

EDUCATION

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Heroism, and carnage, did not end then at Ashau. That afternoon the Special Forces survivors got orders to evacuate the camp. That day and for the next two days choppers scoured the area and picked up scattered groups of survivors.

Bernie Fisher and Jump Myers landed at Pleiku just after 1 p.m. on March 10. Myers was whisked off to the flight surgeon, who gave him some drops for his red eyes and told him that otherwise he was in splendid shape. Then they were both ushered in to see the deputy commander of the 7th Air Force. By the next day Fisher's recommendation for the Medal of Honor was already being drafted.

Before going back to flying missions in their A-1E's, Fisher and Myers took a leave in Bangkok.

"What can you do with a guy like Bernie?" says Jump Myers. "I would like to furnish him with a year's supply of whiskey. But he doesn't even drink coffee. So I bought him a Nikon camera—he's the biggest camera buff in the squadron—and had it engraved, Asahu, March 10, 1966. For the first few days I felt like a dead man walking. I couldn't believe it. Then I got over that, and it's great to be alive."

IMPACT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT UPON INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, we have heard much in the past 20 months of the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and of the vital new resources that it has made available to schools throughout America to attack one of our most urgent educational problems—the teaching of deprived children. Unfortunately, too often the impact of this new program is measured by the amount of money which is being spent. Seldom do we hear of its impact on the individual children whose very lives hang in the balance.

I am, therefore, most happy to be able to bring to the attention of the Senate a recent article entitled "A New Dimension for the Silent Ones," published in the Minnesota Journal of Education for January 1967. It is an anonymous article, written by a teacher who describes her work to help four children, ages 7 through 10. Far from being able to participate normally in school activities, the children were unable even to speak in the presence of their classmates. The teacher tells how, through patient effort, these children gained the confidence, one after another, to communicate and to learn.

Mr. President, I think this article tells more about the meeting and potential of this new legislation than any graph or table of statistics that has yet been produced. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

LAW 89-10 ADDS A NEW DIMENSION FOR THE SILENT ONES

(NOTE.—The Minnesota teacher who contributed this article to the Journal wishes to remain anonymous to protect the identity of the children she describes. The time she spent with them was made possible by 89-10, Title I, a federal project which enables local school districts to develop a program for educationally deprived children.)

One of our most gratifying projects made possible by 89-10 Title I cannot be measured or evaluated by any testing device known to us. We submit the following teacher observation type of evaluation as evidence of progress in the project. The project evolved with and revolved around a family of four educationally deprived children. The children will be referred to as "A" (a girl, age ten), "B" (a girl, age nine), "C" (a boy, age eight), and "D" (a boy, age seven).

CONCERN BEGINS EARLY

We first became concerned about "A" during the school year of 1961-62. As a kindergarten student, she did not respond to any of the activities presented to the class. She did not experience the joy of counting out brightly colored objects, responding to likenesses and differences in sounds, creating a work of art at the easel, modeling an object from clay, being a story character in a dramatization, sharing a favorite possession or experience during Show and Tell, dashing across the playground to be first in line, giggling over a shared secret, or any of the other countless things that kindergarten children find so delightful.

In fact, she was the most pathetic looking child I had even seen. She entered the classroom every morning wearing the same sad-faced, mask-like expression. Her expression remained the same all day long all year long. We never knew if she enjoyed an activity because she never uttered a word or sound and never smiled. If attention was focused upon her, she seemed to "freeze" and look at you with the helpless look of a trapped animal. All efforts to bring "A" out of her little silent world seemed futile. We never knew how much she had absorbed during that year. "A" was put in a first grade classroom the following year under the assumption that she would perhaps respond in the presence of her classmates where she might not with a strange group of children. "A" began to respond with a barely audible whisper in the first grade.

We enlisted the help of a psychologist from a nearby mental health center. Several classroom observations were made by the psychologist and conferences were held with the classroom teacher. The parents were contacted and agreed to take "A" to the mental health center for consultation and testing. We noted no improvement in "A" following these sessions. The mother told me during a parent-teacher conference that she terminated the sessions at the center because during the questioning she suspected that they were putting the blame on her and her husband and the home environment. She said they would never go back or have anything to do with the center in the future.

Each year, following "A's" enrollment in our school, another member of this family enrolled in kindergarten. They came with varying degrees of "silence." "B" would answer with a "ya" or "no" and was not as passive as "A" had been. She would not take part in a conversation or answer any question that couldn't be answered by a "ya" or "no." "C" was the least silent of the group but far from being a normal-acting kindergarten student. "D" was a repetition of "A" in every respect. Each child was moved ahead each year with their own age-group. "A" had never spoken above this barely audible whisper and "D" didn't even whisper. Each teacher had been haunted with the questions "What can I do?" "How can I get them to respond?" "Why must they go through life like this?"

DISCOVERY BRINGS PLAN

One morning, during a ride around the bus route, the superintendent noted that when these children got on the bus they chattered away in their own jargon. We didn't even know that two of them could

make a sound. Thus the inception of a plan! Let's put these four children in one class and maybe with the security of their siblings they will respond. Faced with the problems of not having the time or a teacher for a special class, he could not put his plan in operation until the advent of 89-10.

On March 1, 89-10 brought a new dimension to the lives of these little silent ones. I was given time each day to have supplemental reading classes so I reserved a special time for these four. They were a bit fearful of the situation at first but gradually the shell of that silent world cracked! I read to them, talked about pictures and directed my questions to "B" and "C" because I was sure they would respond. They did so I asked about their farm animals. "A" wanted to get in on the conversation but found she couldn't get my attention until she spoke aloud. After that first awful moment of uttering a word aloud in my presence, she continued to speak in her harsh, raspy, and unused voice. "D" also spoke his first words that day, also harsh in quality. It was a bit difficult to understand them because they'd developed their own jargon in communicating at home. I dismissed them, and I'm not ashamed to admit that I wept my thanks to God for having had the opportunity to break down the barrier. I had known "A" for almost five years and to my knowledge this had been the first time she'd uttered an audible sound.

Now we knew that there was hope in being able to teach these children to read and to learn in the other areas of the curriculum. They continued to respond, relax, smile, laugh, and tease. When they left my room, they would revert to silence so we knew that we would have to bring another person into the picture gradually. Our librarian was the next person that they accepted. They would not respond to any children I brought into the room. I worked mainly with instruction in reading and even "D" was able to read in a pre-primer by the end of the school year. One of the last days of school, he read orally while the librarian was in the room.

SUMMER PROGRAM A SUCCESS

During summer school, I was given the opportunity to work with these children for three hours daily for six weeks. We worked in various areas of the curriculum with emphasis on reading and math. A lesson in handwriting was practiced daily. I tried to include many self-expressive activities such as the retelling of the story the librarian had read to them, explaining a painting they'd created at the easel, describing how a character from a record looked or perhaps walked, making up a story, acting out episodes from their reading book story. We sang and played records, keeping time to the music by bouncing a ball, skipping, walking, hopping, or jumping as the rhythm demanded. Much time was spent trying to correct their pronunciation of words they had learned incorrectly. They seemed to enjoy every minute of it and were so surprised when it was time to go home for the day.

We had such a time getting the children to talk, now during summer school I was presented with another problem. They all wanted to talk at the same time so we practiced taking turns. I noted some progress with each child each day. Most of the teachers were in my room at some time during summer school and the children responded freely. One day it was necessary for me to substitute for another teacher so I took my four to her classroom and was delighted to find that they would read orally with about 15 other children in the room! We made some visits to some of the other classrooms with equal success. One morning my class did not appear and it puzzled me because they usually had perfect attendance. About

That afternoon at 2:30 in the prefab operations shack at Pleiku, Fisher was being briefed for a mission when he was handed a "divert" to a new target of top priority: the Ashau Valley. Fisher flew there on top of the clouds by radio beam and found a thick cushion of clouds that began at 200 feet and extended all the way up to 8000 feet, hiding even the mountain peaks. A covey of planes milled around on top, looking for a hole.

Fisher found the hole. "It wasn't exactly a hole," he explains, "but a kind of light spot in the clouds." Once he got down to the valley floor, he began his strafing passes around the perimeter of the fort. He had a copilot with him, Capt. Robert Blood, new to Vietnam, who was much impressed: "The ceiling was so low, and he made his strafing runs in such a tight bank between the ridges, that one wing was in the clouds and the other almost scraping the ground." Fisher went back up through the hole and down again three times that afternoon, to bring in other planes.

DOWN THE TUBE

Next morning Fisher took off at 10:05 on a routine bombing-and-strafing mission with Capt. Francisco "Paco" Vazquez, 29, flying another A-1E just off the tip of his wing. They had been airborne only ten minutes when Control radioed a divert, once more to Ashau. Again Fisher reached the clouds above Ashau, to find four other Skyraiders—one of them flown by Jump Myers—looking for a hole. Once again it was Fisher who found a light spot in the clouds and led the other planes down. Two of the Skyraiders took up a holding pattern, and the other three followed Fisher down the valley, six miles long, that led to the fort.

The pilots call this narrow valley "the tube." It is less than a mile across, and the ridges along it were studded with at least 20 antiaircraft weapons positions. Every pilot who came into Ashau that day felt the bullets thudding into his plane, but under the low cloud cover there was no room to maneuver.

The radio operator in the fort told them to hit the south wall of the fort, which had now been breached by the North Vietnamese. Myers had just pulled out of his second strafing pass when he got hit by a burst from an automatic weapon.

"The engine started sputtering and cutting out, and then it conked out for good," Myers recalls. "The cockpit filled up with smoke. I got on the radio and gave my call sign, Surf 41, and said, 'I've been hit and hit hard.' Hobo 51—that was Bernie, though I didn't know it at the time—came right back, 'Roge (the current abbreviation for Roger), you're on fire and burning clear back to your tail.' I was way too low to bail out, and I said, 'Roge, I'll have to put her down on the strip.'"

"I never saw the runway because of the smoke blowing back in my face, but I got a rough fix on it and Bernie talked me down. He was very cool about it, and that helped."

At the last minute he had too much speed, so Fisher told him to get his landing gear up and belly it in. As Myers touched the runway his belly tank of high-octane fuel exploded with a roar. Surf 41 was a ball of flame that skidded 100 yards, veered off to the right and slammed up into a dirt embankment.

GET THE PILOT

Myers has seen pilots burned alive. "It is my only fear about flying," he says. "But the fear got the adrenaline pumping, and I just went through the motions I had thought out a thousand times." He stripped down to his flying suit, leaving survival gear behind, so he would have some hope of diving through the flames. It took at least a minute. Then he pushed the hydraulic lever. "The canopy popped right open. A strong breeze down the runway opened a path through the flames that seemed to me like

that path through the Red Sea. I ran out along the wing, jumped off and squatted in a patch of weeds.

"I still thought I was a dead man, because the strip was under enemy control. They don't take prisoners in the middle of a battle. I remember thinking, *How is Betty going to manage with all those kids?*"

"When Jump headed into the strip," says Fisher, "I told Control we had a pilot down and to get a chopper in there real fast. When he hit the runway and exploded, I was sure he was dead. And then I saw him scrambling off with smoke pouring out of his flying suit."

The pilots overhead kept laying their ordnance in close on both sides of the runway, and hit the east ridge line from which heavy fire was coming. Fisher called Control again. "They told me the chopper was having trouble finding the hole, and could I go out and bring him in? Well, that was what cut it. I couldn't go off looking for a chopper. I told Control that I was going in to get the pilot. And I radioed the flight of A-1E's that was flying a holding pattern just north of the fort to give me suppression fire."

KEEP THEIR HEADS DOWN

This flight was led by Capt. Jon Lucas, 28, of Steubenville, Ohio, with Capt. Dennis Hague, 28, of Kellogg, Idaho, flying wing. "Roge, we'll cover you," said Lucas. Then, to Hague: "Set 'em up for strafe, we're going in." Paco, Bernie's wingman, fell in as third man in the string. "So we hit the east side of the runway and really hosed it down."

Evenly spaced, they flew in a tight-left pattern, so one or another was hitting the target every 15 seconds. Meanwhile, Myers had crawled farther away from the plane. "I was hiding against an embankment ten feet high just west of the runway. There was at least a company of enemy on top of the bank, but they couldn't see me. Also, I think they thought I was dead."

"The last thought in my mind was rescue. I knew a chopper could never survive the ground fire, and it never occurred to me that somebody would be crazy enough to put an A-1E down on that strip. It was too short to begin with. The steel planking was all buckled up into spikes by mortar rounds, and it was littered with rocket pods, 55-gallon fuel drums and the debris from my plane. When I saw Bernie circle and then head into the north end of the runway, all I thought was, *Well, now two of us are down.*"

"I dropped my last string of bombs west of the runway to keep their heads down," says Fisher. "All I remember going through my mind was, *Can we do it?* and *Yes, I think we can.* I was sure the poor guy was down there burned pretty badly."

BULLETS THUMPING IN

"I was coming in on my final from the north end, just about right, when the wind blew a great big blob of smoke from the fort across the end of the runway. When I got out of the smoke, I saw I was too hot, so I put her down on the strip for just a couple of hundred feet. Then I gave it the power and took off again. I bent it around real tight in a teardrop turn and came in from the south, holding it right at 95 knots. That's the key speed for short-field landings. I touched down, put the flaps up and started hitting the brakes even before the tail came down. I steered around the mortar holes, but I just didn't worry about the rocket pods. We hit a bunch of them and kicked them aside."

"Then I saw the end of the runway coming up much too fast. That was the first time all day I was scared. I had to make a decision: Do I really slam on the brakes and probably tip her over, or do I take a chance on the overrun off the end of the strip? I decided to take a chance on the overrun. It was grass and soft dirt, and lit-

tered with these empty fuel drums, but it worked out real fine.

"After using up about 20 yards, I hit the left brake hard and swung the bird around in a big cloud of dust. I gave it a lot of power and taxied back down about two thirds of the runway. Jump waved to me from the weeds, and I stopped as quick as I could, about 200 feet past him. I hit the parking brakes and unstrapped to go and get him." Bullets were thumping into the plane, one of them two feet from his head. (Crewmen later found 19 bullet holes.)

At this point the other three A-1E pilots were flying strafing runs 50 feet off the ground. The lead pilot, Lucas, had just been hit hard, and his cockpit was full of smoke. "I told him, 'You're burning,'" says Hague. "Better get the hell out." He said, 'Roge, can't leave Bernie yet. We'll make one more pass.' I expected the bird to blow up in his face any second. I said, 'Roge, I'm Winchester!' (meaning out of ammunition). He said, 'Roge, me too, but they (the enemy) don't know that.' So we all made the last pass dry." For this bit of gallantry and leadership, Captain Lucas has been recommended for the Silver Star.

NEON-RED EYES

Jump Myers still could not believe what was happening. "Even after I had seen Bernie make his teardrop and come in to land from the south, I was thinking, *Well, they got another one.* It wasn't until he had taxied back past me and waved that I knew. *Why, that crazy s.o.b. has come in here to get me out!* I started running for the plane."

To Jump Myers, who set a record for the sprint at Williams Air Force Base, Ariz., back in 1943, the run seemed an eternity, although it took only 10 to 15 seconds. He was dashing down the middle of the runway in full view of every North Vietnamese who happened to look his way. "The gunfire was deafening, and bullets were whining all around. My shoulder blades were really puckering. I can tell you I made that run as fast as any old man of 46 ever could."

"I was just about to jump out and go get him," says Fisher, "when I saw these two big red eyes leaping up at me over the back edge of the wing. They were so red from the smoke that they looked like neons."

"I grabbed one handhold on the side of the plane," says Myers, "and then just scrambled across the wing on my hands and knees and dived into the cockpit head first, my legs flailing all around. Bernie grabbed me and set me right side up again. Then he just whipped the butt end of the plane around and really clobbered the power."

NUMBER ONE

"The takeoff went real nice," says Fisher. "Real nice" is one of Fisher's favorite phrases, and his highest accolade about his own flying that day. "I had to give the bird full power, dodge the mortar holes and use up the last foot of runway, but I had hit flying speed by then, so I just lifted her off. I held her right down on the bottom of the valley until we got out of the tube. Then I just took her right up through the hole in the clouds and leveled off."

"Jump couldn't talk to me because he didn't have a radio headset. He gave me a couple of hugs and held up a finger, meaning 'number one.' He was a mess—mud all over, and the smoke from his flying suit stunk up the whole cabin. But we couldn't help turning to each other and laughing all the way home to Pleiku."

As soon as Lucas got above the clouds, just behind Fisher, he hit a lever that bypassed his hydraulic system, and the fire in his cockpit began to subside. "I thought that was where the trouble was, but I couldn't do it any sooner," says Lucas. "You want your hydraulics working in the middle of a fight."

9:30 they appeared, hot and tired, because they had walked the three-and-a-half miles from home because they missed the bus that morning!

