impaired, and since these two industries have been the chief source of income for the families living on the island, the economic impact of the shelling and bombardment has been severe. Equally troublesome is the effect on education. One teacher reports that the school buildings "tremble with every explosion" and that the children are too frightened, distracted by noise and plagued by loss of sleep (from the night bombing) to give serious attention to their studies.

Repercussions from this use of an inhabited island as a target have spread far beyond Culebra itself. Many Puerto Ricans see in it evidence of a general lack of sensitivity in Washington to commonwealth problems. Tensions on the island have risen notably since the shelling and bombing on Culebra have been stepped up. A columnist for the San Juan Star recently suggested that if Congress should grant the Navy's request to take over more of the island it "could swing popular sentiment toward independence or at least away from statehood more effectively than anything else."

Aside from the injustice of inflicting conditions akin to warfare on the people of Culebra, therefore, the Navy's policy threatens to complicate the relations between the United States and the commonwealth. Just now those relations are in a delicate state. Sentiment in favor of independence has been growing along with sentiment for statehood, although a substantial percentage of the people still seem to favor the existing commonwealth status. It would be most unfortunate if the government in Washington should unduly influence the outcome of the debate now going on in regard to Puerto Rico's future by continuing a shortsighted and inhumane policy in Culebra.

The need for good relations between Puerto Rico and the United States will remain an imperative of the future whether the commonwealth is retained or statehood is requested. For one thing, the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base is the second most important naval installation in the Carribean. For another, the relations between Washington and San Juan are enormously influential in our dealings with the rest of Latin America. Even though the Navy finds Culebra a convenient area for its training operations, we simply cannot afford as a nation to get into the posture of putting bombs ahead of people.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have little doubt that, if this kind of Navy target practice took place in close proximity to inhabited portions of a State represented in this Senate, the Senator from that State would insist—and rightly so—that, if there were any alternative, the practice be terminated and that the Navy find an uninhabited place to test its weapons.

But Puerto Rico has no Senator, and yet it has the whole Senate, whose responsibility it is to protect the rights, tranquillity, the safety of every American citizen.

Because of that responsibility, I have written to the Secretary of the Navy about this matter, and I have also urged the chairman of the appropriate Senate subcommittee to investigate it and to see if this intrusion on the lives of, and danger to, the Americans living on Culebra is really unavoidable, or if the Navy can and should find alternative sites for the use of the Navy.

I hope very much that the Navy will likewise seek to adjust its practices, voluntarily, to the legitimate needs and aspirations of the people of Culebra.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR GURNEY AND SENATOR GOODELL TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on completion of the remarks by the able Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH) tomorrow, the Senator from Florida (Mr. GURNEY) be recognized for not to exceed 30 minutes; and that upon the conclusion of his remarks, the Senator from New York (Mr. GOODELL) be recognized for not to exceed 20 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, August 6, 1970, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate August 5, 1970:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr., of South Carolina to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate August 5, 1970:

U.S. DISTRICT COURT

G. Thomas Eisele, of Arkansas, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Arkansas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, August 5, 1970*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Father John T. Creed, St. Margaret's Church, Saugus, Mass., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, almighty and eternal God, we ask Your blessing on these Members of the House of Representatives.

Bestow on them Your guidance in order that they might perform their duties in helping all God's people who are in need. Lord, we call upon Your Holy Spirit to assist those who are educating our youth so that they might be well prepared to take on the many responsibilities that a great nation demands of its people.

We further beseech You, O Lord, to help our Nation to unite that, regardless of race, color, or creed we may be truly one nation under God.

This we ask in Your name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On July 10, 1970:

H.J. Res. 1284. Joint resolution authorizing the President's Commission on Campus Unrest to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence, and for other purposes.

On July 13, 1970:

H.R. 2047. An act for the relief of Roseanne Jones;

H.R. 5000. An act for the relief of Pedro Irizarry Guido; and

H.R. 12858. An act to provide for the disposition of certain funds awarded to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska by a judgment entered by the Court of Claims against the United States.

On July 16, 1970:

H.R. 5106. An act for the relief of Rogelio Tabhan;

H.R. 16739. An act to extend until July 3, 1974, the existing authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to maintain offices in the Republic of the Philippines;

H.R. 17868. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 224. Joint resolution to change the name of Pleasant Valley, Canal, Calif., to "Coalinga Canal."

On July 17, 1970:

H.J. Res. 746. Joint resoltuion to amend the joint resolution authorizing appropriations for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History.

On July 23, 1970:

H.R. 11766. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966.

On July 22, 1970:

H.R. 2036. An act to remove a cloud on the titles of certain property located in Malin, Oreg.

H.R. 7618. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the Federal Government to the Board of Public Instruction, Okaloosa County, Fla.

On July 24, 1970:

H.R. 7517. An act to amend the Canal Zone Code to provide cost-of-living adjustments in cash relief payments to certain former employees of the Canal Zone Government, and for other purposes.

H.R. 16595. An act to authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes.

On July 29, 1970:

H.R. 12758. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish a volunteers in the park program, and for other purposes.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

On July 31, 1970:

H.R. 14452. An act to provide for the designation of special policemen at the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.

H.R. 14453. An act to authorize the Public Printer to grant time off as compensation for overtime worked by certain employees of the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.

H.R. 17619. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes.

On August 1, 1970:

H.J. Res. 1328. Joint Resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1971, and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 1336. Joint Resolution to extend the effectiveness of the Defense Production Act of 1950 to August 15, 1970.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 14114. An act to improve the administration of the national park system by the Secretary of the Interior, and to clarify the authorities applicable to the system and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 14705) entitled "An act to extend and improve the Federal-State unemployment compensation program."

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2846) entitled "An act to assist the States in developing a plan for the provision of comprehensive services to persons affected by mental retardation and other developmental disabilities originating in childhood, to assist the States in the provision of such services in accordance with such plan, to assist in the construction of facilities to provide the services needed to carry out such plan, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. NELSON, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. SAXBE to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3302) entitled "An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. TOWER, Mr. GOODELL, and Mr. PACKWOOD to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3586) entitled "An act to amend title VII of the Public Health Service Act to establish eligibility of new schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary medicine, and podiatry for institutional grants under section 771 thereof, to extend and improve the program relating to training of personnel in the allied health professions, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. NELSON, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. SAXBE to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 84–372, appointed Mr. SMITH of Illinois to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission in lieu of Mr. JAVITS, resigned.

FARM SUBSIDIES MILK THE TAXPAYERS

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, today we are to vote on the farm bill which provides an expenditure of $3 billion a year for the next 3 years but does little in the way of uplifting the small farmer or helping the consumer. It is just a continuation of the old farm program, which has spent over $40 billion and has not solved the problems of fair prices for either the farmer or consumer.

There is something wrong with a system that provides $3 billion annually to finance price supports and to pay farmers not to grow crops when there are hungry people in our own country and in the world. This $3 billion budget compares poorly with the meager $104 million budget the Congress has approved for the school milk program which President Nixon had recommended be cut out entirely as an economy measure.

At last, and for the first time, the House Committee on Agriculture has recommended that a limitation be placed on payments that can go to any one farmer. Unfortunately, the committee still has been too generous with the larger producers and placed the ceiling at $55,000 per crop. What this, in fact, means is that a single producer could receive as much as $165,000 for the three crops covered by the program. With 25 million Americans living below the poverty line, it is irresponsible to give away such large sums of the taxpayers' money to a single individual or farming corporation. It is for this reason that I am supporting the amendment being offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) to place the ceiling at $20,000 per crop, although I believe this to be still too high. This reduction would save the taxpayers an estimated $250 million a year.

I am also cosponsoring and supporting an amendment being offered by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA) to provide that any farmer receiving payments of over $5,000 in farm subsidies would be required to certify that he is in compliance with all applicable Federal, State, and local employee health and safety laws. For years the Federal Government has been paying subsidies to the farmowners, with little regard for the farmworker, forcing many of these people without skills to migrate north placing a great burden on the cities' welfare programs. Surely, the Government has the obligation to demand some minimum standards to protect farmworkers just as the farmowners receives assistance themselves. Those who would particularly benefit from this amendment would be the migrant workers who today are completely without protection and so many of whom are living under the most inhumane conditions.

Mr. Speaker, if either of the amendments fails, I will vote against the bill.

WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, we may yet get to the bottom of the mystery of who in the Federal Establishment is responsible for prosecuting violations of the new airline ticket tax secrecy law.

As I am sure everyone recalls, breaking down taxes and air fares was made illegal, as of July 1, by Public Law 91–258, the Aviation Facilities Expansion Act. The stricture applies to both advertising and ticket forms, and violations are theoretically punishable by $100 fines.

Not surprisingly, a number of travel agents doubt the constitutionality of this prohibition, since it would appear to infringe on our free speech guarantees. Some agents would like a court test, and one, David Peters of Beverly Hills, Calif., has solicited my help in finding an agency that will bring charges against him. On the date the law took effect, Mr. Peters defied the secrecy requirement, by detailing fare and tax information on a ticket blank. He is disappointed that now, more than a month later, no one has tried to bring him to justice.

Last July 24 I explained Mr. Peters' problem in a letter I wrote to Commissioner Randolph W. Thrower of the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Thrower has advised me that the Peters case has been referred to the Chief Counsel for the IRS, and that they will be in touch with me again at an early date.

If the IRS is half as aggressive as its reputation would indicate, Mr. Peters should get his day in court after all.

URGING SUPPORT OF CONTE-FINDLEY AMENDMENT TO FARM BILL

(Mr. CONTE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's much-discussed letter from the President on farm subsidies was sent because it was demanded.

If I have ever seen a weak endorse-

ment, this letter is it. First, the President says he will "abide the congressional judgment." He has not rejected my amendment.

Second, the President refers to "these technical reasons" as his basis for supporting the committee limitation. Well, the fact is that not one single technical reason was even mentioned in the President's letter. And for good reason—there are none.

The only significance of this letter is that it indicates the very deep concern the President feels for getting a farm bill through the Congress this year. I share that concern and support the bill except for the subsidy limit.

And for that reason, I would note that without the lower $20,000 ceiling, many of our urban colleagues will reject this bill.

The President nowhere rejects the $20,000 limit. The administration can live with it, and the people demand it.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to support the Conte-Findley amendment.

DEMOCRAT BIG SPENDERS

(Mr. ARENDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot of talk from the Democrat big spenders recently on how they are really fiscally responsible and how all they want to do is reorder priorities.

But let us face it. What they really want to do is spend bigger and bigger chunks of the average man's income for him.

It is typical of the Democrat big spenders that they always think they know how to spend money better than the man who has earned it.

As a result, since the end of World War II the Democrat big spenders have increased the total tax bite on the average man from 25 to 33 percent.

From one-fourth of his income to one-third.

And at the same time they have given us an inflation that allows the wage earner to buy even less with what they leave him.

The big spenders have reordered priorities all right. And we are all feeling the effects.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

(Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 251 on August 3, 1970, I was necessarily detained in my office with constituents when the rollcall began. As a result when I reached the Chamber a few minutes later the rollcall had been concluded. I favored this legislation as my prepared remarks for the RECORD that day indicated and would have been recorded as voting "aye" save for the reason hereinabove set forth.

MR. O'DONNELL'S LACK OF VERACITY

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I do not know what purpose Mr. O'Donnell had in the statements he made in the Washington Post and Life magazine. But I can testify that he is a bona fide liar, and I have affidavits, or can get them, to prove it. He must have certificates to that effect, because I caught him in a lie with both President Kennedy and President Johnson, and I had him appear before both Presidents in my presence and told him that he was a liar and had him admit it. So I can testify that I would not believe anything he said if he had his hand on a stack of Bibles 5 feet high.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

(Mrs. GRIFFITHS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time only to remind the Members that on Monday, August 10, I expect to call up the equal rights amendment. The motion to discharge the committee will be the first thing in the calendar. I hope that all of you are here, and I hope that the amendment unanimously passes this House.

THE NEED FOR COAL EXPORT EMBARGOES IS CRITICAL

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

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, due to work stoppages, a critical shortage of domestic coal supplies has occurred, threatening the health and welfare of many citizens of the Ohio Valley region. At this time, as I understand the problem, there are approximately 150 to 200 Ohio Valley area mines shut down, a situation that leaves approximately 20,000 workers without a source of income. This problem, alone, warrants concern and action by the Congress. However, I would like to point out some of the resultant complications that have developed.

Because of the mining cessation, business and industry in the river valley are beginning to feel the economic pinch of the thousands of unemployed. At the same time they are forced to contemplate additional unemployment if the coal crisis is not resolved.

Unless the coal production is returned to its full capacity, industries in the Ohio Valley region will be forced to curtail their operations, which will, as I said, add to the growing number of unemployed. As a specific example, Armco Steel Corp. which operates plants in Middletown, Ohio; Ashland, Ky.; and Houston, Tex., is a major user of coal from the area in their coking process for making steel. At the present time, their stockpiled coal supply is depleted to the point that company estimates indicate production cutbacks will have to be initiated in approximately 10 days. The three steel plants I mentioned earlier employ a total of 17,000 people, all of whom would be directly affected.

At the same time, other business and industry will also be directly affected. Electric power shortages will be imminent, threatening the proper functioning of such vital services as hospitals, medical centers, and other emergency treatment facilities. Likewise, needed governmental services are also threatened.

The hospital directors, the steel industry representatives, and other business representatives have recognized the crisis that is upon us. They have appealed to me in a jointly signed letter to seek action to resolve the shortage of coal.

Since these work stoppages involve approximately 20 percent of the Nation's coal production, thus indicating the enormity and gravity of the situation, I am attempting to find a solution to this critical problem.

I have telegramed Mr. William D. Lee, Administrator of the Business and Defense Services Administration in the Department of Commerce requesting immediate imposition of export embargoes on coal. I suggested that such embargoes should be continued until such time that coal mining and production are returned to capacity.

Because of the serious national consequences that will face us if this situation is not immediately rectified, I am urging my colleagues to take similar action in urging Federal officials to impose the necessary restrictions to eliminate these critical coal shortages.

KIDNAPING OF AID POLICE ADVISER DAN MITRIONE

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

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Dan Mitrione was 50 years of age yesterday, and he is the father of nine children. He is the U.S. AID police adviser to the Government of Uruguay, and as you know was kidnaped July 31 on his way to work at the U.S. Embassy, and brutally shot by a group of MNL Communist terrorists in Montevideo.

Mr. Speaker, two notes purported to be from the kidnapers have been received. One describes the gunshot wound as entering the right side of his sternum, and exiting through the left armpit, the kind of wound that most probably occurred while he was lying on his side.

The other note, in Mr. Mitrione's own handwriting, said he was being interrogated "deeply" by the kidnapers. The kidnapers admitted in their note that Mr. Mitrione was being interrogated, "as his condition permitted."

Now, Mr. Speaker, as a physician I would say that I believe that such a wound is apt to introduce severe infection that would be difficult to control. Mr. Mitrione happens to also be allergic to penicillin. The treatment of the wound of this kind would normally be handled

in a hospital any place in the world, and not by butcher shop type of surgery or emergency treatment. The very inhumanity of holding this wounded American official, and interrogating him while he is recovering is appalling. Every American should join in expressing his indignation and demand that Mr. Mitrione be released and given hospitalization immediately. This holding for ransom, or for the release of convicted murderers, bank robbers, and kidnapers under the law of that sovereign nation, must cease.

Mr. Speaker, as a legislator I say that it is time that this Government, and all civilized governments, condemn terrorism as a means of political action. I call on the press of America to stop adherance to a double standard, of raising cain on the one hand about the Con Son prison, and maximum security cages for captured Communists, and on the other hand letting instances such as this go by without alerting the American public.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

CONCERN FOR KIDNAPING OF DAN MITRIONE

(Mr. DENNIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to associate myself with the expression of concern and indignation voiced by my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Missouri, in connection with the kidnaping and holding for ransom of Dan Mitrione by the dissidents in the South American republic of Uruguay.

It so happens that Dan Mitrione is a native of my own city of Richmond, Ind. He was formerly the police chief there and I know him well. He is a distinguished public servant and very high-grade American citizen. It is indeed an unfortunate thing that an American who goes abroad to serve his country as Dan Mitrione has done should be subjected to this type of terroristic activity.

I sincerely hope that everything feasible will be done to secure his early release and to relieve the concern of his family, with whom I have been in close touch since this unfortunate occasion arose.

RIGHTS OF LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN

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

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, assuming but not deciding that the President may have made a mistake in judgment or made a poor choice of words when he referred to the Manson case, I think we, too, here may be committing a mistake in making political trial out of this incident. Sometimes like the courts, we become preoccupied with the rights of the wrongdoers and forget the rights of those law-abiding, hard-working, respectable American citizens who constitute about 97 percent of the population.

Those persons who always plead and cry about the poor criminals or the poor persons charged with crime should not overlook the fact that there are many, many safeguards provided for under our Constitution. I am speaking not only as one who has been involved in law enforcement in the past but also as a former prosecuting attorney. Persons are not picked up and charged with crime just on the whim of a police officer. If a person is arrested, there is probable cause. Then he goes before a hearing magistrate who again must determine whether there is probable cause. If the magistrate feels there is, there is next a grand jury hearing to determine whether or not there is probable cause, and whether the person did, in fact, commit an offense. After this an indictment may or may not be returned, and after the indictment the person is presented in the court to enter his plea to the charges, and he then has an opportunity to be provided with counsel, if counsel is not available to him because of financial conditions. He is then given a choice of a trial by jury or court trial with counsel; and in order to be convicted he must be convicted beyond a reasonable doubt and unanimously by a jury ,all 12.

The comments of the President notwithstanding, let us think also about the rights of the law-abiding citizens in this country, and not become too preoccupied with the "rights" of the wrongdoers.

EFFECT OF PRESIDENT'S COMMENT ON THE PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

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

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the comments by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DEVINE), I think the specific worry in the case just referred to is what happens to the poor prosecutor who is attempting to get a conviction in this case, the effect on that case and on the prosecution by the comment?

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON THE BILL S. 3302 AMENDMENT TO DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT OF 1950

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 3302), an act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes, with a House amendment thereto, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Mr. PATMAN, Mrs. SULLIVAN, Messrs. REUSS, ASHLEY, WIDNALL, MIZE, and BLACKBURN.

PROVIDING FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-1376) on the resolution (H. Res. 1065) to provide funds for the Committee on the Judiciary, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1065

Resolved, That the additional expenses of conducting the studies and investigations authorized by H. Res. 93 of the Ninety-first Congress, incurred by the Committee on the Judiciary, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $30,000 including expenditures for the employment of experts, special counsel, clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, and all expenses necessary for travel and subsistence incurred by members and employees while engaged in the activities of the committee or any subcommittee thereof, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman of such committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

SEC. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Does this deal with one investigation or with all investigations being carried on by the committee?

Mr. HAYS. It deals with all investigations, I say to the gentleman. This committee had originally $370,000 for the 2 years of this Congress, which is much less than many other committees of similar size and jurisdiction. They saw they were running short because of added investigations put on them. They came in, and the committee unanimously decided to give them this amount.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his explanation.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING PAYMENT OF EXPENDITURES INCURRED BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91-1377) on the resolution (H. Res. 1115) authorizing expenditures incurred by the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures to be paid from the contingent fund of the House, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1115

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by H. Res. 1062, Ninety-first Congress, incurred by the Special

Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1970, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $70,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee, signed by the chairman of the committee, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. The official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia if not otherwise engaged.

SEC. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law.

With the following committee amendment:

Committee amendment: On page 1, line 5, strike out "$70,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$60,000".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMPENSATION OF TWO POSITIONS CREATED BY HOUSE RESOLUTION 543, 89TH CONGRESS

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91–1378) on the resolution (H. Res. 1117) relating to the compensation of two positions created by House Resolution 543, 89th Congress, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1117

Resolved, That, until otherwise provided by law, effective as of January 1, 1970, the per annum (gross) rate of compensation (basic compensation plus additional compensation authorized by law) of each of the two positions referred to in House Resolution 543, Eighty-ninth Congress, shall not exceed the annual rate of basic pay for level IV of the Executive Schedule of section 5315 of title 5, United States Code. The contingent fund of the House of Representatives is made available to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Is this a salary increase for certain individuals?

Mr. HAYS. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman state what the positions are?

Mr. HAYS. I am not sure of the titles of the positions. I guess one would call it Secretary of the House Democratic Steering Committee and of the House Republican Conference. This would allow the pay of those gentlemen, at the discretion of the Republican Conference and the Democratic Steering Committee, to be set at a ceiling $2,000 higher than it is now. It would allow, if those two bodies so decide, the raising of these two men $2,000 above what they are getting.

Mr. GROSS. What are the salaries now?

Mr. HAYS. $36,000.

Mr. GROSS. And this would raise them to $38,000?

Mr. HAYS. This would permit them to be raised to $38,000.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, this would also increase their retirement and other fringe benefits?

Mr. HAYS. It would carry with it whatever the new salary carried with it at that level in the executive scale.

Mr. GROSS. $38,000?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. There are a lot of people downtown making that too. We never get much of an argument about them.

I am not going to argue the merits of the case. I will just say to the gentleman, that is the fact, and there we are.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me on this subject?

Mr. HAYS. I will not say I will be delighted, but I yield.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman yielding. As he so often cautions a Member, I do so at my own risk.

Mr. HAYS. If the gentleman will permit me, I am afraid this time it is at my risk; but go ahead.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I have been long concerned about the culmination of events in which we find ourselves, concerning not only the President's pay, which I believe was one of the greatest mistakes that ever happened in the way and time it came about, but also the pay of Members, and the fact that we decided to vote on whether or not to recess for Easter a year ago in 1969 without voting on our own pay increase.

Now then, we have had a long series of pay increases for Members and functionaries, and we have had increases in our own clerk hire. When I go back home—and I just completed a primary yesterday—the one thing concerning the people more than anything else is stopping the spiral of inflation and what their elected officials are doing to what used to be known as the public trust, toward enhancing their own benefits. To my way of thinking, thinking this over specifically for these individual employees of the House—and I will say to the distinguished gentleman that I have been consulted about them by various Members, and I do understand there is a tradeoff here with equal opportunity for both sides and that it is not a partisan question—but I think we are making a terrific mistake in increasing the salaries when, in fact, we should be retrenching those that have gotten out of hand, including our own. I am strongly opposed to this resolution.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, a point of order. The gallery is not in order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to those in the gallery that they are guests of the House. The Chair is not admonishing them at this time, but it calls to their attention that no manifestation of approval or disapproval can be evidenced, because it violates the rules of the House.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, before the question is put will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me?

Mr. HAYS. I will yield, but first I would like to make a comment myself.

I have observed over the years that everybody is opposed to anybody getting a pay increase unless it is them. I suspect that the people in the gallery who have exhibited their concern about this would be among the first, if they belong to a labor union, to try to get a settlement which would increase their pay.

Mr. Speaker, fighting inflation is not a one-man job or a job that the Congress can do by itself. In fact, raising the salaries of Government employees, I would like to say to the gentlemen, has become a "must" because of the standards set in other places outside the Government in order to keep Government employees at a par, where they can continue to exist.

I am not talking about these two specific cases, because they have to be judged on the merits of the people holding the particular jobs. I am here as an agent of the committee presenting the resolution. But I would say that it has been my experience that everybody is against a pay increase for everybody but themselves.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, it is my recollection when this resolution came up in the committee there was a difference in the two salaries that were to be paid. One was to be $38,000 and one was to be $36,000, if I remember correctly. They have both been changed to $38,000 now as a limit. Is that correct?

Mr. HAYS. As I understand the legislation, this would set the top limit at $38,000, although it is within the discretion of the Republican conference and the Democratic steering committee to set them at any point below that if they see fit.

Mr. DICKINSON. I understand it, but it is my recollection of the committee effort that the figures were not the same as they are here today. The Democratic figure was set at $38,000 and the Republican figure was at $36,000. That was the way it was reported out.

Mr. HAYS. May I say to the gentleman that was my understanding, but on a rereading of the legislation it looks to me as though we were laboring under a misapprehension there and that this particular bill says each of the two positions, and it mentions the Executive Schedule, level IV of section 5315 of title 5 of the United States Code. That level IV, with all of this rigmarole that I just read, sets them both at $38,000.

Mr. DICKINSON. That is the point I was trying to make. This is not what we approved, according to my recollection of the action we took yesterday. I did not vote for it. As a matter of fact, I opposed it in the committee. However, the resolution presented in the committee did not raise it to $38,000 for both. It raised one to $36,000 and one to $38,000. It is not what we voted on yesterday, and I think we should refer it back to the committee.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

This is, of course, a resolution that would affect both sides of the aisle.

Mr. HAYS. May I say to the gentleman before he proceeds any further that this is a reform bill, if that makes any difference.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Well, I am

not sure whether the element of reform is involved, but I was under the same impression, frankly, as the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. DICKINSON) when this matter was discussed with me informally off the floor some time ago. What we were talking about was a level of $36,000 rather than $38,000. And, incidentally, the corresponding official in the House Republican Council is not paid at anything near that rate at the present time. I personally would not want to interpose any veto from my own personal point of view on what you may want to do on that side of the aisle with respect to setting salaries for the Executive Director of your Democratic Steering Committee. However, I do feel obliged to say that when this matter was discussed with me that I clearly understood that the top figure was $36,000 rather than $38,000. And I am wondering, in view of the confusion that seems to exist, or some misunderstanding on the floor today, if it would not be wise to withdraw this matter from consideration temporarily so that we can have some meeting of the minds.

Mr. HAYS. I would say to the gentleman from Illinois that the people who sponsor the resolution do not want to withdraw it, and I do not intend to withdraw it on my own volition. But let me say to the gentleman—and I think perhaps I can clear up some of the confusion that appears to exist—that I certainly was not participating in any attempt to mislead anybody that the minority person get less money. I understand that he gets less money than the majority.

Let me say to you that this is not a very enviable position for the gentleman who is speaking to you. I can say to you that I think some of the salaries around here are too high for some people who do less work than the people we are talking about. For example—and I am not attempting to make this an issue at all—but as you know, on the minority side—and we had it when we were in the minority—we have, you might say, shadow ministers for Doorkeeper and for Sergeant-at-Arms, and for the Postmaster. And these people, I do not know what they do, if anything, but they get paid within $2,000 of what the fellow who is actually doing the work is getting. You know that the two men we are talking about are really working, and they produce. And if we are going to talk about withdrawing and reforming and more understanding, maybe we ought to reform the whole thing. But at the moment this is the only issue before the House.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HAYS. I yield further to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to agree with what the gentleman has just said with respect to these positions, we are not talking about people who are just perfunctory officials. In the case of the gentleman who is the executive director of the House Republican Conference, he is a man who has an advanced degree and an earned doctorate, and he works full time and supervises a fairly large staff of volunteer and semivolunteer employees, so I do not apologize to anyone in view of his academic achievements and responsibilities to recommend a salary limit of the kind being talked about. I would appreciate, however, some final clarification for the record here today as to whether or not we are talking about $38,000 or $36,000; it is still not clear to me.

Mr. HAYS. I clarified that, may I say to the gentleman, at least three times. We are talking about $38,000.

It has been customary—and do not ask me why—but it has been customary that the minority man, maybe because he works with fewer people, I do not know, get a couple of thousand dollars or so less than the majority. That is the way it is with the Doorkeeper. The Doorkeeper gets a certain figure, and the shadow Doorkeeper—I do not know what to call him, and I do not care—but the man who would become the Doorkeeper if the minority party became the majority party, and who is here ready to assume that job some time, is getting paid $2,000 less than the Doorkeeper. I did not set that differential. I do not know who did. It was that way when I came here. But that is the custom, and I think that is how the misunderstanding arose that we would assume that the minority man would get $2,000 less. I am not saying he should, I am simply saying that he can get the same salary, and that the Republican Conference will make that determination.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

I can testify, as has the gentleman from Illinois with respect to the executive director of the Republican Conference, that the Executive Director of the House Democratic Steering Committee is one of the most able and dedicated House employees. A tireless worker with exceptional talents and with an outstanding educational background, his is one of the most responsible jobs in the House. For over 20 years he has been a valued employee. He formerly occupied a senior position on the staff of the Committee on Banking and Currency. He has been of invaluable assistance to the Speaker of the House and to myself as well as to all the leadership and to the chairman and members of the Democratic Steering Committee.

But I do not think that is the key point. I do not think the key point is whether we are paying officials and employees of the House too much or too little. I do think it is necessary and fair that we consider an adjustment in their salaries when an adjustment is in order. In my view, this is the key point with respect to this resolution.

The administrative assistants of the leadership of the House of Representatives, as all members of the leadership know, receive $36,000 a year as a maximum subject to the discretion of the employing authority.

I think all Members of the House also know that the elected officials of the House receive more than $38,000. This resolution will be an intermediate salary position for these individuals who serve a much broader spectrum of the House than one single leader.

It seems to me a fair reappraisal of the entire structure, and I say that without reference to the individuals concerned and I say it without any reference to what should be done with regard to the total salary structure.

I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for one brief comment?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the distinguished majority leader. I think he made a very fine statement and one with which I find myself in agreement.

We are not talking today about a general pay raise for all employees or for a great number of people. We are talking about two specific positions, one on the Democratic side and one on the Republican side, responsible positions filled by responsible people. And for the reasons that the gentleman has given and some of the other things that I said earlier I will support the resolution offered by the gentleman.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, according to the rules of the House would a point of order lie to this bill inasmuch as it is not as was reported out of the committee yesterday, and is not identical? Would a point of order lie at this point?

The SPEAKER. The resolution is already under consideration and there has been debate.

Any point of order against its consideration would come too late at this time.

Mr. DICKINSON. I thank the Speaker.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 90, nays 285, not voting 55, as follows:

[Roll No. 255]

YEAS—90

Albert	Aspinall	Bevill
Alexander	Barrett	Bingham
Anderson, Ill.	Bell, Calif.	Boggs
Annunzio	Berry	Boland

Brademas	Gonzalez	Morgan
Brooks	Green, Pa.	Murphy, Ill.
Brown, Calif.	Halpern	Murphy, N.Y.
Broyhill, Va.	Hamilton	Olsen
Burke, Mass.	Hansen, Idaho	O'Neill, Mass.
Burton, Calif.	Harrington	Passman
Byrne, Pa.	Hathaway	Patman
Caffery	Hawkins	Patten
Celler	Hays	Pepper
Cohelan	Hébert	Perkins
Corman	Hechler, W. Va.	Philbin
Daniels, N.J.	Helstoski	Podell
Davis, Ga.	Holifield	Price, Ill.
Dingell	Hosmer	Rees
Donohue	Johnson, Calif.	Reifel
Edmondson	Jones, Ala.	Reuss
Edwards, La.	Kazen	Rodino
Ellberg	Kluczynski	Roe
Fascell	Leggett	Rooney, N.Y.
Feighan	McClory	Rooney, Pa.
Flood	Macdonald, Mass.	Sisk
Flowers		Steed
Ford, Gerald R.	Madden	Teague, Tex.
Fraser	Matsunaga	Thompson, N.J.
Friedel	Meeds	Udall
Fulton, Tenn.	Mink	Waggonner
Garmatz	Moorhead	

NAYS—285

Abbitt	Esch	McFall
Abernethy	Eshleman	McKneally
Adair	Evans, Colo.	McMillan
Adams	Farbstein	MacGregor
Addabbo	Findley	Mahon
Anderson, Calif.	Fish	Mailliard
	Fisher	Mann
Andrews, Ala.	Foley	Marsh
Andrews, N. Dak.	Foreman	Martin
	Fountain	Mathias
Arends	Frelinghuysen	May
Ashbrook	Frey	Mayne
Ashley	Fulton, Pa.	Melcher
Ayres	Fuqua	Michel
Beall, Md.	Galifianakis	Mikva
Belcher	Gaydos	Miller, Calif.
Bennett	Gettys	Miller, Ohio
Betts	Giaimo	Mills
Biaggi	Gibbons	Minish
Biester	Goldwater	Minshall
Blackburn	Goodling	Mize
Blanton	Green, Oreg.	Mizell
Bow	Griffin	Mollohan
Bray	Griffiths	Monagan
Brinkley	Gross	Montgomery
Brock	Grover	Morse
Broomfield	Gubser	Morton
Brotzman	Gude	Mosher
Brown, Mich.	Hagan	Moss
Brown, Ohio	Haley	Myers
Broyhill, N.C.	Hall	Natcher
Buchanan	Hammer-schmidt	Nedzi
Burke, Fla.		Nelsen
Burlison, Mo.	Hanley	Nichols
Burton, Utah	Hanna	Nix
Bush	Hansen, Wash.	Obey
Button	Harsha	O'Hara
Byrnes, Wis.	Harvey	O'Konski
Camp	Hastings	O'Neal, Ga.
Carter	Heckler, Mass.	Pettis
Cederberg	Henderson	Pickle
Chamberlain	Hicks	Pike
Chappell	Hogan	Pirnie
Chisholm	Horton	Poage
Clancy	Hull	Poff
Clausen, Don H.	Hungate	Preyer, N.C.
	Hunt	Price, Tex.
Clawson, Del	Hutchinson	Pryor, Ark.
Cleveland	Jacobs	Pucinski
Collier	Jarman	Purcell
Collins	Johnson, Pa.	Quie
Colmer	Jonas	Railsback
Conable	Jones, N.C.	Randall
Conte	Jones, Tenn.	Rarick
Corbett	Karth	Reid, Ill.
Coughlin	Kastenmeier	Reid, N.Y.
Cowger	Kee	Rhodes
Crane	Keith	Rivers
Culver	Kleppe	Roberts
Daniel, Va.	Koch	Robison
Davis, Wis.	Kuykendall	Rogers, Colo.
de la Garza	Kyl	Rogers, Fla.
Delaney	Kyros	Roth
Dellenback	Landgrebe	Rousselot
Denney	Landrum	Roybal
Dennis	Langen	Ruppe
Derwinski	Latta	Ruth
Devine	Lennon	St Germain
Dickinson	Lloyd	Sandman
Dorn	Long, Md.	Satterfield
Downing	Lowenstein	Saylor
Dulski	McCloskey	Schadeberg
Duncan	McClure	Scherle
Dwyer	McCulloch	Scheuer
Eckhardt	McDade	Schmitz
Edwards, Ala.	McDonald, Mich.	Schneebeli
Edwards, Calif.		Schwengel
Scott	Stuckey	Whitten
Sebelius	Sullivan	Widnall
Shipley	Talcott	Wiggins
Shriver	Taylor	Williams
Sikes	Teague, Calif.	Wilson, Bob
Skubitz	Thomson, Wis.	Wilson, Charles H.
Slack	Ullman	
Smith, Calif.	Van Deerlin	Winn
Smith, Iowa	Vander Jagt	Wold
Smith, N.Y.	Vanik	Wolff
Snyder	Vigorito	Wyatt
Springer	Waldie	Wydler
Staggers	Wampler	Wylie
Stanton	Watkins	Wyman
Steiger, Ariz.	Watson	Yates
Steiger, Wis.	Watts	Yatron
Stephens	Whalen	Zablocki
Stokes	Whalley	Zion
Stratton	White	Zwach
Stubblefield	Whitehurst	

NOT VOTING—55

Anderson, Tenn.	Dowdy	Ottinger
	Erlenborn	Pelly
Baring	Evins, Tenn.	Pollock
Blatnik	Fallon	Powell
Bolling	Flynt	Quillen
Brasco	Ford, William D.	Riegle
Burleson, Tex.		Rosenthal
Cabell	Gallagher	Rostenkowski
Carey	Gilbert	Roudebush
Casey	Gray	Ryan
Clark	Howard	Stafford
Clay	Ichord	Symington
Conyers	King	Taft
Cramer	Long, La.	Thompson, Ga.
Cunningham	Lujan	Tiernan
Daddario	Lukens	Tunney
Dawson	McCarthy	Weicker
Dent	McEwen	Wright
Diggs	Meskill	Young

So the resolution was rejected.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama, Mr. FLOWERS, Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota, Mr. COWGER, Mr. FINDLEY, and Mr. CULVER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FUNDS FOR OPERATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91–1379) on the resolution (H. Res. 1145) providing funds for the operation of the Select Committee on Small Business, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1145

Resolved, That the further expenses of conducting the study and investigation authorized by H. Res. 66 of the Ninety-first Congress, incurred by the select committee appointed to study and investigate the problems of small business, not to exceed $50,000 in addition to the unexpended balance of any sum heretofore made available for conducting such study and investigation, including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Small Business shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

SEC. 3. Funds authorized by this resolution shall be expended pursuant to regulations established by the Committee on House Administration under existing law.

Mr. HAYS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF "EDUCATION IN ISRAEL" FOR USE OF SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I submit a privileged report (Rept. No. 91–1380) on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 679) authorizing the printing of additional copies of "Education in Israel" for use of the Select Subcommittee on Education, and ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 679

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there shall be printed concurrently, ten thousand additional copies of the report of the Select Subcommittee on Education entitled "Education in Israel" for the use of the Select Subcommittee on Education.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 2, strike out the words "printed concurrently," and insert in lieu thereof the word "reprinted."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT ON STATUS OF NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 91–372)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Sixth Annual Report on the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and to affirm this Administration's intent to pursue the objectives of the National Wilderness Act aggressively in the coming months.

Wilderness is a magnificent part of the American heritage. The wilderness that witnessed the nation's birth no longer spreads from one ocean to the other,

but neither has it all been tamed. Many of these untamed lands, majestic reminders of primeval America, have been reserved and now comprise the National Wilderness Preservation System. We must do more now to preserve additional areas of this priceless national heritage.

During 1969, I signed into law the addition of two new units to the National Wilderness Preservation System. However, I am convinced that in the past we have moved too slowly, in both the executive and the legislative branches, towards the goal of completion of our national wilderness system.

I have asked that the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior begin immediately to augment their efforts in the study of possible wilderness areas, as directed by the Act, and to accelerate the study schedules which they have been following. I have asked them to review their needs for additional resources and will ask the Congress for any additional funding which may be needed to make this new wilderness effort possible.

On the legislative side, the Congress now has before it twenty wilderness proposals transmitted by the previous Administration and endorsed by this Administration. Early action on these measures would represent the quickest way to expand our wilderness system. Therefore, I urge the Congress to give speedy and favorable consideration to as many of these proposals as possible at this session of the Congress.

I look forward to the next annual report on the wilderness system, confident that I will be able to report substantial and encouraging progress on both the study and the enactment of wilderness proposals. I cannot stress too strongly my conviction that we must push vigorously ahead to preserve for future generations the opportunity to enjoy the singular encounter with nature which only wilderness can provide.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 5, 1970.*

TWENTY-FIRST SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-314)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

Transmitted herewith is the Twenty-first Semiannual Report of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 5, 1970.*

AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1970

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 18546) to establish improved programs for the benefit of producers and consumers of dairy products, wool, wheat, feed grains, cotton, and other commodities, to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair requests the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. PRICE, to temporarily assume the chair.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for further consideration of the bill H.R. 18546, with Mr. PRICE of Illinois (Chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. When the Committee rose on yesterday the Clerk had read the committee amendment, beginning on page 1, line 5, and ending on page 2, line 24.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we have spent considerably more time on the preliminaries than had been anticipated. I believe, therefore, it is fair to tell the House that it is the intention of those charged with handling this bill to try to complete work tonight, no matter how long we go.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I should like to indicate my full support for the statement made by the gentleman from Texas, that we ought to finish this bill today.

Mr. POAGE. I appreciate the gentleman's statement. While I do not see the majority leader at present, it is my understanding he concurs in that viewpoint.

In order to do that, I would call attention to the fact that we are now entering on a discussion of a most important amendment. I believe we should have adequate time to discuss this amendment.

However, it would be my purpose when it has become evident that there has been a reasonable discussion of it to ask unanimous consent that we fix a time. I will not do that for some time to come, but I do expect to do it at a proper time, and I want the House to understand we are going to try to bring this thing to an end rather than let this run interminably.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. I believe the gentleman knows that I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute that I would like to offer for explanatory purposes.

Mr. POAGE. Yes.

Mr. HALL. I thoroughly concur in the plans the gentleman and the majority and minority leaders have just expressed. I do not intend to take a lot of time with my amendment, nor to press it unduly, but I do want time to present it. I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture if he would prefer that that be offered when recognized under the first title, or at the conclusion of the Clerk's reading of all the bill by title, which the gentleman from Missouri would prefer; although I do not want to be caught in a forced limitation of time.

Mr. POAGE. It would be perfectly satisfactory to me either way, but if I may suggest, it seems to me it is always wise to offer such a substitute first rather than last, because if you wait until the last, everybody will be anxious to quit this place and you will get no consideration of it at that time.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman for this opinion—"A word to the wise is sufficient."

Mr. POAGE. As to the matter of limitations, Mr. Chairman, I think this is the crux of this bill. This is the one point on which there is a substantial difference, but it could cause a breakdown in the whole bill. The entire idea of limitations is based on an erroneous theory of what we are limiting. What are you limiting? They say that we are going to limit the amount of money which one man can get. What are you limiting? You are actually limiting the payments to any one individual who is participating in the program. We want these people to participate in the program. The whole success of the program is based on participation. There will not be any compulsory requirement for balancing supply and demand under this bill. The only way that you can get a balance between supply and demand under this bill is through widespread participation in the program.

Now, if we want a bill and if we want it to work, we want participation, and we want it from everybody. It does not make any difference, really, whether it comes from a large man or a small man. The result is just the same whether you take the water out of the bunghole or out of the spigot. It reduces the amount in the barrel by just the same amount.

Do we really want the large producers to participate? That is the question. The Secretary says that he wants them to participate, and I think we all want them to participate. Unless there is reasonable participation, as a matter of fact, none of these programs will work and you will be wasting about $3.5 billion.

I just want to call the attention of the House to the fact that you did what I thought was wise just a few minutes ago and saved $4,000, and I was one who voted against that resolution. However, let us try to save $3 billion or $4 billion here. That is what is involved. It is between $3 billion and $4 billion. If you waste it by making the program ineffectual, you had better not spend it. Your program cannot be effective if you are going to try to drive all of those large growers in the United States out of the program, because then they will be producing too much of those commodities that are in surplus such as wheat and feed grains and will not be producing

enough of those commodities that are in short supply like cotton.

You will simply not have that balance which the Secretary is attempting to achieve in this bill. All of the argument that we should reduce these payments is based on the assumption that we are giving them something. These payments, as a matter of fact, have not been so high and they will not be so high under this bill as to be very attractive to a great many people.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. POAGE was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. POAGE. I have a statement from the Department of Agriculture pointing out that during the calendar year 1968, which is the last year for which we have all of the figures, of the large growers of cotton in the United States only 50 percent, only 50 percent, took advantage of all of the retirement payments which they could have received had they participated to the extent they had a right to do.

In other words, they did not put in as much land as they could have put in and received payment for it. If they had thought it was a profitable deal, if they had thought the payment under this program was entirely profit, if they thought it was a giveaway, would they not have taken the additional money? But they felt—at least half of them felt—that it was not worth while to participate to the full extent, and they did not—and these are the figures of the Department of Agriculture, and any of you can come up here and look at them if you wish to.

Wheat growers were even less interested. Of wheat growers 85 percent did not take the maximum.

Now, on feed grains it is true that there were only 27 percent who failed to take the maximum, so on feed grains a large portion of them did participate.

It seems to me that indicates very clearly that those people were not getting something given to them, they were getting a payment that might or might not recompense them for the loss which they would sustain in joining with their neighbors in balancing our supply and demand. And that is what this whole bill attempts to do—to balance supply and demand.

To propose a limitation of anything lower than $55,000 would, according to the Secretary of Agriculture, jeopardize the chances of bringing about that balance.

Now we have given all Members a chance to vote on a $55,000 limitation so that any man or woman who feels that he or she must vote for limitations has that opportunity now. We have offered the opportunity to place a limit of $55,000, which we hope we can live with. We cannot, as the Secretary says, and as the President says, effectively live with something less than that. So we provide the way here, where all of you who feel you must vote for a limitation will have an opportunity of voting directly for a limitation. But now in voting for limitations do not destroy the bill by going so far with this demand for limitations that you make the bill ineffective. I plead with you to adopt the $55,000 limitation rather than something lower.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LOWENSTEIN TO THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LOWENSTEIN to the committee amendment: On page 2, line 3 strike "$55,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$10,000."

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I have been deeply impressed as a new Member by the diligence that has marked the way the Agriculture Committee has done its work. I have appreciated the opportunity of working with the committee under the leadership of its distinguished and hard-working chairman and ranking minority member. I wish I had been able to contribute more effectively to its deliberations, and I am still hopeful that I will be able to vote for a farm bill.

Sound agricultural legislation is in the interest of every American, wherever he may live, and, if we could agree on a bill that would be fair to small farmers and to taxpayers and consumers, it would be a great service to the whole Nation. Unfortunately, the committee bill, even if the committee amendment were added, does not meet this standard. There are a number of troublesome features in the bill, but the most serious—serious enough to be fatal, as far as I am concerned—is the failure to cope adequately with the problem of payment limitations.

It is true that the committee amendment is a step forward—a significant step inasmuch as it accepts the principle of payment limitation. But the limitation is too high and the loopholes too great for it to stop the abuses that have grown up and that undermines the validity of the whole support program. We represent particular constituencies here, but we are also responsible for the general good of the country, and the committee amendment, in my judgment, falls far short of protecting the broader interests of taxpayers, consumers, and small farmers. It holds out the real possibility—the real danger—that something will be adopted that will look like a payment limitation, that will sound like a payment limitation, that will in fact be called a payment limitation, but that will not really limit payments very much.

My amendment meets only one part of that problem. If it is adopted, I hope we will proceed to adopt the language of the Conte-Findley amendment to close loopholes and prevent what has been called slippage. If we do these things, I believe we will have a farm bill that will be fairer to farmers and fairer to all our citizens.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to compliment the gentleman from New York for the work that he has done in the Agriculture Committee. I realize he has offered this amendment in the committee for $10,000 and also for $20,000. And I compliment him for all of the labor that he has put into getting a sensible farm limitation subsidy payment.

I have worked with the gentleman for untold hours. He knows the subject matter well. He has done his homework and he certainly deserves a great deal of credit.

I am sorry however that I am going to have to oppose the gentleman on the $10,000 provision although I feel that $10,000 is not too low. But I am also practical enough to realize that this House has twice on a rollcall vote passed a $20,000 limitation. I feel that the House will again pass a $20,000 limitation here today.

I am very, very much opposed to the $55,000-per-crop limitation. The Secretary of Agriculture said that it will save the taxpayers only $48 million. Compare that to the $20,000 limitation which will save the taxpayers $177 million.

Also, Mr. Chairman, the amendment that has been offered by the gentleman from New York does not contain any language to prevent slippage. Under the committee bill, under the $55,000-per-crop limitation there will be slippage.

I want to explain what slippage is.

A farm—corporation farm or an individual farm or a family farm can get around this law by subdividing his land and giving it to his children or to his friends or setting up 10 small dummy corporations and thereby getting around this limitation on the payment.

The substitute amendment which I will offer, after the gentleman from New York has concluded his remarks, calls for a $20,000 per crop limitation. It also has language in it which will prevent slippage. It also will include wool—which the committee amendment and your amendment does not include. Also it includes a limitation which will apply to the States and municipalities, which the committee amendment does not, and which also your amendment does not contain.

As I say, I think the gentleman's amendment has a great deal of merit but it does not have these refinements and therefore I will offer a substitute after the gentleman from New York has spoken, which will provide for a $20,000 per crop with language that will prevent farm splitting to get around the amendment.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended for 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of the distinguished majority leader.

