this certainly has been true in our Federal government recently. We have witnessed threats of wage-price controls, accusations of economic concentration, unfair competition, reciprocity—real or imagined—and reprisals against price rises in basic industries. One glaring exception is the curious silence when labor demands, and often gets, contract settlements far above any increase in productivity.

Those in our society who just want "more" very seldom, if ever, realize that increased productivity is the only method of balancing the books for getting more of anything. With this in mind, we must—at the very outset of the Insatiable Seventies—look at what is really happening before, perhaps, it is too late.

One must step apart from our domestic economy and look at our position in the competitive environment of world competition; that is, competition against other nations and other people; competition which is not fostered, blinded or protected by our own government's internal beliefs or restrictions.

There is a serious lesson to be learned from such a review—a lesson that is particularly pertinent at the outset of the 70's because it implies changes that we have not contemplated. That lesson, harsh as it may sound, is that the United States is no longer and has not for some time been winning the war of economic competition in the "arm's length" arena of world competition.

In Europe, the last few years have seen the growth of a common market and an EFTA market involving some 300 million people, which is at least 50% larger than our own internal market. Not only have trade and custom barriers within this

market been eliminated, but advanced technology and mass marketing to match the market's size have come into being.

All of this has happened at the same time that improving productivity in these areas has to a large degree maintained its pace with ever increasing labor rates. In Japan, for example, labor rates have moved up explosively in the last 8 to 10 years, rising at 10% a year or more, but productivity in Japan has been improving at roughly the same proportionate rate. Thus, from 1960 through 1967, nominal wages in Japan were up over 200%, and labor productivity was up just under 200%. The result is that labor cost per unit of output in Japan has been roughly constant, and so have Japan's export prices.

The situation in West Germany has more or less paralleled the Japanese story. Wage increases there have not been as rapid, although they have been high, but the important point is that German wage increases have also been approximately matched by productivity gains. As a result, labor cost per unit of output in the German economy has risen only very slightly—at an annual average rate for all industry of 0.8% for the years between 1965 and 1968. So Germany's export prices have also been correspondingly stable.

#### THE U.S. LOSS OF COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE

Unfortunately, the United States cannot point to a similar record. We did reasonably well in the first half of the Sixties with regard to the relationship between labor cost increases and productivity gains, but since 1965 wage increases in the United States economy have been higher than productivity improvement by an increasing—and now alarming—amount. As things stand today, labor cost per unit of output in manufacturing (where we should have the best performance) is rising by at least 5% a year and perhaps more. As a result, U.S. export prices have risen nearly 15% since 1962, as a broad average.

In fact, the United States is way down the scale on unit cost performance due to a high absolute dollar increase in labor cost per hour and a very low accompanying relative productivity. The Bureau of Labor Statistics published figures in October showing the increase in productivity for the first 9 months of 1969 to be the lowest in any period since 1956. World market competition as a result has been going increasingly to more competitive economies; the share of the market traditionally belonging to U.S. enterprise is shrinking.

Nor is this competition limited to areas outside the United States. Increasingly we have seen the import, for example, not only of Japanese radios and TV sets, but now increasingly larger ticket items such as automobiles. Moreover, these products are produced at labor rates in many cases approximately one-quarter to one-half those of our Detroit workers, and with productivity effectively balancing their increases in labor costs throughout this period.

#### GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR BUSINESS DECISIONS

Under the circumstances, faced with these alternatives, one would expect that government and labor would be supporting the American businessman both morally and in substance. Perhaps, indeed, there is a lesson to be learned from Japan and Germany. If there is, it is surely the fact that their governments work very closely with their businessmen, supporting them in both risk and entrepreneurial ventures abroad, and in such innovative changes in form, size, and methods of business as they need at home to compete in world markets.

This philosophy of support by government coincides with sound management principles. Government noninterference has a parallel in the way that well-run corporate headquar-

ters give relative autonomy to the line divisions, which have to "carry the ball" and perform, to make their own decisions.

Here in America, however, while the demands of a growing and affluent society increase, and business is further restricted and regulated, the real problem, in my view, is the lack of dialogue between business and its critics. There is in many quarters, I believe, a complete lack of understanding of the pivotal position that the businessman must play in our future, as we move from our former position of unchallenged economic ascendancy into the highly competitive world environment of the Seventies. So the future of the American standard of living must rest largely on how successful all businessmen are in meeting the critical problem of unbalanced demand and productivity.

Leadership, intelligence and an understanding of the importance of the success of business' vital role in our future should be coming from our government. But the fact that government often does not lead the electorate with understanding of business is not necessarily strange in our democratic process. Voters vote for people. They do not vote for corporations. And, of course, neither do corporations vote, nor do they have the influence ascribed to them.

#### MOTIVATING EXECUTIVE PERFORMANCE

We think of America as a nation of entrepreneurs; the phrase "Yankee trader" is a symbol of an enterprising spirit of our people. Enterprise and merit were once the only limits to personal fortune. This "free enterprise" system made America great and powerful. As the world changed, the corporate system evolved, providing a means of amassing strength through a diversity of risks and security.

But mounting inheritance and income taxes weakened the entrepreneurial zing, and Congress was led to provide "professional management" with the incentive of actual ownership through the stock option plan. Today, in meeting increased world competition, we need this incentive more than ever, but we find instead a new tax bill that will penalize the profits of stock options; it will be far more rewarding to become a salaried worker than to identify with risk and performance in the future. Under such philosophy, we may well become a nation of expectant pensioners. The U.S. has dulled its competitive edge, and I am not sure it was even intended—but again, there was no dialogue.

I am not referring to any particular administration, nor to any political party. This tax revision is only one example. What I suggest is that a critical breakdown has developed in the meaningful relationship and dialogue between government and business. So perhaps it would be well to ask the question: *Who in government does speak for business?*

#### A BUSINESS SPOKESMAN IN GOVERNMENT?

We have a Department of Labor which is readily identified and prominent in the support of labor. We have blossoming varieties of consumer representatives—including a new branch of the Department of Justice—which act in the interests of consumers. We have many bureaus, probes, hearings, commissions and others that act unabashedly for government. But, in a period studded with plans for housing, for civil rights, for beautification, for minimum wages, higher taxes and lots more, where is there any government program of similar scope set up to help business? This is, when you think about it, a strange omission.

We do have a Department of Commerce with a very worthy Secretary as its head, but it acts basically for all of commerce and its many participants. Historically the Department has not represented business, nor interceded for it, with the other branches of the government and Congress. Historically

there is even a question as to whether it has been or would be allowed to act in such a capacity.

What business needs is someone who will restore the balance in government by acting specifically for business—creating a forum and a dialogue for the businessman in government—and being wholly supported in this effort by the government itself.

And so I would like to propose that the government recognize the importance of the problem by making either the Secretary of Commerce or an equivalent cabinet office fully and solely responsible for and responsive to the needs of business. This I believe, could restore the necessary balance.

I make this proposal because I think it is now necessary that a collective voice be given business in this and future administrations, on a level with its peers in government and in the form of a cabinet-level department that will unabashedly and openly speak for business and solely represent it in government. Let the dialogue finally commence—this is nothing less than sound economics and good management, and a necessary step to good planning. For we must prepare for the changes that will take place in the Insatiable Seventies if they are to be managed.

#### FBI STRUCTURE

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Walter Trohan, the distinguished bureau chief emeritus of the Chicago Tribune, is a close friend of J. Edgar Hoover and is probably as familiar with the operations of the FBI as any newsman in Washington. This is reflected in his laudable column of Wednesday, July 9, on the retirement of Cartha D. DeLoach from the FBI. I believe that Mr. Trohan's personal emphasis as well as his objective comments on the FBI structure is based on thorough knowledge of the subject covered and the obvious respect for the great accomplishments of Mr. DeLoach:

[From the Chicago Tribune]

WASHINGTON REPORT—FBI'S No. 2 MAN ENDS PUBLIC LIFE

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, July 14.—Today marked the first day in private life of a good and faithful public servant—Cartha D. [Deke] DeLoach, the assistant to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and a member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with time out for Navy service during the war, for 28 years.

No doubt he will be a fish out of water for a time—but a goldfish, as a top executive with the Pepsi-Cola Co.—because the FBI has been a way of life for him for so long. He was a son to J. Edgar and a brother to every good FBI man, and there have been few bad ones, largely malcontents.

When Deke announced his impending retirement, which came on his 50th birthday yesterday, there was a splashing of speculation in liberal circles as to what this might mean to the world's No. 1 law enforcement agency. Many of the deep thinkers on the Left agreed that this could only mean that the FBI was turning in their direction, as the Deke were responsible for FBI policy.

Nothing could have been more ridiculous, but this nonsense was widely accepted. So long as Director Hoover runs the FBI—and make no mistake about it, he does—the organization will continue to let none but Americans stand guard over our safety to the best



of its ability. Deke would be the first to say this, but he did not choose to become embroiled with men who are forever lunging into thought and generally missing.

The heavy thinkers said DeLoach was ruling himself out as a successor to Hoover. Yet there is no reason why Mr. Nixon or any other President could not pluck DeLoach from private life, if he considered his appointment as serving the best interests of the country, and he couldn't be far wrong.

Deke is leaving, as he had planned, for eight reasons—his beautiful wife and their seven children, including an Air Force pilot. One can hardly raise and educate seven children on an FBI salary. So when he became eligible for his FBI pension, after more than 25 years of service and on his 50th birthday, he elected to accept a post which Donald McIntosh Kendall had been holding open for him for some five years.

This day is not entirely Deke's, because much of him will always belong to the FBI and to Hoover. He is the embodiment of the loyalty, the sportsmanship, the personal presence and the devotion to duty that mark the FBI man generally. It is true that he had some fine qualities in a greater degree than his fellows, or he would not have gone so far so fast and enjoyed the trust and confidence of three Presidents and any number of Supreme Court justices, members of the cabinet, senators, representatives and a host of lesser officials.

For his farewell salute at the American Legion, where he has been chairman of the national public relations committee since 1959, men came from all walks of life, from all faiths and of all races. In the interests of accuracy it must be noted there wasn't a single Communist present, nor anyone left of center.

Deke is gone but the FBI is carrying on. His post is being filled by William Cornelius Sullivan, another man of ability and charm. And, if Sullivan should go, Hoover has ranks of dedicated and competent men to choose from. This is the way every good organization should be run but too frequently isn't. There is only one indispensable man in the FBI, and he is the FBI. But we can be thankful he is continuing to make so many capable heirs.

## THE ARTS MEAN BUSINESS

### HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert V. Hansberger of Boise, Idaho, is not only one of the great leaders of business on the world scene today but an equally effective exponent of the arts and the humanities. It was fitting that the Rotary Club of Salt Lake City, home of the world-famous Mormon Tabernacle Choir and Utah Symphony Orchestra, would ask Mr. Hansberger to talk upon business and the arts recently.

I include the full text of his talk in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that Members of Congress and the general public will realize what many businessmen, such as Mr. Hansberger, are doing to business and the arts:

#### "THE ARTS MEAN BUSINESS"

(By Mr. Robert V. Hansberger, President, Boise Cascade Corp.)

(A speech given before the Salt Lake Rotary Club on Tuesday, May 26, 1970.)

MADAM and GENTLEMEN: It's mighty good to be back. I've always enjoyed talking especially to Rotarians because throughout the

countryside, in fact, throughout other countries, I've found this is a group that makes things happen.

Maurice, I want to thank you especially for that very warm and very stirring introduction. As a matter of fact, as I listened to you, I decided it was almost the best one I've ever had. The only one that I could think of that might have nosed it out a bit was one that took place several years ago in the mountains of Idaho when I had the privilege and honor of being the commencement speaker for one of our local, small high schools. This was a school in Grandview, Idaho. I left Boise in my automobile for what was supposed to be about a two hour drive. It was a very un-Idaholike day: it was raining; and so it took me just a little bit longer than I expected; and I got to the local gymnasium just as the ceremony was about to begin only to find that the master of ceremonies, the man who was supposed to introduce me, couldn't get to town because of the weather, and I had to introduce myself. And, Maurice, there were things said about me that night in public that have never been equalled either before or since.

I'd like to make a few comments here—you're kind of a quasi-captive audience—about the relationship between making our living and doing our living. I think as we have managed to obtain a greater, ever greater quantity of human life in our country, the time is here—maybe it's a little more than here—when many of our people are beginning to worry about the quality of life.

Not very long ago, business, the arts and community problems were regarded as separate areas of concern. Yet during the recent two years of its operation, the Business Committee for the Arts has gathered considerable evidence to indicate that these supposedly separate fields are being effectively merged.

On the national level, business involvement with the arts has been increasing rapidly. And meetings such as this one today—of businessmen interested in the arts in the Salt Lake Valley—have been held in hundreds of communities throughout the country.

Yet the popular image of the businessman still too often makes him out to be a boor and a philistine. A recent cartoon, for example, shows one of our mighty captains of industry barging into a sedate gallery and bellowing out, "All right, let's see some of that art that's been beating the hell out of the Dow Jones Averages." Now, as a lot of you who followed the market the last few weeks would agree, that doesn't take very much doing today. Unfortunately, there is a little too much truth in that image. For example, it is now possible for those with no interest in art whatsoever to speculate in programs devoted exclusively to the timely trading of paintings and sculpture.

There is no question that as individual philanthropists, American businessmen have been a sustaining economic force in the arts for a long time. And businesses—more or less consciously—have employed the arts in marketing and manufacturing since the beginning of commerce. However, in the past few years, there has been an increasing recognition that the corporation, itself, has an interest in the condition of the arts in America.

It hardly seems radical now to say that the equality of life, enhanced by the arts, that is available on the community level to our young people, to the disadvantaged, to the elderly, and the great majority with increasing leisure time, should be the concern of all segments of society, including business.

In this light, most corporate leaders no longer regard the arts as frivolous or peripheral. Just as the concept of public affairs has expanded beyond simple concern for the corporate image, the potential of the arts is being understood in broader terms than advertising and interior decoration.

Kaiser Industries, for example, undertook a program to recruit, train and dress about two dozen young people as subscription salesmen for the Oakland Symphony Orchestra. These trainees, mostly from ghetto areas, and mostly black, were given contacts with businessmen on all levels. They brought back over 1,400 subscriptions and donations. And their period of training and canvassing gave them contact with the business world they might otherwise never have experienced.

There are two equally important steps for a business to take toward the arts. One is to see the arts as essential functions—as means and ends—of corporate involvement with the life of the community. This is the thrust or the point of the Kaiser idea, and of many other projects that have been undertaken by companies of all sizes across the country.

The second is to recognize that involvement with the arts, when tailored to the needs of a company and a community, can be good for business. While many business leaders are impressed with the importance of the arts in any effort to enhance the quality of life, they are also impressed with the practical ways in which the arts contribute to business itself.

Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS and a board member of the Business Committee for the Arts, put this point very well, I think, when he said: "I have never felt it to be a matter of corporate altruism for a company to erect its buildings, or print its publications, or manufacture its products in accordance with high standards of design . . . More is derived of time and effort spent in congenial surroundings than in ugly ones. More attention is invited by the well-designed publication than by the haphazard one. More hospitality is extended by the purchaser, however utilitarian minded, to the beautiful object than to the ungainly one . . . And so," he concludes, "the company that strives for quality in design, that respects the eye of those upon whom it is dependent—employees, stockholders, customers and the community—ultimately benefits most of all."

Many businesses have found that their arts programs helped them to recruit and retain personnel, particularly their highly educated employees who demand adequate cultural facilities for themselves and their families. The design and quality of company properties themselves were naturally an important factor. Many firms making direct sales to the public have long been aware of the usefulness of their involvement with the arts as far as packaging and marketing their products are concerned. In some cases the company's products themselves have been used as materials by artists, who in turn have explored new possibilities for their use.

Any regular reader of magazines over the years has picked up some good quotes from the ads entitled "Great Ideas of Western Man," which have been run by the Container Corporation of America out of Chicago. The relation of these impressive spreads to the aims of the company is no secret. Nor is it anything to apologize for. Container Corporation long has had a very profitable history of partnership with the arts in design, manufacturing, and advertising. Its chairman, Leo Schoenhofen, a man I used to work for, says, "A strong association of Container Corporation with fine arts, good design and great ideas helps us to sell our product. It elevates our salesman in the eyes of the people he calls upon, and it predisposes at least some customers to do business with us."

Not all corporations, however, define their interest in the arts in terms of sales. Most companies who are rooted in a community recognize the stake they have in making it an attractive environment. An arts organization which will help to enhance the community, encourage new business develop-

ment and perhaps even attract tourists and the press merits the attention of business in that area. Few companies will now consider a new location which does not offer adequate cultural opportunities. In fact, those communities with outstanding artistic attractions have used them successfully in advertising and negotiating for new industry. An improved community, which attracts new residents, can only be to the advantage of both business and arts groups.

The Air Preheater Company, for example, initiated a series of live performances by concert artists in the remotely situated community of Wellsville, New York. The series was the first in the town's 110 year history, and was for many residents their only contact with live performing arts. In addition to the regular series, Air Preheater required each of the groups to give a matinee performance for high school students which was paid for by the company. A large number of Air Preheater employees are college trained engineers, and the series was conceived by the company to be an aid in recruiting and retaining and motivating skilled personnel in a community of only 8,000 people.

John E. Sheehan, president and chief executive officer of Cohart Refractories Company, Inc., a subsidiary of Corning Glass Works, reported that Cohart had brought into the Louisville area a number of outstanding young executives and that the "quality of life" in that city had been a fundamental factor in attracting them to the community—it had also helped to prevent other corporations from attracting away the men who comprised the current executive staffs of Louisville's business organizations. Furthermore, he reported, it helped to keep in Louisville, or bring back, the city's maturing youth who go to graduate schools and who, in former years, frequently decided to go to other cities after graduation.

He asked Louisville business people to recognize that support of the arts in Louisville was not a charitable act. "It ought," he said, "to be thought of selfishly by the business community as a way of maximizing profits. It is, in reality, a business expense—not a charitable contribution."

Leaders in the retail industry have also found involvement with the arts to be a natural consequence of their stake in the vitality of the community. Foley's in Houston, The Outlet Company in Providence, and many others across the country offer assistance to the arts in one way or another. Here in Salt Lake City, A. G. Stores has twice received an Honorable Mention in Esquire's contest "Business in the Arts" Awards. By tying the arts in with their advertising, Abraham & Straus and Macy's in New York provide a substantial lift to local cultural organizations for whom the cost of full page in the New York Times is simply out of the question. And, of course, the ad itself is more interesting for its additional artistic content.

The Reader's Digest has found that support of the arts can play a part in employee, as well as customer, relations. Individual staff members are allowed to designate the recipients of a portion of the Company's donations.

The New York City Center reports that a large number of those who have contributed for the first time under this plan, continue to do so on their own and, in fact, tend to increase the size of their personal gifts as they become more involved with the activities of the Center.

Seen on a national scale, business involvement with the arts has reached impressive totals. For many years, the National Industrial Conference Board has conducted triennial surveys of corporate contributions to all philanthropies. In 1959 and 1962, gifts for cultural purposes were not considered important enough to rate a separate category

in the triennial survey. They were included under the heading of "Civic and Cultural Causes"—a category which accounted for only three percent of total corporate giving in 1959. In 1965, the first year in which "Culture" was assigned a separate column, the arts alone received three percent of the total. In that year, 540 companies surveyed gave about \$6 million to the arts. In the 1968 survey, published this year, 400 corporations reported grants to the arts of over \$13 million, or about five percent of their total giving.

A rough translation of these figures into national terms can be obtained by applying the five percent figure to the estimate for total corporate giving of \$900 million computed by the American Association of Fund-raising Council. The resulting figure—\$45 million—may be a reasonable estimate of philanthropic support of the arts by business in 1968.

However, even this considerable sum is only part of the total, as the triennial survey includes only those commitments to the arts which were reported as contributions. A more detailed survey was sponsored by the Business Committee for the Arts and carried out by the National Industrial Conference Board. The results, published in *Business in the Arts* alone received three percent of the for they indicated that projects in the arts, reported as business expense in 1968, apparently involved expenditures of about \$40 million—almost as much as was reported as contributions.

I travel a great deal in connection with my work. I just got back from Iran and Turkey. I travel throughout the country a great deal and frankly, I could say to you from some knowledge here in the Salt Lake Valley, I don't know of another community anywhere that really does as much in promoting and supporting outstanding cultural organizations in proportion to the size of the area as you do right here.

I'm aware of the fact that the very first statewide Arts Commission, or, as you call it, the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts, was established here, the first of any state throughout the country was back in 1890. The next one came along (New York State) as late as 1961. To me, this is an indication of how important the people here in this State and in this Valley feel about an involvement in the cultural quality of life of the area.

You have a great many world-renowned organizations in the arts headquartered here in Salt Lake. Your Utah Symphony is one of the best—certainly one of the best in the world. I had the privilege of hearing it in Boise; I think it's one of the outstanding success stories in the arts of the country.

I want to commend the people here in this area. I think you've set some examples for the rest of the country including Idaho. I hope you keep it up. Thank you.

One firm conclusion of these studies is that business is involved with the arts to a substantial and increasing degree. Another is that support of the arts is not the exclusive property of a few well-known companies. Eight out of ten corporations surveyed contributed operating funds, and four out of ten made capital gifts to the arts. And it is interesting that smaller companies tended to assign a higher percentage of their contributions to the arts than did the large companies.

It would seem to appear from these figures that a substantial beginning has been made. According to the surveys, some eight percent of American corporations made a contribution to the arts in some form or another. The total amount made available in support of the arts in 1968 alone, was something in the order of \$85 million, a figure close to that of support by the foundations, and considerably greater than that provided by the Federal government.

But I think it is important to remember that these impressive figures are the result of thousands of instances of local cooperation between business and the arts, such as have taken place here in Salt Lake City. A few national arts organizations, no matter how celebrated, cannot fill the artistic needs of an entire country.

In the final analysis, it is the quality and quantity of the arts that are actually available to people where they live and work that will determine whether the arts can play an effective role in our society. Communities such as Salt Lake City can offer further proof of the proposition that in both an immediate and broader sense, the arts mean business.

## DOWN THE BIG ROAD—BY THEIR VOTES YE SHALL KNOW THEM

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, William O. Walker needs no introduction to my Ohio colleagues—particularly to those on the minority side of the House. As publisher of the *Cleveland and Columbus Call & Post*, public servant, and exemplary citizen, he has been the conscience of the Ohio Republican Party for half a century.

On July 11, Mr. Walker devoted his entire syndicated column to a discussion of the shameful record our State delegation assembled on the recent vote to extend the 1965 voting rights bill. Over half of our Representatives were recorded against this measure which has been almost unanimously acclaimed as the most effective civil rights legislation ever passed. Twelve of the 13 Ohio "no" votes were cast by Republicans. Mr. Walker was not proud. Mr. Lincoln would not have been, either.

Mr. Speaker, I include herewith the aforementioned article in the *RECORD* at this point:

[From the *Cleveland and Columbus (Ohio) Call & Post*, Saturday, July 11, 1970]

DOWN THE BIG ROAD—BY THEIR VOTES YE SHALL KNOW THEM  
(By William O. Walker)

In this day and time, it is hard to believe that 13 Ohio Congressmen would vote to withdraw protection from Negro voters in the South, and support Alabama and Mississippi in denying the Federal government the right to supervise registration and giving protection to Negro voters.

But the 13 did. All but one of the 13 were Republicans.

Some weeks ago, Cong. William McCulloch (R) of Piqua, Ohio complained that Ohio Congressmen were not supporting him in his effort to get the Voting Rights Act of 1970 through the House Judiciary Committee and onto the floor for a vote. It is easy now to see why he felt so deserted.

The Voting Rights Act of 1970, was a special target of the George Wallace faction in the South. For it was the original of this 1970 bill that added nearly a million Negro names to southern voting rolls during the past 5 years. It was this increase in Negro votes that made the election of Charles Evers mayor of Fayette, Miss., and, all the other Negroes elected to public office in the South during the past 4 years.

Since one of the sections of the bill provided for Federal monitors at voting booths on election day, thus insuring protection for

Negro voters, the bill was especially repugnant to the old line southern politician, who, for years, has had a free hand in determining who can or will vote.

