

DEAR GOD, WHO HAS GIVEN US THE ^{OPPORTUNITY} DESIRE TO HELP YOUNG
PEOPLE, PLEASE GIVE US ALSO THE KNOWLEDGE & PATIENCE
TO LISTEN TO THEIR FEARS, CONCERNS & HOPES. SHOW US
HOW TO LEAD WISELY & JUSTLY TODAY SO THAT WE MAY BE LED
WISELY & JUSTLY TOMORROW. OUR STRENGTH & WISDOM COMES
ONLY FROM YOU & WE HUMBLU ASK FOR THY GUIDANCE THIS
EVENING & IN THE YEARS AHEAD. AMEN.

EVENING
DAY



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M.C.

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Washington, D.C. _____, 1970

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For 91ST CONGRESS 2D SESSION

Bob Packwood

U.S. SENATOR





NAME OF VISITOR Mrs. Edward Atiyeh

REQUESTED BY: Sen. Mark O. Hatfield DATE June 27, 1970

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What Your Vote Can Do for Congress

The urgent need this November is the election, not just of Republicans or Democrats, but of courageous men who will be true representatives of the people

BY CHARLES STEVENSON

THIS YEAR'S national elections on November 8 are as important as any in history. The future of constitutional government could depend upon how *you* vote; not Republican, Democratic, liberal or conservative, but whether you elect Senators and Representatives who will fight to save Congress from the forces now destroying it.

If this statement seems incredible, consider, as one example, the role of Congress in the S.S. *Yar-mouth Castle* tragedy.

Certain money-hungry operators

have been putting rickety old ships into the Caribbean-cruise business under foreign flags, a practice which enables them to evade U.S. safety regulations. Thousands of unsuspecting Americans assume the ships must be safe because they are permitted to operate out of American ports. Alarmed, legitimate American shipping men and concerned legislators of both parties joined to seek a law compelling the dilapidated vessels to meet U.S. standards.

"Floating firetraps . . . could result in unspeakable horror and death,"

exploded Hoyt Haddock of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee. "Risking the lives of our citizens . . .," warned Rear Adm. W. J. McNeil of the Committee of American Steamship Lines. The leaky, 38-year-old S.S. *Yarmouth Castle* was branded especially dangerous. "A shining example" of an unfit ship, summed up Rep. William S. Mailliard of California.

But then the Executive Branch jumped in, claiming the urgently needed safety measures would represent "unreasonable discrimination against foreign-flag vessels." "After the word came down from on high," says Mailliard, "apparently Congress was afraid to act and it just let the proposals die." Two and a half months later the *Yarmouth Castle* caught fire as it wallowed through the sea. The general alarm wasn't rung. The sprinkler system was ineffective. Fire hoses lacked pressure. So flames raged through the tinderbox wooden walls. And, amid screams and terror, 90 men and women perished.

This incident is shockingly typical of the way Congress is surrendering its constitutional legislative role to the Executive Branch. Thus it is helping to bring about a perilous change in our form of government. Our founding fathers deeply feared concentration of governmental power, so they clearly divided authority: the Congress to make our laws, the Courts to interpret them, the Executive to administer them. And Congress was to be the national forum

where the voices of all the people could be heard through elected representatives directly responsible to them.

Pell-Mell Legislation. Now, however, as stressed by Prof. Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard, "Congress has conceded not only the initiative in originating legislation . . . it has also lost the dominant influence it once had in shaping the content of legislation." Scarcely ever does Congress attempt to refine complicated, often revolutionary legislation written by Administration bureaucrats unanswerable to the public, and merely dispatched to Congress to be rubber-stamped.

The result is a crumbling of traditional checks and balances that frightens liberal and conservative alike. "For heaven's sake," Rep. E. J. Gurney of Florida cried out in disgust on the floor of the House, "let us retain a little self-respect and independence as a legislative body and have the courage to do some of the things on our own once in a while."

Last April, for instance, President Johnson called on Congress to compel the taxpayers to contribute at least \$381 million in supplementary interest so that bankers would find it profitable to buy up low-interest loans made by the government under its various subsidy programs. The receipts from this inflated sale of government assets could then be represented as normal income that would reduce the Administration's spending deficit. Critics of all stripes denounced this gimmick.

Democrats. So they would parrot only approval, the Democratic National Committee has drafted their speeches and press blurbs. Also, as a follow-up to a Presidential message, "Mike N. Manatos, the White House liaison man for the Senate, personally handed out ghosted reaction" for their use, the *Washington Star* reported. "Sheets were neatly typed, suitable for immediate insertion in the records of any day's Congressional debate. Uniformly, the White House speechwriters tended toward expansive praise of the President's leadership."

Meanwhile, the White House arranged for them to rendezvous regularly with bosses of the government's heftiest spending programs. "The purpose," the *Washington Post* reported, "is to mobilize the resources of the federal government to help re-elect" these Johnson supporters. Each freshman was asked what federal handouts he wanted poured into his district. "Administration officials have been coached to go along with any reasonable requests," the *Washington Star* disclosed.

Thirty-two senior officials stopped work to perform for Rep. Richard C. White of Texas. Before 45 constituents invited to Washington, they wasted two days adding up federal money suddenly available for White's district—grants for everything from football fields to health centers. Extolling a White bill to extend a Texas canal, Richard Shunick of the Bureau of Reclamation exclaimed, "The U.S. would

pick up the whole tab and not charge those who benefit."

The Democratic National Committee meanwhile leased a nationwide communications network so the freshmen could phone announcements of their prizes to newspapers and radio stations back home. Rep. John R. Hansen breathlessly announced a new post office for Glenwood, Iowa. "Why?" exclaimed the dumbfounded mayor, noting that the local post office had just been remodeled.

In return, the Administration demands conformity. Freshman Rep. John C. Culver of Iowa once mustered enough independence to oppose a White House-sponsored bill. When he sought to explain to constituents via the communications network, the National Committee curtly refused him the services it had so eagerly offered in the past.

Rep. Otis Pike, a liberal Democrat from Long Island, once had his post-office patronage abruptly cut off for failing to support Executive Branch legislation. Last spring, because he concluded that the rent-subsidy bill was bad for the country, he got a warning call from the White House, followed by a barrage of others from Administration men. Finally, a messenger let him know that a vote against rent subsidies might cost his district an important research project.

"There are so many ways the Executive Branch can exert pressure," Pike explains. "There are post offices to be built, inlets to be dredged;

"Just a government subsidy to the banking interests," declared the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, ". . . will increase interest rates for all borrowers. . . . accelerate the tightening of the money market." Here was a measure which cried out for Congress to solicit expert views, to deliberate, to take into account the interests of all Americans.