I appreciate also the generous remarks of my colleague, the unusually able gentleman from Massachusetts, whose substitute I will support wholeheartedly should my amendment fail. It is a sound proposal, and we are all indebted to him and to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) for their notable

contributions to the effort to develop a sound farm program. I would prefer $10,000 as the limitation per crop, but $20,000 is an acceptable compromise that would make it possible to support the bill.

But it is nevertheless true that a limitation of $10,000 per farm per crop is a larger subsidy than we grant to individuals in almost any other sector of the economy.

It has been suggested that with the $55,000 limitation we would have wider participation in the support program. I would suggest that if participation is a major concern, the great beneficiaries—the corporations that get hundreds of thousands of taxpayers' dollars as a reward for not growing things—those giant "farms" are not going to participate under a $55,000 ceiling any more than they would under a $20,000 ceiling. Only the loopholes that permit slippage may encourage their participation. If that is to be the criterion, I cannot see how any ceiling could be acceptable.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. I am happy to yield to the very distinguished gentleman, the chairman of the committee.

Mr. POAGE. What does the gentleman suppose will happen to the land of those who do not participate? When a man who is under the cotton program does not grow cotton next year what would happen to that land? What would he grow on it?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. I suppose he would have to make a choice of whether to grow some other crops or not to use the land.

Mr. POAGE. How can he afford not to use the land? If you are in California your land is worth $1,000 an acre and you are going to have to use it for some productive purpose.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Right.

Mr. POAGE. What other crop can the gentleman suggest that the farmer go into so that there would not be caused an oversupply in the other crop?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. That is not the primary problem. Unfortunately what the subsidy program is doing as it now operates is to give ever larger farms ever large subsidies, without making it easier for the average small farmer to continue in business.

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman has not stayed with the question I am asking. I am asking what will happen if we divert cotton land into corn. We would have too much corn, would we not?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Correct.

Mr. POAGE. We would have more corn. We would simply move the problem from one crop to another, would we not?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. What I am trying to point out——

Mr. POAGE. The effect is simply to move the problem from one crop to another, but you would still have the problem.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. But if you follow that logic to its conclusion it could become an argument against subsidizing anything, couldn't it?

Mr. POAGE. No, it is not an argument against subsidizing anything. It is an argument against driving growers out of the program so that they will grow these or some other crop without any program whatever.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. But the program has not worked out as it was intended to. The purpose of the program was never to set up a subsidy system under which a small number of farmers would receive half a million dollars or more while the small farmer was being driven off the land anyway. If the program is to succeed, don't we have to remember what it is intended to achieve? Obviously payment limitations are not going to cure all the ills of the farm program, but isn't it clear that we must at least start toward a program that will help the small farmer to operate, not add to the likelihood that he will fall prey sooner or later to these giant farms that keep getting larger and larger?

Mr. POAGE. If the gentleman will yield further, I answered that question previously; I am sorry the gentleman did not hear it. Obviously these larger farmers today are not getting the kind of profit out of the subsidy that the gentleman is suggesting, because only 50 percent of the large cotton farmers saw fit to take advantage of all of the subsidy that they could draw under existing law. Obviously, if they were going to get such a bonanza as the gentleman has suggested, they would have drawn as much as they could. But they did not do so because they thought it would not pay even under present circumstances.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. But the distinguished chairman misses the point of my question, which I am sorry he did not hear, which is, why should we continue to subsidize a few farms to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars? If that is not in fact a bonanza, what is it?

Mr. POAGE. We provide the program in order to make the farm program work, and the farm program can work only if we are able to bring about a balance, even though a rough balance, between supply and demand. Bringing these farms into the program we do achieve that balance. We have achieved a rough balance over a good many years, and I have no reason to believe we will not be able to continue to achieve that rough balance if we bring all of our farms into the program. But if we leave out those who account for the largest part of the production, then we are not going to bring about the balance between supply and demand which both producers and consumers need.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. My difficulty is I do not see how it can fairly be called a "balance" when, as under the present program, some subsidies are so enormous that a sort of landed corpocracy takes over more and more of the land while everyone else flees to the cities. I do not want to imply that a $1,000 ceiling will solve this problem. What I am saying is that higher ceilings do not solve it either, and create serious new problems in the process of not solving it. I want to call attention to Prof. John Schnittker's studies and conclusions on these matters. As you know, he is one of America's distinguished agricultural economists, experienced in government as well as in academia and on the land itself. His views should carry great weight with anyone concerned about developing a sound farm program, and he supports amendment now being discussed.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. I yield to my friend from Indiana.

Mr. JACOBS. I was just wondering, hearing the colloquy, apparently the paramount objective for the country, according to the chairman, is the program. I am wondering if the gentleman in the well thought there was anything that should take precedence over program, such as the free enterprise system.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. What we ought to be trying to achieve is a program that will protect the legitimate interests of all the people, including those who want to stay on farms. The program as proposed would prevent the kind of balance which the chairman says he seeks and which I believe he is seeking.

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY TO THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, beginning on line 5 and continuing through the end of page 2; strike the Committee Amendment and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"TITLE I, PAYMENT LIMITATION

"SEC. 101. Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

"(1) The total amount of payments which a person shall be entitled to receive under each of the annual programs established by Titles III, IV, V, and VI of this Act for the 1971, 1972 or 1973 crop of the commodity shall not exceed $20,000.

"(2) The term 'payments' as used in this section includes price-support payments, set-aside payments, diversion payments, public access payments, and marketing certificates, but does not include loans or purchases.

"(3) If the Secretary determines that the total amount of payments which will be earned by any person under the program in effect for any crop will be reduced under this section, the set-aside acreage for the farm or farms on which such person will be sharing in payments earned under such program shall be reduced to such extent in such manner as the Secretary determines will be fair and reasonable in relation to the amount of the payment reduction.

"(4) The Secretary shall issue regulations defining the term 'person' and prescribing such rules and further limitations as he determines necessary to assure a fair and reasonable application of such limitation and to prevent the circumvention or evasion of such limitation, whether the circumvention or evasion be attempted by means of the subdivision of farms, production allotments or bases thereof through sale or lease, or by other means; *Provided*, That the provisions of this Act which limit payments to any person shall be applicable to lands owned and operated by states, political subdivisions, or agencies thereof."

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I urge acceptance of my substitute amendment instead of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN) for several reasons.

First of all, the Lowenstein amendment fails to remedy weak language in the committee amendment dealing with the problem of evasion or circumvention, also known as slippage, and it also leaves the

exemption in the committee amendment to State and public agencies. Under the Lowenstein amendment, a government agency such as the Arkansas Prison Farm, for example, could continue to get large sums of money each year in excess of the limitation figure.

The second reason that I urge for my substitute instead of the lower figure recommended by the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN), is that the Lowenstein amendment is at the level of $10,000 per commodity, and while this is very appealing for a number of reasons, I feel that the middle, moderate position represented by my substitute at $20,000 is far to be preferred.

Members on my side of the aisle may recall having heard about the letter from President Nixon cautioning against a limitation that is too low. I feel, myself, that the figure presented in the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN) at this time is in that category. At the same time, the $20,000 level has been thoroughly researched in studies. It has been the subject of a great many surveys of constituent opinion as well as surveys of more general public opinion by various periodicals. The impact of the limitation at $10,000 and the public reaction to this impact, therefore, has not been measured.

As I mentioned yesterday, my substitute is actually a bipartisan joint product. It could just as well have been offered by several other Members of the House, and especially by my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) as well as by a number of Democrats who, through the years, have been urging a limitation on payments.

This substitute does include tight language to prevent the evasion of the limit. It puts State and public agencies under the same limit as farmers and it is backed by carefully prepared, carefully drafted, thoroughly tested draft regulations, and this, I feel, is a vitally important item. If Members will turn to yesterday's RECORD on page 27141, they will find therein an insertion by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) which includes the draft regulations that we worked out together in consultation with various officials in the U.S. Government, as well as the Library of Congress.

How does the $20,000 figure compare with the committee amendment at $55,000?

First, the $20,000 level will save a lot more money. The committee amendment, assuming no evasion whatever, will cut the program cost by only $50 million. Of course, there will be evasion because there is not tight language in the committee amendment to deal with that problem.

But the Findley-Conte substitute, if we wish to refer to it that way, by the most conservative estimate would save $171 million. I assume that all Members have before them, if they wish, the text of this substitute amendment, because it was placed in the RECORD yesterday. The text of it has been freely circulated around for some time.

I might say that the $171 million saved by means of the substitute amendment would be available for pressing constructive needs. I believe we are all aware of the pressures on the Federal budget at almost every point. This would free $171 million for such purposes.

Second, I should like to make the point that it is not a fair assumption to state, as the gentleman from Texas did, that this would necessarily force out the big producers. In fact, the Under Secretary of Agriculture under Orville Freeman stated that a limitation of this sort would not interfere with the effective operation of these commodity programs.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Iowa). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. FINDLEY was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, John Schnittker, Under Secretary of Agriculture under President Johnson and previous to that under President Kennedy, initiated a study of payment limitations. In November, 1968 the results were published. They made it very plain that limitations at this level would not hurt the programs.

The farmers who would be affected would have a choice to continue to plant, as they had before, or to cut back in the planting, but I do not believe it would be a fair assumption to say the farmer would be forced out of the program or indeed would get out. I believe most of them would plant the same amount of cotton as they had in the past.

Third, a very important aspect of this substitute amendment is that it would help to improve public acceptance of farm programs. Big payments at the $55,000 a year level to giant farm operations tend to give farm programs a bad name. Under my substitute amendment payments of this size would be a thing of the past. Management decisions of commercial farms would be geared more than at present to the market and less to Government programs.

Fourth, the limit at $20,000 is a level that is clearly without any question acceptable to the executive branch. The President's letter of yesterday to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) while stating a preference for the $55,000 level, certainly did not exclude acceptance of the $20,000 level.

It is interesting to read in the committee report Secretary Hardin's letter to Mr. POAGE stating:

> Whatever limitation of payment is supported by your Committee up to $55,000 per crop will be supported by me.

I understand, now that the committee has fixed the limitation at $55,000 in their recommendation, why Secretary Hardin would see fit to bind himself to that level, but prior to that binding he did say he would support any limitation up to $55,000.

The $20,000 limit I feel is an idea whose time has come. Dozens of Congressmen have surveyed their districts. They have found it popular among city people and among rural areas alike.

Progressive Farmer, a magazine that circulates entirely in the land of cotton, took a survey last year and found that 71 percent of the farmers responding to the survey favored a limitation on payments and by far the preferred level was below $20,000 a year.

Newspapers of all sizes all over the country have called for the $20,000 limit.

The Senate has now accepted this level. Will the House sustain its position taken on three prior occasions on record votes, or will it do otherwise? Will it use the convenience of the teller vote to duck the issue and reject the amendment that it has supported on three previous occasions? I think to do so would be disgraceful. It would make the House appear to bend to pressure by big cotton interests and use the shelter of nonrecorded teller votes to duck proper responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, there is talk about whether or not farm program payments are welfare or something else. Well, welfare is not the best word to use, but the income that farmers get from the marketplace must be distinguished from Government payments. No matter how you dress it up, Government payments are personal income support. They can be justified only to the extent that they help farmers as people and as the heads of families. That is why a payment limitation is sound social policy and why a $20,000 limit makes a lot more sense than one of $55,000.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman. Yes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am quite interested in his closing remarks. He made many arguments to justify reducing the limitation payment from $55,000 to $20,000 and completed his statement by saying that to do so would be sound social policy. I thought we were concerned here with a farm bill and something good for the agriculture industry. I did not know we were legislating in a social way here today.

Mr. FINDLEY. I will say to the gentleman that whenever the U.S. Government spends dollars extracted at great pain from the taxpayers it should see to it that those dollars are spent on appropriate social objectives.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Will the gentleman answer one question: Is the purpose of this bill to provide sound agricultural legislation or social legislation?

Mr. FINDLEY. It is to help the farmers who need help.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Then, he is wrong about it being sound socially.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois has just made reference to the fact that he wants this program administered in such a way that it will have good social results. I certainly cannot disagree with that statement. I intend to confine my remarks against the gentleman's amendment to just one area, since the other arguments on the payment limitations level have been and will continue to be well expressed.

I would call your attention to the fact that in the committee bill, when we provided for $55,000 payment limitation, the

committee included language in section 101 to exempt States and political subdivisions of the States from these payment limitations. This was done to permit public bodies in various States owning farmland to continue to serve State and local taxpayers. In so doing the committee did not intend and it does not intend that State agencies be used during the life of this act as a subterfuge by individuals subject to payment limitations or to avoid or to reduce these limitations.

I would point out under the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois this exemption is not included. The money that is now going to schools, prisons, State hospitals, and other public institutions in many States would not be exempt from this ceiling payment limitation.

In my own State of Washington where the money has been earmarked traditionally for our schools, the losses there would be very considerable, hundreds of thousands of dollars, that would have to be picked up by the taxpayers. There are many other States that would be severely hurt by the fact that this exemption from limitation has not been provided for in the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) on limitation. But it is provided for in the committee amendment.

For this reason, as well as many others expressed by my fellow members on the Committee on Agriculture, I am in opposition to the $20,000 limitation amendment, and I will support the $55,000 committee amendment limitation.

THE PENDING FARM BILL

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment, and I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, this is a critical moment in the consideration of this legislation, and in my judgment it is a critical moment in the history of agriculture.

THE 1965 FARM ACT

This is the fifth year of the program that began as a result of the Farm Act of 1965. In 1965 Congress passed a bill which pulled the rug out from under the market price of certain farm crops, and set up a system of direct payments to farmers to bridge the gap between market price and the cost of production.

Now, that was a decision of the Congress. It was not necessarily a decision of the farmers.

As a result of the 1965 act—which has operated with some considerable success—the market and loan price of cotton was cut from about 30 cents per pound to about 22 cents or less. I am speaking in general terms as the value of cotton varies as a result of differences in staple length and quality.

The direct payment to farmers was set up by Congress to help cover the cost of production and make room for a possible profit. There was no guarantee of a profit but the system made allowance for a possible profit.

I considered the direct payment system to be extremely dangerous and it was largely because of this dangerous innovation that I voted against the 1965 act.

OPPOSITION TO PAYMENT LIMITATION

It is now being proposed in the amendment that a $20,000 limitation be put on the payment to the farmer on any crop.

This would force the larger producers who do the principal job of providing food and fiber to consumers at a minimum price to do one of two things.

First, the large producer could stay out of the program and produce to the full extent of his capability. This would inundate, this would engulf the small producer, causing a drastic reduction in his allotment because of the overproduction of the larger producer who was no longer in the program. It would put the smaller producer out of business, or it would require an increase in the government payment to an extent that would be impractical.

On the other hand, if the larger producer decided not to increase his production of his customary crop, he would go into other fields of crop production.

And you may be sure that he will do one of these two things because he has the land, he has the equipment, and he has an investment of many thousands of dollars.

If he shifts to other crops, and remember that this is a big producer with a lot of land, this would violently disrupt the markets of producers of other crops. This would create an imbalance which would be highly damaging to farmers generally, especially the small farmer. Is that not obvious?

And it would be damaging to consumers who would now be confronted with chaotic conditions in the supply of agricultural products.

UPSETTING THE BALANCE OF AGRICULTURE

Today it is popular, indeed necessary, to talk about the environment, to talk about ecology. We do not want to see the balance of nature upset. We are told, and correctly so, that this threatens our very survival. We are warned of the dire consequences of disturbing the delicate balance of nature.

What then are the proponents of this amendment undertaking to do? What would be the result of their effort?

Under the payment limitation as provided in the amendment, a tremendous imbalance in agriculture would occur. Millions of acres are involved and this payment limitation amendment would have a devastating impact on the finely tuned balance of American agriculture. Do not forget that American agriculture has done a tremendous job in meeting our requirements both at home and abroad and in keeping us at the top in a field where it is essential that we stay on top.

To create an imbalance in agriculture by a deliberate action of the Congress would be intolerable, inexcusable, and unacceptable. It would bring chaos in farm-related industry and labor involving billions of dollars as well as millions of workers.

No Member is detached from this program just because he lives in the heart of a great city. Every Member is heavily involved in what would happen as a result of this amendment and he cannot afford to see an imbalance created which would jeopardize his constituents and the industry, the labor and the consumers which he represents.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MAHON) has expired.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, this is a broad aspect upon which we must cast our votes on this issue today. Yes, such an amendment creating this imbalance and bringing forward this chaos would jeopardize the security of the consumer who has through all of these years had the benefit of an assured supply of quality products for which the producer himself has been paid a very minimum price.

The small farmer who gets $1,000 in a direct payment is not assured of a $1,000 profit. The large producer who, let us say, gets $100,000 in a direct payment is not assured of a $100,000 profit. Indeed, neither the small producer nor the large producer is assured of any profit at all.

The object of the Government payment is to assist the producer in meeting the cost of production and hopefully in making some kind of profit if market conditions and weather conditions and other conditions are favorable. But in so many cases conditions are unfavorable and people are not able to hold their own in agriculture. There are many instances of great adversity and so we have failures and bankruptcies. We must not place further impediments in the way of successful agricultural enterprise.

Mr. Chairman, this Nation which depends so heavily on agriculture for power at home and abroad cannot afford to create an imbalance in agriculture which would in turn tend to destroy the greatest agricultural machine in the world—a machine which has meant so much has America in time of war and in time of peace.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Apropos of the gentleman's comments on profits, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a situation involving an average farm in eastern Colorado. In 1968 a farmer received approximately $17,000 in payments from the U.S. Government. On his tax return that year he showed a net income of $2,400. I asked him how he lived, and he said, "Off depreciation." This man has been farming wheat for 40 years.

Mr. MAHON. My friend makes a good point. What we are combating today is not what I would call a lack of interest; it is misunderstanding, misconception. What we are combating today is action which would tend to disrupt the finely tuned machine of agriculture. We do not want to slow this machine down. We do not want to destroy it. It is essential to our security and our success in the future and in all the major efforts of this country to do all the things we want to do for the poor, the weak, and citizens generally that we underpin our economy with a successful agricultural machine. We have it today. Let us keep it.

Mr. Chairman, under leave to extend my remarks, I am taking the liberty of

quoting from remarks which I made in the House on yesterday:

Mr. Chairman, the new farm bill now before the House is a compromise of many views. I think it is fair to say that generally speaking the pending bill is not enthusiastically supported by rank and file farmers and farm organizations. A major problem is that the current farm law expires at the end of this year and Congress and the administration are under heavy responsibility to come forward with farm legislation.

* * * * *

We are indeed confronted in the field of agriculture with very serious problems. I regret to say that I am fearful that we have seen the best farm programs that we will ever see. But, I would hope that we have not come to the end of farm programs which with all their faults and shortcomings, have been helpful in enabling the producers to do an outstanding job for the consumers.

I know that there are those who will speak, and there are those who have spoken today in favor of drastic payment limitation amendments. Mr. Chairman, I want to reassert my unalterable opposition to payment limitations on farm programs. One of the reasons why the programs of the past, with all their faults, have been workable has been that they have operated with the objective of fairness to producers in all parts of the nation and to the big and the little producer alike.

I am certainly not enthusiastic about this bill. I would much prefer a continuation of the farm law substantially in its present form but the Committee on Agriculture has found it impossible to agree on this course of action. The debate on the bill before us indicates that beyond a doubt there is no remote possibility of continuing substantially the farm program which we now have.

Under these circumstances, the problem is to get the best bill that we can. It is better to have something than nothing. And it is with that thought in mind that I expect to vote for this bill if the $20,000 limitation is not imposed.

OPPOSITION TO PAYMENT LIMITATION

I want to make it clear again that I oppose all payment limitations, but between the $55,000 limitation and the $20,000 limitation, I would support the higher amount. If there is to be a limitation I would prefer one higher than the $55,000. I do recognize the reality that a majority of the Members of the House favor a limitation on farm payments.

It is regrettable, Mr. Chairman, that it is never possible to secure perfect legislation. It is regrettable that Members are compelled to either vote for nothing by way of legislation or to vote for something which contains certain provisions which are objectionable.

American agriculture, I say again, is of vital importance to this country and it seems to me imperative that the House take affirmative action today and send to the other body a bill upon which the other body can work its will.

I would hope that in the other body the limitation would be eliminated or raised. It must be recognized that the future course of this legislation is unpredictable. Each Member of the House will have a further opportunity to vote again on the new farm program in the form of a conference report before it can be enacted into law.

We cannot tolerate the possibility of eliminating all farm legislation and we who believe in the necessity of some sort of farm legislation, imperfect as it may be, will find it necessary to move this bill into the other body for consideration there.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Findley amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the $20,000 per crop limitation amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY). I have voted for a $20,000 limitation on payments the last three times the issue has been presented to the House and believe I am one of only three members of the House Committee on Agriculture to do so. I certainly want to commend those of my colleagues on the committee who are now with the committee amendment supporting a limitation in any amount for the first time. The committee amendment proposing as it does a limitation of $55,000 per crop is a great improvement over no limitation at all. It will eliminate the most flagrant abuses of the 1965 act, individual payments running into millions of dollars apiece for corporate farms and other large farming units. But while a limitation of $55,000 is certainly a step in the right direction, it does not in my considered opinion go far enough. I believe the need for the lower limitation of $20,000 voted by this House on two previous occasions has been even more conclusively demonstrated since those earlier votes, and there is a stronger case for the $20,000 limit now than there was when it was passed by record votes of 230 to 160 on July 31, 1968, and 224 to 142 on May 27, 1969. I am, therefore, again supporting the $20,000 per crop amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) and cosponsored by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE).

One of the principal reasons for ending huge payments is that they tend to throw a shadow on all payments to farmers, no matter how necessary and legitimate, thereby discrediting the entire farm program and jeopardizing its continuance. The taxpayers of this country rightfully resent tax funds being drained off in individual payments of hundreds of thousands, even millions of dollars, and part of this resentment is unfairly rubbing off on the small and moderate-sized farmers for whom this program was originally intended. These large payments are jeopardizing the very existence of the entire farm program, and must be eliminated now if the program is to command sufficient public support for continuance on a reasonable basis. As I warned in this Chamber in May of 1969, annual payments of more than $20,000 are hurting, not helping the family farmer. They are subsidizing the gigantic agricultural combines, corporate and otherwise, which have been gobbling up family-sized farms and driving farmers from the land by the hundreds of thousands. I said then and I repeat now that we should not be misled by the arguments that payments of over $20,000 are helping small- or medium-sized farmers in any way.

Large payments are accelerating the growth of larger and larger farm units whose owners are encouraged to acquire more and more of their neighbor's land through the use of huge subsidies. Government checks are being used as the downpayment to buy up family-sized farms with more and more farm families being driven from the land. Many of them then move to great cities where they are ill equipped to make the necessary adjustments to the complexities of urban life.

Escalating Government payments are not the only reason for this alarming trend but they are certainly a contributing factor. Fewer and fewer farmers have been receiving larger and larger payments, which certainly subverts the intention of most Congressmen who voted for the 1965 act. The independent family farmer finds himself caught in a vicious cost-price squeeze and in increasing danger of being cannibalized by corporate and other farming combinations subsidized by big payments.

The urgent need to put the brakes on the ascending spiral toward bigger payments is painfully evident in my own State of Iowa. USDA figures show that the number of Iowa payees receiving more than $20,000 in feed grain payments rose from only 12 in 1967 to 110 in 1969. That is more than ninefold in 2 years. Nationwide the increase was even more dramatic—from 80 in 1967 to 1,450 in 1969. The vast majority of Iowans, farmers and nonfarmers alike, deplore these large payments whether they occur in Iowa or elsewhere in the country and want them stopped. A statewide poll taken by the Des Moines Register in May of this year showed 3 out of 4 Iowa farmers favoring a limitation of payments. The average annual limit suggested by these farmers was about $11,000. Only 3 percent suggested a limit of $25,000 or higher.

I am convinced after considering all available surveys on the subject that a $20,000 limitation will not have any adverse effect on the feed grain program, but will in fact strengthen it. Probably the best known study on this subject was that made by Under Secretary of Agriculture John A. Schnittker at the close of the last administration. This was kept secret during Secretary Orville Freeman's tenure at the Agriculture Department and not made public until the spring of 1969, after both Mr. Freeman and Dr. Schnittker had left the Department. The conclusion of the Schnittker report was as follows:

Payments to producers under existing price support and acreage control programs for feed grains, wheat, cotton, wool, and sugar could be limited to around $20,000 per farm for all payments, or to $10,000 per program without serious adverse effects on production or on the effectiveness of production adjustment programs.

The study further concluded that such a limitation would result in a budget savings ranging from $200 to nearly $300 million.

A second study was undertaken by Horace D. Godfrey while Administrator of the ASCS within the Department of Agriculture under the Johnson administration. Godfrey likewise concluded:

Feed grain production would not be expected to increase materially under a $20,000 limitation.

His study based on 1967 data revealed that payees receiving over $20,000 in feed grain payments farmed 800,000 corn base acres, or only about 2 percent of the feed grain base.

Other studies have reached similar conclusions. Arnold Paulsen, a professor of agricultural economics from Iowa State University, in the December issue of the American Journal of Agricultural Economics stated:

The U.S. Department of Agriculture could administer effectively and achieve the intent of any one of several forms of payment limitations.

On the best evidence available, it appears that payees receiving more than $20,000 are farming only about 2 percent of feed grain base acres. I believe we should immediately end all subsidization over $20,000 of this very small percentage of large operators. This will strengthen and redirect the farm program so that it can better serve the great majority of American farmers and the consuming public. I therefore urge all Members to vote in favor of the $20,000 limitation amendment.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. JACOBS TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY FOR THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) for the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 101 of the substitute amendment. Strike subsection (1) and insert in lieu thereof:

"(1) The total amount of payments which a person shall be entitled to receive under each of the annual programs established by titles III, IV, V, and VI of this act shall not exceed $20,000 for the 1971 crop, $10,000 for the 1972 crop, or $0.00 for the 1973 crop."

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, when I was growing up in my hometown of Indianapolis, there was a small grocery store just off the corner of 49th and College. It was called Ford's Family Market. Indeed it was a small family grocery store. Many years ago that store went out of business, and now, just three blocks to the south, on 46th and College, there is a large supermarket.

And speaking of Ford's, there was a time in my hometown in Indianapolis when there was a large number of manufacturers of automobiles.

They no longer manufacture automobiles, because bigness came to America, and bigness came to my hometown.

I remember sitting in that gallery in 1949 and listening to my father speak to this body, and suggest, in 1949, that sooner or later the U.S. Government was going to have to start weaning the farm program in this country.

Mine is a weaning proposal. The limitation in payments for the crop of 1971 to $20,000, and then for the crop in 1972 to $10,000, and then for the crop in 1973 to zero dollars. It seems to me quite appropriate that we do some weaning before our 200th birthday in 1976. That way, by 1976 we can be all grown up.

I urge the adoption of an amendment to the substitute amendment.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I believe as an absolute fact that if what the gentleman proposes is agreed to there will not be many farmers in this country to supply the supermarket in his hometown, in which he takes so much pride, because with money being what it is today, and without a Federal program, there will not be any financing for farmers to grow the produce to supply the food and fiber needed for this country.

Mr. JACOBS. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. He is entitled to his theory.

They say, "If you want to find out what the cowboy will do when he gets drunk, find out what he did the last time he got drunk."

The last time we did not have subsidies to small family groceries in this country what happened was that we had giant chain supermarkets develop. The gentleman shops at them, and I shop at them.

The last time we did not have subsidies to those who were manufacturing the old Marmon automobiles and the Stuttz Bearcat and all the others, the automobile industry did not go out of business, but they started producing automobiles at a price even I can afford.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. In sum and substance, what the gentleman is saying is that the big supermarkets are OK but the farmers who follow the same procedure are unacceptable; is that it?

Mr. JACOBS. What is wrong with big farmers?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thought this was the effort. I thought this was the hue and cry, to do something about the big farmers.

Mr. JACOBS. The gentleman apparently is mistaken, if he thought that was my effort. I do not have any objection to Ford, General Motors, American Motors, or the big companies. I have no objection to the A. & P. I have no objection to the Standard grocery chain.

I do want the antitrust law, to be sure they do not narrow down to one.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield further.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Will the gentleman answer a question? Who requires assistance and financing on the farm today first, the big farmers which some people are critical of, the people like General Motors, or the little man, the farmer who is at the mercy of the marketplace?

Mr. JACOBS. The answer to the gentleman's question is in my best judgment nobody "requires" that Federal assistance. That is the reason why I have offered this weaning amendment.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. I have trouble accepting the gentleman's view on this matter. We provide for minimum wages, we subsidize publications, we use antitrust laws to help small business. We give assistance of one sort or another to all sectors of the economy so people will not have to live below certain minimal levels.

Mr. JACOBS. Who provides the minimum wages?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. We have laws requiring payment of minimum wages for most workers. In fact, I favor raising floors and expanding the scope of the coverage.

Mr. JACOBS. Do we appropriate money to pay somebody those minimum wages?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. The formulas to help people achieve a decent standard of living vary with different sectors of the economy. We provide food for some of the people who are hungry. We provide money for people thrown out of work, for people too old or too young to work—not enough money in many cases, but the principle is clear.

Mr. JACOBS. Let me ask the gentleman a question. For the people for whom food is provided, under welfare programs and so forth, on what basis is it provided?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. On the basis of need.

Mr. JACOBS. The need is because they cannot get work. Does not a person have to prove he cannot get work before he can receive those payments?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Not always.

Mr. JACOBS. He does not?

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. There are various programs. Sometimes we even say, "If you cannot earn enough you will be given subsidies." That is generally considered an enlightened view of the obligation of a wealthy, civilized society.

Mr. JACOBS. A person "needs" to pay the rent. But a person does not "need" to farm if it is not economic.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object—and I am not going to object to the gentleman's request—I do want to serve notice that we are going to have to move along. I simply want to suggest that we have been very liberal, and we do not want to make every one of these a 10-minute speech. If we do, we will be here until 12 o'clock tonight.

Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I simply make the point that in my district if somebody is put out of work because of the economy, a fellow earning $140 a week last week and this week he is out of work, then I know of no subsidy program, other than the unemployment insurance program, which will assist him. If the gentleman wants to speak about unemployment insurance as applied to the farm problem, he might have a point.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. What I do not

understand is why the gentleman from Indiana thinks it is preferable to provide unemployment insurance than to help people to work for a living wage, even if they want to work on farms. We should be greatly relieved that some people prefer to work on farms.

Mr. JACOBS. It works in different ways. We have kept people at work who were in the small grocery stores, who were in the small automobile manufacturers in my hometown, and who were in small drugstores doing something useful. I thought the free enterprise system rewarded efficiency. Quite often bigness does achieve efficiency. However, I do not see how we can shovel back the tide in the country by a subsidy program, because it obviously has not worked. I heard the gentleman himself say in the well a few moments ago that it is not retarding bigness in the farm industry. It continues to march on.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. That is because this kind of legislation encourages bigness, even rewards it, at the expense of everyone else. How can anyone say that it helps small farmers for us to appropriate enormous subsidies to large farmers? I want to stress that my amendment is the reverse of an effort to undercut small farmers. It is an effort to help them. I think they are important to the country, and my argument is not with them.

Is it the gentleman's position that it is in the interests of the United States to have no small farmers? Otherwise, I cannot understand his reasoning.

Mr. JACOBS. I do not know whether it is in the interests of this country to just have General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors, and whatever. But I know it is inevitable and I recognize a reality. That is exactly what made this country great. We are kidding ourselves if we think differently. Perhaps this is not the case in other countries, but I recognize reality here, and I call for antitrust laws and for the regulation of bigness. But I do know that bigness is here and you will not shovel back the tide of bigness with a shovel full of Federal dollars.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I do not have any idea as to what the nature of the contracting business is of the gentleman's relative in the construction business, but just for example—should he be in the home construction business, I do not think the gentleman would stand there and say, if he is in the home construction business—I do not believe he would say that they do not benefit from the housing subsidies that the Government provides while they are engaged in that business.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Indiana made a speech which has pointed up, I think, one of the main problems before us.

First of all, we will not get rid of farm legislation by tapering off on the subsidies. We have several statutes on the books which would become operative if this particular program went out of existence. We must enact a farm bill this year; otherwise the 1958 act will become operative. This will mean that the Government will have to make huge investments in support prices that it would not have to pay under the proposal before us. It will mean bulging warehouses again with all the attendant expense to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

It would mean chaos for the taxpayers and chaos for American agriculture. We would be going back to an era that we have already passed. It would take a lot more than a simple amendment to this bill to get rid of the total agricultural legal structure on the statute books of this country.

Mr. Chairman, I believe personally that the theory of limitations is not a good one. I come from a district that is partially rural and partially industrial. The farms in my district are from small to middle sized. I do not believe there is one single farmer in my district who would draw the $55,000 payment limitation. I have been told that there are four who might draw more than $20,000, and a very few who would draw more than $10,000.

What we are trying to do in order to save American agriculture is to bring supply and demand into line, and we cannot do that if we only plug up the large holes. We must get as many farmers as possible in the program if we are going to keep agricultural prices reasonably stable in our country, and for the past several years we have kept them reasonably stable.

Had I been writing this bill I would not have put any limitation on payments because I think it is more important to the country that we bring supply and demand into line than it is that we worry about a few payments to a few individuals, even though some of the payments seem very large to us and to many of our constituents. Excessive limitation will be injurious to the consumer. They will tend to put some of our most efficient producers out of the program.

Yesterday's Wall Street Journal reported that many of the big California cotton farmers are already thinking of going into fruit and vegetables, where there is already a surplus. This is one of the problems, it seems to me, that we are going to find ourselves facing if we do not go along with the committee on this bill.

This is not a perfect bill. It certainly is not my bill, but I am going to support the committee because I believe that the agricultural programs we have had since the agricultural act of 1938 was first passed have done as much as any other laws that we have ever enacted to maintain a reasonable degree of prosperity in this country, and to keep the American consumer the best fed and best clothed person in the world at the lowest percentage of his income.

I trust that we will vote down all of these amendments to the committee amendment, and that we will pass the bill as presented to us by the great Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in favor of the Conte-Findley substitute amendment, and I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, at the outset I would like to read the names of the 41 cosponsors of the Conte-Findley amendment. They are as follows:

Messrs. BROCK ADAMS, EDWARD P. BOLAND, DANIEL BUTTON, JAMES C. CLEVELAND, JEFFERY COHELAN, BARBER B. CONABLE, JOHN C. CULVER, JAMES J. DELANEY, HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Mrs. FLORENCE DWYER.

Messrs. JAMES C. CORMAN, MARVIN L. ESCH, DANTE FASCELL, HAMILTON FISH, JR., DONALD M. FRASER, ROBERT N. GIAIMO, MICHAEL HARRINGTON, JAMES F. HASTINGS, KEN HECHLER, EDWARD I. KOCH.

Messrs. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, JOSEPH M. McDADE, RAY J. MADDEN, ABNER J. MIKVA, JOSEPH G. MINISH, F. BRADFORD MORSE, LUCIEN N. NEDZI, RICHARD L. OTTINGER, BERTRAM L. PODELL, ALBERT H. QUIE.

Messrs. TOM RAILSBACK, OGDEN R. REID, HENRY S. REUSS, PETER W. RODINO, JR., WILLIAM F. RYAN, FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN, FRED SCHWENGEL, ROBERT T. STAFFORD, ROBERT O. TIERNAN, G. ROBERT WATKINS, WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, GLENN M. ANDERSON.

Mr. Chairman, as I have done now in 2 previous years, I take the floor today to call upon this body to once again make crystal clear its determination to put an end to the scandal of huge farm subsidies.

This substitute, which was jointly filed, will limit payments to individual producers to $20,000 per crop. In the past, the House has twice accepted my amendments to limit total payments from all three programs to $20,000.

Mr. Chairman, in 1968 this body adopted my amendment by a vote of 230 to 160. That 70-vote margin was increased by 12 votes when my similar amendment was again adopted last year. I believe the margin will be even greater today.

I think it is clear, therefore, that a solid majority of the House does not need to be persuaded on this issue. But there is another reason why the time has come for this reform. It was provided us a year ago by Agriculture Secretary Hardin himself. In testimony before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, he revealed that in 1968 nearly two-thirds of all subsidy payments to cotton producers were, to use his own words, "income supplements."

Nearly half of the wheat payments were also nothing but income supplements. In other words, these funds were not needed for resource adjustment or production control purposes.

What a revelation it would be, Mr. Chairman, to some desperately poor family, that we in the House have voted to assist with $1,600 a year, to know that two-thirds of the $4.4 million collected by the J. G. Boswell Co. in 1969 was an income supplement. That means about $2 million of that amount went to provide some family assistance to the Boswells. We can apply the same arithmetic to Giffen, Inc., which collected $3.3 million, or to South Lake Farms which got by with only $1.8 million.

If those at the other end of the economic scale truly realized what was going on, they would be marching here en masse to demand an equal share of the spoils.

There were eight corporate giants in

all, Mr. Chairman, who raked in over a million dollars last year. How can we continue this bonanza for a few while millions remain in the grip of hunger and malnutritiсn?

Who are some of the others in the privileged group getting large payments?

There is the Delta & Pine Land Co., a British-owned corporation in Mississippi, which last year received a subsidy of more than $700,000.

There is the State of Montana which collected over $640,000. Are these the small farmers who need our help?

Mr. Chairman, for some time I have called for an end to subsidies to our overprivileged oil industry in the form of the depletion allowance and the oil quota system. But Standard Oil in California, not content with these traditional bonanzas, has claimed over $120,000 in farm subsidies.

As shocking as these large payments are, we must remember that they go to just a small segment of all those participating in the payments program. Less than four-tenths of 1 percent of all producers will be affected by my amendment. Even so, this amendment will save up to $170 million.

With a farm policy that makes a mockery of our national priorities, it is not surprising that some of its beneficiaries show a sense of humor in selecting their corporate names. Two farms in California, each collecting nearly $50,000 in subsidies, are known as bonanza farms. When we consider the list of those collecting in the millions and hundreds of thousands, perhaps we can forgive the Mississippi producer who receives a mere $36,000 for calling his operation shoestrings plantation.

But this is really no place for humor, Mr. Chairman, for we know that millions of our fellow Americans are not even living on a shoestring.

The time has come to end a program that does not benefit the small farmer, and redirect these funds to assist the rural poor.

The time has come to take a long overdue step in the battle against inflation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the time has come to restore the faith of many who are questioning the order of priorities as we in the Congress see them.

Let us seize this time and put an end to this national scandal.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Chairman, agriculture is still one of America's largest industries. As such, it generates jobs for over 40 percent of our population—either by supplying raw materials for work or by providing a market for the commodities produced. Therefore, we in the Congress surely cannot ignore the health of an industry which directly affects so many people.

Historically, agriculture has been a protected industry. Government payments have been made to bring about desirable resource adjustments and to supplement farm income while allowing price support loan levels to reflect the world price levels.

In recent years, however, the subsidy program has become a national disgrace, a boondoggle, a system where the rich become richer, and the poor only poorer.

The subsidy program costs approximately $3.5 billion per year and benefits about 2.5 million farmers. Most of these individuals receive annual payments slightly above $1,000 and 33⅓ percent of these receive less than $500. Further, the millions of very poor farmers receive only 10 percent of the Federal payments for assistance.

On the other hand, less than 4 percent of the farmers receive about 33⅓ percent of the total payments. In fact, a single corporate farm receives approximately $4 million annually from the Government. In Mississippi, in 1 year 817 large farmers received $38.3 million in direct subsidies, while the State received only $10 million from the Federal Government for aid to dependent children. Surely something is wrong here. Not only has the program become a bonanza for the rich, but it is throwing our other priorities out of line.

In view of this shocking situation, I was delighted the other body of Congress attached a much needed amendment to the 1971 agriculture appropriations bill, limiting payments to an individual producer to $20,000. This amendment was offered by Senator RALPH SMITH of Illinois, and was approved by a vote of 40 to 35. It was identical to an amendment voted by the House in years past.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a sharp increase in recent years in the number of farm subsidies. The number of checks for amounts over $20,000 received by farmers has increased 60 percent since 1966, shot up 30 percent in 1969, and is expected to increase even more this this year. This is certainly a tremendous drain on the U.S. Treasury, and I am firmly convinced we must start reversing this runaway trend that began in the 1960's. The Government's efforts have since only assisted the well-to-do and given credence to the absurd argument that more Government funds, rather than sound farm policy, will bail agriculture out of its current problems.

The committee's recommendation to limit payments to $55,000 per crop is certainly a step in the right direction, and I commend the members for recognizing that a limitation must be established. However, I believe we should reduce the payments even further. The amendment to limit payments to $20,000 is long overdue. I have voted for it before, and I intend to do so once again today.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, for the third time since I entered the Congress, we in the House face the issue of limiting farm subsidies. I have consistently supported a $20,000 ceiling. The agriculture bill before us contains a $55,000 ceiling.

What is the difference?

A $20,000 limitation will save the American taxpayer conservatively $171 million. Only $48 million will be saved the taxpayer at the $55,000 limitation figure.

The amendment I favor is comprehensive, covering all payments except loans and purchases.

It is ably written to prevent evasion through devices like subdividing, production allotments, or otherwise. It mandates regulations by the Secretary of Agriculture to prevent circumvention of the intent of Congress.

The present farm subsidy payments in my opinion are indefensible. Hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars serve only to encourage large corporate farms. These subsidies are an embarrassment to farmers in the Hudson Valley, and in central New York.

The measure before us—to limit payments of $20,000—is the best hope of reforming an inquitable farm subsidy program.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. POAGE. I should like to see how many more Members wish to speak on these amendments. I think we must agree to some time limitation. I see there are something like 17 or 18 Members standing. I wonder if we can agree to vote on the amendment and all amendments thereto at 3:30 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I object. There are so many Members standing, including myself, as ranking member of the committee, I would suggest to the chairman that we go along a little longer.

Mr. POAGE. All right. We will continue.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I do not know of a more difficult problem year after year that is visited upon this House than the consideration of the Farm Bill. This is a very sad and unfortunate fact.

It is not to be dramatic, however, when I suggest to the Members of this House that of all the sciences in the world, agriculture is the greatest science of all. Were it not for that science, which has been known longer to man than any other, and which had its beginning with the beginning of time, we would not be here today. This earth would be rotating in the universe, just as numerous other planets, as nothing more than a parched sphere.

As the chairman of the great Committee on Agriculture has said and as others have said, there is no other industry as important, to those of you who want to live, as agriculture. Unless we do our part to approach its problems fairly and to keep agriculture alive, resulting burdens of hunger will be visited upon every family from coast to coast and from Canada to the gulf, in the ghettos and in the rural areas.

I do not like the approach of this program. I will be frank with you. I recall when this program was first brought to the Congress in 1965 I did not support it.

We knew that this day would come, when each and every farmer would be compelled to hide his face and walk into the county agricultural office and pick up his check. We knew he would be left in a state of embarrassment. We knew that their names would be exposed in the papers and that they would be looked upon

as people who were receiving a kind of ugly subsidy from the Federal Government. But it passed and we now appear to be stuck with it.

I guess I represent myself when I get home to be an expert in the field of agricultural legislation. An expert I understand is a person who is a long way from home. But really I am not expert enough to suggest an acceptable substitute for this program. I just do not know what to substitute for it.

Mr. Nixon, when he campaigned, suggested he hoped to have a substitute. He was honest and sincere about it. Secretary Hardin, when he came in, felt he might have a substitute, and he was honest and sincere about it. Both of them were searching and digging for something different. We have been doing the same. No one has been able to come up with a substitute—even those who offer these amendments.

Bear in mind, Mr. Chairman, that these experts—and I do not say that in any tone of criticism—who offer these amendments are not against payments. As I said yesterday, my friend, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) is for payments. He used to serve on our committee. Regrettably, he left our committee and went over to Foreign Affairs. And with all due deference to the gentleman from Illinois, I do not know of any larger subsidies than those which he brings to the floor for people other than American citizens. I am not needling my friend. I am just talking facts.

The same is true of my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) who serves on foreign aid appropriations.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, what was the request?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The request was that the gentleman might proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I shall not object to this request, but I shall be constrained to object in the future.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman in the well if he is going to give me a chance to have a colloquy with him, if he is going to use my name.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I want to be fair with the gentleman. I will do my best.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman will have to do better than that.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I assure the gentleman from Massachusetts I will do my best.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I am curious in connection with this reservation to know if there is any subsidy for any silver manufacturing companies in the country. I understand there is an indirect subsidy, and I understand the gentleman from Massachusets gets very interested in that when it comes up. I have heard that around, but I did not know, but I just thought I would ask.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I do not know. I think there is.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, as I said, my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) is a delightful person. He is not against farm payments. He is for farm payments. He simply wants to put a limit on them. And he has a very popular thing going in the press. It is of great political benefit to him. But bear in mind he is not doing his thing to his own people. He is doing it to some who are far removed from his own political district. He has all to gain and nothing to lose.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I yield to the gentleman very briefly, please.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Massachusetts referred to me yesterday when I was off the floor and he wanted to know how I stood on the $55,000 payment. I want the gentleman to know I support it wholeheartedly, without reservation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. Chairman, let me get along a little further now. My friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE), is not against subsidies. He is not against foreign aid subsidies. He appropriates foreign aid to foreign countries. I am one who enjoys appropriating for Americans. Foreign aid is what we used to call UNRRA. This is IN-RA we are working for now. This bill is for home folks for Americans. We want to keep a few of these dollars for our own people, for those who are trying to feed the people of Massachusetts and Illinois, and people all over our great land.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I yield briefly.

Mr. CONTE. I have a very brief observation.

First of all, I wish the gentleman would cut out of the farm program as much as I supported cuts of in respect to the foreign aid bill this year.

Mr. ABERNETHY. If the gentleman will just give us as much as they get in foreign aid, we will not have any problem.

Mr. CONTE. The second point is in answer to the gentleman from Ohio. I do not know what he is talking about. I am interested in the silver fight. Johnson wanted to take the silver out of the quarter and the half dollar, and serve on the committee handling the appropriations for the Bureau of the Mint. That is where I became interested in saving our silver that was going to speculators, rather than the consumer.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I might also say, while the gentleman is on his feet, he as a member of the subcommittee on post office appropriations has not done anything to cut that big fat subsidy going to Reader's Digest, which I understand runs to several million dollars a year.

Mr. CONTE. The gentleman from Mississippi realized my committee merely appropriates and has nothing to do with legislation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. My friend from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) is an able member. He represents 13 fine rural counties. I believe the largest town in his district is about the size of the largest town in mine. Neither of us have large cities.

Do Members know how much money goes into his district from this program? His farmers up there received last year the huge sum of $22,386,900; and none of it was returned.

He has fixed the cutoff level at $20,000, because that covers every farmer in his district that is, all but 21.

Is that right, or not?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I have asked the gentleman; is that right?

Mr. FINDLEY. I cannot answer, unless the gentleman yields.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I cannot yield except for an answer to my question.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, did the gentleman ask me a question?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I do not yield.

Mr. FINDLEY. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I do not yield, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. FINDLEY. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Mississippi yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. ABERNETHY. If I can get more time, I will, Mr. Chairman.

I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. If I understood what the gentleman asked correctly, it was that only one received a payment in excess of $20,000?

Mr. ABERNETHY. Twenty-one.

Mr. FINDLEY. Twenty-one did receive in excess of $20,000?

Mr. ABERNETHY. Right.

Mr. FINDLEY. The gentleman is certainly correct.

Mr. ABERNETHY. All right. Then only 21 out of 27,540 farms in the gentleman's district would be affected by his amendment.