I was pleased by a comment made by a high grade boy, a passenger on the children's bus. He said, "Gee, those kids are sure different now. The little boys will come to the back of the bus and talk to us now." The driver-training instructor remarked that the children had talked with him freely. The nurse was surprised to be greeted with a friendly "Hi" by "D" whose eyes she was unable to check during the school year because he would not respond at all during checking time.

Great progress has been made thus far but there is so much more to be accomplished. This experiment has been a highlight in my teaching career and I'm grateful for the experience.

LEONARD BERNSTEIN'S TRIBUTE TO ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, on an occasion given by the Washington chapter, Guardians of Israel, in honor of Mr. Leonard Bernstein, who was presented the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award, this talented man made a very moving address paying tribute to that great First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. It is an eloquent appreciation of the woman who was for many years the First Lady of our land and subsequently, I think it may fairly be said, the First Lady of the world. The award was presented by James Roosevelt.

I ask unanimous consent that the recent address made by Leonard Bernstein be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

Ambassador Roosevelt, Mr. Justice, distinguished guests, my dear friends, I wonder how many of you have had the experience of standing in the Nation's Capitol, surrounded by persons of overwhelming stature and distinction, and receiving an honor of this magnitude. How can I possibly tell you what it feels like—the dream-like buoyancy, the sense of being airborne? It is a glorious feeling: but it carries with it a penalty—the penalty of having to make a speech. It is a price I am willing to pay, and a small price at that. At any rate, a small speech.

Part of this dream-of-glory feeling, comes, as I said, from the fact that this is Washington, and from the brilliance of this assembly. But the feeling is enhanced by the knowledge of the good cause for which we are gathered tonight, and by the presence of so many dear friends and colleagues. But over and above all this, there hovers a halo, a name—the spirit of that woman in whose name this award is given me. I have always revered the name Eleanor Roosevelt, and always shall: and to have my name linked with hers on this medallion is a transcendental experience. You see, I grew up in what might be called the Roosevelt generation—a generation that not only loved and trusted President Roosevelt, but which lived in terms, was moulded in his image. I was 14 years old when he first came to the White House, and I was 26 years old when he finally departed it. And all those twelve years, in all that welter of activity and emotion we always looked to our President, taking strength from his mind, his intelligence, his articulateness, his compassion, his elegance.

And through it all, moment by moment, behind him and beside him stood Mrs. Roosevelt: Those two figures were inextricably merged in my mind; the same intelli-

gence and compassion streamed from them both. Of course the climax of my young life would have been to meet them: I never had that privilege, while the President lived. And then, on that sorrowful 12th of April, 1965, I cried tears for the first time since I had been a child.

But Mrs. Roosevelt remained, and I did have the privilege and the joy of meeting her. And slowly, as I came to know her better, a miracle occurred: She was my friend. It was then that I was finally able to separate her from the double image I had adored as a college boy: It was then I began to perceive the marvels of which she as an individual was composed. These marvels have been cited and recited now for so many years that they are almost clichés now: Her goodness, her limitless energy, her clarity of thought, her simplicity, her intuitive rightness, her courtesy, her inexhaustible patience—all virtues that are so easy to put down these days. They are almost forgotten values, those old-fashioned virtues. You'll hear people say, "Yes, she was a real old-fashioned do-gooder." Do-gooder. What a lamentable word! These days to be a do-gooder is to call forth a sneer; but, dammit, she was a do-gooder, and I will bless her for it all my life! God grant us more do-gooders in this perilous and cynical world of ours. Give us back a few of those old-fashioned virtues: patience, courtesy, moral fearlessness, plainness of living—why, we would sit at dinner in her crowded little apartment, and if there should be a last-minute guest, his chair would as likely as not be an end table with a shawl flung over it. Even more to the point, it could just as easily have been her chair.

But her greatest virtue, and her greatest triumph, was her relation with time, her fiercest enemy—time, the grim enemy we all struggle with, all our lives. I don't know how Mrs. Roosevelt did it, but she did conquer time. She had time for everything and for everyone—unrushed and unreluctant. I have always tried to emulate this astonishing quality of hers, and I have always failed. How did she do it? She was always there. If there was a mouth to be fed, a thirsty mind to be filled, a captive to be freed, a stranger to be made welcome, a mourner to be comforted—she was there. If there was a banner to be raised, a myth to be exploded, a wrong to be righted, a gulf to be bridged—she was there. And she was all there, without tension or impatience: She gave herself totally. Can we do less?

Can we afford to do less, now that time is running out, now that madness is rampant beneath the cloak of affluence, now that patience and concern and clarity of thought and good will are no longer just old-fashioned virtues, but matters of life and death?

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for the Eleanor Roosevelt Award: It binds me to her forever.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

AMENDMENT OF RULE XXII—SENATE RESOLUTION 7

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate Senate Resolution 7, coming over under the rule.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I have no intention to debate that matter now and I ask that it be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The resolution will be placed on the calendar.

TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to take this occasion to express my great admiration, affection, and respect for the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Approximately half of the Members of the Senate have served in the House of Representatives and are aware of the integrity, the ability, the understanding, and the tolerance of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. JOHN MCCORMACK. Many of us have sat at his knee, so to speak, and we hope that some of the wisdom which he has shown down through the years has at least been imparted to us. We look upon him as being in the mold of the great Speakers of the House of Representatives, and some of us, the present speaker included, think that he is the equal of any of his predecessors.

JOHN MCCORMACK and his colleagues did a remarkable job during the years of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. Their job was much more difficult than was that of the Democratic leadership in the Senate. The record which Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK was able to bring into existence was an extraordinary one, and I think that he is entitled to the greatest share of the credit for that record, a record which, in my opinion, is unparalleled in the entire history of the Republic.

He has had to work with a paper majority, it is true, but he has had, in effect, to scrounge for votes on many occasions to get the necessary six, eight, 10, or 15 majority in order to pass legislation in which the administration was vitally interested.

I know that the President is fully aware of the many and great contributions which JOHN MCCORMACK has made to the passing of this legislation, which will benefit the American people as a whole and quite literally the concept of general welfare.

Mr. President, I take this occasion to express my high personal regard, affection, and respect for the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask

that it be read, along with the names of the cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The assistant legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 49) as follows:

S. RES. 49

Whereas the foreign policy and military strength of the United States are dedicated to the protection of our national security, the preservation of the liberties of the American people, and the maintenance of world peace; and

Whereas the United States in implementing these principles has maintained large contingents of American Armed Forces in Europe, together with air and naval units, for twenty years; and

Whereas the security of the United States and its citizens remains interwoven with the security of other nations signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty as it was when the treaty was signed, but the condition of our European allies, both economically and militarily, has appreciably improved since large contingents of forces were deployed; and

Whereas the means and capacity of all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to provide forces to resist aggression has significantly improved since the original United States deployment; and

Whereas the commitment by all members of the North Atlantic Treaty is based upon the full cooperation of all treaty partners in contributing materials and men on a fair and equitable basis, but such contributions have not been forthcoming from all other members of the Organization; and

Whereas relations between Eastern Europe and Western Europe were tense when the large contingents of United States forces were deployed in Europe but this situation has now undergone substantial change and relations between the two parts of Europe are now characterized by an increasing two-way flow of trade, people and other peaceful exchange; and

Whereas the present policy of maintaining large contingents of United States forces and their dependents on the European Continent also contributes further to the fiscal and monetary problems of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) It is the sense of the Senate that, with changes and improvements in the techniques of modern warfare and because of the vast increase in capacity of the United States to wage war and to move military forces and equipment by air, a substantial reduction of United States forces permanently stationed in Europe can be made without adversely affecting either our resolve or ability to meet our commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty;

(2) S. Res. 99, adopted in the Senate April 4, 1951, is amended to contain the provisions of this resolution and, where the resolutions may conflict, the present resolution is controlling as to the sense of the Senate.

The list of cosponsors is as follows: Senators YOUNG of Ohio, MORSE, RANDOLPH, METCALF, PEARSON, JORDAN of Idaho, YOUNG of North Dakota, BOGGS, INOUE, DOMINICK, LONG of Missouri, HATFIELD, ERVIN, LONG of Louisiana, BYRD of West Virginia, HILL, RUSSELL, MAGNUSON, PASTORE, SYMINGTON, MUSKIE, HART, BREWSTER, TALMADGE, YARBOROUGH, MCINTYRE, BARTLETT, MOSS, PROXMIER, FULBRIGHT, MCGOVERN, BURDICK, ELLENDER, NELSON, AIKEN, CARLSON, WILLIAMS of Delaware, GRUENING, ALLOTT, COTTON, and SMATHERS.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I think

that the total number of sponsors is 41 at this point.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be referred both to the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both these committees may have authority to appoint subcommittees which will act jointly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 49) was referred to the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution which I have offered today lie at the desk for 1 week for cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 300 in the 89th Congress was intended to express the sense of the Senate that a substantial reduction of U.S. forces permanently stationed in Europe can be made without adversely affecting our resolve or ability to meet our commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty. It will be recalled that the resolution had acquired a total of 32 sponsors by the end of the 89th Congress. In spite of this substantial interest, the leadership decided not to press the matter to a decision during the closing days of the last session. Notice was served, however, that the matter would be reopened in January.

Just prior to the convening of the 90th Congress, the original sponsors of the resolution met to consider a course in the matter. After a thorough discussion, it was decided once again, with 12 of the 13 Members assenting, that the resolution on U.S. troop deployment in Europe should be reintroduced without delay. It was also agreed that the President should be advised of the intention to do so and that, on this occasion, all Members of Senate should be invited to cosponsor the resolution if they so desired.

I find it regrettable, Mr. President, that nothing has happened since the close of the last session to indicate that this resolution is any less necessary today than it was several months ago. At that time, I expressed the hope that the introduction of the resolution, of itself, might prove to be helpful in bringing about adjustments in U.S. troop numbers in Europe. However, what looked like a hopeful move in that direction last fall has apparently turned out to be merely another exercise in marking time.

It is my personal belief, therefore, that the resolution on U.S. troop deployment in Europe is, if anything, more timely than it was during the last session, and that the Senate is more than ever justified in coming to grips with the matter in this session. Let me review some of the specific considerations that have led me to this conclusion.

The request that our forces be withdrawn from France seemed to provide an excellent opportunity to bring home approximately 70,000 of the 900,000 or more American defense personnel and dependents now stationed throughout Western Europe. Instead, the Defense Department is in the process of moving at least two-thirds of these forces along with their dependents who have been in France, not back to the United States, but on to the United Kingdom, West Germany, and the Low Countries. Thus, the reduction in overall U.S. personnel levels in Europe will be insignificant. I must confess, Mr. President, that it is most difficult to understand why some air units can be moved from France back to the States, under a dual-basing concept—and a few are being moved—but the balance must be assigned elsewhere in Europe.

It is also difficult to understand why we will not face up to the fact that the Western European allies are uninterested in stocking supplies and organizing lines of communications to sustain forces for a hypothetical 90-day conventional war on the Continent. Indeed, their outlays in this connection are hardly sufficient to sustain their NATO forces for 30 days or even, in some instances, for 10 days. Nevertheless, the Defense Department still clings to the 90-day concept, and we pay heavily in terms of the number of supporting troops and depots which are required to maintain it.

Most disturbing, in my view, has been the revelation of the rigidity of our policy with respect to NATO, as it emerged in the recent United States-United Kingdom-West German talks on troop deployment, strategy, and offset arm purchases. These tripartite talks seem to have led, as I have already noted, at best, only to interim decisions on our part to maintain the status quo and postpone the hard decisions. Indeed, these talks have taken us, if anything, further toward a unilateral U.S. underwriting of the burdens of NATO.

What was heralded months ago by unnamed sources in this Government as a move to get the Europeans to take a greater share of NATO's burdens, has produced precisely the opposite results. Indeed, it is ironic that the principal decision of the recent tripartite Conference involves a new U.S. commitment to buy \$35 million worth of arms and services from Great Britain in order to stave off the reductions in the British Army of the Rhine which London had previously announced it felt compelled to make. To put it bluntly, this Conference reveals a disconcerting tendency to beg or to bug allies into a certain view of NATO's current needs which is based on a conviction of urgency that they do not necessarily share.

It has been said before, Mr. President, but it bears repeating: the United States is the only member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which has met its commitments to the common defense effort. No member of NATO spends as much of its gross national product on defense as does the United States. No NATO member has as great a percentage of its available manpower in uniform as does the United States. The costly



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NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, one of the most valuable of the Great Society programs has been the National Teacher Corps, which has done much to break down the resistance to education in poverty stricken areas, in spite of inadequate funding by Congress.

This program has been well accepted in the educational community. Not only does it provide additional help to strengthen present programs of the schools which employ Teacher Corps interns, but also the program looks to the future by developing young, dedicated teachers to continue to work in the schools where the task is most difficult.

Last week the Minneapolis Tribune published an article concerning the Teacher Corps program at Harrison Elementary and Franklin Junior High School in Minneapolis. It is an excellent article which both describes the operation of the Teacher Corps program in general and documents its effectiveness in Minneapolis.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Teacher Corps Wins Friends in City," published in the Minneapolis Tribune of Thursday, April 6, 1967, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, Apr. 6, 1967]

TEACHER CORPS WINS FRIENDS IN CITY—15
LEARNING CENTERS AID POOR PUPILS

(By Fred Johnson)

Nestled in nooks and crannies around Harrison School in Minneapolis are 15 unconventional classrooms that teaching professionals call "learning centers."

One of their purposes is to teach youngsters in small groups. They provide both "remedial" and "enrichment" instruction.

The idea is to break down the resistance to education offered by children from poverty-stricken families.

Most of the 1,100 children at Harrison have participated in a learning center at one time or another.

According to Mrs. Edna A. Anderson, Harrison's principal, the centers have revolutionized the school's curriculum this year.

They were made possible, she said, by a National Teacher Corps (NTC) team at Harrison.

Two NTC teams came to Minneapolis last fall. Each consists of six persons—a leader and five interns.

The other team is at Franklin Junior High, another school where many of the children are considered disadvantaged.

The Minneapolis schools requested 46 NTC workers for the current school year, but only 12 were available.

Donald Bevis, director of special federal projects for the schools, said Minneapolis could use 50 NTC members next year.

"It's a very effective program in my judgment," said Supt. John B. Davis Jr.

School officials in many cities are reported to feel the same way about the federally sponsored program, which aims to develop teachers with special expertise in dealing with disadvantaged children.

The NTC, in fact, seems to have plenty of friends except where it counts most—in Congress.

Though the 89th Congress was extraordinarily generous to education, it almost left the NTC out in the cold.

Congress reluctantly established the program, supported by President Johnson, in 1965. Since then the NTC has had a difficult time getting money to operate, and the program is said to be in serious trouble in the present Congress.

Through the program, interns, or trainees, work in poverty-area schools under the guidance of team leaders, who are experienced teachers.

In addition to receiving on-the-job training, an intern is expected to enroll in a nearby university to work toward a master's degree and to seek teacher certification, if he doesn't have it.

Besides this, said David Ferrens, NTC member at Harrison, interns do "community work aimed at bringing the people of the community in closer contact with the school."

The federal government pays 90 per cent of the salaries of NTC members, the local school district 10 per cent.

The local interns are receiving salaries equivalent to those of other beginning teachers in Minneapolis. Their leaders are paid according to their professional status.

Ferrens, 29, Philadelphia, Pa., said that interns expected to serve two years.

Implicit in the program is the idea that teachers need special training to do an effective job with poverty children.

At Harrison, Ferrens said, NTC members have devoted much effort to improving children's reading skills.

"In all disadvantaged schools," he said, "it appears that reading is the big deficiency."

NTC members at Harrison and Franklin have helped develop programs to distribute paperback books among children. (Both schools have received substantial donations of paperbacks.)

The result, officials said, is that pupils have been doing a lot more reading.

Bronx," by Jerome Carlan. It is both condemned and praised.

Mr. Carlan points out that of a group of 20,500 lawyers, 22 percent, or 4,500, committed some serious violations during the year of his study. Yet fewer than 2 percent of lawyers who violate the canons go through disciplinary machinery, and only about .02 percent are disbarred, suspended, or censured.

In a Missouri public-relations survey in 1962-1963 it is pointed out that 22 percent of the lawyers surveyed believe that half of the Missouri lawyers break the code of ethics and 5 percent of the lawyers believe "few lawyers" observe the code.

COURT PRESSURES HEAVY

Sometimes lawyers harm the interests of clients because of pressures and problems related to the courts. This is especially true in the criminal field.

One nationally known New York attorney complains that judges induce lawyers to plead clients guilty because "they don't take cases in the order they appear on the docket."

"I got to court at 9:34 this morning and my case wasn't called until 3:21," the lawyer explains. "In criminal court the client isn't like a fat, rich corporation and can't afford to pay a lawyer for the waiting time. And the criminal lawyer isn't making enough to spend all that time standing in the corridor."

