

call votes on Tuesday, the first to occur at about 12:45 p.m.

Mr. President, I think I should state that the time on Tuesday next—which has been set aside for the control of Senators FANNIN, ELLENDER, GOLDWATER, and YOUNG—will be for the purpose of eulogia to our late departed former colleague, Senator Carl Hayden. I also should state that the time on Wednesday which has been set aside for the Senators from Florida (Mr. CHILES and Mr. GURNEY) will be for the purpose of any additional eulogies that Senators wish to express in connection with the passing of our late departed former colleague, Senator Spessard Holland.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1972

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 a.m. on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3:44 p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 31, 1972, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Nominations received from the Commissioner of the District of Columbia and referred January 28, 1972:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

John J. Gunther, Esq., for appointment as a member of the Board of Directors of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of 5 years, effective on and after March 4, 1972, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(a) of Public Law 592, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended.

Willie L. Leftwich, Esq., for appointment as a member of the Board of Directors of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of 5 years, effective on and after March 4, 1972, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(a) of Public Law 592, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CLEAN WATER THROUGH DREDGING

HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 28, 1972

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, there is no doubt that America's expanding industrial economy has had a massive impact on our precious environment. All too often, we have seemingly been forced to choose between industrial progress or ecological protection. Hence, it is indeed refreshing to read of a major industry dedicating its resources to the reduction and elimination of water pollution.

I refer to the industry of dredging, and to the recent remarks made by Mr. Herbert Buré before the Northeastern Regional Conference of the Society of American Military Engineers.

Mr. Buré is vice president and general manager of the Ellicott Machine Corp., of Baltimore, Md. This company, for years, has been the leader of the dredging industry and is responsible for most of the modern techniques in dredging developed in this century.

He points out that improper techniques of dredging can very well lead to greater pollution levels. Hence, he boldly proposes that the industry commit themselves to the development of technology to minimize environmental disruption. Mr. Buré approaches this crucial problem directly and proposes various methods by which dredgers can effectuate positive changes to improve our ecological system.

Mr. Buré's address should not, I believe, be viewed merely in the light of one industry. His remarks can and must be applied to all industries, large and small. It offers a model for all who wish to effectively clean up this country. The responsibility lies not with the "other guy," but with ourselves. Solutions to this vast and complex problem are not easy. But with the commitment exemplified by Mr. Buré's address, these answers cannot be far off.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Buré's address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks so that my col-

leagues in the Senate might read of his positive proposals.

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

CLEAN WATER THROUGH DREDGING

(Presented at the Northeastern Regional Conference of the Society of American Military Engineers by Herbert P. Buré)

I am delighted to have an opportunity this afternoon to speak in my home town on a subject which my associates and I at Ellicott have addressed at meetings all over the United States and in various other parts of the world. This subject bears the provocative title "Clean Water Through Dredging," and I can assure you that it has been selected with the most constructive intent. In fact, I hope this afternoon to present to you a brief summary of various points of fact and conviction which will hopefully present a challenge to many of you who are in one way or another associated with dredging and marine construction.

In any conference which is in some way related to military and civil engineering, or public works and construction, we must face the issue that our expanding industrial economy has a severe impact on the natural environment. The subject which I want to address is limited to the environment of water and land, and the industrial economy is represented by marine construction of various types, and in particular, dredging. It is a subject which is getting a great deal of attention, particularly on a pseudo-scientific basis with political and emotional overtones. This is an approach which is difficult to handle for people with engineering background and education, but is, of course, far more appealing to the general public. Somehow, it appears that in environmental discussions there does not seem to be the same need for substantiation, relationship to facts and the same concern for putting things in their proper perspective, as we are used to, as engineers and businessmen.

In the dredging industry we find ourselves poorly conditioned and trained to handle a situation of this type, because we are suddenly cast in the role of villains, instead of being identified, as we ourselves properly think, with the constructive progress intended to be beneficial both to the nation, its economy and our particular enterprises. We are action and results oriented, and find ourselves bridled by agencies and people who have the power to stop the operation, but still lack the ability to put together the knowledge and judgment to get it going again.

This represents such a change in pace that we get the impression that the situation is

hopeless—"Like getting hit over the head". What we must recognize is that the situation may really become hopeless if we as a group and as individuals, by lack of action on our part, leave the initiative to politicians, conservationists, such as Sierra clubs and similar pressure groups, without giving these groups the benefit of the professional advice that we, as a group and as individuals, are capable of giving.

I would further like to show that the problem, although somewhat intangible because of poor definition at this time, is not all that elusive, and that it will respond to the traditional problem-solving techniques that we in business and government have used as a philosophy in many other situations. Therefore, I will assume, for the sake of brevity, but with conviction, that the technical problems associated with environmental control in way of water pollution control and the role of dredging under this new and poorly defined set of conditions, can be solved by our scientists and engineers, provided that we adopt the business and management approach to this problem, which will permit us to give our scientists and engineers the direction required, in order to come up with the desired results within reasonable time and cost. As a result, we will be able to define a number of objectives which we can set for ourselves as individuals, companies, and agencies, which should assure not only the continuation and progressive advancement of the dredge industry, but will give our dredge industry its place which it deserves, as a leader in the fight against water pollution and for constructive environmental control.

Let me state the problem in simple words. It is the danger of further contamination from industrial effluents and natural pollution to our rivers, streams, lakes, ponds, bays, harbors and other types of water bodies. I emphasize the word "further contamination" because most of the water bodies mentioned are now polluted to a degree, and if anybody did anything further in the way of construction, dredging, or other activity, there would be increased contamination of these waters by nature, as well as by man in the future. It is evident that there is a need to clean up the mess, to provide cleaner water, and the first step is to provide positive identification and definition. Contamination of our waters has always occurred and natural pollution is perhaps the greatest single type of pollution of water. Man-made pollution, if it goes unchecked, is probably a function of population increase and industrial growth and is, therefore, apt to become progressively greater in the future.

Natural pollution, the far greater of the two, as it will be recalled, is probably fairly constant and an ever present danger. Most

of us here in the room have a fairly good idea of the quantity of silt which is being moved down by the Mississippi River from Minnesota to the New Orleans delta every 24 hour period, and this tonnage—about two million tons—is of a greater magnitude than the total combined daily capacity of all dredges in the United States.

In a very perceptive article by Dr. William T. Pecora, Director of the U.S. Geological Survey, presented about a year ago and entitled, "Science and Equality of our Environment", he says and I quote, "Natural processes are by far the principal agents in modifying our environment". I think this is a statement of fact which is often overlooked within our dredging industry and sometimes deliberately ignored by conservationists.

Secretary Resor of the Army, on the occasion of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' 195th anniversary celebration in Washington, D.C., made some remarks with which most of us are familiar, and I would like to quote just a few statements which help put the problem in focus. He said, "There is no simple way to quantify the value of a river in its natural state or to calculate the point at which the present demands of commerce put too heavy a tax on the future, or recreational development becomes despoliation. Striking a balance will require complex analysis and sensitive judgment. We cannot assume that any use or alteration of natural resources is necessarily a change for the worse. For it may actually enhance quality of life. But we also cannot respond blindly to the pressures to construct, dredge, and fill, or we will not serve the public interest and will be swept away in a flood of public resentment."—Then he goes on to say, "What is needed now is a technology which systematically minimizes environmental disruption." I think every word in that last statement is exactly right—we need a technology—we need it now—it has to be systematic—and it has to minimize environmental disruption. What it does not say is that environmental disruption can be stopped all at once. No more than we can stop the weather or natural disasters by legislation.

It is time to make a bold statement at this point—dredging as a technique and method, is one of the very few, if not the only, available means to reduce or avoid certain types of water pollution. When we address this subject, we must, of course, define water pollution and recognize the specific areas of water pollution with which we are dealing in our industry of dredging and marine construction. I am going to give you a practical definition, not a very scientific one, but one that we have to live with by courtesy of ecologists and conservationists. Water pollution, they say, is any change which effects the practical condition of the water adversely for any purpose. Logically then, pollution control prevents or prohibits a change which effects the practical condition of water adversely for any purpose. You will note that this definition of pollution control does not guarantee clean water, but is supposed to prevent it from getting dirtier.

Among the many types of water pollution recognized by various agencies, there are four (4) with which we are primarily concerned:—the release of toxic or poisonous material into the water; excessive bio-chemical oxygen demands, referred to as OD or BOD by scientists and measured in particles of free oxygen remaining per million particles of water; turbidity or an expression of suspended solids or sludge in the water, most of which by the way, comes under the heading of natural pollution such as silt and mud carried by rivers and streams; and finally, causes of water pollution may include the changing of the relative flow of water by means of obstruction, diversion, filling, or other natural or man-made changes in the earth under and surrounding any body of water.

A dredging operation may relate to any or all of these causes of water pollution for a number of reasons. A primary reason may be that the construction project is poorly designed or does not meet today's standards for environmental protection. I leave this as an observation in order to concentrate on the real aspects of dredge operation towards water pollution. Whether the dredge is of the mechanical type, such as a clamshell or dipper dredge and dumping into barges, or of the hydraulic or suction type, such as a hopper dredge, dustpan, or hydraulic pipeline cutterhead dredge, the water pollution affect is limited to the excavating and the discharge end of the operation. With respect to the discharge end, whether dumping into a scow, filling the hoppers of a hopper dredge, or reclaiming land with a hydraulic pipeline dredge, pollution control is primarily a function of technique and management of operation and as little bearing on the design of the equipment, excepting that in a suction or hydraulic dredge the problem is reduced in direct proportion to the capability designed into the dredge to carry a higher percentage of solids in the mixture. On the excavating or material acquisition side of the dredge, the design and construction of the equipment has a direct bearing on the release of material outside of the sphere of acquisition by spilling or dropping, and it is unfortunate that most studies of dredging operations in connection with environmental protection, have been based on ancient and obsolete dredging equipment.

The Office of Water Programs, EPA Region X in Seattle, Washington, recently released a study dated July 1971 entitled "The Effects of Dredging on Water Quality in the Northwest", and while the make some constructive suggestions on dredging techniques to avoid pollution, all of their studies are based on some 40 pipeline dredges and 4 hopper dredges, of which only two or three are from the last 12 years, and I estimate that the average age of the remaining units is anywhere between 20 and 60 years old. I do not deny the fact that these were the dredges available for the study in the Pacific Northwest, but it is unfortunate that no allowance has been made in the study for improved efficiency of dredging equipment of more recent vintage. If we agree that we have a responsibility to ourselves, our industry, and to politicians, conservationists, and ecologists because of the value, experience and understanding which we have in the industry which is not generally known to outsiders, then we should define the way in which we can discharge this responsibility to ourselves and others. I propose we do so by setting five objectives which are technical and professional in character, and I would outline these as follows:

I. The first objective on the professional side which really affects all of us to a significant degree, is that we must provide a common forum for our engineers and scientists to train ourselves and each other in better definitions of the problem and in the positive attitude which we must acquire to lead to action in our approach in the dredge industry, whether we are operators, builders, designers, civil engineers, or carry other responsibilities. We must do this in order to bring our professional opinion to the fore in the world. In other words, we must learn to condition ourselves to adopt a positive and active approach to the solution of the problem of ever-increasing water contamination and pollution. To put it more plainly, we should stop complaining and commiserating with one another and show a mature and professional attitude to the outside world.

II. Now, to get over to the technical side—it is obvious that we have to develop improved methods and equipment in the dredge industry. We need both, to avoid contributing to water pollution and start reducing the effect that a dredge operation may have

on its environment by insisting on greater precision in dredge operation and more control in avoiding material run-off. In the equipment, we must design more efficient dredging machinery, both in mechanical and hydraulic dredge design, so that we do not lose material behind the cut or stir up material around the cutter or bucket. The keynote here is to improve efficiency by reducing the losses. This goes together with improved civil designs which allow for more efficient application of dredging equipment. It should be apparent that in this approach, the cost per cubic yard may not necessarily increase because a greater efficiency, will be obtained in the overall operation.

III. Referring again to the professional objectives which we must set for ourselves, I think that perhaps the most apparent lack in general understanding of water pollution, in specific relation to a dredging operation, is that there is a time element which is an important dimension in evaluation of the environmental affect of a certain dredging operation. To put it simply, you can't clean up the store with a broom without stirring up a certain amount of dust. But, does that mean that the clean-up operation creates dust? If you come back an hour later, the store is cleaner than it was before you took the broom to it.—There is the time element. Applying this observation to dredging, if you have a certain amount of sludge or even poisonous material in the bottom of a river or channel, you may stir up some of the stuff while you are trying to clean it out with a dredge, and it is certainly desirable to keep this stirring or turbidity to a very minimum, but if it needs cleaning up, the only way is to go to it and use the best methods and equipment available. A temporary reduction in catch of the fisherman downstream may be of far smaller economic impact than a reduction of draft in a channel which may eventually starve a harbor from traffic—permanently! Please note that after the channel is cleaned up by dredging, the fisherman will improve his harvest also.

IV. We must also learn to sort, share, and coordinate existing information and to present this in a communicable form to our politicians, conservationists and similar groups to show our willingness to share factual information and fundamental theory with the world, in order to help improve the environment. We at Ellicott have emphasized the need to develop and promote our art in the dredging industry into science, in order to provide a common base from which all of us can build faster towards a more progressive future. We have conducted a great many seminars on our own to present the fundamental dredge system theory applicable to hydraulic dredge operations and designs, which is beginning to get wide acceptance. This is just an example of taking a step in the direction of converting art into science. It has been accomplished in practically all other technologies and industrial endeavors, and there is no reason why it could not be accomplished in the dredge industry.

V. As the final objective, both technical and professional in character, we must develop better guidelines in our own immediate areas of responsibility for predicting side effects related to pollution in one way or another, of dredging equipment and its operation. There is a great need for factual information in this area, and this information is available only from direct sources in our industry. If we make it available to the proper authorities, it may serve as a practical basis for compromising political objectives with practical legislation and regulation, and the time is now.

Some 14 bills of new proposed legislation were presented earlier this year by the Administration to the Congress on recommendation of the President's Council for Environmental Quality. Many of these have to do

with standards and definitions for water pollution and control. I suggest that many of us would make extremely knowledgeable and skilled witnesses to the congressional committees which are reviewing these bills, if we were willing to make ourselves available.

In summary, I wish to call on this fine representative group in the dredge and marine construction industry to recognize that we have a problem on hand which is generally referred to as water pollution; and that—to reverse a popular saying—"we are not a part of this problem, but we can contribute to the solution". The solution is not all that apparent, and we need to work on it to bring it out and to promote it to the world. The key to this pollution issue is to provide improved methods and equipment in the dredge industry in order to run more efficient operations requiring new developments in equipment and a higher level of management and skill in operation. To do so, we must assess our level of art and help convert it to science to provide a common basis for further improvement. We at Ellcott are dedicating our resources to this purpose. I thank you.

ON THE POLLUTION OF EDUCATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon underscored the importance of local control of public education when he stated in his recent state of the Union address:

All of my recommendations, however, will be rooted in one fundamental principle with which there can be no compromise: Local school boards must have control over local schools.

Yet, the clear record of his administration in the public and private educational field has been one of more Federal control and Federal intervention, denying a voice to the local elected officials, than any President who preceded him. The President's noble rhetoric is belied by his recommendations for billions of dollars in Federal funds for education and by his failure to direct his appointed HEW and Justice Department officials to stop their Federal usurpation of the people's educational systems and comply with the law of the land, which is the Constitution and the laws enacted pursuant thereto by Congress which prohibit such Federal control and intermeddling.