But what happened? House Banking and Currency Committee Democrats in caucus agreed that the measure "stank," to quote one of them. Yet when they began hearings, these men were summoned outside one by one to take orders phoned from the White House. The committee permitted only *two* witnesses to testify—both sent by the President. In three hours the committee obediently approved the bill, involving nearly \$11 billion. The House obligingly followed suit. Since, interest rates have shot up to a 40-year high, making it hard for families to buy or sell homes and for industry to finance job-creating expansion.

"A good bill can stand debate, deliberation and full inquiry," warns Rep. Burt Talcott, a California Republican. "Suppression of debate and of the free expression of opinion will inexorably undermine the majority, Congress and the nation." But it goes on all the time.

The President's bill to subsidize the arts compels every taxpayer to finance whatever painter, musician, woodcarver, wire bender or dancer

our federal administrators want to help support. Many artists themselves opposed the measure as restricting rather than nourishing art.

Yet up to the very moment the House Labor and Education Committee met to consider the final bill, Republican members were denied even a look at it. Rep. Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, now a Senator, asked that it at least be read aloud. Instead, the committee hurriedly put through previously undiscussed amendments, then approved the revolutionary legislation—all in less than 15 minutes.

In this pell-mell fashion, Congress has been passing even more momentous laws without being aware of what the legislation would do. It voted Medicare with most of the membership thinking it was providing only for the elderly. But an unnoticed section of the measure *enables any state to furnish medical care for anyone regardless of age—with taxpayers all over the country required to pick up the bills.* Now the Administration quietly has admitted that Medicare may cost one billion dollars more a year than expected!

Left to Discretion. Today the Executive Branch is making the law. It forces enactment of bills so vaguely written that it can make them mean just about anything it wants.

In the \$2.3-billion poverty-program legislation, for example, 87 phrases such as "in his discretion" and "as he shall deem necessary or

appropriate" give bureaucrats an incredibly free hand.

Thus \$256,720 that was voted to help the poor in Appalachia is going instead to a branch library in well-off Pittsburgh. And thus the Department of Housing and Urban Development is enabled to make an outright gift of \$81,351 for tennis courts and a 1.6-acre park in Somerset, a swank Washington suburb whose 400 families, most of them uppercrust government employes, boast a median income of \$17,273, the highest in the entire Washington area. Meanwhile, as the outraged *Washington Post* pointed out, the adjacent District of Columbia is left without funds to light playgrounds "needed by tens of thousands" of poor children.

Further reaching for power inevitably lies in prospect. Even as the Executive Branch ignores the clearly written law by refusing to submit five-year estimates of what new federal programs will cost, Budget Director Charles L. Schultze tells Congress it no longer should bother about costs. Instead, he insists, Congress should merely approve "goals" dreamed up by the bureaucrats. "We're not sure that it is always wise to express the authorizations in dollar terms," Schultze testified.

The bureaucracy and the White House are as one in these seizures of power. Ever since New Deal days the bureaucracy has been evolving its own elite—career administrators, top technicians, specialists—who op-

erate the programs and plan what they want to enact next. The President often buys their ideas; then departmental agents known as "legislative liaison" men fan out over Capitol Hill, cultivating Congress and, in the name of supplying information, actively lobbying for the agreed-upon legislation.

"Technically," says Daniel M. Berman, professor of Government and Public Administration at American University, in his book *In Congress Assembled*, "all the work that is done in the bureaucracy to influence Congressional action is illegal. The law (Title 18, Section 1913, of the U.S. Code) flatly forbids both officers and employes of the Executive Branch to use appropriated funds for the purpose of lobbying."

Conformity—Or Else. Increasingly, the Administration operates a highly developed system of political rewards and punishments which politicians call "arm twisting." For example, White House emissaries offered Democratic Sen. E. L. Bartlett of Alaska decisive backing for a \$10-million program to upgrade housing for Eskimos (which he had hitherto unsuccessfully proposed) if he would switch his vote to support this year's controversial rent-subsidy program. Bartlett agreed, and the Senate approved the potential \$6-billion measure, 46 to 45. Bartlett later said, "I'm not proud of myself."

There has been special obedience training for the 66 freshman House

there is money available for poverty and school programs, for agriculture programs and defense programs. There are decisions to be made on locating veterans hospitals and nuclear reactors. The accumulation of powers in the Executive Branch, at the expense of Congress, is so huge that our system of checks and balances has largely broken down."

The threats, bribes, payoffs and persecutions all add up to what liberal commentator Eric Sevareid calls "a curious kind of intimidation." So many members of Congress have been brought to heel by it that Sevareid finds "the once exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

The Brave Ones. Yet there *do* remain strong men, liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, who fight to make Congress the institution it was meant to be. They often disagree, but they share the common qualities of courage, integrity and independence.

Republican Rep. Tom Curtis studies late at night, analyzing and originating legislation. Then each week or so he flies home to St. Louis to explain issues at people's seminars. "A Congressman's job," Curtis says, "should be to give his people independent representation."

Rep. Edith Green (Dem.) from Oregon cries out for creative debate. Though a liberal supporter of Great Society legislation, she dares to question its sloppy drafting and the steamrolling. "We have in the

House a determined effort to silence those in disagreement," she says.

Just last spring, labor leaders warned Democrat Sen. Frank Lausche of Ohio that they would unseat him if he voted to uphold right-to-work laws. "The people elected me to use my own reasoning and conscience," Lausche replied. "I will not be a political slave to any special group." And Republican Sen. John J. Williams of Delaware cast the decisive vote which cost stockholders of his state's most influential corporations, Du Pont and Christiana, a half-billion dollars in tax exemptions. "I'm bound by my oath to seek answers that are best for all the people, not just a few," he declared.

As you get ready to go to the polls this November, ask yourself how your Representative and Senators measure up against such men and women. Scrutinize their voting records and find out whether they are legislators or puppets. Judge whether their first concern is themselves or the nation. Consider whether they will help wipe out the moral and intellectual corruption besetting Washington or whether they're content to "go along." Find out whether they will join the battle to make Congress an independent branch of the government which takes orders *only from the electorate*. Whether you vote for a Democrat or a Republican is not nearly as important as whether you vote for integrity.