"With the poor calendar control here we might have our witnesses assembled and be ready to go to trial and they don't get to my case at all. It's easier to plead guilty and get out of there."

Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School has often said there are too many lawyers in the United States, but not enough good lawyers.

This has long been true in the criminal field, although that is starting to change. The brightest young lawyers from the prestige schools are usually snapped up by the nation's big law firms.

Criminal fees lawyers charge can vary, too. Says one Washington lawyer: "Here they vary from \$10 to \$100,000. Often a criminal lawyer—unless he is a 'name' lawyer like F. Lee Bailey—takes what he can get. And in advance. Many of these problems have been covered in earlier reports in this series."

But little mention has been made of recent Supreme Court rulings that bring the right of legal counsel to those who need it most—the poor. This will be discussed in the next article in this series.

Meanwhile, calls for self-policing by the legal profession continue to mount.

As Orison S. Marden, president of the American Bar Association, says:

"I am convinced most lawyers want a vigorous disciplinary program. We can have it only if the profession at large supports the effort. I earnestly solicit that support."

"Let us get rid of the bad apples—who bring undeserved discredit upon the great body of ethical practitioners—and let us curb certain dangerous tendencies among fringe elements in the profession."

"Let us always remember that we are members of an honorable profession—dedicated to service of the public. There should be no room in our ranks for those who practice law as a business, rather than as a profession—with morals no higher than those tolerated in the marketplace."

SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS—XC

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, today, as the United Nations Security Council is so very much in the headlines, I think

it would be wise to examine the history of that great power forum and its recent comments about international human rights.

During the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations, the United States and the other four major powers insisted upon some way in which the inherent inequality of nation-states could be institutionalized. They recognized that it would be unrealistic not to permit the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, and China to have the power to say "No" on important peacekeeping functions.

Mr. President, I have come before this body during every session of the 90th Congress to stress as forcefully as I can that without worldwide protection of human rights, there can be no peace.

In Vietnam and the Middle East we are not only spectators but hostages to the aggression of those who refuse to recognize the inherent dignity of either their own citizens or of the citizens of other nations.

I cannot overemphasize the inescapable fact that human rights must be recognized by all men and by all governments before a state of peace and tranquility can descend upon the earth.

In April of 1966 the Security Council adopted a resolution proposed by the United Kingdom and joined by the United States which called the situation resulting from the threatened landing of oil in Mozambique for transmittal to Rhodesia a "threat to the peace."

Yes, Mr. President, the Security Council officially determined that a human rights problem within the borders of one geographical area was a threat to the peace. The resolution concluded: "Needless to say, a threat to the peace is a most urgent matter of international concern."

I call the attention of the Senate to the five international human rights conventions that are presently before the Foreign Relations Committee. There is a Convention To Protect Freedom of Association. And there is one designed to prevent and punish the crime of genocide. A Convention on the Political Rights of Woman, one on Slavery, and one on Forced Labor have recently been studied by an ad hoc subcommittee and reported favorably to the full committee.

Mr. President, I think the crises throughout the world compel us to accept the fact that the rights of all men everywhere must be protected, if world peace is to become a world reality. Let us all bring about one significant step on the road to world peace. Let us ratify these human rights conventions.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY SENATOR MONDALE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, last week at the commencement exercises of the Kansas State College of Pittsburg, Kans., the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] had the honor to address the 1,200 graduates, their families, and friends.

Senator MONDALE's speech was scholarly and stimulating—and of special moment to us in the Senate. His subject was "Education and Public Responsibility"—a topic high in my own concern.

In the course of the address he had praised for our colleague, the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] for his brilliant leadership in advancing the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

The address of Senator MONDALE has such merit and meaning as to deserve a permanent place in the records of Congress where so much of this public responsibility resides.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent for the insertion of Senator MONDALE's commencement address in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

President Budd, distinguished members of the faculty, graduates, students, and friends of Kansas State College of Pittsburg. I know this is a wonderful school, because it is headed by an old friend of mine from Minnesota, President Budd.

It's always a pleasure to be allowed to speak at a commencement, especially a college commencement. Somehow it is a sign of dreams and promises that have come true, and it is truly so in our Great Middle West. Graduates and families are to be congratulated.

The 1,200 or so of you who are receiving degrees today represent a tremendous investment, and not only in terms of your money and your effort and the material and nonmaterial resources that have been gathered together on this campus to make this day possible for all of you.

Somewhere back there, in the founding of this college and the many others like it that mark the landscape of this region, there was an investment of faith.

I like to think that some of your leaders of the past had at least an inkling that what they were starting would turn into what Kansas State College of Pittsburg has become. I admit it is hard to believe that they foresaw that thousands of people would be gathered here today as witnesses to this annual ceremony of graduation.

But whatever the size of their conception, there was one. And it was based on faith—faith in the future of people, faith in a system that demands education for its business, for its government, and for its quality of life.

It is impossible to overestimate the magnitude of the vision and its accomplishment that is Kansas State College of Pittsburg. For their investment has brought a huge profit.

And education itself has become almost an organic being itself, feeding on the knowledge of the past, giving birth to new knowledge at an astonishing rate, increasing itself in almost geometric proportions, and giving unbelievable benefits to the human beings who nurture it and are nurtured by it in its never-ending life.

And this being exists not only at Pittsburg, Kansas, but at St. Cloud, Minnesota, nad Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, and Berkeley, California, everywhere that the investment has been made and continues to be made.

New colleges and new kinds of colleges spring up everywhere alongside the old ones, and the old ones continue to grow. They also change, as the needs of the nation require more of its people and new things of its people.

And the colleges contribute to the conception of the nation as the nation contributes to the conception of the colleges, in a continuous interaction between the people and those who would change them.

For change is what education is all about. It is a cliché to mention it, but it is easy to forget.

Another 10 percent work for the executive and legislative branches of government. Of these nearly 8,000 work for cities and counties. Roughly twice that number are on the federal payroll, while about 6,500 are on the state level—many of them working in the state attorney-general offices.

Some 9,000 are employed full time by the courts—federal, state, and local. An undetermined number, but several thousand, are part-time judges.

This accounts for only about a quarter of all lawyers. Another 12,000 are reported to be retired or inactive. But there is no clear explanation of what the 200,000 in the "private practice" of law do. Some are specialists, handling only defendants or only plaintiffs in auto accident cases. Others enter a courtroom a dozen times a year, or less. And a few spend most of their working time in court.

SPECIALTIES HARD TO MEASURE

Some specialize in divorce. Others handle only one or two divorces a year, if any. A number work in the field of real estate. How many no one knows.

In the field of auto-accident litigation specialization increases the confusion.

Take Al J. Cone of West Palm Beach. He heads a firm of 19 trial lawyers and only works in the personal-injury field.

A number of Florida lawyers accept injury cases and try to settle them out of court. When that fails (out-of-court settlements can run as high as 90 or 95 percent of all injury cases filed), these lawyers may turn the case over to Mr. Cone for trial because their field of specialization is not in the courtroom.

"I paid one West Palm Beach lawyer \$38,000 in referral fees last year," Mr. Cone told me. "I'm satisfied that if he tried the same cases he wouldn't have made \$6,000 or \$7,000. And the clients would have been hurt far worse."

SMALL-TOWN PRESSURE

"There are dozens of other practices [fields] I don't know anything about," he adds. "I would be almost guilty of malpractice if I tried to handle a will-contest case, real-estate titles, or a patent case, for example."

Yet thousands of lawyers who may be less qualified than Mr. Cone in these specialized areas do take these cases every year.

This is especially true in a small town. Says a leading Iowa judge:

"In smaller communities the lawyer has to take all of a client's business, or the client will take his business elsewhere. This probably means handling tax matters, for example, although the lawyer may not really want to."

In large cities the large firms—some with 40, 50, or 100 lawyers—have teams of specialists. One team may prepare cases, then turn them over to the "persuaders"—lawyers who know how to be convincing with a jury or can skillfully handle a judge. And many of these firms deal largely with corporations.

Of the 200,000 lawyers in private practice, roughly 114,000 are in one-man firms. Many accept all the business that walks in the door, and they do it gratefully. Practicing law can be feast or famine, lawyers report.

But a one-man firm may have nobody to help look up law—unless he has a skilled secretary. If it is a case involving a trial, he may handle the investigation, interview witnesses, take care of the paperwork, put the pleadings in the proper form, help pick a jury, and argue the case by himself. Some do it well.

Yet too many lawyers are poorly prepared for this by the law schools.

CORPORATION WORK ACCENTED

"A typical American law-school curriculum is designed primarily for turning out associates for large city law firms, and corporate work is undoubtedly a substantial part of that firm's work," says Prof. B. J. George of the University of Michigan.

One of his colleagues, Prof. Yale Kamisar, adds: "The young lawyer is much more qualified to argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States than in the lowest police court."

A New Jersey civil trial lawyer admits that "when I was starting out in the practice of law I simply took my clients for a ride. I used them to gain experience, and they suffered horribly in the process."

When pinned down, the more candid lawyers in small firms admit this to be true.

This, then, is the backdrop for the great confusion over professional ethics and what can be expected of a lawyer. It is behind much of the great frustration a layman feels when he deals with the law and the courts.

It is coupled with what is called "the public turmoil over morality" in the United States. It involves a lack of practical enforcement of ethical standards for the lawyer in an era when the lawyer's role is changing. According to Professor George, it also includes a widely prevalent law-school philosophy of many years' standing that ethics cannot or should not be taught.

FORMAL COURSES SCANTY

"In most schools a senior gets three or four lectures on the canons of ethics," says Professor George. "That's all he gets."

Yet lawyers deal with human problems and are confronted with difficult judgments every day. Ways of handling them vary widely. Lawyers, judges, professors cite many examples:

One of the most difficult: A corporate lawyer finds, while looking over a client's books, that the firm is cheating on its taxes or hears that certain executives are engaged in price fixing. Should he confront the company president—probably to be fired? Should he find ways to cover up for the firm? Tell the Internal Revenue Service or Justice Department?

Some lawyers and most laymen find it equally difficult to know what to do in criminal cases where the client is obviously guilty. For our system says a man is innocent until proven guilty, thus giving guilty men the same right to a fair trial as those who are innocent. Hence, many criminal lawyers will do everything possible to get their man off, even when he has—in a confidential interview—admitted his guilt.

To do anything else is "childishness," says a University of Chicago law professor.

REPUTATIONS OFTEN RISKED

Or take the case of a young man who admits to his lawyer that he raped a minister's daughter who is engaged to the son of a bank president. The town knows what has happened. The youth can testify he used to go steady with the girl and she voluntarily submitted to him on many other occasions. The young man faces a long prison term because the judge is tough on rape cases. Should the lawyer put the young man on the stand and ruin the girl's reputation?

Lawyers find this harder to answer, usually prefer not to put the boy on the stand. But there is some division on this, too.

More thought is being given to these problems than in the past. Monroe H. Freedman, a law professor at George Washington University, is one of those stimulating the thinking in the criminal field—although he is often criticized for it.

He asks, among other things:

Is it proper, when a witness is telling the truth, to discredit him by aggressive cross examination? Is it proper to put a witness on the stand when you know he will commit perjury? Is it proper to give your client legal advice when you have reason to believe that the knowledge you give him will tempt him to commit perjury?

He points out that Canon 15 of the American Bar Association's canons of professional ethics tells lawyers they should give their "entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his rights and the exertion of his utmost

learning and ability. . . ." The canons also admonish lawyers from violating the law and require candor toward the court.

On the question of discrediting a truthful witness, Professor Freedman contends that if it serves justice and the lawyer's client is innocent, the "attorney is obligated to attack, if he can, the reliability or credibility of an opposing witness whom he knows to be truthful." But Professor Freedman carefully qualifies the circumstances.

On the question of expected perjury, he contends that lawyers soothe their consciences with phrases like "legal fiction" instead of lying. Legal fiction begins when the lawyer pleads a guilty man innocent.

Other lawyers, he says, choose to remain "selectively ignorant." This is done by insisting "in his first interview with his client that, if his client is guilty, he simply does not want to know."

A LAWYER MAY WITHDRAW

"Perhaps the most common method of avoiding the ethical problem is for the lawyer to withdraw from the case, at least if there is sufficient time before trial for the client to retain another attorney."

This, however, merely passes the buck to another lawyer.

Others may tell the judge of the problem, which could result in a mistrial, says Professor Freedman. Or, he points out, a lawyer may let the client take the stand, turn his back, take no part in the story telling, and then make no reference in his closing arguments to the lies his client told.

Professor Freedman contends an attorney has no other choice than to put the defendant on the stand and let him commit perjury if the lawyer is to honor the canon of confidentiality.

On the question of giving the client legal knowledge that might tempt him to commit perjury, Professor Freedman argues that the client should know the laws that are involved in a case—even if informing the man about the law may tempt him to lie.

He contends, as do most other trial lawyers interviewed, that under the adversary system of justice "the most effective means of determining truth is to present to a judge and jury a clash between proponents of conflicting views." Anything less than a full-fledged defense effort, he says, causes this system to break down.

ABA COMMITTEE AT WORK

Because of these knotty problems the American Bar Association has a committee, headed by Edward L. Wright, of Little Rock, Ark., rewriting the canons of ethics.

The present canons were framed in 1908, Mr. Wright points out, and hardly apply to the present age. Further, they are long-winded, although often in beautiful language.

He hopes that by 1968 a terse list of "thou shalt nots" will be ready, followed by commentary of greater length.

Already the ABA has formed a committee on evaluation of disciplinary enforcement.

Associate Justice Tom C. Clark of the Supreme Court, who heads the committee, said in an interview that little is known about the number of violations or the methods of disciplining lawyers who violate the canons.

"We may go around the country and hold informal regional hearings to gather information," he says. "The committee was formed to see what the states are doing—if anything, how they are doing it, and what effect it is having."

GROUP ONLY ADVISORY

The committee will not have enforcement powers, he adds. At most it will be able to point up "horrible examples" and then offer a model system for states to adopt if they care to.

When ethics are discussed, two studies are usually mentioned.

One is "A Study of Segments of the Legal Profession in Manhattan and the

I remember a controversy not very long ago in my home state of Minnesota, when claims were being made that its great university should be investigated because it was subversive. The fears of many, I believe, were made eloquent by the mother of a University sophomore. "I sent my daughter away to the University," she lamented, "and when she came back she just wasn't the same anymore." We are bound to be worried by change, but it is the price of growth.

Like the pioneers of this great region who made a great experiment with state support of public higher education, we are pioneering today on the national level. Some of the experiments being undertaken today may one day be judged as bold and visionary and magnificent as we now judge the great attempts of the past.

We have learned to think of education as a national resource rather than a purely private one or local one. And along with that change in our conception has come a parallel change in our method of support.

Among the graduates here today are many with bachelor's degrees, a good proportion with master's degrees, and some with specialist's certificates beyond that level of attainment. Every single one of you has been directly affected by the new federal involvement in higher education.

Many of you have had federal loans, and look forward with more or less enthusiasm to repaying all or part of them. Many have contributed to your own educations and to the college as well through the college work-study program, where 90 per cent of the money you have earned has come through federal grants.

Many have used library materials which federal support made possible. Federal support has contributed to particular programs in which students and faculty have been involved, and the list goes on, and it will grow longer.

And more than half of the graduates at this commencement will teach in schools where the federal involvement continues to grow. Many of the buildings were constructed with Federal assistance. More than \$4 billion in programs were administered by the U.S. Office of Education during the current fiscal year, and contributions came from many other agencies as well.

Public funds have always gone to education, of course. But we are beginning to see a growing federal involvement as we continue to see education as a part of the Public Responsibility. Education is now fully established as a public, national effort.

And the Public Responsibility for education is taking other forms as well. As a nation we are coming to realize that powerful educational forces exist outside the classroom and outside the formal educational institution.

We have always known that experience was a teacher of sorts, whether the best or something less than that. Now we are beginning to consider seriously the quality of the experiences that make up education outside the classroom.

One of these experiences, and my principal topic today, is the experience of television. It always comes as a shock to me to realize that most of you who are graduating today have lived virtually all of your lives with television.

That is a benchmark that separates us as generations, and it is also a sign of the growth and change that has characterized our lives. The founders of this college may have had a vision of 1,200 graduates in a single year of Kansas State College of Pittsburg, but I cannot imagine that they saw how pervasive a part of your lives television would be.

Because television has always been a part of your lives, you may view it somewhat differently from the way those of my generation do. The fact that the average Amer-

ican spends about 3½ hours a day watching television may not be a matter of concern or importance to you.

It may seem perfectly normal and acceptable to you that one and one-half billion man hours per week are spent in this country watching television. You may not be at all surprised by the phenomenal growth of television as a medium of communication and entertainment within the span of your lifetime, nor troubled by television's impact on this country's citizens.

Indeed, you may simply view television as one of the great advances in civilization which your predecessors are proudly passing on to you.