Mr. FINDLEY. I might add, I have never voted for the payment yet.

Mr. ABERNETHY. In other words, he has fully taken care of all of his farmers but 21.

I am not going to misstate it. According to the Department of Agriculture, there are 27,540 farms in the gentleman's district. He has a farm district, and he is taking care of every last one of them; that is, all but 21. That means he is taking care of 27,519.

I do not blame him. This is great for him.

And he is a good footman, too, because he beat his colleague (Mr. CONTE) to the well here today and won the honor of

offering the Findley-Conte amendment, or the Conte-Findley amendment, depending on which gentleman wins the race to the clerk's desk.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERNETHY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. If everybody he has taken care of votes for him, it does not really matter whether the 21 vote against him.

Mr. ABERNETHY. That is right. The gentleman is really an astute politician.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I may need his help one of these days, and I shall certainly send for him.

Now, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee made one of the most important statements to be made here today.

If we should cut back to the level as he says, of the Findley amendment, and force many farmers out of the crops which they are now growing, what are they going to do? They have the land. They have these expensive pieces of farm machinery, the costs which have multiplied several times in recent years.

Does anyone believe they will put that machinery out under the shed and let it rust away?

I will suggest to the Members what they are going to do. They are going to other crops and thus create surpluses therein. There is nothing else they can do.

My friend from Iowa, Mr. MAYNE, who supports the Findley amendment, has taken care of all his people, also, that is, all but six—no, seven. I do not want to misquote the accurate figure. He has taken care of all but seven. He will not lose but seven of his farm votes when he gets home. This he does in supporting the Findley amendment.

I will tell the Members what the large cotton farmers are going to do if the amendment is adopted. They are going to put their land into soybeans and corn. What else can they do? Then what will your feed grain farmers do? Do you not see how this Findley-Conte thing upsets the balance we have in agriculture?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ABERNETHY. No, I cannot yield now.

We would double the problem for the feed grain farmers and the wheat farmers. And this we do not want to do.

If the Members want to kill this bill, such will result in costing our Government a lot more money than we are spending now. I am not just talking off the top of my head. After having lived with this tough assignment for nearly 26 years, I know what I am talking about. I know where we are going to land. We will return to a program that costwise will make the cost of this one look like a thin dime.

If you defeat this bill you will invoke an old program that will mine millions of dollars out of the Federal treasury. Do not make this mistake. I know the headlines on the Findley amendment read well in the papers. I know they look good at home and I know they will get you some votes.

I am not against politics. I like votes myself. But at the same time I want to eat and eat well. I am not going to quarrel about the food surpluses we sometimes have in this country. Neither should you. My goodness. Would not Russia, China, and Cuba like to have the food surpluses we have today? Would they not like to have what we have? Why do you condemn these farm people for doing the best job that is done food production-wise anywhere in this world?

Agriculture is our greatest industry. It is our most important industry. You, all of you, need this bill. You need what it will produce—adequate food and fiber to feed and clothe this great Nation. I urge you to vote down the amendments and support the bill.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment to the substitute amendment.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for a brief observation?

Mr. MYERS. I will but very briefly.

Mr. CONTE. I just want to make one point. The gentleman from Mississippi mentioned foreign aid. I would like to ask him the question how could he stand here and talk like that when a British company is getting $700,000 a year in farm subsidies from Mississippi if that is not the biggest foreign giveaway I do not know what is?

Mr. MYERS. That is brief enough. I yield no further.

Mr. Chairman, I can understand why many voices are raised this afternoon which are opposed to these big payments, because I think it is politically popular this afternoon to be opposed to all payments. Frankly, the majority of the people do not understand exactly what is involved here this afternoon. If I were selfish, I must say, in my own congressional district it would be popular for me to rise in opposition to the payments.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MYERS. Not at this time. I will in just a moment.

However, I recognize every voter and every taxpayer in the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana is a consumer of agricultural products. Every meal they eat comes from the agricultural efforts of this country. Much of the clothing that they wear comes from agriculture, also. Today, as has been frequently said, we are eating cheaper than we have ever eaten in the history of our Nation. That is the issue that we are confronted with today, and that is what we are speaking about here today. Do we want to continue to keep a healthy agriculture? The proponents of these amendments to the committee amendment I think have failed to recognize the thrust of the bill. It is simply this——

Mr. BOGGS. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. MYERS. At this particular time I will not, but I will shortly.

The thrust of this bill is this: it is not to keep any one farmer on any one farm, but it is to keep agriculture healthy and to keep the agricultural economy healthy so that any farmer through his own efforts and his own work may make a fair return on his investment and for his labor. That is all this is for. But if you change this by putting in a limitation of anything less than $55,000, it will destroy the system and the program will not work.

My good friend from Indiana, who proposed to make every farm a big farm, such as the big chainstores, which is exactly what he is proposing. Is he taking care of his city constituents? Oh, sure. They will pat him on the back this election year, but how about next year and 5 years from now when there are just a very few farmers or farm units that will be farming in this country? Then his constituents and yours and mine will be paying a lot more for the food to provide for the Nation.

I mentioned the gentleman's name, and I must yield to him.

Mr. JACOBS. That is not what happened in the automobile industry. All my constituents buy cars.

Mr. MYERS. Cheaper than they ever bought them before?

Mr. JACOBS. More can buy now than in the 1920's. And that is because of the bigness of the industry.

Mr. MYERS. You have not bought one lately, then.

Mr. JACOBS. The gentleman said it is cheaper to buy food now than ever before in the history of this country. I cannot buy it any cheaper. I know in my grocery store at the corner it has gone up about 10 percent in the last year and a half.

Mr. MYERS. I bought a car and it cost me 10 to 15 percent more than it did 2 years ago.

I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. BOGGS.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, at the request of Mr. BOGGS, Mr. MYERS was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I appreciate his yielding to me.

I think that the gentleman and the gentleman from Mississippi have covered the case. As far as I know, today there is not a farmer in my district that has any subsidy. I represent an urban and a suburban district.

But I know that the people in my city of New Orleans cannot prosper if agriculture does not prosper. I remember when cotton, corn, food and fruit products were selling for nothing in my town. You could go to a grocery store and buy food much cheaper than you can today, but you had nothing to buy it with. We literally had starvation in the country.

Mr. MYERS. But in percentage of disposable dollars I question if this country ever has had cheaper food and fiber than we do today.

Mr. BOGGS. That is right.

If the gentleman will yield further, let me make one further point, a point that the gentleman from Mississippi made about soybeans, because we have gone into soybean production in Louisiana in a tremendous way, and it is a very profitable crop. And we are arguing right now, right in the Committee on Ways and Means to keep that profit in this country.

I would like to make one further comparison. It is estimated that one man hour of labor in the rice fields of the United States is equivalent to 4,000 man

hours of labor in Southeast Asia. That is the difference in the efficiency of American agriculture and Asian agriculture. The people who support these amendments could very well spell the death knell to one of the most efficient industries in the world.

Mr. MYERS. I think that is true. And if we want to keep agriculture healthy, and if we want to make sure that there is competition in agriculture, we must keep the farmers out there on the farms, both large and small. If we put this limitation in, what is going to be the result? There will be large farm complexes—and my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) knows that there is a city named Holyoke in his community that gets almost $10 million in HEW funds, and gets $24.5 million in all Federal funds, a city of a little over 50,000 population.

I wonder if the gentleman would be interested in placing a $20,000 limitation on each one of those Federal appropriations, and each one of those Federal authorizations for that community on their Federal funds? I think it is just as logical. Because we have large units that are producing food for our Nation, should we penalize them by not buying their production rights. If we are to keep production and consumption in balance, and we must do this, we must not place a lower limitation than $55,000.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. JACOBS) commented about the health of the automobile manufacturing industry. I believe that the record speaks for itself in that the Studebaker Co. found it necessary to move from his own State of Indiana to Canada, and I believe they received a subsidy for going.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Chairman, I think that generally speaking we want to have a competitive arrangement for all industries and wherever we have lost competition in our great American system the consumers and the taxpayers of this Nation have lost. This is what the primary purpose of this bill really is: to keep the farmers going and an opportunity for them to make a profit within the system, and again this is not a guaranteed annual income for the farmer, although I am sure that many of the folks back home think that it is.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and I rise in opposition to the amendments.

Mr. Chairman, I am not at all sure I can add anything particularly to this discussion that has not already been said. I know that the Chairman of the Committee desires to seek a time to vote on these amendments, and I join with the gentleman in that desire.

I would simply like to say, though, that the matters that we are discussing at this particular time will determine whether or not we have a farm program for the next 3 years that will be of any benefit to American agriculture.

Yes, I recognize that I represent a district which, percentagewise, will be hurt more by payment limitations than any other single district, as far as I know, in the Nation. The only possible exception would be the adjoining district to me, that of my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. MATHIAS).

The speech by the gentleman from Massachusetts is similar to many others because this issue is a very popular dead horse to beat. I happen personally to be opposed to any kind of limitation. I believe morally and equitably it is wrong. But I am a political realist. I recognize that many of us pledged last year when we had this discussion that we would support a limitation. So after long and arduous effort in committee we finally came up with an amendment which called for a limitation of payments and that limitation is $55,000.

I sought a $100,000 limitation because frankly I think that in itself was most restrictive, if we are going to allow the program to work. But finally after a great deal of work and effort we did compromise at $55,000.

I can assure you that it is going to hurt a great many people and it is going to dislocate a good deal of agriculture, and particularly in my own State, and, I know for a fact, in so many other States. But we are prepared to try to live with it.

Anything below this in my opinion will destroy the program. It will make it totally unworkable and force people to go completely out of the program, and produce less of a particular commodity, or go into another commodity that is already somewhat in balance and consequently destroy that balance.

Let me go further and tell you that it is going to mean a real period of difficulty for the American farmer. Today a man who receives a $100,000 subsidy in my own area has to go to a bank to make a production loan and borrow money from the bank to make that crop. Do you know how the banker determines whether or not he is going to get a loan? The first question is, What is your Government payment?

Some of these people seem to have some idea that this is money that is stuck down in a pocket. This money does not go into the pocket. This money goes to pay for irrigation costs, to pay taxes, to pay labor and to purchase farm machinery. Over one-third of all the farmers in my district last year could not repay their production loans to the bank. Bankruptcies have doubled in the first 6 months of this year over last year. This is the problem we are faced with.

Let me cite another situation. I received a letter the other day that started out like this—Dear Mr. Congressman, I am 74 years old and I need your help.

That letter was postmarked in a town in New Jersey. The reason he was writing to me, I found, was because he owned 40 acres of land in my district and had just received a letter from the farmer who had been leasing and farming his land. This farmer told the elderly gentleman that substantial limitations were going to be put into effect; thus disrupting his operation and consequently, he could no longer lease his land.

The elderly gentleman, apparently by telephone from New Jersey had tried other sources to lease the land, and he found that other people were in the same situation.

I got a similar letter the other day from a person over in Virginia. The point is that we have heard a lot of discussion about $20,000, $10,000, $5,000 or $55,000, which basically, as I say, I am opposed to because I think they are wrong morally and equitably. We are attempting with the $55,000 limitation to keep enough people in the program. Thus making it possible for them to participate and maintain some stability. Keeping them not only from upsetting these commodity areas but moving into other areas where they would destroy and upset the balance of consumption as against production.

So I would plead with my colleagues regardless of where you live or what you do, that the stability of the American agricultural industry is terribly important to this country. I, for one, am old enough to remember the 1930's and I hope and plead with you to defeat these amendments and support the committee amendment.

To conclude my remarks on this amendment, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article that appeared in yesterday's edition of the Wall Street Journal. This article points out the drastic effect of a $20,000 limitation on the total California economy.

Text of Wall Street Journal article follows:

MOVE TO CURB SUBSIDIES FOR KEY CROPS PERILS MARKETING PROSPECTS FOR OTHER COMMODITIES

(By James E. Bylin)

Congressional moves to limit farm subsidy payments for some key crops are threatening to jolt the marketing prospects of a number of other agricultural commodities.

"We have to grow something," says William Balch, executive vice president of Heggblade-Marguleas Co., the farming subsidiary of Tenneco Inc.

The trouble is that in some areas, including California's sprawling, fertile San Joaquin Valley, whatever the farmers are likely to turn to is probably already in excess supply. "Raising something else could create economic chaos," one major grower says.

Congressional action imposing some sort of subsidy limit is expected this year. The House Agriculture Committee has recommended legislation that would impose a $55,000-a-crop ceiling on the amount of Federal price-support subsidies that a farmer could receive for cotton, wheat or feed grains.

A similar measure has been introduced in the Senate, but no action has been taken. The Senate's sentiments already have been expressed in a rider attached to the fiscal 1971 farm appropriations bill that it passed.

That proposal, which is expected to be dropped in conference negotiations with the House, would impose a $20,000-a-farm subsidy limit.

Under a price-support subsidy, the Government guarantees the price that farmers will receive for crops grown on alloted acreage. The allotment setup, which forces some land into nonproduction of a subsidized crop, is used to control the volume of certain commodities.

It is generally anticipated that the House will lean toward the lower $20,000-a-crop limit. House members who are preparing to vote this week on the $55,000-a-crop pro-

posal, are expected to be informed that the Nixon Administration "can live with anything between $55,000 and $20,000," a White House source says.

LOWER CEILING PREFERRED

Nixon advisers are convinced that a lower subsidy limit would be preferable, because it would aid the budget with greater reductions in subsidy outlays, principally for cotton. A $20,000 figure is seen saving $15 million to $250 million in 1971, while a $55,000 limit would produce a theoretical saving of $58 million in the initial year. More than $3 billion in direct subsidies was paid to farmers last year.

Besides California, the money pinch would be felt chiefly by farmers in Arizona, Arkansas, Mississippi and North Carolina. Even the state government of Montana would be affected. George Lackman, Montana's agriculture commissioner, says the state received $641,000 last year in wheat subsidies for state-owned land leased to sharecroppers.

Montana used its subsidy income for state aid to local school districts, and the subsidy limitation "could seriously cripple our school fund," asserts Mr. Lackman. But he is hoping Congress will make an exception of the subsidies paid to the state and keep the payments coming in. "We're a state government dealing with the Federal Government," he declares.

In California, the nation's leading farm state, growers last year received $122.8 million in direct aid. Of the total, $99 million came under programs that would be affected by the proposed legislation. Cotton subsidies totaled $80.2 million last year; the subsidy for feed grains was $12.6 million, and for wheat the Government paid $6.2 million.

Most farmers didn't qualify for the aid, but many of those who did cashed in big. Of the 25 biggest subsidy payments paid across the country last year, 15 were paid to farmers in California, and all but one of them operated in the San Joaquin Valley. One collected $4.4 million last year.

In all, more than 300 California growers received more than $55,000 individually in subsidy payments last year; they collected a total of $28 million. About 1,000 growers received more than $20,000 each; their take last year was $49 million.

That may sound like loose change in California, whose farmers annually produce more than $4 billion of commodities. But agricultural experts envision the impact reverberating throughout the farm economy if subsidies are curtailed.

SWITCHING FROM COTTON

The key concern is that switching by cotton growers to other crops would throw those markets into turmoil. Says one agricultural economist: "With the exception of premium wine grapes, every crop in California is in excess—and you can't grow premium wine grapes in the San Joaquin Valley. It doesn't take much to kill a market. Almonds, cling peaches—where they're already pulling out trees—and others are all having a hard enough time now balancing supply and demand."

Most growers say they're in a quandary over what steps to take. "I don't think any of us know what the future holds," says Jack Wolf, secretary of Giffen Inc., a San Joaquin Valley farm operator that received $3.8 million in payments last year, the second highest total. Mr. Wolf reiterates that "there's hardly another crop you can name that isn't in full supply now."

But the land is too expensive to stand idle, says Mr. Balch of Tenneco's Heggblade-Marguleas unit, whose operations include Kern County Land Co., which received nearly $1 million in cotton subsidies last year. It grows 17,000 acres of cotton.

Heggblade-Marguleas, Mr. Balch says, might diversify its cotton acreage into specialty crops, including table grapes, tree fruits such as nectarines and plums, and vegetables, in an effort to soften their market impact. "But a great number of people are thinking this same way right now," he says. "We would create some real economic dislocations," he adds.

Some growers already have pushed into other crops in anticipation of subsidy cutbacks, but they feel no more secure.

ONE GROWER'S WORRIES

In Coalinga, a western San Joaquin Valley community, Jack Harris Inc. started growing tomatoes four years ago and has about 2,000 acres in the crop. But Mr. Harris, the owner, is still growing 2,800 acres of cotton, and he received $476,000 in subsidies last year. "Without the payments, we would have been out of business two or three years ago," he says.

Mr. Harris, who also raises such crops as safflower and operates a cattle-feeding business, says he can't increase his tomato acreage further because of soft demand. "We might try some vegetables, but they're very high risk," he says. "We'll probably have to curtail our operations for a few years and see what develops."

Mr. Harris expects to return his cotton lands, which are leased, to their owners and cut in half his work force, which ranges from 100 to 500 workers, depending on the time of the year. Yet, he says that the cotton subsidy also helped support his other crops, and he doesn't know whether he can stay in business. "We'll find out," he shrugs.

According to Mr. Harris, the subsidy reductions are "going to affect many business people in agriculture—from the dry-goods man to the service station operator. Farmers haven't been keeping these subsidies. They've been spending them." He also argues that, by setting subsidy limits, Congress will "just be holding an umbrella over the small, inefficient farmer."

If Mr. Harris doesn't think he can expand his tomato plantings, a major California crop, that's fine with Robert Holt, executive director of the California Tomato Growers Association in Stockton. California traditionally produces more than two-thirds of the nation's tomatoes processed into juice, catsup, sauce and the like. Mr. Holt frets that tomatoes may loom as a logical alternative to the cotton growers.

For one thing, tomatoes can be harvested the first year, unlike grapes and tree fruits, which demand several years to reach production.

PROBLEMS WITH TOMATOES

Mr. Holt says "a number of other things have dovetailed together," including a new tomato variety "that can withstand the rigors of temperatures in areas where cotton has been the main crop." Cheaper water supplies from the California Water Project also encourage tomato production, he says.

Diverting cotton land to tomatoes "would compound for our problem," Mr. Holt declares. That "problem" stems from 1968, when tomato processors offered an inviting $35 a ton for tomatoes. Growers responded by disgorging a record 4.9 million tons, swamping canneries and creating huge carry-over supplies. The supplies continue to plague processors. "We're still cussing that one," Mr. Holt says. The price dropped to $27 a ton last year, and production fell to 3.5 million tons. This year, the price is $25 a ton and production will again be reduced; acreage planted in tomatoes has been cut to 141,000 this year from 154,000 in 1969.

Mr. Holt hopes the lower acreage in tomatoes eventually will drive the price back up. But that plan could be thwarted if erstwhile cotton growers turn to the crop. "And there's enough mechanized equipment available to constantly overproduce market demands," he says.

The one crop that cotton growers say they couldn't grow if subsidy limits are imposed, is cotton. California, with its massive farm units operated with factory-like mechanization to help offset the higher costs of land, water taxes and labor, produces about 12% of the nation's cotton. The 1969 yield was about 1.6 million bales valued at nearly $200 million. But "some of our folks are going bankrupt now even with subsidies," asserts John Reynolds, executive vice president of the Western Cotton Growers Association.

The Federal bankruptcy court in Fresno, which covers five big farm counties in the San Joaquin Valley, reports 28 farmers primarily cotton growers, filed bankruptcy proceedings in the first six months this year. During both 1969 an 1968 the full-year total was 31.

Gene Egan, a vice president of Producers Cotton Oil Co. of Fresno, figures that 60% of the nearly 700,000 acres in cotton could be hit if the ceiling is $20,000 and about 30% if the limit is $55,000. His company gins cotton, makes cotton seed oil and also provides financing for many growers.

The average cost to produce cotton in the valley, Mr. Egan estimates, is nearly 32 cents a pound. The world price, he notes, is about 22 cents a pound. The cotton subsidy is in the form of a 16.8 cents payment a pound. But it applies only to 65% of a grower's cotton allotment. "Over 100% production, it figures out to 10.92 cents per pound," Mr. Egan says. "So, if you take the world price of 22 cents a pound, you come up with 32 cents, or about break even. Some of course, produce at a smaller cost and some are over that," he adds.

San Joaquin Valley growers historically have specialized in a long-fiber cotton that once commanded a premium of four cents or five cents a pound over the world price, making it a highly profitable crop. But competition from long-fiber strains developed in other states and the lower-cost synthetic fibers have reduced that premium to only a penny or two, crimping profit margins all the more, the cotton people complain.

One farm economist speculates that some growers will try to grow cotton without subsidies, at least for one year. Instead of careful and costly row planting and intensive hand care, he says, the growers may "just throw out their cotton seed and if it comes up, fine." While yields and quality undoubtedly would be reduced, he says, the growers might discover they can raise a break-even crop, maybe even turn a small profit.

I would also like at this time to indicate my strong support of the bill if we can keep it substantially in its present form. I recognize that there are many national organizations in opposition to the bill who propose to represent your constituents. One of these is the American Farm Bureau Federation. At this point, I would like to incorporate into the RECORD copies of telegrams from some of my constituents, representing many of my local organizations, including my county farm bureau. These are in support of this legislation:

FRESNO, CALIF.,
July 31, 1970.

Congressman B. F. SISK,
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge your support Omnibus Farm bill as reported out house agricultural committee cotton growers overwhelmingly support this bill as opposed farm bureau or coalition bills.

DICK MARKARIAN,
Chairman, Cotton Dept., Fresno County Farm Bureau.

BAKERSFIELD CALIF.,
Aug. 1, 1970.

Hon. B. F. SISK,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

New farm bill essential to California agriculture. I urge your support of H.R. 18546 as approved by the House AG committee with no less than $55,000 payment limit.

Any less payment limit would force thousands of additional acres out of cotton, wheat and feed grains into fruits, nuts and vegetables already in over supply in California

WILLIAM F. MCFARLANE,
Chairman of the Board.

FRESNO, CALIF.
July 31, 1970.

Congressman B. F. SISK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I urge you to support omnibus farm bill as report out of the House Agriculture Committee.

F. C. FRED MACHADO,
Vice President, Fresno County Farm Bureau.

August 4, 1970.

B. F. SISK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

As you know the people of your district are greatly concerned with general economic conditions in California. Agriculture has a large bearing on the state's overall economy. Within agriculture cotton is California's major cash crop bringing in over two hundred million dollars annually. Our company furnishes financing and or processing services for approximately 16 percent of the cotton produced in California. Through this exposure it is our considered judgment that a payment limitation under 55,000 will wreck the California cotton industry and destroy a major section of our state's economy. While we are opposed to any limitations and while we know that even a 55,000 limitation will bankrupt many large farmers, we recognize that some limitations appears inevitable. However, as a member of congress representing the people of California you should recognize that any limitation lower than fifty-five thousand will have a disastrous affect on the state's overall economy. I respectfully urge you to support a minimum limitation of 55,000 as proposed in H.R. 18546 and supported by the Secretary of Agriculture and the President. If you cannot do so, or if you feel the Congress will adopt a lower level, then I urge you to work to recommit the bill and let agriculture live for one year under the 1958 act which does not provide any direct payments to the cotton farmer.

J. B. MAYER,
President, Producers Cotton Oil Co.

FRESNO, CALIF., *July 31, 1970.*

Representative B. F. SISK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Urge you to support the new agriculture bill as reported by the House committee. The cotton section of this bill, H.R. 18546, has been developed over the last 18 months with the cotton growers organizations of the Nation, members of the House Committee on Agriculture, and officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. We have met together on literally scores of occasions, working out legislation.

This bill is not everything everybody wanted but it probably represents the best that could be worked out. It has the overwhelming approval of the cotton growers' organizations in the Nation.

Even though the $55,000 limitation will pose a major disaster to thousands of acres of California farmland and the thousands of people employed on them and employed by the businesses which supply them, it too has been accepted.

But the lower limitation of $20,000 proposed, would affect half the cotton acres in California. It would be highly discriminatory to California agriculture and economy.

California, according to USDA figures, receives around $84 million farm subsidy payments. A $20,000 limitation would cut that total down 45%. On the other hand, Illinois which receives, according to USDA figures, $195 million in subsidy payments would be cut less than 1% by the $20,000 limitation.

For the stability of California agriculture and economy we urge support of the H.R. 18546 program as recommended by the committee and supported by the USDA for the 3-year period.

At that time its effect can be assessed and, if possible, improved.

JACK STONE, *President,*
Western Cotton Growers Association.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the last speaker said that his district would be hurt if this bill is passed.

My district is not going to be hurt so far as any payment is concerned because I am not going to get any of it.

But you know this is the best issue on earth for a candidate against you to demagog on—because, and listen, I can make a louder speech than the gentleman from Massachusetts and I can wave my arms just as hard about what a horrible thing the agriculture bill is. Well, I can make the same kind of speech about foreign aid that the gentleman voted for and I did not vote for. But not one time have I ever offered an amendment to the foreign aid bill which would limit payments to $20,000, and he has not, either; $199 billion has been spent on foreign aid, and not one time has anybody wanted to limit that to $20,000. It is possible that if these American farmers were some kind of foreigners, no amendment would be offered to limit payments to them to $20,000 either.

I have not heard anyone propose a $20,000 limit on social welfare; $68 billion is spent by the Federal Government on social welfare. The gentleman from Illinois—and I would not want to make this admission even when I represented farmers—indicated that these farm payments were social welfare. Well, he has 16,000 farmers in his district who he says are getting social welfare. I do not know how he is going to explain it to them, but those farmers do not think that they are getting social welfare. At any rate, if they are getting social welfare, they are not getting $68 billion. In addition, the States of the Union spent $58 billion more on social welfare, with no $20,000 limitation.

Regardless of all the opportunities to make political speeches about a limitation of $20,000 or anything else—and I know that those who represent city districts have a hard time possibly explaining a vote for a limitation above $20,000 or, you might say, a vote against $20,000—you just have to make one of two choices: Do you want to have a depression? Do you want to have less business, less employment, less prosperity in your district that you can deny you had anything to do with?

If you vote for the $20,000 limitation, and it brings a depression, the chances are nobody will be smart enough to charge you with doing it, but in your own conscience you have got to know that you helped bring on that depression by a vote for $20,000.

In my opinion, when you buy a reduction of production, you should pay whatever the amount is worth. The man who gets $20,000 has a certain size investment, maybe $250,000. The man who gets $750,000 probably has a $3 or $4 million investment in his farm, and it is necessary for him to get that kind of payment or he must either raise tomatoes, vegetables, or something else, or go completely out of the farm business.

I represent an industrial area. But I want to tell you sincerely that the reason we arrived at a figure of $55,000 is that by the most careful analysis we could make, $55,000 was a limit which would probably keep a successful farm program. Anything lower than that we feel will probably make the farm program unsuccessful, and if you do, you are going to have to pay more relief and social welfare than you are paying the farmers of the gentleman from Illinois at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BELCHER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, with all the sincerity that I possess, I want to tell the Members that the best we can do for our district and for our country and for the prosperity of our constituents is to vote for a $55,000 limitation, which will keep some kind of prosperity in the country and put the farmers into a position so they will not have to go to the cities and go on relief, and so our workers will have a $34 billion market to sell their products in.

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, it is a long way from Ingomar, Mont., to Boston, Mass. a couple thousand miles. Ingomar, is on the Milwaukee Railroad and I am told that a few years ago, it was the largest shipping point for wool in the United States and probably in the world—that was Ingomar. It was a thriving town then. They had banks and hotels and everything one would expect to find for the hungry and thirsty on those dry plains of Montana. From 100's of miles around the sheep were trailed there to the shearing sheds, which were owned by the Milwaukee Railroad, and there they were sheared in the summer, and the wool was shipped. In the fall the lambs were also shipped from there. That was a long time ago.

Now all that is left is the Jersey Lily, where the people who are hungry and thirsty still go, and the depot and the school. That is the Ingomar of 1970. The shearing sheds still stand, but they are no longer owned by the Milwaukee Railroad, which has sold them because of declining number of sheep. The sheds along with the corrals and pens and the sheep scales are owned privately. Ingomar is no longer a great shipping point for wool, and no longer is it a shipping point for the many, many thousands of sheep that decades ago were loaded there.

This is a declining industry and it has been a declining industry for some time. During the Eisenhower years, in 1954, it was made a national priority to try to revive a dying industry, sheep and wool. This Congress in its wisdom, with the administration backing it, set up what is known as the Wool Act, the wool program. It was not a surplus crop then, and it is not a surplus crop now.

Just why it gets into the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Illinois, I do not know, because the remainder of their amendment seems to be dealing with surplus crops. It is a national priority, and a national incentive program to try to get more wool and lamb and sheep production.

The Wool Act is not financed directly out of the Treasury as such. The Wool Act is financed by the tariffs collected on wool and wool products that are brought into this coutnry.

I do not believe that the gentlemen who have proposed the amendment have looked at this in the correct light. I think the wool, title III, as in their amendment, should be stricken. I shall offer such an amendment at the proper time.

Because of the school lands owned by Montana, the State of Montana has been singled out as being a recipient of large payments. The State of Montana does not farm one acre. It is not involved in the program as such. But the school land of Montana is still owned by the State and much of that is leased to individual farmers who do farm it. They, the farmers, receive the payments on their share of the crop, and the State receives its share of the payments on its share of the crop.

Who is the beneficiary here? The schoolchildren of Montana are the beneficiaries, because these are school lands, and the money goes to the schools to relieve some of the tax burden. I think it is fine for the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from Illinois to cite the example of how much money somebody is receiving, but they are mixed up here when they say the State of Montana receives $660,000 as an individual. What happens to the money? The taxpayers receive same help on school taxes—and there are 700,000 people, all the people in Montana that benefit because the payments for leased school land goes for school purposes reducing the local school taxes.

Again, at the proper time either I or the gentleman from Washington, my colleague on the committee, will offer an amendment to exempt State school lands and State lands in general from this substitute amendment proposed by the gentlemen from Massachusetts and Illinois.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, again I should like to see how many Members desire to be heard on this amendment and the pending amendments. Perhaps we can agree to fix a time to vote. We do not seem to have more than twice as many as we had the last time.

I wonder if we could agree to close all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto at 4 o'clock. I ask unanimous consent to do so.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I object.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. POAGE

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close at 4 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Iowa). The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Do I correctly understand that we are closing debate at 4 o'clock on the Lowenstein amendment?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. On all amendments pending.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, was not the Findley motion offered as a substitute, rather than an amendment?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. It was a substitute amendment.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Then debate will not close at 4 o'clock, will it?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. There is a committee amendment pending. The limitation of debate applies to the committee amendment and all amendments thereto, including the substitute and amendment thereto.

The Chair will recognize Members standing at the time the limitation of debate was entered into for approximately three-quarters of a minute each.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I am going to explain as best I can, why I believe the $20,000 limitation on payments is not justified.

As I spoke yesterday in regard to this, it amazes me that we have so many experts on the farm problem when so few have participated in the art of agriculture. As a farmer and rancher myself, I find very disturbing the ideas and philosophies some people have in regard to agriculture.

As I said yesterday, I oppose any limitations on farm payments. Being a political realist, however, and realizing full well that the city Congressmen would join together and undoubtedly impose a limitation on farm payments, I reluctantly agreed to support the $55,000 ceiling arrived at by the Agriculture Committee. This was not an off-the-wall figure, it was the product of a great deal of agonizing effort on the part of individuals within and without the Government. And it is a figure that will realistically limit farm payments without wrecking the farm program.

Mr. Chairman, during the general debate on the Agriculture Act of 1970, I have heard the question raised, how would limiting payments to $20,000 destroy the farm program? Let me answer this question once and for all. Farming is a risky, low-profit business. Those who think farmers are fat cats who lie back and rake in Government subsidies have another think coming.

Given the cost-profit squeeze in agriculture today, many individuals are leaving the farms and seeking their livelihood elsewhere. As evidence of this in the last 20 years the population in this country has increased by 36 percent while the farm population has decreased 50 percent. During this same period, the number of farms has dropped from 5.7 million to 2.9 million and the decline continues.

The current condition of the American farmer can also be well depicted by examining his earning position relative to nonfarm sectors of the economy. Since 1950 the hourly earnings of manufacturing workers have risen by 131 percent. Since 1950 corporate dividends have increased 235 percent. In contrast to these success stories, the farmers' average return in 1967 to 1969 was 3 percent below what it was 20 years ago using 1947 to 1949 as a base period. Moreover, modern-day prices received for the three major farm crops; corn, wheat, and cotton, are actually considerably lower than those received two decades ago. For example, the average price received for corn last year was $1.12 per bushel. Twenty years ago, it was $1.68.

Mr. Chairman, the facts speak volumes, the farmer in America is not fully sharing in the economic growth of the country. He is providing the food and fiber that is underpinning this growth; he is providing the momentum that fuels this growth; but, he is not reaping the rich harvest he so justly deserves. When I say the farmer provides the momentum for economic growth. I mean just that. The agriculture sector of this great country has become a mighty machine. It produces the richest and most diverse harvests of any nation in history. It provides food in such abundance that the average American spends only 16.5 percent of his disposable income on food. At the same time, the agriculture sector generates jobs either directly or indirectly for nearly 40 percent of the work force. It employs more people than the steel, auto, utilities, and transportation industries combined.

The ability of the agriculture sector to provide the underpinning and momentum for our economic growth depends on the courage, resourcefulness, and initiative of the hardy few who are willing to risk their lives and their fortunes in the risky business of farming. To survive in the face of mounting costs for equipment, land, labor, facilities, and supplies, farmers have had to expand their operations and take every advantage of the economies of scale. As a result in many areas of the country, such as the Texas Panhandle, it is common for man to farm whole sections of land where in his father's time, men normally described their operations in terms of acres.

It is this fact, that farming has become big business, that the prime sponsor of the amendment to limit farm payments to $20,000—Mr. CONTE and others, seem singularly unwilling or unable to recognize. Perhaps his vision is limited to the farming conditions in his State, a State that has only 126,219 acres tied up in farming. In Texas we

farm 35,778,092 acres. If this is the case I would suggest the gentleman expand his horizons. If, on the other hand, it is local votes rather than acres he is counting, I would suggest it is more important for this Nation to feed its people than it is to elect particular individuals to public office.

The other chief sponsor of the amendment to limit farm payments to $20,000 is the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY). In contrast to the gentleman from Massachusetts, he does come from a farming State, Illinois contains almost 25 million acres of farmland. On its face, one would think he would know full well the condition of the farmer in America; however, when the conditions in his State are examined, it is discovered that his concern is also limited by local conditions.

Despite the fact that the gentleman from Illinois has more farmers in his district than practically any other Member of Congress, only 21 of his farmers stand to lose any money by the $20,000 payment limitations. Could it be that he has drawn the ceiling in his amendment to protect only his constituents? Could it be that he has advocated and pursued a course of action that is in reckless disregard of the consequences on the farmers outside his district, or the American people for that matter?

Mr. Chairman, the plain unadorned fact of the matter is that if this amendment were adopted and a $20,000 ceiling set on farm payments, the larger, more efficient producer would be unable to participate in the Federal farm program and still cover his overhead, much less make a profit on his investment. He would have no other choice than to determine what crops he could grow most efficiently and plant them fence to fence. This would force the smaller farmers who were participating in the farm program to economic ruin. It would destroy the delicate bonds of the farm program which match farm production with the consumption needs of this Nation. It would create new gluts on the market. It would dislocate the farm economy in so many ways that the economic tidal wave what would be created could well swamp the rest of the economy and drive the Nation smack into a devastating depression.

The history of the United States is fairly clear that nationwide depressions begin on the farms. When I was growing up there was an old saying that went like this: "Depressions in this country have always been farm bred, farm led, and farm fed." I predict, and I hate to be a prophet of doom, but I predict that if this Congress adopts the amendment to limit farm payments to $20,000, it may well have sown the seeds of our economic ruin.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to briefly comment on the farm bill itself, because I fear its merits are being obscured by the payments limitations issue. As I said yesterday, this bill is a compromise bill. It represents, not what I or anybody else on the committee thinks is the ideal program, rather it represents a bill that reflects the political and economic realities of the times. It is a bill that hopefully will help farmers produce food and fiber at a reasonable return on their labor and their investment. It is also a consumers' bill in the basic sense of the word; because the operation of the bill will help insure that the American consumer continues to pay reasonable prices for abundant and nutritious foods.

Mr. Chairman, out of the $7 billion that has been appropriated for agricultural expenditures in fiscal year 1971, only about $3.5 billion goes to farming. The remainder is allocated for food stamps for the poor, school lunch programs, surplus commodity, and distribution programs. I want to emphasize the fact that only $3.5 billion is spent on the farm program itself; that is, out of every Federal dollar, 1.75 cents goes toward providing the seed money for the national harvest.

I ask you all to search your minds. Is there any other industry in this Nation or this world that does so much for so little? Would you forsake American agriculture, our horn of plenty, for the sake of political profit? I hope not. I pray not.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STEIGER).

(Messrs. RHODES, BERRY, and ANDERSON of Illinois yielded their time to Mr. STEIGER of Arizona.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Findley-Conte amendment to limit price support payments to $20,000 per commodity. In doing so, I am fully aware that this is no simple issue, and that it is certainly not a matter of moral right or wrong. I do know, however, that the current practice of making hundred thousand and even million dollar payments to a tiny minority of corporate farms is an enormous drain on the treasury and is giving the entire farm program an exceedingly bad public image. Because of this, I believe that a real solution to the farm morass will mean moving back to a considerably freer market situation, and greatly curtailing or even eliminating the present multibillion-dollar payment program.

So in making a decision on this amendment, my concern is entirely pragmatic: What will be the practical effect of a payments ceiling? I must say that those colleagues of mine so strenuously opposing this amendment have left a most confusing impression on this score. One gentleman from a cotton growing area in the South has said it will drive planters out of the program; moreover, because the market price is so far below the costs of production they will be driven out of cotton entirely. And what is worse, go into soybeans and bankrupt the entire state of Illinois.

Another gentleman from a cotton growing area in the West has argued just the opposite. He asserts that although the proposed ceiling will drive farmers out of the support program, it will not drive them out of cotton. Indeed, quite the contrary. Once unleashed, they will plant cotton from fence row to fence row—soon inundating the entire State of California with cotton bales.

Now which of the gentlemen is correct? Certainly they both cannot be. My own view is that they both exaggerate considerably. If we pass this amendment it will not lead to the collapse of the farm program; not everyone will switch to soybeans nor will everyone plant their farms from fence row to fence row. The probable result will be that everyone, especially the large farmers will be made quite uncomfortable. And, in my view, that is precisely what we need. So long as individuals are content with the present jerry-built structure, we are never going to get the fundamental reevaluation and overhaul of the farm program we so desperately need. If the passage of this amendment will both save the hard-pressed Federal Treasury a quarter billion dollars and spur long overdue action toward revamping our basic agricultural policy, I think it is especially worthy of support.

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Chairman. I thank the chairman and I thank the gentlemen who have yielded their time to me.

Like everybody else, I want to bring into perspective for you what we are doing here, and I want to do it from my point of view. I do have cotton farmers in my district and I am concerned about them. This is a political issue, but, let us face it, the gentleman from Massachusetts has railed to you about the grower who gets millions of dollars in subsidies and about that heinous English organization that gets $700,000. Well, I have news for you. The Committee on Agriculture has already killed them off. The $55,000 limitation takes care of them. That is done. To use the gentleman from Illinois' own figures and one of the many information sheets that he sent around to us, as he calls them, he indicated the reason why he wants to go to $20,000 is because there would be two fellows nationally under the three-crop payment plan who would get $165,000. Then there would be 32 people who would get $110,000. Then there are going to be 12,000 farmers who would get $55,000. I think using those figures as logic he then said that therefore we have to go to $20,000. Well, I am telling you what will happen to those 12,000 farmers. He has told them that for political expediency and because it is politically sexy for me to talk about those 12,000 farmers with a $55,000 Government payment, that I am going to set the level at $55,000. But he did not think about the banks in those little towns that would get wiped out and he did not think about the implement dealers and the schools that would not get the school taxes and about $1,500 an acre of land that would go to $300. He should not think about them, either, because it does not affect him and he will get votes by not doing it. But it is up to the rest of us to think about those people. Yes, the consumers will suffer and the farmers will suffer, but if these farm communities suffer, the entire State has to suffer, and if those States suffer, then other States have to suffer. Recognizing that it is not just a farm problem and recognizing that we have already killed off the million-dollar recipient, because the committee did it when they passed the $55,000 limitation, and recognizing that from here on in you are simply haggling and you are

supporting something just to make political points and with no other merit to it—recognizing that, I believe you all know how you should act. I urge you not to do that and I urge you to support the $55,000 limitation.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. WAGGONNER).

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, it would be much better if we had ideal circumstances surrounding agriculture today, but these circumstances do not exist. Why and quickly now because time does not permit more do we have to have a subsidy from the Federal Government? Simply because we have problems in agriculture, and we of the Federal Government have said to the man who owns land, who owns equipment, who has been and still must pay taxes on this land and equipment, who has been farming that land and utilizing that equipment, that "you cannot farm your land any more," we have put him out of business. So when he cannot longer do with his as he chooses we by way of a subsidy payment partially compensate him for damage done.

Everybody agrees that some subsidy is in order. How much? That is the question. We, I readily admit, need some limitation. Why $55,000? Because there is a difference in crops. The people who live in the middle west and who raise feed grains know that it costs them some $35 an acre to get the grain ready for harvest, but it costs us in the South $140 to $150 an acre to get cotton ready for the harvest, and that is the reason a $20,000 limitation will not do, and cover all crops with fairness and equity. For this reason and others, Mr. Chairman, I support the committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHERLE).

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, as a grain and livestock farmer, I find myself in a unique position and with mixed feelings. However, as a farmer I do support the $55,000 limitation, and I will tell you why.

I can visualize very easily the large farmers who would be penalized under this $20,000 limitation, and the problem that it would create. Who is the biggest contributor to the surplus we have in the marketplace? No one else but the big farmers naturally.

Now, if we do not offer some enticement, some incentive for these large farmers to participate in the feed grain programs, it will be disastrous for the little farmers because they are the ones who will suffer. No one will allow their high priced, high taxed land to remain idle.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Montana (Mr. OLSEN).

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MELCHER yielded his time to Mr. OLSEN.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to associate myself with the remarks made by my colleague, the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) just a few moments ago. I want to add something to them.

Mr. Chairman, I was the attorney general of Montana for 8 years, and as such I was on the land board that managed the school lands.

The States of Montana, Washington, and Oregon have been very diligent in managing their school lands, and they have, I believe, managed them more diligently than any other States in the Union. And the money does get to the schools. One-third of the crop that comes from the farming of school lands gets to the schoolhouse.

So, Mr. Chairman, I not only stand here in support of the committee's position on the $55,000 limitation, but I stand here also in support of the committee's position that the school land should be exempt from that limitation because that money does go to the schoolhouse, it does go to the schoolchildren, and I know, because I have witnessed this, and that is through the diligence of at least three States, their great diligence in preserving the gift of the Federal Government for the establishment of the common school system.

I hope, for that extraordinary reason, that we would vote for the committee limitation, and that we would vote for the committee's exception for school lands.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. FLYNT).

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLYNT. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that I am opposed to the Findley amendment, and all other amendments thereto.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. STEPHENS yielded his time to Mr. FLYNT.)

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia, for yielding his time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I support the committee bill. I support the committee bill as amended. I oppose all amendments thereto.

Some of our colleagues today think that a surplus of farm commodities is a bad thing. Well, let me say to my friends from the great urban cities of America, who do not understand agriculture and the problems of agriculture that they are the ones who should be most thankful that we do have a surplus of agricultural commodities in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, there is a very thin line between surplus and scarcity. If this surplus that we have, and I am proud that we do have, should be transformed into a scarcity many Americans would go hungry for want of food, and the price for that food might be doubled or tripled within 30 days' time.

I wish the time would come when we had no need for susidies or agriculture payments of any kind. But until that time comes I want to do my part to help to maintain a viable and strong agricultural economy in the United States. I want an agricultural economy based on surpluses. I do not want an agricultural economy that is based on a scarcity of food for the mouths of the American people.

The bill as reported by the Committee on Agriculture is sound and I support it without apology.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ECKHARDT).

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I come from a district composed primarily of a large and populous city but which includes also some farm areas. But I think that I am properly representing my constituents in the city area when I support the interests of the farm areas because I have within my district the Turning Basin of the great Port of Houston, which is one of the greatest shipping points for farm products.

I think many of us who live in industrial and city areas have a strong interest in the health of agriculture. For this reason I have always voted against a fixed cutoff point for support payments to farmers, and I will vote against such limitations today except that contained in the committee amendment.

I took the same position that I take today on May 27, 1969, when the Conte-Findley amendment was before us. I refer to my statement at that time respecting the basic reasons for the price-support program. I also said at that time:

> Nevertheless, there are abuses. The price support program should be overhauled.

The bill before us does substantially change the price-support approach. It does not pay farmers directly for leaving land out of cultivation but pays certain support payments based on production which do, it is true, result in land being left out of cultivation. However, a farmer cannot under this bill be paid for simply not producing as was true in the past.

Also, with the committee amendment the inordinately high farm support payments are eliminated. There is a $55,000 limitation per crop.

As in so many other fields we must here strike a reasonable balance.

We must recognize, on the one hand, that the purpose of the production payments is to stabilize prices by restricting production of certain commodities, so that overproduction does not depress the price of the commodity. On the other hand, we must recognize that extremely large farmers, because they are big, are better able to ride out a bad year and they are not so much at the mercy of the market as are the small farmers.

I would be reluctant to tamper with the committee's balance of these interests. The committee has decided that this latter factor justifies a cutoff at $55,000. It is evident that the committee believes that if the cutoff were put at any lower figure several inequities and several undesirable results would occur.

First, it would be unfair to cut off production payments at a level of, say, $20,000 so that a farmer with extensive lands and heavy investments would be unduly restricted in production payments as compared to his smaller neighbor who could produce closer to the potential of his land and equipment. The result would be, of course, a higher unit price of production for the larger farmer.

Second, a cutoff at such figure would tend to cause the large farmers to move into the field of production of other commodities where his production payments

were cut off with respect to a given commodity. Thus he would tend to glut the market in these other fields.

Whatever the weaknesses of our farm program, farmers have been able to work under it and to develop a total agricultural operation which is far more efficient than that of the Soviet Union or any other nation with a program comparable in size. It is for these reasons that I support the committee bill and the committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. JACOBS).

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, in response to the comment of the gentleman from Oklahoma about limiting welfare payments to $20,000, I know an elderly blind lady who is on welfare and she has just informed me that she would accept that $20,000 limitation.

Also I would like to suggest to those who for years have talked about leading this country down the road to socialism that the amendment I have offered will lead this country up the road to capitalism.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. QUIE).

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I support the Conte-Findley amendment for a $20,000 limitation. I believe the farm program can still work well at that level. That is as high as the payments ought to be without scaling them down.

I think any problems that exist with reference to wool or school land can be taken care of in the other body, if they are problems.

The way the vote will be called after the time limitation, we are going to have to vote on amendments without any corrections because there will not be any time to discuss any corrections being offered.

As I have watched the problem of limitations through the years I have come to the conclusion that we should have a sliding scale of limitations like we have on sugar. But since that is not possible the $20,000 limitation comes closer to what I think is proper and equitable than the $55,000 limit.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FISHER).

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the committee version which imposes a $55,000 limitation on payments under the farm program, and in opposition to the pending amendment—which includes wool in the limitation.