Dr. Joseph P. Bean, medical doctor, and former member of the Glendale, Calif., Board of Education as well as a self-educated student and scholar in the field of education, has placed the blame for the breakdown in public education largely upon the federalization of local school districts. On the occasion of his recent resignation as a trustee of the Glendale Unified School District, Dr. Bean delivered a remarkable speech entitled "Public Education—A River of Pollution" which he concluded with these words:

I have been to the River of Education and have found it polluted. I have concluded this pollution is irremedial at the local level because pollutants are poured into the river at the federal level and more pollutants are added at the state level. Nearly every

innovation is paid for by funds from Washington, and accepted on our behalf by the State Board of Education. The federalization of local districts was completed with the enactment of ESEA in 1965, and under the law-making policies assumed by HEW, the control grows tighter daily. Only about ten percent of the decisions affecting local school districts are made by the local board of education, and the River of Education is too highly contaminated for this small fraction of influence to make an impression at the local level.

Dr. Bean's address comprises the distillation of countless hours of reading, study, thought, and observation on his part in the field of education. After briefly tracing the history of public education from the 1820's, he explains how John Dewey and his "progressive" disciples laid the foundation for the schools to play an active role in building a new collectivistic social order, with a completely state-owned and operated economy. Then follows an exposition of significant innovations introduced into education during the past decade and which can be noted in effect in classrooms across America today. Dr. Bean discusses such innovations as the sensitizing of students to change their attitudes and beliefs, downgrading and even elimination of textbooks, a new role of the teacher as a change agent, and an insidious plan called PPBS—planning, programing, budgeting system—which would robotize children.

In resigning his post with the Glendale Unified School District, Dr. Bean was not quitting the fight for locally controlled schools—he was just beginning it. He plans to form a corporation named "The Center for the Study of Educational Institutions" as well as to write and talk in order to alert Americans of the cancer which is destroying American education and to foster the improvement of practices in our schools.

America's future, whether it be a free society under our constitutional Republic or a totalitarian collectivistic society, depends in large measure on how our youth are trained and educated. It is imperative that the President's praiseworthy recommendation that local school boards have control over local schools be made a reality now.

I insert Dr. Joseph P. Bean's address "Public Education—River of Pollution" in the Record at this point:

PUBLIC EDUCATION—"RIVER OF POLLUTION"

(By Joseph P. Bean, M.D.)

[Published by The Citizens Committee of California, Inc., 1110 South Pomona Avenue, Fullerton, Calif.]

As I began my term as a school district trustee, study in an area of current interest to the board would take me into the byways of education, some pleasant and some not so pleasant. These studies always involved reading; some were short stories and some became major adventures. Philosophers whom I had read and half-forgotten were revisited with great thoroughness, and dozens of the world's great scholars through the ages whose thinking has contributed to educational development were read. The most reading, however, has consisted of the recent and current works of educational theorists and of those who are making the applications of those theories in the classroom. I have attended lectures without count, workshops, symposia, and conferences in many districts.

Campuses in this and other states were visited to see first hand how particular innovations were working.

A constant theme in all the current writings is change, how society is changing, how individuals are changing, and change and more change. An expression coming into use is "the cutting edge of change," and the people on the cutting edge are the front-line innovators. Most of the change we see is being induced deliberately.

So much of my study is of what is happening on that cutting edge, and I have come to realize lately that much of my time is spent monitoring it, scanning it incessantly like a stereo radar. It is possible to anticipate what we will be seeing in education and what the probable effects on man will be. In a few minutes we will speak of some of these things. First, however, I wish to present an abbreviated picture of what has gone before in school reform in this country.

Beginning in the 1820's, we began to organize state systems of public schools, consisting chiefly of grammar schools. Later, statewide requirements were set up for attendance, courses of study, and certification of teachers. After 1874 the states included the high school in their systems, and by 1900 we had more public high schools than private academies. There was growing pressure to enact laws requiring all children to attend public schools. In 1925 the Supreme Court ruled that no state can require all children to attend public schools, permitting the choice between public or private schools to remain with parents.

Both public and private schools offered what we call traditional education, holding that schools exist primarily to transmit systematic knowledge. A large share of elementary education was given to reading, writing and arithmetic, and the high school stressed the teaching of academic courses in history, English, mathematics, science, and foreign languages. Students were expected to extend maximum effort to achieve high standards.

Education in schools has three basic components: (1) the aims and purposes of education, (2) the courses offered and their content, and (3) the process or method of instruction.

In this century traditional educational aims, content, and methods have been profoundly influenced by several innovations and philosophies. Some of the periods of reform have been long and pervasive while others have presented themselves as mere fads.

The first significant innovative phase was initiated by John Dewey and his colleagues. By 1905 Dewey had become the dominant voice in teacher education with his home base at Columbia University. Harvard and many of our other great universities adopted his philosophy.

Dewey changed the aim, content, and methods of education. It is important to understand why and how he changed the aim of our schools. He was a national socialist, promoting one hundred percent state control or ownership of property, of all means of production, whether capital, natural resources, or labor. He called it collectivism. In 1905 he organized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, along with Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Walter Lippmann, and W.E.B. Dubois. In 1921 the Society changed its name to the League for Industrial Democracy, and Dewey served as its president in 1941. Its aim was to put teachers in the classroom who were collectivists, as well as ministers in the pulpits and leaders in the labor unions. In 1962 the League formed an action arm called the Students for a Democratic Society.

Early in the century Dewey had formed the Progressive Education Association and the American Association of University Professors. These two organizations were commit-

ted to the goal of collectivizing the United States.

Dewey assigned to the schools a revolutionary mission to reform society, including its economic system. This changed the aim of education, of course, from its traditional purpose. The chief instrument to accomplish this reform of our country was the use of social studies instead of the separate disciplines of history, geography, economics, etc. By the 1930's the political climate was suitable for their work, and social studies departments were formed in public schools in several important local systems in the United States. By the forties social studies had moved into the elementary schools.

Included in this movement were many of the best minds of the country. They wrote volumes and lectured endlessly on the theme that the schools take an active part in building a new social order, with a completely state-owned and operated economy.

Having changed the aim of the schools, the content of education also underwent great changes. New textbooks were written and the old ones revised to present the collectivist aim. The third component of education, method, was also changed. There was emphasis on life-adjustment of the student, learning by doing called the discovery method.

It was a permissive approach and did for education what Spock did for child rearing.

During and immediately following World War II, the emphasis on creating a new economic and social order in this country was expanded to include the entire globe. The whole world would be better off as a global collective and to achieve this a political mechanism of global government would be necessary. The global government would remove the sovereignty of all countries. Even national boundaries would be erased. This expanded role of the schools is well stated in one textbook which reads "Allegiance to a nation is the biggest stumbling block to creation of international government. National boundaries and the concept of sovereignty must be abolished. The quickest way to abolish . . . sovereignty is to condition the young to another and broader allegiance. Opinion favorable to international government will be developed in the social studies in the elementary school."

The teaching of geography is now used to break down the isolation of nation identity in the mind of the child, and develop instead a world sense. The social planners state that the attitudes brought to school by the child which are harmful to building world citizenship are "corrected" whenever possible and replaced with the "proper" attitudes simply by the wise use of geography in the classroom.

A few months ago, I objected to the adoption of a series of textbooks in social studies for the elementary grades by the California State Board of Education. These books are geared to develop a readiness in the child for a global collectivist economy, under one government. A newspaper reporter asked me if I didn't think global government would be a good thing. My response was, of course, that it is the collectivism which I object to, whether on a world basis, in the United States, in California, or in a school district. Furthermore, it has been well established that world government could exist only as a collectivist state.

In 1952 and '53 aroused public opinion against this abuse of the public schools put a crimp in the actions and statements of the social planners. Many individuals and organizations went underground at that time, and did not surface again until the Supreme Court of the United States, itself populated mostly with collectivists, removed such laws as would curtail their actions. Since their resurfacing in the sixties, we have all become familiar with the remarkable success in achieving their aim.

In 1955 the Progressive Education Association disbanded, and many educators passed by the movement for newer and more promising methods of reform. It had been so pervasive, however, that it has continued to be dominant over traditional education in the classroom and its philosophy, in fact, is in control of American education. The educational theorists, textbooks writers, professors in our universities, and hundreds of thousands of teachers, are unshamefully collectivists. It is a fact which is taken for granted and little attention is now paid to the fact that their economic, political, and social philosophy is remaking and has already greatly remade our country. Charles Reich in his recent book "The Greening of America" says the social revolution of the new generation is so successful and complete that it lacks only the change in the political structure as its final act. In fact, our laws, institutions, and social structure are rapidly changing because of the revolution of the new generation.

After Dewey's movement, the next era of reform has been marked by its innovations in methods of instruction. After Sputnik in 1957, a sense of national urgency concerning our deficiencies in education elicited numerous innovative programs and techniques. These include the use of teaching machines, team teaching, television, non-graded classes, computers, etc.

In the sixties, as innovations became more widely used, the federal government became interested in speeding up the development of new ways of teaching. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided one hundred million dollars to set up centers which would develop exemplary school programs as models for use in the districts. 'Exemplary' has been interpreted to mean innovative and experimental programs, and the centers, called centers for Programs to Advance Creativity in Education (PACE) have developed quite a volume of innovations. Once the experimental stage of a project is complete, the program is then exported to any district which wants it. It is sometimes the case that the project is still in the experimental stage when it is exported. More on this later.

Team teaching, flexible scheduling, elimination of grade levels permitting students to move up the scale at their own speed, teaching machines, use of television, elimination of four-walled classrooms, etc., are innovations which relieved the rigid programs and teaching practices in many schools. If these methods had been used to improve schools where traditional education is taught, I believe they would have achieved some real progress in the art of teaching, or at least they could have been given a fair trial. But we attempted to apply these new techniques to schools whose philosophy was inherently bad and all we accomplished was different ways of turning out a bad product.

Even while these new practices are being adopted by an ever greater number of schools, other changes are being embossed upon the still new practices.

Developing alongside these new teaching techniques is a new movement, the philosophy of which we need to understand. It is a concept of man which rejects nearly every previously held belief about man and his nature. It is this philosophy with which millions of American parents came to loggerheads in the late sixties. The distress which it has created, coupled with the effects of Dewey's collectivism, has placed our schools in jeopardy and their continued existence is questioned by educators and laymen alike. Because the radical applications of this new philosophy were introduced into the classroom at the same time many of the above innovations were introduced, parents have blamed the innovations for the resulting difficulties, not realizing that it was to a great extent a new philosophical movement which caused the problem.

A few words about the historical development of this new movement will suffice. Sigmund Freud, who died in 1939, had developed the first great school in psychology and his theories of human behavior continue to dominate the field of psychology. He believed that man is an animal and only an animal. He emphasized the influence of the unconscious mind on human behavior. His work was with the mentally disturbed, and he did not study the normal, healthy human being.

The second force in psychology is referred to as the theory of behaviorism. Many men were associated with the development of this movement, but first is the name of John Watson who died in 1958. The behaviorists see man as merely another type of animal and emphasize external, environmental influences in shaping human behavior. They are influenced by the work of the Russian scientist, Pavlov. Their research is strictly objective, using the scientific approach in the study of man.

Freud emphasized the inner drives of man, and the behaviorists relied on outer or environmental influences to explain man's behavior. For several decades these two schools of thought have existed side by side, and both have profoundly affected education.

A new school of psychology, called the Third Force, has emerged and is having a much greater influence on education than the first two schools. In fact, for many educators today, the practice of this Third Force psychology in the classroom is what education is all about.

The Third Force school, or Humanistic Psychology as it is also called, holds that man is not classified with the lower animals, that he is significantly different, and that he is capable of good behavior as well as bad. Instead of using the mentally ill in its studies, healthy individuals are studied, the best of the species. Fully mature people are chosen, people who have achieved self-actualization. These people are intelligent, creative, unconcerned with conformity if important principles are involved, living beyond certain mores, humble yet enormously flexible, have a keen sense of right and wrong, have a low degree of self-conflict, are highly motivated, and have few problems of their own. They work to solve the problems of society. These self-actualizing people are few; they make up less than one percent of the population, and are described as the 'growing tip' of the human species. The psychologically healthy person is one who wants to do what is usually considered right and reasonable, that is, what he wants equates with what is right.

The Third Force holds that man first fulfills his physiological needs for food, shelter, sleep, etc. Only after these needs are met does he move on to fulfill his needs for safety. After he has secured himself, he tends next to fulfill his need for love and for esteem. Once these are met, he is motivated to meet his needs for self-actualization which are called growth needs. The person who fulfills these requirements is psychologically mature, and one of the 'growing tip.'

The most prominent name in the movement and the man who unified the thinking of his colleagues is Abraham Maslow who was Chairman of the Department of Psychology at Brandeis University. When he died last June at 82, the Los Angeles Times reported that Maslow's psychology formed the foundation for the National Training Laboratories of Washington, D.C., now called the Institute for Applied Behavioral Science as well as for Esalen and Synanon. Some of Maslow's fellow founders of this movement in psychology are Carl Rogers of the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute at La Jolla; Willard Mainord, a psychologist who believes the patient must be made responsible and productive as the means to rid him of his mental disturbance; William Glasser, a psychiatrist who developed Reality Therapy and who believes the

mental patient is morally responsible for his deviant behavior and can only be cured when he assumes responsibility for fulfilling his needs; and Herbert Otto, Gordon Allport, Abraham Low, Henry Link, and others. Supporters of the movement include Gardner Murphy, Erich Fromm, S. I. Hayakawa, advocates of Gestalt psychology and advocates of General Semantics.

The application of the Third Force theories includes the human potential laboratories or growth centers such as Esalen Institute at Big Sur, California and the one hundred or more other such growth centers, T-groups, encounter groups, therapeutic communities such as Synanon, Reality Therapy, and innumerable other applications in churches, businesses, and especially in the schools. The object, so the practitioners say, is to aid the businessman or the child to achieve his growth needs and thereby become self-actualized.

I am not arguing with the use of some of the Third Force principles in the treatment of the mentally ill. Some of its basic assumptions in the area of mental illness as medically defined are valid and I support them. However, I do not agree with applying these principles to the healthy individual in the manner in which they are being applied today. Pictorial articles describing therapy for well individuals at growth centers such as Esalen depict the activities as dissolute, degenerative, and certainly not designed to develop the individual but to degrade him. Books and articles on the subject have appeared by the thousands, including medical, psychological and educational journals.

Applications of Third Force principles in the classroom is what concerns us tonight, and we will describe this in some detail. What this movement has done to the classroom, I call 'new education.' Over the past two years, I have catalogued in some detail those conditions now prevalent in education which derive from the Third Force influence, either directly or indirectly. In most educational journals one-half of any one issue is devoted to promoting programs applying Third Force principles. Please bear in mind that in the classroom these principles are being applied to healthy minds, not disturbed minds. Let us look at some of the occurring changes.