To some considerable extent such a reaction would be quite understandable and would have some basis in fact. The technology which has made television possible is truly indicative of the means now available to weld together the people of this nation and the people of the world—to bridge areas of misunderstanding and make possible direct communication among cultures of various types. The technological capability, however, is clearly not being used entirely for these objectives.

Of the billion and a half man hours a week spent with television in this country, only the smallest fraction is devoted to enlightening the human mind or bettering the human condition. This magnificent medium has been used in this country primarily to titillate rather than teach, to entertain rather than educate.

Our failure to exploit the full potentiality of television provides the background for what may turn out to be one of the most important federal ventures in education of our time—the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

In his State of the Union message to the current Congress, the President declared that "we should develop educational television into a vital public resource." The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 has now passed the Senate, in a measure to provide for continued development of educational broadcasting to serve the needs of our people more completely.

This proposal is a clear recognition by the President and the Senate that television should be as much a part of our public concern as the highways upon which we drive, the lakes upon which we fish and in which we swim, the forests in which we hunt and hike, the air—hopefully pure—which we breathe.

We are concerned about our safety on the highways, our happiness in the outdoors, our health in our atmosphere. We also have—and are now recognizing—a public responsibility to assure the wisest and most beneficial use of the broadcast frequencies over which radio and television programs are disseminated.

The Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934 clearly established that the airwaves over which radio and television programs are transmitted into our homes belong to the people.

Stations which broadcast on assigned frequencies—or airwaves—do so by the consent of the people. Only so long as they fulfill their obligations and maintain their operations in the public interest are they eligible to continue such transmissions.

The very basis upon which radio and television broadcasting exist—the airwaves over which the programs are transmitted—are a public resource belonging to all the citizens of this country. It is indeed time to more fully develop that resource to meet the highest aspirations of the citizenry.

Important progress can be made in that direction by developing educational television into a vital, dynamic force in our society—by helping it become a service truly alternative to the dulling diversions to which we have for the most part been submitted.

We have a well laid foundation upon which to build a growing and dynamic educational television service in this country. In 1951, 242 channels were reserved by the Federal Communications Commission for such educational television stations. By May of 1962, 82 ETV stations were on the air broadcasting on these assigned frequencies.

In 1962 the Congress enacted the Educational Television Facilities Program and for the first time support was available from the Federal Government to assist in the construction of new ETV stations.

That program is due to expire in July of this year, and so it is possible at this point to assess its success. When the program expires there will be 183 ETV stations on the air or under construction, more than doubling the number of such stations since the program was initiated.

The number of people served by these educational television stations will have increased from 105 to 155 million people. However, to achieve our goal of serving 95% of the people of each state with educational television, at least 200 more stations will be required.

At the same time that this growth in broadcast facilities has been taking place, ETV's impact on the society at large has also been increasing.

In 1962 for example, approximately 2½ million viewed an ETV station at least once a week. By 1966 that figure had more than doubled; ETV today is reaching more than 6 million American homes once a week.

It is possible to estimate that during any given week-day evening hour ETV is being viewed by 700,000 to 1 million people in this country. In addition, about 6½ million students from kindergarten to the 12th grade during the 1965-66 school year received some of their classroom instruction by way of those same educational television stations.

The quality of the programs presented on ETV has also shown some improvement. National Educational Television has perhaps dramatized this improvement of quality most.

The President's State of the Union message last January, for example, marked the first time that a live interconnection was established on a nationwide basis among educational television stations. Wide critical acclaim accrued to NET for the quality of its coverage of that speech and the commentary that preceded and followed it. This program and the discernible increase in regular program quality present clear evidence of ETV's potential.

Despite this progress, however, it is still accurate to say that ETV is merely on the threshold of the development needed to provide the service the nation requires.

Individual ETV stations suffer from a condition close to poverty as they attempt to meet the needs of their communities. NET's resources for programs of national significance and importance are in no way equal to the needs that are apparent. It has become quite clear that additional support is required for ETV to assure the growth required.

The Senate has already passed, under the brilliant leadership of Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, The Public Broadcasting Act. It is currently under consideration by the House of Representatives.

The Act will continue the educational television facilities program which was enacted in 1962 to assist in the construction of new educational broadcasting state.

It will establish a Corporation for Public Broadcasting along lines generally proposed by the Carnegie Commission. And it will authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to conduct a study of instructional television to recommend the support and organization required to utilize television most effectively in formal instruction.

It can indeed be said that this has been and continues to be educational broadcasting's year. Public awareness of the potential of educational broadcasting has probably never been higher.

But the public's expectations of educational broadcasting also have increased. The challenge to make significant progress, therefore, is that much greater.

The significance of television to the growth and change—to the education—of young people cannot be overemphasized. Research indicates that children begin school with greater vocabulary, greater reading skills, greater awareness of the world as a result of television. They can, for example, read with ease most of the billboards advertising beer and soap.

In schools, of course, a strengthened television effort would have vast potential to improve the effectiveness of instruction. Given proper support for the development of excellence in quality, television can be used to demonstrate, to present specific learning experiences, to motivate independent performance, and, of course, to bring the events of the world into the classroom for analysis and discussion.

Really good television can help schools keep up with the rapidly changing face of our society, the rapidly changing skills and knowledge which we require, and the urgently changing requirements of peaceful and productive relationships with the variety of cultures and countries with which we share this planet.

To meet needs of these dimensions we need to enlist every resource at our disposal, not the least of which are the newest and most comprehensive means of communication.

But public television as envisioned in the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 has potentialities far beyond classroom applications.

In a letter to the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, E. B. White spoke of the opportunity of noncommercial television in these words:

"Noncommercial television should address itself to the ideal of excellence, not the idea of acceptability—which is what keeps commercial television from climbing the staircase. I think television should be the visual counterpart of the literary essay, should arouse our dreams, satisfy our hunger for beauty, take us on journeys, enable us to participate in events, present great drama and music, explore the sea and the sky and the woods and the hills. It should be our Lyceum, our Chautauqua, our Minerva's, and our Camelot. It should restate and clarify the social dilemma and the political pickle. Once in a while it does, and you get a quick glimpse of its potential."

Imagine public service broadcasting unconfined by the need to sell products, by the need to reach the largest total audience with commercial messages that all too often emphasize quantity of sales and not quality of product.

Imagine programming which could base its judgments about content on esthetic grounds or service to the citizen, enthusiastically rather than grudgingly.

Imagine television offerings which could be directed to special audiences without the necessity of considering whether such audiences are massive, without worrying about whether only 16.3 million watch the program compared to the 17.2 million watching another station.

Imagine, in short, a powerful communicative tool which is perceived as a means of enriching the lives of the American people rather than the bank accounts of American corporations.

Imagine having a real choice.

That is what may be in our future under the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

The Act and its authorization of \$9 million is only a first step toward these goals. But

James Reston has hailed it as possibly "one of the transforming occasions of American life," comparing it to the Morrill Act which established land-grant universities in 1862, and quietly transformed American public higher education. It is a recognition on the part of the Congress and the President that this powerful medium of education is also a part of the Public Responsibility.

As public television develops, the investment will be large. Both the instructional aspects of television and the general educational aspects will require many times this year's proposed appropriation.

Public television will never be self-supporting, just as Kansas State College at Pittsburg will never be self-supporting and was never intended to be. It will require a continuing commitment of common treasures in the interest of growth and change—in the interest of education, which today may be the single great requirement for the preservation of our way of life.

This is a world of international and domestic tension. This is a world of technology which is outstripping our capacity to deal with it as human beings. This is a world which requires sensitivity and powers of judgment among its citizens in proportions unmatched in any place or time.

This is a world which requires the marshalling of all of our resources of education. The power of television is one of those resources, and it must be used so that the spirit of the individual is not suppressed but is allowed to flourish and grow.

Our goal is simply stated: we want to achieve the betterment of man through the proper application of man's knowledge. It will tax our wisdom, our strength, our purpose, our resources, to achieve that goal. It is the goal of education, in and out of institutions of learning.

That is the Public Responsibility.

RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, there has, I feel, been some confusion and misunderstanding concerning the position of the Soviet Union in the Middle East crisis.

A provocative and intelligent column by Roscoe Drummond in the June 15 Washington Post cuts through the confusion and I believe gets to the truth about the dangerous game Russia has played in the Middle East as in other parts of the world.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Drummond's column be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

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

RUSSIA AND MIDEAST: EFFORTS FOR PEACE OR WAR?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

There is this theory on the Middle East crisis: the Soviets certainly helped avoid war at this time.

This, I am convinced, is dangerous and wishful fiction that will get us in trouble if we don't watch out.

The premise on which this wishful idea is being built is that the Soviets deliberately decided that they would rather work with the United States to contain the conflict than to help Nasser win.

The hope behind this view of Moscow's role in the Middle East crisis is that the Soviet government will join with the West in encouraging the Arabs to adopt a policy of peaceful coexistence with Israel.

It seems to me that what has happened thus far does not bear out this premise or give much substance to this hope.

I believe that the controlling facts are these:

1—By every device at its command, massive military aid, substantial economic assistance, plus total diplomatic support for the Arabs and total hostility to Israel—Moscow gave Nasser the go-ahead in his announced intention to destroy Israel. Was this detente? Was Moscow's way of cutting back the cold war? Hardly. It was the most dangerous cold war venture since Khrushchev tried to secrete missiles in Cuba.

2—Was the Soviet Union holding any checkrein on Nasser and on what he would do with the help he was getting from Moscow? Was the Soviet Union thinking all along on how well it could cooperate with the United States to avert war or to contain it if it broke out? There is no such evidence. The evidence, as reported by Robert H. Estabrook, United Nations correspondent of The Washington Post, is that Soviet military equipment, especially spare parts, was being poured into Cairo on the very eve of the war, thus seeking to make sure that the Arabs would not run out of supplies as the fighting progressed.

3—Numerous news stories suggest that because Premier Kosygin told President Johnson over the Hot Line on the day the fighting started that he wanted to cooperate with the United States in restraining the belligerents, this meant that the Soviets put the highest premium on keeping the peace.

It is wiser to judge Soviet policy on the basis of its actions rather than on its words. The Soviets did not restrain the Arabs; only Israel restrained the Arabs.

Some suggest that because Moscow finally supported a U.N. call for a cease-fire without any Israeli pullback, this meant that the Soviets were acting with great prudence and eagerness to avert a spreading conflict.

This conclusion is unproved because the Soviets opposed the U.N. call for a cease-fire in the earliest stages of the war when it appeared that Nasser could win and accepted it only when it became clear that Nasser was losing.

The conclusion that Moscow was ready to work with the United States to contain the fighting is unproved because the necessity for doing so never arose. Israel won the war so quickly that the danger of the United States and the U.S.S.R. being drawn into it never developed and therefore the events of the past week cast little light on how prudently Moscow would have acted under different circumstances.

Obviously the Soviet Union wants no direct military confrontation with the United States and most certainly does not want world war. But the truth is that it helped start a war between Egypt and Israel, did nothing to contain it until Egypt was at the point of collapse, and therein showed that it was prepared to take the most perilous risk of starting a conflict it could not stop.

It would be a welcome dividend if Moscow decided to work for peace instead of conflict in the Middle East. But the record shows we had better not count on it.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FEDERAL LAND BANK OF NEW ORLEANS—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ELLENDER

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on June 6 I had occasion to address the officials, membership, and staff of the Federal Land Bank of New Orleans as the bank celebrated its 50th anniversary. Chartered by the Congress on March 8, 1917, the bank made its first loan early in June, 50 years ago.

I was very happy to take part in this golden anniversary celebration. The Federal land bank system is one of the



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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SENATOR MONDALE

Mr. MORSE, Mr. President, the public community college as a member of the family of institutions of higher education may be comparatively young but it, like the youngsters in our human families, is growing rapidly and filling out. It carries the bloom of youth and the exuberance of youth with it, and its potentialities for service to our young people are tremendous. It is hard to believe that in the spring of 1960 there were nationally only 310 public junior and community colleges with an enrollment of but 348,538. The latest figure I have found shows that as of the fall of 1966, the public and junior community colleges in our country numbered 565 and were educating 1,316,980 young men and women. I am confident that the rate of growth in 1968 and 1969 will continue to increase sharply, since 200 new ones are now in the planning stages and 50 per year or more start operation.

I am moved to make these comments, President, because I have recently been privileged to read the commencement address of the distinguished junior Senator from Minnesota, which was given at Anoka-Ramsey Junior College in Minnesota on June 9, 1967. I congratulate my distinguished colleague upon the remarks he gave at that occasion.

The questions he asked in it are questions which are being asked in campus after campus through the country. They are questions which, in my own State of Oregon, are being asked at Clatsop Community College, Lane Community College, and each of the other new members of the system in the State. These institutions will, I am sure, find the answers to the questions he has posed through the service each will give to the community they grace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address to which I have alluded be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

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

ANOKA-RAMSEY JUNIOR COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT SPEECH BY SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE, JUNE 9, 1967

Dean Wilken, distinguished members of the faculty, students, and friends of Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College, I am proud to be here tonight at the first commencement exercises at this college. Those of you who are graduating tonight after two years of study, and those of you who have contributed the buildings of your school district to this new college, and those of you who have built curriculums and courses, those of you who have encouraged your sons and daughters,

and those of you whose support of this new college has come in many other ways—you are all part of a great new experiment. What goes on here tonight is the first fruit of an exciting thrust in education, for Minnesota and for the nation.

Four short years ago, while I was Attorney General of the State of Minnesota, I was pleased to help work for passage of a brief law which carried the seed for a revolution in junior college education in this state. The law began: "Not to exceed fifteen state junior colleges are hereby established under the management, jurisdiction, and control of a state junior college board which is hereby created."

The State had previously been economically involved with Minnesota's junior colleges through special state aid formulas. But the passage of that law affirmed the dedication of the people of Minnesota to a statewide program of opportunity for young people. To the local effort that had previously brought eleven junior colleges into operation since 1915, the state now added its broad economic and administrative powers. Except for Fergus Falls in 1960 and Willmar in 1962, no new junior colleges had been established in the state since 1940. Since 1965, colleges have developed at International Falls, Thief River Falls, and here in the Twin Cities Metropolitan area. More are on the way.

I certainly do not need to tell most of you what a tremendous effort it has taken to establish this college and the other new junior colleges and to move the existing colleges under a central administration. You have been a part of it. The cooperation of the legislature has been consistent with its 1963 authorization. The State Junior College Board has demanded and received tremendous efforts from its appointed members and its staff, and a fine record of planning and development has been established.

Of course, there have been frustrations. Of course the temporary facilities have sometimes been inadequate. Of course there has been a scramble for staff.

But here you are, the 1967 graduating class of Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College, and over west there on the Mississippi a permanent home is being completed for occupancy next fall. This event tonight is a mark of the success that can be obtained when dedicated individuals, organized local communities, and a forward-looking state government combine their efforts in a common cause.

It is important to consider that cause and these forces very briefly, for what is happening in Minnesota in the state junior college program can be—I hope it will be—the first stages of a truly different kind of institution.

There is an opportunity here—and throughout the United States where various experiments with two-year colleges are taking place—for community colleges which truly serve their communities. That will not happen unless someone tries to make it happen—but it is possible. We need pioneers with vision and courage to devote themselves to a task which will be fully achieved only after many years.

A number of opportunities are built into the structure of the Minnesota state junior college system. First of all, an attempt has

been made to preserve the unique local responsiveness of the former junior colleges.

Although they have the advantages of central management procedures, each college is relatively autonomous. The law which created these schools provided for local, advisory boards. These will eventually be as effective as the local community and the school administration want them to be, but the possibilities are there.

This means that a community college can truly be a community resource. Let's talk tonight about what it can be.

It can offer education to adults as well as to 18-year-olds. It can offer non-academic programs as well as academic programs. Its library can be a community library as well as a college library. It can serve part-time students as well as full-time students. It can feed students to universities and technicians to local businesses and institutions.

There is a marvelous flexibility which is possible and partly realized in nearly every junior college in this state. It is limited only by the imagination and effort which is present in its staff, among its advisors and planners, and in its students, who are potentially the entire community.

Another special possibility for the community college arises from the conception that there should be many of them and they should be located strategically for the convenience of their students. Minnesota is not the only place where these colleges are developing rapidly. There are now nearly 850 two-year colleges in the United States, and they are being created at the rate of one per week.

Partly this is happening everywhere—including Minnesota—because we have a huge population of young people who cannot be accommodated physically by the existing college structures. But partly it is happening because of a growing feeling that education beyond the high school should be located conveniently for all—that the educational needs of the society demand that most young people have more education than the twelve years we have been providing, and that they should be able to obtain this education as conveniently as possible. We now are behaving as if we felt that colleges should come to our young people instead of young people going to our colleges.