I think the $55,000 figure is a reasonable figure, considering all the complications and implications that are involved. By operating under that limitation for a year or two the Congress will then be much better able to determine more accurately its feasibility and the overall effect the limitation will have on the production of food and fiber.

In regard to wool—it really has no place in this amendment. It is not included in the committee amendment. In limitation efforts in the past it has not been included. It is not included in the Senate limitation recently added to the agricultural appropriation bill. Wool, like sugar, is a deficiency commodity. Our national policy is to encourage more production of wool, not less production. In fact, that is the stated purpose of the National Wool Act—written into the law.

Long ago wool was officially declared to be a strategic commodity, in terms of national security. In case of war, if submarine activity should cut off our long supply lines from New Zealand and Australia—as must be anticipated, our essential wool supply would become extremely critical. Hitler was once quoted as saying he lost the battle of Stalingrad because of shortage of woolen clothes for his troops. So, wool is a critical, strategic, and highly essential commodity not only for normal uses but for national security as well.

Wool growers in this country have had quite a struggle. During the Truman administration the tariff on raw wool was cut by 25 percent. That reduction enabled our friends in Australia and New Zealand to produce, transport, pay the lowered duty, and sell their wool in this country at a price below our cost of production. That was the findings of the Tariff Commission following an exhaustive hearing some 20 years ago. And the Commission recommended an import fee to close that gap between imported prices and our actual cost of production.

At that time the Eisenhower administration recommended instead what became the National Wool Act, and it has been in effect ever since. It has worked fairly well. As I have said, the entire concept of that program is to encourage more production. Now we find that concept, in effect, coming under attack by the Findley amendment.

It just happens that the wool market is in quite a slump at this time, which accounts for a relatively high incentive cost—paid for, incidentally, out of duties collected from excessive importation of foreign wool and woolen products. Wool prices have a way of going up and down.

Perhaps next year the domestic price will be much better, and the cost of the program reduced accordingly. In an 11-year period, payments ran from a low of 15 percent to a high of 47 percent. I can tell you this: No wool producer in this country is making much if anything at this time out of his operations, even with the incentive support.

I think it is fair to say that if you favor the National Wool Act—its concept of encouraging more wool production, you would be expected to oppose the Findley amendment. The amendment should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GUDE) is recognized.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Conte-Findley amendment. This is an essential step in our efforts to reorder our national priorities. The farm subsidy program has become a symbol of institutional lag. Designed to meet the crisis of the 1930's, it now provides massive payments to the successful farmers it helped to grow, but only a pittance to the large numbers of invisible poor on the farm. We need to redirect and reinvigorate our farm program, and I have grave doubts that this legislation meets this need.

But at the very least, we can try once again to reduce the payments received by a handful of the most affluent producers. This year, the other body has followed our lead and approved a $20,000 limitation on farm subsidies. Let us reaffirm our support of a limit on Federal largesse, and our commitment to reform that will give both the average farmer and the average taxpayer a break.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. EDMONDSON).

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the committee bill.

Mr. Chairman, I recognize this bill is far from perfect and leaves unanswered some of our major questions on farm policy.

Nevertheless, it appears to be the best legislation available to us at this time, and I know the committee has worked long and hard on its contents. The $55,000 limitation is undoubtedly a compromise of the strong views prevailing on this question, and will accomplish the major objective of those who farm a limitation without doing total violence to the program to stabilize farm prices and production.

I will therefore support the committee position and the committee bill, with the hope that the next Congress will provide improved solutions to some of the long-time problems of the American farmer.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. EDMONDSON yielded the remainder of his time to the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. BELCHER.)

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. KOCH).

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Lowenstein amendment and the Findley-Conte amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN).

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, a major premise of farm legislation is that it is not in the national interest to drive small farmers off the farm. We would do that if there were no subsidies. We do that when we give enormous subsidies. So I favor a reasonable subsidy, at least till some better system is devised and implemented. Now the distinguished chairman and the overwhelming majority of the committee support a ceiling of $55,000 and insist that a lower ceiling would destroy the farm program. But why is $55,000 a reasonable ceiling and anything less than that disastrous? The studies I have seen do not support that notion. In fact, they indicate that there would be relatively few farms affected, though the savings to the taxpayer would be substantial. Is the taxpayer who supports all these programs to be forgotten in the interest of a few corporate farmers? On the contrary, it seems to me

sound economics and sound morality to stop paying large subsidies to people who do not need them while other people go hungry and millions more are crushed by taxes and inflation.

In short, the substance of the arguments against my amendment today has been an argument against any payment limitation at all, and if we end up without a reasonable and enforceable payment limitation, I think greater social and economic inequities will result from extending the farm program than from abandoning it. If we come to that situation, I will be obliged to vote against the bill. If we cannot have a farm program that is fair to small farmers—and to consumers and taxpayers generally—we should have no farm program at all. We would thus have arrived willy-nilly at Mr. JACOBS' conclusion, which I for one would regret.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WHITTEN).

(By unanimous consent, Mr. ABERNETHY yielded his time to Mr. WHITTEN.)

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I thank my friend and colleague, TOM ABERNETHY, who made such a fine argument on this matter.

This is not a relief program for agriculture. It is not a payment to agriculture. This is an effort to maintain farm purchasing power by maintaining farm income on a somewhat comparable level with the cost of what the farmer must buy. Unfortunately, this generation does not remember the cause of the last depression, which was led off as all depressions have been by a breakdown in farm income. When farm purchasing power went down, it pulled the rest of the economy down.

In our country, in order to keep a healthy economy, we must keep a balance between industry, agriculture and labor. For years we tied agricultural prices to 90 percent of parity, which means prices comparable with the prices the farmer had to pay for things he bought which, of course, included the cost of labor. As minimum wages and bargaining power of labor unions increased, the cost was passed on by industry to the buyer to maintain a balance so important to our economy; farm prices, or raw material prices, were supported at a somewhat comparable level—except, of course, in the case of perishable commodities, where section 32 funds were used to buy up surplus—30 percent of import duties.

Unfortunately, the 1965 act provided that as labor continued to get higher minimum wages by law and by collective bargaining provided by law increased its average minimum wage to $2.96 an hour, agricultural prices were permitted by law to sag to even less than 50 percent of parity; and the Congress promised to make up the difference in what has been called throughout this debate "checks from the Treasury." I said at the time of passage of the act that the Congress would either renege during the years of the act or cut it back when the next agricultural act passed; and that is what efforts are being made to achieve today.

Keep in mind that the farm program was initially passed to restore purchasing power to agriculture, so essential if we were then to have an economic recovery; for as I have stated it was the break in agricultural prices and income which led to the depression of the 1920's and so with all others.

Let us review the facts:

The value of agricultural products dropped from $18,32[illegible] million in 1920, to $12,402 million in 1921. As a result, 453,000 farmers lost their farms, all reflected by failures of local banks.

In 1928 prices were: wheat, $1; cotton, 18 cents; and corn, 84 cents. By 1931 wheat was 38 cents; cotton, 5.5 cents; and corn, 32 cents. The Dow-Jones Stock Price Averages followed by declining from a high of 381.2 in September to a low of 41.2 in July of 1932.

Farm income and resulting real purchasing power has already dropped more than 50 percent on the farmer's investment since 1940, from 7.1 percent to 3.10 percent. The warning signs are out.

Now, why cannot we get this story over? Perhaps too few are willing to study history; or perhaps it is because the news media is focused on the 95 percent of nonfarmers. Whatever it is, the story must be gotten over, for the sake of all.

What I say to you today is that you are not limiting a grant or a gift to the farmer or the agricultural producer, you are dealing with a part of his cost and all his profits; and if you do scale back the Government payment you are leaving him helpless in an economy where labor and industry are protected and their take of the consumer dollar is ever increasing. Then just as certain as happened in the late 1920's you are inviting the biggest depression imaginable.

If this were merely a gift, any amount would probably be big enough. But this is a matter of cutting back farm income, which means farm purchasing power with all its adverse effects on every one. If the Conte-Findley amendment is passed, estimates show the farmer can buy only 20 percent of the equipment and other materials he purchases today. If he, industry's biggest customer, cannot buy, industry cannot hire, labor cannot work, taxes would not be paid, and so it would go.

We should vote for the committee bill, which perhaps goes too far itself. Certainly we should defeat the Conte-Findley amendment, which is predicated on an erroneous concept that this provision for the farmer is a handout.

If you want to invite disaster, cut down the purchasing power of agriculture. The results will be on your heads if you pass these limitations without restoring farm prices and volume drastically reduced since 1965.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) is recognized.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. GOODLING yielded his time to the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. BELCHER.)

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE).

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I urge everyone to vote for the Conte-Findley amendment to strike a blow for economy, to help stop inflation, and to save the taxpayers $177 million a year.

I would like to answer one thing the gentleman from Mississippi, (Mr. ABERNETHY) my good friend, said—and I say that sincerely. The gentleman talked about my district getting subsidies. I challenge the gentleman to tell me which if any in my district get any subsidy, and which subsidies I have ever voted for.

The Mississippi Delta area receives some of the largest subsidies in the United States, and yet it has one of the highest poverty rates in the United States. Can the gentleman rationalize that?

I hope all my colleagues will march up the aisle, as they have in the past, and put some sensibility into this runaway program.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington (Mr. FOLEY).

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not have more than a handful of people in my district who receive more than $20,000, in commodity payments, but I would tell my colleagues I have a serious question about the effectiveness of the agricultural programs if anything lower than the committee amendment is adopted.

I think a certain political or perhaps cultural problem is reflected by Members who do not have substantial agriculture in their districts and are seemingly not concerned about its welfare. These Members seem to think that adopting these amendments is an effective way to cut the budget, but I think they will find such action will redound to the detriment of their constituents in the urban and suburban districts around the country.

I strongly urge those on the floor to oppose the Findley-Conte amendment, and the Jacobs and the Lowenstein amendments. The committee amendment at $55,000 is as low as we should go.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER).

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, we have had a long, hard argument. We always have a long debate on the farm bills. I think it has been carried out at a very high level. I just want to tell the Members that I believe that anything less than $55,000 is not going to get us a successful farm program, and I believe that without a successful farm bill and program, every single solitary district in the United States is going to suffer.

I never try to tell another Member of Congress how to vote. I want all the Members to use their very best judgment and let their conscience be their guide and vote their sentiments on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE) to close the debate.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, many feel they must vote for a limitation of payments of some kind. I think limitations are unwise. I do not think there is any necessity for any limitation, but many sincerely believe there should be.

The committee has given us an opportunity to vote for a limitation, and at the same time to use a figure which the Secretary of Agriculture and the Committee on Agriculture feel will be practical and

one through which we think we can make the program continue to work.

We have a choice between that kind of limitation and one which the Secretary says will not work, and one which all of us who have studied agriculture feel will not work, and one which no single farmer I know of thinks will work.

I think the choice ought to be to vote down all these limiting amendments to the committee amendment and to support the committee amendment for $55,000. This committee amendment takes care of all this talk about the millionaires, and takes care of all this talk about how some people have so much money. It cuts everybody down to a $55,000 maximum, and everything will be achieved that Members say they want to have achieved.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Conte-Findley amendment. Designed to stop what is probably among this country's most profligate wastes of the taxpayer's money, the amendment would set a ceiling of $20,000 per crop on subsidies to individual farms. The ceiling now, as you know, is virtually limitless. Many giant farm operations—operations so lucrative they rank with some of our biggest industries—receive yearly subsidies well into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. When first before the Congress, the farm subsidy program was heralded as a means of protecting the small farmer against the vicissitudes of the market. The program, we were told, would maintain what was then a venerable American institution: the small family farm.

It has not worked out that way. The program now lavishes money on the big automated farms—farms that can amply afford to stay in the black without Government subsidies. The small farmers, meanwhile, receive subsidies almost trivial in comparison to their needs. The small farm is vanishing, driven out of the agricultural marketplace by the competition. The big farms, conversely, are booming.

Only a cursory glance at the farm subsidy program's statistics shows a need for wholesale reform—or, perhaps, even abolition.

The committee bill, as it now stands, proposes a $55,000 limit on crop subsidies. This figure is plainly too high. The Conte-Findley amendment would more than halve the committee's ceiling, lowering it to the far more reasonable sum of $20,000. It would, moreover, place the subsidy limit on wool as well as the three crops cited in the committee's bill: wheat, feed grains, cotton.

Another distinction between the committee provisions and the Conte-Findley amendment—a distinction that is probably the most significant, in fact—warrants mention here. The committee bill encourages what can be interpreted as lenient enforcement of the ceilings. The amendment, quite to the contrary, demands far more rigorous enforcement.

It is high time the Congress eliminated abuses in the farm subsidy program.

We can start on that job today.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. All time has expired.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, am I correct in understanding that the first vote will come on the Lowenstein amendment to the committee amendment, which would have the effect of reducing the payment to $10,000?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. That will be the first vote.

Mr. FINDLEY. Then the second vote will come on the amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. JACOBS)?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. FINDLEY. Which would go down to $5,000 a year.

Then the next vote will be on the substitute amendment, which provides the limitation of $20,000?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN) to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question now occurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. JACOBS) to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The amendment to the substitute amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. STEIGER OF ARIZONA TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY FOR THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STEIGER of Arizona to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: At the end thereof insert the following:

"(5) The Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized to make long-term low-cost loans for those persons whose payments are reduced under this section and who wish to convert to other crops, said loans not to exceed a total of $100,000,000; said loans to be repaid including interest computed at a sum not less than 1 percent above the cost to Commodity Credit Corporation."

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STEIGER) to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The amendment to the substitute amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MELCHER TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY FOR THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MELCHER to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: In section 101(1), enumerating titles of the bill to which a limitation shall be applicable, strike the Roman numeral "III".

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The amendment to the substitute amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MELCHER TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY FOR THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MELCHER to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On line 20 of the Findley substitute strike "means semicolon" and substitute therefor "means period" and strike the remainder of lines 20, 21 and 22 and substitute therefor the following:

"*Provided*, That the provisions of this act which limit payments to any person shall not be applicable to lands owned by States, political subdivisions, or agencies thereof, so long as such lands are farmed, or leased for farming primarily in direct furtherance of a public function as determined by the Secretary."

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The amendment to the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question now occurs on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman pro tempore appointed as tellers Mr. FINDLEY and Mr. POAGE.

The committee divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 134, noes 161.

So the substitute amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MIKVA

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MIKVA: On page 2, after line 24, add the following new section:

"SEC. 102. No person shall be entitled to receive any payments (as defined in section 101) which exceed in the aggregate $5,000 under the programs established by titles III, IV, V, and VI of this Act, unless—

"(1) he pays each person employed by him (other than a member of his immediate family) at a rate not less than that prescribed by section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, and

"(2) he is in compliance with all applicable Federal, State, and local laws, ordinances, and regulations pertaining to the health and safety of his employees, and

"(3) the Secretary of Labor certifies in

writing that the recipient is in compliance with the requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this section."

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Iowa). The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois on the ground that it is not germane. It is not germane to the fundamental purpose of this legislation, which is to adjust agricultural production to national consumption.

It proposes to amend a statute—section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—which is not in this bill, or for that matter is not even under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA) desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. MIKVA. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I would say in support of the amendment that this is a limitation on the subsidy payment that can be made. Title I itself is a payment limitation title and this is another limitation on those payments.

The amendment does not amend the Fair Labor Standards Act in any way. No one is required to pay $1.60 an hour. The only requirement is that if he desires to obtain more than $5,000 in subsidies then he must comply with the payment of $1.60 and with all health and safety regulations.

So I would say Mr. Chairman, that it is germane to the rest of the section and that it does not amend any other statute.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA), has offered an amendment as a new section of title I of the bill. The committee amendment just adopted established an annual ceiling on payments to producers of upland cotton, wheat, and feed grains. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois would add a new section to require that producers receiving such price support payments, including producers of wool, may not receive payments aggregating over $5,000 unless first, such producers pay all persons employed by them—other than relatives—not less than the minimum wage prescribed by the Fair Labor Standards Act; and second, such producers certify annually that they are in compliance with all applicable employee health and safety laws.

The Chairman has had an opportunity to examine the gentleman's amendment and would call attention to a decision by Chairman Cox on June 18, 1935—RECORD, page 9579. In that instance, to a bill providing assistance to farmers through the contractual benefits conferred upon them by the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and amendment prohibiting agreements under provisions of that act unless such contracts established certain minimum wage rates and maximum hours for farm laborers was held not germane.

The Chair feels that this precedent is controlling, that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois is not germane, and therefore sustains the point of order.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MIKVA

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MIKVA of Illinois: On page 2, after line 24, add the following new section:

"SEC. 102. No person shall be entitled to receive any payments (as defined in sec. 101) under the programs established by titles III, IV, V, and VI of this Act, unless—

"(1) he is in compliance with all applicable Federal, State and local laws, ordinances, and regulations pertaining to the health and safety of his employees, and

"(2) the Secretary of Labor certifies in writing that the recipient is in compliance with the requirements of paragraph (1) of this section."

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not germane. It does not go to the purpose of the act and that on the contrary it seeks to impose regulations of another statute without amending the other statute, that it comes clearly within the same ruling of Chairman Cox.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA) desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. MIKVA. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I would say in defense of this amendment that this does not impose any additional requirement on anybody at all.

This amendment does not change any existing statute at all. What it says is that we will not give Federal subsidies to anybody who is violating existing law. It is therefore very germane to the bill at hand.

We are simply taking the position that if this amendment is adopted that Federal funds ought not to be used to support scofflaws.

I do not know anything that is more germane to the purpose of this bill than to see to it that Federal money is limited solely to those who comply with existing law.

This does not increase the jurisdiction of any agency in terms of present existing laws. It simply says that no one is entitled to receive Federal funds unless they are complying with existing laws.

I urge that the amendment is germane.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The gentleman from Illinois has offered an amendment adding a new section in title I of the bill. The amendment would prohibit all price support payments under titles III, IV, V and VI of the pending bill unless the producer is in compliance with applicable laws and regulations pertaining to the health and safety of employees.

The Committee already has before it the committee amendment which imposes an overall payment limitation. The pending amendment would add a complete prohibition on payments if certain conditions are not met.

The Chair feels that in view of the concept already introduced into the bill by the committee amendment, the further amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois is germane. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, as I stated in support of the germaneness of the amendment, the amendment would not add to the requirements of law as far as any farmer is concerned. It simply provides that before the farmer can receive any Federal subsidies under this bill, there ought to be a certification that he is in compliance with all existing health and safety ordinances and regulations.

I would consider this a tenth-of-a-loaf amendment. My own preference, as I indicated when I first introduced this subject during general debate, is that all farm employees ought to be covered by all present Federal laws pertaining to wages, hours, safety, and health. The man whose income is insufficient to feed his family does not get much solace from the fact that he works for a farmer rather than a factory owner or a miner. I would have preferred that the minimum wage standards now pertaining to some farm employees should also pertain to the employees of those farmers who received subsidy payments in excess of $5,000.

But if we cannot get that, at least we ought to say that no Federal money ought to be used to encourage and enhance a farm operator who violates existing law.

I might say to the members of the committee that there are many cases in point. I have before me as an exhibit that was introduced in a lawsuit in California a list showing instance after instance of farm operators who received subsidies and who violated existing State and Federal health and safety laws.

For example, there was one farm operator in California who received $697,000 in 1969, $341,000 in 1968, and $622,000 in 1966, who on some four different occasions was investigated and inspected by California health investigators, and it was found that there were no toilet facilities on his farm, no hand-washing facilities, no drinking water, all in violation of existing California law.

We are paying people subsidies, Federal money to encourage and enhance their capacity to violate State law. I do not know anything that would do more for State rights than to say to all farm operators that we are not going to give them the wherewithal to ignore existing State and local health and safety ordinances and regulations.

Here is an instance of a farm operator who received subsidies in 1969 of $1,788,000; in 1968, $1,777,000.

In instance after instance we see the grossest kind of violations of existing health and safety standards: no toilet, no hand-washing facilities, no drinking water.

These are farm employees. These are people who are working on these farms

being denied the fundamental protection of their own State, local and Federal regulations, and the farm operators who are doing it are getting Federal money to help them to do it.

I suggest that the amendment is merely a small step toward saying, "We are not going to give subsidies to people who violate the existing laws of their State or their local municipality or the Federal Government."

The amendment does not cure any of the fundamental deficiencies we have heard debated before, but at least it would take the Federal Government off the wrong side of an argument about health and safety and would see to it that Federal moneys are reserved for those who are willing to abide by the law.

Mr. Chairman, I include a list of the cosponsors of my amendment:

COSPONSORS OF MR. MIKVA'S AMENDMENT

Messrs. Abner J. Mikva, James G. O'Hara, George E. Brown, Jr., Bob Eckhardt, Edward I. Koch, Robert Nix, Philip Burton, Michael Harrington, Mario Biaggi, Ed Roybal, Allard K. Lowenstein, Thomas M. Rees, Ogden R. Reid, William F. Ryan, Frank Thompson, Jr.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this is, of course, one of the most difficult situations with which we have to deal. This is like asking when we will stop whipping our wives, because this has an appeal to everyone of us to say that a man should not be paid for violating the law.

But there is the question of the burden of proof, and that is quite important to our system of jurisprudence. We had an example just yesterday of the question of the presumption of innocence. I believe the people of the United States are really quite strong in their belief that there is a presumption of innocence. I believe the gentleman who just offered this amendment would be one of the first to advocate a complete presumption of innocence.

I do not believe there should be a statutory obligation placed upon the farmer to prove he is innocent of violating the law. I think, of course, the burden of proof should be the other way, and that if he has violated the law, fine him, penalize him. I do not believe the farmer or anybody else should be allowed to go without penalty for violating the law, but I do not believe the burden of proof should be on the farmer to prove he is innocent, as the gentleman's amendment does. It requires every farmer to come in and prove his innocence before he is entitled to receive his payment.

I think this amendment indicates the futility of trying to write this kind of bill on the floor. This amendment was not submitted to the committee. The first amendment was, and that one was ruled out of order, but this one was not.

I am not really finding fault with the gentleman's thought, but his mechanics are all wrong.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, would the chairman agree the substance of this amendment was in the amendment that I showed to the committee?

Mr. POAGE. No, the chairman will not agree with that at all, because, although I think the gentleman has done it inadvertently, he has shifted the burden of proof, contrary to the American way of carrying out our courthouse procedures. I think he has done a thing contrary to my understanding of American jurisprudence. I do not want to be a party to it.

I think the gentleman has also done a thing he does not realize. What he is doing is seeking to penalize those farmers who are growing the three basic crops. This bill and the payments the gentleman is talking about go only to the growing of the three basic crops of cotton, corn, and feed grains. Those are the very crops where we do not have a great deal of hard labor. The great bulk of the hard farm labor is used in fruits and vegetables and specialty crops, and not in these three crops with which we are concerned here. What we are doing is discriminating against the very people who are not involved in the situation that the gentleman is concerned about. He really wants his amendment to go to the fruit and vegetable growers. That is really where the gentleman wants to go, but he applies it to the cotton and corn and feed grain growers.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, we have a similar requirement to that proposed by the gentleman from Illinois in the Davis-Bacon and the Landrum-Griffith laws and almost all school aid legislation, including the poverty program, and I believe the gentleman has generally favored these limitations in the past. There is an obligation on the part of people to show affirmatively, and not as a result of any trial or charge made against them, but as a condition precedent to their entering upon certain duties or obligations or receiving funds, that they are in compliance with all laws that would affect their federally financed operations and activities.

Is the gentleman suggesting to this House that the great American farmer, whom we have always believed to be at the very foundation of the values and concepts this country has been built upon, will have greater difficulty complying with the laws that are passed for all of us, and to observe them, than this group of people?

Mr. POAGE. Yes, I certainly am, because certainly the farmer is in no position to have the accounts that the industrial operations of America have. He simply does not carry his accounts that way. Certainly I am suggesting there is a difference, a very big and very important difference, and one which apparently has never occurred to a great many Members of this House.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, whenever we talk about health and safety it is like supporting motherhood and the flag. It is a little difficult to be against it.

However, I do feel there is a proper place for both. The proposal made by the gentleman from Illinois in this bill is definitely not the proper place.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, and the ranking minority Member on the Labor Subcommittee, we had before our committee a bill now before the Rules Committee, on occupational health and safety. We have discussed and debated that bill in the committee for over 6 months. The bill now rests before the Rules Committee subject to hearings.

All of the worries over the problems the gentleman from Illinois has expressed—that can take place or have taken place—is covered under that bill.

There is another problem that concerns me at this time. The gentleman makes reference to State laws. I hesitate to see the Federal Government once again overshadow and oversee States rights. I believe there is enough law enforcement on the State level. If these safety laws exist on the State level—they should be enforced on the State level. They should not come to the Federal Government and say that we should establish an agency by which these laws should be controlled.

I also feel that the farmers are going to be penalized, because all the farmers are not included in this measure, as they are in the Occupational Health and Safety bill.

I ask the Members of this House at this time to refrain from any support of this proposal. The Occupational Health and Safety bill will be before the House soon, and at that time we can make all the adjustments that are needed.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I come from a district that has no farmers in it. It includes Greenwich Village and the upper East Side of Manhattan. It is probably the most urban district in the country. There are to the best of my knowledge no constituents I represent who will be assisted by this amendment.

I will tell the Members why I rise to proudly say I am a cosponsor of the amendment and to speak in favor of it. It was about 30 years ago when the picture "The Grapes of Wrath" played in the movie houses across this country. I believe everybody remembers the "Okies," so-called and so well depicted, with respect to what was happening on many farms of this country. It made a great impression on me as a young boy.

I am a city boy. Really, I have been on very few farms in my lifetime. I visited several Iowa farms last year with JOHN CULVER, but other than that, never before. Those farms were modern and comfortable but I have never forgotten the farms described in the movies in the 1930's and the farmworkers who worked them. And I always believed that something should be done to prevent human beings from being so ill treated and housed as have been some farmworkers throughout the years.

It would appear from some of the statements made on the floor by Members speaking in opposition that what this amendment seeks to effect is something new, that it affects conditions which we ought to study or think about. One might get the impression perhaps

the conditions sought to be remedied do not exist.

But the Members and I know that every 2 or 3 years there is an exposé in the newspapers about the terrible conditions that exist in the various States—in my own State, the State of New York, and other States. There are few States that are free of what we are talking about, particularly when we talk about the plight of the migratory workers. The fact is that many do not have sanitation facilities and decent housing provided for them.

Then everybody says, "Well, it is a terrible thing, and we have to do something about it, and we will study the problem."

Then nothing happens.

Then a bill comes to this floor which has provisions giving to farmers $55,000 in Federal subsidies, and an amendment is offered which says, "Well, listen. If, Mr. Farmowner, you want $55,000 in Federal moneys, we expect you at least—at the very least—to abide by the State and Federal laws that govern your employees."

We are not talking about the minimum wages in this amendment, although we should be.

We are just saying you ought to provide them with adequate sanitary facilities and decent housing. We say to you, "Mr. Farm Owner, if you are not willing to do that, then the American public is not willing to subsidize you." I do not think that is an unfair request to make of a farmowner or an unfair request to make of this Congress to say let us be fair to everybody. We hear about fairness to the farmowner. How about the farmworker? It seems to me this is the opportunity to tie him in—one with the other. The farmowner has a $55,000 subsidy. Surely then he has a commitment that he ought to abide by the laws of the land insofar as it affects his farmworkers. That is why I support this amendment.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KOCH. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROBERTS. Let me say first that I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

To start with, this $55,000 that you are talking about does not apply to very many farmers. My brother and I, for example, own about 1,000 acres of land, and that is a pretty good hunk of land. We get $490 each as I recall for cotton and grain. Our tenants get twice that much because we rent on that basis. The point I want to make, though, to the gentleman who has not been around farms very much, he says, is that the farm owners do not live in luxury, themselves.

Mr. KOCH. They do not have running water and they do not have sanitary facilities?

Mr. ROBERTS. At least one-third of them have no sanitary facilities.

Mr. KOCH. If my colleague will permit me, I do not know anything about his farm, but I dare say that your brother or whoever else is working that farm probably has those facilities. I would be shocked if he did not have running water. And the fact is that the amendment provides that employees be given the minimum services that the law now requires. And it is not your farm that is going to have a problem.

Mr. ROBERTS. The gentleman would just be shocked, then, because that is the situation.

Mr. KOCH. That your brother is not providing these minimum facilities? I would be surprised.

Mr. ROBERTS. One-third of the farms do not have sanitary facilities, and we cannot do anything about that so long as you limit Farmers Home Administration water and sewer grants and loans.

Mr. KOCH. The amendment says "those farms that are not willing to provide the minimum facilities already required by law" shall not receive the subsidy. This amendment does not mandate additional services to be provided. It merely says "those facilities that are now required by law should be provided to the farm worker" if you in turn want to get your $55,000.

Mr. ROBERTS. I thank the gentleman. I just want to say to him that if I got that $55,000 payment, he feels all farmers receive, I would sure get those facilities, just as soon as I get the FHA water project by my farm. I thank my friend from New York for yielding.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate the attention of the author of the amendment because I would like to have a little colloquy with him in connection with this amendment.

Very frankly I find myself sympathetic to the desires of the gentleman from Illinois in connection with his amendment. In fact, I was considered sympathetic with the original amendment he offered had we been able to modify it some and had we been able to make it germane, we could have stricken out the overtime provisions, which frankly I do not think will work in connection with farms.

The reason why I rise to ask the gentleman a couple of questions and engage in some colloquy with him at the present time has to do with part 2 of section 102 as he proposes it where he says the Secretary of Labor certifies in writing that the recipient is in compliance with the requirements of paragraph 1 of this section. If I can just briefly explain what I would like to have the gentleman comment on, of course, the amendment would preclude any farmer from receiving any kind of payment or even being considered to be in compliance with any kind of a provision of the present act until the Secretary so certifies. Now, the burden, then, is upon the Secretary of Labor, not the Secretary of Agriculture, and then the Secretary of Labor has to certify. I want to ask the gentleman what he feels the Secretary of Labor is going to have to know before he certifies compliance, because there are, as the gentleman knows, several million farms in this country.

I do not have any idea as to how many people are going to be needed under this, but I am sure there would be an army of people going out checking on this before the Secretary certifies them—or is he going to certify them merely by guess and by gosh?

Mr. MIKVA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I would say in response to the gentleman's inquiry that the Secretary can certify on the basis of a sworn statement filed by the farm operator that he is in such compliance, and unless the Secretary is in receipt of any evidence to the contrary that would suffice.

Mr. SISK. Is the gentleman saying that Mr. Jones, who is a farmer in x State, has complied as best he knows how under this program, and that then unless the Secretary has knowledge otherwise, that he will automatically certify him? In other words, is he saying that he is going to automatically certify a farmer unless proof has been developed that he is not in compliance?

Mr. MIKVA. Based on a sworn statement by the employer that he is in compliance. That is the way the Davis-Bacon Act works, and many other programs under the Federal law work, where a sworn statement from a person involved is sufficient unless evidence to the contrary has been received.

Now, if somebody files a sworn statement which is false, he is subject to penalties.

Mr. SISK. But the farmer is not filing any statement, there is nothing for the farmer to file; this is strictly something that the Secretary of Labor is going to certify to. I am interested in how much information he is going to have to have before he makes such a certification, and I am just wondering how many people are going to get involved in here going around checking on this, if he is going to insist on actually checking with each farmer before he certifies them.

Mr. MIKVA. There is ample analogy for a procedure such as I suggested under Federal statutes like the Davis-Bacon Act, and others, where a sworn statement of a proposed recipient or a proposed contractor is sufficient unless there is evidence to the contrary. There is no large army of investigators going around, snooping around. Where there are instances where a farm operator is in notorious violation, and he files a false statement, knowing it to be false, then he is subject to penalties under Federal law.

Mr. SISK. I do not find anything in the gentleman's amendment that requires a farmer to file anything.

Mr. MIKVA. I am stating that the Secretary could set up such a system, similar to that established under countless other statutes. The whole program would be subject to the Administrative Review Act, and the farm operator would be fully protected, and the Secretary would not have any large army of investigators going about such as the gentleman is talking about.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. SISK was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to impose on the time of the Committee. And further, let me say to my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois, and others who may be interested in this amendment, I have a great deal of sym-

pathy with it. I do not desire to see any farm operation that is the kind of farm operation such as mentioned by the gentleman where they would receive one dime from the Federal Government.

The gentleman has cited some farms in California, and I would like to find out the names of any farms that are in compliance or involved in the programs covered in here, and I am speaking of cotton; that is, I believe, about the only program in my State where such a certification has ever been made, that it was not in compliance, because there is really little labor involved on the cotton farms in California; they are all mechanized entirely. I recognize that we have had a problem in the fruit areas, and we have had a problem with the grape pickers, and we have had a problem in many areas in vegetables and fruits, and other commodities, but here we are not dealing of course in that area at all; we are dealing with a completely different type of agriculture, and an entirely different commodity.

I would like to support the gentleman's amendment, and I would support it if he would, instead of saying the Secretary of Labor, he would make it the Secretary of Agriculture, but I do not support the amendment when it has the Secretary of Labor in it. I think that is entirely wrong; I think it imposes a burden that he simply could not fulfill.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MIKVA. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

I can only say that the Secretary of Labor already enforces the Fair Labor Standards Act as to those farm employees that are covered; so this is not giving some new jurisdiction to the Department of Labor. In fact what the gentleman suggests would be to take away existing jurisdiction from the Department of Labor, which I would be reluctant to do.

Also I would say to the gentleman that I have communications about California farm operators who are receiving subsidies—not fruit growers—who are in violation of existing California laws.

Mr. SISK. I would certainly want to see whether they are in compliance with the law. We do have State laws which will bring them into compliance. All we have to know is about where the farm is.

Mr. MIKVA. I would be very glad to help the gentleman.

Mr. SISK. I assure the gentleman that we would help to see that they come into compliance.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment is voted down because I do think it is unworkable as presently written.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Chairman, I too rise in opposition to the amendment. I was in favor of the proposal as it was originally explained to me. But I must confess that one of the strongest and persuasive arguments against it was the one made by the chairman of the committee the gentleman from Texas, where he suggested that the burden of proof is essentially what is involved here.

Were the gentleman's amendment limited solely to violation of Federal law or regulations there would be some sense to tie a Federal program of subsidy to compliance with Federal laws and regulations.

But it just seems to me to make far less sense to tie into compliance conformity to local or State laws without requiring a conviction, and satisfy objections as to the burden of proof.

I voted against a similar proposal that has been before this House involving student loans where we suggested that we not subsidize students who are convicted—in that instance of wrongdoing during student demonstrations. We had a similar program where we required certification by the universities of compliance with certain rules and regulations before we would subvent to them Federal assistance.

I voted against those also because I felt it was an unwarranted intrusion of the Federal Government into what are essentially local matters.

I would vote for this amendment were it tied solely and exclusively to failure to comply with Federal regulation or law but when it is extended to certification that a farmer is not violating a local ordinance or a State law it just seems to me that the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture's argument that burden of proof is an essential ingredient that requires demonstration of fair play and equity to be consistent with the position I took in voting against the restriction upon students and upon universities, upon which their Federal grants were dependent, that it requires equal consistency in this instance.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALDIE. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. I was going to take the floor to make the same comments which the gentleman has made, but he has made them much better than I could.

I subscribe to what the gentleman has said and think the gentleman has drawn the line very well and he has brought out the parallel very well as regards to the student situation, and more importantly as to the question of the burden of proof.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment is voted down.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ECKHARDT

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ECKHARDT of Texas as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. MIKVA of Illinois: On page 2, after line 24, add the following new section:

"SEC. 102. No person shall be entitled to receive any payments (as defined in sec. 101) under the programs established by titles III, IV, V, and VI of this Act, unless—he certifies under oath that he is in compliance with all applicable Federal, State and local laws, ordinances, and regulations pertaining to the health and safety of his employees."

This provision shall be subject to enforcement by the secretary of labor under such processes as he shall establish.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, the difference between this amendment and the Mikva amendment is that it provides just as the last speaker has pointed out that the same rule shall apply with respect to farmers as applies with respect to universities and with respect to students and scholarships. They are required, in order to receive Federal assistance, to be in compliance with Federal and State laws, and all they need to do to show that they are in compliance is to file a statement under oath to the effect that they are. The processes of enforcement are then given to the Secretary of Labor. The major enforcement measure would be to bring an action for perjury or for false swearing against a person who is actually engaged in an offense. The processes would be directed at that sort of procedure.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. I do think the gentleman's language would improve the amendment, but I still have a question. As I understood my colleague from California (Mr. WALDIE) a little bit ago, he pointed out, for example, that the language could be in compliance with all applicable Federal laws pertaining to, et cetera. I would be inclined personally to think that that would probably be a good thing. I raise the question as to the obligation of a Federal agency to investigate in connection with local and State laws, and I would appreciate my friend's comment. I know he is knowledgeable in that area. That is the question I am concerned about.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I have had some experience in this area, because as director of the Southwestern Regional Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs during the Truman Administration, I had something to do with the migratory labor question in my State and in the southwest region, and I know the distinguished gentleman from California has vast experience in that field in his State. Also in the Texas Legislature I have had experience with such laws as, for example, safety regulations on trailers carrying cotton to the gin.

We have provided in States quite lenient laws, but those lenient laws should nevertheless be enforced. Actually the Federal Government frequently does not touch this agricultural field by specific laws in the field. It seems to me that this amendment reflects the height of good relationships between the State and the Federal governments in the enforcement field. What we are doing is not changing State laws. We are letting them be as lenient as the State may desire. But we are requiring that the person who is operating under them, swear that he is in compliance under them.

I would not want to Federalize regulations regarding agriculture in the States. But I would like to see persons comply with that whole fabric of law that is made up of both Federal and State law.

Mr. SISK. If the gentleman will yield further, I appreciate his comments. Again, as I indicated when I made my statement on the floor, I am sympathetic basically with what the gentleman is seeking to do. I have some question, as I have said, particularly where we tie in, for example, with local laws, and in a sense it then becomes a burden, as I

understand, upon the Secretary of Labor to determine, if a question arose, local laws and ordinances as well as State laws.

As I have said, I recognize that the gentleman has had a great deal of experience in this area. That is the only question I would have with the gentleman's revised amendment.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Would the gentleman support the amendment if the reference to State law was deleted?

Mr. SISK. Frankly, I see nothing wrong with the revised provision the gentleman has offered. Personally, I cannot speak for the committee or anyone else——

Mr. ECKHARDT. Would the gentleman who offered the original amendment care to comment?

Mr. MIKVA. I would support the substitute as the gentleman has proposed it, if that would satisfy the objections that have been raised here. I certainly do not like to place any heavy burden on the farmer.

Mr. ECKHARDT. As the gentleman from California has proposed?

Mr. MIKVA. As the gentleman from Texas has proposed.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I urge that the substitute be adopted. It is a very reasonable and restricted amendment.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the very able chairman of the committee.

Mr. POAGE. Unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity to see the gentleman's amendment. That is no fault of his. He could not pass it around.

It is my understanding that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas would still require the Secretary of Labor to enforce the laws referred to, not the Secretary of Agriculture. Certainly I am in favor of requiring everyone, farmer, or anybody else, to obey the law. There is certainly no objection at that point.

I would be perfectly willing to go along and require a certificate as to obedience of the law on the part of anybody who is going to get public money.

But I think the whole matter should be left with the Secretary of Agriculture, and I do not propose to transfer the enforcement of agricultural law over to the Secretary of Labor. That is a matter of agricultural payments.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Let me say to the able chairman, whom, incidentally, I have supported throughout and whose bill I strongly recommend, I do not believe the question of who enforces it is nearly as important as the gentleman may think, because the way the amendment is now drafted, the major enforcement would be by the U.S. attorney, in a suit on a count of perjury. All the Secretary of Labor would do under these circumstances would be to act as the person who determined whether or not there was a likelihood that a violation occurred.

Mr. POAGE. Then if it is not that important, why not let the Secretary of Agriculture make that determination and submit it to the district attorney?

I agree the district attorney has to carry on the prosecution.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Would the gentleman then support it?

Mr. POAGE. Certainly I will support the idea that anyone whom the Secretary of Agriculture finds in violation should not be paid.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I suspect if we change the word to "Secretary of Agriculture," the Secretary of Agriculture would police the amendment, but the U.S. attorney would bring an action to find whether or not anyone was guilty of false swearing.

Mr. POAGE. I see no difficulty with that.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I would ask unanimous consent to alter the amendment so as to read "Secretary of Agriculture."

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, may I say I think the objection is perhaps well taken. I think the Secretary of Labor would be the person who would be best prepared to investigate a violation of safety requirements. I merely offered this as an accommodation, but I still think the amendment is good, and I still repeat it makes very little difference whether it is the one Secretary or the other, except from the standpoint of efficiency of enforcement.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I still find myself unable to support this approach, because I can easily envision a farmer swearing he is in compliance with what the laws are of which he is aware, and then find himself in a lawsuit, and then a trial. If it is found he was not in compliance, he is not only guilty of a violation, and suffer a loss of payment, but he may also be guilty of perjury.

I think the gentleman is absolutely correct that the man is not only losing his payment, but the man is taking the risk not only of being in violation of the law, but of subjecting himself to a charge of perjury.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I would say if the illegal act is a matter of whether there is a violation of the State or Federal law or not; if this is the matter to be enforced, and the person would be charged with knowledge of the law and would be guilty even if he did not know the law. But if the charge is perjury, he must do it intentionally, so the objection the gentleman is making would have obtained against the original provision, but it does not against the amended provision.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. I have heard the gentleman use the word "perjury" in the context with his amendment.

Mr. ECKHARDT. That is right, but an element of perjury is intent to misstate. But a man who makes a wrong statement erroneously and without knowledge of his misstatement is not in violation of title 18, section 1621 of the United States Code which says that to be guilty of perjury one must "willfully and contrary" to his oath state or subscribe "any material matter which he does not believe to be true."

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I merely want to say, after hearing the discussion by my colleague from Texas (Mr. ECKHARDT) that I would be prepared to accept the substitute amendment he has offered so long as it stays in the language he has stated; that is, that whatever enforcement processes and whatever procedures are to be established are to be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor. I say this because I do not believe that this amendment ought to change the existing balance between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor. What current farm employees are under Federal law are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

As my colleague from Michigan suggested, we do not look to the FAA to handle airplane employees, and we do not look to the Department of Transportation to handle transportation employees, so we ought not look to the Department of Agriculture to handle what fundamentally is a labor jurisdiction problem.

I will support the substitute amendment offered by my colleague from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ECKHARDT) for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA).

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ECKHARDT) there were—ayes 37, noes 58.

So the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA).

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. HALL

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. HALL: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

TITLE I—PAYMENT LIMITATION

SEC. 101. Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

(1) The total amount of payments which a person shall be entitled to receive annually under the program established under Title IV of this Act shall not exceed $20,000.

(2) The term "payments" as used in this section means cropland restoration payments but does not mean loans or purchases.

(3) The Secretary shall isssue regulations defining the term "person" and prescribing such rules as he determines necessary to assure a fair and reasonable application of such limitation: *Provided,* That the provisions of this Act which limit payments to any person shall not be applicable to lands owned by States, political subdivisions, or agencies thereof, so long as such lands are farmed primarily in the direct furtherance of a public function, as determined by the Secretary.

TITLE II—DAIRY

DAIRY BASE PLANS

SEC. 201. (a) The Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, is further amended by striking in subparagraph (B) of subsection 8c(5) all

that part of said subparagraph (B) which follows the comma at the end of clause (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(d) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year; (e) a provision providing for the accumulation and disbursement of a fund to encourage seasonal adjustments in the production of milk may be included in an order; and (f) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of milk purchased by all handlers among producers on the basis of their marketings of milk, which may be adjusted to reflect the utilization of producer milk by all handlers in any use classification or classifications, during a representative period of one to three years, which will be automatically updated each year. In the event a producer holding a base allocated under this clause (f) shall reduce his marketings, such reduction shall not adversely affect his history of production and marketing for the determination of future bases, or future updating of bases, except that an order may provide that, if a producer reduces his marketings below his base allocation in any one or more use classifications designated in the order, the amount of any such reduction shall be taken into account in determining future bases, or future updating of bases. Bases allocated to producers under this clause (f) may be transferable under an order on such terms and conditions, including those which will prevent bases taking on an unreasonable value, as are prescribed in the order by the Secretary of Agriculture. Provisions shall be made in the order for the allocation of bases under this clause (f)—

"(i) for the alleviation of hardship and inequity among producers; and

"(ii) for providing bases for dairy farmers not delivering milk as producers under the order upon becoming producers under the order who did not produce milk during part of the representative period, and these new producers shall within ninety days after the first regular delivery of milk at the price for the lowest use classification specified in such order be allocated a base which the Secretary determines proper after considering supply and demand conditions, the development of orderly and efficient marketing conditions and to the respective interests of producers under the order, all other dairy farmers and the consuming public. Producer bases so allocated shall for a period of not more than three years be reduced by not more than 20 per centum; and

"(iii) dairy farmers not delivering milk as producers under the order upon becoming producers under the order by reason of a plant to which they are making deliveries becoming a pool plant under the order, by amendment or otherwise, shall be provided bases with respect to milk delivered under the order based on their past deliveries of milk on the same basis as other producers under the order; and

"(iv) such order may include such additional provisions as the Secretary deems appropriate in regard to the reentry of producers who have previously discontinued their dairy farm enterprise or transferred bases authorized under this clause (f); and

"(v) notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, dairy farmers not delivering milk as producers under the order, upon becoming producers under the order, shall ninety days later, pursuant to the provisions of section 8c(5)(D) of this Act, be provided with respect to milk delivered under the order, allocations based on their past deliveries of milk during the representative period from the production facilities from which they were marketing milk during the representative period on the same basis as other producers under the order on the effective date of order provisions authorized under this clause (f): *Provided*, That bases shall be allocated only to a producer marketing milk from the production facilities from which he marketed milk during the representative period, except that in no event shall such allocation of base exceed the amount of milk actually delivered under such order.

The assignment of other source milk to various use classes shall be made without regard to whether an order contains provisions authorized under this clause (f). In the case of any producer who during any accounting period delivers a portion of his milk to persons not fully regulated by the order, provision shall be made for reducing the allocation of, or payment to be received by, any such producer under this clause (f) to compensate for any marketings of milk to such other persons for such period or periods as necessary to insure equitable participation in marketings among all producers. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 8c(12) and the last sentence of section 8c(19) of this Act, order provisions under this clause (f) shall not be effective in any marketing order unless separately approved by producers in a referendum in which each individual producer shall have one vote and may be terminately separately whenever the Secretary makes a determination with respect to such provisions as is provided for the termination of an order in subparagraph 8c(16)(B). Disapproval or termination of such order provisions shall not be considered disapproval of the order or of other terms of the order."

(b) The legal status of producer handlers of milk under the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, shall be the same subsequent to the adoption of the amendments made by this Act as it was prior thereto.

(c) Nothing in subsection (a) of this section 201 shall be construed as invalidating any class I base plan provisions of any marketing order previously issued by the Secretary of Agriculture pursuant to authority contained in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 1187), but such provisions are expressly ratified, legalized, and confirmed and may be extended through and including December 31, 1971.

(d) It is not intended that existing law be in any way altered, rescinded, or amended with respect to section 8c(5)(G) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and such section 8c(5)(G) is fully reaffirmed.

(e) The provisions of this section shall not be effective after December 31, 1973.

SUSPENSION OF BUTTERFAT SUPPORT PROGRAM

SEC. 202. Effective only with respect to the period beginning April 1, 1971, and ending March 31, 1974—

(a) The first sentence of section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446), is amended by striking the words "milk, butterfat, and the products of milk and butterfat" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "and milk".