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OREGON STATE SENATE



55th LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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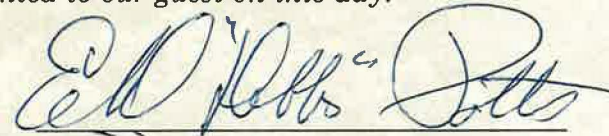
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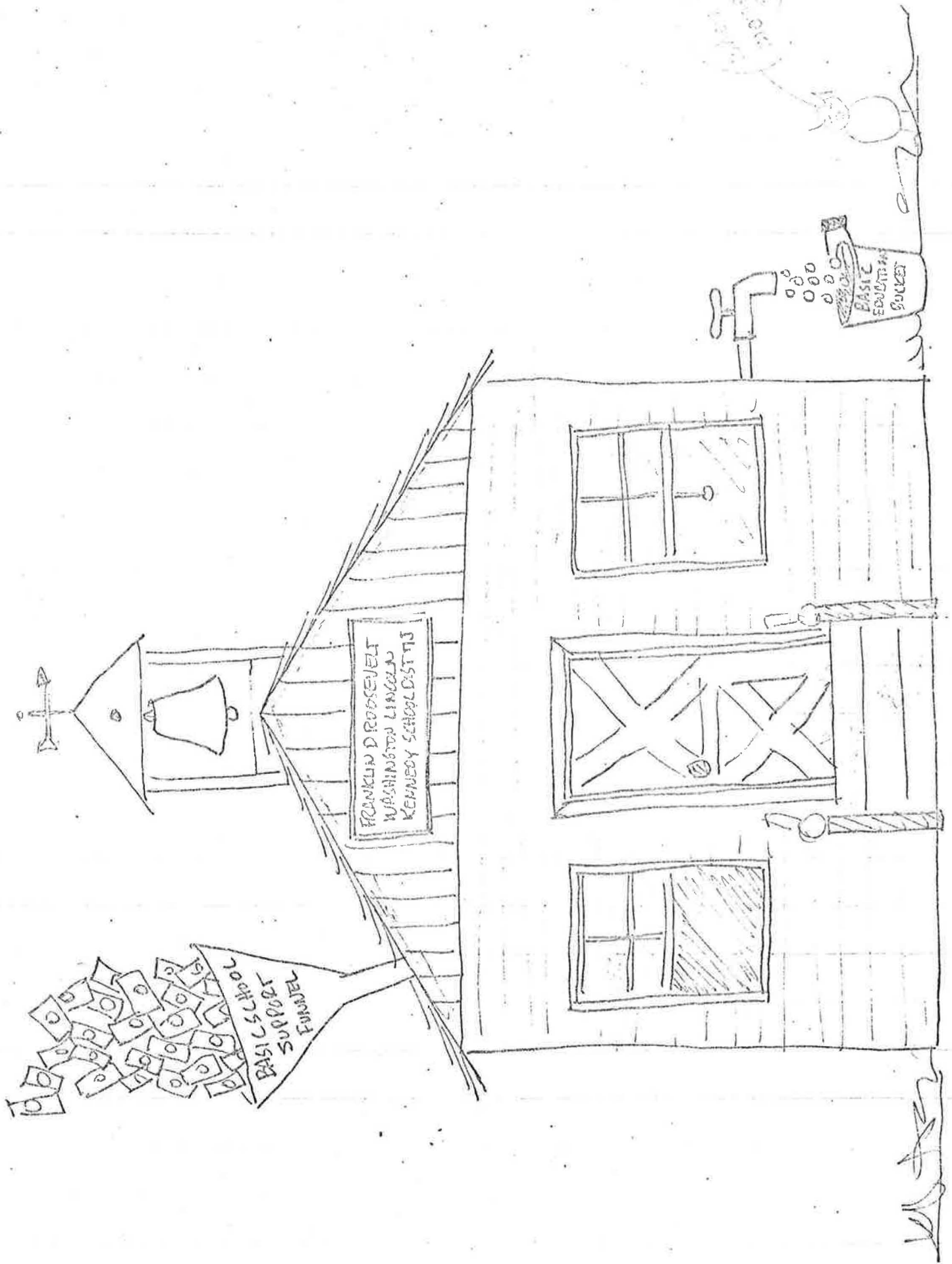
on this 23rd. *day of* May, 1969



The courtesies of the senate were extended to our guest on this day.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "E. D. 'Debbs' Potts".

E. D. "Debbs" POTTS
President of the Senate



IT AIN'T MY FAULT — IT'S THE FORMULA

Statement to Faculty by
GREGORY B. WOLFE, President
May 10, 1970

I want to open this meeting this evening with a tribute to the young men and women of the PSU student body, those strikers and non-strikers who have given so much time, so much energy and dedication for the preservation of peace on this campus and the preservation of traditions of non-violence here. I think all of us on the faculty owe them that praise and congratulations.

I want also to ask whether it is the strike or Mother's Day that accounts for such a high rate of attendance by the faculty on a Sunday evening in the Spring. For those whose mother's day dinner was interrupted or not held except in haste as ours was, I apologize. But the events of this week around our country and on our campus, it seemed to me, called for a convocation of concern by as many of the faculty as could come, to talk together about the week and about our university, its response to the week and its address to the future. That's why, under the constitution of the faculty, I have called you together. In opening the meeting I would like to report to you some observations of my own as they relate to the perceptions of the office of President relating to the problems and the events at PSU. Then, if we may, we invite your comments and your address with respect to the perceptions you may have and to the suggestions you may have, on how we face our future.

The large incidents and events which underlie the malaise, despair, and disenchantment of millions of students, faculty and citizens over the state of the world and of the American society are too well known to be reviewed by me with you. Perhaps, less well known are the events which occurred on our campus last week and which prompted me to take certain actions in behalf of the University. In opening discussion of where we are and where we may go, I propose to review last week's events and discuss their possible consequence for our immediate and longer term future insofar as they may provide bases for more appropriate operating formats during what may become a prolonged period of frustration and ambiguity--not just for a week, not just for a month, but for the coming few years.

During one of the meetings in which we sat together, Professor Rudy Nussbaum remarked, "The strike has been a learning experience. If you have learned to carry responsibility, you have learned something from your experience."

Certainly, our capacity to learn and to grow must remain the prime objective of professionals and of scholars, as it should for students. Without this objective, why should we have universities?