Not too many years ago, this would have been impossible. But today, even in a state with the geography of Minnesota and the sparsely settled nature of many of its areas, transportation is such that the borders of a community have been greatly expanded. This has made it possible in Minnesota for the State Junior College Board to prepare a plan for location of two-year colleges that puts the great majority of our people within commuting distance of higher education. And these schools will come to these communities, for our commitment to increased education is clear.

When they do come, these two-year colleges have the potentiality to interact with their communities in more than the traditional ways that educational institutions change communities.

If we put these two characteristics together—the unique commitment of the two-year college to respond to the local situation and the convenient location of these col-

leges for the great majority of our citizens—the possibilities expand tremendously.

Within our state we will soon have the opportunity for community colleges to serve as unique social institutions, as community resources to unite separated citizens and carry on a continuous seminar on the needs and opportunities of people who live together.

I see no reason that this community college and the others in this state should not become centers of community action—organizations that concern themselves with general community needs in a pattern similar to that served by the Community Action Programs of the war on poverty.

Perhaps they can become resources for the Community Action Programs that now exist, but this is much too narrow a conception of what it is possible to do. There are all kinds of poverty around us besides economic poverty, and the projected two-year college program in Minnesota provides an opportunity to deal with them.

Why shouldn't this community college and others like it become the instrument for analyzing the unique individual and coordinating needs of governments in its suburban setting—or rural setting as the case may be?

Why shouldn't this community college examine the needs and wishes of the citizens of this community for continuing education for adults—for the study of international relations, for home and neighborhood improvement, for additional technical training, for the study of art and literature and music?

Why shouldn't this community college become a resource for citizens, young and old, who need help in adjusting to life in the suburbs—who need to learn how to buy, how to borrow, how to get along with husbands and children and neighbors and village councils?

Why shouldn't this community college study the transportation needs of a community where the great majority of its citizens commute to work on inadequate streets and highways and travel miles to shopping centers?

Why shouldn't this community college become the place where the solution is finally found to the needs of racial balance in the metropolitan community—to plan for acceptance and educate citizens in the human relations problems that we are all going to face with greater and greater intensity?

Why shouldn't this community college become the place where people learn to grow old gracefully and retire without tension? This week I have conducted hearings in my subcommittee on Retirement and the Individual.

I am frightened by what I am finding out about our lack of preparation of people for a period which is going to become a larger and larger portion of our life span. In a young community, it is easy to ignore age because there is so little of it to be seen around; but it is coming and it is going to swamp us if we are not ready for it.

This is only a sample of what a community college can do if it sets out to become truly a community resource. And it can adjust to any kind of local situation because it has that flexibility built into its conception. And it can deal with these problems because it is convenient to the area it serves.

Last fall I heard a prediction that by 1985, one-third of our population between the ages of 20 and 30 will be unemployed, if we use present definitions of employment as a criterion for judgment. Community junior colleges are a way of dealing with that problem by extending education beyond the years that we have traditionally established.

But if they see their function entirely as an educational resource for 18-year-olds and 19-year-olds who go on to universities or jobs, they will be missing a great opportunity. These colleges can become community centers that deal with the new kind of life we are all facing, that recognize that the day is coming when a 65-year-old man or woman will be physiologically equivalent to a 45-year-old man or woman today and will try to do something to wipe out the horrible poverty of spirit that such a citizen may face.

Those of you who are graduating tonight are the first formal products of a new experiment in education that can help to transform community life. Wherever you go from here, I hope you will remember all of the possibilities that this experiment can produce.

And I hope that you will watch this community college grow, and help it grow, so that wherever you may spend your life in Minnesota or elsewhere, community resources like Anoka-Ramsey Junior College will continue to serve you, your families, and your neighbors as you are entitled to be served and as community colleges are uniquely equipped to do.

a part of this crusade. I am not its leader, but I am certainly its follower.

This matter calls for a rededication legislatively to human values, with respect to the ghettos of America, in an hour of great crisis.

In addition, I ask unanimous consent that some of the testimony of J. Graham Sullivan, Deputy Commissioner of the Office of Education and Welfare, be printed in the RECORD, together with certain other excerpts from the legislative record before my committee on this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 3.)

Mr. MORSE. I refer to the report that I filed with the Senate and to which I referred when I was managing the Teacher Corps bill, for it deals with the matter of the shortages of teachers. I ask unanimous consent that the material on page 4 of that report, and such other material that deals with the subject of the shortages of teachers, be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 4.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in the first paragraph of the subheading "Teachers Corps," of Senate Report No. 363, there will be found:

Last fall the nation was faced with an unprecedented shortage of almost 170,000 qualified teachers. The shortage was most acute in urban slums and depressed rural areas.

There is no question about the great need for teachers and teachers in the slum ghetto areas. Here is a program that seeks to train them, and while they are being trained, as the testimony shows, they earn over and over again every dollar that is paid them.

Therefore, I now send to the desk, and then I shall be finished, an amendment in behalf of myself, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. CLARK, Mr. HART, Mr. NELSON, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. HARTKE, and Mr. GRUENING.

Mr. President, the amendment would seek to raise the amount from \$18.1 million to \$33 million. That is the amount that the administration seeks. I have been advised by the Department today that I speak the desire of the administration; that it strongly urges the \$33 million because of the great ghetto crisis we have at the present time for teachers in order to do something to serve the educational needs of the underprivileged in the slum areas, city and rural, of the country.

Mr. President, I ask that the amendment be stated, and then I would like to have the privilege of asking for a rollcall vote; then I shall yield to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] who has told me he will have a brief statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] proposes an amendment for himself and others as follows:

On page 15, lines 11 and 12, delete "\$18,000,000", and insert in lieu thereof the following: "\$33,000,000."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment containing the names of the distinguished Senators who are joining me in this effort be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 5.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I now yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Oregon. Once again I am proud to join with him as he addresses the Senate in connection with recommendations for our educational system.

I am proud to speak in behalf of adequate funding for the Teacher Corps program, initially proposed by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

I speak in support of the amendment proposed by the distinguished Senator from Oregon to restore the appropriation for Teacher Corps programs to the level of the authorization. I am proud to be listed as a cosponsor of the amendment.

Two institutions of higher education in Minnesota are ready today to begin preparing Teacher Corps trainees for an expanded program in the Minneapolis public schools. Minneapolis is one of those cities recently cursed by civil riots. That program, like every proposed expansion of this effort to bring better educational opportunity to the children of the slums, is at stake this afternoon.

In April I called the attention of this body to a report on the Minneapolis Teacher Corps program in the Minneapolis Tribune. I would like to quote very briefly from that article:

"According to Mrs. Edna A. Anderson, Harrison (school's) principal, the (15 classroom) centers have revolutionized the school's curriculum of the year . . ."

"It's a very effective program in my judgment," said Superintendent John B. Davis, Jr.

"School officials in many cities are reported to feel the same way . . ."

Mr. President, this Teacher Corps program is supported by educational organizations throughout the Nation, including those which typically oppose Federal programs. It is beyond my understanding that such a small appropriation to build on the universal success of the first year's experiments should be cut from the appropriation.

I have mentioned the Minneapolis schools, which I know well. But this matter goes far beyond Minneapolis or Minnesota and far beyond the narrow concern of education alone.

Mr. President, I want to read a segment of a letter I received late last week from a young man who wants to work with the Minneapolis program if it can operate next fall:

The Teacher Corps doesn't stop at the end of summer. It doesn't abandon the Negro when it gets too cold to riot.

Our cities have just been through a trying period which, like the anvil, they have had to bear. But with programs like the Teacher Corps they can become the hammer.

Minneapolis needs an expanded Teacher Corps this year. Now is the time to strike.

That is what Edward Fashingbauer told me about the Teachers Corps.

Mr. President, the Teachers Corps is another part of the national urban program aimed at compensating for the deprivation of the slums and providing an equal chance for a new generation of young people to become real participants in the society.

I do not believe the Senate wants to let those young people down. I urge adoption of the Morse amendment.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator very much. I believe the evidence which he has placed in the RECORD relating this problem to the situation in Minneapolis and the Minnesota schools is very persuasive and it should be given great heed by Senators.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD testimony given before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Educational Funding, a part of which not only deals with the Teachers Corps but also other aspects of the educational funding programs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 6.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD GRAHAM, DIRECTOR, TEACHERS CORPS, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I am honored to appear before you to tell how the Teacher Corps has fared in its first year.

The Teacher Corps was created to help poor children in the core of the large cities, in small towns whose industrial base has been shot out from under them or never existed, on Indian reservations where pride and prejudice have kept youngsters hungry and apart and ignorant, in immigrant and migrant villages where the shifting of supply and demand dictates the course of life.

But how do you teach a sullen, hungry child who doesn't care to learn? and how do you begin to break through to him in schools which many teaching interns back from Peace Corps duty abroad have told me are far worse than anything they saw in foreign countries?

It's a tough job to break through the guard of youngsters who have lived in slums all their lives, to get them not only to learn but to want to learn. "The real thing," says one of our veteran team leaders, "is when a kid comes up to you at the beginning of the year and says: 'You're not going to teach me anything because I don't want to learn, and when, at the end of the year, he has learned.'"

To accomplish this takes special skills and special training. Such special training—training for teachers in poverty neighborhoods—is a job few individual schools or universities can do alone, for none of us knows a great deal about how this should be done. But we—our universities and schools—are learning.

The job of the Teacher Corps is to help make this learning possible—and to help universities and schools extend the skills we

floor and talk until we are blue in the face, and we cannot convince more than perhaps a small percent of Congress that this is not a giveaway program. It is not a giveaway program.

The same thing is true with respect to foreign aid.

I have urged some Senators time and time again that the foreign aid program is a necessary program. The senior Senator from Oregon is one man whom I cannot convince with respect to the foreign aid. However, the fact remains that I have had the hard task of being the manager of the foreign aid program, the Teacher Corps program, and the rent supplement program.

I can tell the Senate that they have been the hardest nuts to crack in the Senate.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Rhode Island. He does not know how many pages will go into the RECORD without being read by me because in his very condensed statement he has made my argument.

Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I could also put many pages into the RECORD from the hearings. However, I will not do so because I feel that the program has great potential and it has already done a lot of good.

That is the reason why I will support the amendment. However, we should not assume that it is perfect, because it is not. It is a long way from that.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I am not as familiar as I should be with this program, but we have wrestled with it in the Appropriations Committee two or three times. One of the things that some people were worried about—not necessarily a criticism—was the number of so-called supervisors. Does the Senator from Oregon know what percentage of the number would be supervisors? The clerk thinks it would be about 20 percent.

Mr. MORSE. I do not believe it is that high. We must remember that the supervisors are also experienced teachers.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That was going to be my second question.

Mr. MORSE. A number of the student aides are assigned to an experienced teacher who carries the title of team leader.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is the second question I was going to ask. A supervisor is not literally only a supervisor. A supervisor is a teacher who supervises perhaps eight or 10 of the student aides and sort of steers the program.

Mr. MORSE. As the Senator from Rhode Island has pointed out, the supervisors in a school system know where the misfit little boys and girls are. The supervisors assign the little misfit boys and girls to one of the trainees for individual work. It does not mean that the children are taken out of the classroom. Part of the time they are out of the classroom.

I listened to a discussion of this program in the Philadelphia area, where they are trying to deal with the behavior problem youngsters. As a result of this program, what did they find in many

instances? The children came to the school in the morning without a morsel of food, and of course they misbehaved. It was found that by this individual work and by bringing in some bran flakes or corn flakes and some milk, to give the children something to eat, in the matter of a few days their behavior pattern was completely revolutionized.

More is done than simply teaching the children reading, arithmetic, and spelling. They deal with the behavior problems of the children. The corpsmen go to the homes of the children. They work with the parents and with the ministers. They work with the leaders in the communities, to see what they can do about the families that have the children with behavior problems.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I wanted to clear up that one point. The supervisors also are teachers?

Mr. MORSE. They are experienced teachers.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am almost in the same position as the Senator from Rhode Island. I am the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Subcommittee and the ranking minority member of the Education Subcommittee, as well as of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I am absolutely convinced of the validity and soundness of this program. I believe it is an indispensable tool in dealing with the conditions which have brought on riots and violence and which are continuing them to this moment. It is an answer to the idealistic striving of American youth, shown in the Peace Corps and in VISTA. My own daughter is in VISTA, and I know a little about that program.

I should like to present another matter to the Senate. Let the Senate know how serious this matter is. This is the only place where what we are doing can be done. There was no appropriation in the House, because there had been no authorization bill.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. What we do here is it, subject to bargaining in conference. So if we do not increase the amount here, that is the end of it.

The second point: I have been animated by the fact that I did not want to see the Teachers Corps become the Senate's rat control bill. I believe the other body has suffered very seriously—and its conscience must be its guide—in having turned down that bill when it did. I do not wish to see the Senate in a similar position.

In the subcommittee, with the tremendous support of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] in the principal committee, we did our utmost for this program. I want the Senate to know that.

You cannot fight without troops, and the sentiment very sincerely held by the distinguished members of our subcommittee and committee did not give us the votes. We did extraordinarily well to have brought the measure to the floor. I paid my tribute to the heroism of Senator PASTORE, and I do it again, with the price

tag that is on the bill now—\$18,100,000.

The point I should like to leave with the Senate is this: Only the Senate can do this. We presented the matter before the subcommittee. Senator HILL was very sympathetic to us. We knew, by that instinct which makes us what we are, that the votes were not there. Yet, there is the gravest danger that this will be the Senate's rat control bill. So I can do nothing, in the deepest conscience—although I owe the greatest loyalty to the chairman and the committee, and I am a part of its machinery—but support the amendment. However, the Senate should know that this is the only chance; and at a time such as this, I hope that Senators will understand the meaning of this affirmatively as well as the danger of it negatively.

I hope the amendment is adopted.

Mr. MORSE. I appreciate the comments of the Senator from New York.

I am not going to yield for awhile. The Senator from Alabama has been very patient with me. He knows, however, that I am under an obligation and gladly fulfilled the obligation of yielding to other Senators for a couple of hours. They have made my case.

I say to the Senator from Alabama that I am going to insert in the RECORD the major speech that I had prepared for this bill. Much of it, may I say to the Senator from Alabama, highly commends him for the great job he has done as chairman of the committee, in increasing the amounts for one educational program after another above the recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget. In this speech, I pay to him and to his committee, in my interest as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, my very deep thanks. I told the Senator earlier that I consider that I have a trust and a duty, as the chairman of the substantive legislative committee, to point out my belief that the amount for the Teachers Corps should be increased.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my full speech be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks including excerpts from the "notes and working papers" mentioned therein.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. MORSE. I am disappointed that we do not have in this bill the full authorized amount of \$33 million for the Teachers Corps. As I said earlier, two of the exhibits that I brought to the floor of the Senate this afternoon are part of the legislative record, the record of the legislative committee, which, as the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] pointed out, was based on hearings.

We took the evidence on the policy. We took the evidence on the proof of need of the program. We took the evidence on how well it has been working. Listen to the testimony of these educators as to what these dedicated young people are doing as they join in this crusade. Somebody used the word "crusade"—the Senator from Oregon never hesitates to lead a crusade, when it is a crusade that is in the public interest. The Senator from Rhode Island made that statement. I am proud to be

minority report suggests that under S. 1004, the priorities afforded existing users of mainstream water in Arizona will jeopardize repayment of the Federal investment in the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project and would prefer the water requirements of the Central Arizona Project ahead of mainstream water users in Nevada.

The other references in the minority report upon which I should like your Department's views relate to the development fund concept and to Hoover dam power rates. At pages 119 and 120 the minority report states that the cost of pumping power from Hoover dam to serve the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project will be raised by reason of the assistance to the Central Arizona Project from basin fund revenues. At that point the minority report also implies that although it is similar to the Central Arizona Project, the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project is being denied basin fund assistance.

Inasmuch as S. 1004 is now being debated on the Senate floor, I would appreciate an early response.

Cordially,

ALAN BIBLE.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D.C.

HON. ALAN BIBLE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BIBLE: I am glad to respond to your letter of August 4 in which you ask our views regarding certain comments relating to Nevada in the minority report on S. 1004.

Your first inquiry concerns a statement which appears at page 95 in the minority report of Senate Report No. 408 regarding the effect upon Nevada's Colorado River water entitlement of the intrastate priority of existing Arizona uses against diversions for the Central Arizona Project.

Section 2(e) of S. 1004 requires that contracts for the Central Arizona Project shall subordinate to the satisfaction of existing contracts between the Secretary of the Interior and users in Arizona for the delivery of mainstream Colorado River water. The priority thus afforded is strictly intrastate; that is to say, it relates only to the relative priorities as against each other of users of Arizona's Colorado River water entitlement. It has no effect upon the entitlements of either California or Nevada. The only effect which S. 1004 has on existing interstate water apportionments is to afford California a priority of 4,400,000 acre-feet per annum of consumptive use over diversions of mainstream water for the Central Arizona Project. This in no way affects priorities in the event of shortage of mainstream water as between Nevada and California or Nevada and Arizona.