How any Ohio Congressman, knowing the importance of this bill to the rights of American citizens to vote, could oppose the bill, is beyond me. The only explanation I could figure out was that these Congressmen were either personally racist, or, are part and parcel of President Nixon's "Southern Strategy" program, which is almost the same thing.

It is interesting to note in checking the voting by state delegations, that Ohio Congressmen furnished the second largest vote against the bill. Texas led with 14 and Ohio was second with 13. Illinois, out of a delegation of 24, cast only 8 against. California cast only 11 against out of its 32 total votes. Pennsylvania cast only 8 against out of its 27 votes. New York state with 41 votes, cast only 5 against.

It is also interesting to note that the states that cast solid votes against the bill, were: Alabama 8; Georgia 10; Kansas 5; Mississippi 5; Nebraska 3; New Mexico 2; North Dakota 2; Oregon 4; South Carolina, 5, 1 absent.

Kentucky, although a southern border state, cast all of its 7 votes for the bill.

The vote on the Voting Rights Act of 1970, is positive proof that the voters of Ohio had better take a good, investigative look into the records of these 13 Congressmen this year. All of them are up for reelection.

The vote of these 13 Ohio Congressmen, indicates the extent the white backlash is permeating this state and the nation. The vote by the states also indicates the source of support Mr. Nixon is getting for his "Southern Strategy program." For instance, Gerald Ford of Michigan, the Republican leader in the House, and a close adviser of Mr. Nixon, voted against the bill. So did Cong. Arends of Illinois, another top Republican leader. Cong. Morton of Maryland, Republican National Committee Chairman, voted against the bill.

Both Congressmen from Columbus, Chalmers Wylie and Samuel Devine, voted against the bill. Buz Lukens, of Middletown, who made such a bid for Negro support in the recent Ohio gubernatorial campaign, voted against the bill. So did Frank T. Bow of Canton. Cincinnati voters should remember Donald D. Clancy, for he too voted against the bill.

The one Ohioan who did the real work for the bill, is Cong. William McCulloch of Piqua. In a letter to me after the bill had been signed into law by President Nixon, Clarence Mitchell, Director of the NAACP Washington Bureau, said:

"Our mutual friend, Congressman William McCulloch, has again demonstrated the power of a good man who is determined to achieve goals that will help his fellow humans. We could not have obtained passage of the bill extending the 1965 Voting Rights Act's ban against literacy tests if Mr. McCulloch had not very early decided that he would seek the extension, even though the Attorney General of the United States did not want a simple extension."

"The Congressman is a great friend to those who are working for civil rights causes, but he is a far greater asset to the Nation, to Ohio and to all who believe in fair play. He is a constant reminder that good will and compassion are enormously effective in bringing about constructive change when they are a part of the make of a man's integrity, skill, intelligence and great personal courage."

So, while some Ohio Congressmen did all they could to keep Negroes from voting, it was another Ohio Congressman who did all he could to not only get the bill passed, but saw to it that it contained the essentials for real protection of Negroes who want to and should vote in the South.

By their votes you should remember them in November.

### "A SENSIBLE SOLUTION"

## HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, as cosponsor of a bill introduced by Representative ANCHER NELSEN of Minnesota, I was particularly pleased to read an editorial appearing in the Washington Post on July 20, 1970.

Congressman NELSEN's bill (H.R. 18305) would direct the Secretary of State to transfer certain real property owned by the U.S. at the old Bureau of Standards site off Connecticut Avenue to the District of Columbia to be used as a permanent home for the Washington Technical Institute.

The distinguished gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. NELSEN, made a significant contribution to the problems confronting the District of Columbia when he carried the burden in the House during the 89th Congress of enacting into law the District of Columbia Public Higher Education Act, Public Law 89-791, that resulted in the creation of the Washington Technical Institute.

The students of this Institute are, from all reports, getting a good education and the graduates are getting good jobs.

I believe that Congressman NELSEN's bill is a sensible solution to the problem of insuring that the Washington Technical Institute will have the permanent kind of physical plant to provide growth to the Institution and broad availability to its training and programs. Accordingly, I commend the Post editorial to my colleagues as informative reading matter.

### A SENSIBLE SOLUTION

Rep. Ancher Nelsen's (R-Minn.) proposal to let the Washington Technical Institute stay on the former National Bureau of Standards site, along with the proposed new building of the Organization of American States and the foreign chanceries that are to be built there, strikes us as eminently sensible. The institute, which is now only temporarily housed in the old, but still serviceable Bureau of Standards buildings off Connecticut Avenue at Tilden Street, is training young people, most of them from the ghetto, for technical work in the trades, crafts and service industries. From all we hear, it is quietly doing an excellent job under difficult, makeshift circumstances. (All of the first students the institute graduated this June, we are told, are finding employment at good salaries.) Its lease, however, is up in another two and one-half years, which, even in an ideal situation, is obviously not enough time to build a new campus. And the situation that has been officially ordained for the institute at 14th and U Streets in the Shaw area is far from ideal.

A brand new campus would cost anywhere around \$70 or \$80 million, and where is that money going to come from? The U Street location would displace a large number of people who now live and do business there, and where are they to go? Tearing down their homes, furthermore, would deprive the city of the taxes the businesses at the U Street location now pay, and shouldn't the city seek to increase rather than decrease its tax revenue? And to put a predominantly black institution into a predominantly black ghetto area would further harden segregation, and

when are we going to start to integrate this city?

To let the institute stay along Connecticut Avenue right next to the Van Ness subway station (that would reduce the needed parking space), renovate the old Bureau of Standards buildings and build such additional ones as are needed, would save about half of those \$80 million and heaven knows how much time and agonizing uncertainty. There is still ample room on the 34-acre site for the OAS and the chanceries, particularly if you add the roughly 30 acres of the Diamond Laboratory across the street that will soon become available. Present plans would use the remaining space for new federal offices for some 5,000 employees. But these plans are still vague and there is no appropriation to build the offices. There is thus no harm done by letting feds look for another site, while the potential harm of buffeting the city's only vocational school about from pillar to post, as Congressman Nelsen put it, could be fearful.

### HONOR AMERICA DAY

## HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, most of us have been talking about the success of the Honor America Day which was held in Washington, D.C. The hundreds of thousands of people who came to participate and particularly those who contributed their time, talents, and efforts to promote it, deserve gratitude and appreciation on the part of all Americans as it was a successful day to that extent.

Unfortunately, however, there was a darker side to this Honor America Day experienced by only those who were present. It was disgusting and unforgivable. I am referring to the action of some filthy young punks and misfits who do not appreciate or understand what America is all about and are trying to undo the efforts put forth by loyal Americans on this great day.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for my colleagues and all Americans to read a letter I received from one of my constituents which very vividly describes the unfortunate experience she had on that day. In my reply to her, I stated that while there were many things we are trying to do to solve this problem the best solution, and maybe the only solution, is strict police enforcement of the law to protect the public from disorderly conduct, indecent exposure, and wholehearted support of this police protection by all Americans. If we continue to tolerate this type of activity, we will indeed become a sick America.

Representative JOEL BROYHILL,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BROYHILL: I feel that you, as the representative from our district should be aware of how my family spent "Honor America Day" July 4, 1970. As members of the tax paying, hard working, law abiding citizens, my husband, family and I decided to go to Washington, D.C., to participate in the "Honor America Day" activities. Our four-year-old looked forward to the celebration as she convinced her grandmother to join us. We also invited two

female Mormon missionaries to go with us as they had never seen Washington.

The first thing we saw after leaving the parking lot were three filthy youths with wet, dirty American flags around their necks. They alternately swung them at trees and bushes and then stopped to wipe their feet with them or sop up the sweat on their bodies. My little one wanted to know if she could wet her flag like the big people. My husband asked an officer to do something and he refused.

We reached the monument grounds and settled with people like ourselves who had brought family and friends to join in the festivities while filthy, half dressed and even half nude dissenters who were demanding their rights paraded among us. We were soon joined by a couple who commenced to lie down and demonstrate sex in the raw before 30,000 disgusted onlookers. This was hardly the show I had brought my two children to see and then it started, noise and jeering, beer bottles (one which missed my infant by inches) and then that horrible smell and the pain in our throats as we ran from the tear gas with our screaming infants and our gasping children.

Well, they have had their fun now, we decided as we resettled ourselves for the remainder of the program which we could not hear because of all the noise they were making. Then it began again, louder and with fireworks being tossed flaming into the crowd making it necessary for us to hold our children to prevent their being hurt while the young missionaries made mental notes to write home about and Mr. Hope spoke of 2 billion people around the world viewing the telecast.

Before we could gather our belongings together again, the gas hit us with renewed force & we were forced to leave in the same painful gasping rush as before. We returned home in disbelief. We had to promise our terrified four year old that she would never have to go to "Honor America Day" again before she would sleep.

That is how we spent honor America Day. I would therefore like to know when the so-called *silent majority* will be heard. When will I be able to sit in the shadows of the Washington monument without exposing my children to flag desecration, nudity, filth, vulgarity and bodily pain & harm.

When will laws be enforced. Or is there no law to protect us from these animals? Is there no law against liberating a truck by pushing it into the pool.

When will my rights be as important as their safety? I too want to be heard. Or do only they have rights?

Until I have the answers to these questions I must join the ranks of "sick America." I will stay away from the district because I am afraid. I don't want to risk my children's safety or expose them to the filth that walks the streets.

What are you doing about this?

#### CONGRESSIONAL VOTING AND HOW TO CONCEAL IT

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following editorial broadcast by WFBM-TV in Indianapolis, Ind., on July 13, 1970:

#### CONGRESSIONAL VOTING AND HOW TO CONCEAL IT

Centuries ago, members of England's House of Commons worked out a plan which prevented kings from knowing how each of them voted.

By 1832, royal reaction was no longer a cause for personal concern and member's votes were made public.

One hundred thirty-eight years later, House members in our own Congress are using the same plan to keep the public just as much in the dark as English kings were long ago.

It's true that you often hear or read how your Congressman voted. And under our Constitution, one-fifth of members present can demand a House roll call—a record vote.

The catch is that the House can instantly convert itself into a committee—the Committee of the Whole—to decide on amendments to important bills. Once this is done, a roll call cannot be demanded. There are voice votes. There also are division and teller votes, in which members stand or file past tellers to be counted. But no record is made of how individual members vote, and the standing or marching is done with Congressional backs to the press gallery. Few responsible reporters try to overcome that handicap.

These committee votes are not final, of course. But after the switch back to full-House status, only amendments which have been approved in committee are eligible for a final vote.

At this point, if a roll call is demanded many a lawmaker who wasn't present for the real decision making hurries to his seat and casts a vote which he thinks will please the folks back home. There's even a system of bells to signal when the critical time has come!

Fifty Congressmen—members of both parties—will try this week to change the rules so that amendments turned down in the Committee of the Whole also can be submitted to the full House and a record vote demanded.

We can think of no reason why the public shouldn't know where House members really stand on all important issues. If you agree, we suggest you wire your Congressman, or write him at once, and say so.

If you happen to have heard the argument that additional roll calls would take too much time, you might add that Indiana's Legislature has long employed push-button, instant, roll-call voting.

Let's hope that won't take Congress another 138 years.

#### NATIONAL SERVICE ACT GAINS SUPPORT

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing today the National Service Act of 1970 (H.R. 18025) with 16 additional cosponsors. This brings to 26 the number of Members who have joined together in supporting this drive for a comprehensive revision of the draft.

Those Members who are joining me today in reintroducing this bill are:

BROCK ADAMS, Democrat, of Washington.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, Democrat, of New York.

JEFFERY COHELAN, Democrat, of California.

SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, Democrat, of Maryland.

SAM GIBBONS, Democrat, of Florida.

MICHAEL HARRINGTON, Democrat, of Massachusetts.

WAYNE L. HAYS, Democrat, of Ohio.

MARGARET M. HECKLER, Republican, of Massachusetts.

ROBERT L. LEGGETT, Democrat, of California.

RAY J. MADDEN, Democrat, of Indiana.

JOSEPH M. MCDADE, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

LOYD MEEDS, Democrat, of Washington.

JOHN E. MOSS, Democrat, of California.

BERTRAM PODELL, Democrat, of New York.

HOWARD POLLOCK, Republican, of Alaska.

ROBERT O. TIERNAN, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

The original cosponsors who joined me on the initial introduction of this bill on June 10 are:

DANIEL E. BUTTON, Republican, of New York.

JAMES D. DINGELL, Democrat, of Michigan.

JAMES G. FULTON, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

SEYMOUR HALPERN, Republican, of New York.

WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY, Democrat, of Maine.

HENRY HELSTOSKI, Democrat, of New Jersey.

THOMAS M. REES, Democrat, of California.

JAMES H. SCHEUER, Democrat, of New York.

FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat, of New Jersey.

Chaos is presently infecting our Selective Service System and it is essential that the Congress enact comprehensive draft reform now. The National Service Act provides such a reform. I have had reprinted the speech I gave on June 10 in which I outline the proposal and include the text of the bill. I would be glad to provide a copy of this reprint to anyone who wishes more details.

Mr. Speaker, draft resistance in the United States has become so widespread and so sophisticated that the Selective Service System seems barely capable of drafting anyone who does not wish to be drafted. Young men with intelligence or education are so keenly aware of draft deferments that they can easily avoid induction while the poor and the uneducated end up fighting the war.

One of the most flagrant areas of draft resistance is New York City. Last year, local boards in the city had to send out twice as many induction notices as there were spots to fill. In the end, after mailing nearly 14,000 induction notices to fill 7,700 spaces, the draft boards were still short 524 men. These figures once again underscore the need for drastic revision of the Selective Service Act this year.

Furthermore, these young men who fail to show up for induction most likely will not be prosecuted and will not end up in the Army. According to Major Thomas M. Maher, head of the legal division at New York Selective Service headquarters, the Federal prosecutors have such a backlog of cases that only a few can be prosecuted. Consequently, about 2 percent of these delinquents will end up in the Army and less than 1 percent in court. The remainder will ulti-

mately submit to the draft process and, strangely enough, virtually all of them will be rejected for physical or mental reasons.

In addition, there are many perfectly legal methods now being employed to avoid service. More people than ever across the country are being rejected for medical reasons. The Nationwide failure rate is running now about 50 percent. In areas of greater antiwar feeling, the rate is even higher. For example in the first four months of 1970, about 67 percent of the people taking draft physicals in New York City failed them. Far from representing a degeneration in public health, the statistics show the increased willingness of young men to use medical reasons, even as minor as certain scalp conditions, to escape induction into the Army. During World War II an object of shame and disgrace to many, the medical deferment has now become a cherished goal of registrants.

There are many other methods now being employed by young men, involving appeals, C.O. status, stretching student deferments, and more complicated medical and psychiatric reasons to avoid induction. I need not elaborate on them. It is evident that, despite the claims of Draft Director Curtis Tarr to the contrary, our present Selective Service System is not working. Each extra day that we in the Congress let this system run will only create more confusion and exacerbate the frustrations of all our young people.

The National Service System, H.R. 18025, represents a workable alternative to the Selective Service System. Young men strongly opposed to a war could choose to serve their country in a useful civilian capacity, resolving the legal dilemma surrounding conscientious objection. Through our experience with such programs as the Peace Corps, Vista, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and others, we know that we can effectively utilize the resources, energies, and abilities of young men. Furthermore, much of the dissatisfaction surrounding the draft could be channeled into productive areas of our society serving an important social purpose.

Mr. Speaker, as the statistics demonstrate, it is evident that the Selective Service System is not working. For the Congress to do nothing to provide a workable system would be a tragedy of lasting importance. Steps must now be taken to halt the increasing student revolt against our inequitable draft system.

The National Service System is a constructive answer to our present draft crisis. Unlike the present system, it is both workable and equitable.

#### HOME LOAN ACTION HAILED

### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the action by this body yesterday to increase the availability of guaranteed home loan

financing for veterans and of mortgage credit for home financing in general will be welcomed by the vast majority of Americans who are in the middle- and low-income brackets.

Both of these measures represent steps forward in the continuing effort to help many of our fellow Americans buy their own home. However, further measures are necessary if the tight mortgage money market is to be eased soon.

I am particularly pleased that new mortgage funds will be made available to our veterans. In recent years, returning Southeast Asian war veterans were unable to purchase new homes due to a lack of funds in the mortgage market. This was particularly unfortunate since these veterans were generally in the lower income brackets and could least afford to go to the conventional loan markets.

With this bill, if the Senate concurs, these defenders of peace and freedom will be able to return home and start to participate in the GI benefits to the same extent that those serving in World War II and the Korean war before them were able to do.

The need for housing across the country is reaching a critical stage. Day by day the demand for new housing outstrips new housing starts. However, tight mortgage money has also been a major problem and hopefully these two measures will be a step toward easing that situation.

HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS

### HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 15, 1970

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our former colleague, Clifford Davis, came as a great shock to me and to the Members of this body.

Although Cliff served here as a Member from the great State of Tennessee, down in Mississippi we always looked upon and considered him as much a part of our own State delegation as if he were elected from our midst. He was Mississippi born and Mississippi educated.

Cliff Davis was a highly effective and valuable member of the Committee on Public Works. His interest and activity in flood control, river transportation, harbors and conservation was of tremendous importance and value to my State. In fact, Mr. Speaker, his service on this committee was of great value to the entire Nation.

He was neither partisan nor sectional. He was always ready to consider programs and projects of this kind irrespective of what part of the country was to benefit therefrom. And whenever there was merit and need, Cliff Davis came through with this powerful aid and influence.

Cliff Davis was an attractive man in person, manner, and conduct. He was exceedingly pleasant. He always had a good word, an interesting story, or a warm handshake. He was so interestingly entertaining that there was never a dull moment while in his presence. His politi-

cal success was not only attributable to the fact that he always served his people well, but he loved to be among people. He undoubtedly knew more people by name than any other public official ever to serve the citizens of the great city of Memphis; and indeed, they all knew Cliff and loved him.

In his passing Mrs. Abernethy and I have lost a great and true friend. We share the sadness that has come to his charming wife, Carrie, and to his family. We deeply sympathize with them.

#### JOCKO CLARK COMMENTS ON MODERN CONCEPTS OF SEAPOWER

### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, one of the acknowledged experts on seapower in the world is the famed Adm. Joseph "Jocko" Clark, USN retired, a renowned carrier commander in World War II and author of two successful books, "Carrier Admiral" and "Sea Power and Its Meaning." In a recent issue of Counterattack, Admiral Clark discusses some important aspects of "Modern Concepts of Seapower."

Because he puts the importance of control of the seas and the importance of the aircraft carrier so simply and so lucidly, I would like to place in the RECORD for the benefit of Members of the House some excerpts from his outstanding discussion:

We have a great sense of pride in the fact that an old friend, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, the Present Chief of Naval Operations, has been appointed by President Nixon to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Admiral Moorer, as an advocate of seapower and balanced forces, brings four decades of invaluable military expertise to the top military billet in our armed forces.

The primary mission of the United States Navy is, in summary, to gain, maintain, and assure continued control of the seas, and the air over the seas, as required in our national objectives. This control of the oceans and their airspace is absolutely essential to the security of the United States. This country is an island. We have only two international borders. Two of our states lie overseas. More than 99% of our overseas trade travels by ship. Our nation's military strategy is predicated on a forward posture, with critical reliance placed upon our overseas allies and our own forward deployed forces. Of the 43 countries involved in treaties with the United States, only two of them share a common border with us. There is no current plan for overseas military operations which does not depend on our free use of the seas. In Vietnam to date, over 97% of the supplies have gone by sea. Without free use of the seas, our entire politico-military posture loses its credibility.

The attack carrier is the principal ship of the surface fleet through which our Navy maintains its supremacy at sea. The attack carrier fills this role because it represents air power at sea. History has conclusively demonstrated that naval surface forces cannot survive in the face of a strong air threat without air superiority. The second basic mission of the attack carrier is derived from the principal collateral function of the Navy: to provide tactical airpower for the land bat-

tle. This collateral mission of the attack carrier is shared with the U.S. Air Force within our military strategy. Land-based tactical air is used where protected and provisional bases are available within tactical air range of the objective area. Sea-based tactical air is required where such bases are not available, or to reinforce land-based air where the tactical air requirements exceed that level which can be supported from available land bases. All overseas tactical air support, whether land-based or carrier-based, has at its prerequisite our free use of the seas. The great payload capacity of modern tactical aircraft requires for extended operations the continuous resupply of combat consumables in such bulk that they must come by sea.

The attack carrier provides the means by which airpower can be taken to sea. The carrier can be moved any place on 70% of the earth's surface covered by the oceans, without any international agreements or basing rights, within a radius of more than 600 miles a day and at speeds up to 30 knots. The attack carrier is a floating air base, complete with aircraft, ordnance and jet fuel, required to fly them; command and control facilities to deploy them; shops to support them; and men to maintain and operate them. When carriers are deployed in a trouble spot, they are ready on arrival for a show of force and to carry on limited war, general conflict with conventional weapons, or even nuclear war.

Our new carriers will have an important feature, nuclear propulsion with the advantage of steaming at high speeds for unlimited distances. The Nimitz class will have twice the capacity of the Forrestal class for aviation fuel and fifty per cent more aircraft ammunition.

At the end of World War II the U.S. Navy was supreme on the seas. The Axis fleets had been destroyed and our allies' navies were severely reduced through wartime attrition and post-war economies. The Soviets had no modern forces capable of sustained operations at sea. Since 1950, the Soviet Union has been embarked on a program which reveals an awareness of the importance of seapower and an unmistakable resolve to become the world's most powerful maritime force. For the first time in history, the Soviet Union is using a deployed naval force in support of foreign policy in areas not contiguous to its borders. Its force in the Mediterranean includes warships armed with surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles, amphibious ships with naval infantry embarked, and torpedo and missile-armed submarines. In the event of war with Russia, Soviet submarines would constitute a formidable force threatening our use of the seas. We must continue to develop our anti-submarine warfare to deter any overt aggression by the enemy's enormous undersea fleet.

The area of the world covered by our overseas land bases is constantly shrinking. At the end of the Korean War, we had 531 overseas bases. Today we have less than 170. Operational U.S. air bases overseas have declined in number from 105 in 1957 to 50 in 1970. The recent loss of Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya has eliminated the last of an extensive complex of U.S. air bases in North Africa.

The trend towards an erosion of overseas bases indicates that the attack carrier's role in providing overseas tactical air may now be substantially emphasized. The growing capability of the Soviet fleet is an expanding threat to our continued supremacy at sea. Today the attack carrier force is the margin of difference between the two navies. To preclude obsolescence and to maintain the capability of our seapower require a continuous infusion of new ships. The survival of the free world in a nuclear era does not come cheap. Our Navy's unique technology in operating self-sufficient and self-protecting carrier task forces is the foundation of the free world's seapower.

#### PRICE OF "FREE" TRADE

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, during recent days, no one has felt the pinch of our Nation's inflationary spiral more than the American laborer. With rising prices and the prospect of unemployment ever present, hard working men and women have cried out to the Congress to lessen their plight.

Two such groups seeking our aid are the textile and apparel workers: Two and a half million Americans who live in constant fear of losing their jobs because of the unrestricted flow of imports into the United States from abroad.

Last May, after 14 months of intensive discussions during which our Government attempted to establish voluntary limits on rising Japanese textile and apparel imports, the Japanese delegation left for home, refusing to conclude an agreement. This action leaves the Congress no choice but to approve the legislation which has emerged from the Ways and Means Committee designed to limit exports and institute an orderly marketing approach for American products.

In the July 1 edition of Justice, the publication of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, an editorial entitled "Price of 'Free' Trade" appeared which deals with this problem. With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I enter into the RECORD the above-mentioned editorial:

#### PRICE OF "FREE" TRADE

The collapse of U.S.-Japanese talks last month ends a 14-month effort to establish voluntary limits on rising Japanese textile and apparel imports. Over the past months we have documented in detail the spectacular rise of those imports and their increasing threat to jobs and earnings in this country.

Some two and one-half million Americans—many of them women workers, black workers, minority workers—derive their livelihood from jobs threatened by the flood of imports from Japan and other nations. Although they are not the highest earners in our land, their wages are like mountains compared to earnings of their foreign counterparts.