(b) Paragraph (c) of section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446(c)), is amended to read as follows:

"(c) The price of milk shall be supported at such level not in excess of 90 per centum nor less than 75 per centum of the parity price therefor as the Secretary determines necessary in order to assure an adequate supply. Such price support shall be provided through purchases of milk and the products of milk."

TRANSFER OF DAIRY PRODUCTS TO THE MILITARY AND TO VETERANS HOSPITALS

SEC. 203. Section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446a), is amended by changing "December 31, 1970" to read "December 31, 1973" both places it appears therein.

DAIRY INDEMNITY PROGRAM

SEC. 204. Section 3 of the Act of August 13, 1968 (Public Law 90-484; 82 Stat. 750) is amended by striking out the words "June 30, 1970.", and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1973."

TITLE III—EXTENSION OF TITLES I AND II OF PUBLIC LAW 480

SEC. 701. Section 409 of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (Public Law 83-480; 7 U.S.C. 1736c), is amended by striking the words "December 31, 1970." and inserting in lieu thereof the words "December 31, 1973.".

TITLE IV—CROPLAND AND WATER RESTORATION

SEC. 401. This Title may be cited as the "Cropland and Water Restoration Act of 1970".

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 402. The Congress finds that the production of large supplies of food and fiber without holding the soil in place and returning the plant foods taken from it constitutes improper land use, unnecessarily depletes our natural resources, and depresses prices and the income of farm families. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress and the purpose of this Cropland and Water Restoration Act of 1970 to create a market for restoring the national cropland in direct proportion to the rate it is being used and depleted and to bring the supplies of farm products into line with current demand in order to (a) encourage the farmer to return to the soil that potential to produce which has been taken from it in the production of crops; (b) hold the soil in place to prevent its erosion by wind or water; (c) provide irrigation through the building of flood-controlling farm ponds; (d) increase per family farm income; (e) decrease the public costs of maintaining farm programs; and (f) preserve the high quality of food and fiber at reasonable prices for the consumer. To effectuate the policy of Congress and the purpose of this Act, programs are herein established to assist farmers in (1) diverting to soil restoration that portion of their cropland which according to local costs and markets is not fertile enough to produce a profit; and (2) carrying out a voluntary program of soil, water, forest, and wildlife conservation in return for a fair payment for work done until, in the opinion of the farmer, such land can earn a greater profit by producing for the consumer.

PART I—LAND RETIREMENT AND SOIL CONSERVATION

SUBPART A—ANNUAL DETERMINATION—VOLUNTARY LAND RESTORATION—AND PAYMENTS IN CASH

SEC. 403. Beginning with the 1971 crop year the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed to establish and carry out a long-term cropland and water restoration program. In formulating and administering such program—

(a) The Secretary shall each year make and announce an annual determination of—

(1) the estimated total cropland available for the production of crops in the United States in that year;

(2) the total acreage of farm cropland necessary to be retired and devoted to soil-conserving uses in order to bring the total estimated annual production plus the anticipated release from the Commodity Credit Corporation stocks into balance with the estimated annual disappearance of soil-depleting commodities;

(3) the acreage that can be retired effectively and economically in the respective year;

(4) the net soil fertility balance of that used and lost in crop production against that returned in plant food fertilizers; and

(5) the amount of money to be offered in the cropland restoration market to bring about a balance between supply of agricultural products and the anticipated demand for them.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to enter into contracts covering periods of one or more years but not to exceed ten years, with producers determined by him to have control for the contract period of the farms covered by the contracts, if such producers agree to retire and devote to soil-conserving uses any or all farm cropland. The Secretary shall determine and announce the period within which such contracts will be entered into. This period shall be of sufficient duration to provide an opportunity for maximum producer participation. The Secretary shall encourage the retirement of whole farms and shall provide full opportunity for producers of all commodities to participate voluntarily in the cropland retirement program. The Secretary shall place a maximum limitation on the percentage of total cropland which may be retired and devoted to soil-conserving uses in any State or county if he finds that such action is necessary to prevent the cropland restoration program from having an unduly disruptive effect on the economies (including production) of counties and local communities. Any cropland retired and devoted to soil-conserving uses under the cropland restoration program established pursuant to this title shall be deemed in subsequent years to have been planted cropland for the purpose of establishing cropland history.

(c) (1) The Secretary shall make an annual restoration payment to producers who (A) retire and devote cropland to soil-conserving uses with proper management pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, and (B) otherwise comply with the cropland restoration program as set forth in this title.

(2) The Secretary shall determine the rate of restoration payments that will provide producers with a fair and reasonable annual return on the land retired and devoted to soil-conserving uses after taking all relevant factors into consideration, including (A) the incentive necessary to achieve voluntary participation in the program, (B) the loss of crop production on the retired acres, (C) any savings in cost which result from not planting crops, (D) the estimated profit margin of crop production on the designated acres, (E) continuing farm overhead expenses, and (F) the cost of establishing a conservation practice on the retired acres, and (G) the cost of planting, fertilizing, and plowing under a suitable restorative crop capable of returning the lost fertility to the soil.

(3) The rate on lands determined in accordance with the preceding paragraph shall be adjusted on a State, county, and individual farm basis in such a manner as the Secretary determines will facilitate the practical administration of the program. The lands to be covered by contract shall be determined by a competitive-bid procedure whereby a producer wishing to obtain a contract shall specify the percentage of the rental rate applicable to his farm which he is willing to accept.

(d) (1) The Secretary shall compensate producers for participating in the cropland restoration program through cash payments. The Secretary may make payments not to exceed fifty per centum of any payments to producers in advance of determination of performance.

(2) In order to assist producers in the establishment of soil-conserving uses on cropland retired under the cropland restoration program, the Secretary shall coordinate such program with the agricultural conservation program established pursuant to the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended (49 Stat. 163; 16 U.S.C. 590 et seq.).

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF CONTRACTS WITH PRODUCERS

SEC. 404. (a) Under any cropland restoration contract which is in effect for two or more years, the producer shall agree—

(1) to establish and maintain with proper management for the contract period protective vegetative cover (including but not limited to grass and trees), restorative crops and the plant food necessary to grow them, water storage facilities or other soil-, water-, or forest-conserving uses (orchards and vineyards) on an acreage of land which is specifically designated at the time the contract is entered into and which has been regularly used in the production of crops (including crops such as tame hay, alfalfa, and clovers), which do not require annual tillage;

(2) to allow to remain fallow, idle, and in the production of crops (including tame hay, alfalfa, and clovers) which do not require annual tillage throughout the contract period, an acreage of the remaining cropland on the farm which is not less than the acreage normally allowed to remain fallow, idle and in the production of crops which do not require annual tillage on such remaining acreage;

(3) not to harvest any crop from the acreage established in the protective vegetative cover, excepting timber (in accordance with sound forestry management) and wildlife or other natural products of such acreage which do not increase supplies of feed for domestic animals;

(4) not to graze any acreage established in protective vegetative cover;

(5) not to adopt any practice, or divert lands on the farm from conservation, woods, grazing, or other noncropland use, to any use specified by the Secretary in the contract as a practice or use which would tend to defeat the purposes of the contract;

(6) to abide by regulations prescribed by the Secretary with respect to the planting of crops during the contract period for later harvest or use; and

(7) to such additional provisions as the Secretary determines are desirable and includes in the contract to effectuate the purposes of this title and to facilitate the practical administration of the cropland restoration program, including provisions relating to control of insects, rodents, and noxious and other objectionable weeds.

(b) In the event that the Secretary determines that there has been a violation of the contract (including the prohibition of grazing on retired acreage) at any stage during the time such producer has control of the farm and that such violation is of such a substantial nature as to warrant termination of the contract, the producer shall forfeit all rights to payments or grants under the contract, and shall refund to the United States all payments and grants received by him thereunder (for contractual time period). In the event that the Secretary determines that there has been a violation of the contract but that such violation is of such a nature as not to warrant termination of the contract, the producer shall accept such payment adjustments, and make such refunds to the United States of payments received by him, under the contract, as the Secretary may determine to be appropriate.

SUBPART B—ANNUAL CROPLAND RESTORATION PROGRAM TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 405. Effective beginning with crops planted for harvest in the calendar year 1971, and notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary is authorized to formulate and carry out an annual cropland restoration program under which producers shall be compensated for producing tons of a suitable soil-building crop as designated by the Secretary. To be eligible for such compensation, the producer shall not harvest any other crop from or graze the acreage on which a designated crop is incorporated into the soil. The acreage in which such crops are incorporated into the soil shall be in addition to any acreage devoted to the cropland restoration program authorized under subtitle A of this title. The annual cropland restoration program may include such terms and conditions, in addition to those specifically provided for herein, as the Secretary determines are desirable to effectuate the purposes of this subtitle and facilitate the practical administration of the program.

COMPENSATION OF PRODUCERS

SEC. 406. Producers shall be compensated for participating in the program through payments in cash. Compensation shall be at such announced rate or rates per ton of the crop as the Secretary determines will provide producers with a fair and reasonable return for participating in the program. In determining the rates of payment per ton, the Secretary shall take into consideration the need to (1) enable producers to participate voluntarily in reducing excessive production of agricultural commodities, (2) encourage producers to use fertilizer, minerals, and other plant nutrients in such a way as to restore to the soil the fertility lost in past crop production, (3) increase the crop yield of the soil and thereby decrease the costs per unit of products produced in future years, (4) provide water for irrigation by building suitable ponds to hold excessive rainfall, (5) hold the soil in place by terraces, suitable crops, and all other proper land and water management practices, and (6) assure consumers of a continuous, adequate, and stable supply of nutritious food and fiber at fair and reasonable prices. The Secretary may make such annual adjustments in the rates of payments as he determines necessary to achieve the purposes of the program.

SUITABLE CROPS

SEC. 407. Any suitable crop shall be designated by the Secretary for compensation under the program after he determines within the science and "state of the art" locally adopted that by its growth and yield, a substantial degree of soil restoration would be accomplished through its incorporation in the soil. Factors to be considered by the Secretary in making their determination shall include, but not be limited to, the following: (1) wholesome and nutritious food for consumers, (2) the control of insects and plant diseases, (3) industrial users, (4) soil retention and regeneration, and (5) such other factors as he may determine.

SUBPART C—GENERAL PROVISIONS

PROTECTION OF TENANTS AND SHARECROPPERS

SEC. 408. In the formulation and administration of programs under this title, the Secretary shall provide adequate safeguards to protect the interests of tenants and sharecroppers, including provision for sharing, on a fair and equitable basis, in payments or compensation under this title, and including such provision as may be necessary to prevent them from being forced off the farm. Applications to participate in any such program shall specify the basis on which the landlord, tenants, and sharecroppers are to share in such payments or compensation, and no contract under any such program shall be entered into unless such basis is approved by the County Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee and incorporated into the contract. The standards prescribed by the Secretary for the guidance of county committees in determining whether any such basis shall be approved shall include the requirement that consideration be given to the respective contributions which would have been made by the landlord, tenants, and sharecroppers in the production of the crops which would have been produced on the acreage diverted from production under the contract and the basis on which they would have shared in such crops or the proceeds thereof.

PENALTY FOR GRAZING OR HARVESTING

SEC. 409. Any producer who knowingly and willfully grazes or harvests any crop from any acreage in violation of a contract entered into hereunder shall be subject to a civil penalty equal to 50 per centum of the compensation payable for compliance with such contract for the year in which the violation occurs. Such penalty shall be in addition to any amount required to be forfeited or refunded under the provisions of such contract, and shall be recoverable in a civil suit brought in the name of the United States.

AUTHORIZED PERIOD OF CONTRACT AND EXPENDITURE—APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 410. (a) The Secretary is authorized to formulate and announce programs under this Act and to enter into contracts thereunder with producers during the three-year period 1971–1974 to be carried out during the period ending not later than December 31, 1984, except that contracts for establishment of tree cover may continue until December 31, 1989.

(b) The period covered by any contract shall not be less than one year and shall not exceed five years, except that contracts for the establishment of tree cover may extend for ten years.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $3,000,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1971, 1972, and 1973, including amounts as may be required to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation for its actual costs.

TERMINATION AND MODIFICATION OF CONTRACTS

SEC. 411. The Secretary may terminate any contract with a producer by mutual agreement with the producer if the Secretary determines that such termination would be in the public interest. The Secretary may agree to such modification of contracts previously entered into as he may determine to be desirable to carry out the purposes of this title and to facilitate the practical administration of the cropland restoration programs.

REGULATIONS

SEC. 412. The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations as he determines necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

PART II—REPEAL OF AUTHORITY FOR ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS, MARKETING QUOTAS, AND MARKETING CERTIFICATES ON WHEAT, AND ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS ON CORN—PRICE SUPPORT ON WHEAT, CORN, OATS, RYE, BARLEY, AND GRAIN SORGHUM

SEC. 413. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, effective with the 1971 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, sections 321 through 339 of parts II and III of subtitle B and sections 379 (a) through 379 (j) of subtitle D of title III of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended (52 Stat. 31; 7 U.S.C. 1281 et seq.), are repealed. Parts IV, V and VI of subtitle B are redesignated as Parts II, III, and IV, respectively, and subtitle F is redesignated subtitle D.

SEC. 414. Effective with the 1971 crop of wheat, the Act of May 26, 1941, as amended (Public Law 74, Seventy-seventh Congress, 55 Stat. 203), is repealed.

SEC. 415. Effective with the 1971 crops of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, sections 327 and 328 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 (Public Law 87–703, Eighty-seventh Congress) are repealed.

SEC. 416. Effective with the 1971 crops of corn, oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum, section 105 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1441 note), is amended to read as follows:

SEC. 105. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 101 of this Act, beginning with the 1971 crop, price support shall be made available to producers for each crop of corn at 90 per centum of the average price received by farmers, excluding payments in kind made by the Secretary, during the three complete marketing years immediately preceding the calendar year in which the marketing year for such crop begins, adjusted to offset the effect on such price of any such years: *Provided,* That the level of price support for any crop of corn shall not be less than 75 per centum of the parity price therefor.

"(b) Beginning with the 1971 crop, price support shall be made available to producers for each crop of oats, rye, barley, and grain sorghum at a level which relates to the level at which price support is made available for corn as the feed value of such commodity relates to the feed value of corn."

SEC. 417. Effective with the 1971 crop of wheat, section 107 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1445(a)), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 107. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 101 of this Act, beginning with the 1971 crop, price support shall be made available to producers for each crop of wheat at the United States farm price equivalent, as determind by the Secretary, of the average world market price during the three complete marketing years immediately preceding the calendar year in which the marketing year for such crop begins, with premiums and discounts as indicated by the market to reflect milling and baking quality: *Provided,* That the level of price support for any crop of wheat shall not be less than 75 per centum of the parity price therefor."

PART III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

FEDERAL IRRIGATION, DRAINAGE, AND FLOOD CONTROL PROJECTS

SEC. 418. Section 211 of the Agricultural Act of 1956, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1860), is amended (1) by striking "three years" each time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "thirteen years", and (2) by adding after the words "soil bank provisions of the Act" in subsection (b) of the phrase "and under title I of the Cropland and Water Restoration Act of 1970".

RESTRICTION ON SALES BY THE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

SEC. 419. Section 407 of the Agriculture Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1427), is amended—

(a) by changing the period at the end of the fourth sentence to a colon and adding the following: *"Provided,* That beginning with the date of enactment of the Cropland and Water Restoration Act of 1970, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall not make any sales (except sales offset by equivalent purchases of wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, grain sorghum, soybeans, or flaxseed at less than 125 per centum of the current support price for any such commodity, plus reasonable carrying charges."; and

(b) by deleting the seventh sentence.

VOLUNTARY RELINQUISHMENT OF ALLOTMENT

SEC. 420. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary may provide for the reduction or cancellation of any allotment or base when the owner of the farm states in writing that he has no further use of such allotment or base.

Mr. HALL (during the reading of the amendment). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment in the nature of a substitute be considered as read inasmuch as it has been distributed to all Members and copies are available and I shall explain it and that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I shall not repeat everything that has been said about this amendment in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I do refer Members to the RECORD, pages 27191 and 27203 for yesterday.

We have heard quite often that there are some defects in the bill before us. I want it understood that I am for this bill. I want it understood that I am for it with or without amendments.

I would like to take some time, however, to explain an idea whose time has arrived, Mr. Chairman. I hope that it will be a relatively quiet interlude. I shall in my rather terse explanation, which I hope will be succinct, cite pages in the distributions that have been sent to each Members with a "Dear Colleague" letter. I shall also refer to the charts from time to time in my explanation.

Mr. Chairman, briefly this amendment in the nature of a substitute leaves title II intact, concerning the base I dairy plan. Title VII becomes title III. It eliminates titles III, IV, V, and VI and substitutes therefor, what I have referred to and introduced as a cropland water restoration bill in the form of H.R. 13717 in the current Congress and for the past two Congresses. It retains title VIII and all thereafter.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the backone of this proposed legislation is soil and water restoration and the incentive to accomplish both with a realistic profit margin for the farmer. That would insure the farmer adequate income, stabilize consumer prices, restore the basic soil and water resources, and not bleed the American taxpayer to death.

How does it work? The essential feature of my bill or this amendment is the second market concept. In actual operation the alternate market or the second market, as it is referred to here, would buy tons of a suitable crop which by its growth and yield would give the farmer the choice of selling to the Government or otherwise disposing of the crop on the market without Government payment.

Second, it would do this in any amount of tons that the farmer wants to sell. I have suggested on this chart a progressive one-fifth of his acreage that he would voluntarily put into crop restoration each year.

Third, it would happen at a price announced each year but above an approved standard such as a minimum wage, parity, or share of his cropland.

Fourth, it could be grown on any part or on all of his cropland as decided by the farmer.

Finally, it would improve the degree of soil restoration and water conservation at the point of infall, and would be paid for by the farmer.

Let me give the members of the committee an example.

The "second market," or "alternate market" would offer to use sweet cover or its equivalent according to the state of the art, growing alone for 1 year and plowed under, and provide an established amount, say, of $25 a dry weight ton, which amount could be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture each year. If the farmer had a pond approved

by the Soil Conservation Service for irrigation, row crop hydrology, flood control, or other practices of special value, the suitable crop would be worth an established amount plus a bonus of perhaps an extra $5, or $30 per dry weight ton of cover crop plowed under. The weight per acre would be figured on the spot by the farmer's own county ASCS agent for the farmer to accept or reject, and then he would have four offers.

This program would offer a fair additional money reward for good farming, not a stingy amount of money relief for idle land, as in the soil bank, not large sums of money for surplus control to those on rich land where there is no problem, and only one third as much involved on poor land needing fertility, water, and money to buy them. It would keep the Nation's soil immediately ready for an emergency call by the Government; namely, the Secretary of Agriculture.

The "second market" concept would buy only proved and delivered results regardless of the political power a group might have, or the richness of the soil. It does not pay for storing large amounts of surplus products, nor for large sums for giving it away later.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. HALL was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, the program pays at a minimum wage, or "parity" level, for the services it buys from the farmer. Any product he grows which yields less net income per acre is at once a surplus, so he shifts farming efforts and the troublesome land into the "alternate market," or "second market" provided by the Government for developing his own soil and water resources to a higher level, or an economic level where he can afford to engage in the law of supply and demand on the open market place.

Since yield per acre, market price, transportation and local costs are all factors in net profit, a change in any one of them can cause acres to be shifted into or out of production under the "second market" concept.

This is far more flexible than any directive delivered from Washington could ever be, because the individual farmer makes the decision on his own farm.

Another result would be a permanent system for agricultural production with little or no competition from off-the-farm people such as rich city dwellers, who use farms as a tax dodge, and who either already own rich land or can restore soil and water resources as an experiment or a hobby to make it so, and thereby gain income tax relief. In our substitute, if the land should become rich, beyond our food and fiber needs, industry can through research and development always find new uses for the products it will grow, or produce at a low cost, to make them into products people will need.

Other uses for any extra land and/or credits could well be environmental controls to hold insects and diseases in check; restoration of wildlife habitat; ponds for farm and community water supplies where nitrate poisoning in wells has become a health hazard; the preservation of virgin stands of grasses and timber; and beautification in general, to name a few.

One final advantage, Mr. Chairman, to the "alternate" or "second market" is that the administration costs will be less.

This amendment provides an authorization for $3 billion. Actually the estimate for needed appropriations is $2.6 billion in the first year of its implementation.

There would only be one crop to measure. Participation would be checked only on those farms selling to the "second market"—that is, to the Government or alternate market. There would be no surplus to measure and give away. There would be no "cost sharing" for fertilizer, lime, terraces, and many other activities now requiring many more people, than were needed a few years ago.

What I have offered Mr. Chairman, is a prescription, mixed and compounded by "men of the soil," a prescription that might not be a complete cure for the situation, but one that could act as a "shot" to help get the patient back on his feet, so that he could do some of his own doctoring, and perhaps not only lick, but even heal his own wounds; thus alleviating the necessity of "round the clock" nursing, from his "big brother" in Washington.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that this distinguished committee will accept this amendment and start on this new departure in the history of farm legislation—and I hope that we can implement these procedures without further delay.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Missouri has presented this basic plan on other occasions. Personally I want to say I think there is much merit in it. I think he pretty well described it the other day when he said that it was an idea whose time had not come—and I do not believe the time has come for this.

I do not believe that it can be enacted into law. I think that to attempt to do so at this hour would confuse the situation and would but jeopardize this piece of legislation which we think can be enacted and will be helpful.

For this reason I urge that we vote down the proposed substitute.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, with the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, I agree that there is much merit in the plan offered by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. HALL), and I commend him. But it falls short of the farm program, whose time came a good many years ago—the McNary-Haugen program for farmers. It stops short of what ought to have been done with respect to agriculture long, long ago, and that is a cost of production program.

The McNary-Haugen bill provided for cost of production in a two-price system, as the gentleman from Texas I am sure remembers—a bill that was twice passed by the Congress and unfortunately and regrettably twice vetoed—by a Republican President, I am sorry to say.

In my opinion, we never would have gotten into the dregs of the depression of the 1930's had we had the McNary-Haugen plan with its two-price system providing the cost of production for the food and fiber necessary to sustain the people in this country, and the world market or dumping price for surpluses, except a reasonable reserve.

I have heard much today about supply and demand as a determinant of farm prices. Supply and demand has never worked for farmers and it never will in providing constant and fair returns.

We had supply running out of ears in the 1930's in the depression, and we had demand on every hand for the products of the farmers. What went wrong? What was wrong with supply and demand? It was the medium of exchange. Supply and demand will never work for agriculture or for any other element of our economy or our society unless the medium of exchange is in adequate supply and well distributed.

That is the only way that the law of supply and demand will ever work.

The trouble during the depression may be likened to crossing a river. There were not the boats or dollars to get those in need across the river to the farmers on the other shore who had the food and fiber. Neither could the farmers find the dollars or boats to cross the river to obtain the products of industry and labor. That was the failure of supply and demand.

So here we are again with another patchwork farm program, and I support it for what it is worth. But it will never do the job as far as agriculture is concerned. There has also been talk today about corporation farming. Let me tell you where I think that must be resolved—in the State legislatures, and with a graduated land tax. If the States do not want corporation farming, they do not have to accept it. Let them establish the family-size farm, and from there progressively increase the taxes on large land holdings and tax the corporation farms out of existence, if that becomes necessary. That is the way to solve the problem of corporation farming.

Mr. Chairman, I support this bill, for the farmers of America cannot operate today without some protection in an economy that is subsidized and regimented around them.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. HALL).

The amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

(Mr. FRASER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Chairman, my colleagues have heard a great deal about how our farm commodity programs help the farmer.

But what about on the other end of the spectrum? What about the consumer? What do these programs mean from his standpoint?

I have considered this question carefully and believe the evidence strongly underscores the point that farm programs do benefit the consumer.

Americans are eating better today and for less cost in relation to income than ever before—despite the dire predictions of farm programs opponents down through the years.

Today, our farm programs guarantee the American consumer the world's most stable supply of food, and also help assure high quality. That is a basic reason for having farm programs—to insure an adequate supply of high-quality food. This has been a motivating force for these programs for 35 years, since May 12, 1933, when the first of the adjustment programs went into effect with the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Payments are the most controversial aspect of these programs, but since payments are an important means of implementing the legislation, let us take a careful look at their value to the public.

First, these payments are necessary in carrying out our national policy of stabilizing farm production in the interest of both farmers and consumers. They enable farmers to meet national production goals, thus preventing large and dangerous surpluses. We ask farmers to divert this land to conserving uses. They give up income-producing use of some land, and they spend money to devote that land to conserving uses. In return—and this is only fair—we compensate farmers with payments. So the payments are not donated; they are earned.

They are earned just as surely as payments to a computer manufacturer are earned for carrying out a Government contract.

What is the benefit of balanced production?

To the American family, on the average, it means that about 16.5 percent of its take-home pay will be spent on food—the lowest percentage anywhere in the world. British families spend more than 25 percent; the French almost 30; the Japanese more than 40 percent; and in Ghana the figure is almost 60 percent. Americans spend more for housing and home furnishings than for food.

Because American agriculture has become the greatest production plant in the world, it now takes only 1 hour of factory work to buy 3.3 pounds of beef, a half a pound more than in 1960; and it gets him 25 percent more pork, 20 percent more milk and 13 percent more potatoes.

The proportion of disposable income spent for food by American consumers dropped between one-fourth and one-third in the past 20 years. During the same period, the proportion of disposable consumer income received by farmers for the food they produced and sold was cut in half. Today, farmers receive only 5½ percent of disposable consumer income for their food products, compared with 11 percent in 1947.

The Department of Agriculture reports that if farm prices had kept step with increases in the general level of food prices over the past 20 years, consumer expenditures for food would be well over $32 billion more.

Over that 20-year period, consumers would have paid about $100 billion more for food.

The farmer has become so efficient that now one farmer feeds himself and 43 others. Consumers benefit significantly from this because this efficiency releases millions of Americans from agriculture to produce television sets and appliances and razor blades—an infinite variety of goods and services. Our efficiency in agriculture plays a significant role in helping us maintain the highest standard of living any people have ever known.

So I speak today for the farmer in the consumer's interest. For unless his enormous contribution to abundance is recognized—and unless his ability to provide a continuing flow of abundance is safeguarded, then the consumer stands in danger of losing the abundance he enjoys—and takes for granted today.

If we do not adequately compensate the farmer for the abundance we enjoy, then we cannot expect our agricultural system to survive. Central to our national farm policy is our fear of concentrated power over our food supply—our support for a stable and able-bodied rural citizenry.

Early in our history, we split up the big holdings of land that had been granted by kings to their favorites. We gave squatters the right to take over certain lands. We gave publicly owned land to homesteaders and to agricultural colleges. We provided research, extension education, publicly financed credit and finally price support and production adjustment programs. When surplus production caused many farmers to lose their land and threatened all of them with financial disaster, all thinking Americans recognized the situation as a personal crisis for all citizens. Our policy has permitted us to maintain the family-sized farm as the most efficient production unit. This policy must be continued.

Today, Americans should know that agriculture's ability and tendency to produce itself into depression is still a very grave threat to our whole economy.

This is why sound farm legislation is consumer legislation in the most profound sense.

These programs are designed to provide a fair economic return to rural America. We have found that farmers—acting alone—cannot obtain balanced production. We have learned from sad experience what happens when farm production gets out of balance. Farm income goes down. Government costs go up if there is any farm program at all. And America as a whole pays the price.

I think there is more method than madness in some of the blind attacks we have observed on these programs. We have heard the payment provisions attacked as a billion-dollar boondoggle. They have been described as the vehicle on which the farmer takes the taxpayer on the so-called hayride. But the time has come to put the pitchfork in this balloon of fantasy.

Stop and think when you hear these criticisms. What alternatives do the opponents of the program propose? What is their solution? What would they have us do that we are not now doing?

These are embarrassing questions, for there is an all-too-obvious answer. Their proposal is to do nothing. They find the payment provisions of the programs a convenient handle for the whip.

We know what would happen if the programs were lost. Prices and net income would undergo fantastic decline. More than rural America could bear, and still remain a viable part of the economy.

We know that aside from the damage to farmers and consumers, the American business and labor community would suffer a terrific blow. Three of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture. Six million people work to provide the supplies farmers use for production and family living. In fact, agriculture remains our Nation's biggest industry. It employs more people than public utilities, the steel industry, the automobile industry and transportation combined. About 8 to 10 million people have jobs storing, transporting, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture. A crippled agriculture would require fewer—not more—workers and suppliers.

It also would require fewer products from industry. Farmers are spending more than $38 billion on goods and services to produce crops and livestock and another $12 billion for the same things that city people buy—food, clothing, drugs, furniture, appliances, and other products and services.

In the best of all worlds, the Congress would be considering a different bill today. Many of us would have preferred an extension of the 1965 act. But we have got to have a responsible bill in this session, and this is legislation we can all work with.

The American farmer is making a great contribution to the health and welfare of all Americans. So will these farm programs. That's why H.R. 18546 deserves our support.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE II—DAIRY

DAIRY BASE PLANS

SEC. 201. (a) The Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, is further amended by striking in subparagraph (B) of subsection 8c(5) all that part of said subparagraph (B) which follows the comma at the end of clause (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(d) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year; (e) a provision providing for the accumulation and disbursement of a fund to encourage seasonal adjustments in the production of milk may be included in an order; and (f) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of milk purchased by all handlers among producers on the basis of their marketings of milk, which may be adjusted to reflect the utilization of producer milk by all handlers in any use classification or classifications, during a representative period of one to three years, which will be automatically updated each year. In the event a producer holding a base allocated under this clause (f) shall reduce his marketings, such reduction shall not adversely affect his history of production and marketing for the determination of future bases, or future updating of bases, except that an order may provide that, if a producer reduces his marketings below his base allocation in any one or more use classifications designated in the order, the amount of any

such reduction shall be taken into account in determining future bases, or future updating of bases. Bases allocated to producers under this clause (f) may be transferable under an order on such terms and conditions, including those which will prevent bases taking on an unreasonable value, as are prescribed in the order by the Secretary of Agriculture. Provisions shall be made in the order for the allocation of bases under this clause (f)—

"(i) for the alleviation of hardship and inequity among producers; and

"(ii) for providing bases for dairy farmers not delivering milk as producers under the order upon becoming producers under the order who did not produce milk during part of the representative period, and these new producers shall within ninety days after the first regular delivery of milk at the price for the lowest use classification specified in such order be allocated a base which the Secretary determines proper after considering supply and demand conditions, the development of orderly and efficient marketing conditions and to the respective interests of producers under the order, all other dairy farmers and the consuming public. Producer bases so allocated shall for a period of not more than three years be reduced by not more than 20 per centum; and

"(iii) dairy farmers not deliverying milk as producers under the order upon becoming producers under the order by reason of a plant to which they are making deliveries becoming a pool plant under the order, by amendment or otherwise, shall be provided bases with respect to milk delivered under the order based on their past deliveries of milk on the same basis as other producers under the order; and

"(iv) such order may include such additional provisions as the Secretary deems appropriate in regard to the reentry of producers who have previously discontinued their dairy farm enterprise or transferred bases authorized under this clause (f); and

"(v) notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, dairy farmers not delivering milk as producers under the order, upon becoming producers under the order, shall ninety days later, pursuant to the provisions of section 8c(5)(D) of this act, be provided with respect to milk delivered under the order, allocations based on their past deliveries of milk during the representative period from the production facilities from which they were marketing milk during the representative period on the same basis as other producers under the order on the effective date of order provisions authorized under this clause (f): *Provided*, That bases shall be allocated only to a producer marketing milk from the production facilities from which he marketed milk during the representative period, except that in no event shall such allocation of base exceed the amount of milk actually delivered under such order.

The assignment of other source milk to various use classes shall be made without regard to whether an order contains provisions authorized under this clause (f). In the case of any producer who during any accounting period delivers a portion of his milk to persons not fully regulated by the order, provision shall be made for reducing the allocation of, or payment to be received by, any such producer under this clause (f) to compensate for any marketings of milk to such other persons for such period or periods as necessary to insure equitable participation in marketings among all producers. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 8c(12) and the last sentence of section 8c(19) of this Act, order provisions under this clause (f) shall not be effective in any marketing order unless separately approved by producers in a referendum in which each individual producer shall have one vote and may be terminated separately whenever the Secretary makes a determination with respect to such provisions as is provided for the termination of an order in subparagraph 8c(16)(B). Disapproval or termination of such order provisions shall not be considered disapproval of the order or of other terms of the order."

(b) The legal status of producer handlers of milk under the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, shall be the same subsequent to the adoption of the amendments made by this Act as it was prior thereto.

(c) Nothing in subsection (a) of this section 201 shall be construed as invalidating any class I base plan provisions of any marketing order previously issued by the Secretary of Agriculture pursuant to authority contained in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 1187), but such provisions are expressly ratified, legalized, and confirmed and may be extended through and including December 31, 1971.

(d) It is not intended that existing law be in any way altered, rescinded, or amended with respect to section 8c(5)(G) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and such section 8c(5)(G) is fully reaffirmed.

(e) The provisions of this section shall not be effective after December 31, 1973.

SUSPENSION OF BUTTERFAT SUPPORT PROGRAM

SEC. 202. Effective only with respect to the period beginning April 1, 1971, and ending March 31, 1974—

(a) The first sentence of section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446), is amended by striking the words "milk, butterfat, and the products of milk and butterfat" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "and milk".

(b) Paragraph (c) of section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446(c)), is amended to read as follows:

"(c) The price of milk shall be supported at such level not in excess of 90 per centum nor less than 75 per centum of the parity price therefor as the Secretary determines necessary in order to assure an adequate supply. Such price support shall be provided through purchases of milk and the products of milk."

TRANSFER OF DAIRY PRODUCTS TO THE MILITARY AND TO VETERANS HOSPITALS

SEC. 203. Section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1446a), is amended by changing "December 31, 1970" to read "December 31, 1973" both places it appears therein.

DAIRY INDEMNITY PROGRAM

SEC. 204. Section 3 of the Act of August 13, 1968 (Public Law 90-484; 82 Stat. 750) is amended by striking out the words "June 30, 1970.", and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1973."

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that title II be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open for amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. POAGE

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I offer a series of technical amendments relating to several titles, and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. POAGE: On page 5, line 8, strike out "deliverying" and insert in lieu thereof the word "delivering".

On page 10, line 12, strike the word "section ()". and insert in lieu thereof the word "section (e)".

On page 10, line 20, after the word "Loans" insert the words "and purchases".

On page 23, line 13, after the words "crop of wheat" insert the words "may be reduced by the amount by which the actual total".

On page 28, line 20, after the words "for loans" insert the word ", purchases,".

On page 50, line 1, strike lines through 4 and strike the figure "(2)" on line 5.

On page 50, line 11, and page 50, line 14, strike the figure "(k)" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "(l)".

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The amendments were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Are there any further amendments to title II? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE III—WOOL

SEC. 301. The National Wool Act of 1954, as amended, is amended as follows:

(1) Designate the first two sentences of section 703 as subsection "(a)", and, in the second sentence, delete "1970" and substitute "1973".

(2) In the third sentence of section 703, delete the portion beginning with "The support price for shorn wool shall be" and ending with "*Provided further*, That the" and substitute "The", designate the third sentence as subsection "(b)", change the period at the end thereof to a colon and add the following: "*Provided*, That for the three marketing years beginning January 1, 1971, and ending December 31, 1973, the support price for shorn wool shall be 72 cents per pound, grease basis.".

(3) Designate the fourth and fifth sentences of section 703 as subsection "(c)", change the period at the end of the fifth sentence to a colon and add the following: "*Provided*, That for the three marketing years beginning January 1, 1971, and ending December 31, 1973, the support price for mohair shall be 80.2 cents per pound, grease basis.".

(4) Designate the sixth sentence of section 703 as subsection "(d)".

(5) Designate the last sentence of section 703 as subsection "(e)".

TITLE IV—WHEAT

SEC. 401. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat, section 107 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 107. Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

"(a) Loans on each crop of wheat shall be made available at such level, not in excess of the parity price therefor, as the Secretary determines appropriate, taking into consideration competitive world prices of wheat, the feeding value of wheat in relation to feed grains, and the level at which price support is made available for feed grains.

"(b) If a set-aside program is in effect for any crop of wheat under section 379b(c) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, certificates, loans, and purchases shall be made available on such crop only to producers who comply with the provisions of such program."

SEC. 402. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat, sections 379b and 379c of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, are further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 379b. (a) The Secretary shall provide for the issuance of wheat marketing certificates for the purpose of enabling producers on any farm for which certificates are issued

to receive, in addition to the other proceeds from the sale of wheat, an amount equal to the face value of such certificates. The face value per bushel of domestic marketing certificates for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat shall be in such amount as, together with the national average market price received by farmers during the first five months of the marketing year for such crop, the Secretary determines will be equal to the parity price for wheat as of the beginning of the marketing year for the crop.

"(b) The domestic wheat marketing certificates shall be made available for a farm on the number of bushels determined by multiplying the domestic allotment for the farm for the crop to which such certificates relate by the projected yield established for the farm with such adjustments as the Secretary determines necessary to provide a fair and equitable yield.

"(c)(1) The Secretary shall provide for a set-aside of cropland if he determines that the total supply of wheat or other commodities will, in the absence of such a set-aside, likely be excessive taking into account the need for an adequate carryover to maintain reasonable and stable supplies and prices and to meet a national emergency. If a set-aside of cropland is in effect under this subsection (c), then as a condition of eligibility for loans and certificates on wheat, the producers on a farm must set aside and devote to approved conservation uses an acreage of cropland equal to (i) such percentage of the domestic wheat allotment for the farm as may be specified by the Secretary, plus (ii) the acreage of cropland on the farm devoted in preceding years to soil-conserving uses, as determined by the Secretary. The Secretary is authorized for the 1971 and 1972 crops to limit the acreage planted to wheat on the farm to such percentage of the domestic wheat allotment as he determines necessary to provide an orderly transition to the program provided for under this section. The Secretary shall permit producers to plant and graze on the set-aside acreage sweet sorghum, and to plant and harvest on the set-aside acreage guar, sesame, safflower, sunflower, castor beans, mustard seed, crambe, plantago ovato, flaxseed, or any other commodity which he finds is not in surplus supply, subject to such terms and conditions as he may prescribe: *Provided*, That the payment rate with respect to the additional set-aside acreage devoted to any such crops shall be at a rate determined by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable, taking into consideration the use of such acreage for the production of such crops, and the payment shall be the rate which would otherwise be applicable if such acreage were devoted to conservation uses. The Secretary shall not permit the grazing of the set-aside acres except under such terms or conditions as may be prescribed by the county committees established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended: *Provided*, That such committees shall not permit grazing during any of the five principal months of the normal growing season, nor shall such committees permit the harvesting of crops from the set-aside acreage.

"(2) To assist in adjusting the acreage of commodities to desirable goals, the Secretary may make land diversion payments, in addition to the certificates authorized in subsection (b), available to producers on a farm who, to the extent prescribed by the Secretary, devote to approved conservation uses an acreage of cropland on the farm in addition to that required to be so devoted under subsection (c)(1). The land diversion payments for a farm shall be at such rate or rates as the Secretary determines to be fair and reasonable taking into consideration the diversion undertaken by the producers and the productivity of the acreage diverted. The Secretary shall limit the total acreage to be diverted under agreements in any county or local community so as not to adversely affect the economy of the county or local community.

"(3) The wheat program formulated under this section shall require the producer to take such measures as the Secretary may deem appropriate to protect the set-aside acreage and the additional diverted acreage from erosion, insects, weeds, and rodents. Such acreage may be devoted to wildlife food plots or wildlife habitat in conformity with standards established by the Secretary in consultation with wildlife agencies. The Secretary may provide for an additional payment on such acreage in an amount determined by the Secretary to be appropriate in relation to the benefit to the general public if the producer agrees to permit, without other compensation, access to all or such portion of the farm as the Secretary may prescribe by the general public, for hunting, trapping, fishing, and hiking, subject to applicable State and Federal regulations.

"(4) If the operator of the farm desires to participate in the program formulated under this subsection (c), he shall file his agreement to do so no later than such date as the Secretary may prescribe. Loans and purchases on wheat, marketing certificates, and payments under this section shall be made available to producers on such farm only if the producers set aside and divert an acreage on the farm equal to the number of acres which the operator agrees to set aside and divert, and the agreement shall so provide. The Secretary may, by mutual agreement with the producer, terminate or modify any such agreement entered into pursuant to this subsection (c)(4) if he determines such action necessary because of an emergency created by drought or other disaster, or in order to prevent or alleviate a shortage in the supply of agricultural commodities.

"(d) The Secretary shall provide for the sharing of certificates issued and of payments made under this section for any farm among producers on the farm on a fair and equitable basis.

"(e) In any case in which the failure of a producer to comply fully with the terms and conditions of the program formulated under this section preclude the issuance of certificates and the making of loans, purchases, and payments, the Secretary may, nevertheless, issue such certificates and make such loans, purchases, and payments in such amounts as he determines to be equitable in relation to the seriousness of the default.

"(f) The Secretary shall issue certificates to producers, as soon as practicable after July 1 of the year in which the crop is harvested, at preliminary face value per bushel equal to 75 per centum of the Secretary's estimate of the face value of certificates to be issued with respect to such crop, and the face value of certificates so issued shall not be reduced if the face value as finally determined is less than the preliminary face value.

"(g) The Secretary is authorized to issue such regulations as he determines necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(h) Marketing certificates issued under this Act and transfers thereof shall be represented by such documents, marketing cards, records, accounts, certifications, or other statements or forms as the Secretary may prescribe.

"(i) The Secretary shall carry out the program authorized by this section through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

"SEC. 379c. (a)(1) The farm domestic allotment for each crop of wheat shall be determined as provided in this section. The Secretary shall proclaim a national domestic allotment for each crop of wheat not later than April 15 (August 1, 1970, for the 1971 crop) of each calendar year for the crop harvested in the next succeeding calendar year. The national domestic allotment for any crop of wheat shall be the number of acres which the Secretary determines on the basis of the estimated national yield will result in marketing certificates being issued to producers participating in the program in an amount equal to the amount of wheat which he estimates will be used for food products for consumption in the United States during the marketing year for the crop. The national domestic allotment for any crop of wheat shall be apportioned by the Secretary among the States on the basis of the apportionment to each State of the national domestic allotment for the preceding crop (for the 1971 crop, on the basis of the apportionment of the national acreage allotment for the 1970 crop), adjusted to the extent deemed necessary by the Secretary to establish a fair and equitable apportionment base for each State, taking into consideration established crop rotation practices, the estimated decrease in farm domestic allotments, and other relevant factors.

"(2) The State domestic acreage allotment for wheat, less a reserve of not to exceed 1 per centum thereof for apportionment as provided in this subsection, shall be apportioned by the Secretary among the counties in the State, on the basis of the apportionment to each such county of the domestic wheat allotment for the preceding crop (for the 1971 crop, on the basis of the apportionment of the wheat acreage allotment for the 1970 crop), adjusted to the extent deemed necessary by the Secretary in order to establish a fair and equitable apportionment base for each county taking into consideration established crop-rotation practices, the estimated decrease in farm domestic allotments, and other relevant factors.

"(3) The farm domestic allotment for each crop of wheat shall be determined by apportioning the county domestic wheat allotment among farms in the county which had a domestic wheat allotment for the preceding crop (for the 1971 crop, among farms in the county which had a wheat acreage allotment for the 1970 crop), on the basis of such allotment, adjusted to reflect established crop rotation practices and such other factors as the Secretary determines should be considered for the purposes of establishing a fair and equitable allotment. Notwithstanding any other provision of this subsection, the farm domestic allotment shall be adjusted downward to the extent required by subsection (b).

"(4) Not to exceed 1 per centum of the State domestic allotment for any crop may be apportioned to farms for which there was no domestic allotment for the preceding crop (for the 1971 crop, to farms which had no acreage allotment for the 1970 crop) on the basis of the following factors; suitability of the land for production of wheat, the past experience of the farm operator in the production of wheat, the extent to which the farm operator is dependent on income from farming for his livelihood, the production of wheat on other farms owned, operated, or controlled by the farm operator, and such other factors as the Secretary determines should be considered for the purpose of establishing fair and equitable farm domestic allotments. No part of such reserve shall be apportioned to a farm to reflect new cropland brought into production after the date of enactment of the set-aside program for wheat.

"(5) The planting on a farm of wheat of any crop for which no farm domestic allotment was established shall not make the farm eligible for a domestic allotment under subsection (a)(3) nor shall such farm by reason of such planting be considered ineligible for an allotment under subsection (a)(4).

"(6) The Secretary may make such adjustments in acreage under this Act as he determines necessary to correct for abnormal factors affecting production, and to give

due consideration to tillable acreage, crop rotation practices, types of soil, soil and water conservation measures, and topography, and in addition, in the case of conserving use acreages to such other factors as he deems necessary in order to establish a fair and equitable conserving use acreage for the farm.

"(b)(1) If for any crop the total acreage of wheat planted on a farm is less than the farm domestic allotment, the farm domestic allotment used as a base for the succeeding crop shall be reduced by the percentage by which such planted acreage was less than such farm domestic allotment, but such reduction shall not exceed 20 per centum of the farm domestic allotment for the preceding crop. If no acreage has been planted to wheat for three consecutive crop years on any farm which has a domestic allotment, such farm shall lose its domestic allotment. Producers on any farm who have planted to wheat not less than 90 per centum of the domestic allotment for the farm shall be considered to have planted an acreage equal to 100 per centum of such allotment. An acreage on the farm which the Secretary determines was not planted to such wheat because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster or a condition beyond the control of the producer shall be considered to be an acreage of wheat planted for harvest. For the purpose of this subsection, the Secretary may permit producers of wheat to have acreage devoted to soybeans or to feed grains for which there is a set-aside program in effect considered as devoted to the production of wheat to such extent and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary determines will not impair the effective operation of the program.

"(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (b)(1), no farm domestic allotment shall be reduced or lost through failure to plant the farm domestic allotment, if the producer elects not to receive payment for such portion of the farm domestic allotment not planted, to which he would otherwise be entitled under the provisions of this Act."

SEC. 403. Effective only with respect to the marketing years beginning July 1, 1971, July 1, 1972, and July 1, 1973, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(1) by deleting in the first sentence of section 379d(b) the words "During any marketing year for which a wheat marketing allocation program is in effect," and substituting "During each marketing year,";

(2) by adding at the end of section 379d (b) the following:

"Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Secretary is authorized to temporarily suspend the requirement for export marketing certificates for the period beginning July 1, 1971, and ending June 30, 1974. The Secretary shall refund, for the duration of the suspension, to the processor or to the exporter the cost of the marketing certificates on all flour exported. For the purpose of such refunds, the wheat equivalent of the flour exported may be determined on the basis of conversion factors authorized by section 379f, even though certificates had been surrendered on the basis of the weight of wheat."

(3) by adding at the end of section 379e the following:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, Commodity Credit Corporation shall sell marketing certificates for the marketing years for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat to persons engaged in the processing of food products but in determining the cost to processors the face value shall be 75 cents per bushel."

SEC. 404. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(1) sections 331 through 339 shall not be applicable to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat;

(2) by adding in section 378 a new subsection (e) to read as follows:

"(e) The term 'allotment' as used in this section includes the domestic allotment for wheat."

(3) by adding at the end of section 379 the following sentence: "The term 'acreage allotments' as used in this section includes the domestic allotment for wheat." and

(4) by adding in the first sentence of section 385 after the words "parity payment," the words "payments (including certificates) under the wheat and feed grain set-aside programs,".