As mentioned earlier, Dr. William Glasser is a psychiatrist and one of the founders of the Third Force in psychology. He argues that Freud's psychoanalysis is too time consuming and yields too few successes with mental patients. He developed a new approach in treatment called Reality Therapy, which was first tested in the Ventura School for Girls, a California institution for alcoholics, dope addicts, prostitutes, thieves, and convicts of more serious crimes. He was very pleased with the results and decided it would be beneficial to utilize his approach in the schools to prevent delinquent behavior from developing when the child is still young. Delinquency almost equates with failure in school, he believes, and his object is to prevent this failure.

Dr. Glasser describes life prior to 1950 as a survival society, a society in which it was necessary for large numbers of persons to work to survive. He believes that most persons do not have to work for a living today, and that children, because of our affluence, are not concerned with their own survival. The government will take care of people's needs. This has produced an identity society, in which children are no longer searching for a goal, but for a role, he says. This search for a role or identity is now the primary need of human beings, he believes. Our schools are out of phase because they fail to recognize the children's identity needs. Schools are still emphasizing achievement, the gaining of knowledge, teaching children how to make a living when they grow up, and reaching goals, all of which were admirable aims for the survival society when people did work for

a living. But now, the school must change its function to enable the child to identify himself as worthwhile, Dr. Glasser has decided.

What is happening in the schools where Dr. Glasser's principles are employed? He believes education has three components: involvement, relevance and thinking, as opposed to the traditional triad of aim, content, and method.

How does he provide involvement? The most heavily weighted aspect of his theory is the class meeting, held once daily at the primary level and once weekly at the secondary level. The most effective class meeting is a circular arrangement with the teacher and students sitting in a tight circle.

These class meetings are of three types. The meeting acts first as a problem solving group to strengthen the child's coping behavior. The class discusses any difficulty it wishes, and problems of the home are eligible for discussion. The conclusions arrived at are to afford peer group control of behavior of the individual students. The teacher stresses that there are no right answers, no constant truths, and no constant moral principles. Dr. Glasser's definition of morality is 180 degrees out of phase with the moral concepts of Western man, with the Biblical religions, both Jewish and Christian, and with most beliefs held by the mainstream of our society. Much of the literature refers to these class meetings as psychotherapy.

The class meeting acts also as a problem solving group to discipline students who have misbehaved. Dr. Glasser says there should be no reluctance to name names and bring the difficulty into the open, as the children discuss the misdeed. Children will often become very personal, talking about subjects ordinarily considered private, but Dr. Glasser says parents exhibit too much anxiety about such things.

The second type of class meeting is the open-ended discussion, where any item of relevance is treated. The teacher is not looking for factual answers, or for solutions to social problems. The students discuss, and no conclusions are reached. These discussions include the draft, the pill, abortion, family planning, urban renewal, oil slicks, etc.

The third type of class meeting is termed educational diagnostic and is an effort by teachers to see how well children are relating their education to real-life situations. They have been prepared for social and political action by the open-ended discussions, as we shall see in a moment, and this class meeting is designed to determine how well the children have been reoriented.

The teacher must develop great expertise in handling the class. To keep a discussion going she asks personal and specific questions. She may ask "Is your mother bored? Is your father bored? Is school work always boring?" Family-life education is important for discussion.

Morality should be discussed. A balance must be struck between complete honesty and what the community will bear, Dr. Glasser says. Elementary pupils understand early in life that we really live in two worlds: the world of pretense, where we spout moral values, and the world of reality, where we pay as little attention to them as possible, he states. Children know how phony the world is, he concludes.

Concerning his next component of education, Dr. Glasser says relevance is brought to the classroom by suspending the usual subject matter and substituting discussions of the emotionally-laden social issues which face man today. Discussions should take place on such subjects as love, marriage, sexual relationships, the Vietnam war, abortion, the pill, family planning, lobbying, taxes, zoning, the draft, pollution, friendship, etc. This begins in elementary school.

On the subject of his third component of education, thinking, Dr. Glasser believes edu-

cation has downgraded the thinking and the creative capacities of the student. The problem-solving aspect of educating the student has been ignored. We need thinking in the classroom, especially thinking about the great problems facing man today, as indicated earlier. He would have the class solve these problems before the students have received any valid information on the subject. As one mother described it last year, "The students sit around in circles exchanging uninformed opinions." When they are through, they believe they have come up with something valid.

Dr. Glasser believes that education's emphasis on imparting knowledge to the student has been very destructive . . . what we should have done was to teach the student to think and solve problems. The inquiry method of learning must be used, almost exclusively, a method wherein the curriculum consists of an investigation of timely problems. For this purpose Dr. Glasser eliminates textbooks and the class uses relevant, low-priced paperbacks, newspaper articles, and material from such periodicals as "Life" and "Look" magazines. When the student accumulates data on a social problem from these random sources, he evaluates the data and tries to draw conclusions of his own. The accumulated knowledge of Western civilization which he would have received through good textbooks is now denied him, and he is thrown into a morass of material most of which is not objective and presents one point of view—that of the collectivist. It is designed to alienate him from his heritage, and from his parents' point of view.

Using textbooks and lectures to impart knowledge has produced certainty, truth, correctness, and memory for the student, says Dr. Glasser, and these are enemies of thinking. Either we impart knowledge so that the student has truth and right answers, or we permit the student to think. The two are mutually exclusive. Learning facts promotes isolation (development of the individual) rather than involvement (development of the group man). By eliminating the accumulation of knowledge, the student will be freed to become involved in relevant matters, and we can translate that to mean social and political action. One advocate of Dr. Glasser's concepts stated to me recently that this approach will produce great social change in our country, and might involve violence by thwarted students who have been oriented to social change in the classroom. He felt such violence would be fully justified.

To prevent failure children must be taught to tolerate uncertainty, and Dr. Glasser states: ". . . we have to let students know there are no right answers, and we have to let them see that there are many alternatives to certainty and right answers." Again, "The truth does not make much difference basically," and "It is very unfortunate that we get so concerned that what we teach is certain and correct."

Dr. Glasser believes that using grades as a yardstick for achievement produces most failures. Scholastic achievement is not the proper function of schools today and to measure a child's achievement interferes with his identifying his role and establishing his self-worth. Objective tests have been very harmful to children. Since there are no textbooks and no formalized systematic subject matter studied in the class, there is not much reason for testing. He recommends a pass-superior, no failure grading system.

The belief that knowledge is tentative and that there are no constant truths or absolutes pervades most of American education today. If there is any one thing which causes parents to lose faith in our schools, this must be it.

Dr. Glasser is concerned about the number of students who became failures in school and are damaged for life by the effects. This is a constant concern of mine. What we have done to the school child through the years in

the form of poor methods is enough to stunt the best students, and we must eliminate these damaging practices. But sensitizing the children with an unnatural therapy is not the answer. If we want to change our practices and techniques, then we must work at the level of the teachers and the teacher colleges where they receive their training. Third Force principles have not improved education: they have replaced education. So much for Dr. Glasser.

An important aspect of the Third Force practice in the schools has to do with changing the children's attitudes. The assumption is that if students' attitudes are significantly changed, the result will be a changed society. These programs are now reaching out to re-educate parents, with pre-tests and post-tests to determine how successfully their attitudes were affected.

The Self-Enhancing Education program called SEE is designed to accomplish just that. It works with both the students and the parents. One of the objects for the children is to discover who they are. We hear a lot these days about the fact that our young people are asking, "Who am I?"

Parents are saying that our children knew who they were before Benjamin Spock, John Dewey, and the therapy people presently swarming our schools came along.

The process of sensitizing a child involves three steps: unfreezing his values and standards, changing the child by giving him different standards and a different conception of who he is, and thirdly, refreezing, to lock the child into the new self. He is then supposed to be a self-actualizing person. After the re-freezing is accomplished, it is impossible for the child to communicate with the conventional person, including his parents. He operates on a different wave length, and though in conversation he will use the same words he formerly used, the meanings of these words to him will be entirely different from their meaning as understood by his parents. The child is fully sensitized. It is important to understand that sensitivity training occurs overtly in seminars and workshops specifically for that purpose, but more generally it can occur covertly in the everyday experience of the classroom. A great deal of sensitization occurs via television. Many newspaper reporters and editors are sensitized, without having had formal marathon sessions, T-groups, or whatever. I think it is in order to state also that most textbook writers today are sensitized, as are many, many teachers. The traditional teacher is battling for his very life in a system which can no longer communicate with him.

In an attempt to re-establish communication between parents or other adults and teen-agers, the University of California offers courses for these adults to retreat them in the ways of the new mentality of the youth. The theory is that after these courses, parents and children can converse again.

It is when the student enters junior high school that he is bombarded with textbooks, lectures, films, pamphlets, and periodicals which are at odds with what he has been taught by his family concerning capitalism, religion, and the whole scope of his heritage. He is daily confronted with a view which is in conflict with his own standards and values. Most students are absorbed almost by osmosis into the new thinking process; only a few escape. The one who continues to identify with his home training is subjected to ridicule by his peers and to pressure by the teacher.

Most all social studies textbooks published today state in the preface and in the teachers' manual that it is necessary for the child to unlearn his old values; he comes to school damaged by the concepts he has received during the first five years of life, and requires mental healing. Educators are now saying that if they can have the child for two years before he reaches kindergarten,

they can so affect his value system that the child will not depart from it when he grows up. If they cannot have him before kindergarten, the next best thing is to undo, at as early an age as possible, the damage done to him in his home environment. Seventh grade is considered much too late to begin this process of retraining. For this reason, the social scientists have moved into the elementary level to write textbooks. The new series of books for kindergarten through fourth grade by Paul Brandwein adopted by the State of California a few months ago has the express purpose of unfreezing the child's home-taught values at an early age. These books will be in use this fall.

For the last several parents have found it difficult if not impossible, to communicate with their teen-age youngsters, chiefly because their children had been reoriented in the classroom. Now parents should expect to find alienation from their elementary school age children as well.

The modes used in the classroom which reflect the Third Force influence are myriad, and cannot be discussed here. Teams of experts moving out from the universities and colleges into the school districts bring unbelievable programs designed to affect the children's psyches, not to teach them anything. This constant remodeling and tampering with the minds of the children in very damaging ways is the way of life in many school districts today. Developmental laboratories are maintained by some districts to churn out their own devices to experiment with the children and help them to relate to their changed world. There are thousands of such things going on with teaming fervor all over the country. They are not proved techniques, but replaced in the classroom with great facility, with school boards asking no questions and refusing to listen to the pleadings of parents. As stated earlier, I have catalogued thousands of such programs under the heading "new education." A large portion of these programs, modes, and techniques are directly from Dr. Glasser. Many schools not using the Glasser principles in their entirety are using certain portions, in varying stages of progression. Large numbers of such programs are emanating from the PACE centers mentioned earlier.

Some scholars in education who live and work on the thin line of education's frontier, on that cutting edge, if you will, have pioneered an even newer and truly radical reform movement in education which is taking hold at a surprising rate. It has grown out of and certainly reflects in large part the Third Force movement in psychology. "Radical" means going to the root, and indicates a genuine and complete departure from present theories and practices in education. These reformers refer to themselves as radical in this sense. They dismiss the innovations in method such as team teaching, non-grading, and teaching machines, as mere patches on cracked plaster. The thinking of these reformers is exemplified by Goodman, Friedenberg, Henry and McLuhan. These men are not critics of educational institutions in the usual sense, simply because they are not interested in schooling as such. They tell us they are not even interested in learning as such, but in growth, dignity, autonomy, freedom, and the development of the full range of human potentialities. These thinkers strongly condemn what they term America's sick society, its competitive spirit, its debased culture, its suppression of minority groups, its racism and imperialism, and its lack of compassion for the wretched within its own boundaries and the rest of the world. They blame the school for the existence of these conditions, and believe the schools engage mostly in miseducation. They believe we would be far better off without schools of any kind than to continue the way we are. They would not give a cent to continue education as it is now established,

but would dismantle the entire system and reconstruct it along radically different lines, using Third Force principles, including most of Glasser's. Let us take a look.

They believe that up to age twelve there is no point in having formal subjects or pre-arranged curriculum. It makes no difference what a child learns at this age so long as he keeps on learning. Any benevolent grownup, even if he is illiterate, can teach an eight-year-old anything he wants to know. The only training the teacher would need would be in group therapy. What ever is useful of our kindergarten through grade eight curriculum can be learned in four months by a normal child of twelve. Schools can be small, with 28 or 30 children and can meet in any store front, church basement, or housing project. Four grownups would be needed; a teacher, a housewife who can cook, a college senior, and a school dropout of teen-age. The cost would be less than today's public school. Most students would not go to high school but would go to work. The 15% who want academic study would go to a small academy instead of a high school (there would be no high schools) and there they would prepare for college board examinations. Three teachers would suffice, one in physical sciences, one in social sciences, and one in humanities, for the 60 students in each academy. A student can be ready for college in three years by spending 3 hours a day in the classroom.

The radicals agree that the idea of the liberal arts college is to refine character and citizenship, but they say it does not come off that way. Some nice friendships are formed but ivied clubhouses are not necessary for this purpose. Paul Goodman states that young men learn more about the theory and practice of government by resisting the draft than they ever learned in Political Science 412.

According to George Leonard, education will be more concerned with training the senses and perceptions than with stuffing brains. Developing the mind will be de-emphasized; developing the capacity to enjoy sensations will be paramount. Experimental institutes are now working out new ways to educate people's neglected capacities to relate, to feel, to sense, to create, emphasizing man's physical, sensual makeup. The new school in Leonard's view will be unstructured and students will move freely through this place of learning, whether it be a room, a building, or a cluster of buildings.

The ghetto school will be a community center where the citizens come for recreation, and for art, music and drama activities. They come to the school to work out community policy on housing, traffic, health, police, etc., and for welfare activities. The school solves problems not only for the student but also for the citizen and the entire community. The County of Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations has worked out something of this sort recently by developing its proposed Community Advisory Committees. Each school would have its own advisory group of citizens. In the ghetto school situation, the radical reformers will educate parents as well as students. Parents will be tested before and after their schooling to determine what changes took place.

Edgar Friedenberg believes that compulsory education until late adolescence is terribly wrong, and that a child should arrange his education for himself, if he wants it. He should choose the school he desires. Mr. Friedenberg believes we will have to provide residential schools for students whose homes are wretched and lack sufficient nutrition. These boarding schools present one danger, he believes; they might become totalitarian.

A description of one of the new schools as proposed by the radical school reformers will be helpful at this point. Many or most students arrive early and proceed to their classrooms. There is no opening bell. Some read, write, paint, play music, and some take care

of pets. The teacher comes in unobtrusively and begins working with students. There is little organized activity for the entire class to perform together. Some work on math or reading in a small group, but for the most part children are on their own, moving about and talking quite freely. The children come to the teacher at her desk for help, but more often she is moving about the classroom, listening to children read, asking questions, advising on projects and helping where needed. The hallways are full of children putting up displays of paintings and graphs, or collections of many sorts. There are plenty of nails and boards, and I assume, hammers.

In one corner is a library nook where children read or look at books. There are no formal reading lessons and the child learns to read at random, in the same fashion he learned to talk by random encounter when he was two. If two children are reading aloud in the library nook, the better reader will correct the mistakes of the other, and so they learn. Much free writing is produced. No assignments are made, but the children write from natural desire, whether stories, poems, or just sentences. There are no individual desks, and no assigned places. The room is about the size of the conventional classroom, and has about 35 to 40 students. There are tables about the room for different kinds of activities: art, water and sand play, and number work. The number tables have many number lines with numbers marked on them so that children learn to count and to reason in math. They have weights and measures, and odd things to count.