The unbending, take-it-or-leave-it stance of the Japanese negotiators who came to Washington was a great shock to the Nixon Administration. Indeed, it had opposed import quotas and insisted that voluntary limitation could be negotiated. On May 12, Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans expressed optimism before the House Ways and Means Committee.

It couldn't be done. After three days of futility, the Japanese headed for home and Commerce Secretary Stans headed back to the committee to tell Chairman Wilbur Mills and his conferees that all had been in vain and that the need for legislated limitations was urgent.

Champions of "free" trade are victims of a beautiful fiction. It exists nowhere in the world; foreign nations are enmeshed in webs of regulations, controls, tariffs, quotas, voluntary limitations and reciprocal deals which they defend in the name of their national interests.

Not the least of these is Japan herself. Largely through our open trade policy and

other help, she has admirably lifted herself from the ashes of war to become the world's third largest industrial power. In seeking import limits we are not denying largess to a struggling, impoverished nation. We are seeking to safeguard an average U.S. rate for apparel workers—union and non-union—of \$2.31 an hour against a Japanese rate of 39 cents.

Domestically, we have legislated such safeguards within our own nation, embodying concepts of decency into federal minimum wage and maximum hours prescriptions. Yet, it has been held that just because they exist in Japan—even though the product competes in the U.S.—we should accept work conditions worse than those that flourish in vestigial anti-union areas and against which we battled successfully in 1909.

The facts are that two-thirds of our \$1.5 billion trade deficit with Japan is in textiles and apparel; that Japan has not been averse to establishing limitations on wool and man-made fiber textiles and products, such as we have sought, with the European Economic Community, Canada, the United Kingdom and other countries; that her own foreign policy is the most restrictive among the major powers.

The McIntyre bill in the Senate parallels the Mills bill in the House. Both should be approved speedily and without fuss. Both bills provide for sharing the market and establish a basis for subsequent voluntary agreements. It is a shame that in view of the import threat to New York's largest industry, the keystone to the state's economy, neither Senator Jacob Javits nor Senator Charles Goodell have come out for these bills.

"Free" trade does not mean chaotic or viciously competitive trade. Our international goodwill has long been clear through aid and good works throughout the world. It needs no defense. And it is not to be measured by a readiness to underwrite low wages and soaring profits for foreign capitalists—or bargain-hunting American retailers—with the bread and butter of American workers and their families.

#### BIRTHDAY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAILE SELASSIE I— JULY 23

### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I would like to take this opportunity to extend our warmest regards and best wishes to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia on this his 79th birthday.

His Imperial Majesty has ruled Ethiopia for over 50 years. During his reign, he has proven to be one of the leading architects of African unity and world peace. He gave of himself unstintingly in an effort to bring an end to the civil conflict in Nigeria. His pioneer efforts led to the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa.

As Emperor of Ethiopia, he has endeavored to achieve objectives which are common to nations dedicated to peace throughout the world. He has improved health and educational facilities and extended the communication system within Ethiopia. These and other comparable efforts have profoundly affected the economic and social development of his proud and ancient nation.

He has also endeavored to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual respect which exist between our two nations, a relationship which dates back to 1903 when the first treaty between our two nations was signed. Thus, I take special pleasure in sending greetings and the best wishes of the American people to this dynamic leader who has proven to be one of Africa's truly great statesmen and a guiding force in mankind's quest for world peace.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—AS RELEVANT TODAY AS 11 YEARS AGO

### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 15, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we recently celebrated the 194th anniversary of our Nation's birth. What were we honoring? Why honor America?

Mr. Speaker, we were attempting to do honor to those most fundamental principles which, over the decades, have made this country great and strong and free. We were honoring the determination of our forefathers, the determination of men and women from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds who struggled to build a country based on the principles of equality, justice, and humanity—priceless rights which cannot and should not be denied to any living human being.

Yet, as these words are spoken there are 1.1 billion people in over 25 nations who are being denied these basic human rights. These nations, all under Communist domination, are the captive nations of the world.

In July of 1959, the 86th Congress of the United States adopted the Captive Nations Week resolution, now Public Law 86-90, to dramatize the plight of the many European nations which at that time were helpless pawns of the Soviet Union. The 86th Congress was acutely aware of an expanding Communist threat in the world, but at that time we could not predict that the observance of Captive Nations Week would be as relevant today as at any previous time in its 11-year history.

For years we have watched the Soviet orbit of influence grow to a point where their leaders could publicly state that their ultimate goal was complete world domination. I need not dwell on the ruthless suppression of uprisings in Poland and Hungary in 1956. Only 2 years ago the free peoples of the world watched in horror and indignation as Soviet tanks and troops crushed the brief but gallant surge toward freedom by the people of Czechoslovakia. The condemnation which resounded throughout the free world in 1968 had little effect on the Soviet Union, except to allow them the opportunity of expounding the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty which they used to justify this breach of the Slovak people's human rights.

As we view the world today, the Communist leaders persist in oppressing

these nations and encouraging the repression of their people's God-given human rights. Today the threat of communism shadows not just the people of Europe and Asia. Communist influence is spreading also in South America and Africa. We are constantly reminded of the classic Communist tactics of subversion and infiltration with which they still hope to conquer the entire world. We have been told by many world leaders that communism holds no threat to peace, yet there has been no evident change in the nature of Communist control, of its totalitarian trappings, or of its imperialistic tendencies.

For these reasons, the week of July 12-18 was a week of rededication for all of the free people of the world. We must not only rededicate ourselves to the principle that all people should be free, but we must work to give this purpose active and concrete expression here in Congress. It is not enough for us to say that we recognize the problem and then sit by and let this cancer infect countless others. Now is the time to use the force of world opinion to change the lives of millions of captive people.

It is time that the free nations of the world reexamined the nature of Communist domination in those countries which remain under the heel of Soviet oppressive might. It is time we reexamined the kind of life which is characteristic of a Communist-controlled country. We have seen—but too often we forget—the stark border zones, the minefields, the barbed-wired barricades, the armed guardtowers, and watchdogs, combining to create the impression of a nationwide concentration camp. These realities of Iron Curtain life should remind us that the autocratic rule of Communist leaders continues and that the physical, moral, and spiritual enslavement of these people does nothing more than subordinate basic human values to the requirement of maintaining unrepresentative minority regimes in power.

I urge the President and my fellow colleagues to implement this legislation by bringing these atrocities of human denial to the attention of the entire world. The observance of Captive Nations Week is a moral obligation for all of us who profess our belief in freedom, equality, and equal opportunity. We have made progress in achieving civil rights for minority groups in our own country, but let us not forget that our goal is freedom and self-determination for all mankind. The people of the oppressed nations deserve our every effort, through pressure on the United Nations and through pressure on individual governments, to help them gain their inalienable right of independence.

#### MAINE'S VACATION CRUISES—A NEW ERA

### HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, a new era is beginning for all of our citizens who

would enjoy vacationing in Maine: cruising her coast and visiting her villages. I refer particularly to the boom in coastal cruising, as noted in the July issue of a foremost Maine publication, *Down East* magazine. More exciting blue water cruises are being planned, as articles in the *Maine Sunday Telegram* also explain. At this point in the *RECORD*, I would like to include the articles on Maine cruise vacations from *Down East* magazine and the *Maine Sunday Telegram*:

[From *Down East* magazine, July 1970]

NORTH BY EAST

When the oceangoing ferry, *Prince of Fundy*, sails June 20th on her maiden overnight voyage from Portland, Maine to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia she will be inaugurating a new era in water transportation along the down east coast.

Reservations for 1000 passengers and 175 vehicles aboard the new 393-foot, Swedish-owned vessel were booked weeks in advance of her initial run 200 miles across the Gulf of Maine. Not since the "Boston Boat"—the steamships *Camden* and *Belfast*—stopped sailing from Boston to Bangor in the early 1930s have such luxurious accommodations been offered the maritime traveler to Maine. *Prince of Fundy* has cabin berths for 500, two restaurants, dance orchestras, cocktail lounges, gift shops and a casino.

After Eastern Steamship Lines ceased operations in Maine, it was more than twenty years before another large passenger vessel again plied the coast. Then, in 1956, the Canadian National Railway's ferry, the 346-foot *Bluenose*, with a capacity for 600 passengers and 150 vehicles, began her run from Bar Harbor to Yarmouth. She continues to provide daytime service, although in recent years she has had to turn away customers during the peak summer months.

*Bluenose* and *Prince of Fundy*, however, will not be the only large motor vessels carrying passengers in Maine waters this summer. The *Mount Vernon* of the American and Canadian Lines is due down east in late August on a "mini-cruise" from Rhode Island. She is the first of such cruise ships that may become a familiar sight on the Maine coast. At the instigation of James V. Day of Brewer and Kennebunk, a member of the Federal Maritime Commission, a research firm in Washington, D.C. is studying the feasibility of other large vacation cruise ships operation in Maine and the Maritimes during the summer as they do in Florida and the Caribbean in the winter months.

All signs indicate that the transportation cycle of steamship to railroad and railroad to automobile may be coming full circle; that once more a journey to Maine by water will be as much a summertime pleasure in this modern day as when a steamer's whistle signaled the early morning arrival of the Boston Boat a generation ago.

[From the *Maine Sunday Telegram*,  
Oct. 12, 1969]

#### MAINE'S BUSINESS—STEEL CRUISE SHIP RUNS LIKELY ALONG COAST IN 1970

(By Frank Sleeper)

Maine is likely to have at least one steel cruise ship making one or two runs along its coast next summer. It will be the 110-foot, 98-ton *Mount Hope* of the American Canadian Line Inc.

Authority for that statement is Luther Blount, president of Blount Marine Corp., Warren, R.I., and also head of the American Canadian Line, who has moved into the cruise business after years of building craft in his big Warren shipyard. He's also considering the construction of a second similar vessel and, if that's built, the *Maine Coast* will have more American Canadian Line cruises.

Blount says the vessel will stop at Port-

land, Boothbay Harbor, Rockland, Castine, Camden, Bucks Harbor, Seal Harbor and perhaps go on to Bangor.

Actually, Blount had planned a 12-day island hopping Maine coast cruise for the past summer—but because of procedural problems which no longer exist it never came off.

It appears that the Mount Hope arrival on the Maine coast scene is going to be the first tangible result of a speech by James V. Day, vice chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, March 28, in Portland, in which he proposed a cruise vessel for the Maine coast. But there may be more results.

Edward Langlois, general manager of the Maine Port Authority, and Robert O. E. Elliot, head of the Department of Economic Development's Vacation-Travel Division, set out to look over the field after Day made his suggestion.

On May 7, the two met with representatives of the Moore-McCormack Line at New York. The feasibility of setting up a passenger cruise service starting in Boston and covering a two-week trip along the Maine coast was discussed. The meeting determined the need for a market survey to estimate traffic for such a venture. That survey would be up to someone other than Moore-McCormack, possibly the state.

Later in May Langlois and George W. Garrett, executive secretary of the Greater Portland Chamber of Commerce, met with representatives of American Export Industries Inc. There was some discussion of choosing the Independence or Constitution, not now in use, for such a cruise. Here again, it appears that a feasibility study would be required.

On June 3, Elliot and Langlois met with members of the Diners-Fugazy Sales Corp. to discuss any interest that firm might have in a cruise service along the coast of Maine. Louis V. Fugazy, president of the firm, was among those attending.

Diners-Fugazy officials asked for as much literature as possible about the Maine coast. And they agreed with the other firms that a market study would have to be made before any "major" financial investment was undertaken. It was felt that a smaller vessel than the large Moore-McCormack Argentina or Brazil should be used. The Meteor, 296 feet long and capable of carrying 160 passengers, was suggested.

The matter was also discussed with John W. Harrington, Washington, of Seven Seas Agency Inc., a research consultant firm. Harrington is a friend of Langlois. He recommended a feasibility study, pointing out some of the questions to be asked in such a study. And Harrington further said that the cruise should probably be available year-round, tying in with winter sports.

Then Blount came forward with something more concrete. Obviously, the Mount Hope would show what the demand is for a Maine cruise ship.

There still might be the need for a feasibility study for larger vessels, though Blount might eliminate the need for that by expanding as the demand warranted.

What has happened is that the efforts by Langlois and Elliott have been sidetracked temporarily for the Blount effort. Those efforts, however, may bear added fruit in the long run. Moore-McCormack, American Export, Diners-Fugazy all know that Maine is interested in the possibility of a cruise along its coast. These companies may also see other possibilities involving Maine.

Much credit must be given to Peter T. McLaughlin, vice president of Casco Bay Lines, Portland, for Blount's getting into the act. McLaughlin was at the meeting at which Day spoke and told him of Blount's Mount Hope. And McLaughlin alerted Blount of the desire for a Maine coastal cruise. Blount has built many of the ferries used by Casco Bay Lines.

The Mount Hope went into operation June 1. It took about a year to design it and another year to build it at a cost of about \$400,000. The second vessel will probably cost around \$600,000, Blount believes. He has had surveys made which show the Mount Hope has a gross revenue per passenger slightly higher than that for an ocean liner.

Falling under regulations for T boats, craft of under 100, the Mount Hope can also be "The larger the vessel is, the more costly it is per passenger," he explains. "The Mount Hope is a better investment than the larger cruising ocean liner. And some of the larger steamship companies are getting interested in it as a result."

Built into the craft is a ramp which is put down on beaches so that swimmers can go directly on the beach. That's in the bow. In the stern is a swimming ramp. Windows go all around the bow in the lounge so you can sit about anywhere in the lounge and see straight ahead. Both vessels will carry 149 passengers, with the Mount Hope sleeping 42 and the new craft, 30.

The coastal cruise wouldn't be in competition with Maine windjammer cruises, Blount says, as it would offer more comfortable and more expensive accommodations. Twenty couples from this state traveled on the Mount Hope the past summer, he reports.

Langlois and Elliot feel such a cruise ship would open up a new market potential here. Those who are more than 60 seem quite interested and, at the same time so do the swingers. An effort would be made to attract foreigners by flying them, for example, to Bangor International Airport and then driving them to the vessel.

Elliot says that some Germans have shown an interest in acreage in Maine to be set up as a hunting and fishing preserve such as they have in their country.

In a survey some time ago, Dynamics Associates of New York showed that the principal classes taking vacations in Maine were relatively well-off middle-aged persons and those who are over-all sportsmen.

Wait a few years and you may see cruise vessels of one kind or another up and down the Maine coast. Mount Hope could be the start of something big.

[From the Maine Sunday Telegram, Apr. 12, 1970]

MAINE COASTAL CRUISE SET FOR AUGUST 30-SEPTEMBER 11

AUGUSTA.—Americans who nostalgically recall cruising from Boston, Mass. to Bangor on regularly scheduled trips of the Eastern Steamship Lines, will have an opportunity this summer to experience its pleasures all over again.

"You can go back," says Luther Blount, Warren, R.I., shipbuilder and owner of the Mount Hope, a modern, Coast Guard approved steel vessel, "and in greater comfort than you enjoyed in those good old days."

Blount, who has operated inland waterway cruises in Florida, as well as from Rhode Island to New York to Florida, and northern trips from Warren, R.I. to points in Canada's Quebec Province, is adding the Maine cruise to his schedule. The dates are Aug. 30 to Sept. 11, 1970.

"Our course is such that we can put into snug harbors each night and, should a storm hit, we can lie at anchor until it blows over," says Blount.

The tentative schedule calls for the trip to begin the evening of Aug. 30, with a cruise through the Cape Cod Canal, from Warren, R.I. The next day's termination point will be Boothbay Harbor, followed by a leisurely run to Rockland, the self-styled "lobster capital of the world."

The fourth day, with the Mt. Hope at dock, there will be side trips on Maine State ferries from Rockland to islands such as Vinalhaven

and North Haven. Then, the cruise ship will continue to nearby Camden. Rockport Harbor will be viewed en route, and the vessel will tie up at Lok Marina that night.

On the fifth day the route will be south of 700-Acre Island, with a view of Gilkie harbor. Belfast and Searsport harbors will be circled and Castine will be the overnight destination. That will be followed by a run through Eggemogin Reach to Bucks Harbor. (Nautically, a "Reach" was a stretch of water where a vessel could be sailed on course, with the wind forward of the beam but not enough to compel tacking.) Overnight will be at either Blue Hill or the lobster fishing village of Stonington.

Bar Harbor will be the seventh day's destination and Seal Harbor, the eighth's. The Jordan Pond House in Acadia National Park on Mt. Desert will be visited.

The ninth day's run will be by way of North Haven, Tenants Harbor, Port Clyde or Bath, whichever is the more favorable. The Mt. Hope will be in Portland the next day and will continue toward the home port the day after. The vessel is due to return to its home port about 10 a.m. Sept. 11.

Additional information on the 12-day voyage is available from: American Canadian Line, Inc., P.O. Box 360, Warren R.I. 02885.

#### THE LEADER IN THE DEED, A WOMAN

#### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the above title is a quotation from Virgil, the first century B.C. Latin poet, and I believe it is an appropriate opening for the subject about to be discussed.

August 28, 1970, will be the 50th anniversary of proclamation of the 19th amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote. The suffrage amendment had passed the House of Representatives of the 65th Congress on January 10, 1918, but was defeated in the Senate on October 1, 1918. It was passed again by the House in the 66th Congress on May 20, 1919, and by the Senate on June 4 by exactly the needed two-thirds majority.

Ratification by the States had taken an additional 14 months' campaigning. The 36th State was won only after a long and bitter struggle in the lower house of the Tennessee Legislature which ratified by a majority of one vote on August 18, 1920.

The history of the suffrage movement in the United States is not really a long one (historians usually date it as beginning in 1848, when a woman's rights convention meeting in Seneca Falls, N.Y., produced a far-reaching declaration of principles). But it had bitter opposition; the following definition of "woman," written by the caustic American writer Ambrose Bierce and included in his "Devil's Dictionary," was about the mildest ever cited by opponents of the suffrage movement:

"Woman, n. An animal usually living in the vicinity of Man, and having a rudimentary susceptibility to domestication. It is credited by many of the elder zoologists with a certain vestigial docility acquired in a former



state of seclusion, but naturalists of the post-susan-anthony period, having no knowledge of the seclusion, deny the virtue and declare that such as creation's dawn beheld, it roareth now. The species is the most widely distributed of all beasts of prey, infesting all habitable parts of the globe, from Greenland's spicy mountains to India's moral strand. The popular name (wolfman) is incorrect for the creature is of the cat kind. The woman is lithe and graceful in its movements, especially the American variety. (Felis pugnans), is omnivorous, and can be taught not to talk."

The actual women suffrage movement really began centuries ago, in a variety of ways. Women moved early in history to assert themselves as being a useful, needed, and worthwhile part of the processes and systems that governed them. Lack of official and legal recognition did not seem to bother them a great deal.

One of the earliest examples I can think of is found in the Bible, in the Book of Judges, the fourth chapter. Sisera, commander of a defeated army, was in flight, and sought by the children of Israel. He hid in the tent of Heber and confronted Heber's wife, Jael; but let verses 20-22 tell the story:

Again he said unto her, Stand in the door of the tent, and it shall be, when any man doth come and enquire of thee, and say, Is there any man here? that thou shalt say, No.

Then Jael, Heber's wife, took a nail of the tent, and took a hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the nail into his temples, and fastened it into the ground: for he was fast asleep and weary. So he died.

And, behold, as Barak pursued Sisera, Jael came out to meet him, and said unto him, Come, and I will show thee the man whom thou seekest. And when he came into her tent, behold, Sisera lay dead, and the nail was in his temples. . . .

The fact escapes us and may be hard to believe, but even in ancient Rome there was pressure for women's equal rights with men. For examples of this, and other ages, I turn to quotes from Will Durant's sweeping, monumental "Story of Civilization." From volume III, Caesar and Christ:

... Even in government the role of women grew. Cato cried out that "all other men rule over women; but we Romans, who rule all men, are ruled by our women." In 195 B.C. the free women of Rome swept into the Forum and demanded the repeal of the Oppian Law of 215, which had forbidden women to use gold ornaments, vari-colored dresses, or chariots. Cato predicted the ruin of Rome if the law should be repealed. Livy puts into his mouth a speech that every generation has heard:

"If we had, each of us, upheld the rights and authority of the husband in our own households, we should not today have this trouble with our women. As things are now, our liberty of action, which has been annulled by female despotism at home, is crushed and trampled on here in the Forum. . . . Call to mind all the regulations respecting women by which our ancestors curbed their license and made them obedient to their husbands; and yet with all those restrictions you can scarcely hold them in. If now you permit them to remove these restraints. . . and to put themselves on an equality with their husbands, do you imagine that you will be able to bear them? From the moment that they become your equals they will be your masters."

The women laughed him down, and stood their ground until the law was repealed.

Cato revenged himself as censor by multiplying by ten the taxes on the articles that Oppois had forbidden. But the tide was in flow, and could not be turned. Other laws disadvantageous to women were repealed or modified or ignored. Women won the free administration of their dowries, divorced their husbands or occasionally poisoned them, and doubted the wisdom of bearing children in an age of urban congestion and imperialistic wars. . . .

Back in the 13th Century it was considered quite a step forward in advancement of women when the "Laws and Customs of Beauvais" bade a man beat his wife "only in reason." Volume IV, The Age of Faith has this interesting paragraph:

As usual, despite theology and law, the medieval woman found ways of annulling her disabilities with her charms. The literature of this period is rich in records of women who ruled their men. In several respects woman was the acknowledged superior. Among the nobility she learned something of letters and art and refinement, while her letterless husband labored and fought. She could put on all the graces of an eighteenth-century salonniere, and swoon like a Richardson heroine; at the same time she rivaled man in lusty liberty of action and speech, exchanged risque stories with him, and often took an unabashed initiative in love. In all classes she moved with full freedom, seldom chaperoned; she crowded the fairs and dominated the festivals; she joined in pilgrimages, and took part in the Crusades, not only as a solace but now and then as a soldier dressed in the panoply of war. Timid monks tried to persuade themselves of her inferiority, but knights fought for her favors, and poets professed themselves her slaves. Men talked of her as an obedient servant, and dreamed of her as a goddess. They prayed to Mary, but they would have been satisfied with Eleanor of Aquitaine.

And in Volume V, The Renaissance, we find Durant writing:

The Renaissance woman of the upper classes raised her sex out of medieval bondage and monastic contempt to be almost the equal of man. She conversed on equal terms with him about literature and philosophy; she governed states with wisdom, like Isabella, or with all-too-masculine force, like Caterina Sforza; sometimes, clad in armor, she followed her mate to the battlefield, and bettered the instruction of his violence. She refused to leave the room when rough stories came up; she had a good stomach and could hear realistic language without losing her modesty or her charm. The Italian Renaissance is rich in women who made a high place for themselves by their intelligence or their virtue: Bianca Maria Visconti who, in the absence of her husband Francesco Sforza, governed Milan so capably that he used to say he had more confidence in her than in his whole army, and who at the same time was known for her "piety, compassion, charity, and beauty of person"; or Emilia Pio, whose husband died in her youth, but who so cherished his memory that she was never known, through all her remaining years, to encourage the attention of any man; or Lucrezia Tornabuoni, mother and molder of Lorenzo the Magnificent; or Elisabetta Gonzaga, or Beatrice d'Este, or the maligned and gentle Lucrezia Borgia; or the Caterina Cornara who made Asolo a school for poets, artists, and gentlemen; or Veronica Gambara, the poetess and salonniere of Correggio; or Vittoria Colonna, the untouched goddess of Michelangelo.

"The educated women of the Renaissance emancipated themselves without any propaganda of emancipation, purely by their intelligence, character, and tact, and by the

heightened sensitivity of men to their tangible and intangible charms. They influenced their time in every field: in politics by their ability to govern states for their absent husbands; in morals by their combination of freedom, good manners, and piety; in art by developing a matronly beauty which modeled a hundred Madonnas; in literature by opening their homes and their smiles to poets and scholars. There were innumerable satires on women, as in every age; but for every bitter or sarcastic line there were litanies of devotion and praise. The Italian Renaissance, like the French Enlightenment, was bisexual; women moved into every sphere of life; men ceased to be coarse and crude, and were molded to finer manners and speech; and civilization, with all its laxity and violence, took on a grace and refinement such as it had not known in Europe for a thousand years.