The other points made in the minority report, to which your letter refers, both relate to the possible effect upon the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project of basin fund assistance for the Central Arizona Project.

Concerning the fact that the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project will not receive basin fund assistance, whereas under S. 1004 such assistance may be afforded the Central Arizona Project, it should be pointed out that the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project is entirely a municipal and industrial water supply development. No water will be made available for irrigation. Under longstanding reclamation policy, only irrigation is eligible for basin fund or other financial assistance from power revenues. This is the reason why, in authorizing the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project, no assistance from a basin fund was considered or provided. The only basin fund assistance that would be made available to the Central Arizona Project under S. 1004 as reported is for the purpose of returning that portion of the basin fund allocated to irrigation which are beyond the ability of the water users to repay. The municipal and industrial water supply fea-

tures of the Central Arizona Project will stand on their own financial feet. Not only will they not receive financial assistance from the basin fund but, on the other hand, they will make a substantial contribution to the basin fund which will be available to assist in the return of the cost of whatever future projects Congress may determine should be assisted from the basin fund to be established under S. 1004.

The other statement made by the minority report with respect to the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project is that an increase in Hoover power rates will affect the cost of pumping power to that project. The fact of the matter is that substantially all of the pumping power for the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project will be provided by purchases from the Nevada Power Company whose source of supply for this purpose will be entirely thermal. The pumping power costs for the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project will, therefore, be unrelated to Hoover Dam power rates. The reason that Hoover Dam power will not be used for pumping water for the Southern Nevada Water Supply Project is that the entire Hoover power supply is committed under contracts entered into at the time Hoover Dam was constructed.

A further comment regarding the relationship of possible basin fund assistance for the Central Arizona Project to Hoover power rates is in order. The limited assistance that may be provided the irrigation features of the Central Arizona Project from the basin fund established under S. 1004 as reported will not affect Hoover power rates. All Lower Colorado River legislation that has been before Congress in recent years, including the legislation proposed by the authors of the minority report, contemplates increases in Hoover power rates following the expiration of the current Hoover power contracts in 1987. The contemplated increase envisioned in the studies underlying all these bills would occur whether or not the Central Arizona Project is assisted from the basin fund.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH HOLM,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

LIABILITY FOR PROSECUTION OF PERSONS WHO SEEK TO INCITE VIOLENCE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter dated August 7, 1967, addressed to the Attorney General of the United States. The letter is self-explanatory.

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

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., August 7, 1967.

HON. RAMSEY CLARK,
Attorney General of the United States, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: Many Americans are becoming increasingly concerned about the violent and intemperate speeches which have been made by one Hubert Gerold ("Rap") Brown and one Stokely Carmichael, and a few other individuals, calling on citizens to arm themselves to perform acts of violence, to burn property, both private and public, and to cause riots and civil disturbances in order to harm or destroy lives and property and I am being asked repeatedly by constituents what ac-

tion the Federal Government is taking to enforce laws against such conduct.

I am sure these inflammatory speeches have come to your attention since they have been given considerable coverage as news both in newspapers and on radio and television.

It occurred to me that the aforementioned individuals must be liable for prosecution under one or more of existing Federal laws. Accordingly, I asked the Legislative Counsel to compile a list of the various sections of the U.S. Code under which prosecution may be considered.

These sections of Title 18, U.S.C. are as follows:

Section 2, prescribing the criminal responsibility as a principal of an individual who counsels, commands, induces, or procures the commission of a criminal offense against the United States.

Section 241, relating to conspiracy to impair the rights of citizens.

Section 371, relating to conspiracy to commit offenses against the United States.

Section 2383, relating to rebellion or insurrection.

Section 2384, relating to seditious conspiracy.

Section 2385, relating to advocacy of the overthrow of the Government.

Section 2386, requiring the registration of certain organizations engaged in civilian military activity.

Section 2387, relating to certain activities affecting the armed forces.

Section 1951, relating to interference with commerce.

Sections 1701 and 1705, relating to obstruction of the United States mails.

Sections 1073 and 1074, relating to flight to avoid prosecution.

I would appreciate having your comments as to whether or not legal action can be taken against the aforementioned individuals under one of more of these sections.

On the other hand, if present laws are considered inadequate, what recommendations does the Administration have to cope with this lawless element?

Yours sincerely,

JOHN J. WILLIAMS.

TESTIMONIAL TO ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Mrs. Karen Wallace Ridgeway, a Chippewa Indian from the Fond-du-lac Reservation in Minnesota. Mrs. Ridgeway's letter is a poignant testimonial to the program of adult vocational training offered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

She is only one among 100,000 Indian men and women who, during the past 8 or 9 years, have received substantial personal help in becoming established as successful, wage-earning, tax-paying, fully participating citizens of off-reservation communities. The program which is helping them provide all costs of occupational training and all costs of living for trainees and families during their skill-learning period, which may range from several weeks to a year or two.

Add to the number trained and placed in jobs the number of their dependents who also enjoy the benefits, and the total number of Indians reached through the BIA's adult vocational training program exceeds 200,000—about one-third of the total Indian population of the United States.

The program started in 1958 with a congressional authorization of \$3 mil-

lion annually. The Indian demand has been so great for the program's services that the authorization has been increased several times since. Currently there is a proposal before Congress to authorize \$25 million each year for Indian adult vocational training and employment assistance. These are bargain rates compared with expenditures for other self-help programs of the Federal Government which have been enacted in the past few years.

Mrs. Ridgeway's letter tells more eloquently than I can just how much this program has meant to her—and, reading between the lines, it is easy to see how much it contributes to the amelioration of Indian poverty in general.

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

RIDGEWAY ROOFING CO.,
Hastings, Minn., April 1, 1967.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Bemidji, Minn.

DEAR SIRS: This letter is an expression of gratitude from a successful mother, wife and business woman. I can say successful with complete confidence in the word and full knowledge of what it means.

My fullest gratitude and thanks are extended to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Up until I was seventeen I lived at home with my mother and seven other children. As far back as I can recall we had always been on welfare.

Upon reaching 18 I felt I had to make a decision with my life. I applied to the BIA for an educational loan. Since I was a high school dropout I didn't have much of a choice of vocations. Beauty school seemed to be the answer. It was a fairly short course that required nothing in mathematics, history, etc.

My request was granted. I entered Robinson's Beauty School in Minneapolis. I did not have an easy time as your records will verify. As I look back now I realize this stemmed from my environment and family situation.

We children grew up without a father in the house. My mother did her best to bring us up properly but that was not enough since the father is always the controlling factor in a family.

Not having the discipline or guidance in my formative years I found it quite difficult to adjust to rules and regulations.

There were at least three times I was resigned to the fact I wasn't going to finish. I'm sure the school instructors, my house-mother, and perhaps even the BIA felt likewise. At the time Miss Kohl was with the Minneapolis Bureau. She and I had many long talks during these trying times.

I would like to commend this fine person for her straight talking and confidence in me. Her encouragement and perseverance came through.

I finished school with good recommendations.

Being surprisingly adept at this particular skill I had several job offers. I accepted and worked for 2 years in a salon in the suburb of Edina. This area being the elite of Minneapolis.

Living and social standards were quite different to me. This was to be my turning ground for usage of correct English language, tact, and the art of dealing with people and the public. I left there not as I came, but, a much better person for it.

I then secured a job in Hastings, Minnesota. A year later I opened my own shop. It was quite small, but, a big step for me. In December of 1966 I purchased my second salon which is quite large. I now have nine beauticians and myself employed.

In addition to this I am employed by Clair Company, Inc. as a platform artist. I have traveled to many states for this com-

pany, teaching my profession. The job is interesting, rewarding and ridiculously high paying. My fee being \$50 a day plus transportation and expenses. This being base pay is only the beginning.

Today I addressed a crowd of 300 hair dressers in Minneapolis. Tonight I feel I have reached a plateau in my life. From here I can see the top because it's not that far away. I am pausing here to look back and see the long way I have come.

In my classes I tell my audience, "I'm going to show you many things today. If you absorb just one thing it will be worthwhile and rewarding to me."

I realize there are several Indian children that do take advantage of this program. Unfortunately most of them do not finish. I'm sure those that have share my same thanks and gratitude even if it's only one.

My family is no longer on Welfare. My mother works as an aid for the poverty program in Cloquet. My sister has completed beauty school and is working.

I feel my entire family has benefited from this fine program.

I only wish I knew a way to express my thoughts, experiences and viewpoints to future students of this program and the entire staff of BIA and taxpayers of the country.

I have many people to thank for my present status, but, I want to extend special thanks to your office and our government.

I hope this letter will inspire you and your staff to continue your efforts. I cannot repay this opportunity you have given me, but I do hope this letter serves as a small reward.

Sincerely yours,

KAREN WALLACE RIDGEWAY.

SOMBER PICTURE OF U.S. EFFORTS IN VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, an important appraisal of U.S. efforts in Vietnam was published on August 7 by the New York Times. In an exhaustive account of military, political, and economic developments, correspondent R. W. Apple, Jr., paints a somber picture which should give pause to those who see greater military effort as the solution to our dilemma. He writes:

In the opinion of most disinterested observers, victory is not close at hand. It may be beyond reach. It is clearly unlikely in the next year, or even the next two years. And American officers talk somberly about fighting here for decades.

In my judgment, the article dramatically illustrates the need for new American initiatives to bring about a negotiated settlement of the war. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

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

VIETNAM: THE SIGNS OF STALEMATE

(By R. W. Apple Jr.)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, August 6.—A little more than two years ago, on July 28, 1965, President Johnson committed the United States more decisively than ever to the war in Vietnam by announcing the deployment of 50,000 more American troops to this stricken corner of Southeast Asia.

Last Thursday, in response to the urgent entreaties of his commanders, Mr. Johnson disclosed that he would send 45,000 to 50,000 more men, for a total of 525,000, by next June 30.

Between these two bench marks of the most frustrating conflict in American history the fighting has careened along, week by bloody week, through wet seasons and dry,

through two Christmas cease-fires, through peace feelers and escalations.

By this weekend, 12,269 Americans had been listed as killed and 74,818 as injured, millions of artillery shells and billions of rifle bullets had been fired, and 833 planes had fallen to enemy gunners.

The war costs the United States more than \$2-billion each month.

And yet, in the opinion of most disinterested observers, the war is not going well. Victory is not close at hand. It may be beyond reach. It is clearly unlikely in the next year or even the next two years, and American officers talk somberly about fighting here for decades.

The official statements from Washington and Saigon seem optimistic, as they have been for almost five years. Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the American commander in Vietnam, said recently that his men had made "tremendous progress." Secretary of State Dean Rusk said the enemy was "hurting very badly."

"Stalemate" is a fighting word in Washington. President Johnson rejects it as a description of the situation in Vietnam. But it is the word used by almost all Americans here, except the top officials, to characterize what is happening. They use the word for many reasons, including the following:

¶The Americans and their allies, having killed by their own count 200,000 enemy troops, now face the largest enemy force they have ever faced; 297,000 men, again by their own count.

¶The enemy has progressed from captured rifles and skimpy supplies to rockets, artillery, heavy mortars, a family of automatic infantry weapons and flame throwers, most of which has been brought into South Vietnam in the face of American air power.

¶12 million allied troops have been able to secure only a fraction of a country less than one and a half times the size of New York State.

¶The allies are reaching the bottom of the ready manpower pool, while the North Vietnamese have committed only one-fifth of their regular army.

¶Above all, if the North Vietnamese and Americans troops were magically whisked away, the South Vietnamese regime would almost certainly crumble within months, so little have the root problems have touched.

ENEMY'S TENACITY DEFEATS AWESOME U.S. EFFORT

It is true, as General Westmoreland has often said, that the United States has built an awesome logistical empire in Vietnam, that the enemy seldom wins a major battle, that more highways are open than before, that American bombers have severely hampered Hanoi's war effort, that the Vietcong are suffering.

But the enemy continues to fight with tenacity, imagination and courage, and no one knows when he will stop.

The goal of American policy, simply stated, is to defeat, together with the other allies, the Vietcong guerrillas and their backers, the North Vietnamese, so that South Vietnam's nationalists can transform their society into something strong and durable.

Originally, American troops were to form a series of dikes, or military shields, around critical areas, so that the South Vietnamese sheltered from North Vietnam's regulars, could regroup and build.

This is still the role of the gallant marines along the demilitarized zone, facing the North Vietnamese homeland, who have lost 10,000 men killed or wounded since Jan. 1; of the Fourth Infantry Division, along the Cambodian border, and of other divisions that mount search-and-destroy operations in enemy base areas.

AMERICANS FRUSTRATED BY HIT-AND-RUN ASSAULTS

It is galling work. Because the enemy can fade into redoubts or across borders where

ferred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, and held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from Wisconsin.

The bill (S. 720) to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as amended, in order to provide for the publishing of a U.S. Drug Compendium, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. NELSON, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 720

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 201(g)(1) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as amended (21 U.S.C. 321(g)(1)), is amended by striking out "or official National Formulary" and inserting in lieu thereof "official National Formulary, or United States Drug Label Compendium".

(b) Section 201(j) of such Act, as amended (21 U.S.C. 321(j)), is amended by inserting immediately after "official National Formulary," the following: "or United States Drug Label Compendium".

Sec. 2. Section 503(a) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as amended (21 U.S.C. 353), is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Secretary is hereby directed to promulgate regulations exempting from any labeling or packaging requirement, including any packaging insert requirement, of this Act drugs or devices which are, in accordance with the practice of the trade, to be processed, labeled, or repacked in substantial quantities at establishments other than those where they were originally processed or packed, or which have been listed in the United States Drug Label Compendium, on condition that such drugs or devices are not adulterated or misbranded, under the provisions of this Act upon removal from such processing, labeling, or repacking establishment."

Sec. 3. Section 505 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as amended (21 U.S.C. 355), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(k) (1) To aid in the administration of this Act, provide accurate information on new drugs for health agencies of the Federal, State, local, and foreign governments, and to enhance the practice of medicine generally, the Secretary shall publish a United States Drug Label Compendium. Such compendium shall list all new drugs which have been approved for marketing and shall list such drugs by their official names. Such compendium shall also include the text of the required labels for all such new drugs.

"(2) The Secretary shall publish the United States Drug Label Compendium not less frequently than once a year, with periodic updating not less frequently than four times a year.

"(3) Within three months after the enactment of this paragraph, the Secretary shall appoint an advisory committee, consisting of six persons qualified in the pharmaceutical field, at least two of whom shall be physicians duly licensed to practice under the applicable statutes of any of the States. It shall be the function of such advisory committee to advise the Secretary periodically on matters pertaining to the publication of the United States Drug Label Compendium.

"(4) The Secretary is authorized, whenever funds have been appropriated for such purpose, to establish a revolving fund which shall be used for the purpose of publishing the United States Drug Label Compendium each year (and the periodic updating of).

"(5) The Secretary shall require that any person making application with respect to any new drug pursuant to the provisions of

subsections (a) and (b) of section 505 of this Act shall pay to the Secretary a fee of not less than \$75 for each new drug application and a fee of not less than \$25 for each new drug supplemental filed with the Secretary. Such fees, when collected, shall be credited to the revolving fund established pursuant to paragraph (4) of this subsection."

DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER AID PROGRAMS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill for myself and Senators PELL, MUSKIE, MONDALE, and CLARK, to encourage the development of teacher aid programs in the schools of the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks, a sampling of letters that I have received on this proposal for teachers—mainly from the State of Wisconsin and some from elsewhere—be printed in the RECORD immediately after the conclusion of my remarks. I ask that the bill be printed after the printing of these letters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I have sent to the desk, for appropriate referral to committee, a bill for the creation and implementation of a nationwide teacher aid program. This proposed legislation would be a major step toward relieving the burdens of the elementary and secondary classroom teacher through the utilization of teacher aid, personnel qualified to perform clerical and monitoring tasks now required of teachers and, under the supervision of certified teachers, to assist children in need of additional instruction and attention.

Before describing the particular provisions of this bill, it would be of value to discuss the problems of teacher recruitment faced today in the United States, and to understand the problems we hope to solve.

Three out of each 10 Americans are enrolled in school, at a current annual cost of \$50 billion. They are taught by over 2,800,000 teachers in elementary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities throughout the United States.

And the number of students is growing. In the fall of 1966, 43 million students were enrolled in the Nation's elementary and secondary public schools. Since last year enrollment has risen 2.6 percent. Yet an estimated 1 million students will become dropouts during this academic year.

Eleven million American adults have not completed the sixth grade and 3 million are totally illiterate.

Despite the mammoth efforts made by Government and educators, students returning to school this fall were met with a national teacher shortage of 72,500.