SEC. 405. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of wheat, section 706, Public Law 89–321 (79 Stat. 1210), is amended as follows:

(1) by adding in the first sentence after the words "the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended," the words "or the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended,"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "The term 'acreage allotments' as used in this section includes the domestic allotment for wheat."

SEC. 406. Public Law 74, Seventy-seventh Congress (68 Stat. 905), shall not be applicable to the crops of wheat planted for harvest in the calendar years 1971, 1972, and 1973.

SEC. 407. The amount of any wheat stored by a producer under section 379c(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, prior to the 1971 crop of wheat production of the 1971, 1972, or 1973 crop on the farm is less than the number of bushels determined by multiplying three times the domestic allotment for the current crop on the farm by the yield established for the farm for the purpose of issuance of domestic marketing certificates. The provisions of such section shall continue to apply to the wheat so stored to the extent not inconsistent therewith.

SEC. 408. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of the commodity, the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is further amended by adding in section 408 a new subsection (k) as follows:

"REFERENCES TO TERMS MADE APPLICABLE TO WHEAT AND FEED GRAINS

"(k) References made in sections 402, 403, 406, and 416 to the terms 'support price,' 'level of support,' and 'level of price support' shall be considered to apply as well to the level of loans and purchases for wheat and feed grains under this Act; and references made to the terms 'price support,' 'price support operations,' and 'price support program' in such sections and in section 401(a) shall be considered as applying as well to the loan and purchase operations for wheat and feed grains under this Act."

SEC. 409. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is further amended effective only with respect to the marketing years for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of the commodity as follows:

(1) by deleting in the third sentence the language following the third colon and substituting the following: "*Provided*, That the Corporation shall not sell any of its stocks of wheat, corn, grain sorghum, barley, oats, and rye, respectively, at less than 115 per centum of the current national average loan rate for the commodity, adjusted for such current market differentials reflecting grade, quality, location, and other value factors as the Secretary determines appropriate, plus reasonable carrying charges."

(2) by deleting in the fifth sentence "current basic county support rate including the value of any applicable price-support payment in kind (or a comparable price if there is no current basic county support rate)" and substituting "current basic county loan rate (or a comparable price if there is no current basic county loan rate)", and

(3) by deleting in the seventh sentence ", but in no event shall the purchase price exceed the then current support price for such commodities," and substituting "or unduly affecting market prices, but in no event shall the purchase price exceed the Corporation's minimum sales price for such commodities for unrestricted use."

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that title IV be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MELCHER

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MELCHER: On page 11, line 4, insert the following new subsection (c):

"(c) The total average rate of return per bushel made available to producers participating in the program formulated under sections 379b, and 379c of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, on a quantity of wheat equal to 208 per centum of the wheat marketing allocation for the 1970 crop, through loans, domestic marketing certificates, estimated diversion payments and estimated returns from export marketing certificates (if such certificates are in effect) shall not be less than 70 per centum of parity."

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I think all of us too often fail to recognize the people who are kind to us and the people who are important to us to let them know we appreciate that, and we appreciate their actions and their consideration. I would like at this time to make it clear to my colleagues in the House and to the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and to the ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from Oklahoma, that I have the highest respect for them, and I believe they have been fair and considerate and knowledgeable on matters of agriculture as we considered them in our committee. I can state as a young Member and one who would like to see changes in the House procedures, that if we had adopted the rule that would permit members of the committee to vote for their chairman, I would have been one of those who would have voted for our current chairman.

I give this as a prelude to the remarks I am going to make, to make sure that all Members understand what I am going to say is not a reflection on the integrity or the fairness or the conduct of the committee.

But, Mr. Chairman, all of this talk we have had yesterday and some today about the 18 months of toil in that committee and about a delicate balance being worked out to arrive at a bill—they are really high-sounding phrases, but they do not represent the facts. This bill is an accommodation. It is an accommodation for cotton. The facts are that after wheat and feed grain, after these sections were chiseled down in the subcommittee and in the full committee,

cotton come out pretty well: First, cotton is going to have 400,000 more acres to plant next spring, and second, the price in 1971 and 1972 and 1973 for cotton will be about as good as it is now—35 to 37 cents, and third, skip row will count as set-aside.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. The support price will be 2 cents under what it is now. Actually, at 35 cents the price will be 2 cents under what it is now. I do not see how the gentleman can say they will be doing better. I know the gentleman thinks it is a fact.

Mr. MELCHER. I can say to the gentleman from Mississippi, I am interested in the cotton farmer receiving a better return for his product. I would hate to see him get a lesser return.

The bill states, on page 44, at line 20:

> The Secretary shall make a preliminary payment to producers, as soon as practicable after July 1 of the year in which the crop is harvested, at a rate equal to 15 cents per pound, and the payment so made shall not be reduced if the rate as finally determined is less than the rate of the preliminary payment.

With a price of 22 cents, if 15 cents is paid, that would be 37 cents. There is no return after the 15 cents has been paid.

I hope that is the case for cotton, because I know the cotton farmers are struggling, too.

Fourth, skip row is to count as set-aside under the bill for cotton farmers—a distinct advantage compared to wheat and feed grain farmers.

Fifth, last, there is assurance by the Secretary of Agriculture to cotton interests that conservation base acres, which have been greatly reduced in the Southern States and other States since 1966, will not be tampered with.

This is hard bargaining, but it is bargaining not as a group, of the commodity groups, of the old traditional groups of cotton, feed grains and wheat working together to hammer out a farm bill. No, cotton found a lover, and that is the administration, and it left its two old friends, wheat and feed grains, to strike up a romance, and a romance that could have been quite short lived this afternoon if the Findley-Conte amendment had been adopted on payment limitations.

But that was the delicate balance in this bill that was described. That was the compromise that was worked out. The Secretary of Agriculture is to get his set-aside, this set-aside program, in the bill and along with that he is to get low rates on grain, to bring the price of grain down to the world levels.

In return for that mess of pottage the Secretary and the administration, with a letter from the President, were supposed to deliver the votes.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Montana has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. MELCHER was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. MELCHER. In return for that, Mr. Chairman, the President with his letter, the Secretary with his urging were to deliver the votes of the House minority leader and the sheep that follow him to help defeat that amendment, the Conte-Findley amendment.

Well, that is the way it came out.

I believe the committee amendment is a good amendment on payment limitations, and it recognizes some vital points that are extremely important to Montana; namely, wool and State school land, so I am not lamenting the death of the Findley-Conte amendment which treated these two points harshly.

We heard yesterday that there should be no amendments offered to this bill—that would upset this delicate balance, that would throw the bill's fate into jeopardy or kill the bill. That is not quite the truth. It hinged on the Findley-Conte amendment as to whether or not this bill was to be killed .

What we need is a lot of amendments to this bill to do something about grain prices. I have offered one for wheat, and I will support my colleague from Minnesota on his amendment on feed grains.

While everything is going up in this country, while inflation is most cruel to agriculture, while the number of farmers is decreasing rapidly, while wheat and feed grains are selling too cheaply, this Congress is told that we have to pass this bill in this form that will force down the prices for wheat and feed grains.

We do not have the assurance, as cotton does, that grain prices will remain nearly the same. We do not have any assurance and indeed we know that price stability is not in the bill for wheat and it is not going to be in the bill for feed grains and that we will not get an appreciable increase in acreage for our farmers. I would hope that the Secretary's set-aside, if we pass this, works well. However, those of us in the wheat country who have looked at the farms that have been cited by the Department of Agriculture as typical cannot see the increase in wheat acreage that has been touted as a benefit of the set-aside program. We have nothing like skip row in cotton to count as set-aside acres to permit us to grow the same amount of our crop, either wheat or barley, while at the same time setting aside acres as demanded in this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I implore you to heed the talk that we have had concerning the effects of lower farm prices and lower farm income and the effects on our general economy. I implore you to support a reasonable amendment that I have offered to assure the wheat people and in turn the feed grains people by the following amendment the same level of income that they now have. It will not cost more than we are paying on the 1970 crop. It does not improve grain farmers' income as should be done, but the amendment does hold the line for our farm producers rather than lower income as the bill does for grain farmers.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. OBEY. I want to congratulate the gentleman on his statement and rise in support of his amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER). The bill which we have been debating in this House is one which many Americans think pertains only to agriculture—the 5 percent of our population who make their livelihood from farming.

That simply is not the case. While this legislation is called the Agriculture Act of 1970, and while it contains a feed grains program, a class I base plan extension, cotton programs, and other such provisions, the fact is that this legislation has an impact on our entire economy and the entire Nation, both rural and urban.

Agriculture is still our Nation's No. 1 industry. It employs almost 5 million workers and its assets total about two-thirds of the current assets of all corporations in the United States. It uses more electricity than is consumed in the cities of Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. It is also, unfortunately, a convenient whipping boy for those, in and out of Congress, who do not understand just what the farm programs are all about.

It is often apparent that some of my colleagues from urban areas continually view farm programs as boondoggles which unjustly enrich the American farmer at the expense of everyone else.

The fact is, however, that farm programs are meant to stabilize food production, to guarantee an adequate supply of food for our people, to provide us with a reserve in times of national emergencies, and to help feed hungry people throughout the world. In most instances our farm programs have succeeded in meeting these goals.

One goal they have not fully reached is the stabilization of farm income at a level which would allow a decent standard of living across rural America.

Farmers have been caught in a vicious cost-price squeeze since 1953. In the past 10 years interest rates have gone up 300 percent and taxes about 200 percent. The parity ratio which describes the relationship between the prices paid by farmers and the prices received by them is equal to its lowest level since 1933—about 74 percent.

I have heard some of my urban colleagues say that the whole farm program ought to be tossed out because some of these programs are not working as well as they ought to. I readily grant that there are many problems with the farm program and there are many problems with this bill, but to allow that the whole program ought to be thrown out because of some abuses is shortsighted. It is just as shortsighted to call for the wiping out of the entire farm program because it has some deficiencies as it would be to call for the total elimination of the model cities program or the medicare program or the poverty program because portions of those programs are not working as well as they should.

I have not been here long, but in the time I have been here I have many times seen urban Members of this House ask for support from rural Congressmen on

programs which are not at all understood in rural America. Today I am asking my urban colleagues to turn the coin around. City legislators say, and rightly so, that all Americans are responsible for helping to solve city problems and that rural legislators have an obligation—moral and otherwise, to explain the needs of urban America to rural people. I am simply asking urban legislators to remember that it is also true that every Member of this House has a similar obligation to rural America. Part of the job of a legislator—the most important part in the last analysis is the task of acting from time to time as a public educator to explain distasteful or complicated programs or problems to our constituents for the good of the entire Nation. And just as I have an obligation to explain the problems of the urban ghetto to my constituents, so do the urban Members of this House have an obligation to explain the complexities of the farm program and the needs of rural America to their constituents.

We cannot afford to have another false division arise in this country caused by urban and rural legislators taking cheap shots at programs designed to aid parts of the country not similar to their own.

Mr. Chairman, this bill before us today does nothing about the threat of huge conglomerate corporation farms and is a poor bill in many other respects. About the best that can be said of it is that it is better than no bill at all. There are some sections which need substantial overhauling. I am most dubious about the weakening of the concept of parity which, up to now, has allowed our farmers to attain some degree of income stability, in favor of an untried formula which may in the end lead to increased production and more surpluses, more Government costs, more confusion and less assistance to rural America.

Serious deficiencies certainly exist in this bill—especially in the feed grains and the wheat sections of the bill. It seems to me that both the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) regarding the wheat features, and the amendment by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. ZWACH) regarding the feed grains section ought to be adopted, simply because past experience, especially under Agriculture Secretary Benson should have taught us by now that we need some measure of income protection for the American farmer if we are to stablize farm supply and avoid the surpluses of the past.

This bill needs overhauling, and I intend to vote for these and other amendments which will do just that. If they are adopted, and we are able to make a basically defective bill somewhat more palatable, it will make support for this bill much easier. If they are not, then we will be faced with the question of whether we should vote against the bill, or for it in the hopes that the Senate can make it a better bill. This will obviously be a very difficult choice. Adoption of this amendment could make that choice much easier.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this, as is sometimes the case, puts me in a, frankly, very uncomfortable position. The gentleman from Montana is a very highly respected member of our committee. No one works harder. What he proposes to do would be beneficial to the wheat farmers of this country, and we all want to benefit them because they need the benefit and need it more than this bill provides. But I have to speak against this amendment because it would violate what the Bureau of the Budget and the Department of Agriculture and my understanding of what the White House have said they can back in regard to this bill. Provisions very similar to this were proposed at various times during the hearings which developed the bill before us. The present law, which does expire and will not be in effect when the law we are acting on now becomes effective, provides $1.84 as a floor blend price for wheat. If I understand what the gentleman's amendment would do, this would make a floor blend price or floor for wheat of $1.974, and this does not stay within the guidelines of what the Bureau of the Budget has said can be provided for agriculture.

Mr. MELCHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MELCHER. I do agree with the chairman of the Livestock and Grain Subcommittee that it would provide legislation for $1.97, but would my chairman answer me this question: Is that not the blend price that exists right now?

Mr. PURCELL. If I remember correctly, that is either the blend price that is in existence now or it is in that neighborhood. This I think is true.

Mr. MELCHER. Would the gentleman further yield?

Mr. PURCELL. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MELCHER. If we should extend the 1965 act, would not this be the price that wheat farmers would receive for their 1971 crop and substantially at the same cost to the Treasury as the 1970 crop would be? In other words the cost to the Treasury would be approximately the same but farmers would receive a higher return?

Mr. PURCELL. Well, if the 1965 act were to be extended, which, of course, is not what we are doing, then, if the administration of the present law continued the same—and it would not have to—then, of course, the expenditure of the Government and the cost of the price of wheat would be what it is now.

But that is my point. These things were tried and tried again during the hearings of the subcommittee that I am honored to be chairman of. This we did not get agreement on because we were not able to pass it through the whole committee in the final analysis, and therefore for the sake of getting the whole bill as it now exists—and I think that is more important than—and I hate to say this—than this amendment would be—I am asking the Members of the House to vote against this amendment.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the fairness of the gentleman in supporting the committee bill. If we had not had an agreement and got a balance, regardless of what the gentleman thinks, because we never did get a balance from him, we would not have had a bill at all. And I know that the gentleman in the well would have probably supported this amendment had it been voted up in the committee, and the opportunity to pass the bill with that in it, but the gentleman from Texas has known all the time that we have to get enough support to pass this farm bill.

Therefore I want to congratulate the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PURCELL) regardless of his own views, which he expressed very clearly, in going along with the bill that we now have. And again I want to congratulate the gentleman for the position he has taken right now to stand by the agreement, and in staying with us, and I am staying with it.

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Texas, and I appreciate the remarks the gentleman has made here today, and I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. Melcher.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE V—FEED GRAINS

SEC. 501. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of feed grains, section 105 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 105. Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

"(a)(1) The Secretary shall make available to producers loans and purchases on each crop of corn at such level, not in excess of 90 per centum of the parity price therefor, as the Secretary determines will encourage the exportation of feed grains and not result in excessive total stocks of feed grains in the United States.

"(2) The Secretary shall make available to producers loans and purchases on each crop of barley, oats, and rye, respectively, at such level as the Secretary determines is fair and reasonable in relation to the level that loans and purchases are made available for corn, taking into consideration the feeding value of such commodity in relation to corn and the other factors specified in section 401(b), and on each crop of grain sorghums at such level as the Secretary determines is fair and reasonable in relation to the level that loans and purchases are made available for corn taking into consideration the feeding value and average transportation costs to market of grain sorghums in relation to corn.

"(b)(1) In addition, the Secretary shall make available to producers payments for each crop of corn, grain sorghums, and, if designated by the Secretary, barley. The payment rate for corn shall be at such rate as, together with the national average market price received by farmers for corn during the

first five months of the marketing year for the crop, the Secretary determines will not be less than $1.35 per bushel. The payment rate for grain sorghums and, if designated by the Secretary, barley, shall be such rate as the Secretary determines fair and reasonable in relation to the rate at which payments are made available for corn.

"(2) The payments with respect to a farm shall be made available on 50 per centum of the feed grain base for the farm and shall be computed on the basis of the yield established for the farm for the preceding crop with such adjustments as the Secretary determines necessary to provide a fair and equitable yield.

"(3) If for any crop the total acreage on a farm planted to feed grains included in the program formulated under this subsection is less than the portion of the feed grain base for the farm on which payments are available under this subsection, the feed grain base for the farm for the succeeding crops shall be reduced by the percentage by which the planted acreage is less than such portion of the feed grain base for the farm, but such reduction shall not exceed 20 per centum of the feed grain base. If no acreage has been planted to such feed grains for three consecutive crop years on any farm which has a feed grain base, such farm shall lose its feed grain base. Any such acres eliminated from any farm shall be assigned to a national pool for the adjustment of feed grain bases as provided for in subsection (e)(2). Producers on any farm who have planted to such feed grains not less than 90 per centum of the portion of the feed grain base on which payments are made available shall be considered to have planted an acreage equal to 100 per centum of such portion. An acreage on the farm which the Secretary determines was not planted to such feed grains because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster or condition beyond the control of the producer shall be considered to be an acreage of feed grains planted for harvest. For the purpose of this paragraph, the Secretary may permit producers of feed grains to have acreage devoted to soybeans or to wheat considered as devoted to the production of such feed grains to such extent and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary determines will not impair the effective operation of the feed grain or soybean program.

"(c)(1) The Secretary shall provide for a set-aside of cropland if he determines that the total supply of feed grains or other commodities will, in the absence of such a set-aside, likely be excessive taking into account the need for an adequate carryover to maintain reasonable and stable supplies and prices of feed grains and to meet a national emergency. If a set-aside of cropland is in effect under this subsection (c), then as a condition of eligibility for loans and payments on corn, grain sorghums, and, if designated by the Secretary, barley, respectively, the producers on a farm must set aside and devote to approved conservation uses an acreage of cropland equal to (i) such percentage of the feed grain base for the farm as may be specified by the Secretary, plus (ii) the acreage of cropland on the farm devoted in preceding years to soil-conserving uses, as determined by the Secretary. The Secretary is authorized for the 1971 and 1972 crops to limit the acreage planted to feed grains on the farm to such percentage of the feed grain base as he determines necessary to provide an orderly transition to the program provided for under this section. The Secretary shall permit producers to plant and graze on the set-aside acreage sweet sorghum, and to plant and harvest on the set-aside acreage guar, sesame, safflower, sunflower, castor beans, mustard seed, crambe, plantago ovato, flaxseed, or any other commodity which he finds is not in surplus supply, subject to such terms and conditions as he may prescribe: *Provided*, That the payment rate with respect to the additional set-aside acreage devoted to any such crops shall be at a rate determined by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable, taking into consideration the use of such acreage for the production of such crops, and the payment shall be the rate which would otherwise be applicable if such acreage were devoted to conservation uses. The Secretary shall not permit the grazing of the set-aside acres except under such terms or conditions as may be prescribed by the county committees established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended: *Provided*, That such committees shall not permit grazing during any of the five principal months of the normal growing season, nor shall such committees permit the harvesting of crops from the set-aside acreage.

"(2) To assist in adjusting the acreage of commodities to desirable goals, the Secretary may make land diversion payments, in addition to the payments authorized in subsection (b), to producers on a farm who, to the extent prescribed by the Secretary, devote to approved conservation uses an acreage of cropland on the farm in addition to that required to be so devoted under subsection (c)(1). The land diversion payments for a farm shall be at such rate or rates as the Secretary determines to be fair and reasonable taking into consideration the diversion undertaken by the producers and the productivity of the acreage diverted. The Secretary shall limit the total acreage to be diverted under agreements in any county or local community so as not to adversely affect the economy of the county or local community.

"(3) The feed grain program formulated under this section shall require the producer to take such measures as the Secretary may deem appropriate to protect the set-aside acreage and the additional diverted acreage from erosion, insects, weeds, and rodents. Such acreage may be devoted to wildlife food plots or wildlife habitat in conformity with standards established by the Secretary in consultation with wildlife agencies. The Secretary may provide for an additional payment on such acreage in an amount determined by the Secretary to be appropriate in relation to the benefit to the general public if the producer agrees to permit, without other compensation, access to all or such portion of the farm as the Secretary may prescribe by the general public, for hunting, trapping, fishing, and hiking, subject to applicable State and Federal regulations.

"(4) If the operator of the farm desires to participate in the program formulated under this section, he shall file his agreement to do so no later than such date as the Secretary may prescribe. Loans and purchases on feed grains included in the set-aside program and payments under this section shall be made available to producers on such farm only if the producers set aside and divert an acreage on the farm equal to the number of acres which the operator agrees to set aside and divert, and the agreement shall so provide. The Secretary may, by mutual agreement with the producer, terminate or modify any such agreement entered into pursuant to this subsection (c)(4) if he determines such action necessary because of an emergency created by dought or other disaster, or in order to prevent or alleviate a shortage in the supply of agricultural commodities.

"(d) The Secretary shall provide for the sharing of payments under this section among producers on the farm on a fair and equitable basis.

"(e)(1) For the purpose of this section, the feed grain base shall be the average acreage devoted on the farm to corn, grain sorghums and, if designated by the Secretary, barley in 1959 and 1960.

"(2) The Secretary may make such adjustments in acreage under this section as he determines necessary to correct for abnormal factors affecting production, and to give due consideration to tillable acreage, crop-rotation practices, types of soil, soil and water conservation measures, and topography, and in addition in the case of conserving use acreages to such other factors as he deems necessary in order to establish a fair and equitable conserving use acreage for the farm. The Secretary shall, upon the request of a majority of the State committee established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, adjust the feed grain bases for farms within any State or county in order to establish fair and equitable feed grain bases for farms within such State or county: *Provided*, That except for acreage provided for in subsection (b)(3), adjustments made pursuant to this sentence shall not increase the total State feed grain acreage. The Secretary is authorized to draw upon the acreage pool provided for in subsection (b)(3) in making such adjustments. Notwithstanding any other provision of this subsection, the feed grain base for the farm shall be adjusted downward to the extent required by subsection (b)(3).

"(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of this subsection, not to exceed 1 per centum of the estimated total feed grain bases for all farms in a State for any year may be reserved from the feed grain bases established for farms in the State for apportionment to farms on which there were no acreages devoted to feed grains in the crop years 1959 and 1960 on the basis of the following factors: suitability of the land for the production of feed grains, the extent to which the farm operator is dependent on income from farming for his livelihood, the production of feed grains on other farms owned, operated, or controlled by the farm operator and such other factors as the Secretary determines should be considered for the purpose of establishing fair and equitable feed grain bases. No part of such reserve shall be allocated to a farm to reflect new cropland brought into production after the date of enactment of the set-aside program for feed grains. An acreage equal to the feed grain base so established for each farm shall be deemed to have been devoted to feed grains on the farm in each of the prop years 1959 and 1960 for purposes of this section.

"(f) In any case in which the failure of a producer to comply fully with the terms and conditions of the program formulated under this section precludes the making of loans, purchases, and payments, the Secretary may, nevertheless, make such loans, purchases and payments in such amounts as he determines to be equitable in relation to the seriousness of the default.

"(g) The Secretary shall make a preliminary payment to producers, as soon as practicable after July 1 of the year in which the crop is harvested, at a rate equal to 32 cents per bushel for corn, with comparable rates for grain sorghum and barley, and the payment so made shall not be reduced if the rate as finally determined is less than the rate of the preliminary payment.

"(h) The Secretary is authorized to issue such regulations as he determines necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

"(i) The Secretary shall carry out the program authorized by this section through the Commodity Credit Corporation."

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of this title be dispensed with, and that the title be printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN per tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ZWACH

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ZWACH: On page 26, line 17, strike the words "together with the national average market price received by farmers for corn during the first five months of the marketing year for the crop, the Secretary determines will not be less than $1.35 per bushel." and insert in lieu thereof the following: "when added to the level of the loan established pursuant to subsection (a)(1), will equal not less than 77 per centum of the parity price per bushel."

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I offered this amendment in committee. It was defeated by a vote of 11 to 15. I feel impelled and compelled to point out what I consider a basic weakness in this present bill that will result in reduced farm income.

First let me say how fortunate are we and our constituents that we are talking about an abundance, and not about scarcity and hunger. This is most fortunate for us and for our constituents. We are also talking about the miracle people of America, who have enabled us to use less of our income for food than any people at any time anywhere in history.

This amendment will do three specific things that I feel are fundamental.

First of all it will reinsert the parity concept that has been in our farm laws for a long time. Continuously your constituents in the cities send to the country products that we buy—the biggest purchaser in America—at higher and higher prices.

This amendment will allow the producers in America to ride with the punch of higher costs. It ought not to be frozen at a given level when we are assured that freight rates, and there have been three raises recently, and truck rates and taxes and labor and every cost, the input in agriculture, is on the up side.

The second and even more serious defect that this amendment will correct is that it provides for loans at zero percent to 90 percent of parity.

Now, first of all no one ought to give to any administrator who is not responsible to the people the right to set a figure at zero percent to 90 percent of parity. It is not allowed under the present law and it would not be allowed under the law to which we would revert if we did not pass any legislation.

My amendment would not affect in any way the amount of money that would go out to the farmers, to the producers, this year. It would do this. It would give about the same amount of money to the 50 percent of the production that receives payment. But the loan would be increased on the balance. The loan would not go to lower levels, where I expect it to go, at world or below world prices.

The last thing that America needs is less input into its countryside segment.

The last thing that our cities need is less input into the countryside segment.

All of our countryside people will come to your cities and then we will be in the same state that every country experienced before they went down to decay and went down in history.

So this is very important that the loan rate, the ever normal granary rate, the thing that guarantees you as consumers an adequate cushion of supply and provide that we will not need to go hungry.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZWACH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the gentleman now in the well. He has done a lot of work and a lot of thinking on the feed grain section of this bill. He knows and understands it well.

I want to tell him and the Members of the House that I support the gentleman's amendment.

I would like to point out Mr. Chairman, that it is very possible that time will prove the dollars that will flow to the feed grain farmers under the provisions of the bill we have before us will be as good or better than if the amendment is adopted.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

(By unanimous consent at the request of Mr. KLEPPE, Mr. ZWACH was allowed to proceed for an additional 1 minute.)

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZWACH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KLEPPE. I just want to finish this comment. It is very possible that the provisions we have in the present bill will do as good or better than with the gentleman's amendment. But I want him to know that I do support his amendment.

(By unanimous consent Mr. ZWACH was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZWACH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentlemar. on his amendment. I shall support it. I hope that we will be more successful with it than we were on the Melcher amendment.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, on page 25, lines 13 and 14, where it states "average transportation costs to market" it is my understanding this language will be considered by the Secretary in relating grain sorghum loan and supports to corn. It is also my understanding that the intent of the committee is that the Secretary will only use this factor, to the extent absolutely necessary, to keep grain sorghum prices competitive and in areas where there are no freight costs against the grain, it would not be a factor, and in the other areas only on the grain that is transported to markets elsewhere.

Mr. ZWACH. As the gentleman knows, sorghum, barley, and oats are related with regard to the loan exactly as it is to corn. They are set accordingly.

Mr. Chairman, I have one more point I want to make. If the loan rate goes down, the release rate for Commodity Credit stocks will also go down, and we will compound the problem that we are working on here. This amendment would retain a reasonable loan, and therefore would not put into effect a lower release rate of Commodity Credit stocks. I feel that this 1–2–3 approach is tremendously important to countryside America, which just cannot stand further reductions in income.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 18546, the Agricultural Act of 1970. As we all know, this massive farm bill contains provisions pertaining to wheat, feed grains, cotton, dairying, bees, peanuts, wool, and other U.S. farm commodities. Like many farm bills before it, it is highly controversial. Obviously, it is not easy to satisfy everyone with such a comprehensive, omnibus package.

But it is important that we recognize it took the House Agriculture Committee and the Nixon administration more than 18 months to sufficiently resolve differences among competing farm voices in order to permit any legislation of this nature to be brought to the House floor. Even as it is, we cannot be certain of adequate support from the powerful urban bloc to pass this bill. Considering these complications, if we do not accept this measure, however inadequate, I do not believe this Congress will enact any further farm program this year. That would be very bad news to a number of farmers who have been utilizing this program in my district.

In my own State of Minnesota, agriculture is our leading industry. According to most recent statistics, among all the States, we rank sixth in total cash farm income derived from agricultural sales. We stand first in the Nation in the production of butter, nonfat dry milk, sweet corn for processing, oats, and numbers of turkeys raised. We stand second in production of American cheese, hay, and sweet clover seed. We stand third in the Nation in production of milk, honey, green peas for processing, and flaxseed. We stand fourth in production of sugar beets and rye. We stand fifth among American States in production of corn, pigs, and barley. We are sixth in rank in terms of our cash farm income, including Government payments, as well as in the production of soybeans and potatoes. Minnesota also ranks among the 10 top States in the production of several other farm commodities.

I am particularly proud of the role of the farmers of the Second Congressional District whom I represent in setting this record for Minnesota. Among all 435 congressional districts in the United States, our own Second District ranks fourth in soybean production; sixth in corn production; eighth in flax, oats, dried milk, and butterfat production.

In 1968, Second District farmers ranked ninth in numbers participating in the feed grains program among all U.S. congressional districts, and 30th in numbers participating in the ACP program.

These accomplishments in Minnesota have been achieved almost entirely by family farmers, not by big, corporation-style operators. But this record of output in itself suggests why so many farmers consider it necessary to have a program of the type we consider today in order

to limit production, stabilize supplies, improve market prices and farm income, and build a competitive base on which to expand foreign trade opportunities.

Insofar as this particular bill, H.R. 18546, is concerned, I stand in general agreement with yesterday's observations by our fellow colleague from Minnesota, Congressman JOHN ZWACH, who is one of the most thorough students of farm legislation serving on the House Agriculture Committee.

Certainly, I am pleased at the inclusion in the bill of JOHN'S amendment designed to assure dairymen outside class I dairy marketing order areas of competitive access and equal reimbursement for sales in class I markets. As a dairyman myself, I have long favored the reduction of barriers which have existed to the interstate shipment of quality milk, and this feature should be helpful to many Minnesota dairymen, particularly since 85 percent of the milk production of the upper Midwest must look to other areas for a market outlet.

There are other improvements relating to recreation, which are commendable.

However, like JOHN, I am much concerned about several provisions relating to the feed grains program in particular. During several previous administrations, we saw Commodity Credit Corporation grain stocks inappropriately dumped on the open market, depressing prices to grain producers, elevator operators, and the entire grain trade. This practice had the effect of making the floor the ceiling on prices under the program, and it was disastrous to farm income. To many of us, this weapon was used to make farmers the scapegoats for inflation and it was ridiculous, since farm prices have remained nearly constant for more than 20 years while every single farm cost has risen dramatically. Yet H.R. 18546 continues the provisions of present law which permit the CCC to dump Government-owned stocks at prices only slightly above Government loan rates. This feature should be changed.

Additionally, as the Farm Bureau has also pointed out, the measure is discriminatory in its treatment of different crops. The cotton set-aside is guaranteed, but the Secretary of Agriculture is given unlimited discretion in determining the amount of set-asides applying to wheat and feed grain producers.

I also share the view that it is wrong to eliminate the parity concept in relation to feed grains, and consider it inadvisable to provide the Secretary of Agriculture with the exclusive right to peg a loan rate from zero to 90 percent of parity.

All attempts to make these changes failed. But in any case, it seems to me we have little choice but to support this package on final passage. The U.S. Government has been involved in the field of agricultural legislation since the 1930's. To pull the chief prop out from under farmers now, without any kind of adjustment period, would in my judgment be ill-advised. Unlimited production without any kind of controls would lead immediately to increased production. Increased production would lead to enormous stockpiles and market gluts. Market gluts would lead to sorrily depressed prices. And further depressed prices would end the farm careers of hundreds of thousands of family farmers struggling bravely to hang on.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I support the amendment by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. ZWACH) because I am convinced the head of this current administration promised almost the same kind of concept in the campaign of 1968. Of course, it is not my duty to assist Mr. Nixon in redeeming his campaign commitment. Yet, as a Member of Congress that has supported every piece of farm legislation since coming to the Congress in 1959, I know that several former Congresses have indulged in the implied promise made to our farmers that we would continue to provide them with a program which contained the concept of parity.

Oh, I know there has been no expressed covenant written out and resolves in a resolution by Members, but nonetheless all the programs in the past have contained in one form or another the concept that when the cost of production of farmers goes up, in other words the things they have to buy goes up, then the Government farm program carried a clause which would make up this difference.

No matter how we try to soften the language to describe our commissions and failures if we do not write in the concept of parity in H.R. 18546, known as the Agricultural Act of 1970 then we are reneging on our previous commitment. In other words, we are welshing out on our farmer promise.

Mr. Chairman, parity is something that may be a little difficult to explain to the city dweller. Synonyms of the word includes such words as equivalence, similarity or approximation. By definition the concept has been defined as a condition as being equivalent. As the word is used in agricultural programs it means the equality of purchasing power maintained from time to time as conditions or circumstances change.

It is not hard to understand why the parity feature was not written into the bill. To do so would have been to buck a powerful combination including the Bureau of the Budget, the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, and several members of the Agriculture Committee who seemed to think they had to go along with the views of the administration.

I support the parity amendment because, first, it is a reasonable amendment providing for 77 percent of the parity price per bushel. Moreover, it is fair. If we are going to have a farm bill that will be of any value in terms of increasing the income of the farmer then the parity concept must be adopted. Mr. Chairman, I strongly support the amendment by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. ZWACH).

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I suppose that with honor comes some unpleasant moments. Sometimes I do not know which is worse or worth the most.

Nothing would please me more than to vote with the gentleman from Minnesota and others who have spoken in favor of this amendment. But again, as I said a moment ago, in regard to the amendment to the wheat section, this is a provision that was fought long and hard in our subcommittee—and it prevailed there, incidentally—and it was heard in great detail before the whole committee.

This concept, this provision, was turned down there, and it is the responsibility, I think, of those of us who feel that we must have a farm bill to maintain the whole farm picture rather than to succumb to the temptation of voting for some of these very attractive amendments at this time. This bill does, for the first time in recent years, not follow the concept of parity. This is a very important factor to the farmer. It is just as important to those of us who feel that we understand that, but inserting 77 percent of parity in this bill at this time would make the other sections be less in balance than they are, and regretfully I feel that all of us who want a farm bill for all America should vote against this amendment.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to my colleague from Texas.

Mr. KAZEN. I could not follow the gentleman's reasoning in saying that we would not have a farm bill if this amendment were adopted.

Mr. PURCELL. I can assure the gentleman that we will not have one whether he follows my reasoning or not if this amendment is adopted.

Mr. KAZEN. Will you explain that to me? I cannot understand why we would not have a bill.

Mr. PURCELL. As I explained a moment ago, the Bureau of the Budget has disapproved this concept, the Secretary of Agriculture has disapproved this concept, the House Committee on Agriculture has disapproved this concept, and I can assure the gentleman that some very significant support would go away from this bill if that concept were accepted. I am sorry to have to say that.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. The gentleman has said that often with honor come unpleasant moments. Oftentimes also positions, honor, courage, and statesmanship go unnoticed. I would just like to point out that the gentleman in the well, Mr. PURCELL, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains, is taking a position of great statesmanship and courage. As the ranking minority member of his subcommittee, I know full well that he and the others of us on that subcommittee worked long and hard to incorporate provisions into the wheat and feed titles that today we must vote against in the interest of passing a farm program. I would like to thank the gentleman for showing this type of leadership, and I deeply appreciate it.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield briefly to my very good friend, the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say to my fine chairman of the Feed Grains and Livestock Subcommittee, with whom we have worked so long, I think the gentleman has made a fine argument for this amendment.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I would say the gentleman has made a good argument for this amendment, but if he had made that 2 or 3 weeks ago in the committee, there would not be a bill on the floor today. I think the gentleman in the well gave up more things that he wanted than almost any member of the committee. He did that in order to get out the bill.

We do that to get out a bill, to get agreement. We all have to give up some things to get it to the floor. When we get to the floor and start as individuals to try to get back those things we wanted, which if we had gotten them in the committee would have resulted in no bill, I do not think that is quite playing fair with the rest of the committee. But I congratulate the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman in the well, for his fairness and his steadfastness in supporting this bill, which we all agree to.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that this amendment be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. ZWACH.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE VI—COTTON

SEC. 601. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended effective beginning with the 1971 crop of upland cotton as follows:

(1) Sections 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, and 377 of the Act shall not be applicable to upland cotton of the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops.

(2) A new section 342a is added to read as follows:

"NATIONAL COTTON PRODUCTION GOAL

"SEC. 342a. The Secretary shall, not later than November 15, of the calendar years 1970, 1971, and 1972, proclaim a national cotton production goal for the 1971 and subsequent crops of upland cotton. The national cotton production goal for any year shall be the number of bales of upland cotton (standard bales of four hundred and eighty pounds net weight) equal to the estimated domestic consumption and estimated exports for the marketing year beginning in the calendar year for which such national cotton production goal is proclaimed, plus an allowance of not less than 5 per centum of such estimated consumption and estimated exports for market expansion except that the Secretary shall make such adjustments in the amount of such production goal as he determines necessary after taking into consideration the estimated stocks of upland cotton in the United States (including the qualities of such stocks) and stocks in foreign countries, which would be available for the marketing year, to assure the maintenance of adequate but not excessive carryover stocks in the United States (not less than 50 per centum of the average offtake for the three preceding marketing years) to provide a continuous and stable supply of the different qualities of upland cotton needed in the United States and in foreign cotton consuming countries and, in addition, to provide an adequate reserve for purposes of national security."

(3) Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops, section 344a is amended as follows:

(1) subsection (a) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall (1) permit the owner and operator of any farm for which a farm base acreage allotment is established to sell or lease all or any part or the right to all or any part of such allotment to any other owner or operator of a farm for transfer to such farm; and (2) permit the owner of a farm to transfer all or any part of such allotment to any other farm owned or controlled by him: *Provided*, That any temporary transfer of farm acreage allotment by lease or by owner approved by the county committee to take effect during the period 1966 through 1970 for a term extending beyond 1970 shall be approved pro rata on the basis of the farm base acreage allotment for the farm from which the transfer is made, but no temporary transfer by lease entered into after March 15, 1970, shall be approved for 1974 and subsequent crops."

(2) subdivisions (ii), (iv), (v), and (vi) of subsection (b), the last sentence of subsection (b) and subsections (e) and (h) shall not be applicable to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops: *Provided*, That no farm allotment may be sold or leased for transfer to a farm in another county unless the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, for the county from which such transfers are being made (1) finds that a demand for such acreage allotments no longer exists in such county and (2) approves any transfers of allotments to farms outside such county.

(4) Section 350 of the Act is amended to read as follows:

"BASE ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

"SEC. 350. (a) The Secretary shall establish for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of upland cotton a national base acreage allotment. Such national base acreage allotment shall be announced not later than November 15 of the calendar year preceding the year for which the national base acreage allotment is to be effective. The national base acreage allotment for any crop of cotton shall be the number of acres which the Secretary determines on the basic of the expected national yield will produce an amount of cotton equal to the estimated domestic consumption of cotton (standard bales of four hundred and eighty pounds net weight) for the marketing year beginning in the year in which the crop is to be produced, plus not to exceed 25 per centum thereof if the Secretary, taking into consideration other actions he may take under the Agricultural Act of 1970, determines that such additional amount is necessary to provide for a production which will equal the national cotton production goal, except that such national base acreage allotment shall be eleven million five hundred thousand acres for the 1971 crop and in the case of the 1972 and 1973 crops shall be in such amount as the Secretary determines necessary to maintain adequate supplies.

"(b) The national base acreage allotment for each crop of upland cotton shall be apportioned by the Secretary to the States on the basis of the acreage planted (including acreage regarded as having been planted) to upland cotton within the farm acreage allotment or the farm base acreage allotment, whichever is in effect, during the five calendar years immediately preceding the calendar year in which the national cotton production goal is proclaimed, with adjustments for abnormal weather conditions or other natural disaster during such period.

"(c) The State base acreage allotment for each crop of upland cotton shall be apportioned to counties on the same basis as to years and conditions as is applicable to the State under subsection (b): *Provided*, That the State committee may reserve not to exceed 2 per centum of its State acreage allotment which shall be used to make adjustments in county allotments for trends in acreage, for counties adversely affected by abnormal conditions affecting plantings, or for small or new farms, or to correct inequities in farm allotments and to prevent hardships.

"(d) The Secretary shall adjust the apportionment base for each county as may be necessary because of transfers of allotments across county lines.

"(e)(1) The county base acreage allotment for the 1971 crop shall be apportioned to old cotton farms in the county on the basis of the domestic acreage allotment established for the farm for the 1970 crop. For the 1972 and each subsequent crop of upland cotton the county base acreage allotment shall be apportioned to old cotton farms in the county on the basis of the farm base acreage allotment established for such farm for the preceding year. The county committee may reserve not in excess of 10 per centum of the county allotment which, in addition to the acreage made available under the proviso in subsection (c), shall be used for (A) establishing allotments for farms on which cotton was not planted (or regarded as planted) during any of the three calendar years immediately preceding the year for which the allotment is made, on the basis of land, labor, and equipment available for the production of cotton, crop-rotation practices, and the soil and other physical facilities affecting the production of cotton; and (B) making adjustments of the farm allotments established under this paragraph so as to establish allotments which are fair and reasonable in relation to the factors set forth in this paragraph and abnormal conditions of production on such farms, or in making adjustments in farm allotments to correct inequities and to prevent hardships. No part of such reserve shall be apportioned to a farm to reflect new cropland brought into production after the date of enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1970.

"(2) If for any crop the total acreage of cotton planted on a farm is less than the farm base acreage allotment, the farm base acreage allotment used as a base for the succeeding crop shall be reduced by the percentage by which such planted acreage was less than such farm base acreage allotment, but such reduction shall not exceed 20 per centum of the farm base acreage allotment for the preceding crop. If not less than 90 per centum of the base acreage allotment for the farm is planted to cotton, the farm shall be considered to have an acreage planted to cotton equal to 100 per centum of such allotment. For purposes of this paragraph, an acreage on the farm which the Secretary determines was not planted to cotton because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or a condition beyond the control of the producer shall be considered to be an acreage planted to cotton: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this paragraph, the Secretary shall, in the event producers of wheat or feed grain are per-

mitted to do so, permit producers of cotton to have acreage devoted to soybeans, wheat, or feed grain considered as devoted to the production of cotton to such extent and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary determines will not impair the effective operation of the cotton or soybean program.

"(3) If no acreage is planted to cotton for any three consecutive crop years on any farm which had a farm base acreage allotment for such years, such farm shall lose its base acreage allotment.

"(f) Effective for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops, any part of any farm base acreage allotment on which upland cotton will not be planted and which is voluntarily surrendered to the county committee shall be deducted from the farm base acreage allotment for such farm and may be reapportioned by the county committee to other farms in the same county receiving farm base acreage allotments in amounts determined by the county committee to be fair and reasonable on the basis of past acreage of upland cotton, land, labor, equipment available for the production of upland cotton, crop rotation practices, and soil and other physical facilities affecting the production of upland cotton. If all of the acreage voluntarily surrendered is not needed in the county, the county committee may surrender the excess acreage to the State committee to be used to make adjustments in farm base acreage allotments for other farms in the State adversely affected by abnormal conditions affecting plantings or to correct inequities or to prevent hardship. Any farm base acreage allotment released under this provision shall be regarded for the purpose of establishing future farm base acreage allotments as having been planted on the farm and in the county where the release was made rather than on the farm and in the county to which the allotment was transferred: *Provided*, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, any part of any farm base acreage allotment for any crop year may be permanently released in writing to the county committee by the owner and operator of the farm and reapportioned as provided herein. Acreage released under this subsection shall be credited to the State in determining future allotments.

"(g) Any farm receiving any base acreage allotment through release and reapportionment or sale, lease, or transfer shall, as a condition to the right to receive such allotment, comply with the set-aside requirements of section 103(e) (4) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, applicable to such acreage as determined by the Secretary.

"(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, if the Secretary determines for any year that because of drought, flood, other natural disaster, or a condition beyond the control of the producer a portion of the farm base acreage allotment in a county cannot be timely planted or replanted in such a year, he may authorize for such year the transfer of all or a part of such cotton acreage for any farm in the county so affected to another farm in the county or in an adjoining county on which one or more of the producers on the farm from which the transfer is to be made will be engaged in the production of upland cotton and will share in the proceeds thereof, in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe. Any farm base acreage allotment transferred under this subsection shall be regarded as planted to upland cotton on the farm and in the county and State from which transfer is made for purposes of establishing future farm, county and State allotments."

SEC. 602. Effective beginning with the 1971 crop of upland cotton, section 103 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection (e) reading as follows:

"(e)(1) The Secretary shall make available for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of upland cotton to cooperators loans at such levels as will reflect for Middling one-inch upland cotton (micronaire 3.5 through 4.9) at average location in the United States 90 per centum of the estimated average world price for such cotton. The loan level for any crop of upland cotton shall be determined and announced not later than November 15 of the calendar year preceding the marketing year for such crop.

"(2) In addition, the Secretary shall make available to cooperators payments on the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of upland cotton. The payments shall be at such rate per pound as, together with the national average market price for Middling one-inch cotton, micronaire 3.5 through 4.9, in the designated spot markets during the first five months of the marketing year for the crop, the Secretary determines will be equal to 35 cents, except that the rate of payment so determined for the 1972 crop and the 1973 crop, respectively, shall be adjusted by multiplying the amount thereof by the ratio of (i) the estimated production on the national base acreage allotment for the 1971 crop at the time the payment rate for the 1971 crop was announced to (ii) the estimated production on the national base acreage allotment for the crop for which the rate is being determined. The Secretary shall make a preliminary payment to producers, as soon as practicable after July 1 of the year in which the crop is harvested, at a rate equal to 15 cents per pound, and the payment so made shall not be reduced if the rate as finally determined is less than the rate of the preliminary payment.

"(3) Such payments shall be made available for a farm on the quantity of upland cotton determined by multiplying the acreage planted within the farm base acreage allotment for the farm for the crop by the average yield of the acreage planted to upland cotton during the three preceding years adjusted by the Secretary for abnormal yield in any year caused by drought, flood, or other natural disaster: *Provided*, That payments shall be made on any farm planting not less than 90 per centum of the farm base acreage allotment on the basis of the entire amount of such allotment. For purposes of this paragraph, an acreage on the farm which the Secretary dtermines was not planted to cotton because of drought, flood, other natural disaster, or a condition beyond the control of the producer shall be considered to be an acreage planted to cotton.

"(4) The Secretary shall provide for a set-aside of cropland if he determines that the total supply of agricultural commodities will, in the absence of such a set-aside, likely be excessive taking into account the need for an adequate carryover to maintain reasonable and stable supplies and prices and to meet a national emergency. If a set-aside of cropland is in effect under this paragraph (4), then as a condition of eligibility for loans and payments on upland cotton the producers on a farm must set aside and devote to approved conservation uses an acreage of cropland equal to (i) such percentage of the farm base acreage allotment for the farm as may be specified by the Secretary (not to exceed 33⅓ per centum of the farm base acreage allotment), plus (ii) the acreage of cropland on the farm devoted in preceding years to soil conserving uses, as determined by the Secretary. The Secretary may permit cotton or other commodities to be planted on the set-aside acreage to such extent and subject to such terms and conditions as he may prescribe.