The point is this, and one which I wish to hammer down in the balance of my remarks, through some historical examples: There has existed throughout history a real contradiction, in that women have always been the models to represent liberty, victory, peace, wisdom, justice, to name a few. Practically all major world religions, regardless of the sex of the figure at their head, have a very strong matriarchal, feminine figure somewhere in the upper pantheon. And, as the following examples show, there are uncounted occasions when women have stepped into a breach that men would not fill, with varying results. The important thing, though, is that they did step into the gap, and they did act, and they did lead men when no other man would do so. Or, like the American Molly Pitcher, at the Battle of Monmouth, they moved in smaller but still highly significant ways—when her cannoner husband was killed, she took over his position. There is, in the history of the Napoleonic wars, a similar, but much more tragic, incident. After the Battle of Waterloo, in 1815, as the victorious English and Prussians swept over the field, they discovered the body of a beautiful young girl amidst the dead and the wreckage of a French cavalry charge. No one knew then, and no one knows to this day who she was, or why she was there. She was dressed in full uniform and armor of a French hussar. From where her body was lying, it was obvious that she had charged, with the cavalry, at full gallop. She died in a last futile, suicidal rush when Napoleon sent Milhaud's horsemen against the fire and steel of the British infantry, drawn up in those deadly squares that could not be penetrated. Centuries ago a Vietnamese woman led her countrymen in a struggle that ousted the Chinese from Vietnam.

Commanding thousands, or acting alone—it makes no difference, the spirit was there, the spirit has always been there, the spirit always will be there. The following accounts are of four women who left their mark in world history, who stood with courage no one else—man or woman—could or would match:

BOADICEA OF BRITAIN: RUGGED, EARNEST, TERRIBLE

Rome thought Britain was a subjugated land, but now the cry was for revolt, and messengers flitted swiftly over forest paths, while signal beacons flamed from the hill-tops.

Tales of Caesar's hasty invasion and re-

treat of one hundred years before were told and retold in the hills and valleys. Now the hated Imperial Eagles had once again come to Britain but this time they had stayed for twenty years. Two decades of smoldering hatred and resentment suddenly flamed up, and the fire spread.

Prasutagus, last king of the tribe of the Iceni, had died. Before his death, hoping to win favor from the Romans, he had bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman state and designated the Emperor Nero as joint heir, along with his two daughters. This was appeasement, 1st Century A.D. style; let us see what the Roman historian Tacitus had to say about Rome's response:

"But things turned out differently. His kingdom was plundered by centurions, and his private property by slaves, as if they had been captured in war; his widow Boadicea was flogged, and his daughters raped; the chiefs of the Iceni were robbed of their ancestral properties as if the Romans had received the whole country as a gift, and the king's own relatives were reduced to slavery."

Revolt! The infuriated Queen Boadicea shrieked the summons; the Iceni had been at one time the most powerful of all tribes, and hitherto the most submissive. No longer; nearly every Briton within reach rallied to her standards. War chariots, so feared and dreaded by Julius Caesar, clattered along the roads; Druids wailed and chanted deep in the sacred groves.

Tacitus, writing of the event, says that "In the year A.D. 61 a severe disaster was sustained in Britain." No one knew at the beginning that 70,000 Roman lives were about to be snuffed out. As Sir Winston Churchill described it: "There followed an up-rush of hatred from the abyss, which is a measure of the cruelty of the conquest. It was a scream of rage against invincible oppression and the superior culture which seemed to lend it power."

One hundred and fifty thousand Britons, maddened with hate for everything Roman, were on the march. In all Britain, there were at the most twenty thousand Roman soldiers, in four legions. And two of these were a good month distant, with the Roman Governor Suetonius Paulinus, off on an expedition to the island of Mona (Anglesey) far to the West.

The British army bore down on its first target, Camulodunum (Colchester), the center of Roman authority and religion. Omens of victory were good—for the Britons. The statue of Victory fell face forwards, as if fleeing from the enemy. Shrieks and cries were heard in the Roman council chamber. The sea turned red; shapes resembling corpses were left on the seashore by the outgoing tide; at the mouth of the Thames a phantom settlement had been seen. And in Camulodunum, a handful of old soldiers, Roman officials, business men, bankers and usurers, with their British collaborators, waited the onslaught. There was not even protection of a wall; again, Tacitus: "... it had no walls. That was a matter which Roman commanders, thinking of amenities rather than needs, had neglected."

The Roman imperial agent, Calus Decianus, sent barely two hundred men, incompletely armed. The defenders did not evacuate non-combatants; they placed their reliance on the protection of the temple but built no ramparts nor trenches. Tacitus: "Their precautions were appropriate to a time of unbroken peace."

After two days' siege, the temple fell by storm and the town was put to the torch. Now the Ninth Legion was close at hand, coming up by forced marches from Lincoln, one hundred and twenty miles away. Howling in triumph and drunk with victory, Boadicea's forces swept with a wild scream into the Roman lines. The infantry was massacred to a man; the commander, Petilius Cerialis, was content to escape with his cavalry and

take shelter behind the defences of its camp. Catus Decianus, horrified at what had happened, fled to Gaul.

And, by now, on the Island of Mona, Suetonius had paused from his labors in wiping out this last main Druid stronghold to hear the horrible news from exhausted, trembling messengers. The camp was struck, and Suetonius with the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions moved out through hostile country—at the most, ten thousand men.

Suetonius reached Londinium (London) with but a small mounted detachment and wondered whether to fight there. (This is the first mention of London in all literature, in Tacitus' account.) The commander of the Second Legion, at Gloucester, had been ordered to join him, but, appalled by the slaughter of the Ninth, had not complied. London was large, but undefended, full of Roman traders, British associates, dependents and slaves. There was but a handful of legionnaires.

The citizens begged for Suetonius' protection, but then the news came that Boadicea had wheeled her army towards Lincoln, after Cerialis. Slogging up the road from Wales behind Suetonius were the main forces of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions; he had nothing to face Boadicea's hordes, and there was no choice but to move out and leave London. The despair of the inhabitants was frightful to behold; they knew what Tacitus was to write:

"For the British did not take or sell prisoners, or practise other war-time exchanges. They could not wait to cut throats, hang, burn, and crucify..."

To this very day, earth-moving equipment, digging into the soil of London for deeper foundations for higher buildings, come upon traces of the holocaust that descended upon the unhappy city, borne with the fury of Boadicea's army. No one was spared; as at Colchester, the slaughter was universal and the city put to the torch. With the smoke of the burning city at its back, the army next stormed into Verulamium (St. Albans) which suffered the same fate. According to Tacitus, in these three cities upwards of seventy thousand were killed.

But by now Suetonius' two legions had joined him, and they prepared for battle "in a defile, with a wood behind him. \* \* \* On the British side, cavalry and infantry bands seethed over a wide area. Their numbers were unprecedented, and they had confidently brought their wives to see the victory, installing them in carts stationed at the edge of the battlefield. \* \* \*" (Tacitus)

Tacitus has also recorded Boadicea's last appearance, and her last words:

Boadicea drove round all the tribes in a chariot with her daughters in front of her "We British are used to women commanders in war." I am descended from mighty men! But I am not fighting for my kingdom and wealth now. I am fighting as an ordinary person for my lost freedom, my bruised body, and my outraged daughters. Nowadays Roman rapacity does not even spare our bodies. Old people are killed, virgins raped. But the gods will grant us the vengeance we deserve! The Roman division which dared to fight is annihilated. The others cower in their camps, or watch for a chance to escape. They will never face even the din and roar of all our thousands, much less the shock of our onslaught. Consider how many of you are fighting—and why! Then you will win this battle, or perish. That is what I, a woman, plan to do!—let the men live in slavery if they will!

On both sides, it was all or nothing, but Roman discipline and tactical skill won the day. It was no quarter—for any-

one—Tacitus says 80,000 Britons were slaughtered. Boadicea herself, still regal in her war chariot, with her daughters beside her, took poison.

Sir Winston Churchill summed up Boadicea and the revolt in these words:

Her monument on the Thames Embankment opposite Big Ben reminds us of the harsh cry of "Liberty or Death" which has echoed down the ages. . . . This is probably the most horrible episode which our Island has known. We see the crude and corrupt beginnings of a higher civilisation blotted out by the ferocious uprising of the native tribes. Still, it is the primary right of men to die and kill for the land they live in, and to punish with exceptional severity all members of their own race who have warmed their hands at the invaders' hearth. . . .

#### THEODORA OF BYZANTIUM: WITH HER DEATH THE DARK AGES BEGAN

Her husband, the Emperor Justinian, was the last of the Roman Emperors, seated on the throne of the Caesars, and has gone down into history as "the Great." But Theodora, his wife and Empress, is known as "the Notorious." There is probably not another more mis-named pair in all recorded history, for it was Theodora's hands that grasped the reins of Empire and State when Justinian faltered, and let them slip from his grasp. It was Theodora's will that refused to break or bend; it was Theodora's voice that lashed the Imperial Council, where men cringed in fear of the howling mobs in the streets of Constantinople that had already turned a good portion of that great city, the "Second Rome," into smoking ruin. It was Theodora who crushed the rebellion within, that threatened to bring disaster greater than that of the barbarians from without.

It was Justinian's misfortune to have selected, for his two top officials, men of undoubted capacity and brilliance on one side, but of a greedy, grasping venal nature on the other. Tribonian, Quaestor of the Sacred Palace, and John of Cappadocia, Praetorian Prefect of the East: an immensely able jurist and greatest scholar of the day, and skillful administrator and a real statesman, respectively. Under their combined mismanagement the provinces, according to an official document of the times, had become "quite uninhabitable." The country was barren of people; fields lay idle; complaints poured into Constantinople about "the wickedness of the officials." Steady immigration swelled the flow of hapless wretches into the capital, adding to the disorder and discontent already there. From this volatile mess sprang, in January 532 A.D., the bloody and nearly-disastrous (for the Empire and what existed of Roman civilization) "Nika" Riot, so-called for the shout of "Nika!" (Victory!) which the crowd roared out as they raged through the city.

On Sunday, January 11, 532, Justinian proceeded to the great Hippodrome for the usual ceremonies opening the season of the Consular Festivals. Muttering and discontent were rife in the streets. The two opposing political factions, the Greens and the Blues, had reached temporary accord, as there were rumors the throne might soon be vacated.

The ceremonies began, and Justinian was acclaimed Autocrat with the usual formulas, "Many years to Justinian Augustus! May you be victorious!" Then, from the Greens, a cry of oppression, and demands to be delivered from their miseries. This led to an acrid dialogue between Justinian and the leader of the Greens and at its completion, the Greens left the arena.

That evening the smoldering Justinian ordered the Praefect of Constantinople to arrest and make an example of seven persons, drawn from both factions. Four were

beheaded; the other three were hung. But the rope broke in the case of two of the latter; an outcry arose and some monks carried the men to the monastery of St. Laurence, and sanctuary. One was a Blue; the other was a Green; this cemented the two factions even tighter together.

The following Tuesday the ceremonies in the Hippodrome were resumed, but both factions clamored incessantly for release of the prisoners. Justinian did not respond; the crowd's passion rose to white heat; its leaders demanded extreme measures. By that evening the Praetorium of the City Praefect, the Chalke Palace, the principal buildings in the square, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Senate House and the great church of St. Sophia had been set on fire and were reduced to ruins.

The next four days saw the riot swell to outright civil war. Deposition of Justinian was agreed upon and Constantinople, racked and ravaged by the plundering crowds, began to look like a city sacked by an enemy. A contemporary writer declared that "the Empire seemed on the eve of its downfall." An attempt by Belisarius, Justinian's Commander in Chief, to suppress the uprising with a force of barbarian mercenaries had failed and additional fires had consumed the Octagon, the Church of St. Irene, the Hospital of Sampson (with all its patients), the House of Lamps, and the Palace of Lausus, which was filled with irreplaceable art treasures.

By Saturday Justinian had prepared for flight, and a ship was filled with his most precious possessions. On Sunday he made one last appeal to the crowds packing the Hippodrome, but was screeched back to the Palace. The crowds wildly proclaimed a new Emperor (over the protestations of his wife, who saw disaster; over the objections of a Senator, who counseled patience, and over the new Emperor's own misgivings).

The Imperial Council sat in the Palace; Justinian half-heartedly began the debate. His advisors' opinions were half-hearted and contradictory. Then Theodora arose; her words have come down to us from that day:

"Even at this adverse crisis I think the alternative of flight is out of the question. Though he may be permitted to live in safety as an exile, the master of an empire should not survive the loss of his dignity. As for myself, may I never live to see the day when this purple mantle shall fall from me, and when I will no longer be saluted as Empress. Flee if you wish, Justinian; you have money, the ships await you, the sea is unguarded.

"As for me, I stay! I hold with the old proverb which says that the purple is a good winding-sheet, and the throne is a most glorious sepulchre!"

In an instant the mood of the Council changed, and the throne that had rocked so close to disaster was firm and steady once again. It is not known for certain whether or not Theodora gave the orders that followed, but her hand was now on the helm.

All depended on one bold stroke—all or nothing. The Hippodrome was packed with one hundred thousand rioters. There were less than five thousand loyal troops to send against them, and most of these were barbarian mercenaries under the command of Mundus the Goth. The available troops were divided into two brigades: Byzantines under Belisarius and barbarians (Goths and Herules) under Mundus.

Both generals made their way with some difficulty over the ruins of the city until they came to the Hippodrome. The northern gates were held by the rebels, but, on circling the arena, Belisarius saw the southern gates were undefended. On impulse, he hurled his soldiers forward. There is no eyewitness account of what took place, but it was short range, and Belisarius' archers were experienced. The carnage must have been terrible, as long as there were arrows in the quivers,

then it was the flickering steel of swords, and the grim veterans of the Avar and Persian wars hacked their way into the enemy.

Mundus had not been idle. The moment he saw how Belisarius was engaged, he stormed through an opposite opening, known, grimly enough, as the Gate of the Dead. Belisarius' men before them; Mundus and his Goths and Herules, wild and fierce with their helmets and shields dressed with heads and skins of wild beasts, and swinging their terrible curved, razor-edge swords that killed at every blow, behind them; the rebels were cut off from all chance of escape.

It was still one hundred thousand against five thousand, the battle rocked back and forth, and then what had been solid unity among the rebels collapsed. The Blues turned from Belisarius and Mundus and fell with equal fury upon the Greens. When it was over, the city was quiet with the silence of 35,000 dead.

It is true, as historians have written, that a few thousand mercenaries provided the arm to establish absolute despotism in the Byzantine Empire. But looking beyond that, to the end of Justinian's reign, the Empire had almost been doubled, and the Mediterranean was once more a Roman lake. Tribonian produced the Justinian Code of Laws, the Pandects, the Institutes, and the Novella, known together as Corpus Juris Civilis. They affected legal history then and are felt to this day in the legal systems of the world. And Athemius of Tralles, the architect, raised the crowning climax of all Byzantine art, a new St. Sophia, of such splendor that Justinian, gazing upon it after its completion, could say: "Glory be to God, who has thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work! I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!"

Theodora was a child of the streets who rose to the purple of the Empress, and was true ruler of the Empire for the last sixteen years of her life. It has been written of her that:

"... she was thus responsible for that last brilliant outflaring which for a few years restored the glory of the Empire of the Romans. Before she breathed her last, she knew herself to be mistress of the western world. And with her death this flame of brilliance flickered out; the Dark Ages began from that hour."

SHADJAR-AL-DURR: PEARL SPRAY: SHE WAS SULTANA, SHE WAS QUEEN

Sultan Es-Salih of Egypt was dead. The last of the dynasty founded centuries previously by the great Saladin, he had been out of the country when news arrived that the saint-king of the Christians, Louis IX of France, was preparing to invade Egypt in 1249 A.D. Rushed back to Cairo in a litter, he arrived only in time to die. The Egyptian throne was vacant and already the great French galleasses were bearing south from Cyprus towards the Egyptian coast, the oriflamme of France emblazoned on their billowing sails. Es-Salih's eldest son was hundreds of miles away; it would take months to find him and bring him back, and by then it would be too late. Except...

In Arabic, her name was Shajar-al-Durr, translated as Pearl Spray. From either Armenia or Turkey, no one ever knew for sure, she was one of the two great romantic females of Egypt. But unlike her cousin in spirit, if not in blood, Cleopatra, Pearl Spray's life was even stranger, wilder and more tragic. Her first master, the Caliph Mustasim of Baghdad, had been last of a line which had endured for 524 years. Her second, Es-Salih, was last of Saladin's dynasty. But Pearl Spray was to be the first of the dynasty of the Mamelukes, a word meaning "owned," and applied to white, not Negro, slaves. This dynasty was to endure right up into the 20th Century.

She began her role in high circles at the court of Caliph Mustasim at Baghdad and

soon, in the manner of the day, passed into Es-Salih's harem, in Cairo. Here she bore him a son, and this automatically made her a free woman, under Moslem custom. She never bore an official title, but she was Es-Salih's favorite, and as courtiers and slaves howled their grief around his catafalque, this remarkable woman was already planning ahead.

The Prophet Mohammed had declared it was a curse for a woman to rule a country, but once the Egyptian people knew they were without a ruler, the country would fall to Louis like a ripe peach.

Louis landed, off Damietta, almost unopposed. The Egyptian commander, the Amir Fakhr ad Din, had decided to withdraw towards Cairo. The officers of Damietta's garrison, disturbed by the retreat, followed him, after burning the arsenal, and Louis took Damietta without firing one arrow or drawing one sword. To Louis, this was a sign of divine favor, as Damietta had withstood his siege for a full year on a previous crusade. The Saint-King's victory was not without its flaws, however; his nobles began looting, and Louis complained bitterly to the Sieur de Joinville that "You could not throw a stone from my house without striking a brothel kept by my attendants."

Already, in Louis' camp, rumors of Es-Salih's death had reached them. So the army of France moved up the Nile, where the Moslems awaited them at the fortified camp of Mansura.

This was not to be another Damietta. Professional Moslem soldiers were superior in the art of warfare; there was the river itself to be crossed, and there was something new: Greek fire. Hurling amongst the French by great war engines, it wrought havoc in Louis' lines. De Joinville wrote of it:

"The Greek fire was like a great keg with a tail as long as a spear. The noise it made was like thunder, and it resembled a dragon of fire flying through the air. At night it gave so great a light that we could see objects in our camp as clearly as in the day."

Frontal assault by the French was bloodily repulsed. It seemed that the paladins of French and English chivalry were at a standstill, but then they found an Arab, who told of a ford below Mansura that would let mounted men cross the river. The great war horses moved out in a column.

Meanwhile, in Cairo, the street mobs were growing restless. They knew of the fall of Damietta, and the fact that fifty-seven of the garrison's officers had been strangled for deserting their post did not placate them. "Where is the Sultan?" they asked each other. "The King of the Franks is almost upon us."

The country must be ruled until the son arrived; so the ex-slave girl sat on the throne and if not in name was queen in fact. The lords of the Mamelukes came into her presence for direct orders; Al Beg the Kurd, and Baibars the Panther, his one eye twitching, stood ready to receive her commands. When the faint-hearted protested the deception could not go on, she raged at them until they were either heartened by her show of courage, or terrified by her anger. Not since the day of the Prophet, when the wife of Mohammed had shared power, had a woman ruled over Moslems. But Pearl Spray ruled and Louis IX of France never dreamed he was making war on a girl.

Did the Mamelukes need food? She collected taxes and secretly sold jewels, to buy grain for them. What of Al Beg and Baibars, these two unscrupulous rascals? She promised Al Beg she would marry him—and never told Baibars. She played high and dangerous stakes, for the country and for herself. If her troops held firm, she might well become Queen of Egypt in name as well as in fact. But if the French broke through, she would be cast aside, like a harem girl who has lost her charm.

Louis' Arab had been right; there was a ford, and early in the morning of February

8, 1250, the King's brother, Robert of Artois, splashed across with his division, consisting of the Templars, the French and the English under William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury.

"Hold the causeway," Louis had ordered Robert, "and no farther." Fourteen hundred French and English were on the opposite bank, and the Moslem guard had fled. "Forward!" roared Robert. De Sonnac, Master of the Templars, grasped at his rein. "My lord bethink thee of the king's command. We must hold to our ranks."

"Abide where thou wilt," snarled Robert. "I shall not hold back."

Longsword spurred up. "My lord, the host of the enemy lies yonder. If we ride on, I warrant we shall not return."

Robert spun in his saddle. "Your copped-tailed English are valliant laggards!" he taunted.

Longsword flared. "No man may say that I dare not set my foot where he will go." He whirled and called to the English; at the same time De Sonnac gave the order to the Templars. With Robert of Artois and the French knights in the van, the heavy cavalry thundered down on the Moslem tents and the streets of Mansura.

For an hour, nothing stood before them. The mamelukes swarmed out of their barracks and were cut down as they tried to form. Fakhr-ad-Din himself dashed from a bath house, out of a barber's chair, where he had been having his beard dyed. Almost naked, he vaulted onto a horse—just as a swarm of knights swept down on him and hacked him to bits. A carrier pigeon was caught at the Nasr Gate, in Cairo, and the message was carried to the palace doors: "Woe to the Faith! The Franks have crossed the river. Fakhr-ad-Din is slain and the standards of the enemy are in the camp of the Faithful!"

It wasn't over yet. The mailed chivalry of Europe stormed into Mansura's narrow alleys, where the streets ended in blind walls, or tiny courtyards, swarming with hosts of Moslems. Crossbows snapped and whistled from rooftops; javelins hissed through the air; rocks and jars split shields and crushed helmets; arrows cut down horses. The crusaders were rapidly split up into small groups, fighting in an unknown town against a raging, ferocious enemy that knew every inch and corner of the battleground.

William Longsword was slain with his men. The Templars stood their ground and did not move an inch; three hundred of them perished with almost all the mounted archers. The Count of Poitiers led his horsemen into a running, slashing battle on a plain outside the town.

Down from Cairo like a thunderbolt crashed Baibars the Panther, one eye alight with the gleam of battle, leading his crack Mamelukes, known as the White Slaves of the River. His counter-attack sliced to pieces the French knights on the Cairo road, and pressed on into Mansura to lend a hand to the butchers there. Robert of Artois was slain; thanks to his rashness, half of the French cavalry was down, killed, missing or wounded. Louis' army had lost its power of attack, and once again carrier pigeons whirled for Cairo. But this time it was with tidings of victory.

The evening before, Turan Shah, eldest son of Es-Salih, had arrived at Mansura, after a long, hard ride from the other side of Syria. He had almost been taken captive at one point (the crusaders did not know he was there) but now, with Mansura won, Turan Shah took command.

Described as more cruel than the Mamelukes and already a prey to many vices at age 25, he was practically a stranger, yet his orders were obeyed without question. He prepared to move against Louis, who dug in and barely held his position.

There were six weeks of sheer horror left for Louis. His lines of communications were

cut, and one truly hideous event delivered the final blow. It was Lent, and the Christians were catching Nile fish for their main staple of diet. The Nile was full of corpses; the fish had fattened on these; the crusaders fell ill in a mass.

The attempted break-through on the night of April 5-6, 1250, saw loss of the entire Christian force, either through being killed or taken captive. It was one of the cruelest defeats ever inflicted in all of North Africa. The natives claimed for centuries afterward that the earth was permanently stained crimson. Louis himself was captured and carried away as a prisoner, chained in the house of one Ibn-Lochman under guard of a eunuch.

Pearl Spray had "resigned" when Turan Shah had appeared at Mansura. But the young man's good sense and judgment, if, indeed, he ever had any, deserted him. In the words of the Egyptian historian Makrisi:

"The sultan had confidence only in a few favorites, to whom he gave the chief offices of the state, displacing the old ministers of the late sultan his father. Above all, he showed dislike for the mamelukes, although they had gained the last victory for him. His debaucheries wasted the revenues, and he forced the sultana Shadjar-ad-Durr to render him an account of the riches of his father. The sultana implored the protection of the mamelukes. These slaves, already angered at Turan Shah, did not hesitate to take her part, and resolved to assassinate the prince."