Last Tuesday morning, I was guest of the¹GSAC. During its meeting and in anticipation of events of the week, I asked for advice on the course that might be taken with respect to the proposed suspension of our normal academic activity on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. I had also asked for the advice of the Faculty Advisory Council and that both report to me before lunch. Since I had already concluded that the situation in the land and on the campus was grave,

¹ General Student Affairs Committee

I informed GSAC and FAC⁽²⁾ as well as DOF⁽³⁾ office that we would meet three times daily with students and faculty to assess the climate of the campus and consider the steps that might be organized to assure our institutional integrity, our safety, and appropriate responses to our diverse policies. Such meetings have been held, and with the CADS⁽⁴⁾ as well. No decisions and no statements that have been made in the name of the University were issued prior to consultation including the cancellation of last Wednesday's faculty meeting. (Though I must confess, had I been on the teaching faculty, I would have been at the barricade at the President's door asking why, in heaven's name, this meeting was cancelled but all I can report to you is that I had no such complaint, no such telephone calls.) I only had one dean and one of his faculty come to ask that the meeting be cancelled, which it had already been at that time. But then, I am one who has sought involvement and some of the faculty don't always seek it.

The meetings we've had with those administrators and students and faculty who have come to them have been informal and as agenda-less as the last week itself. The composition of our meetings has varied in size, but none has lacked participation of students, faculty and administrators of varying viewpoints--with single-minded concern that we pursue our problems with as much reasonableness as our considerable passions would permit. The meetings have by common consent omitted the press and non-Portland State people, except when invited for special purposes, such as consideration of city property.

On Tuesday, following the receipt of almost identical recommendations from the GSAC and the Faculty Advisory Council, I indicated to the Chancellor and to the Public that the University could most effectively contribute to an appraisal of the national crisis, encourage awareness of it and observe the grief attendant upon it by remaining open. As most of you know, I also asserted that the University should try to continue to meet its scholarly obligations because the University is a center of discourse and discourse should not be shut off.

Tuesday, no less than now, as ever in my life and the life of us together, it is my hope that the tradition of Portland State University, for meeting any crisis or interruption, can escape violence. That is why I have said, and I say to you again, that the cyclic pattern of prolonged confrontation and violence followed by shock and grief elsewhere in the nation have provided neither solace nor solution to any of our problems.

The strike officially began early Wednesday when strikers with picket signs swarmed around Portland State Buildings. Barricades were placed at some intersections leading to the campus area, as you know. Discourse in the park blocks was carried on in an orderly way as students and faculty members --and some members of the public--all expressed their frustrations over national problems. A brief morning march along S.W. Broadway in the campus area blocked traffic. Police exercised and still are exercising their utmost, and I think commendable, restraint.

Later in the day Wednesday, while numerous Portland State students were busy in their classrooms, others from this University and other Portland area

- (2) Faculty Advisory Council
- (3) Dean of Faculty
- (4) Council of Academic Deans

institutions and others NOT students at any institution, so far as we know, staged a massive demonstration near the armed forces induction center in downtown Portland. More than twenty persons were arrested--only one of them is an enrolled student at Portland State.

Through the week-long ordeal, the administration has recognized that the protest was a "re-enactment of frustration" and has encouraged the strikers to "engage on issues rather than on the food or furniture in Smith Center or other buildings of the institution." That hasn't always been easy and there have been some near misses.

In between other meetings of Wednesday, I conferred by phone with the Presidents of the six other state-supported institutions of higher learning. We joined in wiring our support to President James M. Hester of New York University, who had been trying to set up a meeting of college and university executives with President Nixon. The telegram said, in part, "We believe a meeting should take place promptly in order to open lines of communication between the White House and many campuses where students feel their points of view are being ignored, and their motives over-generalized and misinterpreted. This lack of communication contributes seriously to the wave of unrest tragically racing from coast to coast."

Another telegram went from the seven officers directly to President Nixon indicating our support of N.Y.U.'s President. In response, I sent a personal message to the President respectfully urging that consideration be given to the prompt calling of a meeting between him and university executives to establish communications on the causes and status of unrest in American college and universities.

Although no replies to any of these messages have been received, it was gratifying to note that President Nixon met on Thursday with eight University Presidents.

By Wednesday evening, after a day of intense deliberation, it became apparent that business as usual was no longer tenable, even though the students of Portland State had not been violent or destructive on the campus in expressing their deeply felt convictions. At 7:30 PM, I concluded that classes of the University should be closed until Monday morning. I also expressed the hope that students, faculty and administration would use the time to develop some constructive programs based on a full, free dialogue, to further the causes of peace, social justice, and developing lines of communication between citizens and their government which neither over-generalize nor misrepresent the positions of any group or individual.

As an immediate follow-up to closure, the first of two carnival like frolics began in the Smith Memorial Center. The participants were largely non-students of the University, but their disregard for decorum, their rabelaisian pursuit of alcohol, drugs and the dance transformed a national tragedy into an ugly joke

unworthy of anybody who can possibly profess interest in social revolution or the amelioration of human suffering.

The irony of an orgy held to honor the deaths of four students at Kent State can be compared only to the throwing of symbolic caskets over the bus barricades in Washington, D.C. yesterday. The performance in Smith Center has brought discredit to this University as it brings dishonor to those who conducted it. It also brought a few hundred dollars worth of damage to university property and a disastrous accident to one of our students who still lies gravely injured in the hospital.

On Friday, a memorial service was held in Old Main followed by a talk and rap session. Later in the day, I joined with President Rosenblum of Reed College in an effort to convey to the media editors and managers of Portland Press the need they have--in our judgment--to engage more fully and understandingly in the substantive issues underlying and surrounding unrest on the American campus, and to try to recognize that young men and women as well as their teachers deserve more compassionate treatment than the media in this community have been giving us when contrasted with national papers like The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, or The New Yorker Magazine.

Following the Friday evening session of our Ad Hoc consulting group, I ordered all buildings closed with the exception of Smith Memorial. I also declared, after consultations with the Chancellor, a state of Limited Emergency because of the events at Smith Memorial.

The administration on Friday and through yesterday afternoon worked intensely with the strike committee representatives on ways to clear Smith Center of the uninvited guests. The committee members cleared the building of the visitors and we went ahead with clean-up plans to get the building ready for opening to the college community on Monday. And that occurred entirely through the cooperation, support, and good faith of the representatives of the strike committee. I want to say also here that the events in that building have stretched the physical endurance of the staff concerned with building security and maintenance to their utter limits and, along with the students, they deserve the congratulations and appreciation of every man, and woman in this room. We are simply not well enough supported or numerous enough staffed to conduct these kinds of events on our campus and the administration and faculty and student support are going to have to recognize that fact and cope with it.