"(5) The upland cotton program formulated under this section shall require the producer to take such measures as the Secretary may deem appropriate to protect the set-aside acreage from erosion, insects, weeds, and rodents. Such acreage may be devoted to wildlife food plots or wildlife habitat in conformity with standards established by the Secretary in consultation with wildlife agencies. The Secretary may provide for an additional payment on such acreage in an amount determined by the Secretary to be appropriate in relation to the benefit to the general public if the producer agrees to permit, without other compensation, access to all or such portion of the farm as the Secretary may prescribe by the general public, for hunting, trapping, fishing, and hiking, subject to applicable State and Federal regulations.

"(6) If the operator of the farm desires to participate in the program formulated under this section, he shall file his agreement to do so no later than such date as the Secretary may prescribe. Loans and purchases on upland cotton and payments under this section shall be made available to the producers on such farm only if producers set aside and devote to approved soil conserving uses an acreage on the farm equal to the number of acres which the operator agrees to set aside and devote to approved soil conserving uses, and the agreement shall so provide. The Secretary may, by mutual agreement with the producer, terminate, or modify any such agreement entered into pursuant to this subsection (e)(6) if he determines such action necessary because of an emergency created by drought or other disaster, or in order to alleviate a shortage in the supply of agricultural commodities.

"(7) The Secretary shall provide adequate safeguards to protect the interests of tenants and sharecroppers, including provision for sharing on a fair and equitable basis, in payments under this section.

"(8) In any case in which the failure of a producer to comply fully with the terms and conditions of the program formulated under this section precludes the making of loans, purchases, and payments, the Secretary may, nevertheless, make such loans, purchases, and payments in such amounts as he determines to be equitable in relation to the seriousness of the default.

"(9) The Secretary is authorized to issue such regulations as he determines necessary to carry out the provisions of this Title.

"(10) The Secretary shall carry out the program authorized by this section through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

"(11) The provisions of subsection 8(g) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended (relating to assignment of payments), shall apply to payments under this subsection."

SEC. 303. Effective only with respect to the period beginning August 1, 1971, and ending July 31, 1974, the tenth sentence of section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by deleting all of that sentence from the beginning to and including the words "110 per centum of the loan rate, and (2)" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, (1) the Commodity Credit Corporation shall sell upland cotton for unrestricted use at the same prices as it sells cotton for export, in no event, however, at less than 110 per centum of the loan rate for Middling one-inch cotton, micronaire 3.5 through 4.9, adjusted for such current market differentials reflecting grade, quality, location, and other value factors as the Secretary determines appropriate plus reasonable carrying charges and (2)".

SEC. 604. Section 408(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by inserting a colon in lieu of the period at the end of the first sentence and adding the following: "*And provided*, That for the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of upland cotton a cooperator shall be a producer on a farm on which a farm base acreage allotment has been established who has set aside the acreage required under section 103(e)."

SEC. 605. Effective only with respect to the

1971, 1972, and 1973 crops the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(1) By adding in section 378 a new subsection (d) to read as follows:

"(d) The term 'allotment' as used in this section includes the farm base acreage allotment for upland cotton."

(2) By adding at the end of section 379 the following sentence: "The term 'acreage allotments' as used in this section includes the farm base acreage allotments for upland cotton."

(3) By adding in the first sentence of section 385 after the words "parity payment," the words "payments under the cotton set-aside programs,".

SEC. 606. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops, section 706, Public Law 89–321 (79 Stat. 1210) is amended as follows:

(1) By adding in the first sentence after the words "the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended." the words "or the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended,"; and

(2) By adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "The term 'acreage allotments' as used in this section includes the farm base acreage allotments for upland cotton."

SEC. 607. Effective only with respect to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops of the commodity, the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is further amended by adding in section 408 a new subsection (k) as follows:

"REFERENCE TO TERMS MADE APPLICABLE TO UPLAND COTTON

"(k) References made in sections 402, 403, 406, and 416 to the terms 'support price,' 'level of support,' and 'level of price support' shall be considered to apply as well to the level of loans and purchases for upland cotton under this Act; and references made to the terms 'price support,' 'price support operations,' and 'price support program' in such sections and in section 401(a) shall be considered as applying as well to the loan and purchase operations for upland cotton under this Act."

SEC. 608. Section 203 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, shall not be applicable to the 1971, 1972, and 1973 crops.

SEC. 609. The Secretary shall file annually with the President for transmission to the Congress a complete report of the programs carried out under this title. Such report shall include the amount of funds spent, the purposes for which such funds were spent, the basis for participation in such programs in the various States, and an appraisal of the effectiveness of the programs.

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that this title be considered as read and printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE VII—EXTENSION OF TITLES I AND II OF PUBLIC LAW 480

SEC 701. Section 409 of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (Public Law 83–480; 7 U.S.C. 1736c), is amended by striking the words "December 31, 1970." and inserting in lieu thereof the words "December 31, 1973.".

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, many of my colleagues have asked me where do we go from here with respect to the $20,000 payment limitation? I would like to say a few words on what happened here today and where we go from here. We may have lost a skirmish but not the main battle.

I, for one, am going to vote against the entire farm bill.

The battle is still not lost. We still have the agricultural appropriation bill which is in the Appropriations Committee. It will have to come to the floor of this House, and it has in it an amendment limiting farm subsidies to $20,000, passed by the Senate. At that time, if I am recognized, I am going to move that the conferees be instructed to accept the Senate amendment.

Second, we have this bill. If it passes and goes to the Senate, it is possible the Senate will not accept the $55,000 limitation and will cut it down to $20,000, in which case again when the bill comes back here, we will have an opportunity to make a motion to instruct the conferees.

One of the things that was proven beyond any reasonable doubt here today was the strong argument we had last week for the recording of teller votes. How could 70 or 80 or 90 votes for a $20,000 limitation per farm disappear over a year's span, or even a 2-year span, when this House twice, on record votes, voted a much tougher limitation than the one we had today. The one we had today was $20,000 per crop and not $20,000 per farm. If anything came out of this debate today, it was a need for change in the rules for teller votes. Teller votes must be recorded, so as to prevent all types of ball games as we witnessed today. I am sorry that some of the strongest advocates of this rule change, did not see fit to come here today for the teller vote on my amendment.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the Chairman a question. It is my understanding that, based on current prices for cotton, the loan rate under this bill would be set at 18.7 cents for the 1971 and 1972 and 1973 crops.

Mr. POAGE. Yes, I believe that is correct. I believe there was a discussion of various other levels.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. I thank the Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I will not take 5 minutes, Mr. Chairman, but I want to clear up a little bit of a mystery in the mind of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) about how his votes disappeared. I voted for the $20,000 limitation last year, and I voted against it this year, because Mr. CONTE made just one too many speeches and convinced me I had been in error in voting with him the first time.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture, I rise in support of H.R. 18546, generally referred to as the farm bill. This connotation, of course, carries a certain amount of truth. But, I call to the attention of the Members of the House that the subject encompasses far more than farm legislation. For emphasis, permit me to remind the Members of the House that agriculture is the single, largest customer of industry in our entire economy. I remind you that statistics show a rapidly declining farm population. This has been brought about by economic factors which prove that the average or small farmer is no longer receiving a fair return on his investment of time, money and labor.

H.R. 18546 does not include certain features which I think would have been most desirable for an ideal farm bill, that is, the concept of parity and further, a floor under parity supports. But, I have come to the conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that in the precarious position that the American farmer is in today, the bill before us is far better than no bill at all. Therefore, it is my intention to support it in the hopes that it will eventually replace present farm legislation which expires December 31 of this year.

To my urban friends who are Members of this body, I ask you to think carefully regarding the need for farm legislation. To those concerned with the problems of the ghettos, I reminded you that many of these problems have been created by a mass migration from the farms of the South and Midwest to the crowded areas of your cities. To those of you who are duly concerned with the plight of the poor and believe that the food stamp program is rendering a great assistance to this underprivileged group, please consider that if American agricultural production sinks to a level where we would find ourselves with an acute shortage of food, then obviously, food stamps would become worthless.

So, I ask you for these and other considerations, to join with those of us concerned with American farm problems in passing and sending on to the Senate, H.R. 18546.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE VIII—GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

LONG-TERM LAND RETIREMENT

SEC. 801. Section 16(e) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, is amended—

(1) By inserting "(A)" after "Sec. 16(e)(1)".

(2) By inserting in the first sentence after "For the purpose of promoting the conservation and economic use of land" the following: ", and of assisting farmers who because of advanced age, poor health, or other reasons, desire to retire from farming but wish to continue living on their farms,".

(3) By inserting in the first sentence after "is authorized to enter into agreements," the following: "during the calendar years 1971, 1972, and 1973,".

(4) By striking out the proviso at the end of paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: *"Provided,* That any agreements entered into under this section after July 1, 1970, shall prohibit grazing of such acreage."

(5) By inserting a new subparagraph (B) at the end of paragraph (1) to read as follows:

"(B) Such acreage may be devoted to approved wildlife food plots or fish and wildlife habitat which are established in conformity

with standards developed by the Secretary in consultation with the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary may compensate producers for such practices. The Secretary may also provide for payment in an amount determined by the Secretary to be appropriate in relation to the benefit to the general public if the producer agrees to permit access, without other compensation, to all or such portion of the farm as the Secretary may prescribe by the general public, for hunting, trapping, fishing, and hiking, subject to applicable State and Federal regulations. The Secretary and the Secretary of the Interior shall jointly appoint an Advisory Board consisting of citizens knowledgeable in the fields of agriculture and wildlife with whom they may consult on this program, and the Secretary may compensate members of the Board and reimburse them for per diem and traveling expenses. The Secretary shall invite the several States to participate in the program by assisting the Department of Agriculture (a) to provide technical assistance for wildlife and habitat improvement practices, (b) to review applications of farmers for the public land use option and select eligible areas based on desirability of wildlife habitat, (c) to determine accessibility, (d) to evaluate effects on surrounding areas, (e) to consider esthetic values, (f) to check compliance by cooperators, and (g) to carry out programs of wildlife stocking and management on the acreage set aside. The Secretary and the Secretary of the Interior shall jointly issue regulations to govern the administration of those aspects of this subparagraph (B) that pertain to wildlife. Funds are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior for use in assisting the State wildlife agencies to carry out the provisions of this subparagraph and in administering such assistance."

(6) By adding at the end of paragraph (2) the following: "The foregoing provision shall not prevent a producer from placing a farm in the program if the farm was acquired by the producer to replace an eligible farm from which he was displaced because of its acquisition by any Federal, State, or other agency having the right of eminent domain."

(7) By adding at the end of paragraph (4) the following: "Any agreement may be terminated by mutual agreement with the producer if the Secretary determines that such termination would be in the public interest."

(8) By adding at the end of paragraph (5) the following: "The Secretary may if he determines that such action will contribute to the effective and equitable administration of the program use an advertising-and-bid procedure in determining the lands in any area to be covered by agreements."

(9) By adding a new paragraph (6) to read as follows:

"(6) For the purpose of obtaining an increase in the permanent retirement of cropland to noncrop uses the Secretary may, notwithstanding any other provision of law, transfer funds available for carrying out the program to any other Federal agency or to States or local government agencies for use in rural areas in acquiring cropland for the preservation of open spaces, natural beauty, the development of wildlife or recreational facilities, or the prevention of air or water pollution under terms and conditions consistent with and at costs not greater than those under agreements entered into with producers, provided the Secretary determines that the purpose of the program will be accomplished by such action. The Secretary also is authorized to share the cost with State and local governmental agencies in the establishment of practices or uses which will establish, protect, and conserve open spaces, natural beauty, wildlife or recreational resources, or prevent air or water pollution under terms and conditions and at costs consistent with those under agreements entered into with producers, provided the Secretary determines that the purposes of the program will be accomplished by such action. The term 'rural areas', for the purpose of this subsection, shall not include any area for use by any city or town which has a population in excess of 5,500 inhabitants. No appropriation shall be made for any agreement under this paragraph (6) involving an estimated total Federal payment in excess of $250,000 unless such agreement has been approved by resolution adopted by the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate."

(10) By striking out the last sentence of paragraph (7) and substituting the following: "In carrying out the program, the Secretary shall not during any of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1971, through June 30, 1973, or during the period June 30, 1973, to December 31, 1973, (A) enter into agreement with producers which would require payments to producers in any calendar year under such agreements in excess of $10,000,000 plus any amount by which agreements entered into in prior fiscal years require payments in amounts less than authorized for such years, or (B) enter into agreements with States or local agencies under paragraph (6) which would require payments to such State or local government agencies in any calendar year under such agreements in excess of $10,000,000 plus any amount by which agreements entered into in prior fiscal years require payments in amounts less than authorized for such years. For purposes of applying the foregoing limitations, the annual payment shall be chargeable to the year in which performance is rendered regardless of the year in which it is made."

MARKETING QUOTA EXEMPTION FOR BOILED PEANUTS

SEC. 802. The last paragraph of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the peanut marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and for other purposes", approved August 13, 1957 (7 U.S.C. 1359 note), is amended to read as follows: "This amendment shall be effective for the 1957 through 1973 crops of peanuts."

VOLUNTARY RELINQUISHMENT OF ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 803. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary may provide for the reduction or cancellation of any allotment or base when the owner of the farm states in writing that he has no further use of such allotment or base.

INDEMNIFICATION FOR BEEKEEPERS

SEC. 804. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make indemnity payments to beekeepers who through no fault of their own have suffered losses of honey bees after January 1, 1967, as a result of utilization of economic poisons near or adjacent to the property on which the beehives of such beekeepers were located.

(b) The amount of the indemnity payment in the case of any beekeeper shall be determined on the basis of the net loss sustained by such beekeeper as a result of the loss of his honey bees.

(c) Indemnity payments shall be made only in cases in which the loss occurred as a result of the use of economic poisons which had been registered and approved for use by the Federal Government.

(d) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(e) The Secretary is authorized to issue such regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

(f) The provisions of this section shall not be in effect after December 31, 1973.

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that this title be considered, read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SCHERLE

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SCHERLE: On page 52, line 3, strike out the word "1973" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "1973, in order to achieve a goal of 10 million acres each year,".

On page 55, line 22, and page 56, line 3, strike out the figure "$10,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "such amounts as the Congress may provide annually in appropriations acts,".

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman and Members of the House, as a working livestock and grain farmer, I have an understanding of agriculture. For a long time it has been my conclusion that if we could offer the farmers of this country a dual approach to a farm program perhaps we might be much closer to a solution of the present farm problem.

The two approaches would actually give the farmer opportunities to participate in either a retirement or feed grain program.

As provided under the law at this time, we have what is known, under the feed grains section, as a set-aside program. My proposal would include a long-range retirement of acres. This in essence would cut down on production and alleviate some of the problems caused by our crop surpluses.

This is similar to what we now have under the set-aside program and as this bill implies, would help us to reduce the cost to the farmer himself, because he would participate just about the same as he is now. He will retain his machinery. He will buy his fertilizer. His cost will remain the same because he will still be in a position of operating his own farm. He will contribute not to a surplus but to a reduction, because by receiving his payments through a farm program he will not produce as much as if he were turned loose.

Last but not least, he would still be an asset to the community in which he lives, because he will not retire his entire farm, but just a portion as he did under the feed grain program.

I would also support a return to the concept of the advance feed payments. The elimination of it this year caused many hardships to both the farmer and the other members of the agribusiness community.

The other approach I have in mind is one talked about for many years, a long-range retirement system of taking out additional acreage. Various farm organizations have talked about $40 million or $50 million or $60 million. Under the present bill now offered to us in the House, there is a simple pilot program of acreage retirement of $10 million.

Well, gentlemen, a pilot program of this nature involving $10 million would not take any more than 500 acres out of production at this time. It is infinitesimal and would not serve any purpose at all.

The average farmer today in the United States is about 55 years of age.

Young people face great obstacles in getting into the farming trade. High interest rates, huge operating expenses, and the difficulty in obtaining labor are just some of the barriers facing the agricultural producer.

In establishing a long-range retirement a farmer and his family can reside and retire on that farm. They would not have to move into the city, thus adding to the urban problems existing today. Furthermore, the farmer's opportunities there are limited. His skills are not as marketable. This man is entitled to his birthright, and should be allowed to stay on the farm. If we have a farm program as here envisioned, he would be allowed to retire on the farm. This system would be based primarily on age.

In addition, if your mail runs about the same as mine, you know that we find many farmers today whose sons, because of the pressure of service, have to leave the farm and serve in the military. That would be my second priority with regard to land retirement. Surely the local county ASC committees can work it out. A simple system such as we have with regard to these two programs, the feed grain program and set-aside program, will help take care of this. The farmers would have an opportunity to decide for themselves what they want. We will cut down on the surplus in the marketplace. They can retire on their own farms and they will not be a burden on the cities.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think by giving the farmers this kind of an opportunity this will be the first phase of a new approach to the entire problem. Under the old cropland adjustment program, which expires this year, many people would make application for this.

All of this land would not go out of one community and thus cause a problem as far as the merchants in that area are concerned. This would also fall under the jurisdiction of the local ASC committees. Here for the first time we would have an approach to taking 10 million acres out with a new system. This comes in addition to the present feed grain program and the farmers have an opportunity here that they never had before to choose which approach they want.

Mr. Chairman, during the current fiscal year final payments will be made on the last conservation contracts. Cost of the program was $2.6 billion.

While that $2.6 billion over a period of 15 years represents only about two-thirds of the annual cost of current commodity payments programs, it is a sizable expenditure of funds. Taxpayers have a right to know whether the results justify the expenditures.

Probably one of the best summaries of the results of the conservation reserve can be found in the hearings of Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture for fiscal 1970. On March 28, 1969, Carroll G. Brunthaver, acting ASCS Administrator, inserted into the RECORD the following:

> On the basis of a field survey early in 1966 on the use of land on which conservation reserve program contracts had expired at the end of 1963 and 1964, it has been estimated that about one-half of the former conservation reserve acreage has remained in protective cover (grass, legumes, trees, or water storage areas.) Therefore, it is estimated that about 14 million acres of permanent land use adjustment (to conserving uses) has been accomplished. Of the latter, about 2.1 million acres were planted to trees and about .3 million acres were covered to wildlife habitat and water storage.

This means that, while it cost some $2.6 billion over 15 years to retire up to 28.6 million acres of cropland for varying periods of time, 14 million acres of land which might otherwise be in crop production are in soil building or soil and water conserving uses—even after the program is over and no more payments are to be made.

Present authority for CAP expires at the end of 1970. The so-called Hardin consensus bill includes only a small authorization for CAP. In working on a new farm bill, the House Agriculture Committee has tentatively agreed to cut back the authorization for CAP from $225,000,000 to only $20 million.

There is no evidence to support the statement that an expanded CAP would create "ghost towns." In fact, there is evidence to the contrary. Between 1955 and 1960, the big soil bank years, the farm population declined 13 percent. Under annual diversion and income support payments farm population declined 17.1 percent between 1960 and 1965. Between 1965 and 1970 it declined 16.7 percent.

Whole-farm retirement would reverse the current trend toward a decline in rural population. Under current programs an undercapitalized, older, or physically impaired farmer finds himself in a position of having to sell his farm—usually to a neighbor who uses the farm to expand his operation. Generally this means that the farmer selling out not only leaves his farm home but many times has to leave the community entirely to find occupational alternatives. Under CAP a farm family could retire their land and remain in their farm home. With the annual retirement payments they receive each year for the life of the contract as a base of income, they would be far less apt to be forced to leave their community. While they would not be customers for machinery and supplies as before, they would remain customers of the soft goods and service industries of the community and would continue to support local institutions such as schools, churches, and recreational facilities. In essence, a land-retirement family in a community of the future, is much better than no family at all.

In the past, quite understandably, urban Congressmen have been reluctant to vote for programs that seemingly "pay farmers to do nothing." But with a growing awareness of the importance CAP can play in fighting pollution, conserving natural resources, and maintaining open spaces—and especially when CAP can serve as an alternative to huge compensatory payments under present commodity programs—this attitude can and is being changed. Passage of adequate funds for the CAP program should be properly considered as an investment in the future of this country.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it was not my intention to say very much throughout the consideration of this bill. The provisions in the law we are considering and that the gentleman from Iowa is speaking of involves a pilot project which again was worked out in great detail so as to have it limited. Up to 10 million acres taken out would be going back to the old soil bank days. This would bring about the danger of grazing on subsidized land and bring cattle production into an off-balance situation. Again, this goes past the provisions that have been thoroughly thought out by the committee. It will provide areas of wild weeds, and jackrabbits would have a field day on unkept land, and we would have 10 million acres of land with rodents running around infesting that land and other areas adjacent to it. In my mind and in the minds of many of us who have given a great deal of study to this, this is the best way to give the final death knell to many agricultural communities.

I understand what the gentleman said, namely, that it would take out old farmers and let people have a place to live. Some of these people have their children going off to the military for service, which is true. The fact remains that you take purchasing power away from rural agricultural America. This is the most devastating thing that can be done to the rural areas.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentleman mentioned in his statement that the fields would grow up to weeds, and that the rodents would be running around. That is illegal under the present system now. All these acres under diverted acres cannot be grazed, they are diverted acres, they must be mowed, the weeds have to be kept down, so I do not think the statement the gentleman made is necessarily correct.

Mr. PURCELL. It is against the regulations to let the soil bank acreage grow up to Johnson grass and cockleburs, but the facts are they are growing up to Johnson grass and cockleburs, and that is the area where rodents are developing.

So I cannot help what the regulations are—they are not being enforced now, and I do not believe they would be in the future.

Mr. SCHERLE. If the gentleman will yield further, I think that is a policy that should be enforced at the county ASC level, and in our county in my State they can be assessed a fine for doing that, and that is not the habit insofar as the State of Iowa is concerned. Those lands are kept in good shape. If they are not in Texas, then it is the fault of the local system.

Mr. PURCELL. I might say to the gentleman from Iowa that maybe we in Texas grow better Johnson grass and cockleburs than they do in Iowa. But I have found this to be very devastating, and I would emphasize also the effect that this approach has to the rural communities, to the towns it takes out, and of families being removed from the area.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman in the well because I think the gentleman has explained the details that we went into in our subcommittee on this question.

I just want to be identified in opposition to the amendment.

Again I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, with or without limitations on support payments American agriculture is in trouble. We in Congress should be very cautious how we rock the boat in these stormy seas.

Before making the tough decisions posed by this bill we ought to take a long, hard, unemotional look about where we are going and what these decisions mean. When we talk about agricultural policies and payment limitations we tend to think in terms of dollars or theories or laws. These things are important but we also ought to be thinking in terms of farms and people and the economies of our States and regions. In this spirit I want to talk a little today about a place most of my colleagues have never heard of.

It is called Pinal County, located on the fertile desert plain between Phoenix and Tucson. It is populated by 65,000 fine people whom I have the honor to represent.

Among the seven counties in Arizona which produce cotton, Pinal would be hit hardest by a $20,000 payment limitation. Of the State's 210,913 acres of upland allotment, Pinal has 82,021. The $20,000 limitation would drop this to 47,468 acres.

In Pinal in 1969, of the county's 433 farmers, 228—52 percent of the total—drew checks of more than $20,000. With the amendment, therefore, we are aiming a gun directly at more than half the farmers in this one Arizona county. In that same year there were 79 farmers who drew more than $55,000 and are, therefore, threatened by the bill as it currently stands.

As we debate here today, then let us remember that we are talking about farmers whose investments and careers may very possibly be wiped out. And if you wipe them out you are going to deal heavy blows to towns like Casa Grande, Coolidge and Eloy whose economies are largely farm-based.

Of all the personal income in Pinal County, 86 percent comes from labor. And of this labor income you can attribute more than 25 percent to agriculture. We are today threatening to drastically reduce this heavy labor dependency on agriculture and perhaps send more people packing for Pheonix, Tucson, and other metropolitan centers.

Even without payment limitations the cost-price squeeze has seen some 25 percent of the county's farmers go out of business between 1964 and 1970. Meanwhile, those left are trying to diversify away from one crop agriculture. They need time to do this. We are going to cut many farmers, incomes in this Congress. We ought to think carefully before cutting below the bill's $55,000 limitation.

The prices received for products by almost every segment of our economy have gone up in the last 20 years. Only farmers receive less. While the prices they pay go up, the prices they get go down. In 1950 cotton prices were 39 cents per pound; the figure today is about 22 cents.

Before we leave Pinal County let me tell you about some of these huge farming operations. One of them last year received more than $335,000 in price support payments. The name of this farm is Ak-Chin Farms. Now before you get outraged at this Ak-Chin payment of $336,796 let me tell you just who this "farmer" is.

In the first place, it is not a "he"; it is a "they." "They" are 300 Papago Indians who were advised to pool their lands and talents and energies. They did and they put their tribal lands into Ak-Chin Farms and today it is the only industrial enterprise on the reservation. It grows cotton, grain, and cattle. It employs some 90 Indians. Thanks to Ak-Chin Farms per family income has risen to $4,200 a year which makes the Ak-Chins better off than some of their Indian brethren. The Ak-Chins own and operate this enterprise. They face the same price squeeze hitting farmers everywhere. In addition, their ground-water table keeps dropping so pumping costs rise. The last thing they need at this point is a slap by Congress.

Then there is a Gila River Farms and you might be shocked by this outrage because it received $303,898 in support payments. Is this a big fat corporation of absentee landlords? No, it is a combined operation, similar to Ak-Chin, put together by the Gila River Reservation Indians. And so it goes with the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indians with a like operation in Maricopa County and a somewhat different but equally complex arrangement on the Colorado River Reservation in Yuma County where the Indians have chosen to lease out agricultural lands to non-Indian growers who pay the tribe rent and who employ some tribal members.

Pinal agriculture is, of course, not limited to Indians. One of my old grower friends called me recently to say he is now selling insurance—life not crop. This is a man who loves to farm, who has devoted his best years to a career in farming, who farms well, and who last year received more than $100,000 in ASCS payments. He is selling insurance to make ends meet and if you knew this man and his family you would mark him as one well steeped in the old American virtue of thrift. Now he contemplates even tougher blows, a reduction in the amount of payments he can receive for his cotton.

These cotton farmers are in trouble because the cost of growing cotton is about 32 to 35 cents a pound. The market price is about 20 cents a pound which, together with the payments, brings a return of 35 cents a pound—equal to or only very slightly above the farmer's actual costs.

Let me tell you about another Pinal operation, one near Eloy. A construction worker purchased 160 acres back in 1936. Over the years he expanded his operation to a 4,500-acre farm with 15 irrigation wells. When he died in 1966 his widow continued the operation.

Writes the company's bookkeeper in a plaintive letter:

> We produce about 3,000 bales of cotton, 1,000 acres of wheat and 500 tons of barley annually. There are about 25 steady employees composed of one Negro, 12 Papago Indians, 12 of Mexican derivation and I am the 'Anglo' with the title of bookkeeper. Many of us have been employed for 20 years.
>
> Any limitation under $150,000 will put us out of business.

Let us remember we are dealing today with not just the owner of this farm but its management and its employees.

While not all of Pinal County's farmers are Indians or potential bankrupts, some of them are. And when we use a meat-ax approach to payment limitations we hurt the kind of people I am talking about just as well as we hurt the rich farmer caricature so often set forth in the press.

The gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Massachusetts who have been so closely identified with these payment limitations are both friends of mine and men I admire. I mean no criticism of them and their motives when I suggest that it is a lot easier to be indignant about big farm payments when you come from the kind of States they come from than when you represent a place like Pinal County.

Let us compare the effects of the $20,000 limitation in my State compared to Illinois and Massachusetts.

Bear in mind that cotton, in order to be produced in my State, must be grown in large units to achieve the greatest efficiency. This is true even with unlimited program payments. The high cost of water and mechanized production and chemicals needed to raise a product that sells below cost creates problems for this industry that are sometimes not understood in other areas. Agriculture in Arizona labors under handicaps not present in Illinois and other States. In Illinois, for example, agriculture is prosperous on the smaller units which are self-sustaining to a large degree. Many of the inputs do not have to be purchased from industry but are produced on the farm. A hog operation in Illinois is dependent almost wholly on the feed that can be grown on the same farm.

Let us compare the corn program with the cotton program for a minute. In corn the Government loan itself is more than the cost of producing corn. On the other hand, the loan program for cotton is a great deal below the cost of production. So the payment on corn is in a sense a clear profit. But in cotton when the payment is added to the loan the return is at best only slightly above cost.

Yet the limitation rifle shoots at the cotton farmer simply because he must be large to produce efficiently.

What happens in Illinois under a $20,000 payment limitation? The entire State's payment totals $184,659,834. A $20,000 limitation would only reduce this

by $1,422,612 or 0.75 percent. Compare this with what happens in Arizona. Out of a total payment of $44,233,878 we would lose $23,263,499. That is more than 52 percent.

The subject of payment limitations, if you come from Massachusetts, is almost academic. Its total payment last year was $86,430—note that carefully. This happens to be the same amount the State would get under the amendments proposed because the fact is there is not a single farmer in Massachusetts who would be affected in any way.

I would like to make one thing perfectly clear—if I may borrow that expression. I have been critical of farm programs for a long time. In fact, not too many years ago I wrote a piece advocating that farm programs be phased out and even had legislation drafted to do just that and to return to free agriculture over a period of several years. But if the Congress decides that our farm programs are unsound and that farm subsidies are bad, then let us go to free-market farming and be done with it. But let us not back into such a decision by refusing to face the issues and the injustices squarely. If we are to have free enterprise farming, fine, but let us not entertain halfway measures which merely penalize the big efficient farmers who do the most for the consumer, perhaps forcing them into bankruptcy, while continuing to subsidize small and inefficient operators, who make consumer prices high.

I have never really understood the philosophy behind the payment limitation sponsored by my two distinguished friends. I would really like to ask them a question and do it by way of an analogy.

When society decides that a road should be built it takes land by condemnation if necessary. Suppose it happens that on one farm the new road will go right across and take 100 acres, while on an adjacent farm the road just cuts across a corner and takes only 10 acres.

Society determines that each of the owners should be compensated for the land taken, and the first farmer can go to any court in America and get 10 times the amount paid the second farmer.

Now that same society may determine that we ought to limit agriculture production—set aside some farmland from production. My friend from Illinois says that is fine and we will compensate the farmers. However, he says the small farmers should be paid for all the land set aside. But the big farmer is paid for only some of the land he no longer uses to grow crops.

Is that fair?

The times have placed an enormous responsibility on those of us serving here today. What we do has a great effect on the future or even if there is a future, one could say.

One of our chief concerns is the realization that the Nation has a fast-growing population in a world of too-fast growing population. We hear talk of worldwide famine by 1975, of greater and greater stress between the "haves" and the "have nots" of the world and among our own people. Even in our own country, as one of the committees heard last year, "One of the most frightening processes at work in America is the increased intensity of competition for resources of all kinds. Competition for land brings out the essential features of this phenomenon."

Let us exercise some caution here today by not overreacting in such a way as to make things tougher for a lot of people big and small, rich and poor, as they try to fit themselves into a changing social and economic life.

The Indian enterprises I have mentioned, the other growers and the small agriculture-based towns of my district are racing to diversify their operations and their economies. The towns of Pinal County, for example, have established industrial parks in partnership with the Indian tribes and are working hard to attract manufacturing and service enterprises.

These fragile economies need time to strengthen so it behooves us to be mindful of new problems we may impose.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask the Members to vote against this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHERLE).

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RAILSBACK

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RAILSBACK: On page 55 in title VIII, delete subsection (10) beginning on line 15 and ending on page 56, line 9, and insert in lieu thereof the following new subsection (10):

"(10) By striking out the last two sentences of paragraph (7) and substituting the following: 'The Secretary shall not during any calendar year enter into agreements with producers hereunder covering more than six million acres of cropland plus the number of acres of cropland by which agreements entered into in calendar years 1971 and 1972 cover a smaller number of acres than authorized for such years.' There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act."

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee of the Whole, our amendment is directed at what we feel is inadequate appropriations or authority in long-term retirement programs.

I would direct the attention of my colleagues to page 58 of the committee report and to the first full paragraph thereon. I quote:

There is an urgent need to conserve and improve the natural resources of our farmland—Soil, water and woodland—and to provide more opportunities for recreation, improve wildlife habitat, and help abate pollution. There are also many farmers throughout the country who need to retire from farming but are unable to do so without assistance.

Under our amendment, up to 6 million acres per year could be subjected to long-term retirement agreements for the purpose of promoting the conservation and economic use of land and of assisting farmers who because of advanced age, poor health, or other reasons desire to retire from farming.

Under the present cropland adjustment program, local public agencies can be given Federal grants to assist in acquiring cropland for open spaces, natural beauty, wildlife or recreation facilities, and prevention of air and water pollution. This fine program, the Greenspan program, according to the table on page 59 of the committee report accounted for only 7,740 acres across the country in 1966–1967, the last year the program was active. These are acres with a purpose. We propose a reemphasis on this program.

A related program is the cropland conversion program whereby agreements are effected with producers to convert designated cropland to other income producing uses, such as grazing, recreation, wildlife, and other conservation uses.

The chart on page 58 of the committee report gives a revealing insight as to how little of the total of 59.4 million acres under diversion is due to either the Greenspan or the cropland conversion program. Less than 50,000 acres, or in other words, one one-thousandth, was under the cropland conversion program last year. We think that these two programs which have been obviously slighted, are designed not just to take land out of production, but to put it to a positive socially beneficial use, and we want to reemphasize these very desirable programs.

The USDA's original bill called for increasing the cropland conversion program budget from $10 million to a new level of $50 million per year. The Farm Bureau proposed a mandatory retirement of 10 million acres per year for 5 years and a total of 50 million acres. There is, unfortunately, no such program in the committee bill. We need land retirement to help fight pollution and to preserve nature. We need it to assist smaller farmers to give up some of their land and to be able to retire on what is left. We need it for many reasons, but the only way it is adequately treated in the committee bill is to pay farmers under the commodity programs.

Where the committee has in its own words "limited both the Greenspan and the cropland conversion programs"—see page 58 of the committee report—we seek, instead, a reasonable expansion of these programs. Our amendment would make possible the long-term adjustment of a total of 18 million acres of cropland.

Under present cropland adjustment agreements, the average per-acre cost to the Government has been about $20. This is a rather reasonable cost I am sure all would agree. If an increase to about $25 an acre could be expected, and it may be, under our amendment the maximum total cost would be $150 million, and that could provide a maximum of 8 million acres each year for retirement.

I would remind my colleagues that what we are talking about are not brand-new programs, they are existing and proven. Under the old law a ceiling of $225 million was in effect. The committee has provided only $20 million in its bill. We propose, instead, an open-ended authorization but with a limitation on the amount of acreage. These programs have been on the books and the machinery is there to operate these programs at a re-

alistic level. We are not talking about giveaway or wasteful payments; these are reasonable and needed efforts to take cropland out of production and put it to use in conservation and other ways of benefit to rural communities, not just to one businessman or farmer.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, on offering this amendment. It represents a definite improvement in the act, for several reasons. First of all, it is a way to bring about resource adjustment, preserving freedom of planting for the farmer on remaining acres.

Second, it brings about this resource adjustment at a price to the taxpayer just a fraction of what such adjustment costs in other provisions of this act.

Mr. Chairman, I compliment the gentleman and urge support for his amendment.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I want to thank my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, again I could just say what I tried to say a few moments ago in regard to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHERLE).

This is the Farm Bureau approach to retiring acreage and retiring farmers—and it will accomplish both. It will retire acres, to be sure, and retire farmers, too.

I would agree with my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY), that he and the Farm Bureau will retire these farmers about as fast as any system that has been worked out.

This is an approach that will violate the grazing balance that this country has.

This will, from a political standpoint, I can assure everyone who is concerned about it, bring into play the cattle people who are very concerned about things of this kind.

It is not in agreement with the budget. We have had an agreement on it to this point, and about the same reasons that have been stated before with regard to increasing this farm retirement concept would apply here.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I want to say to the gentleman that originally my draft of the amendment contained a provision which would strike, I think it was called, the Price amendment, which would prohibit any grazing. Upon reconsideration, I took that part out, so actually the so-called Price amendment, which relates to grazing, would still be in effect and grazing would not be permitted on those retired acres.

Mr. PURCELL. I understand that, but when you have retired acres sitting around to the extent of 6 to 10 million, it is hard to convince cattle people that they will sit there forever and grazing will not be developed on them.

Again, Mr. Chairman, it is an area that has some appeal, but this is a part of the bill that has been worked out in great detail and has the kind of balance that, if it can be held, will provide for the American farmer a program and the consumer the kind of protection that is the best we can get at this time. I ask for defeat of the amendment.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, let me first commend the distinguished chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE), and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER), for their diligent labors in producing this compromise measure. Considering the number of conflicting views, the force with which they were presented, the variegated nature of the agricultural economy, and the complexity of this legislation, it is quite miraculous that any bill was agreed upon at all. Obviously, few are entirely happy with this bill, but that is generally the fate of compromises on vital issues. I certainly would have liked to have seen a number of changes, yet I rise in support of this bill because the alternative would be, as the Secretary of Agriculture and the distinguished committee members have pointed out, a reversion to unworkable and possibly disastrous arrangements contained in the permanent law. This bill will allow us to avoid such uncertainty and ill effects, and will provide a reprieve in which a fundamental decision can be made as to what kind of farm program we are to follow in the decade ahead.

Mr. Chairman, I stress that a fundamental clarification and alteration of agricultural policy is something that cannot be delayed indefinitely. The present program has clearly not produced the results that its exponents promised; moreover, it has become so costly that there is a growing danger the entire farm program may be swept under in an emotional antisubsidy binge fueled by those who neither understand nor sympathize with the plight of the agricultural sector.

As a number of the Members correctly pointed out yesterday, commodity payments are not a form of "farmers' welfare," nor are they purely income supports measures; they are, in fact, aimed at managing the supply of commodities so that huge surpluses do not drive price levels to rockbottom, and at helping the farmer to cover his costs of production that otherwise would not be met at current low market levels.

That these elementary facts have been so completely distorted and obscured in clouds of reckless and demagogic rhetoric should be ample warning that we are going to have to cast out in a basically new direction if we are to have a farm program that is both workable and effective, and, at the same time, capable of maintaining public support and confidence.

I believe the present bill is an initial step in that direction. First, as Chairman POAGE pointed out yesterday, it moves us almost completely away from the concept of paying for not planting. The payments under the terms of this bill are going to be on production and not on land that is idle. In the past, this has been a most difficult practice for the public to understand and one that readily kindles the old American distaste for paying people for doing nothing. By moving away from it we are taking an important step to decrease the suspicion and hostility that surrounds the farm program.

Second, by imposing a payment limitation of $55,000, we are making a further effort at eliminating those aspects of the farm program which are most vulnerable to criticism. As much as we need to find ways of balancing supply and demand for agricultural commodities and of assuring adequate prices and incomes for farmers, I simply do not see how we can continue to make hundred thousand and even million dollar payments to large corporate farms given the present squeeze on the budget.

Third, by ending the quota system this bill provides both desperately needed flexibility for farmers and the promise of moving back to a more market-controlled system of agriculture. After a farmer has met his "set-aside" requirement, under these new provisions he is free to utilize his remaining cropland as he sees fit.

In a way, this provides the farmer with a taste of both worlds. By providing generous price support payments on that portion of his crop going to the domestic market we assure him that his costs will be met and that he will make some margin of profit for his efforts. At the same time, by removing acreage quotas we afford him the opportunity to attempt to efficiently produce additional nonsupported increments for the export market. It is true that the margin between costs and income for the export market will be thin. But if anyone can make a go of it, it is the wheat farmer who efficiently produces an incremental addition to his supported crop, and not the corn farmer who adds a small amount of wheat as a secondary crop, as is often the case under the present acreage quota system. One Member has expressed this quite well: This measure will help us to get wheat production back into the Wheat Belt and corn production back into the Corn Belt where these respective crops can be most efficiently and successfully produced. However gingerly, this bill begins to move us back toward the market and I hope we continue to move in that direction in the future. In the meantime, it will provide a useful pilot run before we retreat too hastily to the "free market" as some segments of the agricultural community would have us do.

Having pointed to these desirable aspects of the bill, I want to make clear that I believe it contains a number of serious deficiencies. The first is that it does little to limit the capacity of the Commodity Credit Corporation to dump surpluses on the market whenever the price level begins to rise. If we are to

return to a freer agricultural market, we are going to have to have prices which will meet the growing costs of agricultural production. But prices are never going to rise so long as the CCC can keep them at an artificially low level.

Second, the cutback of the cropland reversion authorization from an annual level of $225 million to a token level of $10 million is, in my view, the most regressive feature of the entire bill. I am not one who argues that annual diversion is a wholly useless venture; but clearly if we are going to reduce production to levels at which there is an effective demand, then the "whole farm" approach to cropland retirement is essential. Instead of sharply curtailing funds available for this purpose we should be expanding them. I want to strongly emphasize my dissent from this portion of the bill. I therefore strongly support the amendment from the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RAILSBACK), to provide for the retirement of 6 million acres.

Third, this bill does nothing about the condition of the marginal farmer. We are all agreed that the central cities are totally incapable of absorbing additional migrations from rural areas. Yet this is precisely what will happen if we do not come up with adequate measures to aid those millions of very small farmers who benefit hardly at all from these commodity payment programs. I would suggest that measures to deal effectively with this problem become a first, rather than a last, priority in the development of any future farm legislation.

Let me conclude by reaffirming my support for this compromise farm bill. It eliminates some of the worst aspects of the old program, it protects the incomes of farmers, and it points us back to a more market-oriented agricultural economy. Though it has a number of serious deficiencies, I am sure that they can be lived with until we can get a thorough reorientation of our general farm program.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I too will support the Railsback amendment. I supported the Scherle amendment that was offered, and after it was defeated, I thought I should stand up and see if we can get some more support for this type of amendment.

I would say to the extent the six million acres proposed under the Railsback amendment are retired, there will be that much less for the cotton and wheat and feed grain farmers to set aside, so those who want to produce can, and those who do not can get out. It will tend to be most desirable to those farmers who are retired in a position where they can stay on that farm. Instead of renting their farms for somebody else to produce on, they can stay retired, put this farm in this program and live on their farms and keep the weeds down, kill the rodents, and keep the lands so they will be a pride to the community. It will be a tremendous appeal to the sportsmen, because wildlife will grow to a greater extent on idled land and be more available for those who love to hunt. It will take out only 6 million acres a year which surely will not be disruptive. It will bring more land retirement for less money.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman. I think he has made an effective argument in behalf of the amendment.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ARENDS).

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I, too, agree with the gentleman from Illinois, and the gentleman from Minnesota on the Railsback amendment. This amendment takes a step in the right direction. I think we ought to start now to see if we can move objectively toward solving part of our farm problems.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON) has expired.

(On request of Mr. SCHERLE, and by unanimous consent, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Chairman, I am very much for the Railsback amendment. I believe in the East and in those areas where farming is not highly specialized, this amendment will provide great flexibility and benefit to small farmers. It will also tend to keep the farmer on his land. It will preserve it as a great national resource for development later on when we need it. I hope this amendment passes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, how strange it is, after we bring in a bill containing the very provisions which the Secretary of Agriculture has approved that we should have this situation—where those of the Secretary's party are so anxious to disrupt the agreement so carefully worked out. This bill would meet the requirements of the Bureau of the Budget and of the President.

How strange it is that we find this situation where the Secretary's friends, I hope they are his friends, come in here and try to tear down his work. I do not owe any political allegiance to the Secretary, but Secretary Hardin has made a real effort to help work out a good bill, and I think we have a good bill. It is a bill, I think, that will achieve a great deal.

There is much to be said, of course, in behalf of land retirement. If we had unlimited funds we could retire all kinds of land, but it depends on how much we want to spend. This proposes $18 million additional expenditure. If we want to spend it, of course, it would be fine to do it just as it would be nice to put up some fountains in front of the Capitol, along with hummingbirds, but it would be costly, and we would have to take care of that expense.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. Not at the moment. I hope the gentleman will let me finish my comment. The gentleman has had a great deal of time.

Mr. Chairman, the program provided in this bill is well balanced and one we ought to be willing to support in its entirety, but now we are getting along in the shank of the afternoon, and we find some are coming in here and claiming we ought to be doing something for the sportsmen and ecology and everybody else.

Therefore, we are going to spend any amount of money. We are going to wreck the program which the Secretary and the committee worked out. Instead of carrying out the kind of program the Secretary has suggested, we are going to come in here and rake up the Farm Bureau program and pass it.

Of course, that can be done. The author of one of these amendments—I get them confused, because we have defeated one and now have another of the same kind before us, says, "yes, this is just half the Farm Bureau program."

We did not follow the Farm Bureau program. The committee has brought in a bill which attempts to bring about a balance on another basis or approach. It is the approach of the Secretary of Agriculture and of this administration. It is also the approach of the Committee on Agriculture. I believe they have all together brought us a good program.

I am really depressed that so many of those who should be supporting the Secretary here seem to try to undercut him and try in some way or another to destroy this program which he has endorsed.

I hope we will pass this bill. This is a good bill, as many have said. It is a good, sound program. Let us pass it and not try to embarrass it with some other kind of program.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to my colleague from Texas.

Mr. PURCELL. If we are to take out an additional 6 million acres, at $25 an acre, this would be an added $150 million, I believe.

Mr. POAGE. I believe that is right.

Mr. PURCELL. It would run from $130 million to $150 million in addition.

Mr. POAGE. I want to apologize. I was merely quoting the gentleman sponsoring the amendment, when he said $18 million. I believe it does figure out at about $150 million. It is a tremendously increased expenditure and has not a thing in the world to do with this sort of a program.

It may be perfectly desirable by itself. I am not suggesting it is not desirable. I believe it would be fine to have a swimming pool in the backyard of everybody, but we do not have that kind of money, and it ought not to be in a farm bill.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RAILSBACK. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding. I am sure he did not do this intentionally, but it is my understanding—and I believe the Members of the House should know this—that this paltry figure which we now have ended up with, $10 million for these programs, was not recommended by the Department of Agriculture. They came in with $50 million, is that not correct, for these programs?

Mr. POAGE. They agreed this was the best bill that could be brought out and that they were supporting this bill.

Mr. RAILSBACK. That is not my question.

Mr. POAGE. We have talked with the Secretary and with the Department for months and months. I do not know all that has been suggested. I confess it may well be that somebody suggested spending a billion dollars for recreation. I do not know.

But I do know that when it came to writing the bill, this is the bill on which there was agreement, and there was no agreement to add $150 million to it.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RAILSBACK).

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RAILSBACK) there were–ayes 14, noes 58.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for this new agricultural bill but only with the gravest of reservations. I shall vote "aye" on final passage simply because there is no other alternative presented to us—either it is this bill or a reversion to the 1958 farm program, which would be disastrous.

Though every effort has been made to cloud the matter, let there be no doubt that this bill deserves but one title—"The Nixon Farm Bill." The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Hardin, chose a very unusual course, to put it kindly. Steadfastly refusing to publicly come forward with any complete farm bill whatsoever, he chose instead to do his steering and manipulating during a highly unusual series of executive and night sessions. Most of the House Agriculture Committee—my friend and colleague, ED JONES, in particular—did the best they could. This applies, I am sure, to the distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE). But they were not dealt with fairly by Mr. Hardin. He went underground—operated subrosa—to avoid avowed fatherhood of this legislation. Then, suddenly, after 15 months of work by the House Agriculture Committee, this fatherless child is rushed to the House floor. Yes, Mr. Chairman, despite the subrosa proceedings and the frantic rush, this bill deserves only one title—"The Nixon Farm Bill."