One month after the battle, at a banquet held on the battlefield itself, it was done. The banquet was over, Turan Shah rose and started for his own chambers, when his swordbearer hacked down at his hand, splitting it between the fingers.

"You have attacked me!" he cried in alarm. "Indeed," was the grim response. "Now you will surely slay us, so it is better that you die!"

Turan Shah fled to a watch tower. His pursuers cast Greek fire into it, and as he fled again from the blazing structure, cut him down and flung his body into the Nile. One of them tore his heart from his body and brought it before the captive King Louis, saying "What wilt thou give me, who have slain thine enemy, who—if he had lived—would have put thee to death?" Louis did not answer.

This time Pearl Spray took over openly. A coin has survived, minted during her reign, with the inscription: "The former slave of the Caliph Mustasim and afterward of Salih, now Queen of the Moslems." She set about to deal with the vanquished enemy at once, in practical and humane fashion.

She collected ransom money for Louis (which was paid by Louis' queen; it is barely possible the two queens met, although this cannot be proven). What remained of Louis and his troops was sent out of Egypt at Pearl Spray's orders, and she began a reign of seven years.

At first she ruled alone, but Mohammed had written that according to tradition "no nation would ever prosper which put its affairs in a woman's hands." Caliph Mustasim of Baghdad was stunned to hear his former slave was now Queen of Egypt. "Had they no men?" was his sneering message to the Egyptian court. And there was still strong opposition from supporters of Saladin's dynasty to Pearl Spray and her supporters, the White Slaves of the River, the Mamelukes.

Ever the politician, Pearl Spray shared her throne with not just one but two male associates. One was Ai Beg; she made good on her promise to marry him. The other was a six-year-old lad of Saladin's line. But of the three, Pearl Spray was the real power.

The boy was kept for two years, then pushed aside, having served his purpose. Next, trouble began between Pearl Spray and

Ai Beg. Ai Beg, as one writer put it, "both for pleasure and policy," decided to take for an extra wife a Near Eastern princess of high rank. The temper of the slave-girl who became queen was fiery as ever; Pearl Spray murdered Ai Beg in his bathtub.

Her base of support had always been the Mamelukes, but at this, they were horrified, and abandoned her. Her end came quickly. A gang of slave women fell upon her, battered her to death with their wooden clogs, and cast her body into the citadel ditch.

Her career touched all three continents of the known world: Europe, Asia and Africa. By sheer strength of will, she held together the shaky Egyptian court until it could rally and beat off Louis' attacks. It was her fate to share the intimate hours of the last of two dynasties: that in Baghdad, and that of Saladin, in Cairo; and to bring about the deaths of two more rulers: Turan Shah and Ai Beg.

There is today, still, in Cairo, a small mausoleum which bears her name. Within it is all that remains of the body of Shadjar-al-Durr, Pearl Spray, Armenian or Turkish slave who sat on a throne and whose strength and courage shattered the best of Christian chivalry. I am told that if you go to the market squares of Cairo, and ask of her, from the old men sitting in the sun, they will smile, and nod.

"Ay, verily, she ruled long ago. May Allah give her peace and rest, for, although she was but a woman, verily, she was Sultana, she was Queen!"

#### MARY DYER: FAITHFUL TO DEATH

The Puritans were appalled at the arrival of Ann Austin and Mary Fischer, the first Quaker missionaries in Boston, Massachusetts, in July, 1656. To the Puritan, the Quaker expounded the rankest of heresies: God spoke directly to the man who waited quietly and expectantly for His word. As a result of the Puritan reaction to the Society of Friends' missionary activity the General Court of Massachusetts enacted anti-Quaker legislation on October 14, 1656. This legislation provided penalties of whipping, imprisonment and expulsion to members of the Society of Friends who dared to enter the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth; a fine of one hundred pounds levied against ship captains who brought Quakers to the colony; and fines of forty shillings for a first offense, four pounds for a second, and banishment as a third offense against those residents of Massachusetts who defended Quaker opinions.

Mary Dyer did not go to Massachusetts as a missionary nor did she know of the passage of the repressive legislation. She was merely passing through Massachusetts Bay Colony when she and Ann Burden were arrested and imprisoned by the authority of that statute. Ann Burden was in the Bay Colony to settle the estate of her deceased husband who had been a citizen of Boston.

The women escaped the prescribed whippings. However, Ann Burden's goods were confiscated and shipped to Barbados for sale and she was forced to return to England on the ship by which she had arrived. Mary Dyer was held in prison until her husband came from Rhode Island and promised to prevent her from speaking to anyone until they were beyond the Massachusetts boundary.

Almost twenty years earlier the Dyers and several others had been banished from Boston because they were not in harmony with the Massachusetts theology. In 1638, Mary Dyer took Anne Hutchinson's hand and walked out of the meetinghouse with her after Anne heard her sentence of banishment for her defiance of ministerial authority. They moved to Newport, Rhode Island.

William Dyer held several official positions there and became Attorney-General of the

colony in 1649. In 1651, the Dyers went to England where Mary remained after William returned to Rhode Island. There she joined the Society of Friends and became a recognized minister. It was during her return to Rhode Island in 1657 that she was jailed for violating the anti-Quaker statute.

Other Quakers began making visits to Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies. In the summer of 1657 eleven Quakers crossed the Atlantic in the ship WOODHOUSE. The Friends made repeated trips into the northern colonies, holding meetings and gaining adherents while operating from Rhode Island. In Salem, regular Quaker worship began to be held in the homes of members even though the local magistrates levied fines on the attenders.

Due to the failure of fines and punishments to stamp out the Friends' activity, the General Court passed a more stringent law in October, 1657. It provided that returning Quakers were to suffer for succeeding visits with the loss of one ear, then the other, and finally to have the tongue bored. Women were to be whipped rather than lose their ears. However, for the third offense they would receive the same treatment as that prescribed for the men. Those citizens giving lodging to a Friend were to be fined at the rate of forty shillings per hour of the lodging period. In May, 1658, another law was enacted which levied a ten shilling fine for the admission by any resident of Quaker ways, by either speaking, writing, or attending meetings.

In the following months, three Friends had their right ears cut off and one Friend was given one hundred seventeen blows on his bare back with a tarred rope. Rising public indignation compelled the town authorities to have a physician try to save the Quaker's life. Within a week all the Friends were released from prison.

This action led the clergy of the colony to demand the passage of a law which prescribed hanging for Quakers who returned after being banished. This extreme measure divided the General Court but it did pass 13-12 due to the failure to summon one of the members, who was ill at home, even though he had requested to be sent for if a vote was to be taken. He opposed the legislation on the grounds that a death sentence without a jury trial was against the law of England. An amendment for a trial by jury was added to allay these feelings. This was a mockery of English law since the only question the jury would have to consider was if the defendant was a Quaker—a point the defendants readily confirmed.

After prayerful consideration of the anti-Quaker laws of Massachusetts, four Friends felt an inner command to go to the Bay Colony. Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, Patience Scott and Mary Dyer walked from Rhode Island to Massachusetts where they were apprehended and brought before the Court of Assistants on September 12, 1659. The Court would not recognize the contentions of the accused who claimed the right as peaceable and loyal subjects of England to travel throughout her dominions. The Friends were banished and warned they would be hanged if they returned. The men remained in the Massachusetts area but Patience Scott and Mary Dyer returned to Rhode Island.

On October 8, 1659, Mary Dyer was imprisoned upon her return to Boston. On October 13, Robinson and Stephenson were apprehended. Mary Dyer, Robinson and Stephenson were taken before the Court on October 19. They were asked why they had gone to Massachusetts to which they replied, "In obedience to the call of the Lord." They were sent back to jail and brought before the Court the next day and sentenced by Gov-

ernor Endicott: "Hearken, you shall be led back to the place from whence you came and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."

Mary Dyer said, "The will of the Lord be done."

"Take her away, Marshal," said the Governor.

"Yea, joyfully shall I go," she replied.

October 27 was set for the execution. The community was stirred by the death sentence. A large crowd gathered for the execution, so large that a bridge broke under the weight of the crowd of spectators returning home.

The prisoners marched from the jail to the gallows accompanied by two hundred armed men, many horsemen, and beating drums to prevent the condemned from speaking to the populace. The three Quakers walked hand in hand, Mary Dyer between them.

"Are you not ashamed to walk thus between two young men?" Marshal Edward Nicholson asked.

"No," she replied. "It is an honor of the greatest joy I can enjoy in this world. No eye can see, no ear can hear, no tongue can speak, no heart can understand the sweet incomes and refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which now I enjoy."

After the noose was fitted to their necks, one at a time William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson climbed the ladder of the "great tree" on Boston Common and the ladder was pulled away.

When Mary Dyer climbed the ladder, her arms and legs bound and her face covered with a handkerchief, she was told of her reprieve. Pleas from the governors of Connecticut, Acadia and Nova Scotia to not hang the Quakers and the plea of Mary Dyer's son for his mother's life had been received by the General Court. On October 18, the day before the execution sentence was pronounced, the Court had ordered: "The said Mary Dyer shall have liberty for forty-eight hours to depart out of the Jurisdiction, after which time, being found therein, she is to be forthwith executed. And it is further ordered that she shall be carried to the place of execution and there stand upon the Gallows with a rope about her neck until the Rest be executed, and then to return to the prison and remain as aforesaid."

She protested she should not live if the wicked laws were not annulled. She appealed again to the magistrates and churchmen but the issue was not resolved. Mary left for Rhode Island the next day "finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary . . . I came at his Command, and go at his Command."

Mary spent the winter on Long Island Sound but in the middle of May she left for Massachusetts, arriving in Boston on May 21, 1660. The law of banishment and the punishment of death for returning was still in force. She was taken before Governor Endicott on May 30 and he again passed the sentence of death on her. "But now it is to be executed. Therefore, prepare yourself tomorrow morning at nine o'clock."

She answered him: "I came in obedience to the will of God at your last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on the pain of death; and that same is my word now, and earnest request, although I told you that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of His servants to witness against them."

On the gallows Mary Dyer was given a chance to save herself if she would promise to leave Massachusetts and never return. "Nay, I cannot. In obedience to the will of the Lord God I came and in His will I abide faithful to death," she replied. Firm in the conviction of her faith and in her mission to Massachusetts, Mary Dyer was hanged on May 31, 1660.

## SPACE AND HUMAN VALUES

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Dale D. Myers, Associate Administrator of Manned Space Flight, NASA, made a most penetrating commentary on the value of our national space program in a recent commencement address at Whitworth College, Spokane, Wash., on May 24, 1970. Dr. Myers discusses our national space effort as part of our society and its effects on all people of the United States and the world at large. Because of the significance of these comments, I am including them in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and the general public. The address follows:

## SPACE AND HUMAN VALUES

(By Dale Myers)

## INTRODUCTION

Dr. Lindaman, members of the faculty, and students of the graduating class of 1970. It is a great privilege to be allowed to share in this eventful day for Whitworth College and for my good friend Dr. Lindaman. Commencement is an exhilarating experience and as I well remember at the University of Washington where I graduated—a great relief! And also a time of fond farewell, to friends who last as "best" friends for the rest of your life. And finally, a time to look forward and to project your own future, the future of your nation, the future of Earth, and now (although barely) the future of the universe. I don't plan to give to you the inspirational message which your distinguished President can give so much more competently than I can with respect to the philosophical aspects of space as it affects your life, but I would like to relate to you some of the parallels in circumstances of today's graduating class, and of your alma mater, and the Space Program of the United States, of which I am a part.

With today's commencement, you have accomplished a set of objectives and reached important goals, all of which will be abruptly replaced by a new set of objectives and new goals which now lie before you. Whitworth College shares in your achievement, and yet already it must anticipate the beginning of another undergraduate cycle, and look to its ever-increasing responsibilities to its students and the academic community.

The space program is much the same. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration accomplished the national objectives set nearly a decade before when men from planet Earth, two U.S. astronauts, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin alighted on the magnificently desolate surface of the moon last July. In a sense, that landing on the moon was the graduation ceremony of the space program. Your diploma today attests to your readiness to proceed with your efforts to advance the objectives of society. The diploma conferred upon the space program by the President of the United States is now on the lunar module left on the moon and says "We came in peace for all Mankind." It recognized that this nation was ready to undertake more advanced objectives in space for the benefit of mankind.

Many of you in your newly won degree status will be joining with others in the field of education, in church-related pursuits, in government and business, as part of a team to help carry out one of various human endeavors. The space program is also

a team effort by groups of individuals doing myriad tasks. Today, more than 140,000 persons in industry, government, and the academic community (many in the State of Washington) are on the space team that numbered more than 400,000 at the peak of the Apollo Program effort in 1966.

As your academic career has been a major and highly visible undertaking in the eyes of your family and the faculty of Whitworth College, so has been the development of capabilities for the exploration of space a major and highly visible undertaking in the eyes of the nation and the world. And perhaps as a parallel to your own experience as students, the results of the space program have been measured on a scale that seems to proclaim a passing grade is not always good enough. I am sure you gladly accepted the academic challenge, as the space agency welcomed the research and development challenged of opening space to the people of earth.

While the United States, through its space program, has literally been learning how to operate in space, as even the latest moon flight demonstrated, there has been no moratorium on results as this nation developed and tested its spacefiring machinery and skills.

#### SPACE VALUES AND WORLD CHANGE

It is surely the hope of each of you that you will help to shape your community, your state and nation, and even your world. It is my belief that so long as you hold this objective, you cannot but succeed, because the impact of your efforts will be felt. In my judgment, the nation's space program also will succeed in the future as it has in the past, not only because we have carried out manned flights that took us to the moon, and unmanned flights to the vicinity of Mars, but because our space efforts are exerting a profound change upon this nation and the world in many wonderful ways.

Much has been made of the U.S. missions which have sent highly trained men soaring through the weightless void of space to accomplish specific space flight tasks. These missions have been reported on a world-wide scale as no other single events in modern history. From my responsibilities in the aerospace industry and in the manned space program, I am aware that the overall impact of developing the capability to carry out such missions has served to benefit mankind immensely. The public, however, has, in perfectly human fashion, been drawn to and has applauded these spectacular space feats, while less glamorous scientific and technological accomplishments generated by space flight have been quietly accepted or overlooked entirely.

The average citizen is acutely aware of the dramatic achievements of the space program. However, he has not grasped the significance of the overwhelming benefits and values derived from this great undertaking. I am reminded of a statement attributed to Dr. Edward Teller as he compared the potential practical value of space exploration to the voyage of Columbus. He said, "When Columbus took off, the purpose of the exercise was to improve trade relations with China. Now that problem has not been solved to this very day, but just look at the by-products."

The truth is that civilization has been changed by the phenomenon of space flight, both socially and scientifically, both academically and esthetically. The changes are evident in our teaching as well as our technology. Because the impact of space pervades all human endeavor, it will be worthwhile for us to reflect on some of the changes that have occurred because of our national space effort.

#### SOCIAL CHANGE

It is impossible to gauge the full extent of the human values of new horizons and of new hope for a better world that have resulted from the space program. You are

perhaps familiar with the frequent observation that our flights to the moon have demonstrated that men and women of competence and good will can work together within our institutions to achieve almost impossible goals. I am aware of the vast differences and varying degrees of difficulty in achieving various goals of society. In my view, the problem of getting to the moon was easier to solve than many others that are still with us. Yet the space program did marshal some old-fashioned human responses and some tremendously effective management systems to reach its goal of the 1960's, and these inspiring achievements are a valid spur to the National will in other segments of this country's endeavor. Certainly the space effort has provided methods and encouragement to tackle the tremendous social problems around us.

In addition to raising the horizons of man's aspirations, the space program also clarified man's relationship to the universe and to his fellow man. Flying out a quarter of a million miles into space, man for the first time in his history has been able to see himself and his planet in true perspective. Now, through the Apollo flights, mankind perceives the earth as one entity rather than many, many political subdivisions. At the same time, man sees the earth as one small but precious blue gem in the cosmos rather than the center of the universe.

In 400 B.C. Socrates said, "We who inhabit the earth dwell like frogs at the bottom of a pool. Only if man could rise above the summit of the air could he behold the true earth, the world in which we live." Archimedes more than 2,000 years ago had wished "to stand poised in space" that he might view the earth. Yet in the twentieth century Einstein also imagined "an observer freely poised in space." Now, after these millennia, man has reached a vantage point in space from which to view his mother earth. I am convinced that our vantage point in space, the viewing of our "blue gem" in the Cosmos, triggered our sudden responsiveness to the cry for pollution control.

Your distinguished President has observed in his writings that man's ability to see himself and his blue planet will impact every discipline one could name, and will find its way into the thinking of every man concerned with designing the future. He has also noted that a deep moral perspective is needed today to assure that this country's endeavors in space are useful to humanity and not merely technological spectacles. I believe those among you who are becoming teachers must be farther ahead in sensibility and awareness than the industrialist or the engineer, to point out the true significance of our new perspective to the youngsters growing up in the era of space exploration applications.

Space flight, of course, had an immediate impact on education with the launching of the first earth satellite in 1957, the Soviet Sputnik. This first space exploit led to a national reassessment that provided a new impetus to learning for the educators and students of this country—an impetus which pervaded all levels from the earliest grades to the graduate school. Your class from early grade school on, received that impetus. The impact of space has also exerted a moral force, a striving for excellence in the quest of knowledge, that has helped to reshape the entire educational process.

While the U.S. space program has changed the outlook of our citizens, the openness of this country in exploring space also has had its influence upon the peoples of the world. I believe that Apollo 11 brought the people of the world together as never before in history, sharing the oneness of mankind and a pride in the achievement of the crew as members of the human race.

More recently, international unity and concern were generated by the difficulties

encountered during the flight of the Apollo 13 spacecraft modules Aquarius and Odyssey on the way to the moon. Indeed, the flight of Apollo 13 was a true odyssey, which Webster defines as "an adventurous journey marked by changes of fortune." The changing fortunes of Apollo 13 rallied the peoples of the world to pray for the crew's safe return, and prompted many nations of different political ideologies, including the Soviet Union, to offer their assistance in recovery operations.

#### TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

The technology which allows our astronauts to venture 250,000 miles from earth was all but taken for granted by the time we flew Apollo 13. Actually great technological advances were needed to develop the aerospace equipment which can carry man reliably around the earth, and outward into new regions of the solar system. The new systems have to perform under conditions once deemed prohibitive, thus casting space in the role of a forcing function for innovation. The space program is actually serving as a cutting edge of technology today, and the space developments of the 1970's will extend this function into the future. In addition to the visible space vehicle systems, are advances in the form of new materials, new processes and techniques, and the advances in computers, communications, and data handling.

The impact of new space requirements on the computer industry provides an excellent example of space stimulated progress. The exploration of space demands is very large computer systems of great complexity, size and speed, plus new flexibility in the use of computers. Such uses include automated checkout for space hardware, real-time monitoring of space missions, aircraft and spacecraft simulator controls, computing planetary trajectories, and modeling global weather patterns. During Apollo missions, on a real-time basis, computers calculate the trajectory to the moon and back, compare three separate solutions for the lunar descent, record and analyze thousands of bits of telemetered spacecraft information, compare these to predicted values to detect trouble, and at the same time monitor the well-being of the crew. To illustrate how the space program's computer needs have grown, the Mercury computer program contained forty thousand "computer words" while the Apollo computer program needs one and a half million, 37 times more than Mercury. The computer industry has met this challenge.

The economic impact of space should not be overlooked, either. Using the computer example again, the U.S. computer industry does about \$8 billion worth of business a year and U.S. computer exports have increased 1,400 percent in the first decade of the space age. Industry spokesmen credit the stimulus of space program requirements and space agency support of technological advances for this record. So not only did the space agency get full value from the computers it paid for, but the entire nation is benefiting from the economic and technological contributions of this industry.

The examples of technological progress made through the space program are seemingly endless, in electronics, in materials, and hundreds of other areas. Let me cite just a couple in connection with the automotive industry, perhaps more closely related to our daily lives.

In order to meet the new Clean Air Act, the Chrysler Corporation reworked its automobile ignition systems, designing distributors to operate within much closer limits. To assist in this they called in their own people who had developed the automated checkout and launch sequence equipment for the Saturn rocket that launches the Apollo spacecraft on its journey to the moon.

Today, at the Chrysler Indianapolis plant, every distributor is dynamically tested for final acceptance, on computer-controlled equipment derived directly from the Apollo program checkout equipment.

Another example is an automotive safety device which originated in the shock absorber that is used today on the couches in the Apollo spacecraft. The device is rugged, cheap, resettable, and reusable. The Bureau of Public Roads has tested it in connection with highway guard rails and found that it cuts down a 60 mile-per-hour impact to the equivalent of a 5 mile-per-hour. Ford Motor Company is now working to incorporate this Apollo device into its automobile bumpers, perhaps on its 1972 models. Allstate Insurance Company already has announced collision premium reductions of 20 percent for cars so equipped.

#### MEDICAL CHANGE

Turning from aerospace technology to medicine, the biomedical field offers another example of how the nation's space program has impelled change which benefits every citizen. The relatively few manned flights already made have produced enough knowledge to create entirely new concepts of medical procedures and equipment.

Whether the astronauts are flying 200 miles above the earth or a quarter of a million miles out in space, the space agency needs to know how fast their hearts are beating, how much oxygen they are using, how their muscles are reacting to the stresses imposed by their tasks in a weightless environment. In every manned flight, information from a biosensor attached to the body of the astronaut is relayed to a computer, to data screening equipment, and through the space program communications network to the medical team at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston. You can be sure that during the first steps on the moon, the Apollo 11 astronauts received considerable attention.

The motive of the space agency in developing the monitoring system was to preserve the lives of the astronauts, but countless other lives are being saved as a result. A recent adaptation of this system is being used in many cities to increase the efficiency of hospitals. Radio-equipped ambulances transporting a heart attack victim use biosensors with spray-on electrodes to transmit an electrocardiogram to the emergency staff so that when the patient arrives both staff and equipment stand ready to administer the indicated treatment. At the hospital, the space-developed electronic sensors for monitoring astronauts now have been adapted to continuously measure the pulse and respiration rates, temperature and blood pressure of up to 64 patients and provide continuous display of the information at a central control station. This single development gives promise of revolutionizing hospitals throughout the world. The same sensors, incidentally, can be used to monitor a patient after he has returned home by communicating an electrocardiogram to his doctor by telephone.

Partially paralyzed patients or paraplegics can now operate a motor-driven wheel chair, turn the pages of a book, change a TV station or call for help—all with a switch which can be operated by eye movement. This switch operates on the principle of infrared reflection from the eyeball which was developed for use by the astronauts when high gravity forces might limit arm and leg movement.

#### GROWTH OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Space related science is, of course, not confined to the laboratory. The growth of scientific knowledge afforded by our various space missions is, in fact, one of the primary values being returned by our national efforts in space. And it is very heartening to see our young people taking such an avid interest in this knowledge and in the scientific concepts

we use to gather it. I am reminded of Christmas Day 1968 when the Apollo 8 spacecraft was zooming back toward earth faithfully obeying the laws of gravity and action/reaction after its historic moon-orbiting feat. Astronaut William Anders was relaying information back to earth when a ground controller mentioned that his young son had asked him who was "driving" the spacecraft. After a brief pause, Anders replied, "I think Isaac Newton is doing most of the driving now".

#### Moon and planets

The discoveries from Apollo 11 and 12 have taught us more about the moon than we had previously learned in our entire history. We learned more about Mars from the pictures sent back by the automated Mariner spacecraft last summer than we had previously learned since the invention of the telescope. We might ask if in the process we have subjugated romance to science—the "mysterious moon", the "canals" of Mars. Yes, but we have opened the mysteries of the universe. This newly acquired knowledge of the moon and other planets is helping us to understand more clearly both our own planet and the universe. The moon, in particular, has long been thought to have great potential for interpreting the history of the solar system. Since the surface of the moon has been spared most of the processes of change that occur on earth such as erosion, folding, and cracking, the record of its long history since the formation of the solar system some 4.5 billion years ago apparently has been preserved.

#### Astronomy

Space astronomy is giving astronomers powerful new tools for investigating challenging questions. Huge radio galaxies, quasars, pulsars, and numerous X-ray sources are still unexplained. This country's space satellites are providing the means for making observations in the radio, infrared, ultraviolet, X-ray and gamma-ray wave-lengths that cannot penetrate the earth's atmosphere. When we recall that our present day knowledge of nuclear energy stemmed from inquiries into how the sun produced its radiant energy, we can speculate that today's space astronomy may eventually also yield results of tremendous practical importance.