To give access of students to offices where student activities normally are conducted on a 24-hour basis, which is exceptional in partial recognition of the exceptional circumstances through which we are passing, we made the building available on that basis although the rest of the building has been closed. And we did participate in the discussion of urging the moving of two barricades which the city had found seriously to impede the movement of traffic: tho that is a problem which is largely for the city and of the strikers to resolve.

The same meeting Saturday also dealt with whether or not the University would recognize the continuance of the strike even though the academic programs of the University are to reopen tomorrow morning. It should be evident to everyone, by now, that neither the message of the strike nor the message of academic relevance--if any there be--can be conveyed if our students are not here. The alternative is for strikers to talk to themselves, and for the vast majority to build unnecessary hostility by not being here on the campus.

The students in good faith, and in a very efficient way, cleared Smith Center of visitors, but after they were out, these same leaders appeared to encounter difficulty with the visitors on the outside and therefore sought to reconsider and reelect representatives, which was still proceeding when I left the campus yesterday evening.

By way of conclusion of this resume of events, I should add that the conclusions negotiated at the table of our meeting group were conveyed to the press yesterday afternoon at approximately 2:30.

The obvious question now is, where do we go from here? Quite simply, it is "another opening, another show." An opening unaccompanied by first-night jitters of despair, or too much dismay. A show which involves a whole new era of academic performance in an era of sustained crisis.

In our volatile society, a society filled with frustrations over grave social and economic issues involving the well-being of this nation, all teachers much reassess the extent of their institutional responsibilities and their intellectual commitment. A contemporary faculty cannot afford the luxury of a cloistered classroom. A contemporary faculty cannot only be available at the lecturns in their classrooms, but also in the corridors and on the streets to counsel students at a time when they cry for the participation of men and women of intellect in their quest for guidance in the solutions of problems of their concern.

I believe we should take steps now to establish councils or centers of concern, if you will, and provide some systematic as well as some informal basis of voluntary academic involvement--not to take it up as the initiators but to have it there as the counsellors and as accessories when our help is sought. Insofar as this can be formalized, I would suggest to you that consideration be given by our faculty to seeking the counsel and assistance of the Associate Dean of Faculty and of the Advisory Council immediately to make this suggestion a reality if it has significance to you, and some degree of practicality to the students who may need help. But I can't really believe you see that on an issue like nerve gas and on questions of environment that men like Mr. Kilgour and Mr. Palmer and others in the Science Division aren't available. I know they are available to be of help. I know because two students came to me and asked for that help and Mr. Kilgour immediately made himself available just yesterday. I can't believe, either, that on issued of war and peace at a time when we need to find not just ways to complain but ways to

suggest routes out of the dilemmas in Asia and the Middle East, and elsewhere that Professor Schuman and Professor Munk and others of their colleagues are not and won't be and shouldn't be available and be leading in terms of faculty participation in this accessory role for students who are concerned and from whom the most creative suggestions in the long run are going to come. And the list could go on. There are many in this room, at this moment, escapees from systems that have been shipwrecked on the political vicissitudes of dictatorship and the breakdown in processes that guarantee justice for any man anywhere, that can be helpful in improving and in ameliorating the conditions of injustice that have invaded even the American courtroom. And I can't believe that any of us shouldn't participate by our commitment to peace and our dedication to self-control to make this campus the one concerned campus in America that can avoid violence on it.

I have said before -- and want to say again -- that the University is not seeking mere survival as a place where moral catechism is taught, or a place where state-formulated curricula are taught. This is a denial of intellectual pluralism and of individual conscience.

Outside the university community there are many persons -- citizens and governmental officials -- who would favor the short term means of repression to deal with campus disturbances today which upset their way of life. And I think that we have to be quite aware of their existence and quite capable of dealing with them rationally and reasonably.

Yesterday in the Park Blocks, an elderly couple from a nearby apartment building pleaded with me to do something about the noise which had kept them and scores of others awake for two nights.

The University -- students and faculty alike -- must face the fact that some of the events of recent days are destructive of their points of view and their well being. These are also quite exhausting days. The first thing that happened yesterday at our session was the complaint by some of the strikers of how tired they were. Now I've lived through some revolutions here and there and I can only counsel those who tire too soon that they not tire too soon, because energy is the last contribution you may make to the success of achievement in your goal -- academic, social revolutionary or otherwise. One cannot expect to win support for any idea if he consciously sets about alienating those who normally would support causes which are right and just by the standards of any sane man.

This alienation can only bring about creeping Reaganism. The Legislative committees already are threatening financial reprisal against Higher Education in Oregon. They are striking out at essentially middle-class students, but the impact will fall the hardest on the disadvantaged who most want and need the most education and opportunity. Such action, if it is taken, will certainly further polarize life on the campus and paralyze the role of education.

Limits on the number of students are already being imposed. Increasingly, Governors are telling institutional executives when to open and when to close our schools and determining when to call the police.

All of these recent phenomena are destructive of the basic tenets of academic freedom and intensify rather than reduce belief in the civil processes of government - not just by students, but by many others.

The Governors and the Administrators need pay close attention to the advice of Nicholas Von Hoffman who noted just this morning, "Should they do too little which is ineffectual, or too much which may be catastrophic?"

These bewildering times on the campus bring to mind a discussion I had with a classmate from graduate school days, Professor Chester Cheng. After working on our advanced degrees together he returned to Communist China to devote himself to his country and a development of a new style of life and a new system of government there. And after several years of effort and devotion to those tasks, he grew disillusioned and, as he says, "I contracted a very convenient illness, hepatitis." Since it kept recurring, he claimed that he had to go south to get better and kept getting farther and farther south and he finally got out and he appeared on our horizon and he got a job at San Francisco State. I said, "Chester, now that you are back in the United States, what is it you most want from life?" He thought a minute and he smiled and said, "All I want now is tranquility." Mr. Cheng is still at San Francisco State College.

I have never believed, and I do not believe now, that force has any place in the academic community. However, we all must recognize that if force should be employed or required because of a breakdown in the peace of the campus, that the university has no armament.

The absence of armaments, which we complain about in the outer world, should give us confidence in our own world, but it also places a grave responsibility on us to live in this small microcosm that is indeed unarmed, not just disarmed. And hence, instead of an invitation to despair, I invite you to active participation at a very difficult time to responsible, relevant, creative, dedicated participation in helping to grow to intellectual maturity those students for whom we, you and I, are partly responsible. We cannot allow ourselves to drift into an era of repression by over-taunting the public patience and to bring on, thereby, an era which would bring darkness not only to a university community but to the nation itself. By our own actions we can -- and we must -- intensify our activity and our commitment to each other and to our students.