The room has a play corner with dolls and furniture for playing house. Puppet theaters are everywhere, and the puppets are homemade. There is no difference in the school day between any of the subjects—in fact the new school may have no subjects at all. Textbooks are eliminated at the outset.

There is never a spelling lesson. As the child comes upon each new word by accident, he writes that word in his own dictionary notebook, and having internalized the word, ergo, he can spell it in the future. When the child is well on his writing, some grammar and spelling are introduced but not as separate subjects. They are mentioned as ways to say what the child wants to say in a more efficient way. The children write spontaneously and only on a topic which occurs to them.

In the new school the role of the teacher herself is vastly changed. She is a facilitator of learning, a conditioner of attitudes, rather than an imparter of knowledge. Children learn from models and the teacher is a model learner. The radical school reformers state we are so flooded these days with the elaborate formulations of experts that we have lost sight of the underlying simplicity of things, one of which is that children learn best from other children. They believe teachers should get out of the way of children so that learning can take place. The role of one child is that of learner model for another child.

The informal conditions of the classroom make it difficult for the teacher to keep a record of the child's progress. A detailed history is kept of each child's path, and these histories make a report card look like a swindle, teachers in these new schools report. There are no examinations given and school attendance is voluntary.

The new school is designed to eliminate the dehumanization of the public school system as we know it, we are told. Each school is autonomous, being operated at the pleasure of the parents and the teacher. There is no school board, no administrators.

The unstructured class described here is still too conventional for some of the radical reformers. There is not even a classroom as such in some schools. The students go about with the teacher through the town and nearby countryside to become familiar with the

social geography of their community. They visit the slums, the city hall, courts, study ecological hazards, methods of food production, transportation, etc. Parents serve as teacher assistants or as foster teachers.

The radical school reformers believe the new school will produce a society with no poverty, no racial conflict, no ugly individualism, no private property.

An example of their condemnation of our present situation is a statement of Jules Henry who says: "If all through school the young were provoked to question the Ten Commandments, the sanctity of revealed religion, the foundations of patriotism, the profit motive, the two-party system, monogamy, the laws of incest, and so on, we would have more creativity than we could handle." Of course, I feel his argument is invalid. There are quite a few million young Americans today who have questioned some of these very things, and they were provoked to question them by the classroom teacher. The result has been damage both to the student and to society.

During the last few days I have had the occasion to talk with two colleagues of Dr. Maslow, the chief mentor of the Third Force in psychology, and they believe some attempted applications of his theories are distortions and off the track. The state Dr. Maslow would not recommend an unstructured school such as we have been describing, that he recognized the failures of sensitivity training before he died, and that some applications of his works are not at all what he had in mind. This is not borne out by recent reports, which indicate he continued until his death to contribute his time to the development of what I consider harmful practices growing out of his theories.

Some of the reforms being implemented by the radical educators are based on very valid criticisms of our system. Some of the changes can be effective in creating internal motivation and in developing a love of learning. Some of the thinking, however, is based on misconceptions about the basic nature of man. Conventional education is accused of meddling with human nature and of trying to make it into something which it is not. The same charge must be made of some of the reforms of the radical educators. Human nature cannot be changed, and attempts to do so can create a monster.

Bertrand Russell disagreed with his friend John Dewey on the use of the method of discovery approach to learning. Russell believed that accumulation of knowledge is necessary, that the great pool of knowledge handed down in any one discipline must be sought by the student who wants to be educated, that study takes hard work and consistent application, that knowledge for its own sake is justified, and that if the student does not study of his own volition, he may need to be spanked to achieve the purpose. I am not an admirer of much of Russell's work, and this from him, is an amazing statement. Many great minds have brought their thinking to bear on this subject of learning, and perhaps the answer lies somewhere between the authoritarian approach and some of the valid reforms. In any case, the traditional aim or purpose of education must remain the same.

There are several areas of interest in education today which I would like to discuss at random. We will touch upon each area in staccato fashion, not attempting to unify them in any way.

One is the matter of relevant education. We touched on this topic earlier, and found that it involves replacing the subject matter with discussion of social issues which concern our country today. The subjects discussed closely parallel the several phases of the protest movement which began in 1954 with civil rights. Racial equality consumed several years and gave way to the poverty phase. After poverty came the free speech, sexual freedom, and academic freedom

putsch, then the anti-war phase, followed by ecology, women's liberation, and now homosexual liberation. As these issues are tackled in the social studies classroom, English class, or art class, the student's education is said to be relevant. Teachers did not wait for Dr. Glasser to come along before they made their classrooms relevant. Relevant education has been going on for several years, moving from the college down to the high school, the junior high school, and now the elementary grades. Relevancy in the classroom has produced several million young people whose way of life and actions are destructive to our society and to the human spirit. More than fifty percent of our population is now under twenty-five years of age. This is more than one hundred million persons. What future have our schools carved out for these young people, as they enter the adult world, and what future for those who follow them, what future for the human race?

Let us look at the use of medication administered to normal children to help them perform better in school. Drugs, at the suggestion and sometimes demand of school authorities, are now used on upward of three million students in schools in the United States for such reasons as problems with learning, overactivity, assumed hyperkinesis, minimal brain damage, and to achieve behavioral change, memory lengthening, and attention-span lengthening. The number of children on drugs could grow to four million, Congress was told in September. One school district has reported 35% of its students on such medication. The National Institute of Health has given grants to provide behavior-modifying drugs, and physicians to administer those drugs, to local school districts. Representative Cornelius Gallagher of New Jersey held hearings in September to determine the extent of the practice, what persons in Washington were promoting the practice, and what role the NEA will take in the furtherance of the practice.

As we increase the use of experimentation with drugs to improve the personality of the child, a report in the NEA Journal states that "the basic role of the teacher will change noticeably. Ten years hence it should be more accurate to term him a learning clinician. This title is intended to convey the idea that schools are becoming clinics whose purpose is to provide individualized psychosocial treatment for the students, thus increasing his value both to himself and to society." This statement was made two years ago. The state of Hawaii adopted a master plan for its schools two years ago which calls for its children to become the objects of biochemical research. The Hawaii plan also includes the use of chemical memory transfer when the technique is available for their use. In the last few months we find symposia being offered in colleges for the purpose of explaining to those attending just what is happening in the area of the biomedical and cybernetic revolution. Literature promoting these symposia is most interesting to read. Already we are far advanced in the use of microcircuitry permitting multichannel remote control brain stimulation and recording in animals. The literature predicts that in this decade we could easily tilt irreversibly toward a totally controlled optimized electro-hierarchical society.

Another matter which Americans should be following with concern is the rapidly developing reality for the school for children two to five years of age. In the opening days of his administration in 1969, President Nixon established the Office of Child Development out of which grew plans for the construction of a large number of day care centers for the child under kindergarten age of five. These centers are planned not only for children whose mothers work, but for all children from two to five. As noted earlier, the people working in these government programs want to have access to the child at

this early age, before he has had a chance to learn the wrong things from his parents. The maladaptive behavioral patterns developed at home can thus be prevented, they contend. This eliminates the necessity of the unlearning process when the child enters regular school. By the time he reaches kindergarten, his thought processes will have been directed away from traditional values and the child will not need sensitivity training at a later age. This will save everyone a lot of trouble. Whereas child care centers in the past have been custodial or baby-sitting facilities, the new centers will be learning centers. The NEA states that when the centers begin to operate on a wide scale, educators will assume a formal responsibility for children when they reach the age of two.

As was to be expected, when the White House Conference on Children and Youth met in Washington last December, one of the important matters to come before the conference was the establishment of these child care centers. Great urgency was assigned to the program. It would cost between six and ten billion dollars a year to operate the centers, and I do not know how many billions for construction. A system of child advocates will probably be established this year, with one advocate to represent children at the national level, one at each state level, and one for each community. The advocates would be responsible for policy-making and enforcement for all persons under twenty-one, and the system would guarantee every infant seven new rights which we will not take time to enumerate here. The advocate would stand as "protector" between parent and child.

There is more and more being said about developing the kibbutz (and this word is used) for American children, and the idea already has the backing of some congressmen. As in the communal settlement in Israel, the kibbutz house here would take the child at an early age, even at birth in some instances, and the child would be reared by the state. Elizabeth Koontz, president of the NEA in 1968 and named head of the new network of child care centers by President Nixon, is pushing for the establishment of this sort of arrangement for children. The kibbutz has the backing of numerous influential people.

The fading importance of the printed word as the most used mode of communication in education is being stepped up. The use of books and other printed modes (the use of printed words) is decreasing in importance daily as non-print multimedia receive more emphasis in education. Non-print multimedia include television, films, film-strips, recorders and tapes, radio, and telephone. We must contemplate the import of ignoring the printed word. If you cannot read, you can only do what you are told. One textbook says: "The alphabet and the print technology have fostered and encouraged the development of the individual. Electric technology (such as television) in today's communications processes encourages involvement and unification of persons."

The older training of observations has become quite irrelevant in this new time. Technology which was produced by the scientific method is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and we have turned our backs on machinery of the industrial age. I assume you grasp the significance of this statement, that the day of science and its resulting technology is on its way out, that students will be discouraged from studying the sciences and engineering. One other brief quote from a high school senior problems class: "Social action can consume our energies and our time now, because it is no longer necessary for us to be overly concerned with a livelihood." The impetus is to regress toward a more primitive society, toward tribalism. Our standard of living has eliminated the necessity for worrying about fulfilling the basic

needs, and we can move on to fulfill the growth needs to become self-actualized. Somehow, in the minds of educators, these growth needs come to be equated with working in the ghetto, on problems of pollution, on changing our institutions, etc.

According to the Executive Secretary of the California School Boards Association, man is a verb, not a noun. This kind of thinking is going into the making of the new school. Think about it. Man is a verb, not a noun.

Expect some talk in the coming months about the government billeting children in homes of strangers for the purpose of placing them in a neighborhood with a high socioeconomic background, and for the purpose of achieving forced integration of races.

In his report on urban education submitted to the President last year, Wilson Riles stated that the role of the federal government in education in the future would be in social action thrusts. Our new state superintendent supports the idea of billeting and his assumptions about the role and purpose of the school are completely foreign to traditional education.

The idea of compulsory re-education of parents is growing, regardless of whether the parent already has a fine normal education. This new thrust will reach into the home and determine what and how the parents teach the child until he is five years old. This will involve impressment into the service of the government for the purpose of educating the infant and small child, right in the home, in a manner determined by the government. Look for much more on this in the near future.

Some high schools in California have eliminated all textbooks. Instead of textbooks the teachers use packets of material which they put together. These packets may contain articles from the press, essays by current educators, politicians, and bureaucrats, and articles from such periodicals as *Life* and *Look* magazines. If they choose, the teachers may order the packets ready made from lesson plan banks. These include the Learning Activity Package called LAP's from Florida, packets from I.P.I. in Pittsburgh, another from Duluth, and a popular one in California called Unipac in Santa Ana. These packets, whether ordered from a bank or prepared by the teachers themselves, are not seen or read by the board of education or the administrators, or parents.

Prior to two years ago, the term 'change agent' was seldom heard. Since then educational journals, school documents, government documents from the Office of Education in Washington and from the Department of Education in Sacramento, and even books used in graduate study in education, are replete with the term 'change agent.' Innovators assume that the educational change they are pushing is good, and that the only stumbling block to its adoption by a school district is resistance by a school board or the teachers. A person is trained in certain leadership techniques and placed in the target area to aid in the adoption of innovation, to accomplish change. He is called the change agent. Some counties in the state, perhaps all, have worked out a routine procedure to be followed by the change agent in implementing the innovation.

The procedure to be used in overcoming the resistance to change by the people of five joint counties in Northern California is most interesting to read. It is a document about half an inch thick and I will read a few lines from the last section. "The quality of leadership by a change agent is directly related to the rate of adoption of an innovation." "Use those principles best suited to each type of audience..." (board, teachers, students). "Times of stress are propitious for rumors." "A crisis speeds innovation." "Innovators are perceived as deviants." "Innovators perceive themselves as deviants." The board, teachers, and parents need to

know who the change agent is. It may be a board member, administrator, teacher, community leader, or an organization. Dr. John Goodlad, Dean of the Graduate School of Education at UCLA, and one of the top innovators in the country, wrote in "The National Elementary Principal" that the single school is the most strategic unit to act as a change agent. Dr. Goodlad's work is to help develop innovations and to devise ways for implementing them in the country's schools.

Literature from Washington states that groups can be used as change agents in education, and that the most effective ones for this purpose are the chambers of commerce, service clubs, and on occasion, the YMCA and YWCA. A plan for the new school in North Dakota states that the teacher is the change agent for the purpose of achieving radical school reform in that state.

The movement toward compulsory national service is growing. Having finished high school, the young person would spend two years in forced service, mostly in areas of social reform. Work would include helping in the ghetto, child care centers, paraprofessionals in the schools, and even service abroad in organizations such as the Peace Corps. Those choosing to accept military draft or who would enlist in the armed forces would, of course, not be placed in national service. National service would apply to both our young men and young women.

A study which has been most time consuming is that of the new Planning, Programming, Budget System for California schools. It is called PPBS, and its sole function is to rebotize the population of the United States—of the world for that matter, because operational models of the system are already being exported to countries abroad. We lack the time even to scratch the surface in describing PPBS, but suffice it to say that it is an agonizingly sophisticated endeavor by use of esoteric mathematical formulations to standardize and average out every child who is subjected to its use. If fully implemented within one generation we will have a nation of unbelievably uncreative, immobilized, insensitive, and unnatural inhabitants, all under the control of the very, very few talented elite who, of course, do not permit themselves to be processed through the system. Sounds incredible. A search into the system's meaning and beginnings lead back into higher and higher mathematics to some of the world's great mathematical minds of last century, whose formulae on mathematical probabilities have been applied in this century to the manipulating of humans. Its study has been the most fascinating adventure I have ever undertaken. I am not through. I am looking for a mathematics scholar who has been involved in the development of the system who can finish off the story for me.

What does all this which has been said mean to you? To me it means much more hard work, hard work than I've accomplished in the past because I believe most of the past, present, and proposed future educational reforms pervert minds, destroy human dignity, and wither the soul.

Some of the activities in which I will engage from this moment on were decided upon after much serious thought. First, I decided I must identify educational organizations deserving of the name. After identification of these organizations was established, these activities were decided upon.

I have accepted a co-chairmanship, with Mrs. Marilyn Angle of Santa Monica, of the Los Angeles County District of the Citizens Committee of California.

I have made myself available to the John Birch Society for lecturing purposes in California.

¹ Dr. Bean has since been appointed State Co-chairman of the CCC.

fornia and contiguous states. I will be a regular writer for "The Educator," a nationally distributed newspaper and the official organ of the Citizens Committee of California. Copies of my lectures will be submitted for publication in the periodicals of the John Birch Society. Articles on education will be submitted to "The Wanderer" and various newspapers. Copies of my voluminous files are to be forwarded to research libraries where much needed research is being done in present educational practices.