#### Earth resources

Space photography and earth sensors enable us to study the earth and its atmosphere in detail, to search for new resources, to monitor water resources, agricultural activity, and to explore the oceans.

A photograph taken by Gemini of the Western Desert of Egypt was examined by an Egyptian geologist working at the University of California. He saw photographic evidence that mineral deposits in this area (which he personally knew) were at least four times as large as earth-bound research had shown.

An earth fault, amazingly similar to faults in the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula, show up in space photos in Northeast Africa where oil has not yet been found. Considering the high cost of oil prospecting, it seems logical to expect that oil companies may use space investigation as a more economical means of finding oil deposits.

Yet we have just begun to fully realize the vast potential that earth resources satellites have for the betterment of life here on earth.

We now know that observations from space can answer the basic questions that must be answered if we are to make efficient use of the limited resources of our own planet. What causes ocean currents? What untapped food resources are in the sea? What is the status of food crops around the world? Where is the flood potential of snow cover in our mountain ranges? And of prime importance, what and where are the sources of air and water pollution?

#### METEOROLOGY

Perhaps in the field of meteorology we find the most dramatic example of how our space program is providing direct benefits to the man in the street. Early in the space program, new tools and information systems for weather forecasting were developed and put into operation. These included satellites to track storms, measure wind, record the temperature at different heights, and report on the moisture content of the atmosphere.

The first satellite merely took pictures of the clouds. Now, satellites take pictures not only in the visible light, but also in infrared, and show clouds during the night as well as in daylight. Last year a satellite was launched that could take the vertical temperature profile through the atmosphere. This year, the second satellite of this type was launched, with even more sophisticated instruments. Previously it had taken tens of thousands of balloon soundings to get the same information—information that is vital in long range forecasts.

Our weather satellites have the ability to detect and track major storms, hurricanes, and threatening weather patterns, early enough and precisely enough to permit timely warning and decision. Hurricane Camille, last August, was first observed and then tracked by satellite. The hurricane's path, force, and extent were predicted early and accurately enough to permit authorities to evacuate some 70,000 people from the Mississippi and Louisiana Gulf Coast. It is estimated that some 50,000 people might have perished in the devastating storm without early warning and without the credibility provided by actual satellite pictures and data.

United States weather satellites have watched every major storm threatening the nation since 1966. In 1969 alone, 12 Atlantic hurricanes, 10 Eastern Pacific hurricanes, and 17 Western Pacific typhoons were identified and tracked by satellites. In fact, we now have available the first atlas of Pacific cloud and weather patterns covering the period 1962-1969, assembled from data available only by satellite. The Navy uses weather satellite pictures for ice patrols and to schedule Antarctic resupply, and airline pilots at Kennedy Airport routinely receive weather photos of their transatlantic route.

One other point to remember about these weather satellites is that they are inherently global systems. By using automatic read-out systems, every nation in the world can benefit from the systems onboard U.S. weather satellites. Over 50 countries are now using our satellites to view daily weather patterns over their own territory—a fine example of how the use of space encourages international cooperation.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

In the field of communications, we also have seen how the use of satellites has served to draw the world closer together and promote global cooperation. Today, communication satellites supplement cable, radio, or microwave links and literally interconnect every part of our world.

The INTELSAT satellites, controlled by an international consortium, have a capacity of 1,200 two-way telephone circuits or 4 color TV channels. Before satellites, a West Coast-to-Japan cable circuit cost \$15,000 per month; today, satellites have reduced the charge of this service to \$4,000 per month. Newer, more advanced satellites, to be launched next year, will increase this capacity to 5,000 two-way circuits for transoceanic traffic, providing economical links across the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans.

One of the more far-reaching effects these satellites will have for the betterment of man is in the field of educational television. In 1973, the United States and India will cooperate in an unprecedented experiment using a space satellite to bring instructional TV programs to some 5,000 Indian villages.

This experiment will be the first large-scale test of instructional television to demonstrate the potential value of effective mass communications in developing countries. India will be solely responsible for the television programming which will be directed toward such subjects as family planning and improvement in agriculture.

I would like to mention a pleasant aspect of the development of our communication satellites. The COMSAT Corporation, where U.S. commercial communications interests are pooled has for several years now ordered its own custom-made satellites and has refunded the space agency for launch services. A true pay as you go status has been achieved where the taxpayer's help is no longer required.

#### BENEFITS FROM FUTURE PROGRAMS

My discussion of the impact of space would not be complete without looking briefly at some of the future national programs planned for this decade. Today, the country's manned space effort is moving toward multiple programs and away from one single objective as in the 1960's and we are doing it with lower budgets. Our space program for the next decades will be a balanced program composed of reasonable schedules and will be a program responsive to our nation's many competing social needs. The new programs emphasize economy and additional uses of space technology for the benefit of man. These are in addition to the Apollo lunar science program to be completed in the first half of this decade.

The first of these programs is Skylab, which will place an experimental space station in extended earth orbit beginning in late 1972. Skylab will provide the first opportunities for a laboratory environment in space, allowing us to learn more of the earth's resources and the sun's energy. Crewmen will visit the laboratory for one to two months using the Apollo spacecraft for round-trip transportation. The laboratory itself is a modified Saturn rocket stage. Saturn launch vehicles will be used to launch the workshop and the crew separately. This program is based on using Apollo hardware not required for the lunar program.

The reusable space shuttle, which combines performance characteristics of the airplane and the rocket, is a new development that will offer many economies and benefits later in the decade. The shuttle will be launched into space vertically with its own rocket engines, but will return to earth from space for a horizontal, airplane-type landing on a conventional airport runway. The space shuttle will reduce the cost of payloads by allowing retrieval or repair of satellites in orbit and the transportation of cargo and passengers to and from orbit. It will have a quick response time and significant space rescue capability. Its design will provide for 100 or more flights without major overhaul.

Another new program is the space station, planned for operations in the late 1970's or early 80's. In earth orbit, the space station supplied by the reusable shuttle will provide additional economic gains and practical benefits. The station will reduce operating costs by its long life, up to 10 years in earth orbit, and its flexibility, combining many operations such as research, applications, and support of space flight operations. It will be designed so many of the crew of 12 people on board will be able to carry out their technical tasks without special flight training. The space station modules may be used in various earth orbits, and ultimately, in lunar orbit or on a planetary mission.

The operation of the space shuttle and the space station will put this country into space operations considerably advanced from today's mission. They will permit a major expansion in the flexibility of space activities and a steady increase in the number of visitors into space. It is possible that someone in this audience could be among those flying up

to the space station of the not too distant future. The expanded and more economical flight activities made possible by the space shuttle and space station will open space to a broad range of public, private and international interests.

Progress is expensive—there is no question about that. The programs that I have described when added to the continued forward thrust of the unmanned programs, will cost about \$17 per person next year. But the tobacco bill is about the same, and the liquor bill is \$24 per person! But I'll guarantee space will yield more for you and your children than a cough or a hangover.

#### CONCLUSION

While most of my discussion today has focused on the changes that are taking place throughout our daily lives as a result of the national space program, it is tempting at this commencement to ponder the direction of the future. That space and human values are irrevocably linked in many ways has already been established. Yet, in my judgment, it would be impossible for me today to predict accurately the future impact of space on your lives. In 1915, the airplane was 12 years old, the same age as the space program is today. Could we have predicted in 1915 what the future of the airplane would be when enemy aviators in open cockpits were just emerging from the era of saluting each other as they flew by on their reconnaissance flights to the era of throwing bricks at each other. I can say with certainty only that the full impact of this country's progress in the space environment has yet to be felt or even predicted. Magnificent as some of our accomplishments in space have been, they must, in the long run, be considered but a mere beginning. What we learn tomorrow will be of much greater consequence.

Following the flight of Apollo 11, Neil Armstrong very eloquently summarized the first lunar landing mission and theorized on its significance when he stated, "We hope and think that this is the beginning of a new era, the beginning of an era where man understands the universe around him, and the beginning of an era where man understands himself."

Inevitably, as this nation continues the conquest of space, the knowledge gained will enhance the lives of those who receive degrees here today. To an even greater extent, it will enhance the lives of your children, and the lives of future generations on this planet and elsewhere on the frontiers of outer space.

Perhaps the finest note of all was struck by Buzz Aldrin during his return trip from the moon when he read to the listening world from the Eighth Psalm of the Old Testament. "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou has ordained; what is man, that thou art mindful of him?"

#### TOUGHER LAW NEEDED AGAINST SONIC BOOMS

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**  
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, when the Department of Transportation appropriations bill was up on the floor of the House recently, I voted against appropriating funds for the supersonic transport, which unfortunately passed.

My views through the years have been consistent in that I have always believed that the SST deserved further study due to a multitude of factors—the high cost

of such aircraft whose usefulness to our citizens and a favorable balance of payments are dubious; the studies made by many atmospheric scientists, particularly the National Academy of Sciences, which warn that a fleet of 400 SST's flying an average of four flights a day would inundate the stratosphere with 150,000 tons of water vapor daily, wrapping the earth in a semipermanent cloud cover that would turn it into one big hot greenhouse; the lack of airport facilities to accommodate the SST's; the ecological changes; and the deafening noise.

Concerning the noise factor, I was encouraged to read about an organization called the coalition against the SST, which consists of 23 groups including the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth and the United Auto Workers Union, which challenge the promises of the administration that we will not have to worry about sonic booms.

The coalition, through its spokesman, Dr. Karl M. Ruppenthal, himself a former marine pilot, has charged that a proposed new Federal antiboom regulation is "full of holes," and urged a tough law banning SST sonic booms over the United States.

Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1969, I introduced H.R. 1292, which would make it unlawful to operate any civil supersonic aircraft in air transportation through the navigable airspace of the United States which would generate sonic boom overpressures exceeding 1 $\frac{1}{10}$  pounds per square foot on the ground directly beneath the flight path, and would also make it unlawful to operate any civil supersonic aircraft into or out of U.S. airports unless it can be demonstrated that ground noise levels generated by such civil supersonic aircraft is substantially lower than that generated by long-range subsonic jet aircraft.

This legislation has been pending before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and it is my hope that the Committee will hold hearings immediately, for we can no longer wait to get minimum noise standards on the books before we are faced with operative SST's.

We can no longer afford to wait because as Dr. Ruppenthal states, the main result of the SST's, among other things will be the destruction of the few remaining quiet areas in the world, the islands and the seas.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would prevent the destruction of the few remaining quiet areas of the world, as well as the destruction of the United States and its citizenry, and I urge the earliest consideration of H.R. 1292 before it is too late.

#### WISCONSIN EDITORIALS SUPPORT ANTISECRECY AMENDMENTS

**HON. HENRY S. REUSS**  
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a great many papers in Wisconsin have spoken out edi-



torially in favor of the antisecrecy amendments being offered to the Legislative Reorganization Act with bipartisan sponsorship. I insert a small selection of these editorials in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Wisconsin Press Association]

#### IMPORTANT ANTISECRECY AMENDMENTS

A group of 22 "Members of Congress, Republican and Democratic, liberal and conservative," are sponsoring a series of important anti-secrecy amendments to H. R. 17654, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, which is scheduled for House action the week of July 13.

"These amendments include recording how members vote on major issues both in committee and on the House floor, opening committee hearings and meetings to the press and the public, and requiring the availability of committee reports and hearings before final House action on legislation," the congressman said in a letter to a number of editors.

"These are important reforms," they added. "But their acceptance will depend, at least in part, on the amount of public visibility they receive and the extent to which the public—and the press—demands them.

"Unfortunately, in this regard, there is a tendency in many quarters to look upon reform of House rules and procedures as an internal 'housekeeping' matter of little concern to the public. We are sure you will agree that nothing could be further from the truth; that how the House conducts its affairs can have a significant impact on the lives of the American people and the well-being of the nation."

Standing behind the amendments are Republicans Edward G. Blister Jr. (R-Pa.), James C. Cleveland (R-N.H.), Barber B. Conable Jr. (R-N.Y.), John Dellenback (R-Ore.), John N. Erlenborn (R-Ill.), Charles S. Gubser (R-Calif.), Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R-Calif.), Thomas F. Rallsback (R-Ill.), Donald W. Reigle Jr. (R-Mich.), William A. Steiger (R-Wis.), and Robert Taft Jr. (R-Ohio).

Members of the Democratic Party supporting the amendments are Jonathan B. Bingham (D-N.Y.), John Brademas (D-Ind.), James C. Corman (D-Calif.), Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.), Sam M. Gibbons (D-Fla.), Ken Hechler (D-W. Va.), Abner J. Mikva (D-Ill.), James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.), Thomas M. Reese (D-Calif.), Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), and Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.).

We can think of nothing more important to the American public than a free flow of accurate information by which Members of Congress can be judged accordingly.

As it is today, the House rules and procedures allow a system which is confusing, unnecessarily secret and, therefore, in violation of the time-honored principle. "The public has a right to know what its government is doing."

We believe the amendments offered by the 22 bi-partisan Members of Congress, if accepted, will add teeth to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970.

The public should waste no time in urging their congressmen to support the series of anti-secrecy amendments. Write your representatives today and tell them you back an open government in a democratic society.

#### HOUSE SECRECY SHOULD END

Twenty-two House members of both parties, including Republican Rep. William Steiger of Oshkosh and Democratic Rep. Henry Reuss of Milwaukee, this week hope to do something about the way the House conducts much of its business in secret and about the methods in which the House often votes without votes being recorded by name. The congressmen have sponsored a group of amendments to a legislative reorganization bill and the amendments should be adopted.

Here are some of the things the congressmen are concerned about:

The House now considers most amendments to legislation while meeting as a committee of the whole when no record votes are taken. Such votes are taken either by voice or by a standing division of the House or as a teller vote as House members file between tellers who count the members. The voter back home, thus, has no official report on how his congressman voted or for that matter whether he was present when important business was being done.

Nearly half of the hearings and meetings of House committees are not open to the public. This includes all of the more than 300 meetings a year of the powerful Appropriations Committee in contrast to the Senate Appropriations Committee which holds about three-fourths of its meetings in public.

With few exceptions, committee votes on key provisions of legislation being drafted are not made public. This is despite a 1946 rule which requires a recording of votes whenever a committee member requests that this be done.

Committee reports are frequently filed too late to be of much use to House members before they are called upon to vote.

House-Senate conference committees, sometimes called the powerful third house of Congress, meet in secret and there is no record of roll calls. Under present rules, conference committee reports can be taken up by the House the next day despite their complexity and debate is limited to one hour.

The anti-secrecy amendments would require recorded House votes on amendments, would require that committee votes be made public, would require a two-thirds roll call vote to close a committee session, and would extend the period between the time House committees and conference committees report legislation and its consideration on the floor.

With its tradition of conducting the public's business in public, strengthened by an anti-secrecy law which applies to state and local government, Wisconsin stands in contrast to the way of doing business in the House. The handicaps to a congressman trying to be informed before he votes also are obvious.

The rules for voting by voice, division of the House, or teller votes in part result from the large size of the House. This explanation once made sense from the standpoint of saving time, but electronic means of recording votes as in the Wisconsin Assembly no longer make this excuse acceptable.

The anti-secrecy reforms probably will lose, ironically by non-recorded votes. But bringing the matter to public attention will be helpful for eventual reform and the effort should continue. Allowing the public to witness how legislation is drafted and informing the people back home how their representatives vote should be the first order of business before the House.

#### FIGHT AGAINST SECRECY IN THE HOUSE

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#### CAMPUS ADMINISTRATORS, CAMPUS RADICALS: WHO IS IN CHARGE?

#### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, last May two pieces of correspondence came into my possession, one a letter from the chairman of the Communications Committee of New York University, the other, addressed to Mrs. Minshall, from the president of her alma mater, Connecticut College. We both were struck by the almost identical phrasing in the points made in both letters, as indicated by the portions I have italicized:

FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

DEAR SIR: The faculty and students of New York University's Fine Arts Department of

Washington Square College voted to cancel classes and final exams to support the demands of the National Student Strike as follows:

1. That the United States Government end its systematic oppression of political dissidents and release all political prisoners, such as the Black Panthers.

2. That the United States Government cease its escalation of the Vietnam War in Cambodia and Laos, that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia.

3. That the universities end their complicity with the United States war machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counter insurgency research and all other such programs.

More importantly, the faculty and students did not use the crisis of recent events to gesture protest by closing down the department but, using its facilities, took a positive step toward organizing for peace, working politically and through our constitutional system. To realize this we have printed the addresses of our local representatives and Congressional Committee members, for departmental use and public distribution. To take this letter writing campaign into the community, students set up tables with stationary and these addresses at the Frick Collection, Whitney Gallery, Museum of Modern Art, Guggenheim and Jewish Museums to give visitors the opportunity of writing to politicians. To arouse the public conscience, we have organized exhibits of political art, drawing upon the city's art schools for material. The Chairman of the Fine Arts Department, Dr. Janson, has successfully urged the American Art College Association to communicate its concern over administration policy to the Government. The Curator of the New York University Art Collection, Mrs. Ruth Bowman, has dedicated three of her one hour radio programs over WNYC to discussing the duty of the art world to its society. A representative from our Department has voted in our interests before the University's Strike Coordinating Committee, while, within the Department, the faculty, students and staff have supported a movement before the University Senate to free two weeks in the fall, permitting the University community to participate in political campaigns. We have shared our materials with libraries, art galleries and publications, informing them of our activities; as a result, the staff of the Whitney Gallery has publicized its anti-war stand, the Donnell Library has organized an anti-war exhibit and numerous galleries have closed to register their anti-war view.

Our activities clearly indicate that we are willing and patient to work through the Constitutional and academic structures, and while there have been no formal classes, the joint efforts of students and faculty working for their society has proven to be a genuine part of our education. For this cooperation has done more to unite the generations to work for the national welfare than the attempted coercion toward blind patriotism through verbal intimidation as practised by certain members of the administration. We are convinced that in our times political dissent is the duty of conscientious citizens who have any regard for the sort of nation our posterity shall inherit. We believe that our government can work for the welfare of the people as long as the people make their opinions manifest; the worst we can do is to indifferently tolerate our government's present misguided policies.

JAMES ORTHMANN,

Chairman of the Communications Committee.

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE,

New London, Conn., May 11, 1970.

To Parents, Alumnae, and Friends of Connecticut College:

This is a short report on Connecticut College's participation in the events of last

week which will probably enter current American history as "the nationwide student strike." Connecticut entered the protest movement as a college community on Tuesday, May 5. On Monday a dormitory referendum had been taken which demonstrated a large student majority for a strike. In various ways the students made it clear that by "strike" they meant a cessation of all academic routines so that the community could organize on- and off-campus activities to demonstrate its disapproval of, chiefly, the new direction of the Vietnam war. Later on Monday the Faculty voted by a large majority to cancel all classes for the remainder of the week "in order to express solidarity with students' concern over the events in Southeast Asia."

Miss Julie Sgarzi, the President of Student Government, and I appointed a joint steering committee and on Tuesday that coordinating group and its subcommittee on resolutions became the organizing center of our campus activities. At a meeting that filled Palmer Auditorium on Tuesday morning and early afternoon, the community, acting as a new kind of political entity in this college's history, approved of a three-plank platform for the strike.

"Resolved, (1) that the United States government end its systematic oppression of political dissidents, and release all political prisoners, such as Bobby Seale and other members of the Black Panther Party; (2) that the United States government cease its expansion of the Vietnam war into Cambodia and Laos; that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia; (3) that the universities end their complicity with the United States' war machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counterinsurgency research and all other such programs."

The decision whether or not to accept the first part of this resolution was the most anguished moment of our week. When at the end of the morning a vote to amend part one succeeded, our black students and some others left the hall. After lunch the original language was restored, the community rift was healed and strike activities began.

Between Tuesday morning and this Monday morning our campus has been a busy scene of meetings, lectures, panel sessions, letter-writing sessions, and scenes of the comings and goings of student canvassers and visitors from the community and other campuses. Students collected more than 5000 signatures in the New London area to a petition addressed to the Connecticut congressional delegation. A climax was reached on Saturday when over 1100 family visitors came for Parents Day and entered into the debates at various levels of interest and approval.

As of this morning most of us are back at our desks and classrooms and laboratories ready to finish the semester in good order. Sunday afternoon and evening were spent in a community meeting and a Faculty meeting to determine how the nature and the momentum of the strike movement could continue during the last week of classes and the final examinations. The Faculty has offered a group of options for fulfilling the requirements in courses, which a student editorial in this morning's issue of our daily paper calls "extremely flexible!" Attendance at class today has been high.

Not all parents and alumnae will agree with what we have done. But I would defend as correct and straightforward our methods for trying to discover and express the reasonable response of our campus majority. I am aware as never before in the past eight years of the complexity of our educational mission in the sixties and seventies. What I would like especially to emphasize is that it was the collective expression of our purpose, the close, continuing relationships between teacher and student that gave our four days their special quality. I think we are better prepared than we have ever been to keep Connecticut Col-

lege a vital place for teachers to teach and students to learn.

CHARLES E. SHAIN,  
President.

Mr. Speaker, in pursuing this "coincidence" further, I obtained a copy of newsletter No. 3 issued by the National Strike Information Committee on May 5, which I am told on unimpeachable authority is composed of radicals who have created "regional centers" on Brandeis, Grinnell, and Berkeley campuses, their printing presses aided and abetted for almost instantaneous coordinating efforts across the Nation by various ham radio operators and college radio stations.

A copy of a portion of newsletter No. 3 of the National Strike Information Committee follows. The italicized portion reveals the source of those portions quoted earlier from New York University and from the president of Connecticut College. It follows:

NATIONAL STRIKE INFORMATION COMMITTEE  
NEWSLETTER NO. 3

The National Strike Information Committee has been established as a central clearing house for all information regarding strike activity at high schools, colleges and universities across the country. We are prepared to receive and disseminate strike information at Brandeis University: (617) 8946-000 Ext. 708 and 680. Ham radio communications will be received at K1WGM/1 (Frequency 14.294 MHz).

The strike has been called in support of the following three demands:

(1) That the United States government end its systematic repression of political dissidents and release all political prisoners, such as Bobby Seale and other members of the Black Panther Party.

(2) That the United States government cease its expansion of the Vietnam war into Laos and Cambodia; that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia.

(3) That the universities end their complicity with the U.S. War Machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counterinsurgency research, and all other such programs.

#### THE MEANING OF KENT STATE

The nature and context of the recent murders at Kent State bring into undisguised clarity the genocidal policy of the United States government. What is disturbing, however, is that it appears necessary that middle-class whites must be shot down before the revulsion required by innumerable similar acts against people of color can materialize. No longer is it news that politicians and the media respond only when such acts are committed against "clean people," i.e. middle-class whites.

That we can be so deeply repulsed by the murders at Kent State bring into undisguised clue to the pervasive racism of our country's culture. The significance of our present revulsion rests in our historic inability to see, believe, and understand that killing of whites is as much a conscious part of our domestic policy as is the killing of blacks or the despoliation of tiny Asian countries. Our present grief cannot be anything less than the groundwork for a commitment to the eradication of the present policies of the United States, both foreign and domestic.

#### WHO IS TO BLAME

The toll of death and destruction continues to mount across the nation:

At Ohio State University, where student protesters have been fighting National Guard troops for the last three weeks, 500 people were arrested and 30 hurt in campus disturbances today.

At the University of Idaho, 26 vehicles in

the Lewiston National Guard Armory were destroyed by fire. Arson is suspected.

At the University of California at Berkeley 4 people were arrested in a rockthrowing melee with police.

At Boston College ROTC files were ransacked in a night raid.

At Kent State University in Ohio the death toll stands at four. Three student protesters remain hospitalized in critical condition from gunshot wounds received during yesterday's massacre by the National Guard.