PRECIOUS PACT OF THE TRI-P

PREAMBLE

Phollowing Prolonged Palaver, we, the undersigned Phounders, do Promulgate, Proclaim and Publish these Partitions setting forth the Prerequisites, Prerogatives and Procedures which are to govern ourselves and all other ProPhessional Practitioners of Political aPhPhairs who may in the Phuture be a Party to this most Precious and Holy Pact of the Tri-P.

PARTITION I

This Phraternity shall be known as the "Tri-P".

PARTITION II

Section 1. Purposes of the Phraternity shall be Prominent by virtue of their Paucity, and this Partition Permanently Prohibits serious Programs or Projects of any nature whatsoever.

Section 2. In Particular, the Principal Purpose shall be to Prevent Purposes and Particularly Persons Planning to Promote, Push or Propagandize in behalPh of any Private Pet Project of a Productive or Philanthropic, and esPecially Partisan, nature. Any Person Perceived Perpetrating such Prohibited Projects shall thereby become Persona-non-grata amongst his Phellows of the Phraternity, and shall be Phorthwith and Promptly Punished by the imPosition of such Penalty or Penalties as the Patriarchs shall determine are aPProPriate in the circumstances; Provided, however, that the Phoregoing shall not be so interPreted as to Prevent Programs or Projects having as their sole Purpose the ProPagation of good Phun, Phriendship and Phellowship.

PARTITION III

Section 1. MembershiP shall be limited to those Persons whose ProPhessional Pursuits are actively related to Political aPhPhairs--Predominantly, but not exclusively, those directly Pertaining to Oregon.

Section 2. Persons Present at the Phounders meeting, October 3-5, 1958, or at the Prior organization meeting July 23, 1958, and who sign these Partitions, shall be deemed to be Phully qualiPhied members without Phurther initiation into this Phraternity. All Persons subsequently admitted to membershiP shall be nominated, examined and inducted in accordance with Procedures in the Phollowing Provisions of this Partition.

Section 3. There shall be co-equal categories of membershiP designated as P-1 (Political), P-2 (Press), and P-3 (Public Relations), none of the said categories to take Precedence over any of the other. Eligible for the P-1 category are Present or Past holders of Public oPhPhice, either elective or aPhPointive. Eligible for the P-2 category are Persons engaged in the newsPaPer, radio, television, magazine or allied Phields who rePort or comment upon Political aPhPhairs. Eligible for the P-3 category are Persons exPerienced as managers of Political campaigns, as legislative observers or as advertising or Public relations rePresentatives of Persons, Phirms, corPorations or associations having substantial interest in Political aPhPhairs.

Section 4. Each of the aPhoresaid categories will choose and aPhPoint not less than three members of their own classification to act as a New Members Committee, the duty of each of which will be to nominate suitably qualiPhied Persons for membershiP within the category. The Personnel of these committees will be made known to all members of the Phraternity.

Section 5. The Pre-eminent PleniPotentiary of the Phraternity, in consul-tation with the Peerless Pretender to Phull Powers, the Paramount Pretender to Phull Powers, and the Primary Pretender to Phull Powers, shall aPhPoint a Membership Review Committee rePresentative of each of the P-1, the P-2 and the P-3 categories, the duty of which shall be to examine and review the qualiPhications of all nominees for membershiP submitted by the resPective New Members Committees; and to pass Phinally

upon same as Proper NeoPhytes for initiation and induction into the Phraternity. The Membership Review Committee shall have authority to set reasonable limitations upon the total of the membership, as may from time to time appear appropriate and Practical, and to maintain a Proper Proportion between the respective categories, and between those of different Political allegiance. The identity of Persons appointed to the Membership Review Committee shall at all times be kept a secret from the general membership.

PARTITION IV

Section 1. The annual Tri-P to the Perfect Place of Palaver shall be scheduled during the month of August, at approximately Full moon, by the Pre-eminent Plenipotentiary. Normally, the meeting days shall be a Full Friday and a Full Saturday together, during which two days the Formal Palaver, as well as the Full Program of Fun and Fellowship, will be held, with suitable arrangements not overlooked for arrivals during the late Part of the Thursday Preceding, and for departures during the early Part of the Sunday Following.

Section 2. The Perfect Place of Palaver shall be: Beginning at the common corner of Sections 22, 23, 26, and 27 of Township 5 South, Range 8 East, Willamette Meridian; thence west on the south line of Section 22, 700 feet to Meander corner M1. From that corner, 155.95 ft. on a bearing N. $03^{\circ} 06' 40''$ E. to Station 2, thence 608.46 ft. on a bearing N. $24^{\circ} 37' 30''$ E. to a concrete monument at Station 0+00, thence 1015.54 ft. on a bearing N. $46^{\circ} 41' 20''$ E. to Station 4, thence due east approximately 125 ft. to the shore line, thence southerly on the shore line to the south line of Section 23, thence west approximately 110 ft. to the point of beginning; said area containing 23 acres more or less and entirely within the Mt. Hood Forest, U.S.F.S., U.S. Department of Agriculture, Clackamas County, Oregon.

PARTITION V

Section 1. Affairs of the Phraternity shall be directed by the Officers, who shall be elected or, when so provided, appointed annually at the

accordance with Policies aPProved by the Proletariat of Tri-P at each of its Phormal annual Palavers.

The ParaPatetic PussyPhooter and KeePer of the Pillory shall aPPrehend and suitably Punish all Poltroons of oPhPhending the Principles of Tri-P as expressed in these Partitions. He shall consult the Patriarchs of the Order for Punishments which Phit the crime.

Section 3. The Proletariat will elect such other Petty OPhPhicers as Phuture conditions create a need.

Section 4. All Past Pre-eminent PleniPotentiaries shall automatically become Patriarchs of Tri-P, and, together with others who so become, shall act as a PersPicacious council for advising the oPhPhicers in all matters requiring the help of wiser heads. Until time Produces a Patriarch, the aPhorementioned Pre-eminent PleniPotentiary and his three assistants, who shall comPrise the Executive Committee of Tri-P, shall PerPhorm the duties of Patriarchs in resPect to the Phixing of Punishments.

PARTITION VI

There shall be no regular dues assessed against the Proletariat, but Phines and sPecial assessments may be collected from same. Phines will be assessed only as Punishments. SPecial assessments will be Phixed by the Executive Committee only for the Purpose of Phinancing the annual or sPecial Phunctions of Tri-P.