At each stop I will promote the sale of John Steinbacher's new book entitled "The Child Seducers" which was published just last week and which will no doubt become the most controversial book ever published in this nation simply because it tells the truth about education. I heartily recommend it.²

I intend to found a corporation which will be called—to almost borrow a name—The Center for the Study of Educational Institutions. The by-laws of this organization will specifically prohibit funding by Xerox, the Ford's Foundation, The Carnegie Fund, and the federal government. The purpose of this organization will be to activate—to borrow another term—a delegate assembly which could also be called—to borrow yet another term—the Security Council. This Assembly would be made up of representatives from the numerous organizations in the country which have been founded because of concern about what is occurring in the schools and which organizations have developed remarkable expertise in some area of education. These include such groups as the Citizens Committee of California, ARMS of San Luis Obispo, and many hundreds more. Imagine the influence generated by the pooling of information and the devising of programs of concerted action in a specific direction.

We have discussed at length the problem, and one area in which I will work to provide a solution will be to help initiate and bring about enactment of legislation which will give direct and full tax exemption of tuition to the parent who has a child in private school. This will place the public system in competition with the private school, and the market of free enterprise will accomplish the improvement of practices in the public system, as well as upgrade the private schools. This is an area receiving much attention by legislators, the media, educators, and the public.

In these several activities I solicit your support.

All this activity will take work and time. And as Robert Browning said, "If you love life do not waste time, for time is the stuff out of which life is made."

And so in order to conserve time, I will eliminate those activities which are not, nor could possibly be, productive. I have been to the River of Education and have found it polluted. I have concluded this pollution is irremedial at the local level because pollutants are poured into the river at the federal level and more pollutants are added at the state level. Nearly every innovation is paid for by funds from Washington, and accepted on our behalf by the State Board of Education. The federalization of local districts was complete with the enactment of the ESEA in 1965, and under the law-making policies assumed by HEW, the control grows tighter daily. Only about ten percent of the decisions affecting local school districts are made by the local board of education, and the River of Education is too highly contaminated for this small fraction of influence to make an impression at the local level.

Therefore, my first move will be to resign as trustee of the Glendale Unified School District. Thank you for coming, and good night.

² The Child Seducers, 1110 S. Pomona Ave., Fullerton, Cal. 92632.

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FRASER HEARINGS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned about the persistently high rate of unemployment that has plagued the country for the past 3 years. But the statistics do not really tell us who the unemployed are and why they are out of work. In an effort to get behind these statistics I recently conducted 2 days of hearings in my home district to find out more about the unemployment problems in Minnesota and in Minneapolis.

The following accounts of the hearings appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 22 and 23, 1972. They give an indication of the severity of the problems not only in Minnesota but in the country as a whole.

The articles follow:

UNEMPLOYMENT TOUCHES ALL, HEARING TOLD
(By Bruce Nelson)

Unemployment in Minnesota has touched nearly every occupation and has transcended

the social and economic class barriers usually associated with joblessness.

That was the story told by 23 witnesses at an informal congressional hearing on unemployment held in the Minneapolis Public Library Friday.

Most witnesses, testifying at the seven-hour hearing sponsored by Rep. Donald Fraser, D-Minn., also concluded there is no immediate relief in sight to unemployment.

Most witnesses were representatives of agencies that work with the unemployed. Fraser and Dr. George Seltzer, labor economist at the University of Minnesota, will hear from several unemployed persons as the hearing continues today.

According to testimony presented Friday, the unemployment picture in Minnesota looks something like this:

Case load in the Minneapolis Relief Department increased 16 per cent in the past month. Arnold Skaar, a unit manager in that office, testified that there were more than 84 requests for relief made Monday, more than on any single day in the last 20 years.

More than half of the clients in the Legal Aid Society office in south Minneapolis are unemployed. And about 70 per cent of the unemployed clients are women, according to Ellen Dresseluis, an attorney in the office who testified that women face "severe discrimination" in the job market.

Unemployment among professional engineers is 5.5 percent, compared with .7 percent two years ago. Ronald Vegemast, past president of the Minnesota Society of Professional Engineers, said there are 660 unemployed engineers in Minnesota.

Number of jobs available to University of Minnesota students is 19 to 20 per cent less this year. W. L. Pederson, director of the student employment service at the university, said there have been 9.5 per cent fewer placements out of the job service this year.

Minnesotans who are over 45 years are more apt to be unemployed than a younger worker and when unemployed will stay out of work 75 per cent longer than someone under 45. Max Goldberg, an unemployed engineer who has been researching the jobless problem, said there are 7 million unemployed persons over 45, an increase from 600,000 a year ago.

Black unemployment in the Minneapolis area is 12 per cent, about double the overall unemployment figure. Matt Johnson, Minneapolis Urban League deputy director, testified that jobless rate among black youths is more than 30 per cent.

Veterans face a tougher unemployment situation than non-veterans. Phillip Johnson, a Red Cross worker assigned to the military family division, said a survey of 51 Twin Cities Vietnam veterans showed that 15 per cent are unemployed.

Indian unemployment in Minnesota is between 8 and 18 per cent, according to John Martinson, employment director of the Minneapolis office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In an interview after the hearing Friday, Fraser said the testimony was a "clear indication that there are many dimensions to the unemployment problem. It's hit black and white and Indian and it's hit the rich and the poor and the unskilled and the highly skilled."

Fraser said he plans to use the information presented at the hearings when he testifies before a House Labor subcommittee next month on pending manpower legislation.

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press,
January 23, 1972]

MAN GETS JOB ON 126TH TRY
(By Bruce Nelson, Staff Writer)

David Yale spent the last year looking for a job in the Twin Cities and was turned down 125 times.

Yale, of 1027 27th Ave. SE. in Minneapolis, told Rep. Donald Fraser, D-Minn., Saturday why he was unemployable:

"I have a B.A. degree in English, an M.A. degree in American studies and three years of teaching experience. My credentials are like having your pockets full of confederate dollars."

Yale was hired as a neighborhood recreation director by the Minneapolis Recreation Department two weeks ago.

"I'm one of the lucky ones," he told Fraser during the second day of unemployment hearings conducted by the congressman in the Minneapolis Public Library, "but there are hundreds more like me in this city who have something to offer but are getting sick of begging for work."

Yale's testimony dramatized only a small part of the unemployment picture presented by 48 witnesses at the two-day hearing.

Similar out-of-work stories were told by blacks, Indians, Vietnam veterans, unskilled ex-convicts, highly trained and experienced engineers, teachers, nurses and labor leaders.

All of them recounted stories of individuals forced out of the work force or prohibited from entering it because of the current economic slump.

Several leaders of black community groups criticized the city of Minneapolis for allegedly not complying with federal equal opportunity employment practices and cited the all-white fire department as an example.

Ronald Edwards, of the Northside Redevelopment Council, also criticized a goal set by the Minneapolis building trades for a four per cent minority membership by 1976. He said the goal should be 10 percent or more.

Several young unemployed veterans testified that they have seen no hope for a job in the Twin Cities employment market and claimed their veteran status is a hindrance rather than an aid in seeking work.

Banghart said the hospitals told him his military training and experience did not qualify him to hold the job in a civilian hospital.

Another unemployed witness, Walter Carlson, a leader of Minnesota Unemployed Workers, said the programs aimed at hiring Vietnam veterans discriminate against older vets.

"I fought for my country too," Carlson said, "and nobody is trying to get me a job. Carlson has been listed with the state Manpower Services Department for four months but says he has received only one lead on a job from the department."

More than 3,000 unemployed Minnesotans are members of Carlson's organization.

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA; ANOTHER ABUSE OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now that the President of the United States has asked Congress to increase the contributions by the U.S. taxpayers to the U.N. Organization, our colleagues may find of interest the names of the officers of the influential members of the U.N. lobby in the United States, their role, and the extent of their activities.

Many Members may find it unusual that the U.N. Association is a tax-exempt organization enjoying preferential tax status while actually advancing the interests of a quasi-alien government—the United Nations. Especially, is this so when we realize some private schools in

the United States are denied tax-exempt status.

A review of the officers and members of the board of directors of the U.N. lobby may explain the fear of publicity that discharge petition No. 10 is at the Clerk's desk awaiting signatures to force discharge of the bill, H.R. 2632, to revoke and rescind U.S. participation in the U.N.O.

I include a list of the officers and members of the board of directors of the U.N. Association of the United States of America, a statement of their role, and a report of the policy panel:

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THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION

UNA-USA is a private, non-partisan organization of people who want to stop war; who want to make the UN a stronger force for reason, for peace and progress in the world. People who want to do something more about the world situation than just hope—and have decided there's no better place to begin than in their own community.

UNA-USA works to strengthen the United Nations and other international organizations dedicated to peace, progress and the rule of law:

By organizing National Policy Panels to research and analyze key problems—peace, development, the environment—and to develop concrete proposals for action that command attention here and abroad.

By working with over 143 major national organizations on informational materials and programs relating their special interests to international issues.

By helping more than 400 student-directed collegiate units conduct campus-community dialogues, Model UN's and leadership institutes focused on the common interest of all ages in the issues of survival.

By stimulating and servicing UN Day observances in some 2,000 communities under the leadership of a National UN Day Chairman appointed by the President of the United States.

By organizing a nationwide network of local chapters for effective community work toward the establishment of peace and cooperation in the world.

A REPORT OF A NATIONAL POLICY PANEL ESTABLISHED BY THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNA-USA

The United Nations Association of the United States of America engages in objective, non-partisan research and policy formulation, backed by nationwide education, information, and citizen-action programs aimed at making the United Nations and other international organizations more adequate to the needs of our times.

Its activities and programs are premised on the belief that opposition to war—to have real meaning—requires vigorous efforts to build the international institutions needed for settling differences peacefully and for cooperating in improving the quality of life. UNA-USA embraces:

1. A research and policy formulation program that involves top leadership from all segments of our society, and has rapidly achieved an international reputation for the quality and the influence of its reports and recommendations.

2. Information, education, and civic-action programs that include:

A. Cooperative projects with more than 140 national organizations, including continuing conference groups of leaders and delegates in Washington and at UN Headquarters.

B. Community activities and programs in nearly 2,000 localities led by local chapters

of UNA-USA, local units of affiliated national organizations, and by Governors' Committees and Mayors' Committees formed in response to an annual UN Day proclamation by the President of the United States.

C. Services requested by the United States Government and by the United Nations.

D. The only readable and authoritative magazine reporting on international organization, *VISTA*.

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ABORTION: A METAPHYSICAL APPROACH

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, abortion proponents frequently argue that the unborn child is not a distinct human being but rather a part of the mother. This claim flies in the face of scientific fact.

As we know from our studies of biology and metaphysics, the unborn child is a distinct individual who is living in a cavity in his mother's body. As a human being he is entitled to all the rights of man, the foremost of which is the right to life.

Dr. Thomas Johnson, associate professor of biology and professor of chordate embryology at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has detailed the biological and metaphysical arguments against abortion in an excellent essay entitled "Abortion: A Metaphysical Approach," and I insert his essay into the RECORD at this point:

ABORTION: A METAPHYSICAL APPROACH

The issue of abortion has occupied the minds of humans for as long as civilized society has existed. There have been times when abortion was legally condoned and socially accepted, and other periods of mankind's history when this practice was outlawed and considered to be a criminal act. Today, at a point in time when the rights of individuals are being attacked, ignored or destroyed, we are again witnessing a resurgence of the debate on abortion, and within the past few years, the passage of laws which remove most or all restrictions which have, in the previous history of this nation, protected the individual rights of the most vulnerable, defenseless and innocent of human beings: the unborn child.

The abortion controversy is not just another dispute causing people to occupy opposing intellectual and legal camps. It is not a subject that can be equated in importance with other national concerns. Abortion is an issue which must be recognized as one of the most, if not the most important argument of our times, for it deals with an attack on the fundamental right of all humans: the right to life. When this right, upon which all other rights depend, can be set aside; when, at the whim of an adult, a new

human life can be destroyed simply because another human does not wish to allow this life to continue; when it is decided that one stage of human life is of no real value—that its existence is an inconvenience to others and can thus be terminated—mankind loses its most precious value. Once the absolute value of each individual to his own life vanishes, existence no longer remains as a right, but becomes a privilege to be granted or denied by those in authoritative positions, by majority vote, or by the caprice of an unreasoning mother.

There is but one approach that can be taken in dealing with the subject of abortion—the metaphysical approach. Metaphysics is a branch of philosophy which involves the attempt to understand the nature of existence, to explain and scientifically analyze natural phenomena, both in the animate and inanimate realms. Since abortion is dealing with the destruction of the human embryo or fetus, it is necessary to examine the biological nature of these entities and apply this information to another division of philosophy—Ethics—in the attempt to determine the correct behavior of men towards these intrauterine stages.

Among those who advocate abortion, who state that a woman should be able to terminate a pregnancy simply because she desires to do so, there are two significant groups. One group states that the entity within the uterine cavity is not a living human being, that the embryo or fetus is simply a cluster of multiplying cells that could be considered as a part of the mother's body. The other group considers the embryo or fetus to be human, but argues that there is a conflict between the rights of the mother and those of the unborn child. That the mother must have full control over her body, and that if she is denied this right she will fall victim to the rights of the unborn.

What is the actual nature of the intrauterine stages and does a real conflict exist between the mother and the unborn? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to briefly analyze the known essentials of reproduction, particularly those factors which apply to vertebrates, of which the human is the most advanced form, and correlate this knowledge with the issue of the rights of the embryo or fetus, and the mother.

Sexual reproduction—reproduction accomplished by means of the production of sperms and eggs, and their subsequent fusion—is characteristic of most forms of life, and is the only method of reproduction possessed by numerous animal groups (for example, all vertebrates). Once a mature animal produces the sex cells, they are released from the organs in which they formed (the testis or ovary) and usually pass into ducts leading to the outside of the organism. Either the sperms and eggs are released into water, at which time fertilization occurs immediately, or sperm cells are introduced into the female tract and fertilization will eventually take place within the body of the female. The essential point is, that at the time of fusion of sex cells, a new generation of a species is produced.

Within each cell of an animal there are two sets of chromosomes (filaments containing genes). When the sex cells are formed, each sperm or egg contains only one set of chromosomes, but when a sperm fuses with an egg the full complement of chromosomal pairs is re-established. It is at this point, at the time of the formation of the zygote (the cell formed by the fusion of the sperm and egg) that a new organism comes into existence.

In human reproduction, the sperm fertilizes the egg in the upper portion of the oviduct. A new human life thus begins its existence in the cavity of the oviduct, and since it takes several days for the new organism to reach the uterus, it is already an embryo by the time it enters that organ.

One frequently hears the argument that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a part of the mother's body over which she must have control. Without question, this is not the case. Once sperms and eggs are discharged from the sex organs, they are no longer a part of the organism which produced them. These highly specialized cells, which have been produced by a special form of cell division (meiosis—other body cells are formed by the process of mitosis), are of no value to the organism which formed them (as regards the maintenance of its own life)—thus they either degenerate or they are released from the sex organs and pass into a tube on their way out of the body. Ultimately a small fraction of these discarded sex cells will fuse. Under no circumstances could one consider mature released sex cells, or any subsequent organism resulting from the fusion of these cells, as a part of the individual which generated them.

(Although the human embryo attaches itself to the wall of the uterus in order to gain needed substances from the mother for its growth and development, it does not fuse with this organ but remains as a distinct new life existing within the cavity of the mother's reproductive tract.)

Human life therefore has its beginning (*is viable*) at a point in time when the necessary genetic information, half coming from the father and the other half from the mother, is brought together by the fusion of the released sperm and egg to form the single celled zygote. This individual organism cannot be a part of the mother (it has an entirely different set of chromosomes), but is a separate and unique human life.