It is estimated that in the school year beginning in September 1967 the Nation's

elementary and secondary schools will require 232,400 new teachers, while only 63,100 new teachers are expected to graduate from college in 1966, leaving a shortage of 169,300. By 1975 we will need an additional 390,000 teachers in elementary and secondary schools.

A serious teacher shortage is affecting a number of States throughout the Nation. New York City which employs one-third of the State's teachers was short 12,000 teachers this fall. Chicago had 600 vacancies in slum areas, the sections where the need for decent education is most desperate. Ohio experienced a 12.2-percent increase in resignations among its teachers. Across the Nation, with few exceptions, the situation is the same.

The reasons for this shortage are many.

A career in industry proves more attractive to many young people than life in a schoolroom. This factor is directly related to the inadequate salaries we pay our teachers. A high school teacher of physics or chemistry stands to earn a starting salary of \$2,000 a year less than his colleague in private industry, both having the same education and the same background.

The national average salary for a teacher stands today at \$6,506. Top salaries in the public schools range from \$4,220 in some Kentucky counties to \$11,950 in New York City. Statewide averages vary from \$8,600 in California to \$4,300 in Mississippi.

Community colleges and junior colleges attract many high school teachers. The pay is higher and the prestige greater for a college teacher. Junior colleges employ 65,000 teachers today as compared to 26,000 only 5 years ago.

It is clear that a major effort must be made to retain teachers now employed and to attract imaginative and dedicated new young people to the teaching profession.

Teachers are alone among professional people in the volume of nonprofessional work they are required to do. Patrolling school grounds before and after the schoolday and during recess, supervising cafeterias during lunch hour, standing watch in corridors between periods, distributing and collecting materials as well as other clerical jobs, are but few of the cumbersome tasks required of today's teacher. The teacher's job has become loaded down with nonteaching duties.

Teachers must continue to follow new developments in their fields. A letter to me signed by a group of some 20 schoolteachers from Madison, Wis., listed the duties they must perform, in addition to teaching:

1. Supervising the lunchroom.
2. Itemizing monthly lunch bills for each pupil.
3. Supervising the playground during the noon hour.
4. Collecting lunch money.
5. Collecting savings stamp money.
6. Collecting photograph money.
7. Selling tickets for school events.
8. Collecting P.T.A. dues.
9. Pre-school supervision (due to bus schedule).
10. Post-school supervision (due to bus schedule).

11. Daily, quarterly, yearly attendance reports.
12. Yearbook orders and collecting money.
13. Checking standardized tests.
14. Playground recess duty.
15. Typing dittos.
16. Preparing duplicated materials.

The added responsibility of performing tedious nonteaching tasks has a greater effect than merely being time consuming.

The teacher's image as a professional person is tarnished and his morale is adversely affected. The years of study and intensive training teachers undergo result not only in inadequate salaries but in relegation to menial tasks that his fellow professionals, lawyers, technicians, and scientists do not have to do.

An idealistic, highly motivated young person can hardly be faulted for his reluctance to embark on a teaching career. In recent years, 1 million persons have left the teaching profession.

The children are also victimized by this system. How can a teacher, so immersed in trivia, give proper attention and counsel to his students?

President Kennedy said:

Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education. The human mind is our fundamental resource.

The educational crisis facing our Nation must be met with new and imaginative ideas. The problems created by modern society and technology are new and so must the solutions be new. Old patterns of thought and policy must be replaced when circumstances prove them outmoded.

The National Teacher Corps, sponsored by Senator EDWARD KENNEDY and myself, was a device to afford the educationally disadvantaged slum child an opportunity to receive the increased instruction and attention he so desperately needs. The Teacher Corps also attracts dedicated idealistic young people into the teaching profession.

The utilization of teacher aides can be a valuable tool in reshaping the professional image of the teacher.

There are large numbers of talented, conscientious housewives and other personnel able to spend part or all of the school day at work.

These people, some having college credits and others even possessing degrees will play a valuable role in their local educational system.

Three categories of aides may be drawn:

School aides—who would assist with general noninstructional school activities.

Clerical aides—who would assist with the mechanical tasks in libraries, school offices and other locations.

Classroom aides—persons qualified to work under the supervision of a teacher in the classroom in supervisory pupil activities.

The list of specific tasks, now performed by teachers, that could be done by aides is convincing evidence of the trivia now burdening our teachers. A sampling of these jobs include:

First. Patrolling school corridors and grounds between periods and during recess.

Second. Monitoring lunch rooms.

Third. Routine room duties, house-keeping.

Fourth. Record attendance.

Fifth. Keep milk records.

Sixth. Correct objective tests and drill exercises.

Seventh. Distribute supplies.

Eighth. File records.

Ninth. Type study help.

Tenth. Assist with reports—cumulative records.

Eleventh. Errands and phone calls.

Twelfth. Assist with clothes, boots, and so forth.

Thirteenth. Read stories.

Fourteenth. Assist in supervision of activities.

Fifteenth. Qualified personnel would help children in need of individual attention and instruction, under the supervision of qualified teachers.

Their first partial list of jobs need not be limited to these tasks alone. Local school administrators, principals, and teachers can best determine the capacity in which teacher aids can serve.

Teacher aid projects are now underway in many school districts throughout the country. Under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act approximately 6,000 school districts have employed aids in their disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In Wisconsin 340 aids are now employed under title I and other programs. Almost 55,000 are employed in the United States.

Eleven pilot projects in this field were conducted by Bank Street College of Education in New York City last summer. They were financed under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Four additional projects are currently underway.

Auxiliary personnel trainees included low-income whites in Appalachia and Negroes and Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, Mexican-Americans in California and residents of the slums of Detroit. The detailed, in-depth report of these trainees' experiences has not yet been published but it was immediately apparent that many benefits would be realized by both educator and trainee alike.

Other projects implementing teacher aids have been developed by local school districts throughout the country.

It would be most sensible to coordinate the efforts being made under such programs as ESEA, MDTA, and OEO into one teacher aid program throughout the Nation, and to expand it.

The functions of the aids may vary substantially among the different communities depending on the need.

One of the greatest difficulties middle-class teachers face when working in slum area schools is in the communication barrier standing between themselves and the students.

Residents of their neighborhood, trained to assist the teacher, can help the child become familiar with the ways of the school as well as help the teacher to better understand the student.

Parents of these slum school students can also develop a better relationship with school authorities through the aids.

This program will not be limited to only slum schools. All students will en-

joy greater individual attention by teachers freed from clerical and monitory duties.

The technical workings of the bill machinery for the program's operation will insure that local control over the projects will be complete.

Applications for the teacher aid program will be filed jointly by the local educational agency and a local college or university who will conduct the pre-service training course for the aids.

Teachers and principals of participating schools will attend these sessions and adequate inservice followup by the university will enable any difficulties in the program's operation to be discovered and resolved.

Events in the world of the 1960's move swiftly; how life will appear in the future we can but imagine.

Whether the United States shall continue to lead in the world of the 1970's and 1980's is dependent upon her schools.

A strong and vital system of public education will assure that America shall prosper. A weakened, inefficient, American school system can bring comfort only to those who wish our Nation ill.

In maintaining an effective system of education we fulfill our responsibility to our children and to generations yet unborn.

I believe government and educators shall continue their outstanding cooperation in this endeavor.

None of the newly created and newly proposed education legislation can singly revamp the structure of education in the United States.

Together their impact will be felt the revitalization of our educational system realized.

Mr. President, since I announced my intention to introduce the teacher aid program legislation, I have received many letters from teachers and school officials expressing their enthusiasm for this idea.

These letters, which I have asked to have printed in the RECORD, have come from my own State of Wisconsin and from several other States as well.

Teachers describe in the letters the burdens they now bear because of the mass nonteaching tasks they must perform. The teacher aid program would relieve them of these jobs and enable them to do what they were trained to do—to teach.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the February issue of Grade Teacher entitled "Teacher Aids, How They Can Be of Real Help," be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. The article, written by Wayne Herman of the University of Maryland, College of Education, describes over 75 different tasks that could be performed by teacher aids.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

EXHIBIT 1

MADISON, WIS.,
December 12, 1966.

Senator GAYLORD NELSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: We have been discussing your proposal for teacher aides. Each year the list of our non-teaching re-

sponsibilities grows and so far there has been only one choice—quit teaching. We feel that our time should be spent planning, teaching, and evaluating.

Too much of our time is consumed by:

1. supervising the lunchroom
2. itemizing monthly lunch bills for each pupil
3. supervising the playground during the noon hour
4. collecting lunch money
5. collecting savings stamp money
6. collecting photograph money
7. selling tickets for school events
8. collecting P.T.A. dues
9. pre-school supervision (due to bus schedule)
10. post-school supervision (due to bus schedule)
11. daily, quarterly, yearly attendance reports
12. yearbook orders and collecting money
13. checking standardized tests
14. playground recess duty
15. typing dittos
16. preparing duplicated materials
17. collecting physical examination forms
18. indoor noon hour supervision every inclement day
19. cleaning the teachers' room
20. applying first aid
21. correspondence requesting materials
22. stapling
23. dusting the classroom

We are performing the job of accountants, clerical workers, nurses, policemen, janitors, and last—teachers.

No more time for correspondence—supervision begins. We are hoping for some help soon.

Sincerely yours,

Marcia Grant, Grace Feller, Mrs. Ruth Millin, Miss Else Solberg, Mrs. V. Hazelberg, Mrs. Lucille Setz, Mr. John R. Keyes, Miss Loretta Healy, Mrs. Frances Brown, Miss Helen Bon Durant, Mrs. Jean Kleckner, Miss Mary Linhardt, Miss Ruth Vegerus, Mrs. Sherry Mae Innes, Miss Annetta McLeod, Mrs. Sharon Matzinger, Mrs. Elsie Thompson, Mrs. Ione Uphoff, Mrs. Jean Hlavac.

MAYWOOD SCHOOL,

Monona, Wis., December 16, 1966.

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: Your proposal to initiate a teacher's aid program is a positive step forward in the educational field. For many years other professions have had an aid program so they could be more beneficial to society.

You have our support for this proposal. With aids, teachers can use their creative and specialized skills to a much better advantage.

Sincerely,

Sam Bahler, Cathie Swenson, Sharon Klein, Carolyn Manson, Kathleen Dorn, Lynda Bottle, Ethel West, Karen Klesling, Jeannette Nelson, Elizabeth Williams, Gloria Lundquist, Kathleen Nelson, Susan Brockel, Richard Miggaen, Wilma Reuter, Joyce Saueresig, Joyce Lilpi, Leone Helstad, Judy Van Ryzin, Jennie Seiberlich, Mary Ann Steckling, Jeannette Liska, Kathleen Haring.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS,

Minneapolis, Minn., January 13, 1967.

HON. GAYLORD NELSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: I recently heard of interest in a national teacher aide program. I want to assure you of our support for a program of this kind. Our experiences with teacher aides in the past 1½ years leads us to believe that the use of lay persons as

teacher aides in the schools can provide a valuable service to the children of our nation's schools and to the teacher aides themselves.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of the research of our 1965-66 teacher aide program. I would like to offer my assistance in any way to promote this program.

Sincerely,

FREDRICK V. HAYEN,
Consultant.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,

Norwalk, Conn., January 18, 1967.

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: It was with great interest that I read in the periodical *Nation's Schools* that you have plans to introduce a National Teacher Aide Program. This article also mentions that there would be two facets to your proposed legislation. One would concern itself with training college graduates to work with pupils in the classroom. The second would be concerned with training persons who have less education, to take over many non-teaching chores such as monitoring study halls and performing paper work.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on trying to bring to the nation's public schools the need that we in Norwalk have recognized for many years. We have worked with Teacher Aides, almost all of them without college training, in a diversified and large area. The main purpose that I am writing this letter, is to hope that the legislation would be broad enough so that the Teacher Aides who do not have college education are not confined or restricted to a given or set number of tasks. We have found that they can perform many tasks that at first we didn't realize could be done by a nonprofessional.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of our outline in which we train aides, to show you some of the different areas covered by our work. If in any way we at the Norwalk Schools can be of any help in supplying information please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

MILTON WARTENBERG,
Director of Curriculum.

MADISON, WIS.,
December 8, 1966.

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: I was elated to read in the *Capital Times* that you are sponsoring a bill for teacher aides!

It is true that many teachers leave the profession because of the non-teaching tasks. Each year the list of such tasks becomes longer.

I will be eagerly watching to see the outcome of your bill. For the sake of better teaching I do hope you succeed.

Sincerely,

MISS ELSE SOLBERG.

MONONA GROVE,

EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,

Madison, Wis., December 9, 1966.

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: What can we do to help get the support necessary to see your proposal for a national teacher aide program adopted by the next Congress? Is there any hope in the face of the current mood for curtailing everything in the budget not directed toward Vietnam? Many, many teachers have felt all along that there is more need for personnel than for all the new gadgets that we don't have time to use properly.

The morning the news about your proposal

appeared in the *State Journal* one of the elementary teachers in our Monona Grove system called at 7:45 to ask whether I had seen the item and if we couldn't do something to show our strong support. If there is anything you think the Monona Grove Education Association can do, please let us know.

Yours very truly,

JANE E. BJORKLUND,
Chairman, Legislative Committee.

MADISON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,

Madison, Wis., December 15, 1966.

HON. GAYLORD NELSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: It was gratifying to me to learn of your proposal to introduce legislation which would create "a national teacher aide program" designed to relieve the classroom teachers of many non-teaching duties. Such a program, I am certain would be welcomed by most school administrators. Legislation of this type is highly desirable and essential especially if school systems are to be able to provide a quality educational program in the face of a limited supply of classroom teachers. I am sure I need not remind you that most school systems throughout the nation had a difficult time filling their teaching vacancies for the 1966-67 school year. A program such as you propose would be a valuable assist to school administrators in obtaining maximum use of the professional talents of the available classroom teachers.

Equally critical, however, is your concern for relief of the property owner from the overburdened property tax. I share this concern with you as do most other school administrators.

Fiscal dependence of a school district upon the property tax as a major source of its revenue becomes more critical with each passing year. The mere fact that the impact upon the property owners increases each year poses a potential threat to the quality of the educational program in many school districts. Increasing demands of educational programs, cost of supplies, salary increases, and rising building costs portend even greater financial needs for schools in the future. The limitations of the present school revenue sources makes it increasingly difficult each year to provide the youth of today with the kind and quality of education which will be required to live in a world which becomes smaller, more complex and more interdependent each day.

Local economy measures to relieve the overburdened property owner appear limited especially since the number of public agencies competing for available public funds appears to be increasing each year. Relief of the property owner at the expense of the school system at the local level would only result in an unhealthy crowding of classrooms, increased pupil-teacher ratios, and the lowering of our present standards of instruction. A continuing increase of the financial burden placed upon the property owners does not appear feasible nor completely fair since property ownership is not necessarily a measure of taxpaying ability. This is especially true of property owners who must live on low incomes or well earned and deserved fixed pensions.

I am aware that the positive and negative aspects of this question are so intermixed and that local conditions vary so much throughout the nation that no simple formula can be prescribed. However, it appears to me that the most profitable and workable solution can only be attained through joint action of federal, state and local governmental agencies. I support wholeheartedly your proposal to seek legislation which would strengthen and expand the financial resources of the state and the communities

and would bring some measure of relief for the property owner.

Sincerely,

ROBERT D. GILBERTS,
Superintendent.

LADYSMITH HIGH SCHOOL,
Ladysmith, Wis., December 29, 1966.
Senator GAYLORD NELSON,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: As a teacher with ten years of experience I was more than gratified to read about your speech before the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools in which you proposed a national teacher's aid program.

If only parents and the general public would realize how much they are paying highly trained people to perform routine clerical tasks while they should be teaching, they would be appalled. The average businessman could not survive using his highly skilled people in this way. Yet our schools continue to do so year after year.

I have invested five years of my life and a great deal of money preparing for my chosen profession. Now I would appreciate very much being given the opportunity "to teach" instead of being relegated to the status of a highly paid clerk.

Your proposal would be a great step in this direction.

Sincerely,

DONALD R. RUBOW,
Teacher.

EXHIBIT 2

[From Grade Teacher, February 1967]
TEACHER AIDES: HOW THEY CAN BE OF
REAL HELP

(Using a helper effectively is not as simple as it may seem. Here are suggestions for tasks that can ease the teacher's load without conflicting with basic instruction.)

(By Wayne L. Herman, College of Education, University of Maryland)

One of the problems that increasing numbers of teachers and principals have to face when funds become available for teacher aides is: "Now that we have the aides, what are we going to do with them?"

This isn't as humorous as it may seem. The fact is, there is very little advice available on just how teacher aides can be worked into an efficient and productive classroom routine. I know because I have been asked the question many times and have attempted to find sources of helpful information without much luck. As a result, I have done considerable research on my own and have come up with a list of possible duties that may be useful to those blessed with an aide for the first time.