The establishment press, along with President Nixon and Vice President Agnew, have sought to pin the blame for this crisis on the student demonstrators. We reject this interpretation utterly. The responsibility for the present death and chaos across our land rests solely with the repressive posture assumed by the Administration which has clearly demonstrated that it intends to deal with dissent at home in the same way that it seeks to eradicate all traces of just rebellion in the Third World. . . . The recent events prove that the government cannot persecute an unpopular war abroad without the most brutal suppression of the anti-war movement in this country. If this policy necessitates the murdering of protesters on the nation's college campuses, the Administration has shown its willingness to do precisely that. An attempt to indict the victims of this repression for their militant tactics shifts the focus of blame from where it clearly belongs: with the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell regime in Washington.

#### BRING THE PANTHERS TO YOUR CAMPUS!

If you would like a spokesman from the Black Panther Party to address a meeting, rally, etc. at your school, call the New Haven Panther Defense Committee at these numbers: (203) 436-1362, 865-6872, 865-6537.

Mr. Speaker, the idea that our young people are actually being encouraged, in some cases, by faculty and administration is appalling. These individuals who are supposed to instruct and to guide our youth too often are encouraging campus violence not just through spineless inaction but by openly calling for radical activity by the student body. This is not a tolerable situation.

I was very pleased to receive a copy of a letter to President Shain from a thoughtful, intelligent young lady, an alumnus of Connecticut College, class of 1959. It is an excellent response and is echoed, I am certain, not only by Americans everywhere but represents the convictions of a vast majority of college students who are trying to pursue a higher education despite the disruptive actions of a few of their classmates, instructors, and even administrators.

Mrs. Brasfield's letter follows:

LYNDHURST, OHIO,  
June 8, 1970.

President CHARLES F. SHAIN,  
Connecticut College,  
New London, Conn.

DEAR PRESIDENT SHAIN: Only eleven brief years ago, I had the good fortune and great honor to serve as President of the Connecticut College Student Government. I was so immensely proud of the campus I served—our academic standards, our fine traditions, our spirit and enthusiasm. We were a patriotic and loyal group—questioning, but not demanding—idealistic, but not completely unrealistic—thinking, but aware of all there was to be learned by the experience which only life could offer us.

President Park, Dean Burdick, Dean Noyes—names I remember, not as "pals" or conspirators in our occasional activities, but persons who were deeply respected. We knocked at their doors with only the most severe problems; we knew their lives were

most busy maintaining and enlarging the fine standards of our college. They, along with our parents, expected great things of us; we tried hard to live up to these expectations.

There is no generation gap between myself and the students of today; we are only a decade apart. Our ideas should, by all historical standards, be fairly well aligned. But, unfortunately, this is not the case in many instances; I wonder, in confusion and frustration, how this rapid change has come about.

I remember the gradual arrival of Communist literature to my mailbox in 1959 and wonder if this became a bombardment of information by 1970. I recall with dismay the gradual withdrawal of rules and regulations from so many campuses in the last ten years; how sad, for we all need guidance in what is an acceptable code of behavior. I find myself forever grateful that my college years were such a good preparation for living my life.

But times have changed and, with them, the college campus. Now, eleven years after walking proudly between the Laurel chain, I receive a letter from my beloved campus on the hill, naming a platform so contrary to the philosophy which generations of Americans have fought to preserve.

I admire the students of today for their deep concern. They are the "Now Generation." But, unfortunately, their answers seem too often selfishly oriented to their "Now" existence than to the future.

For this, they are not completely to blame. I understand that the strike committee had volumes of information available for speedy circulation. Was this ever countered with an opposing philosophy? Students, as always, are so easily led, so carried away by idealistic emotionalism, so quickly caught up in the moment. Was there a calm voice somewhere to remind them that the role of an intellectual community is to study, in depth and with thoughtful deliberation, every aspect of the question at hand? Did they understand the future consequences of their resolutions?

"Resolved (1) that the United States government end its systematic oppression of political dissidents, and release all political prisoners, such as Bobby Seale and other members of the Black Panther Party."

You state that "the community" accepted this resolution, demanded by a minority of members present, in order to receive unanimity. Do they understand that members of this party have broken the very laws paramount to the smooth running of any civilized society? Bobby Seale is under indictment on charges involving kidnapping and murder of another Black Panther; Eldridge Cleaver was imprisoned for assault with intent to kill! And the Connecticut students support them! Have they not heard that the ultimate goal of these "suppressed dissidents" is the eventual overthrow of our government, and, thus, our way of life? Perhaps posting the enclosed copy of some cartoons from the "Black Panther Coloring Book" would enlighten them on the motives of these people who receive such a generous share of their concern.

"(2) that the United States government cease its expansion of the Vietnam war into Cambodia and Laos; that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia;"

I hope that the students understand that they share this deep desire for peace with every other rational American. But, how can they make such a statement unless they are willing to abandon the 1500 American prisoners still in North Vietnam? Have they considered the "immediate" consequences of this "immediate withdrawal". I am afraid that there would result in that country a blood bath which would remain on the conscience of the entire Western world for generations to come.

"(3) that the universities end their complicity with the United States war machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counterinsurgency research and all other defense programs."

Were the students made to realize that by withdrawing support from these vital areas they jeopardize our entire national security. Are they aware of how many students profit from ROTC and government research programs? Have they considered what the extinction of these forms of education would mean to their peers and to the future growth and security of our great nation?

I am concerned that these major questions were never examined. I wonder if the Connecticut "community" ever considered protesting Hanoi's treatment of American prisoners? Or Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia? Or the Viet Cong massacre of the people of Hue? Have they ever thought of a resolution to North Vietnam asking:

Why the prisoners' families are not allowed to know the status of their men.

Why North Vietnam will not allow inspection of prisoner of war facilities by the Red Cross.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the members of our Cleveland Club of Connecticut College and to the graduating class of 1959. I am certain that some of them will disagree with the thoughts I have expressed here. But, perhaps my verbalization of a contrary opinion will encourage them to take an increasingly more active stand on the problems of "campus unrest" and the even greater issues of today.

Few people have an opportunity to play such a large role in the future of our country. Such an awesome responsibility demands great courage and wisdom. I pray that you will somehow receive special guidance in this extremely important position.

Most sincerely,

EMILY HODGE BRASFIELD,  
Class of 1959.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 15, 1970

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, today we mark the 12th observance of Captive Nations Week, a week set aside by unanimous congressional action in 1959 so that all Americans will be reminded of the plight of those freedom-loving people located behind the Iron Curtain.

Since 1920, when the Soviet Union forcefully annexed the Ukraine and seven other tiny nations, Communist powers have continued their drive to their announced goal of world domination. Twenty-three more nations have been placed behind the Iron Curtain, the latest being Cuba in 1960. And if it were not for the presence of the United States, many more peoples would undoubtedly be under the tyranny of communism today.

So it is appropriate to note that 2 weeks ago, the United Nations marked its 25th anniversary and, in spite of the U.N.'s great contributions to world peace, one cannot help but wonder what might have been accomplished if the Soviet Union had cooperated seriously and constructively in using that organization for the genuine maintenance of world peace. Instead, since the founding of the U.N., the Russians have liberally used their

veto power to undermine any peace-making activities that they felt were detrimental to the Communist cause, and what is even more serious, they vetoed all efforts to give the U.N. the peace-keeping military forces which were obviously a necessary part of its effectiveness as originally envisioned.

Since we last observed Captive Nations Week, 1 year ago, Soviet despotism has shown its true colors with the recent ousting of Czechoslovakia's Alexander Dubcek finally and completely from all government and political positions, though they still have not broken his spirit nor have they apparently diminished his popularity with the Czech people. Mr. Dubcek dared allow a modicum of freedom to the Czech people before the brutal military invasion by the Soviets in 1968 deposed him as head of the Czechoslovakian Government. He now has a very uncertain future and it is anticipated that he may even be tried by the Soviets for various crimes against the people. The verdict of any such trial would, of course, be a certainty before it began.

In this past year, we have seen the Soviets fan the flames of war in the Middle East by their irresponsible action in providing Egypt with Sam II missiles, as well as additional military equipment. The dangers presented by the growing presence of the Russians in the Middle East cannot be over-emphasized.

In Southeast Asia, also this past year, the communist powers have shown their determination to bring more people behind the Iron Curtain. The United States and South Vietnam have again been rebuffed after making concession after concession at the Paris talks in their attempts to bring about peace. The Communists are making military gains in Laos and Thailand. And Cambodia, overwhelmed by the North Vietnamese invasion, appears to be all but lost.

What will the world situation be when we observe Captive Nations Week, one year from now. Can anyone continue to doubt the international motives of the Communists?

During the observance let us take time to reassert our commitment to the brave peoples of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, all who suffer behind the Iron Curtain, and all other people who live under the threat of Communist aggression. The American people are committed to hasten the day that all people are free to speak as they feel, observe the faith they choose in their own way, and decide for themselves how they are to be governed.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT MAY BE CAUSE OF DISORDERS

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure all my colleagues are aware, the city of

New Bedford, in my district, was the scene earlier this month of serious civil disorders. One of the root causes of these disturbances, in my view, was the high rate of unemployment there. Presently, 8.3 percent of the work force is without jobs. This situation can only grow worse if a continually increasing volume of imports is allowed to displace more workers in the textile industry. The situation of shoe-workers in other parts of Massachusetts is equally precarious. Thus, in the absence of a fair and effective triggering device for enough tariff relief and adjustment assistance to be of real help to the shoes and textile manufacturers those of us representing workers in those industries must seek legislated quota relief. In this regard, I applaud the action of the Committee on Ways and Means in tentatively adopting import ceilings for foreign footwear and textile products.

However, Mr. Speaker, what the committee did for New Englanders with one hand, it took away with the other. On the day following the adoption of quotas for shoes and textiles, a majority of the committee voted to make permanent the current oil quotas. Thus, the legitimate needs of shoe and textile workers are being held hostage, pending the further solidification of the oil industry's privileged position.

There is no need for a ceiling on oil imports. It is economically unjustified and it is indefensible from a conservationist point of view. If we exclude petroleum products from foreign sources, then we'll use up our own domestic supply that much quicker.

In my view, the President should have acted on the recommendations of his Cabinet Task Force months ago and abolished oil quotas in favor of a limited tariff system. It is unthinkable that Congress, in the face of the task force's irrefutable logic, should tie the President's hands and wed this Nation permanently to the oil quota system.

Mr. Speaker, oil quotas are becoming increasingly intolerable to New Englanders. Heating oil costs continue to skyrocket. Each winter, it seems, we are faced with a shortage of domestically produced No. 2 oil. The quota exemptions granted by the Oil Import Administration are so limited that a fuel crisis will probably arise again next winter.

Furthermore, the inflated cost of petroleum products is indirectly passed on to consumers. I am informed that several utilities in southeastern Massachusetts are not only paying a king's ransom for crude oil this year but are also faced with shortages of that product. For example, Taunton Light & Gas Co. put out bids recently for crude oil. It could only be guaranteed one third of its needs, and that at a cost of \$1 a barrel more than last year.

In another instance, an independent oil terminal operator in my district reports that there have been five increases in bunker oil prices since February, totaling 60 cents a barrel. Now this firm is unable to find bunker oil supplies anywhere. In yet another instance, the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority informs me that it is unable to complete its resurfacing program for lack of asphalt, of which oil is an essential ingredient.

Mr. Speaker, it is incredible that, in view of these shortages of supply and rapidly escalating prices, that the domestic oil industry clings tenaciously to oil quotas and even demands that they be made a matter of statute. I urge my colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee to reconsider their action of last week and strike from the pending trade bill this unnecessary and unjustifiable protection for the oil interests.

#### HEREDITY AND CANCER

### HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in the fight against cancer, every new discovery that will help to eliminate this dreaded disease is encouraging and worthy of note. I would therefore like to recognize the work of one of Utah's well-known scientists, Dr. Eldon J. Gardner at Utah State University. In the June edition of the Outlook, his work is described. The article follows:

#### CANCER RESEARCHER SEEKS ANSWERS FROM GENETICS

Twenty years ago a Utah State University geneticist began studying a form of cancer which appears to be hereditary within a Utah family. All fifty-one living descendants of one woman were studied at that time and six were found to have multiple polyps of the colon which tend to become cancerous.

Today Dr. Eldon J. Gardner, dean of the USU School of Graduate Studies and professor of zoology, is still working with the family, conducting new tests, attempting to answer the question: What is the basic cause of the cancer of the colon which claimed the lives of eight family members within three generations?

Several other abnormal traits associated with the cancer were identified by Dr. Gardner in the early 1950's in the same six people found to have multiple intestinal polyposis. In 1959 Dr. W. G. Smith of Mayo Clinic named Gardner's Syndrome, the only medical syndrome to be named after a geneticist.

Today one or more of these traits have appeared in 28 members of the kindred that now includes 163 members. The abnormal traits include bone tumors, skin lesions, connective tissue lesions as well as multiple polyposis (numerous tumors that often become malignant) in the lower digestive tract.

"A single dominant gene is postulated to be the cause," Dr. Gardner said. "The puzzle is how so many different traits can occur in the same person and be caused by a single gene."

The scientist explained that a single mutation is believed to be the origin because the abnormal traits are found in only one branch of the family—all descended from the woman who died with cancer in 1909.

The syndrome occurs only in families in which one parent has the single dominant gene. "If one parent has the dominant gene, about half of the children also will have it," he stated.

"While the usual high incidence cancer period is between the ages of 45 and 60, cancer occurs earlier in this family," Dr. Gardner said. The youngest family member to die of cancer was 29 and the oldest 54, the average age being 39.

The scientist became involved in studying the family while teaching at the University of Utah. One day he announced to his class

that studies had been made on the inheritance of cancer.

"After class a student said a family in his home town seemed to have an extremely high mortality from cancer of the colon. He offered to introduce me to the family," Dr. Gardner explained.

Dr. Gardner met the family and spent the next two summers, 1950 and 1951, surveying all 51 descendants of a woman in whom the first well-documented case of cancer had been reported.

The woman, who died in 1909, three of her children and four of her grandchildren had died with carcinoma of the colon over a period of 31 years.

"I studied several thousand people because this was once a polygamous family," Dr. Gardner said. Extensive family histories dating back to the 18th century were obtained, and all the evidence available concerning the incidence of cancer of the lower digestive tract was analyzed. Results showed that all cases occurred in one branch among the descendants of the woman who died in 1909, with cancer of the colon.

"I got well acquainted with the family members while driving all of them to Salt Lake City for examinations in the medical center. They have been very helpful and cooperative," the dean said.

He noted that the disease had created sociological problems, as well as medical problems. The deaths early in life caused some children to be reared by relatives and grow up without the usual family ties. "The diseases also have caused economic problems since many family members have had to undergo extensive operations," Dr. Gardner stated.

As a result of the medical tests, six family members, all of whom were found to have multiple intestinal polyps, bone lesions, connective tissue lesions and sebaceous cysts, were treated surgically for multiple polyps. Symptoms of the syndrome other than intestinal polyps were detected in some of the other 51 family members during the first clinical examinations. Most of these have since developed polyps in the colon. In 1962 the entire family was again checked, and symptoms were identified in 24, including several younger family members.

Dr. Gardner said the intestinal polyps did not appear until the teenage years, with the earliest appearing at age 12 in one family member. "The most serious aspect of the syndrome is the polyposis which is known to predispose to cancer of the colon and rectum," the dean stated.

However, the bone tumors and skin and tissue lesions seem to appear earlier than polyposis in the family, he said. The bone lesions can be detected at birth or shortly thereafter, so, a family member in whom these are not found can receive some satisfaction in knowing that he will not have colon polyps. Also, alert parents and physicians can thus arrange for appropriate treatment as soon as warranted.

"We're now trying to get a finger on the basic cause of the traits associated in this syndrome. We hope we're working toward an answer to the question of what this gene is doing to produce several different kinds of abnormal growths in the same individuals."

Research into the mystery is still ongoing. This spring the mouths of family members were X-rayed, and a study of the teeth was made. Results show that all of the family members who expressed the syndrome had serious dental problems—some with whole sets of extra teeth and others with false teeth before the age of 20.

Doctors from the National Institutes of Health are currently conducting tests on urine and blood samples to look for irregularities in the basic hormonal entities.

Two USU doctoral students are assisting Dr. Gardner with his research, Edwin W. Naylor, Gloversville, N.Y., and Allen A.

Badgett, Los Angeles. Mr. Naylor has been working with Dean Gardner since winter quarter of 1967, and Mr. Badgett joined the project in 1969.

In its initial stages at the University of Utah, the study was supported by the U.S. Public Health Service. It has since been financed by the American Cancer Society and the Damon Runyon Memorial fund for Cancer Research.

#### SEPARATE VIEWS ON H.R. 17880— THE DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I support the extension of the present law and believe the section to expand the inflation fighting powers of the President is urgently needed.

Several persuasive arguments commend themselves to critical thought relative to the placement of such powers in the hands of the Chief Executive. It is clear from the position strongly and successively advocated by the President in the Senate and the House on the Cooper-Church amendment that the administration is unwilling to concede any degree of cooperative responsibility relating to the commitment of our military resources in Southeast Asia or any other troubled spot in the world. Even limited study of the current inflation finds its roots and prevailing strength emanating from heavy military expenditures.

Now, if one agrees that responsibilities should be commensurate with power and authority it follows that the President must be equally strong in commitments to the use of his office as the responsible agency to wield the weapons of inflation fighting which are provided in this legislation and in legislation previously passed by this Congress. It should be noted that the operative period for this legislation has been appropriately restricted to a period of far less than 1 year but within that short time frame great flexibility is allowed to the President. It should not be overlooked that having this specific authority even if it is not used, strengthens the President's authority to encourage voluntary restraints on the part of labor vis-a-vis wages on the part of management vis-a-vis prices. The discouraging experience of almost 4 years of a tight-money policy clearly indicates that further pursuit of this unproductive avenue cannot be justified. Knowledgeable economists and experienced and practical legislators, alike, recognize our present condition as a wage- and price-push inflation. Policies to promote economic stability are the proven answer to such inflation problems. I commend the committee for balancing in this legislation the powers proclaimed by the President with responsibilities now spelled out by the Congress.

In the statement I delivered to the committee, before casting my vote, I explained my opposition to the Uniform Cost Accounting Standards—UCAS—provisions of the original legislation. My

statement is printed below. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the committee for their actions and to outline what I believe to be the reasoning behind those actions.

As I noted in my statement, some very serious reservations to the UCAS provisions were expressed by the accountants which appeared to testify on the Senate bill, S. 3302. I do feel the revisions voted by the committee have met these objections.

In specific, the committee has proposed the creation of a five-member board to develop standards and definitions for UCAS and to report their conclusions and recommendations back to the Congress by June 30, 1971. This board will be composed of the Comptroller General, two representatives from the accounting field—to include one with expertise in the field of small business, and two representatives from industry. This board will develop a coherent set of standards and a detailed set of rules which the Congress will then carefully review and consider before promulgating legislation to apply these provisions to the industry.

The instructions to this board also provide for a consideration of the Federal Government's bid procedures to establish what changes, and I am sure there are a number, need to be made in that aspect. With this broad mandate, the findings of this board will dovetail into the report of the Holifield Commission on Government Procurement which should be available at that time. The committee and the Congress will then be able to utilize the results and recommendations of both of these Commissions in their consideration of any future legislative proposals on uniform cost accounting standards.

The text of my statement to the committee follows:

In my judgment the provision for "uniform" accounting procedures should be dropped at this time from this legislation. Although I was persuaded he has made a great contribution to our awareness of practices in procurement that need attention, the present legislation does not, in my opinion, provide the assurance of improvement that matches the probability of new and undesired problems. Further testimony has demonstrated that many companies doing business with the United States Government do not adequately display their cost in a suggested "uniform" accounting as now drafted are of such wide range and serious depth as to dictate caution in accepting this shotgun approach on the twin thin pillars of the Admirals' charges and the G.A.O. blanket support that such accounting requirement is *quote* feasible *unquote*.

I am impressed by the lack of enthusiasm and the absence of positive support for the "uniform" accounting approach expressed by every substantial accounting organization asked to testify. The carefully qualified words to a critical reader clearly expose the lack of confidence generally entertained. Note these quotes from pertinent sources.

1. Dr. Howard W. Wright, Professor and Chairman, Division of Accounting, University of Maryland:

"While I concur in a finding of feasibility, I have grave doubts about the need for a new effort of the magnitude indicated by the proposed legislation and have significant reservations concerning some of the recommendations in the report."

2. The National Association of Accountants:

"We suggest that this effort should have two separate phases. In the first phase, the objective should be to develop a sound conceptual foundation. Standards should be developed as a second phase, which should not be started until the basic concepts have been formulated. If standards are written without reference to an explicit set of concepts, they are likely to be a hodgepodge of inconsistent statements, rather than a coherent set of standards.

"We assume, of course, that the objective is to develop standards, rather than a uniform accounting system of a detailed set of rules. Such straight jackets are completely unworkable."

3. The Financial Executives Institute:

"The uniform cost accounting standards that the G.A.O. believes are feasible have not been identified or defined adequately to provide an understanding of what is contemplated. There is no substantiation that such standards and advance agreements, as recommended in the feasibility study, are economically feasible or practical, or that they would solve the accounting problems associated with applying sound cost principles to government contracts."

Add to this the further problem of establishing the appropriate cut-off points for government requirements and I believe further study and a more restrained approach is both dictated and commended to responsible legislators.

It is with this in mind that I am in support of Congressman Rees' amendment to establish a 5-member board to develop standards and definitions for uniform cost accounting standards and to report their conclusions and recommendations back to the Congress by June 30, 1971. The board will be composed of the Comptroller General, 2 representatives from the accounting field (to include one with expertise in the field of small business), and 2 representatives from industry.

This board will develop a coherent set of standards and a detailed set of rules which the Congress will then carefully review and consider before promulgating legislation to apply these provisions to industry. The instructions to this board also provide for a consideration of the Federal Government's bid procedures to establish what changes, and I'm sure there are a number, need to be made in that aspect of this issue.

As I see it, we should not abandon either our interest in or our pursuit of an acceptable and reasonable method to eliminate the problems pointed out or to avoid the abuses outlined. To my mind, the establishment of this board meets this obligation as well as responsibly responding to the questions raised by the accountant witnesses, which I have noted above.

With this broad mandate, the findings of this board will dovetail into the report of the Government Procurement Commission established by legislation authored by my good friend and colleague, Congressman Chet Holifield. This Committee and the Congress will then be able to utilize the results and recommendations of both of these investigatory bodies in their consideration of any future legislative proposals on uniform cost accounting standards.

#### LIBERIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

**HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Liberia, the oldest Republic in Africa, celebrates its 123d anniversary July 26. On behalf of

the Subcommittee on Africa, I am pleased to extend to President William V. S. Tubman and the people of Liberia congratulations and every best wish for the future.

The history of Liberia is linked to our own. Special ties date from 1816 when the United States and its people gave support to the establishment of Liberia as a home for former slaves. Since that time the American people have maintained a keen interest in Liberia and have been privileged to assist in its development. We have watched with particular admiration Liberia's progress over the last 27 years under the inspired guidance of President Tubman. We are confident of Liberia's future and of the continued close friendship between our two countries.

#### TAX POLICY

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a friend and constituent of mine, Mr. Tom E. Moore of Springfield, Va., recently wrote to me to express his grave concern over what appears to be a tendency developing on the part of the executive branch of our Government to use tax policy as a form of punishment for those who disagree with official policy.

As I believe Mr. Moore expresses this concern quite well, I insert the text of his letter to me at this point in the RECORD:

SPRINGFIELD, VA.,  
July 10, 1970.

The Honorable JOEL T. BROYHILL.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: Several months ago I wrote to you of my concern for the proposal by Mr. Finch, then Secretary of HEW, to tax private schools which exclude negroes. His letter to you written by one of his underlings, was a classic in weasel-winding, explaining that he had no official part in establishing tax policy. Now Mr. Finch is the personal adviser to Mr. Nixon, has had his way, and the Executive Department is determining tax policy which takes the form of punishment for disagreeing with the official policies of the President and his staff.

The power to tax is the power to destroy, has often been said. As the framers of the Constitution were well aware of this truism, they built the safeguard into that document in providing that tax policies were to be set only by the House of Representatives. This safeguard has been pre-empted by fiat.