There is another important, but generally overlooked, aspect of the development of vertebrates which is germane to the discussion of abortion and which would shed light on the nature of the intrauterine embryo or fetus. It is a well known biological fact that all vertebrate life must begin in an aquatic environment. Fishes and amphibians generally release the sex cells into a body of water and the zygotes and embryos develop there. In the land vertebrates, which do not deposit their eggs into water, a sac forms around the embryo which fills with fluid. Consequently, each vertebrate, including the human, must spend the first developmental phase of its life in a water medium, and it is only after the new organism has achieved the necessary physical development (not accomplished by fishes and some amphibians), that it is able to continue its life in a gaseous environment.

(Even if humans should achieve the technological ability to raise what science fiction writers have called "bottle babies," these "bottles" would be filled with fluid. It is only because the human organism begins its life, not in a glass container in which one could observe the rapidly changing new life, but in a dark cavity out of sight, that older humans find it possible to pretend that these younger humans are not living or are not human. If the growth of the unborn child were to be observed by the mother, the issue of abortion would most likely never have become a matter of world wide concern, for what psychologically healthy mother, seeing the unborn child within herself, would choose to destroy it.)

Metaphysically, by its nature, every new human life must spend the first months of its existence in an aquatic environment, within the amniotic sac, if it is ever to experience a later stage of human existence. No human life has ever bypassed this requirement, or ever will—at least not for many millions of years, if then, considering the present rate of evolution. Every new human life must also have first been a zygote, then an embryo and finally a fetus before it is prepared to live outside the fluid medium. To contend that human life is only human at the time of birth, that the intrauterine entity is not

an actual, but only a potential human being, is untenable.

For those who insist that human life begins only at birth, the question that must be asked is—What is this entity developing within the uterus if not an actual human being? Is it possible that by some magic, at the time of birth, that this alleged potential being is somehow, within a matter of minutes, transformed into an actual human being? To rational individuals, in possession of scientific facts, the answer is incontrovertible. Both the unborn child and the new born child is an actual human being, and at the time of birth, the child is merely moving from one required environment (aquatic) to a new required environment (gaseous) so that it can continue to develop into the succeeding stages of its life until it eventually ends its existence at the time of death.

The biological facts relating to the reproductive process and the first stages of human life have been established. It is now necessary to relate this knowledge to the issue of rights.

Those that contend that the intrauterine being is not human have no problem in their attempt to settle a controversy over rights, for if this living "thing" is not human, it can possess no rights. Since it is a well substantiated fact that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a human being, their argument becomes meaningless and requires no further discussion.

Those that contend that a human life is existing within the mother during the period of pregnancy do ascribe rights to this new human life, but it is argued that the rights of the mother take precedence over those of the unborn child and thus she has, or should have, the legal and moral right to terminate the life of this new individual at any, or certain limited, stages of its existence. This latter position requires a succinct examination.

A woman must have full control over her own body at all times. She must be free to take any action which is deemed necessary to sustain her life. For instance, if it can be medically determined that carrying her unborn child to term would probably result in her death, she cannot be expected or required to sacrifice her adult independent life for the life of an immature, dependent offspring. (Actually, in many such cases, both the mother and the fetus could die, resulting in the loss of two lives, instead of just one). Since medical science has advanced to a point at which such life and death situations rarely occur, the argument in favor of abortion in order to preserve the life of the mother has only limited application. Although this is the case, the legal code should specifically grant abortions if the mother's life is seriously jeopardized, which it has done throughout the history of this nation.

Are there other circumstances that might arise which would, or could, legally and morally permit an expectant mother to undergo an abortion? The answer is yes—in cases of legally proven (which is sometimes difficult), unwillingly engaged in acts of rape or incest. *When an individual does not commit an act of his own free will, he (or she) cannot be held responsible for the consequences of this act.* Although this is true, it does not alter the fact that a new life is existing and that it will be destroyed if aborted. The most humane response to such a circumstance would be to encourage the expectant mother to carry the child to term, but no one could require this of the victim.

There are some who insist that abortion should be allowed for other medical reasons—in the case of diseased or malformed fetuses. But what individual physician, or board of physicians, or legislative body has the ability to determine what diseased condition or what deformity could warrant killing the unborn (or the born)? No such judgment is possible, either for the intrauterine or extrauterine human.

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Wilke, in their recently released book, *Handbook On Abortion*, emphasize this point when they write: "This price tag of comfort or utilitarian usefulness, called euthanasia when applied to incurably ill post-born humans, applies equally well to the pre-born human who is also judged to be so deformed or mentally deficient that he too should not be permitted to live. This criterion and value judgment which permits humans to continue to live only because they are useful and independent is an utterly barbaric concept. Once life has a price tag on it and is no longer an absolute right, then all life is endangered, all life is only worth the current price tag placed upon it by society, the state, the master race, or those in positions of power."¹

Having full control over her own body (having self determination) is an absolute right of each woman, but having full control over another's body, over the body of a new life developing within her reproductive system is not, and never could be her prerogative. A woman must have the right to prevent conception—to determine herself if she wishes to have, or not have, a child—to obtain contraceptive information and materials—but she must also bear the responsibility for sustaining the life of a newly formed human if she willfully engages in intercourse which results in pregnancy.

(It should be noted that certain contraceptives do not prevent conception, but preclude the implantation of the embryo in the wall of the uterus. The use of such contraceptives should be condemned, for they bring about the destruction of very young lives rather than prevent their coming into existence.)

Consider the political philosophy, and the attitude toward individual rights, of those groups which are the most outspoken supporters of abortion—those concerned with environmental pollution, the population explosion and the "liberation" of women. Each of these groups espouses a collectivist view of life and considers the individual human to be expendable or enslavable as the means of achieving their ends. They are outspoken lobbyists backing legislation granting the agency of force, the government, the authority to establish a myriad of programs which they consider necessary to achieve their aims, and they completely ignore the fact that it is other human lives that will be sacrificed in this attempt to carry out their master plan for society. The sacrifice of the unborn is just one other aspect of their social engineering which is completely compatible with their view of man—the view that the individual is nothing; the collective is all.

There is no conflict of rights between the expectant mother and the unborn child. Both she and the new life within her have the right to life, a right which must be possessed by all humans at all stages of their life. And since it is the function of government to protect the rights of all humans, from the beginning of life to its end, it is right for the government to proscribe the killing of the unborn by means of abortion—except to save the life of the mother or in instances where a woman's self determination was obliterated, as in the case of forced rape or incest.

In her brilliant essay, "Man's Rights," Ayn Rand states: "There are no 'rights' of special groups, there are no 'rights' of farmers, of workers, of businessmen, of employees, of employers, of the old, of the young, of the

unborn. There are only the Rights of Man—rights possessed by every individual man and by all men as individuals." The unborn child is a new individual having the same rights as all other individuals, and, as with all humans, regardless of their age or station in life, possesses the most basic of all rights, the right without which all other rights would cease to exist, the right to life.

THOMAS JOHNSON, 1971,
Associate Professor of Biology and
Professor of Chordate Embryology.

STATEMENT ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S "PEACE" PLAN

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, the American people would be well advised to watch what President Nixon does rather than what he says.

For at least 2 of the 3 months that he says "the substance" of his eight-point peace plan for Indochina was before the North Vietnamese, American planes have been massively bombing North Vietnam and Laos. Even as the President was speaking last night about his administration's peaceful intentions, U.S. jets were completing another day of bombing raids.

This "carrot and bomb" policy was a failure under the Johnson administration. It is failing under Nixon too.

Again, President Nixon links the fate of American prisoners of war to his support for the Thieu government. He would have us believe that he was formulating a plan for free elections sometime in the distant future while he was condoning the farce of Thieu's one-man "election" last fall.

Under his plan, General Thieu would remain in power indefinitely, with a token 1-month resignation. Meanwhile, Thieu would retain control of the police and the Army and keep thousands of his opponents in jail, where they are now.

If Nixon wanted serious acceptance of his election proposal, he would have called now for the immediate resignation of Thieu, demanded the release of all political prisoners and announced the abandonment of Operation Phoenix, the secret U.S. plan to assassinate the NFL infrastructure.

The President's disclosure of alleged secret negotiations between Henry Kissinger and the North Vietnamese is still another affront to the American people and to the Congress, which he has unconstitutionally frozen out of any role in foreign policy. We are now expected to believe that the President is telling us the whole story of these negotiations. Why should we?

Clearly, there are times when secrecy in diplomatic relations is necessary. But as the Pentagon papers revealed, it was under the cover of a self-serving secrecy that our Government ensnared us into this vicious and unnecessary war. Secret discussions of terms for getting us out of this war are not necessary because the Congress and the American people have

already made it clear that their terms are simple and uncomplicated.

If President Nixon wants to end the war, he has only to carry out "the policy of the United States," as enacted in section 601 of the Military Procurement Act (Public Law 92-156) which requires him to set a specific date for total withdrawal of all our troops from Indochina, contingent only on the release of our prisoners of war.

If he is concerned about his credibility and divisions among the American people, he should accompany his televised speeches about peace with actions for peace. He should call an immediate and permanent halt to the mass bombing of Indochina. He should refrain from making new threats of military action, as he did again last night.

Aside from its obvious political campaign overtones, the President's appearance on TV may be designed to provide him with an excuse to carry out Pentagon plans for severe military escalation in the near future. For weeks, the Pentagon has been leaking to the press warnings of impending heavy fighting in the central highlands.

We want no more excuses, secret diplomacy, or threats of military escalation. We want the President to end the war. He has still to do this.

EDALHAB: A CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE TO THE NATION'S OCEANO- GRAPHIC ENGINEERING EFFORTS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the spring of 1966, the University of New Hampshire was approached by the Office of Naval Research, represented by Mr. Denzil C. Pauli, to undertake the feasibility design of a research diving habitat to serve the U.S. national oceanographic community. It was to incorporate the technological developments by the U.S. Navy in their Sealab I and Sealab II projects that had been successfully initiated by Capt. George Bond, M.D., USN plus other saturation diving technology developed by private U.S. industry and the French laboratory headed by Capt. Jacques Cousteau. However, this habitat was to meet the peculiar needs of the oceanographic research and educational community in the United States, and be more simple and much more economic to operate than the existing saturation diving systems.

During the summer of 1966, this project, entitled "University Sealab," was conducted by 13 University of New Hampshire engineering faculty and student assistants under the direction of Dr. Godfrey H. Savage, professor and director of University of New Hampshire's ocean engineering laboratory. The project was also supported by a volunteer scientific advisory committee composed of: Dr. Melbourne Carriker, Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, Mass.; Dr.

¹ *Handbook On Abortion* is a well reasoned and scientifically accurate work covering all of the primary and secondary issues concerning abortion. It is available in paperback for \$0.95, plus postage, from Hiltz Publishing Co. 6304 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45224.

David Dean, director, Ira C. Darling Research Center, University of Maine; Dr. Galen Jones, Estuarine Laboratory, University of New Hampshire; Dr. John Knauss, Narragansett Marine Laboratory, University of Rhode Island; Mr. Bernard Skud, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Biological Laboratory, Boothbay Harbor, Maine; and Dr. Lionel Walford, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife Laboratory, Sandy Hook, N.J. Basically, the University Sealab project showed a substantial need on the east coast of the United States for a highly mobile saturation diving facility that could be operated for less than \$3,000 per day; that is approximately 10 percent of the total estimated daily cost of the Sealab II diving program. Seven very different conceptual designs of mobile diving habitat systems meeting the research requirements of the scientists were evaluated and the technically economic feasibility of two systems was examined in preliminary construction design detail. In 1966 it was hoped that these University Sealab plans could lead to a joint Navy/civilian Sealab program that would follow the Navy Sealab III program which was already in the planning stages. However, with the delays that occurred in the Sealab III program and the changes in naval policy toward research ordered by Congress, the future of University Sealab looked bleak by the summer of 1967.

Therefore, in the fall of 1967 the University of New Hampshire, with the assistance of funds and materials solicited from private industry, particularly Dan Clark, Inc. of Woods Hole, Mass., and approximately \$4,000 from the Office of Naval Research, undertook an undergraduate student project to build a simple, shallow water diving facility using a compressed air system, rather than the more sophisticated closed circuit helium-oxygen system employed in most of the previous saturation diving facilities. Nine electrical engineering, and geology students participated in the construction of this habitat system which they called Edalhab, an acronym for the Engineering Design and Analysis Laboratory—EDAL—of the University of New Hampshire, which is the interdepartmental ocean engineering facility directed by Dr. Savage. Edalhab was constructed during the winter of 1967-68 and successfully tested in Lake Winnepesaukee between April 26 and April 29, 1968, when four students lived in it at a depth of 30 feet for nearly 2 days. Medical support for the safe recovery of these student saturation divers was provided by Dr. Joseph MacInnis of Toronto, Canada, who recently conducted a diving experiment at the North Pole. Although Edalhab I was successful, it had such limited capability for mobility that the Office of Naval Research originally suggested turning it over to the University of Puerto Rico for a fixed location habitat. However, the University of New Hampshire felt it was possible to do more with the system and retained possession in the belief that the total investment by UNH student personnel, gifts of materials and equipment to the university gave possession of the system to the university. At that time the total value of the

habitat was estimated to be approximately \$10,000, excluding the student and faculty labor that had gone into it.

Edalhab lay idle for nearly 2 years, until Dr. Savage of UNH and Mr. Robert Ballard of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution conceived the idea of mating the Edalhab system to the research vessel *Lulu*, which is the 100-foot support catamaran for WHOI's research submersible, *Alvin*. Starting in the fall of 1970, another student engineering group, under the supervision of Dr. Savage assisted by Prof. E. H. Stollworthy also of the University of New Hampshire, redesigned and reconstructed the Edalhab so that it could be transported and surface supported by the R/V *Lulu* in an actual ocean diving expedition. During the period April 23 to April 30, 1971, the R/V *Lulu* came to the New Hampshire State Port Authority dock, where it loaded Edalhab III and a mobile recompression chamber that had also been built by UNH students, and conducted a successful 4-day saturation dive in approximately 50 feet of water off the Isles of Shoals in New Hampshire shelf waters.

The major purpose of this second saturation dive by three UNH students was to conduct an experiment on transplanting Dungeness Crabs from the west coast to the Gulf of Maine. This crab farming experiment, which was carefully designed to avoid any escape of the crabs and any other zoological contamination, was jointly conceived and directed by Dr. Larry Harris of the UNH Zoology Department and Dr. Savage. The overall Expedition Leader for this entire EDALHAB II-R/V LULU experiment was Dr. Savage.

The EDALHAB II-R/V LULU diving system operated simply and satisfactorily at an estimated cost of approximately \$1,000 per day excluding volunteer student and faculty support. It was jointly decided by Mr. Harold Goodwin, Deputy Director of the sea grant program of the Department of Commerce which supported the EDALHAB II project and Dr. James Miller, Deputy Director of the Manned Undersea Science and Technology Division of NOAA that EDALHAB II could be used as the initial University Sealab diving habitat that had originally been conceived at the University of New Hampshire in 1966. The low cost of operation relative to other saturation diving systems and simplicity of this operation indicated that it would be in substantial demand by the scientific diving committee. Therefore, the concept of project Flare was put forward in a meeting in Washington of EDALHAB II project team from UNH and Woods Hole and interested members of the Department of Commerce.