Text of Oregon Democratic Party's Platform

The Oregon Democratic Party Convention held in Salem last weekend resulted in a couple hundred planks in the party platform, most of them adopted with little or no debate.

But the adoption by the convention on Sunday of a human and legal rights plank, passed by a vote of 172 to 107, developed more debate than the rest of the party platform put together. And it wound up being denounced as too radical by some Democratic candidates and office holders.

The human and legal rights plank contains statements opposing discrimination against homosexuals and supporting representatives on parole boards.

The convention also adopted proposals favoring abolishment of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, opposing an initiative to restore the death penalty in Oregon, supporting repeal of the state's anti-obscenity laws, decriminalizing the growing of marijuana, and compensating the victims of crime.

—"The U. S. government should honor all treaties entered into by the U. S. government with native American tribes but which have never been ratified by the U. S. Senate."

—"Elected civilian review boards should be established, answerable only to a court and the electorate, with the power to penalize, suspend or terminate law enforcement officers for demonstrated injustices."

—"Guilty verdicts in criminal trials should be required to be unanimous."

—"Incarceration (imprisonment) should be limited to those cases where, in the determination of the judicial system and for the protection of members of society, persons who have been convicted of violent crimes are determined incapable of benefiting from rehabilitation."

Here are other platform statements approved by the state Democratic party during the weekend:

Education:

—Salaries should be competitive with institutions outside the state.

—Adequate funds should be made available for educational broadcasting.

—Support for libraries by state and local governments should be increased.

—Higher education tuition costs should be minimized.

—The State Board of Education should be elected by districts and the State Superintendent should be appointed by the State Board of Education (the superintendent is elected now and the governor appoints the board members).

—All districts should provide students in grades kindergarten through 12 with pupil personal services, including educational planning and guidance and a health program.

—Oregon's law and medical schools should be expanded to allow all qualified Oregon students to be admitted.

—Students in higher education should be allowed to organize and bargain collectively with the administration.

—The collective bargaining law should not be weakened.

—Every county should have an adequately funded family planning clinic in its county health department.

—Catalogues of comparative drug prices, including generic alternatives, should be readily available in pharmacies.

—Smoking at meetings of all public bodies should be prohibited. Smoke-free areas should be required in confined parts of enterprises open to the public and cigarette advertising should be prohibited.

—"Liquor advertising should be sharply curtailed in all media."

—Transportation services responsive to the needs of both the rural and urban elderly should be developed.

—Ballot measure No. 3, on the May 25 ballot, was supported. It will allow the state to sell bonds to provide home loans for low rent housing for the elderly.

—"A flexible retirement system is preferable to mandatory retirement, so that those who prefer to go on working may do so."

—Federal legislation is needed to develop grant and loan financing of dental care for the elderly.

Human and Legal Rights:

—The equal rights amendment to the U. S. Constitution should be ratified and there should be a state equal rights amendment.

—Affirmative action at every level of government should be strictly enforced to ensure equal opportunity to all persons.

—"People should have the freedom to control their own bodies including decisions relating to abortion, sterilization, conception, prostitution and life support systems."

—Eighteen year-olds should have full rights of majority.

—"A universal, unconditional amnesty should be granted all those who suffer for their acts of opposition to the Vietnam War . . ."

—"Veterans' benefits laws should include persons who have obtained conscientious objector classification by the Selective Service System and have served in alternative forms of civilian service as well as military reservists."

—"Native Americans, regardless of tribal status, should have the legal and human rights of other citizens."

—"No person under 18 should be tried in adult court, except in traffic offenses."

—"Compulsory use of mind-altering drugs, shock treatment and psycho surgery on prisoners, mental patients, the mentally retarded and all others should be prohibited."

—"There should be repeal of possession and use offenses for all drugs and expungement of past conviction records of persons convicted of those offenses."

—"The hardware approach to crime prevention should be de-emphasized, with community based rehabilitation, maintenance, job-training, education and counseling emphasized instead. Police paramilitary and special weapons and tactics teams should be abolished."

—"Whenever new legislation repeals a law or reduces sentences for a crime, those convicted under the old laws should have their sentences reduced or convictions expunged to conform with new laws."

—"Wire-tapping, no-knock entry and discretionary stop and frisk procedures should be prohibited."

—"Information collected by public and private agencies about individuals should be provided to them for examination and the corrections of errors, and the present immunity from such obligation provided to the CIA and FBI by the 1974 privacy act should be removed, so that those records may also be subject to access and correction."

—"There should be expungement of any juvenile court records, misdemeanor convictions, or class C felony convictions."

tions one year after sentence is completed if individual has had no criminal involvement during the sentence and one year thereafter . . ."

Revenue and Taxation:

—Social Security benefits should not be reduced when the retiree earns an income of \$5,000 or less through his own labor.

—Exemptions and deductions in the federal individual income should be replaced by tax credits.

—“Discriminatory income tax rate schedules which favor persons filing joint married returns as opposed to single, head of household, or married separate returns should be eliminated.”

—The oil and mineral depletion allowances should be eliminated.

—“Corporate foreign income tax payments should be treated as a deductible business expense, not as a credit against U. S. income taxes.”

—“Deductibility of promotional advertising expenses by public utilities should be eliminated.”

—Federal revenue sharing with cities and counties should be continued.

—The \$5,000 limit on the federal income tax deduction for the state income tax return should be reduced to \$3,000.

—The legislature should review all property tax exemptions and each approved exemption should be limited to 10 years.

—“A land gains tax should be levied on profits derived from speculation in unimproved Oregon land, imposed at the time of sale.”

Government and Urban Affairs:

—State and national legislative sessions should be broadcast live over radio and television.

—Affirmative action should be taken to ensure representation by women in cabinet positions.

—The Hatch Act should be revised to permit full political participation as private citizens by government employees when not performing job related duties.

—The Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975, U. S. Senate Bill 1, is opposed.

—Campaign officials should not be appointed to key justice department posts.

—The state legislature should hold annual sessions and be allowed to call itself into session.

—Directors of all state departments of government and members of all state boards and commissions should serve at the pleasure of the governor.

—“The legislative Emergency Board should be restructured to make it more responsible to the people.”

—The Oregon Government Ethics

Commission should cross check its files before accusations of failure to file reports is made public.

—“Strong legislation is needed to prohibit the practice of red-lining by financial institutions or the denial of insurance in certain areas of cities.”

Election Law and Reform:

—Independents should be allowed to vote in primaries but Republicans and Democrats should not be allowed to cross-over.