Because every school system has its own policy regarding the functions of aides, and because personnel qualifications vary widely, the following list is intended only to offer suggestions. No one school will employ aides in all of the capacities mentioned, but all of them are functions that have been tried and found successful at one school or another around the country. For convenience in separating basic duties, the list is divided into two parts—one for routine jobs requiring no instructional skills, and one for more advanced duties involving some instructional responsibility.

NON-INSTRUCTIONAL FUNCTIONS

1. Collecting lunch and milk money.
2. Collecting supplementary books and materials for instruction.
3. Collecting and displaying pictures, objects, realia, and models.
4. Collecting money for charity drives, pupil pictures, trips, etc.
5. Correcting standardized and informal tests and preparing pupil profiles and scattergrams.

6. Correcting homework and workbooks; noting and reporting weak areas.

7. Proofreading class newspaper.
8. Ordering and returning films, filmstrips, and other A-V materials.
9. Telephoning parents about routine matters.
10. Filing correspondence and other reports in children's records.
11. Distributing books and supplies to children.
12. Distributing and collecting specific materials for lessons, such as writing paper, art paper, and supplies.
13. Procuring, setting up, operating, and returning instructional equipment.
14. Requisitioning supplies.
15. Building up resource collections.
16. Sending for free and inexpensive materials.
17. Obtaining special materials for science or other projects.
18. Completing necessary records and bringing other information up to date for cumulative records.
19. Keeping attendance records.
20. Entering evaluative marks in the teacher's marking book.
21. Averaging academic marks and preparing report cards.
22. Completing school and county reports.
23. Keeping records of books children have read.
24. Supervising the playground, cafeteria, and loading and unloading of buses.
25. Supervising the classroom when the teacher has to leave it.
26. Arranging and supervising indoor games on rainy days.
27. Preparing and supervising work areas, such as mixing paints, putting drop-cloths down, arranging materials for accessibility, etc.
28. Supervising cleanup time.
29. Organizing and supervising the intramural athletic program.
30. Accounting for and inventorying non-consumable classroom stock: books, textbooks, dictionaries, reference books, athletic gear, etc.
31. Checking out books in central library and other supervisory duties.
32. Managing room libraries.
33. Supervising seatwork.
34. Typing teacher correspondence to parents.
35. Typing and duplicating mass communications.
36. Typing, duplicating, and collating instructional materials.
37. Typing and duplicating the class newspaper.
38. Typing and duplicating children's writings and other work.
39. Typing and duplicating scripts for plays and skits.
40. Making arrangements for field trips, collecting parental permission forms, etc.
41. Keeping and maintaining a folder of representative work for each pupil.
42. Telephoning and making arrangements for special classroom resource speakers.
43. Displaying pupil work.
44. Attending to housekeeping chores.
45. Helping with children's clothing.
46. Setting up and maintaining controls on seating arrangements.
47. Routine weighing, measuring, and eye testing (by chart).
48. Administering first aid and taking care of sick and hurt children, telephoning parents to pick up a sick or hurt child, taking home a child who does not have a telephone.
49. Taking an injured child to a doctor or hospital.
50. Telephoning parents of absent children.
51. Telephoning parents to verify notes requesting that children leave school early.

SEMI-INSTRUCTIONAL FUNCTIONS

1. Conferring with other teachers and the principal about specific children.
2. Interviewing children with specific problems.
3. Observing child behavior and writing reports.
4. Preparing informal tests and other evaluative instruments.
5. Preparing instructional materials: cut-outs, master copies, flannel board materials, science materials, social studies displays, concrete teaching aids for arithmetic, etc.
6. Arranging bulletin board displays for teaching purposes, such as flow charts.
7. Arranging interesting and inviting corners for learning: science or recreational reading areas, investigative areas.
8. Keeping bulletin boards current.
9. Preparing introductions to A-V materials that give children background for viewing them.
10. Developing techniques and materials to meet individual differences, such as rewriting reading materials down for less-able readers, developing study guides, taping reading assignments for less-able readers.
11. Supervising club meetings.
12. Supervising seatwork calling for some judgment.
13. Supervising committees engaged in painting murals, constructing, researching, or experimenting.
14. Teaching a part of the class about a simple understanding, skill, or appreciation.
15. Teaching a small and temporary instructional group, such as on the use of the comma or overcoming slang.
16. Tutoring individual children: the bright or the less able.
17. Reviewing, summarizing, or evaluating learnings.
18. Teaching children who missed instruction because they were out of the room for remedial reading or speech therapy; repeating assignments.
19. Helping pupils who were absent to catch up with the rest of the class in content, skills, appreciations.
20. Assisting children with their compositions and other writings: spelling, punctuation, and grammar assistance.
21. Listening to oral reading by children.
22. Instructing children on the proper use and safety of tools.
23. Settling pupil disputes and fights.
24. Teaching good manners.
25. Contributing one's talents in art, dramatics, music, crafts, etc.
26. Reading and storytelling.
27. Helping with the preparations of auditorium plays and programs.
28. Previewing films and other A-V materials.

The bill (S. 721) to encourage the development of teacher aid programs in the schools of the Nation, introduced by Mr. NELSON (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 721

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Teacher Aid Program Support Act of 1967".

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 2. There are authorized to be appropriated \$50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and \$150,000,000 each for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the two succeeding fiscal years, to enable the Commissioner of Education to make grants to local educational agencies and institutions of higher education to assist

them in carrying out projects for the development of teacher aid programs provided for in applications approved under this Act.

APPROVAL OF PROJECT APPLICATIONS

SEC. 3. (a) The Commissioner may approve an application for a project under this Act only if the application is submitted jointly by a local educational agency and an institution of higher education and if he determines that—

(1) the project is designed to provide a combined program of training and experience to prepare persons to serve as teacher aids in preschool and elementary and secondary education programs;

(2) the project is part of a comprehensive program for improved utilization of educational personnel in schools where the teacher aids are to serve;

(3) the project is designed to provide more individualized attention for students and to relieve teachers and other professional staff of functions which can be performed competently by teacher aids under the supervision of professional staff;

(4) the institution of higher education participating in the project will undertake to provide preservice training programs to prepare persons to become teacher aids and to provide, to the extent practicable, preservice programs bringing together teacher aids and the teachers and other educational personnel who will be supervising them;

(5) the institution of higher education and the local educational agency participating in each project have satisfactory plans for maintaining cooperative arrangements throughout the three-year duration of the project in order to relate inservice and summer training programs to the work experience of the teacher aids in the schools;

(6) the local educational agency participating in a project has, prior to the filing of an application under this Act, submitted plans to the State educational agency for review and has taken into account its recommendations in developing the proposal for the project; and

(7) the project is of sufficient scope and quality to provide reasonable assurance of making substantial improvements in the educational programs of the schools participating in the project.

(b) A school which has participated for a total of three years in an approved project receiving Federal payments under this Act shall not be eligible to participate thereafter in any further project assisted under this Act.

FEDERAL PAYMENTS

SEC. 4. (a) The Commissioner shall (in advance or otherwise) pay to the local educational agency and the institution of higher education jointly carrying out each project approved under this Act such portion of the costs of the project as each of the joint applicants incurs under the terms of the grant.

(b) For purposes of this section, the costs of the project covered by the Federal grant include all of the costs of training programs for teacher aids and for teachers and other professional staff members supervising teacher aids, including appropriate stipends; and the Federal grant shall cover not to exceed 75 per centum of the costs of the project attributable to compensation to be paid to teacher aids while serving in the programs of the schools of the local educational agency participating in the project. Federal payments toward the costs of the project may not cover any compensation for any teacher or professional staff member employed by the local educational agency.

APPORTIONMENT AMONG STATES

SEC. 5. From the sums appropriated to carry out this Act for each fiscal year, the Commissioner shall apportion to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to such sums as the number of children aged three to seventeen, inclusive, in the State

bears to the number of such children in all the States. To the extent that it is determined by the Commissioner that the amount apportioned to any State will not be required for grants in that State, such amount shall be available for grants in other States able to use additional grants pursuant to this Act. Such amounts for any year shall be apportioned among such other States on the same basis as the original apportionment for such year.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 6. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "teacher aid" means assistant to teachers, library aides, school recreation aids and other ancillary educational personnel who are under the supervision of professional members of the school staff, but the term does not include persons who are primarily responsible for the instruction of pupils.

(b) The term "local educational agency" means a public board of education or other public authority legally constituted within a State for either administrative control or direction of, or to perform a service function for public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or other political subdivision of a State, or such combination of school districts or counties as are recognized in a State as an administrative agency for its public elementary or secondary schools. Such term also includes any other public institution or agency having administrative control and direction of a public elementary or secondary school.

(c) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State which (1) admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such certificate, (2) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond secondary education, (3) provides an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree or provides not less than a two-year program which is acceptable for full credit toward such a degree, (4) is a public or other non-profit institution, and (5) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association approved by the Commissioner for this purpose or, if not so accredited, (A) is an institution with respect to which the Commissioner has determined that there is satisfactory assurance, considering the resources available to the institution, the period of time, if any, during which it has operated, the effort it is making to meet accreditation standards, and the purpose for which this determination is being made, that the institution will meet the accreditation standards of such an agency or association within a reasonable time, or (B) is an institution whose credits are accepted on transfer by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited. If the Commissioner determines that a particular category of such schools does not meet the requirements of clause (5) because there is no nationally recognized accrediting agency or association qualified to accredit schools in such category, he shall, pending the establishment of such an accrediting agency or association, appoint an advisory committee, composed of persons specially qualified to evaluate training provided by schools in such category, which shall (i) prescribe the standards of content, scope, and quality which must be met in order to qualify schools in such category to participate in teacher aid programs under this Act, and (ii) determine whether particular schools not meeting the requirements of clause (5) meet those standards. For purposes of this subsection, the Commissioner shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.

(d) The term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if there is no such officer or agency, an officer or agency designated by the Governor or by State law.

(e) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 7. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by and educational institution or school system.

RAIL-HIGHWAY SAFETY LEGISLATION

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I introduced, for appropriate reference, a bill to promote rail-highway safety by requiring light reflecting markings on railroad locomotives and cars.

This measure is identical to one which I introduced in the latter part of the 89th Congress.

I am firmly convinced that many lives would be saved by using reflective paint on unlit railroad cars to make this equipment more readily visible at night, thus eliminating the hazards of motor vehicles striking the sides of freight cars moving over rail-highway grade crossings. I have discussed this idea with officials of the Interstate Commerce Commission and they believe it has merit.

In light of the increased concern of the Congress and the American public for safety on our highways, I very much hope that action will be taken at an early date on this bill designed to save lives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 723) to promote rail-highway safety by requiring light-reflecting markings on railroad locomotives and cars, introduced by Mr. McGOVERN, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

AMENDMENT OF FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The bill I have just introduced would exclude certain State employees from coverage under the act who were included for the first time under the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966. This bill is a very narrow bill and would remove from coverage State employees only.

If I may have the attention of my colleagues, I want to make a few statements on this bill, because I have a feeling that it may be one of the most important bills we shall be asked to consider. What has developed is that, without any testimony, without any hearing

on this specific matter, without any consideration of the problems involved at all, under the fair labor standards amendments which we passed last year, State employees in schools and in hospitals in each of the 50 respective States have been made subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act by the Federal Government.

Since the inception of the act in 1938, State employees have been specifically exempted from coverage. Under the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 the Federal Government, in what I believe to be a wholly unprecedented action, has presumed to dictate the wage scales of State employees in State hospitals and schools.

In my judgment this is a disturbing precedent which has broad constitutional ramifications.

Let me make my position crystal clear in this matter. I would hope that every State pays its employees equal to or greater than the minimum wage required under the existing law. The wages paid an individual State employee are not in issue here. The question of who has the right to establish the wage scale for State employees is the only issue.

The inclusion of State employees under the Fair Labor Standards Act is a direct challenge to our Federal form of government. To me, it is a fundamental issue totally overlooked by Congress when the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 was before us last year.

If we let the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 stand as enacted, the extension of the philosophy embodied in that law can be projected forward into new areas, limited only by the imagination of the advocates of Federal control over all State functions. Once we permit the Federal Government to set the pay scale of State employees in State hospitals and schools, we open the door for similar encroachments in other areas of State employment. For example, it can be just as logically argued that the Federal Government has the power to set the minimum salary of State and local police. Once this is accomplished, it seems just as logical for Congress to then set the conditions of employment for these same local police. It does not end there. Why, under this philosophy, cannot we in Congress set the salaries of the State attorney general, Lieutenant Governor, and the Governor? Carrying this philosophy to its logical extreme, it is apparent that we have attempted to undermine the very basis of our federal form of government and have removed all vestige of State sovereignty. I am absolutely convinced that the power of Congress does not and should not be allowed to extend this far.

We are not here talking about the relationship of an employee and his obligation to pay Federal taxes, nor are we talking about a proprietary profit-making function of the State government. Instead, we are dealing with the very fundamental relationship between the Federal and State Government. We are dealing with the right of the Federal Government to make basic policy decisions concerning the fiscal policies of our State governments which goes right

to the heart of the States taxing power and appropriations process and, which, in some instances, may even conflict with State constitutions. I am convinced that we have transcended the guarantee of the 10th amendment and are dealing with an area constitutionally reserved to the States. I frankly do not believe that the Congress intended to go this far.

The issue simply was not raised in the hearings or to any depth in the committee or on the Senate floor. I did not bring up the question of the advisability of including hospital employees under this measure, but I was not thinking at that time in terms of hospitals in which State employees were working.

To my knowledge, no witnesses were called on this issue who represented our State governments. No testimony was taken concerning the affect of this measure on State fiscal matters. It is significant to me that the original administration bill did not envision the extension of the act to State employees. In fact, under the act, the Secretary of Labor is required to give annual reports to the Congress concerning the extension of coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In making his annual report, the Secretary recommended the extension of coverage to many new areas covering millions of new employees, but nowhere did the Secretary recommend inclusion of State employees. When the bill came over from the House, no further hearings were held by the committee; and instead, the committee relied on the hearings conducted on the administration bill.

I am convinced of the necessity of correcting this unwarranted extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act into an area clearly reserved to the States. I urge that the Labor and Public Works Committee give this matter detailed attention at the earliest possible time.

It is my understanding that there are at least two States that have already initiated suits to prevent the Federal Government's imposing its will on the States. It is my understanding that my own State of Colorado may file a suit in this area shortly. Two or three others are also thinking of filing suit. This is a matter of tremendous concern to those States and to the Governors of our States and to the basic question of the division of authority between the Federal Government and the States.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 727) to exclude certain State employees from the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

EXPANSION OF BEVERLY NATIONAL CEMETERY, BEVERLY, N.J.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for the expansion of the Beverly National Ceme-

tery, Beverly, N.J. In reintroducing this bill, my primary interest is that those who served their country so willingly and courageously, when their country called upon them, shall be honored with a final resting place which befits the dignity with which they served.

There are 98 national cemeteries on U.S. soil, most of which came into being in the course of, or as a result of, the Civil War. Eighty-one of these cemeteries were established between 1862 and 1899, two of which were in New Jersey. According to the latest statistics, 30 of these cemeteries are now closed and 36 more will be closed by 1985.

Under a policy decree of the executive branch the national cemetery system is to be gradually closed out. The first major effect of this policy was felt with the closing of Beverly National Cemetery in February 1966. Beverly was the only remaining open national cemetery in New Jersey. It was placed in commission in 1864 and over 34,000 grave sites out of approximately 40,000 are already taken within its 65 acres. The remaining 6,000 are reserved plots. Though technically closed, burials still take place in these plots. Approximately seven out of every eight funerals accommodated by this facility were from outside the State of New Jersey, coming from Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, and some even as far as Georgia. As a result of such intensive use of these facilities, this cemetery is now closed because no more room is available.

The effect of closing Beverly means that a veteran or serviceman dying to cannot be buried in Beverly unless a was reserved by him prior to 1961 or unless a deceased wife or child of his is already buried in Beverly. This effectively rules out the burial in Beverly of members of the Armed Forces killed in Vietnam.

It is still possible for a New Jersey veteran, who would be buried in Beverly if space were available, to be buried in a national cemetery. It will be necessary, however, for the burial to be made some distance from his home and family. As an example, the New Jersey veteran barred from Beverly could be buried in Arlington National Cemetery or in Long Island National Cemetery. Several dozen Vietnam dead have been refused burial in Beverly and over 500 veterans have been refused burial at Beverly.

Action must be taken to alleviate this situation. We should not let our national cemeteries fade from existence. Either we must adopt a responsible attitude toward the obligation of a great nation to its veterans, to which we have already committed ourselves, and provide this necessary additional space, or we must accept the alternative and tell our veterans that the privilege of burial in a national cemetery has been abrogated. I did not want the latter situation to be the case for the veterans of New Jersey. I therefore urge that the proposal I am introducing today be afforded serious consideration.

I ask unanimous consent to have text of the bill printed in the Record following this statement.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately re-



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