Project Flare is a totally NOAA sponsored project with the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution providing the overall operational direction under Messrs. William Rannin and Barrie Walden, of this 4-month diving research program off the eastern coast of Florida, and UNH, under the direction of Dr. Savage, accepting technical support responsibility for supplying and operating the entire diving system including the recompression chamber, air purification

system, and the habitat itself. The habitat, EDALHAB, for this Flare project, remains a very marginal, shallow water diving facility that cannot be used at depths exceeding approximately 50 feet because there are no proven standards for saturation diving for compressed air below this depth. Nor can the system withstand storm conditions. The scientific coordinator for the project will be Dr. John Vanderwalker of NOAA.

The pride of the University of New Hampshire in this entire development is the fact that an originally sound program for advancing the national interest on the U.S. Continental Shelf has overcome large roadblocks and seems on the brink of being carried through to substantial fruition by means of Yankee thrift and ingenuity and the willingness of its students and faculty to fly by the seat of their pants. The rest of the story is adequately told in the Portsmouth Herald newspaper article of January 13.

The article follows:

UNH IN RESEARCH PROJECT—EDALHAB TO PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE OFF FLORIDA COAST

(By John Whiteman)

DURHAM.—The University of New Hampshire and its submersible vehicle EDALHAB II have an important role in a series of research dives planned off the Florida coast near Miami shortly.

The three-man habitat is presently on its way to Florida, slung between the twin hulls of the Research Vessel *Lulu* out of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, Mass.

The series of dives for the marine research project FLARE (Florida Aquanaut Research Expedition) will begin Jan. 27 and continue intermittently until mid-April.

EDALHAB, built and redesigned by UNH students, will be involved in a total of 10 dives to 50 feet for eight different scientific projects.

The white-painted submersible will remain below for between three and five days each time. The mobile, low-cost vehicle has successfully operated in Lake Winnepesaukee and, last year, in the Atlantic near the Isles of Shoals when it was used in a crab farming experiment.

It has brought an enviable reputation in oceanographic circles to the UNH team that built and operates the vehicle, named for the university's engineering, design and analysis laboratory. The lab's director, Dr. Godfrey Savage, and a UNH crew will fly to Miami Jan. 24 to ready the craft for its first dive for the purposes of a fish experiment.

The entire series of dives and research projects is being financed by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and involves literally dozens of scientists and engineers from four universities, three museums, two non-government marine institutions, a junior college and several units of NOAA.

A research team from UNH will be directly involved in one of the projects. Led by Dr. Arthur C. Mathieson, an associate professor, the team will do research from EDALHAB on subtidal seaweeds, a botanical experiment, during Dive No. 8 between April 3 and 7. The team will include botanists Barry Hutchinson and Richard Fralick, and David Drew, a Durham student.

Dr. Savage said this week that one of the most exciting scientific events during EDALHAB's Florida visit will be the tryout of an acoustic monitoring system on free swimming divers. The apparatus is being taken down by Prof. Richard Skutt of the electrical engineering department, who will be accompanied by graduate students Roger Fell and Paul Hagstadd.

Prof. Skutt's devices will monitor physio-

logical information from the divers, including pulse and respiration rates, by acoustic rather than the telemetric method used in the space program, a considerably more difficult proposition.

In all, the 100 Florida days will produce a scientific bonanza.

Dr. Savage is planning to remain about six days, initially, before turning over the craft and its life-support systems to Woods Hole personnel, after the first of the planned dives.

With him will be Prof. Fletcher Blanchard, a UNH colleague, who will be in charge of the submersible's electrical system; Prof. Howard Stoiworthy, another UNH colleague, who's responsible for the air system; and three UNH project engineers, James Metcalf of Newmarket, Robert Blake of Rochester and William Miskoe of Concord. Metcalf is currently aboard the 500-ton research ship Lulu ferrying the Durham habitat to the site of its forthcoming missions.

The ingenuity and private enterprise thrift that have gone into EDALHAB is no small source of pride for Savage and his team of students. The craft is small enough to be moved easily and versatile enough to carry out a variety of tasks assigned it, and its mobility will be proved during the upcoming tests in the warm, Floridian waters.

Always, she'll be moved from one research spot to another and serviced by the Lulu, designed as the mother ship for the deep-diving submersible Alvin. The decompression chamber for the divers on Lulu's deck was designed and built by the UNH engineers.

"There's no question, this is a prototype system that can do saturation diving more cheaply and safely than has heretofore been done," said Savage. Although the Navy and other organizations have tested vehicles to perform similar tasks, apparently none has come near to operating as low as the EDALHAB's \$1,000 a day figure.

Improvements have been carried out to the UNH submersible since it was last operated. The three-man crew can now have a hot shower aboard, and there is a telephone and closed circuit TV monitor.

Nineteen hours in the recompression chamber face the divers who complete a four-day stint underwater aboard EDALHAB, making it a five-day mission for each of the crews in all. They have to be inside the chamber within minutes of leaving the submersible.

At 50 feet, EDALHAB's operating depth, no special atmospheric mixture is required for several days but about the five-day mark, oxygen poisoning becomes a possibility and the divers must be returned to a more equable environment.

Teams of marine explorers will be rotated aboard the habitat during the course of the experiments, which will be carried out at three sites near Miami and the Florida Keys.

The Woods Hole research mother ship and the 20-ton habitat can follow a wandering course, if need be, along the coral reefs or seaweed beds, where the scientists desire.

It was so-called sea grant funds of NOAA, part of the U.S. Commerce Department, that helped to construct and modify the craft.

ocide on over 600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

BAIL IN NARCOTICS CASES

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we are all well aware that the illegal sale of narcotics has risen to alarming proportions. While much needs to be done in formulating new laws and enforcing the present ones as a means of stopping the illegal sale of drugs, the public is not aware of existing legal complications which prevent swift and effective law enforcement.

Last month, the New York Law Journal published an enlightening article which revealed some of the problems prosecuting attorneys must face in seeking convictions of drug offenders. The article, written by the able and distinguished U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York, Robert A. Morse, points to legal loopholes within our system of justice which makes the prosecutor's role more difficult. This article is of particular significance because the author's insight and conclusions are a result of many years of accumulated knowledge and dedication to strict law enforcement. Mr. Morse, who for many years was a courageous and vigorous assistant U.S. attorney, is presently the youngest U.S. attorney to ever serve the eastern district of New York. His expertise in the area of prosecuting drug offenders and his intimate knowledge of the legal pitfalls of this aspect of his profession makes this a most fascinating and informative article. At this time I would like to include in the RECORD the article "Review Urged on Question of Bail in Narcotics Cases" as it appeared in the December 6, 1971 issue of the New York Law Journal:

REVIEW URGED ON QUESTION OF BAIL IN NARCOTICS CASES

(By Robert A. Morse)

How often have you heard or read about drug seizures as the "largest ever" or arrested traffickers as "the biggest in the business," or similar expressions in public announcements at the conclusion of a narcotics investigation? Did you receive the impression that arrests represent the finale of a battle in the "War on Drugs?" Did you believe, then, that those caught plying the narcotics trade are no longer a problem?

The fact is that only "Phase I" of the struggle ends with arrest. Thereafter, "Phase II" must be carried on in the courtroom and may well result in a complete defeat for the prosecution. In "Phase I," the investigating agencies have overcome the seemingly insurmountable obstacles presented by a highly organized and profitable narcotics traffic. In "Phase II," the struggle is for a conviction, which then must occur if the result is to be meaningful.

PROSECUTION PITFALLS

Since plea-bargaining is not the common path to conviction in federal law enforcement, the pre-trial proceedings are paved with pitfalls for the prosecution which can easily result in disaster. These traps, how-

ever, are not the ones to be expected in the usual prosecution. Precisely put, we can begin with the premise that once a defendant goes to trial in a narcotics case, the chances of his acquittal are relatively low. The reason for this is that jurors are not prone to lend a sympathetic ear to the defendant charged with dealing in drugs, and prosecutors believe that less significance is placed on the fact that the prosecution's case must rest on the testimony of another drug peddler. Since the defendant can usually find little hope from the "jury box," he must either look to the government or to the judicial process for assistance in avoiding the almost inevitable conviction.

The situation is difficult for the defendant if he looks to the government for help. The defendant must testify in court against his fellow traffickers in the business or assist the investigators in obtaining the evidence against them. Experience has shown that the closer the defendant's relationship to the higher echelons of the narcotics trade, the greater the likelihood the defendant will "remain silent" and not cooperate. Hence, the defendant must look to the legal process for relief on the only two other avenues that realistically remain available to him, and should be the subject of serious and scholarly review; jumping bail or suppressing evidence.

BAIL FORFEITURE

Narcotics is a big money trade. It is not uncommon for a street peddler to be arrested with \$1,000 cash on his person. In cases of foreign aliens and top level traffickers of drugs, sums as high as \$500,000 in the form of a certified check have been produced in court to obtain the defendant's release on bail. Too often, these defendants never come to trial as the result of having fled the court's jurisdiction.

Between 1966 and 1970, in the Southern District of New York, alone, seventy-seven defendants jumped bail and forfeited an aggregate of \$836,200. This does not prevent the fleeing defendant from participating in further drug trafficking. Now, he is in great debt to his fellow peddlers who raised the cash for bail; and there is only one practical means for raising the funds for repayment. He must stay in the business—even if it is necessary to operate outside the United States.

However, it is not only that these defendants have escaped punishment and are back in the business that is significant. It is the fact that the effects of these defeats reach beyond the particular struggle and the particular defendant. The whole effort has suffered a major defeat since the deterrent effect of the actual or potential or additional convictions has also been lost, and it is completely beyond the control of the United States attorney.

THE CASE OF A VICE CONSUL

Some of the more cynical will no doubt say that these seventy-seven lost battles have no appreciable side effects. I must disagree. Take, for example, a recent case in the Eastern District of New York. A vice-consul of a Latin-American country was found in possession of a suitcase stuffed with cocaine worth nearly \$5 million on the street. Initially, bail was set at \$75,000 surety bond which the defendant claimed he could not meet. Later, the amount was reduced to \$25,000 which the defendant was able to raise. The case proceeded to trial, and the defendant was convicted after the Government survived a suppression hearing.

Faced with a mandatory minimum sentence of five years, the defendant fled to his native country where he walks the streets without the slightest trepidation. Had this defendant remained in jail and received the sentence which he rightly deserved, it would surely have had an effect on the other citizens of this country who might otherwise

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

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 gen-

be tempted to succumb to the inducement offered by the narcotics trade.

If these couriers, who usually have little means of their own and are looking for entrance into the United States, learn that a prominent official of their own country did not escape punishment, they would think twice before becoming a "mule" and carrying drugs for the trade.

The case of the vice-consul is rather spectacular, and bail in that instance brought a grave defeat in the "War on Drugs." In sharp contrast, Chief Judge Jacob Mishler of the Eastern District recently set bail in the amount of \$1 million in a major narcotics case to assure the defendant's presence, and a conviction with a long sentence resulted.

BAIL PROVISIONS NEED REVIEW

Experience dictates that the time has come to review the question of bail in narcotics cases where the chance of flight is so great and the need for conviction of guilty persons so paramount to the interests of the country.

In addition to the question of bail jumping, a second avenue of escape remains open to the defendant. After bail is set, the defendant generally moves through his counsel for the suppression of evidence, including the narcotics seized, as well as any admissions of guilt, following the arrest. His fate will turn on the possibility that the investigating agents made an error which the court will later find to have violated the defendant's constitutional rights.

These motions and hearings are an inevitable part of a narcotics prosecution. Indeed, the agents during the investigation are more likely to consult the prosecutor, not as to whether the evidence is sufficient to prosecute, but as to whether there are sufficient facts for a warrant of arrest or search. Now, these are the usual questions the prosecutor gets from the agents:

"What do we need for probable cause to arrest and search on the spot?"

"Can we get a warrant without disclosing the informant?"

"What are the chances for obtaining a court ordered wire tap?"

We should keep in mind that since the battle is won on conviction, judgments made during the investigation will surely decide the outcome.

HEARING PROCEDURE

At the suppression hearing, the defendant sits in the courtroom and sees a run-through of the evidence to be used against him at the trial but with a distinct difference—there is no jury to find him guilty. The result of the preview may be an acquittal, since the defendant may prevail in suppressing the evidence needed to convict him. However, there is one great advantage for the defendant; he has the option of taking the stand at the hearing, admit his guilt and, nonetheless, testify as to the alleged violation of his constitutional rights. He is free to admit his guilt in open court without fear that the prosecution will use it against him on its "direct case" before the jury at the ensuing trial.

Now we may believe that this system is unbalanced in the defendant's advantage since, in addition to perhaps aborting the trial, it allows him to "tailor" a false story of innocence to meet the evidence unveiled before him at the hearing. The exclusionary rules as they presently exist provide the irony for this scenario. This is for the reason that the agents are "sweating out" whether they have violated the defendant's constitutional rights, while the defendant is praying that they have!

It may well be that the time has now come to seriously consider whether or not the exclusionary rules should only be applied in cases of flagrant illegality. (Compare, *United States v. Edmons*, 432 F. 2d 577 (2d Cir. 1970)).

This national administration has substantially increased resources available in the "War Against Drugs," including extensive numbers of assistant United States attorneys and investigative agents for the various agencies. In addition, extensive sums of money have been spent in developing international co-operation among the police forces of various nations.

However, all these efforts may be impeded unless these very practical problems of narcotics prosecutions are faced by the Congress, the courts and all those concerned with the "War on Drugs." It is submitted that new rules, consistent with constitutional requirements, can and must be formulated to meet the needs of our society with respect to a problem which President Nixon has described as one of the greatest dangers facing the nation.

CALLEY IS IN, BERRIGAN IS OUT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, evidence continues to mount of the continued deterioration in values that threatens to destroy American moral fiber as we once knew it.

It is a strange world indeed when a man who willingly gives of himself to fight and puts his life on the line for this country and its freedoms is held under a sentence of 30 years for doing his duty, while another man, convicted of vandalizing draft boards, is allowed to go free on parole.

There are many today who comment on the sickness of American society, attempting to arrive at some conclusion about the nature and cause of the disease that threatens us. They would do well to examine the cases of Lt. William Calley and Father Daniel Berrigan.

The former waits under sentence of 30 years for doing his duty, for serving his country well; the latter, antiwar priest Daniel Berrigan, has just been granted parole after serving about 17 months of a 3-year sentence, or less than half, for disservice to his country—activities designed to destroy or disrupt the National Government and damage the military effort.

I include a related news article to follow my remarks:

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 27, 1972]

PAROLE IS GRANTED TO DANIEL BERRIGAN

Anti-war priest Daniel Berrigan has been granted parole after serving about 17 months of a three-year sentence for destruction of draft records at Catonsville, Md., in 1968. The U.S. Board of Parole announced the decision yesterday after its second parole review, which included new information concerning Berrigan's health. A previous application was denied in August.

Berrigan, 51, is the brother of the Rev. Philip Berrigan who, along with six other persons, went on trial Monday in Harrisburg, Pa., on charges of planning to kidnap Henry A. Kissinger, national security affairs adviser to President Nixon. The indictment also charges Philip and the others with a plan to blow up heating systems of federal buildings in Washington, and to vandalize draft boards.