—Washington and Montana should be encouraged to join Oregon in a regional primary.

—“We ask that the media show more responsibility in their release of election returns and projections, in order to preserve the right of the secret ballot.”

—Election returns in every state should be withheld until voting has been completed in every state.

—The Electoral College should be replaced by direct popular election of the president and vice president.

—Private campaign contributions should be limited and public financing of general election campaigns should be allowed on the state level.

—In cases where no candidate in a party primary receives more than 50 per cent of the vote, a runoff election between the top two contenders should be held within 20 days.

—The minimum age of eligibility to serve in the legislature should be lowered to the legal voting age.

—The Secretary of State's power to place names of presidential candidate on the Oregon primary ballot should be repealed.

—Legislative district boundaries in North Portland should be redrawn to provide fairer representation for the area . . .

—“We support legislation to ban political contributions by corporations in Oregon.”

United States and The United Nations

—“The U.N. must hold primary jurisdiction over oceans, space and international areas and develop the right to tax for revenue the natural resources lying in outer space and at the bottom of seas and oceans beyond territorial waters.”

—“The United States must recognize that its strengths are rooted in its people and its free institutions — not in a count of its weapons. We therefore urge a reduction of a sizable amount in the military budget of this nation — those sums to be directed to pressing social needs of the nation. At the same time we recommend a severe cut in U.S. military forces stationed abroad.”

—“The budget of the CIA should be a matter of public record.”

—“The U. S. must cease carrying on covert operations in other countries unless and until there is declaration of war by the Congress.”

Consumer Affairs:

—“Unit pricing and ingredient labeling should be required on all food, beverage and cosmetic products, prices should be plainly marked thereon, and enforcement should be by the consumer protection agencies.”

—“Utility commissions should include consumer representatives with equal voice and vote to advocate consumer interests.”

—“The sum of all charges, direct and indirect, imposed upon a debtor by a creditor, should not exceed 10 per cent annually.”

—“The consumer should be given absolute power to rescind long-term service contracts, such as are used by health spas and correspondence schools, and a pro-rata share returned to him if canceled or rescinded.”

—“Law should provide for exemption from attachment of the first \$1,000 per person of a family's savings.”

—A statewide legal aid service

should be established with fees based on ability to pay.

—Nutritive food only should be sold in school vending machines.

Labor:

—Employers hiring illegal aliens as strikebreakers should be fined a minimum of \$10,000.

—Labor history should be taught in Oregon high schools.

—Workers should have the choice not to work overtime without recrimination.

—“Employees who are not directly involved in a strike but who are locked out should be entitled to unemployment benefits.”

—“Laws which make secondary boycotts illegal should be repealed . . . we oppose any antifarm worker law.”

—“All workers, except armed forces, must have the right to organize, strike and bargain collectively.”

—“We demand that the recruiting of safety inspectors be from the ranks of labor and have the approval of the unions involved . . .”

—“We support unemployment benefits for employees on strike.”

—“We advocate the banning of all private employment agencies, the expansion of the U. S. employment services and the forbidding of any government agency to dispatch workers to any job having a labor dispute.”

—“We oppose so-called right to work laws, court injunctions against strikers and all forms of compulsory arbitration.”

Business:

—“We should reduce the bureaucratic government agencies and require the existing bureaucratic agencies to justify periodically their existence and reports required.”

—“Payroll taxes for mass transit districts should be replaced by a graduated income tax based on ability to pay on both business and individual profits.”

—“All service stations in the state of Oregon should be independently owned and operated.”

Agriculture:

—“There should be government backed financial assistance for those people wanting to enter farming, especially young people.”

—Farm and timber land should be zoned and taxed in a manner to secure it for future farming, cutting and open space.

Land Use:

—“LCDC's efforts for comprehensive land use planning are strongly supported and it should receive whatever state funds are necessary to continue its work.”

—“Recreational, park and wilderness areas and facilities must be carefully preserved and expanded to meet increased use by an expanding population, particularly around urban areas where there is a need identified.”

—“Use of motorized vehicles on off roads and jet boats should be strictly controlled and limited to specific areas.”

—“We support the Willamette Greenway Plan and the Portland Downtown Waterfront Park.”

Environment and Natural Resources:

—State noise pollution legislation should be adopted.

—Employment needs should be met with environmentally sound industries that maximize use of Oregon's resources.

—“Oregon's land should not be used as a disposal site for toxic chemical materials, nuclear wastes, and toxic material containers.”

—“The state legislature should adopt legislation banning field burning by 1980 with no extensions allowed.”

—“The state shall implement transportation policies which discourage the use of automobiles as the major form of transportation.”

—Clearcutting should be strictly controlled by the Department of Forestry.

—“Intensive timber harvesting should be conducted only on existing roaded areas, to leave undeveloped areas for other uses.”

—Congress should increase funds for reforestation.

—“Legislation pertaining to wild horses should be amended to recognize more practical and humane methods of controlling numbers, and to allow the outright sale of the animals.”

Housing:

—Housing developments should be placed primarily on land unsuitable for productive agriculture.

—Additional farm worker housing should be built and standards for good housing should be strictly enforced. Residents should not be evicted during labor disputes.

—“Programs to enforce local housing codes that result in displacement of residents must be accommodated by a social relocation policy and payment assistance programs to those displaced.”

Energy and Transportation:

—“We recommend increased public funding for research and development of renewable energy resources, including solar, wind, geothermal and oceanic.”

—“We recommend solid and industrial heat waste be utilized for the thermal generation of electricity, whenever economically feasible.”

—“Utility rates should be structured so that the highest users pay the highest rates.”

—“Incorporate into the rate structure a life-line rate for energy required to protect the health and welfare of all individuals.”

—“Large energy companies should be prohibited from acquiring competing forms of energy, and should be required to divest all but one.”

—“Utilities should be banned from advertising except for the purpose of promoting energy conservation and routine advertising, such as for personnel, sales and purchases of equipment, and raising of capital.

—“During a public attempt to take over a private utility, the utility should be permitted to include material presenting its side as a bill stuffer, providing that acquisition material be allowed inclusion in the same mailing.”

—The 55 miles an hour speed limit should be continued.

—Starting with 1978 auto models, auto license fees should reflect energy efficiency.

—Highway construction should emphasize secondary roads rather than freeways.

—A redveloped railway network should include a Portland-Boise route.

—There should be more off-road bike paths.

—A light rail system linking the Willamette Valley with Metropolitan Portland should be built with a provision for later change to rapid transit.