The basic principle involved in our system is that of representative government, representative of the majority of the citizens. The Nixon administration is unduly concerned about the interests of any noisy minority (blacks, and what have you) that looks as if they might be persuaded by the action and by some major miracle to vote Republican, and to hell with those whose confidence in his leadership and his feeling for Constitutional government put him in office in the first place. It appears to me that every step is moving us closer to a dictatorship. We surely aren't far from it at this moment.

We didn't elect this sort of government; we don't want it, and we will not tolerate it. The taxation of private schools, for any reason whatever, should be put down firmly by the Congress. Waving the flag, "getting to-

gether" on the 4th of July, and singing patriotic songs in window dressing, a kind of bread and circuses act, to lull us into complacency while the insidious business goes on unnoticed, like termites gnawing at our vital timbers.

Very truly yours,

TOM E. MOORE.

#### BRITISH TROUBLED BY CAMBODIAN ATTACKS IN U.S. SENATE

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished international correspondent of the Copley News, Dumitru Danielopol, has just returned from an extensive factfinding tour of the Middle East and Europe and continues to emphasize the obvious fact that the President's effective handling of Southeast Asian problems is indispensable to leadership which is expected of the United States in world affairs. Thus, his commentary in the Thursday, July 9, Aurora, Ill., Beacon-News on British reactions to senatorial attacks on our involvement in Cambodia is extremely significant:

BRITISH TROUBLED BY CAMBODIAN ATTACKS IN U.S. SENATE

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

LONDON.—Even the imperturbable British are shaken by some of our "liberal" Senators.

For centuries it was the British who defended the "Judeo-Christian civilization." Now that the responsibility has passed to the United States, the British look at our actions with special awareness. The thinking Britisher knows from history that what America does will affect the freedom and well-being of the rest of the world.

Such Britishers are very much aware, too, that, had London acted in time in the first decade of this century and again in the 1930s to stop aggression, it might have prevented two world wars.

With their vast experience in the Far East and their first hand appreciation of Oriental psychology, the British are deeply troubled by the violent attacks on President Nixon's Cambodian action, by the Church-Cooper amendment to restrict the President's freedom of action and by the neo-isolationist ideas expressed by the Fulbrights, Mansfields, Hatfields, Kennedys and Pells.

The Cambodia debate in the House of Commons last May, held only a few days before Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced the general elections, reveals some thoughts held by men in power in Britain.

Wilson recalled that the territorial integrity of Cambodia had already been breached by the Reds "systematically and over a period of time."

"No one will underestimate the extent to which the danger had escalated before the President was called to make his decision," he said.

Julian Amery, former Minister of Air and newly appointed to Prime Minister Edward Heath's sub-cabinet, pointed up British interests.

"The distance is only 20 minutes flying time between Vietnam and Singapore," he said.

Britain still has deep interests in the area which would be jeopardized if Vietnam was lost. A firm believer in the domino theory—that defeat in Vietnam would lead to the loss of other countries to communism—Amery went on to cite his own experience in the region.

"I was in Laos, in Cambodia, in Thailand,

in Malaysia, in Singapore, in Australia and in New Zealand, a clear consensus that if the Communists prevailed in Vietnam, still more if they prevailed in the rest of former Indochina, they would prevail in the whole area.

"I know that the domino theory is not popular in this country today. . . . (but) it is difficult to find any serious statesman anywhere in Southeast Asia who does not share it.

" . . . It is clear that both in China and in the Soviet Union there are domino men, too. They think that if there is a breakthrough in Vietnam and Cambodia, it will spread through the whole area."

Some U.S. lawmakers should listen.

#### OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR RETIRING

#### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, 32 years ago a young man migrated from Pennsylvania into Bergen County, N.J., and it was one of the most fortunate things that ever happened for the people in my area.

The man who came to New Jersey is Dr. Patrick E. Tedesco who through a career as a teacher, athletic coach, and school administrator did much to help and inspire young people in his years of service at Lodi (N.J.) High School. Dr. Tedesco's work in all areas of community endeavor has been outstanding and particularly with young people.

Now, Dr. Tedesco has announced he will retire from the Lodi school system next year, and in tribute to him, I, as a personal friend and great admirer of his, place in the RECORD an article from the Lodi Independent of July 9, 1970, telling of his outstanding career:

#### TEDESCO RETIRING IN JUNE OF 1971

Dr. Patrick E. Tedesco, director of Audio Visual Aids at Lodi High School has notified the Board of Education of his plans to resign as of June, 1971. On April 17, 1971, he will be 60 years with 36 years experience in the school profession. He is also a public accountant.

Tedesco came to Lodi in 1938 as a teacher and as a wrestling champion coach. Prior to 1938, he was an assistant athletic coach at Bangor and Waynesboro High Schools, Pa. He introduced interscholastic wrestling at Lodi. He quit as coach in 1945.

Tedesco served as supervisor of secondary education at Lodi from 1948 to 1958. From 1958 to 1969, he served as director of curriculum, and currently he is serving as director of audio visual aids.

#### GRADUATED RIDER

Tedesco graduated Rider College, Trenton, with a BCS degree. He earned his MA degree at Montclair State in 1946 and his Ph. D. degree at Metropolitan University, California in 1959. In addition, he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters at Interamerican University, Mexico in 1964; an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters at Philathea College, Canada in 1968 and an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at James Martin Seminary and College, Hong Kong, China in 1969.

During his high school and college days, Tedesco was an honor student and an outstanding athlete in football, wrestling, boxing, baseball and track. Tedesco is considered one of the world's fastest typists. He estab-

lished a speed typing championship record of 110 net words per minute at Rider in 1933, which record has not yet been broken.

Tedesco is certified and qualified to hold practically all administrative and supervisory posts in the public schools and colleges of the United States. He has also gained prominence and recognition in the United States as a writer and as a public speaker.

Dr. Tedesco is a well-known native of Roseto, Pennsylvania, adjacent to the Pocono Mountains.

He has also served as one of New Jersey's Democratic political leaders for over 30 years.

#### NO SHINE LIKE A KAUFMAN SHINE

#### HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the July 16 edition of the Wall Street Journal front-paged my friend Ralph Kaufman, who is famed as one whose good work literally shines from coast to coast. If any of my colleagues pass through Cleveland Hopkins Airport without obtaining a Kaufman shine, they are missing a great experience and the best shoeshine of a lifetime. Greg Conderacci's story, which follows, tells why:

A SHOESHINE PARLOR IN CLEVELAND ATTRACTS CLIENTS FROM ALL OVER—NO SHINE LIKE A KAUFMAN SHINE, SAYS FANS OF SHOP IN AIRPORT—CAN HE OUTDO NIXON'S VALET?

(By Greg Conderacci)

CLEVELAND, July 16, 1970—Sometimes it takes a great artist half a lifetime or more to discover his true calling. Joseph Conrad didn't begin writing novels until he was close to 40 years old. Paul Gauguin didn't turn to painting until he was 35.

And Ralph Kaufman didn't start shining shoes until he was 50.

There are those who might doubt that Ralph Kaufman ranks up there with Conrad and Gauguin. They are the people whose shoes Mr. Kaufman has never shined. But to the growing number of customers who frequent Mr. Kaufman's shoeshine shop at Cleveland's Hopkins Airport, there's no doubt that he stands alone as the master of his trade in a world of disappearing craftsmanship.

"Ralph gives the greatest shoeshine in the world—bar none," says John (Long John) Nebel, a New York radio talk show host who boasts of owning almost 50 pairs of shoes. "My shoes are so shiny (after receiving the Kaufman treatment) that they look like they're made of patent leather."

Indeed, Mr. Nebel and many others across the country are so convinced there's no shine like a Kaufman shine that they regularly bundle up their scruffy old shoes and mail them to his shop. There, for \$5 a pair, footwear sent in from as far away as New York and California gets the Kaufman treatment.

#### LIFE INTO LEATHER

"It's like putting new life into a baby," says Jesse Winchester, one of 15 men (most of them part-timers) who work in Mr. Kaufman's parlor. "You have to take a lot of time and just rub life into leather."

Mr. Kaufman, who's now 62, has spent the better part of 12 years perfecting his "super shine" and teaching his 15 bootblacks how it's done. Now, like any man at the pinnacle of his profession, he handles mostly executive duties—riding herd on his workers, checking on a shoe repair shop he also operates, taking care of correspondence about shoes mailed in

and assuring visitors that "there's no one who can give you a better shine—not even the President's valet."

Whether the Kaufman shoe shine is really more lustrous than that applied by President Nixon's valet is a question that may never be answered. A few months ago, after hearing recurring reports of the brilliance of Mr. Kaufman's shines, Doug Llewelyn, a Washington radio and television announcer, tried to promote a contest between Mr. Kaufman and the Presidential valet.

No dice, replied the White House. "I don't think the White House wanted word to get around that President Nixon doesn't shine his own shoes," says Mr. Llewelyn. The President's shoes, he says, "are the most highly shined shoes I've ever seen. They look like they're made of glass. I sure would have liked to put them up against a pair shined by Ralph."

Mr. Kaufman got into the shoeshine business when he bid on the lease for a game room concession and shoeshine stand at the airport in 1958. Prior to that, he had jumped from one field to another, working as a maller in a newspaper plant, dealing in iron and steel scrap and running a hotel. He began his shine parlor modestly with one or two chairs and as his business grew so did his interest in the art of shining shoes.

#### LIVING HIGH

Clearly that interest has paid off. Mr. Kaufman won't say what he makes, but he's obviously prosperous. He lives in a comfortable apartment in the fashionable suburb of Shaker Heights, owns two cars, is a partner in a thriving three-store shoe repair business, is expanding a fledgling dry cleaning business and, with his three brothers, owns a restaurant.

Mr. Kaufman concedes the \$5 price on his "super shines"—he also offers an ordinary 50-cent shine—is high, but he insists he loses money on almost every such job. That's because the \$5 shine also includes any needed repairs such as stitching or new heels and soles. He offers that deal, he says, because people talk about it and that's "good advertising."

Harold T. P. Hayes, editor of Esquire, tells of sending a pair of weather-beaten suede boots to Mr. Kaufman with little hope they could ever be made to look respectable. When they were returned, he says, "my secretary put them on my desk and they looked so good I didn't recognize them."

Sometimes customers mall in footwear that taxes even Mr. Kaufman's expertise. James Crismond, a sales executive at a Washington radio and TV station, recently sent Mr. Kaufman a pair of polo boots caked with a mixture of mud, grime and horse sweat. The boots were in such dismal condition, Mr. Crismond says, that no self-respecting bootblack in Washington would touch them. "I told Ralph if they weren't worth fooling with to just throw them away," he says.

"Those boots were a challenge," Mr. Kaufman recalls. A bootblack spent eight hours removing dirt and then started applying brown polish. When the boots finally looked like a Kaufman product, Mr. Kaufman arranged for a high-class delivery man to return them to Mr. Crismond. "I was just passing through the airport and Ralph asked me to do him a favor," says Rep. William Minshall (R., Ohio), who has been a Kaufman customer for years.

Mr. Kaufman's "super shine" is based on the old-fashioned military spit shine, a process that calls for endless periods of circular rubbing over a small area with a damp cloth. First, a Kaufman bootblack removes all the old polish—Mr. Kaufman formerly used the leg bone of an elk for that task but has switched to an electric brush. Then a coat of carnauba wax, made from leaves of palm trees and one of the hardest waxes known, is applied and rubbed with a moist muslin cloth, until it gleams. That process—another

coat of wax followed by another spit shine—may be repeated five or 10 times before Mr. Kaufman is satisfied.

Finally, the finished shine is coated with a special spray that Mr. Kaufman concocted—it contains "alcohol and two other ingredients that I'm not going to tell you," he says—to seal the finish under a scuff-resistant glaze. The shine will last for months, Mr. Kaufman says, "but you got to wipe it off with a clean rag every morning—like religion."

Mr. Kaufman says that many savvy bootblacks use the same carnauba-based polish he uses. Its manufacturer, the George A. Kelly Co. of Lynn, Mass., is secretive about the formula, but says it has been making essentially the same polish since 1900. The trouble with most shines, Mr. Kaufman explains, is that the typical bootblack "thinks all you have to do is run a rag over a shoe." Moreover, he says, too many people use dirty shine rags. "I wouldn't hit a dog with some of the rags they use in New York," he sniffs.

THE QUESTIONABLE UTILITY OF NUCLEAR POWER

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, as the national concern over our electric power situation continues to mount, some people are looking to nuclear power reactors for a solution; scholarly research, numerous articles in the news media, however, as well as the past performance and present condition of the nuclear power industry, make the nuclear solution dubious. In recent years, I have emphasized that hydroelectric plants offer a more feasible and viable solution to the power crisis. I maintain that contention today.

Last month, to my very great disappointment, the House refused to include the preconstruction planning funds for the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project in northern Maine in the public works appropriation bill for fiscal 1971. I am confident that the Senate Appropriations Committee will reinsert the \$807,000 for Dickey-Lincoln and that this action will receive full Senate approval. In conference, however, Dickey will encounter the same arguments that private power utilities have advanced now for 5 years and the public need for low-cost, reliable power in New England will again face an extremely difficult test. An abundance of impressive evidence suggests, however, that Dickey's construction should proceed forthwith, not only because of hydropower's proven worth, but also because of the questionable utility of nuclear power.

Recently, another author, Ralph E. Lapp, writing in the New Republic, warned America of its power deficiency. In treating the diverse subject of resource development and in assessing the resource's contemporary condition, he maintained that nuclear-powered electric plants constitute a great challenge to the environment. I am submitting excerpts for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"WHERE WILL WE GET THE ENERGY" (By Ralph E. Lapp, The New Republic, June 11, 1970)

This summer's power brown-out reminds us that our energy affluence is subject to some restrictions. It should also drive home the fact that the energy providing our heat, light and power is largely gained by chemical destruction of nonrenewable resources. Lights go on, toasters pop, cars run and homes are heated because somewhere fossil fuels are taken from the ground and then made to release their primordial energy through combustion.

Hydropower, so important earlier in the century's electric power history, will probably supply less than five percent of the nation's electricity by the year 2000. This means that 95 percent of our power will be derived from nonrenewable resources, primarily from fossil fuels. It also means that power will continue to be produced through the generation of heat, and that all power plants will have to dispose of their waste heat. This necessity creates the thermal pollution hazard about which so much controversy has centered in the site location of new power installations.

A recent government study of generating plants to be built by 1990 shows that about 500 plants of more than 500,000 kilowatt capacity will be built. Sixty percent of these will be fossil-fueled, but these include most of the lower-powered plants. Nuclear power becomes more efficient in jumbo-size versions. Almost a hundred A-plants of more than two million kilowatt capacity are planned for the next two decades, and nuclear engineers talk enthusiastically about going to much larger power ratings. Unlike coal-fired plants that discharge some of their waste heat up stacks, nuclear plants have no such vent for their unused heat. All the latter must be gotten rid of by cooling water, and this means that nuclear-electric plants constitute a challenge to environmental safeguarding, especially in the huge plants that will turn out ten times the power of most coal-steam units built only a decade ago.

One consequence of the emergence of very high power of electric plants may be the coalescence of utilities into groupings of super-utilities controlling the flow of power over huge sections of the nation. Indeed this power complex may be manipulated by what Senator Lee Metcalf last month called the "galloping oligopoly in the energy industries". Oil companies, for example, have been acquiring interest in major coal companies and have also reached out into the nuclear fuel field. One wonders what kind of competitive spirit will be manifest in the year 2000, if most of the fuel sources are in the hands of a vast energy cartel.

Our society can no longer tolerate a laissez-faire attitude toward energy. Prudent policy requires that we consider not just the physical problems of reserves, conservation and pollution; we need to inquire into the legitimacy of our future energy demands. Most of all, we need to view the energy problem on a national and global basis, welding together an analysis to show how research and development may more suitably solve energy problems on a long time base. In a sense we have to emulate the Dutch who take a half-century look at land reclamation.

The failure to adopt a wise national energy policy may find the United States eventually becoming like Japan—a major importer of fuel to drive its economy. Our fuel reserves, bounded by Canada, Mexico and two oceans, are finite—as is the capacity of our air and water to absorb insult from combustion products. Our energy affluence is not at an

end, but it is clearly approaching a crossroad unmarked by signposts, except one—Caution.

IMPORT QUOTAS AND INFLATION

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of concern about the effect of import quotas upon inflation. A July 14, 1970 article by O. R. Strackbein in the Washington Post points out that on those products which have had import quotas imposed there was no substantial increase in price, and in some instances there was even a decrease. The article follows:

IMPORT QUOTA THEORY IS EXACTLY THAT (By O. R. Strackbein)

(Mr. Strackbein is executive director of the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy, a group that advocates protection for American industry.)

Now that import quotas are receiving serious consideration by Congress a veritable chorus of caveats, warning against higher consumer prices fills the air.

The caution is, indeed, supported by classical economic theory which generally leaves itself a convenient escape hatch by way of a hedge. This is under the much-used phrase "other things remaining equal." In other words, import quotas will raise prices if other things do not upset the equation.

The trouble with the theory is that "other things" seldom remain the same. So, the economist is home safe.

One of the best ways to test a theory is to have recourse to pertinent facts in the premises. We may do this quite handily in this instance because the United States has only a handful of import quotas. They are confined with minor exceptions to sugar, wheat, wheat flour, raw cotton, dairy products, petroleum, cotton textiles.

If we trace the price trends of these products the simple pragmatic truth will reveal itself.

Sugar quotas, figured to a decimal point, have been in effect antedating World War II. The retail price of sugar in 1955 was 10.4 cents per pound. By 1968 it had risen to 12½ cents and reached 13.4 cents in April, 1970. This was an increase of 28.8 per cent over a period of 15 years. Consumer prices in general have risen 34.8 per cent since the 1957-59 period, a somewhat later period than 1955, but is the current base used by the Government. Food prices in general rose 32.4 per cent. In other words, the price of sugar lagged behind the general parade.

In the case of wheat and wheat flour both have been under a very strict import quota since 1941. The bushel price of wheat in 1950 was \$2.22. In May, 1970, after a long period of decline, it was \$1.53, or down a little over 30 per cent in price. Wheat flour also under a strict import quota, had a price of \$5.49 per hundred weight in 1950, followed by general stability, ending in January, 1970, at \$5.51, an increase of 2 cents in 20 years.

The price of raw cotton has also declined despite a stringent import quota that limits imports to about 5 per cent of domestic production. From a level of about 38½ cents a pound in 1955 the price declined quite sharply in recent years reaching 21.4 cents in April, 1970.

Here are four agricultural products that have been "protected" by import quotas for



years. The price increased in two instances, but in only one was the increase even near the general price rise. In the two other instances there was a sizable decline in price, thus going against the general upward trend.

In the case of petroleum, of which we hear and read constantly, the price increase remained far below the general level despite the import quota. On a base of 100 using 1957-59 as the starting point, the price of refined petroleum products had risen to only 104.2 in May, 1970, compared with a level of 116.8 for all commodities. Coal, a competing fuel on which there is no import quota, meantime rose to 146.9 in the same period.

As for cotton textiles about which much has also been heard recently, only a very modest advance in wholesale price has been registered. On the 1957-59 base as 100, the May, 1970 price was only 105.3, or again far below the general price advance to 116. Cotton textiles have been under an import limitation for about ten years. The price on woolen textiles, which are under no import limitation, rose to only 103.8 during the same period, thus leaving little to choose between their price level, and that on cotton textiles which were under limitation.

Dairy products (milk, butter, cheese) have

also been under an import quota for a number of years. By May, 1970 the price stood at 135.4, where 100 represents the 1957-59 period.

This increase was greater than in the wholesale price of "farm products, foods and feeds," as a whole, which, of course, includes wheat and cotton which pulled down hard on the average.

Nevertheless the wholesale price of dairy products did not keep pace with that of pork (hogs) which rose 62 per cent since 1964, compared with 35.4 per cent. Yet pork imports were not restricted. If unlimited imports operate to keep prices down, why the greater rise in pork and coal prices than in petroleum, dairy products, wheat, sugar, etc., which were under import control?

Footwear imports zoomed greatly in recent years as all our ladies know. Imports are now supplying nearly a third of our market. There is no import quota. Yet what happened to footwear prices? They went well above the level for all apparel and distinctly above the rise in dairy prices.

What happens then to the economic theory? The answer: "other things" did not remain the same. Nevertheless the theory thrives and proliferates in the fact of overwhelming contrary testimony.

DAHOMEY

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Dahomey, I wish to extend the heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the members of the Presidential Commission and to the Government and people of Dahomey.

The United States takes pride in the friendly relations it has shared with Dahomey since 1960, and hopes this good feeling and mutual cooperation will continue throughout the coming decades as well.

This Independence Day celebration will be a very special one for Dahomeans. We hope it will be followed by much joy and fulfillment for Dahomey in the years ahead.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, July 22, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D. offered the following prayer:

*True justice is the harvest reaped by peacemakers from seeds sown in a spirit of peace.*—James 3: 18 (new English Bible).

O Lord, our God, who hast made this earth a grand place in which man can live, reveal to us Thy will and renew Thy love in us that responding to Thee we may learn to live together on this planet in peace and with good will.

Help us to feel Thy presence within us this day seeking to guide us as we determine our decisions and striving to assist us in leading our people along the roads to righteousness, our Nation along the ways of justice, and our world along the paths of peace.

"Incline our hearts with Godly fear  
To seek Thy face, Thy word revere;  
Cause Thou all wrongs, all strife to cease  
And lead us in the paths of peace."

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 3279. An act to extend the boundaries of the Toiyabe National Forest in Nevada, and for other purposes; and

S. 3889. An act to amend section 14(b) of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended, to extend for two years the authority of Federal Reserve banks to purchase U.S. obligations directly from the Treasury.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following

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title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 3192. An act to designate the navigation lock on the Sacramento deepwater ship channel in the State of California as the William G. Stone navigation lock.

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to the authority granted him on Tuesday, July 21, 1970, he did on that day sign the following enrolled bill of the Senate:

S. 3978. An act to extend the time for conducting the referendum with respect to the national marketing quota for wheat for the marketing year beginning July 1, 1971.

### PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privileges of the House.

Mr. Speaker, on March 31, 1970, during the present session of Congress, I was, while in Phoenix, Ariz., served with a subpoena duces tecum to appear before the Superior Court of Arizona, the next day, on April 1, 1970, as a witness for the plaintiff in the case of *Yuma Greyhound Park Inc. v. Samuel Jenkins et al.* (case No. 28609) and to bring with me certain documents referred to therein. I appeared in that court on April 1, 1970, and advised that this was in violation of my privileges as a Member of this House, and in violation of the privileges of the House and its protection guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States.

On May 15, 1970, I was served by the Superior Court of Arizona in the same case with an order to appear and to show cause on May 26, 1970, why I should not answer questions as a witness pursuant to the earlier subpoena. Under the precedents of the House, I was unable to comply with the order to show cause without the permission of the House, the privileges of the House being involved. I sent

to the desk the order to show cause for the consideration of this body on May 19, 1970.

On May 26, 1970, the court was advised of the privileges of the House and the protection guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States and the court ordered the motion to compel me to appear and answer questions be denied under the above-mentioned privileges and protections.

On June 15, 1970, the Supreme Court of Arizona was petitioned to overrule the lower court's order and on June 30, 1970, the Supreme Court of Arizona saw fit to rule that there was no privilege and issued an alternative writ of mandamus reversing the lower court and ordering it to require me to be deposed at a time and place mutually convenient to the parties.

On July 2, 1970, a judgment was also signed by the chief justice which provided that the deposition should be noticed for a time certain at a place designated by the petitioner.

On July 2, 1970, the Superior Court of Arizona issued an order that compels me to appear in Phoenix, Ariz., on August 3, 1970, in further disregard of the rules of the House.

Mr. Speaker, just as I could not obey the original subpoena without the permission of this House, or the order to show cause which flowed from it, I cannot obey this last order which is also the product of that subpoena.

I will say that this whole matter is intended to harass me since I have made it abundantly clear that after Congress adjourns there is no privilege from the service of a subpoena nor would I assert any privilege.

I will also say that on three separate, recent occasions when I have testified, under oath, concerning Emprise Corp., which has done and is doing business with organized crime, that I have been subjected to cross-examination for a total of over 7 hours by extremely com-