Daniel was dubbed the "fugitive priest" in 1970, after he failed to appear to serve the

records-destruction sentence. He eluded the FBI for four months, surfacing occasionally to make public appearances and speak against the Vietnam war. Federal agents finally arrested him at a private summer home on Block Island, R.I., in August 1970.

WEEK'S HOSPITALIZATION

Berrigan reportedly is suffering from ulcers and a hernia. He was hospitalized for a week last year after suffering an adverse reaction to medication.

He is serving his sentence at the Federal prison in Danbury, Conn.

Berrigan was sentenced with eight others—including Philip—for burning draft papers. The group became known as the Catonsville Nine.

He also was named—but not charged—in the initial indictment concerning Kissinger and the Washington bomb plot. A second indictment, however, made no reference to him, so he is not connected with the Harrisburg trial.

The parole board said Berrigan's parole will be effective Feb. 24. He then will live at Woodstock College in New York City. Philip said news of his brother's impending release was "totally unexpected."

SERVICE HELD

"Yet it was received with the utmost joy by myself, the defendants and lawyers. By all who know and love Dan, very simply, we thank God and our friends who worked so steadfastly for Dan's release."

Some 50 demonstrators held an interfaith religious service of celebration outside the main gates of the Danbury prison last night after parole announcement.

In Harrisburg, nine more persons were selected yesterday as possible jurors to hear the conspiracy trial.

Five other potential jurors were dismissed for cause by U.S. District Court Judge R. Dixon Herman. Questioning to select 12 jurors and six alternates was conducted by opposing attorneys and the judge.

Under a pretrial agreement, a panel of 46 potential jurors will be selected first, then narrowed down to the 12 who will hear the case and the six alternates.

The nine persons retained as potential jurors said they would not be swayed by personal feelings about the war in Indochina and would not be antagonistic to witnesses who might have long hair and beards and wear strange clothes.

The identities of those being questioned are being withheld at the request of Herman.

AN ANGRY INDIAN AT BAT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, some baseball fans may think the whole thing is a big joke, but Russell Means is deadly serious when he talks about his \$9 million damage suit against the Cleveland Indians baseball team. Means, an Oglala Sioux and national chairman of the American Indian movement, claims that the Cleveland team's Indian symbol is racist, degrading, and demeaning.

The Cleveland suit is only part of a national effort by Indian activists to eliminate the stereotype of the Indian as a clown and a savage, a stereotype perpetuated so unthinkingly by American sports.

Washington's own Redskins are a ma-

jor target of this new effort. Redskin is a derogatory term, Means says. What if we called them the Washington Niggers or the Washington Rednecks or the Washington Polacks, he asks.

The following article from the Wall Street Journal discusses the Cleveland suit and the use of Indian symbols in American sports. Means and his group have raised some valid issues that deserve our attention:

IS CHIEF NOC-A-HOMA RACIST? MANY INDIANS EVIDENTLY THINK HE IS—THE CHIEF AND OTHER SYMBOLS USED BY SCHOOLS, PRO TEAMS ARE ATTACKED AS OFFENSIVE

(By William M. Carley)

The Cleveland Indians had better watch out. So had the Washington Redskins, the Atlanta Braves and countless other professional and college teams using Indian names, caricatures or mascots. Because the real Indians are on the warpath.

One of the opening shots was fired a few days ago when the American Indian Center of Cleveland sued the local baseball team for \$9 million in damages. The target was the Cleveland Indians' symbol, a grinning, toothy Indian emblazoned on the club's shirts and on its stadium in a huge neon sign.

"That Indian looks like a damn fool, like a clown, and we resent being portrayed as either savages or clowns," says Russell Means, director of the Indian center and himself an Oglala Sioux.

Mr. Means adds that the suit against the Cleveland Indians is but the beginning of a national effort to change the stereotype of the American Indian, and he already has help. On college campuses—at Dartmouth, Marquette and Stanford, to name a few—Indian students have been attacking a variety of portrayals of their race that they find offensive.

Some schools are moving fast to make changes. Some professional teams, however, say they aren't worried much by the Indians' charges. "I don't think they'll start shooting any flaming arrows soon," says a spokesman for the Cleveland Indians.

INGRAINED RACIAL SLURS

But Indians like Mr. Means are dead serious. Racial slurs against Indians, he says, are "so ingrained in our society and institutions that they aren't even recognized."

Take the Washington Redskins, the capital's professional football team. "Redskin is a derogatory name," Mr. Means says. "What if we called them Washington Niggers, or Washington Rednecks, or Washington Polacks?"

An Atlanta Braves mascot also draws Mr. Means' ire. Whenever a Brave baseball player knocks a homer, Chief Noc-A-Homa strides out of his tepee near center field and does a war dance.

"That's ridiculous," says Mr. Means. "What if we called the team the Atlanta Storm Troopers, and every time there was a home run a man in a German military uniform came out and knocked a few Jews over the head with a baseball bat? Or the Atlanta Negroes, and an old black man came out of a shack and did a soft-shoe dance?"

The teams hasten to say that no such racial slurs are intended. Chief Noc-A-Homa himself, who is actually an Indian named Levi Walker, says it's an honor for the team to be called the Atlanta Braves.

WHY NOT SKUNKS OR CRIMINALS?

"You don't call teams the Atlanta Skunks or the Chicago Criminals, do you? You call them names you can admire," Mr. Walker says. A spokesman for the Atlanta Braves maintains "there's absolutely nothing degrading about" the chief's victory dances on the field.

A Cleveland Indians spokesman says, "We consider the Indian name and image an honor, not a racist thing." And a Washington Redskins official asks, "Is the name 'Indian' discriminatory? Our logo portrays a very proud and distinguished Indian—there's no circus atmosphere about it."

Besides challenging the athletic teams, Mr. Means says he plans to attack prejudicial portrayals of Indians in school textbooks, in the mass media and in the entertainment field. "Every time there's a cowboy and Indian show on TV (portraying Indians in a degrading manner), we'll ask for equal time to rebut it," Mr. Means says.

On college campuses, Indian students are going after a variety of what they consider racial slurs. At Dartmouth, which was originally founded to educate and Christianize Indians and which has sought out Indian undergraduates in recent years, a group of students launched an attack a few weeks ago.

Dartmouth's Indian symbol for the athletic teams should be dropped, the students said. Indian symbols on Dartmouth sweat-shirts, notebooks and glassware should be eliminated. And a huge mural in a faculty-administration dining room, depicting a mythical founding of Dartmouth with bare-breasted women and rum-drinking Indian men in the scene, must go, the students said. They also asked for improved financial aid for Indian students, for an Indian studies program, for Indian coeds, and for an Indian center.

The Dartmouth administration is caught between the students' demands and the alumni, many of whom prize the Dartmouth Indian tradition emphasizing strength and ruggedness. An administration spokesman says, "We've set up a committee to study the whole thing."

(Meanwhile, back at the Dartmouth Co-op store, manager Dick Fowler says items with Indian imprints are selling as well as ever. "There has been no drop in sales of sweat-shirts or ties" that show a profile of the noble-looking Dartmouth Indian, Mr. Fowler says.)

Other schools have moved earlier on the Indian issue. Marquette University students created "White Wampum" a few years ago. Willie consisted of a huge papier-mache Indian head worn by a buckskin-clad student at basketball games. When Marquette's top-ranked team drew well ahead of an opponent, Willie would cross the court during time-outs and "scalp" the opponents.

But Willie has already been tomahawked. When a group of Indian students protested his antics last year, Marquette, at the urging of the student government, put him out of existence.

The Indians are fighting an uphill battle in some areas, however. At the University of Oklahoma, for example, the mascot "Little Red" would do a dance every time the football team made a touchdown.

"Little Red would just go out and jump around," says Iola Hayden, a Comanche from Oklahoma who is now director of American Indians for Opportunity, an organization based in Washington, D.C. "Most people in Oklahoma actually felt Little Red was retaining the Indian culture, and they've even brainwashed some of the Indians to believe this," she says.

After Indian student protests, including a sit-in at the university president's office, Oklahoma officials did away with Little Red for a brief period. But last year he reappeared, unnamed and dancing as part of the school's cheerleader contingent.

"There's no protest now—I think everything's going to be quiet," one University of Oklahoma official says with a note of hopefulness.

What is protested on some campuses, however, is accepted as the status quo at others.

Stanford University recently abolished a bulbous-nosed, bug-eyed caricature of an Indian that had been used as an unofficial symbol of the Stanford Indians. But the school still has Prince Lightfoot, an Indian who has been a San Francisco dock worker and who continues to dance at football games without a trace of protest.

U.S. CAPITAL TO STRENGTHEN SOVIET WAR MACHINE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, American attempts to expand trade with Soviet Russia have taken another turn.

Last night's paper carried a story headlined "U.S. Firms Pursuing Deal for Siberian Natural Gas."

The story's lead is shocking:

Two major Texas-based natural gas suppliers have dispatched a team of specialists to the Soviet Union to study the feasibility of shipping liquefied Siberian gas to the American east coast.

The American companies would supply the finances and the technical knowledge—they would, in effect, construct gasfields in Russia in exchange for the privilege of using Russian gas.

It seems that the Russian Bolsheviks do not object to American capitalism—so long as it strengthens Communist economy. Nothing in the article indicates that the Russians will not simply take over by "communizing" these natural gasfields after the Americans have built them and trained the Soviet workers in its operation. Nor does the report explain that again U.S. capital and technical knowledge will be used to strengthen the Soviet war machine.

This is certainly a distinct possibility—and the American taxpayer will take the loss through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a Government-operated and taxpayer-funded organization that insures American investments from losses resulting in overseas investments, regardless of the politics of the country.

I include a related news article to follow my remarks:

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 27, 1972]

U.S. FIRMS PURSUING DEAL FOR SIBERIAN NATURAL GAS

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

Two major Texas-based natural gas suppliers reportedly have dispatched a team of specialists to the Soviet Union to study the feasibility of shipping liquefied Siberian gas to the American East Coast.

In recent months, Soviet officials have suggested a massive, Soviet-American natural gas deal which would involve billions of dollars of investment by American companies in the gas-rich but climate-poor Siberian areas. The Russians have said they could guarantee the sale of from \$800 million to \$1 billion worth of gas for many years.

American natural gas suppliers, seeking new sources of the fuel for the U.S. market, have expressed tentative interest in the untapped Soviet gas fields, the largest in the world.

A spokesman for the Texas Eastern Transmission Corp. of Houston said yesterday that

it and the larger Tenneco Corp. of Houston were "studying the possibility of importing Russian liquefied natural gas."

There has been a stepped-up U.S. interest in expanding trade with the Soviet Union from the current \$200 million yearly to billions of dollars a year. The Commerce Department, particularly interested in the possibilities of joint ventures such as the proposed natural gas arrangement, has proposed steps to remove trade barriers on both sides.

But the White House, awaiting a further improvement in the political climate, for the moment has postponed any dramatic action.

Because of heavy demand for natural gas, American suppliers have been seeking to increase the amount of liquefied natural gas imported to either East or West Coast ports. This requires refrigeration plants at ports in the source country as well as special refrigerated ships.

In the Soviet case, pipelines would have to

be laid to get the gas to either Baltic Sea or Arctic Ocean ports, and special equipment would have to be built to liquify it.

The principal factor involved is cost. At present, North African liquefied gas costs about 85 cents per thousand cubic feet in the U.S. East Coast. If the Soviet Union can work out an arrangement by which total cost would not exceed \$1 per thousand cubic feet, one gas expert said today, a deal might be feasible.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, January 31, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The ways of the Lord are right and the just shall walk in them.—Hosea 14: 9.

God of grace and God of goodness, whose presence stills our spirits in the quiet of the night and whose strength supports us in the struggles of each new day, keep our minds clear and our hearts clean as we set out upon the work of this week.

Give to each one of us the inspiration of the humble in spirit, the insight of the pure in heart and the industry of willing hands that we may add to the goodness of life and make this a great time in which to lead our beloved country.

Amid differences of opinion and divisions in relationships give us ears to hear the clarion calls of justice and freedom and hearing may we give heed with a hope that sends a shining ray far down the future's broadening way.

In the spirit of Him who is the way, the truth, and the life we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
January 27, 1972.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I have the honor to transmit herewith a sealed envelope from the White House, received in the Clerk's Office at 4:35 p.m. on Thursday, January 27, 1972, and said to contain the Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the calendar year 1970.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely,

W. PAT JENNINGS,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 92-239)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the Presi-

dent of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the calendar year 1970.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 27, 1972.

NO REPARATIONS FOR NORTH VIETNAM

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I find it very difficult to believe the secret negotiations for peace between the United States and North Vietnam have included commitments for reparations, under the name of reconstruction, but apparently this is the case. This is a shocking development. We are under no obligation to rebuild North Vietnam. The damage which they have sustained, they brought on themselves. They should be required to pay reparations to us for the suffering and cost they caused us as a result of the war. And they should be paying reparations to the nations of Indochina for the destruction wrought by the Communist forces in their efforts to overturn the governments of other nations. Instead of paying reparations or providing reconstruction to the North Vietnamese, I am certain it would be more satisfying to the Congress and to our Nation to provide additional benefits to American servicemen of the conflict and to their families, particularly to the families of the dead, to the wounded, and to the families of those missing in action.

I strongly urge that the nonsense about reparations, by whatever name, to North Vietnam be dropped now.

FCC REVERSES ITSELF AND REINSTATES A.T. & T. HEARINGS

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, January 27, the Federal Communications Commission did an about face, set aside its own order of December 23, which had dismissed the hearings on phase II of the A.T. & T. rate case, and ordered the hearing reinstated.

On December 23, the FCC abandoned its investigation of A.T. & T., which had

been pending for 7 years, on the grounds of inadequate staff and funding. That decision constituted a default of the Commission's regulatory responsibility and was the target of widespread public outcry and criticism. The Commission was, in effect, saying that it did not have the resources to carry out its most basic responsibility—the investigation of the rate base and revenue requirements of A.T. & T.

On the opening day of this session of Congress, January 18, Senator FRED HARRIS and I held a press conference with FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, who had dissented from the December 23 decision, and we introduced legislation authorizing \$2 million to be used by the FCC to carry out this study—S. 3060 and H.R. 12423. The Commission's reversal and its reinstatement of the hearings demonstrate the importance of public pressure upon an agency to prevent it from shirking its fundamental responsibilities.

The FCC in its order of January 27 says that the President's budget for fiscal year 1973 will provide the funds to carry out this study. However, the new budget provides only 12 additional man-years for domestic telephone rate regulation. It should be noted that the Commission only asked for 10 additional man-years in its original fiscal year 1973 presentation to the OMB. Thus, the Commission has hardly exhibited any vigorous effort to obtain the resources required to conduct a thorough study of A.T. & T.

Certainly it is incumbent upon the Commission now to carry out a full study of A.T. & T., including but not limited to revenue requirements, the reasonableness of prices and profits, the amounts claimed for investment and operating expenses, and the internal rate structure of the interstate and foreign message toll telephone service.

It is essential that the FCC carry out this study without in any way slighting its other regulatory requirements. If its resources are believed to be insufficient to meet its responsibilities, the FCC has an obligation to ask the OMB and Congress for whatever funds are necessary.

STRIKES IN THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY

(Mr. ABERNETHY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the west coast dock strike is probably the most costly in the history of the Nation. There is more involved here than just the