When the true light of day comes through—when more and more of our smaller family farmers go broke and are driven from the land, when the vested interest features come truly to light, when we approach the brink of a full-fledged farm-fed depression—let us not forget to recognize this bill for what it is—the Nixon farm bill.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have two amendments, which I offer, and I ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois that the amendments be considered en bloc?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. FINDLEY: Page 57, beginning on line 21, insert:

"SEC. 805. The Secretary is directed to establish not later than January 1, 1971, an inventory for each state which will show:

"(1) The cropland other than conserving base which was diverted under a program or tilled in the crop years 1968 or 1969 or prior to August 1 in 1970; and

"(2) The total conserving base in 1970.

"Only the acreage in subsection (1) shall be eligible as set aside under the various provisions of this Act.

"Acreage left unplanted because of skip-row practices shall not be eligible as set aside.

"Any downward adjustment of individual farm conserving bases must be offset by upward adjustments on other farms within the state."

Page 57, after line 21, add the following new section:

"SEC. 806. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the Secretary shall not permit grazing or harvesting of any acreage diverted or set aside pursuant to this Act, except where he determines such action is necessary because of an emergency created by drought or other disaster, or in order to prevent or alleviate a shortage in the supply of agricultural commodities."

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendments.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order and make a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, the first reading was an amendment that the gentleman had talked about introducing and, as I understood it, he was not going to introduce it. The latter part was the amendment that I understood was going to be introduced and which was discussed with me. I did not want to raise a point of order about it, but I understood the first part was not going to be introduced. Is the gentleman introducing both of these?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois obtained unanimous consent to have them considered en bloc.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I renew my point of order because clearly it is past the point to which they were relevant.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Illinois wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, this comes under the general provisions title of the bill. The conserving base concept applies to wheat, feed grains, and cotton. So it seems to me sufficient to offer the amendment under the general provisions title rather than to offer three separate amendments. Inasmuch as the subject matter of this amendment is dealt with in its entirety by the bill itself, it seems to me to be fairly germane.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair has examined the amendments. We are now on title VIII, general and miscellaneous provisions of the bill. It is the opinion of the Chair that the matter referred to in the amendments do refer to matters that can be considered in the general and miscellaneous provisions of the bill and are germane thereto. Therefore, the Chair overrules the point of order.

The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendments.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I regret that the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE) thought there was a misunderstanding here, because that is the last thing in the world I want to have between us. I do recognize the temper of the committee at this point. We are not going to accept amendments. It is pretty well agreed on the part of the leadership on both sides of the aisle that they will defend the committee product against any amendment. I understand that. But there are some weaknesses in the bill I want to make a record on. That is why I did want these two amendments in the record.

The amendment first read relates to the conserving base scandal.

And I use the word "scandal" advisedly because, as I explained in my statement yesterday, the conserving base has been whittled away in the 3-year period ending in 1969 from a total of 123 million acres in this country down to a total of 100 million acres. What happened to these 23 million acres? These represent downward adjustments in the conserving base requirements from the various farmers who participated in these programs. The farmers got off an obligation which they should have been kept to and at a great deal of cost to the taxpayers. In fact, it is my estimate that the leakage in this conserving base has added $1 billion a year annually to the pressures on the USDA budget.

The other amendment which I believe the Clerk read relates to the built-in abuses of the set-aside concept in this bill. We are starting out this year with a brandnew idea, the set-aside concept. Well, in the early years of the feed grains program we found that the base for the feed grains program was expanded to the tune of 7 million acres beyond the original 1959–60 figure.

What is going to happen now on the set-aside concept? Are we going to have a similar expansion of the base established at great cost to the taxpayers? My proposal is that the Secretary establish an inventory of acres eligible to be considered for set-aside. It has a provision to prohibit the counting of the land left unplanted under the skip-row practice as set-aside acres.

On my second amendment, if we are going to set acres aside at heavy cost to the taxpayers those acres should not be planted, they should not be harvested for any purpose. And that is the purpose of these two amendments, and I urge their adoption.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendments.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois pointed out his understanding in respect to the amendments. I appreciate that frank statement, but I think we should oppose these amendments.

I would urge the Members to vote against them.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY).

The amendments were rejected.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEAGUE of California. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Agricultural Act of 1970. I commend Secretary Hardin, the Department of Agriculture, and the members of the House Agriculture Committee for the time they have spent and the patience they have exercised over the past 18 months to achieve the compromise necessary in the draftsmanship and presentation of this bill. We all know that the passage of this legislation will leave certain farm problems unresolved, but taken as a whole the bill represents a step forward for the farmer and the Nation. I would have been more pleased had we adopted the Findley payments limitation amendment and the Zwach feed grains amendment.

A major advantage of this legislation is that it will permit the individual farmer greater flexibility in deciding what crops he wants to plant in order to maximize his income within the wheat and feed grain programs. I am particularly pleased with the dairy section of the bill and the class I base plan. The class I base plan as adopted by the committee, and clarified by the Zwach amendment, will eventually reduce the cost of the price support program.

To those who would vote against this bill because it does not do all we had hoped for, I ask them to reconsider. I do not think any of us want to see American agriculture revert to the 1958 law, which Republicans and Democrats alike opposed. Going back to the 1958 act would cause an increase in food prices felt by every consumer in America. Furthermore, a reversion to the 1958 act would have an adverse effect on farm income. We must assure the continuing growth of farm income if we are to realize the continuing industrial and economic growth of America. Three out of every ten working Americans are employed directly or indirectly in agriculture.

The average American spends only 16½ cents per dollar of his take-home pay for food. This amount is the lowest spent on food in any country of the world. In many countries 50 percent or more of an individual's income goes to the purchase of food. These statistics are a tremendous tribute to the efficiency of our farm programs and to Americans engaged in agriculture.

I urge my colleagues to pass this legislation so that we can get on with the business of developing further reforms in our agriculture legislation rather than stepping backward to 1965 or 1958.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, apparently I will have the motion to recommit, and I will take about 1 minute to explain what form it will take.

It will propose to strike from the bill everything except the wool section and the dairy sections and the Public Law 480 program. These are longstanding, well-proven, and insofar as I know involve noncontroversial programs.

The controversial and the expensive parts would be stricken. This would result in the savings to the taxpayers, a net savings to the taxpayers, according to the Department of Agriculture, of approximately $1 billion per year.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MELCHER

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MELCHER: Add at the end of the bill:

"SEC. 805. The Secretary of Agriculture is directed to plan and develop methods of reducing costs of transportation on grains, including use of unit trains and rail to water routings, and to adjust County loan rates on wheat and feed grains to reflect such savings to producers."

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I will not need the entire 5 minutes.

I will refer to the points that are covered in the amendment and will ask for an affirmative vote on it.

This is not a controversial amendment at all and so far as I know it has no enemies on this floor. There are no added costs by having the amendment.

Yesterday I told you of coal that moved from Colstrip in my home county in Montana to Cohasset, Minn.—over a thousand miles, moved in a unit train at a cost of $2.72 per ton, as compared to grain moving the same distance on the same railroad at five or six times that amount.

I point this out because this is a new concept in modern transportation on rail, to have the unit train, to move most quickly with one commodity from point to point.

The railroads like the unit trains. I think the Department of Agriculture would appreciate being directed to investigate and study the possibility of using unit trains and unit shipments on water in moving grain to market or to export ports.

That is the purpose of the amendment. There is no added cost.

This offers some promise and some hope that after a study and after planning developments that the Department will find it feasible to move CCC stock at savings in transportation costs.

The amendment does require that the savings, if they come into being, will be reflected back to the grower, the producer, through higher county loan rates on grains.

I think it would aid exports and I think it would aid the farmers if it is feasible and if it comes about. This is an area of progress in which we can all join together by putting this into this bill and directing the study by the Department of Agriculture.

I ask for your favorable vote on the amendment at this point.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER).

The question was taken and on a division (demanded by Mr. ABERNETHY) there were—ayes 27, noes 37.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I just want to explain what the effect of the recommittal motion will actually mean. A vote on the recommittal motion will be a vote on the entire bill. If the recommittal motion is sustained there will be no farm bill as such.

And I will say that the gentleman from California is absolutely honest and sincere in offering this motion. He has been opposed to all farm bills ever since I have been a member of the committee and he is conscientious and sincere about it. He is trying to stop this bill and destroy it in a legitimate manner. He has always operated in the committee completely above board without in any way dodging the issue.

So as he told you here awhile ago it means that it strikes out everything in the bill so far as wheat, feed grains and cotton is concerned.

So I hope you will keep that in mind when you vote on the motion to recommit.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I hestiate to bring this up, but I understand there is a big story in the newspapers about the House taking a stand for economy and refusing to raise the salary of an employee around here by $2,000. I am going to vote, I guess, for the farm bill. I think I can do it because I voted to raise the fellow $2,000. So, therefore, I guess I can vote for $55,000 subsidies.

The rest of you have to make up your own minds accordingly.

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of H.R. 18546, the farm bill to replace the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act which expires at the end of this year.

The majority of people in my First District of Georgia generally agree that this type of basic legislation is urgently needed, if agriculture is to continue to meet the requirements and needs of the consumers in this country.

This cannot be done, if we in Congress do not act to correct the glaring disparity between the low prices received, and the total cost of production to our farmers.

According to Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin, the bill under consideration would hold Government aid at "approximately the same total figure." Otherwise, Secretary Hardin says, the necessary money "must come from the market in the form of higher prices."

I submit that positive and favorable action is needed on the farm bill, to help make it possible to overhaul our farm programs, to bolster and up-grade agriculture, and to prevent an upward spiral in farm program costs.

I urge this action in the best interests of the consumer and the producer.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to spend my time reviewing the great role that the farmer has played in making this Nation—the best clothed and best fed nation in the world. You know it. I know it. The farmers know it too. One difference, they are getting sick and tired of praise and promises. What they want to know is—when is the farmer going to share in the economic growth of this country? When is he going to get

a fair price at least comparable to what he pays for goods and services?

When are the consumers of this country going to wake up to the fact that the food they buy is a bargain when compared with the price other peoples of the world pay for food? That the farmers' share of the consumers' dollar is getting smaller and smaller. Today 16 percent of the consumers' take-home pay goes for food as compared with 20 percent just 10 years ago. When are the urban dwellers and their representatives in Congress going to learn that when food prices go up it is not the farmer that is getting the increase? It is the fellows between the farmer and the consumer. For example, in 1950, 47 cents of the retail dollar went to the farmer. Today he is getting less than 39 cents.

When are the city merchants, the industrial workers, and the urban dwellers going to wake up to the fact that while the farmers make up only 5 percent of our population, they are buying approximately $37 billion worth of the goods and products produced by their city brothers? When are the oil and steel workers going to realize that the commercial farmers buy 5 percent of the steel produced and 11 percent of all the petroleum produced? When are the urban dwellers going to learn that 6 million of their jobs are directly related to the machinery, chemical and supply industry and that 14 million more have jobs directly related to food and fiber processing and marketing?

When is Congress and the President going to wake up to the fact that in 1947 the gross farm income was $34 billion and the realized net income was $17 billion? Twenty years later the farmers' gross income was $51 billion and his net dropped to $14.7 billion, while interest rates have gone up nearly 300 percent—taxes more than doubled—industrial wages doubled and tripled—yet the parity ratio is about 75 percent just what it was during the depression years. Without a healthy agriculture industry our manufacturing industry and the very future of our economic system can be torn to shreds. The patience and endeavor of the American farmer has reached the breaking point.

Too many Americans—and that includes Members of Congress—look at the farm problem as something that does not affect them. Well, American agriculture is still America's No. 1 industry. It generates 40 percent of the employment, directly or indirectly. If the farmer cannot buy, industry cannot produce. Make no mistake, Mr. Chairman, a sick agriculture means a sick economy. If the farmer does not receive a fair price, for his products, he cannot buy the products which industry produces. He cannot service his debt, he cannot buy the fertilizer, pesticides, and machinery he needs. He cannot provide for his children's education or other needs.

Without adequate farm legislation, perhaps a million farmers in America would soon be forced out of business, leaving the industry to large corporate farms financed by insurance companies, conglomerates, and public subscription stocks and bonds.

For 25 years now, the farmer has seen his prices go down while the prices he pays for the goods he needs go up, up, and up. The committee report has stated the farmers' case far better than I. It reads as follows:

> We all know that farmers have historically bought in a protected market. They pay the American price for everything they use. They sell in a free or competitive market. They receive prices fixed by producers in lands where the wage scale is only a fraction of what it is in our country. It has been repeatedly pointed out if farmers could buy in a completely free market they would have no right to ask for assistance, but if they must continue to buy in a controlled market, they must either sell in such a market or the government must make up at least part of the difference.
>
> Whatever things the farmer buys to meet his production needs must include the cost of our high American wage scale. These costs are constantly going up. Already labor leaders have recommended an increase in the minimum wage to $2.00. On the other hand, the price of most farm products is actually lower today, per pound or per bushel, than they were twenty or twenty-five years ago.

Using the year 1946 as a measuring rod we find that the cost of food rose from 100 to 196, housing 100 to 190, clothing 100 to 168, transportation 100 to 222, medical care 100 to 275, hospital service 100 to 759, Federal taxes 100 to 286, State taxes 100 to 623, local taxes 100 to 478, wage rates in manufacturing 100 to 312. What about agriculture during the same period? The price the farmer received went from 100 to 119. When we add Government payments the farmer's price went from 100 to 127. What about the prices he pays for goods? They went from 100 to 187. Any wonder that farmers are caught in a squeeze?

Of one thing I am sure, keep driving the farmers to the wall and he may go broke but he will eat. I am not so sure that my city brethren will.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE), and the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER), and the other members of the Agriculture Committee for the hard work they have done on this farm bill. The committee has worked with the Department of Agriculture for over 18 months in an effort to report legislation that is workable, equitable, acceptable to the Congress and the administration. The committee has worked in a statesmanlike manner to report a bill—a bill which any member would change if given the opportunity and with the assurance that it would not kill the bill.

If I were writing a farm bill, of course, there are changes I would make. I would retain at least one feature of the 1965 act, and insure that the loan rate has some relation to parity prices on commodities. Farmers should not depend upon the cost of production in Australia or Canada or France or Argentina to set their loan levels. In all these countries, agriculture is subsidized anyway, and American farmers should receive a return based upon their actual cost of production. But this bill does not retain a parity-loan rate ratio, for reasons the committee has considered compelling.

Further, the bill as reported puts a payment limitation per crop at $55,000. I believe the $55,000 limit is too high. I will support an amendment to lower the level.

I have received scores of letters and wires urging me to support the coalition bill or the Farm Bureau proposals. Neither of these bills are before us today. I am told they were considered by the Agriculture Committee and neither could muster the strength to receive favorable committee action.

I think the able chairman of the committee, Congressman POAGE, expressed the views of a realist when he said:

> The only farm bill that can possibly pass is that which we work out between the committees, the administration, the Republicans, and the Democrats. There isn't one group that can pass a farm bill today.

I think he could have added that the only bill that could be passed is one that could generate a sufficient number of votes from the ranks of our urban representatives to secure a majority.

NOW WHAT DOES THIS BILL PROVIDE?

The wheat section of the bill provides for 100 percent of parity on wheat produced for domestic consumption. The bill also provides that wheat farmers will receive 75 percent of their estimated payment as soon after July 1 as possible, to provide them with working capital to prepare their seedbed for the coming fall season.

The wheat farmer will also have increased flexibility in the planning of his own farming operation, for the "set-aside" provision of this bill, to become fully operative in 1973, permits a farmer to plant whatever he chooses on his cropland acres after complying with the program's "set-aside" or diversion of a percentage of his cropland for conservation purposes.

The bill also provides for a wheat and feed grains substitution program, of special benefit to Kansas producers.

As the committee has reported this legislation, feed grains farmers will be permitted to continue their program of diversion for payment. A payment of not less than 32 cents a bushel for corn, with corresponding rates for grain sorghum and barley, are also provided. The feed grains farmer will also be permitted to participate in a "set-aside" program permitting more flexibility in farm planning. Beginning in 1973, after 2 transition years, the feed grains farmer will be permitted to plant whatever he chooses on his cropland acres after diverting a specified acreage for conservation and limited cropping purposes.

Mr. Chairman, a good many farmers are disappointed that the so-called coalition bill was not reported for consideration today. A good many people in rural America believe that the coalition bill provides minimum income protection for American agriculture today. Many believe that the committee legislation, on the other hand, will not provide the American farmer with the return he deserves for his production.

After 18 months of consideration, the Committee on Agriculture decided that this Congress, 80 percent of which is composed of Members from urban and suburban districts, would not approve the coalition bill. The Committee on

Agriculture defeated the coalition bill in committee and refused to report it to the floor.

The committee insists that this bill is the best that can be produced with a chance to secure the approval of the administration and enough of the urban and rural Congressmen to secure its passage. It is this or nothing. This is not a threat—or a promise—but a fact of life. I am inclined to agree. However, I shall support amendments to approve the lot of the wheat and feed grain producers.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the Agriculture Committee also considered the so-called Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1969, supported by the largest farm organization of all, the American Farm Bureau Federation. But the committee rejected that approach as well, after full consideration, for it believed that the Farm Bureau program could not pass this House.

Farmers must have a bill—not merely a political issue. You cannot feed your children on a political issue. You cannot buy machinery for production with a political issue. You need a fair return for your commodities to do that, and the Agricultural Committee after 18 months has rejected those approaches to farm programs that were doomed to defeat on the House floor. If I am any judge of the mood of this body, the committee is right.

Mr. Chairman, what would happen if the Congress were to fail to enact a farm bill this year? Many believe that present programs, under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, would continue in operation.

They are mistaken. If we have no farm bill this year, the 1958 act, as amended, would become operative. The 1965 farm program with diversion payments and wheat certificates would expire before the 1971 crop year.

Under permanent farm law, the act of 1958, wheat farmers would be faced with a referendum on marketing quotas.

If marketing quotas were approved by two-thirds of the farmers voting—the quota system would go into effect through individual farm allotments. Land-use penalties would apply for failure to make mandatory diversion. There would be no diversion payment.

Wheat marketing certificates would be paid to producers—domestic certificates plus the loan would provide between 65 and 90 percent of parity. Processors would be required to pay full value for the certificates. There would be no authority for wheat-feed grains substitutions. Even with referendum marketing quota approval, there would be an immediate loss of income to the wheat farmers of some $1 billion for the 1971 crop year.

Now if the referendum rejected quotas, there would be no land-use penalty, no quotas for marketing, no wheat certificates, and no diversion payments. Price supports through loans and CCC purchases would be available to those complying with an allotment of only 50 percent of parity. Under these conditions, the wheat farmers' income would drop between $1.5 and $2 billion the first year of operation.

Mr. Chairman, under the permanent farm law, the feed grains farmer would be no better off. Under permanent farm law, the feed grains producer would receive no diversion, no price-support payments, no corn bases. Price support would depend wholly upon loans and CCC purchases. But the Secretary would be required by law to set loan levels between 50 and 90 percent of parity, at a level low enough to discourage surpluses. Needless to say, without 40 million acres of diverted feed grains land, the price would be driven down to 50 percent of parity in a year or two.

Worse, the soybean market would be destroyed, for millions of currently diverted acres of feed grains land would be planted into soybeans in a desperate effort by farmers to maximize their incomes. We would probably have to restrict the production of soybeans in a year or two.

Mr. Chairman, this is not the bill I would have drafted. American agriculture is getting the short end of the stick. But like my colleagues from rural America, I must face the facts of life. I shall vote for amendments to improve the position of the wheat and feed grains farmers, first, as to income and second, as to freedom to operate his own farm. I shall vote to reduce the annual ceiling of $55,000 per crop on payments to producers of cotton, wheat, and feed grains. In the final analysis, I shall vote for the bill. Agriculture cannot afford to return to the provisions of the 1958 law.

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 18546, the "so-called" bill to establish improved programs for the benefit of producers and consumers of dairy products, wool, wheat, feed grains, cotton, and other commodities.

Mr. Chairman, where in this "bale of hay" is there any improvement for the American taxpayer, or for that matter where is there any improvement over the past bungling, cumbersome, bureaucratic farm bills of the past?

Certainly all Americans should, and must recognize the outstanding contributions that our farmers have made in the past and which they wish to make in the future. To suggest, however, that the passage of H.R. 18546 is essential for the security of our farmers—to prevent an all out farm depression—it seems to me, if true, will only forestall the inevitable.

I do not think this outlook is true.

Our American farmer has never feared competition and he does not fear it now. The time has come when we should bring out in the open just who will be best served by the passage of this bill—the small farmer or the large corporate farmer.

If the past farm programs have been subject to criticism why is it good as the American farm program for tomorrow?

I want to commend Chairman POAGE and Congressman PAGE BELCHER, the senior minority member of the committee as well as my other distinguished colleagues who serve on the House Agriculture Committee. They have worked long and hard under difficult circumstances. I know, because during the 90th Congress, I, too, served on their committee. At that time, however, many of us reluctantly agreed to go along with the then existing farm program because we felt that further hearings later would result in an entire new farm program.

Certainly the discontent felt with the farm program then is not any less now.

But, alas, and alack, we find ourselves today not with a new farm program but with the same old program under which the Government would continue farm subsidies at current rates of almost $3.7 billion annually and further extend further features of the law.

What happened to the legislation which was talked about that would improve farmers' income by sales in the marketplace instead of keeping the farmers dependent on Government subsidies?

Must the taxpayer and our American farmer be forever strapped with Government bloated bureaucracy programs?

The American farmer does not want the Government crutch offered by the farm program under H.R. 18546. I believe that he wants to be cut free from the shackles of bureaucratic farm controls. The time has come when his voice and that of the taxpayer should be heeded, especially now in these times of increased deficits.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Chairman, yesterday I introduced legislation incorporating the dairy provisions contained in title II of H.R. 18546, the Agricultural Act of 1970.

I did this because, although I have reservations with respect to other provisions of the bill as reported by the Committee on Agriculture, it is my opinion that title II is acceptable, and I wish to make it clear that it would have my support as a separate measure.

The broad implications of the bill as a whole, I believe, outweigh any consideration that can be given any one of its parts however meritorious.

After a long and difficult study of more than a year by the Committee on Agriculture, we are asked to accept this bill as the best that can be had under the circumstances. As true as this may be, and that remains to be seen, such an argument does little to recommend the bill on its intrinsic merits. In the final analysis, it is either a good bill or a bad one—a good compromise or a bad compromise—a part of the solution or a part of the farm problem.

It is apparent that, although the committee struggled valiantly, the bill before us today amounts to little more than a continuation for 3 more years of the same old policies and programs which have provided far too little in the way of income protection for many of our farmers and has failed to live up to its promise to hold down the cost of the program to the U.S. taxpayer, many of whom are also farmers.

While I recognize the ramifications of our farm problems, I cannot help but feel that we need a new direction in the area of farm legislation. From discussions I have had over the years with farmers in the Sixth Congressional District of Michigan, I believe that this new direction should be away from Federal controls and compensatory payments for nonproduction. Because of this, on October 22, 1969, I joined in sponsoring legislation, H.R. 14469, that would provide for an orderly 5-year phaseout of such controls and payments.

This is the time to act, not 3 years from now. I urge the House to reject H.R. 18546 and thereby lay the foundation for more genuine reform in our farm program.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us is not without merit. But on balance I feel I must oppose it.

As we know, this bill is opposed by both the National Farmers' Union and the National Farm Bureau. I think their objections are well founded.

Very briefly, it seems to me this bill would have the effect of imposing wage-price controls on agriculture while leaving the rest of the economy unregulated. This would be neither fair nor effective; obviously, controls must cover all major industries if they are to have the desired effect.

By eliminating price floors under the loan program, by giving the Secretary of Agriculture almost unlimited discretion in setting loan levels—all the way down to 0—passage of this bill would constitute a congressional abdication of responsibility to provide some security for the farmer.

By removing price protection, this bill will decrease farmers' market income and increase dependence on the Government. This is not going to help us hold down Government expenditures in the long run.

Finally, the "acreage set-aside" program is a replay of the 1965 "diversion" program. We have found this approach to be too easily circumvented and, therefore, ineffective.

Mr. Chairman, for these reasons and others I oppose this year for the first time the Committee legislation and farm program.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Chairman, today we are again considering farm legislation that is the result of compromise, except this time, I believe there is too much compromise. The bill we face today is a bill which would establish the farm program for the next 3 years, and once again apparently none of the grassroots farm organizations support the bill. Some would like to see it pass the House, but do not let them fool you, they want to work on it in the Senate. I do not want to give them that option. I want to change this bill, which I consider an insult to the American farmer, to make it acceptable when it leaves this Chamber. I am sick of being placed in a situation in which I must vote for a poor bill or have no bill at all and no effective programs for the farmer.

Once again the program with which we are presented has been influenced too much by politics and not by a desire to attack the real problems which confront us. For example, the cry goes up that food prices must be kept down, and I certainly agree, but I also reply that many of those who cry the loudest can't hear the farmer whose techniques have made possible the lowest food prices in the world—only 16½ percent of the American dollar is spent on food. He cries that his adjusted income has actually fallen 6 percent in the last 20 years. Surely we owe this man the courtesy of producing legislation which will not only improve his position in the short run, but which will look into the future and begin to move in the right direction in the long run.

As a conscientious legislator from one of the most productive agricultural districts in the United States, I am truly in a dilemma when faced with a choice between the kind of bill that is currently on the floor and the prospect of returning to the permanent provisions of the 1958 act. In this situation, the record will show that I will support all attempts to improve this bill. Basically, I want to assure the farmer that we are interested in his welfare in the future and to offer him legislation that reaches beyond the 3 years covered by this act. In this regard, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RAILSBACK), and I will support an amendment to strengthen the long-term land retirement provisions of the bill. This type of legislation, involving the conservation reserve aspects of the program, is one of the things that many of the farm organizations have been pushing for and which has been virtually ignored in the current bill. This amendment, which would permit the Secretary to increase the conservation reserve by up to 6 million acres a year, is designed to protect and rebuild the soil. The importance of this type of action has come to public attention lately with the anti-pollution crusade, of which this is certainly a basic part. Land so retired would have a change, at long last, to recover from misuse which it has suffered as a result of inadequate knowledge of the damaging effects of pesticides and other such factors.

Along this line, there is no doubt in my mind that one of the most effective actions which can be taken would be the completion of a comprehensive watershed program in rural areas across the country. This would probably be a greater contribution to the solution of the problem of pollution and deterioration of our resources than any other single action. This is not a program to be covered in this type of legislation, but I mention it as part of a comprehensive solution which would have to include the conservation reserve program I referred to earlier.

I come now to the most publicized provision of all, the various proposed payment limitation. I realize that this is a very emotional issue, but it is also an economic issue. Much of the public outcry, most of us know, has resulted from some misunderstanding of the total problem. I have studied this problem extensively, as have many of you, and I have reached a conclusion, one that this body has already reached on two occasions. I cannot support a limitation higher than the $20,000 ceiling as proposed in the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague (Mr. FINDLEY). None of the arguments against this amendment, it seems to me, are based on anything more than political considerations. No program for the average farmer will, in my view, be adversely affected by this limitation. The benefits that will accrue will far outweigh any problems which might arise. A clearly inequitable situation will be set right, and the public will be able to believe that the Congress does not always act on the demand of special interest. Unless this is passed, I will find it extremely difficult to vote for final passage of the bill.

Let me reiterate my basic point in this discussion. I am tired of being faced with legislation which does not address itself to the total interests of the American farmer. I want to see a return to a stronger reliance on the marketplace so that the farmer need not depend on the Federal Government for his livelihood. This would, at least, prevent the kind of dilemma which confronts us now, in which the permanent law would actually be worse than the provisions of what I consider to be a very poor bill. If nothing else, we could then vote against poor programs without endangering the situation of the farmer. We need a far-sighted, long-range plan such as the conservation reserve amendment, to begin to move in the right direction.

Certainly there are worthy provisions in this bill. I note in particular those covering the dairy and wool programs, as well as the Public Law 480 programs. These are supported by the farmers involved, and I think it would be tragic to place them against the other farmers who oppose this bill. Let us get them together by amending this bill to make it acceptable to the broad spectrum of the farm population. I am asking only that the real problems of the American farmer be considered, and that this bill result in programs that are in his interest. I firmly believe that if this can be achieved, the entire country will benefit.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, the consideration of H.R. 18546, the Agriculture Act of 1970, has to be one of the strangest situations confronting the House since I was first privileged to represent the First District of Wisconsin in 1961.This legislation is being touted as a good bill, yet it satisfies neither those who are in full agreement with Government support payments, production controls, acreage allotments, and marketing quotas, nor those who feel we should phase out Government support of agricultural production through a gradual transition to the market system.

Although most legislation is at most a compromise between differing factions, representing divergent opinions on how things ought to be, the farm bill we are considering today is, as one editorial writer put it, "neither fish nor fowl." While there are those who claim the bill is a new approach to the problems of the farm, it is at best a temporary substitute.

Yet, it must be admitted that it is far better than the farm legislation of 1958 to which we would return if the bill presently under consideration is not acted upon. Too much is at stake not to pass even a mediocre farm bill, even one such as this which leaves much to be desired.

It is common knowledge that the farm economy is the basis of a healthy national economy. Agriculture is the Nation's largest business, employing 4.6 million workers, more than the combined total employment in transportation, public utilities, steel, and automobile industries.

Agriculture's assets total $307 billion, or one-half of the market value of all

corporation stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. Production assets for each farmworker are about $50,000—approximately double that of each manufacturing employee.

Farmers spend over $50 billion annually. The statistics go on and on. But the fact of all of these statistics is that with four out of 10 employees in private industry engaged in the agricultural sector, we can ill afford to revert, by default, to the farm programs of 1958. Those programs would be unrealistic for the seventies and inadequate to meet even the minimum needs of those who produce our Nation's food. I had hoped, and I believe the farmers of our Nation had hoped, that this House would come up with a new approach to farm programs rather than a reshuffling of the old ones.

To be sure the 1958 programs did something for the farmers without which perhaps our agricultural economy would be in shambles. But, at the same time, they made a very important segment of our economy dependent upon the Government for its survival. I voted for the extension of the agricultural act the last time because I thought that this Congress would come up with a new kind of approach that would reward effciency rather than discourage it and that would not give support to those in agriculture for not raising crops, but for conserving and preserving their land for future use. I supported unlimited payments then because I felt that they were the only realistic position to make under that program. It is evident that a bold new approach to our agricultural problems is not going to be taken, therefore. I intend to support a limitation of payments of $20,000 per farm.

I am casting my vote in favor of this bill not within the framework of something good as against that which has been found wanting. Rather, I am choosing the lesser of two evils. I certainly would not want to be a partner to the forcing of our farmers to live under an outmoded 1958 program which seems to be the only alternative to the passage of this bill. I would not want to be a partner in the reduction of farm income, thereby, conceivably destroying thousands of the 40 percent of the Nation's jobs that are related to the agricultural industry and possibly trigger a serious depression.

While I can understand the reasoning for coming up with an omnibus farm program, it is always difficult to make a decision when part of the bill dealing with certain segments of agriculture, such as dairy, are acceptable to our farmers, while other parts are found wanting.

Mr. Chairman, I shall return to my district not happy over the action taken by the House in its efforts to assist the agricultural segment of our Nation, but rather feeling that I did my best for the farmers of the First District by voting for the bill when no other acceptable alternative was available.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Chairman, I support the agriculture bill reported by the House Agriculture Committee. This is not a bill that has everyone completely satisfied. But, its passage will prevent a lot of people from becoming very unhappy.

The bill passed out of the House Agriculture Committee by a vote of 27 to 6. It had the support of such distinguished Texans as the chairman of the Agriculture Committee, the Honorable BOB POAGE; the Honorable BOB PRICE; the Honorable ELIGIO DE LA GARZA, and the Honorable GRAHAM PURCELL.

The increasingly urban orientation of this country and its elected representatives makes legislating a farm program increasingly difficult. People just do not understand the program. They forget that the basic reason for the program is the fact that for a long time in our history the marketplace did not provide enough money to the farmer to pay for the cost of producing food, cotton, and so forth. For example, it costs between 28 and 32 cents to produce cotton. The world market price for cotton is 22 cents. So, we have a farm program that pays 35 cents for cotton so that this country will not be dependent upon foreign sources for its textile mills and so that a relatively stable market can be maintained for the product. All this bill really does is enable the farmer to continue to operate.

I, for one, do not feel that the American public wants to be dependent upon imports for food nor do I feel they want to pay much more for food than they already do. The 16.5 percent of disposable income paid by the average American family at the grocery store is a bargin unequaled in the world.

The bill before us today attempts to refashion the farm program and to strengthen this segment of the economy while preventing an upward spiral in farm program costs. The bill abandons the old philosophy of paying for not planting. The payments under the terms of this bill are going to be on production and not on land that is not producing. This is a big step in the right direction.

A lot has been said over the past few years about farm subsidies. While I do not claim to be an expert on the farm program, I have studied it and I do know that subsidies are a very emotional issue and one that very few understand. A substantial portion of the production in this country comes from the top 10 to 20 percent of our growers. No farm program will work without their cooperation. So the payments, if we are going to have a farm program, must provide sufficient incentive to bring these operators under the program. At the same time, the program must provide an incentive to the farm operator to improve his operation. A low limitation simply does not provide this incentive. A program without this kind of incentive would only lead to inefficiency and it is the very efficiency of the American farmer that has made the cost of food so inexpensive to the American consumer. As President Nixon stated in his letter yesterday to the Honorable PAGE BELCHER:

> It would poorly serve the country to develop a farm program, then impose so severe a limitation as to impair its effectiveness.

The Agriculture Committee feels that a $55,000 limitation would not impair the effectiveness of the farm program. I respect their judgment and will support this limitation of payments.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 18546, the Agricultural Act of 1970. This bill is unsatisfactory because it does not help the farmer or the consumer. The income of the majority of farmers will be allowed to decline, and the consumer will continue to have to pay record high prices for agricultural commodities.

If we examine this bill carefully, we find that cotton producers will benefit enormously at the expense of wheat and feed grain producers. Cotton presently brings about 18 cents per pound, but if this bill is passed producers will receive 35 cents per pound, double their present compensation. In contrast wheat and feed grain producers will only be assured one-half or less of their production. This inequality of benefits between these crops is completely unfair.

This bill proposes an outrageously high limitation of $55,000 per crop to be paid to an individual producer. This limitation which affects only a minute proportion of farms, about 1,000 out of 3 million, does nothing to help the hundreds of thousands of low-production, low-income farmers who really need assistance. There is something radically wrong with our payments program when the 264 largest agricultural producers receive an average annual subsidy of $200,000 and the 540,000 others receive average annual aid of only $100. If we are going to appropriate billions of dollars we should see that those who need it most, receive it.

I support the amendment to title I of the bill to reduce this limitation to $20,000. This is adequate compensation for producers and will save the American taxpayer well over $160 million. In view of the fact that both the House and the Senate have both previously approved a $20,000 limitation, it would be a criminal misappropriation of taxpayer dollars to allow a limitation of $55,000.

The present bill is unjustly weighted in favor of certain crops and neglects others. In my own State of New York, where 40 percent of land is devoted to agriculture, a State that is second in the Nation in the production of apples and dairy products, only five farmers received assistance of over $20,000 last year. Compare this with Texas where land is devoted to high compensation crops like cotton, wheat, and feed grain; over 2,500 Texas farmers received Government assistance of over $20,000. This is an outrageously disproportionate distribution of funds.

I urge you all to join with me in opposition to this unfair, inadequate bill. I believe that by allowing the 1965 Agricultural Act to expire we will be taking a constructive action and performing a public service for all Americans, farmers and consumers alike. If the present act expires, programs already authorized by public law, basically the Agricultural Act of 1938 as amended in 1958, will be put into operation. This will mean more reliance on loans to farmers and less on Government payments. The final solution must be a thorough overhaul of the payment program and a greater reliance on Government loans to farmers.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Conte-Findley substitute amendment to title I of H.R.

8546, the Agriculture Act of 1970. This amendment has been explained quite well by my distinguished colleagues from Massachusetts and Illinois.

I do want, however, to offer my firm support to this amendment. I am one of the original co-sponsors of this amendment.

I listened with interest yesterday and today to the debate on this bill. Nothing, however, in this debate has convinced me either that the committee's $50,000 limitation is sacrosanct or represents good Federal agricultural policy. Indeed, the debate reconfirmed my own view that the $20,000 per crop limitation which, incidentally, includes all crops, is a much more realistic figure. If I had my way—I would probably go for an even lower figure, but I think $20,000 represents a reasonable compromise.

I am especially pleased that the $20,000 limitation covers each crop and that there is specific provision in this Conte-Findley substitute to cover transfers of land so that there can be no evasion on the per crop limitation.

My information suggests very strongly that the $20,000 per crop limitation will not adversely affect any but the largest farms. Even with the $20,000 limitation there will be a considerable amount of money still in the Commodity Credit Corporation.

It is my strongly held feelings that the best state of affairs would be to abolish the agricultural subsidy program over a period of 5 to 10 years. All Members must remember that the money in the commodity credit corporation—the $3½ billion in this Commodity Credit Corporation—is one of the uncontrollables of the budget. It is money that must be spent. From my perspective this money could better be spent on our pressing domestic problems. I think it is imperative that we return to a free market.

I am not unmindful that this might adversely affect the nonprofitable farms or the small farmer. But I feel that a limited budget dominated by $180 billion in uncontrollable expenditures and our present societal needs: our cities, our educational system that we cannot afford the luxury of this $3½ billion price support program.

Thus I support the Findley-Conte amendment and I am hopeful that this will be but a first step in removing artificial price supports for our farm products.

There is another feature in this bill that is particularly upsetting to me Mr. Chairman. This is the set-aside program. As correctly pointed out by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) there are huge gaps in the set-aside program. A careful reading of the bill indicates that set-aside acres can be used to grow crops again or that marginal or scrub land can be put into conservation projects.

Thus it is imperative that within the agriculture bill there be some restrictions that only productive lands will be used. It is esitmated that if the bill is enacted as written that 10 million additional acres will be put in the set-aside program at a cost of perhaps $250 million. This would unconscionably increase an already unacceptable farm program. Thus I support the Findley amendment which would attempt to only have productive land placed under set-asides.

Mr. Chairman, without the Conte-Findley amendment with the $20,000 limitation per crop and a reworking of the set-aside feature, I cannot consciously support the agriculture bill before us today. If the gaps in this bill are not closed, I intend to vote against the bill as I have in the past. There is, Mr. Chairman, no recourse, I submit, than repeal of these price support programs. We are taking steps today to attempt to move in this direction. I can only hope that future Congresses will take up the burden and finish this necessary work.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 18546 but without the enthusiasm which would be present if it were a better bill.

A fellow Member who represents an area which contains many family farmers, like our own district, when asked if he would support this bill replied yes, it is a heck of a lot better than nothing at all and I guess I will have to be for it for that reason. I am sure this kind of an attitude embodies the thinking of many of those who classify themselves as farm Congressmen.

Action on this bill culminates a lot of hard work. By some it is viewed as quite an achievement because for several months early this year there prevailed a general belief there would be no farm legislation of any kind.

The general philosophy of this bill is quite similar to the principal objectives of earlier enactments. Basically it tries to achieve a balance of supply and demand between production and consumption. We can all agree that if there is over production this means waste. Without going into the details of the bill we recognize the new description of "set-asides" is but another form of voluntary withdrawal of land that carries a potential production capacity.

Quite frankly, I am disappointed there is no direct parity concept except in the instance of wheat. Of course, the proponents say they had parity in mind when they worked out the $1.35 price support and the guaranteed payment of 32 cents on 50 percent of the base. It is easy to say such a formula maintains parity but it is not really and truly parity no matter how you slice it because such is a fixed price while parity slides up or down depending upon the cost of production.

I am not sure statistics are always helpful but since this has been referred to by some as a consumer bill and by others as a farmers bill, there is no use to try to explain away the fact that at the producers level the price farmers receive for beef is only 16 percent more than in 1950 and 12½ percent more for pork than in 1950. Thus it is suggested, this is how much more money the farmer receives for his livestock and as well the additional cost the consumer pays. But such statistics are really meaningless because since 1950 there has been a recorded inflationary increment of more than 30 percent. Taken in this light it means the stockowner is actually getting 15 percent less for beef and 18 cents less for his pigs than in 1950 while he still pays 30 percent more for everything he buys. That is why there should have been some provisions for parity if we have any real concern about the income of our farmers.

During the debate on this bill, as during the debate at other times when we were considering limitation of payments, it seems it has suddenly become fashionable for those who represent the population of big cities and even those who represent suburban areas to be against the farm program. It is the old story of an effort to array the interest of the consumer against those of the producers. This is such a short-sighted viewpoint. Surely those who know any economics at all know that if the thousands of small farmers fail to make ends meet there could well develop a farm recession or even a farm depression such as we have not witnessed for many years in this country. When something like that happened in the early 1930's it made it almost impossible for our economy to be rejuvenated during those post-depression days. How many times do we learn the lesson that a recession and even a full blown depression may originate out in the rural areas but it soon comes to town. This means the adverse effects of farm decline are felt keenly by the inhabitants of every big city.

Because of prevailing belief by big city Congressmen that somehow they are pleasing their constituency if they oppose farm legislation, I suppose it is hopeless to expect to have a really effective or beneficial piece of farm legislation.

And when those who represent farm areas find ourselves bucking the powerful combination of the Bureau of the Budget, the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture then it is little wonder the farm bill does not contain all the features that would be of real help to our family farmers.

H.R. 18546 may not be the best kind of farm legislation but by the margin of that number of votes by which it may pass we will be saved from being in the worst farm situation ever experienced because no matter how bad it may be it is just that much better than no new farm legislation at all.

We must have a vehicle to serve as the carrier of later additions which appear in the final bill. Today, the bill we pass will be something that we have agreed to in the House and which hopefully may be improved upon in the other body.

I know it will be a long time before Utopia in farm legislation but until that time comes I have no choice but to support H.R. 18546 now before the House even though I recognize that it does much less than enough for our farmers.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I support, as I have on the two previous occasions when it was presented and approved here in this House, this pending amendment, which I have cosponsored, to place a limit of $20,000 upon the individual

subsidy payments to our farmers. As a matter of observation, it would appear that, unless this limitation is accepted, there are a great many Members here who would be inclined to seriously doubt the overall impact of the bill as the best projection, in the public interest, that this House can legislatively achieve.

I believe that the general public is very well aware, now, that under present law, there is no limit at all on the amount a farmer grower can be paid by the Federal Government for not planting crops. Repeated evidence and publicity has been submitted and generated throughout the communications media that under the present "no limit" subsidy, five payments of more than $1 million each were paid out by the Government, last year, for the three crop categories involved—cotton, wheat, and feed grains. On their face, these figures, and a tremendous number of other substantial payments, are so unconscionably large, as virtual taxpayers bonuses for not producing, that they have caused the American consumer to lose their confidence in this very complicated program to give the members of our farm industry the reasonable encouragement they need, at minimum charge to the American taxpayer.

Let us realize that, all told, through the working of present Government production control programs, no fewer than 50 million acres were idle last year. Simply put, this means we are faced with a continuing procedure whereby fewer and fewer farmers are growing more and more food and fiber on smaller and smaller acreages. Meanwhile, despite the fact of abundant supplies, the cost of staples at supermarket counters remains very high and, thus far, there seem to be very few, if any, workable plans projected to correct this topsy-turvy situation, which is not good for the great majority of farmers and is certainly not helpful to the great majority of American consumers.

Nobody, I am sure, argues that farmers must be penalized for the advances of farm technology and his own efficiency. Surely and truly, they have as much right to a fair return on their labor and investments as any other group in our society. The basic challenge that we face here, I think, is the projection of a type of limited and equitably applied subsidy that will tend to insure both adequate income to farmers and as low prices as possible to consumers.

Our present agony of inflation, affecting every American, heightens the necessity and our legislative obligation to seek and find a just and equitable support program, and the establishment of a $20,000 farm payment limit represents a giant step toward that economically wholesome objective in the overall national interest.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, as requested earlier, I want to include some extraneous matter at this point in the RECORD.

As I have said many times, an essential ingredient for the success of any payment ceiling is that it be administered rigorously to prevent evasion by such means as subdividing of large farms into smaller units.

In order to establish the legislative history indicating that there should be firm efforts to prevent evasion I inserted in the RECORD yesterday, at page 27141 a number of suggested regulations for the Secretary of Agriculture to implement.

I have stressed that only a privileged few producers would be affected by a ceiling of $20,000 per crop—only 9,042 or less than four-tenths of 1 percent of the total of over 2.3 million producers in these programs. I include at the close of these remarks a list of key facts regarding the $20,000 ceiling which break down this information for each of the programs affected, and a table indicating the number of producers affected in each State.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, as I have said many times, the overwhelming number of taxpayers, including many family-sized farmers support a realistically low ceiling. I want to share with my colleagues a small sampling of the literally hundreds of letters from people from all over the country that I have received in support of my efforts to limit these giant farm subsidy payments.

The material referred to follows:

KEY FACTS RE $20,000 PER CROP PAYMENT LIMITATION

NUMBER OF PRODUCERS RECEIVING CHECKS OF $20,000 OR MORE

	1968	1969	Percent increase
Cotton producers	5,249	6,194	+18
Feed grain producers	877	1,482	+69
Wheat producers	741	1,123	+52
Wool producers	282	243	−14
Total affected		9,042	

TOTAL PAYMENTS TO PRODUCERS RECEIVING $20,000 OR MORE IN 1969

	Total payments	Amount in excess of $20,000 per producer
Cotton producers	$262,623,000	$138,743,000
Feed grain producers	48,212,000	18,572,000
Wheat producers	34,131,000	11,671,000
Wool producers	7,681,000	2,821,000
Potential reductions in Government expenditures with $20,000 limitation		171,807,000

PERCENTAGES OF PRODUCERS AFFECTED BY $20,000 LIMIT

Cotton producers	1.4 percent of 445,155.
Feed grain producers	0.1 percent of 1,641,863.
Wheat producers	0.1 percent of 995,331.
Wool producers	0.1 percent of 193,371.
Total	0.4 percent of 2,318,862.

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL PRODUCTION AFFECTED BY $20,000 LIMIT

Cotton production	31.7
Feed grain	2.9
Wheat	4.0
Wool	12.5

NUMBER OF PRODUCERS RECEIVING $20,000 OR MORE

From each of 2 programs (1969)	390
From each of 3 programs (1969)	8

PRODUCERS RECEIVING $20,000 OR MORE FROM SPECIFIED PROGRAMS, 1969

State	Cotton	Feed grain	Wheat	Wool	Total
Alabama	244	5			249
Arizona	541	33	1	8	583
Arkansas	633		2		635
California	883	93	46	24	1,046
Colorado		36	91	16	143
Delaware					
Florida	2	5			7
Georgia	178	31	1		210
Hawaii					
Idaho		1	81	23	105
Illinois		108	2		110
Indiana		78			78
Iowa		110	1		111
Kansas		54	94		148
Kentucky		7			7
Louisiana	288				288
Maine					
Maryland		3			3
Michigan		8			8
Minnesota		52	6		58
Mississippi	1,313	5	1		1,319
Missouri	65	78			143
Montana			143	8	151
Nebraska		120	14	1	135
Nevada	2		3	9	14
New Jersey					
New Mexico	96	79	53	9	237
New York		1			1
North Carolina	38	14			52
North Dakota		4	49		53
Ohio		18	2		20
Oklahoma	29	6	37		72
Oregon		2	69	2	73
Pennsylvania		7			7
South Carolina	201	6			207
South Dakota		12	25	2	39
Tennessee	82	3			85
Texas	1,599	480	176	67	2,322
Utah			12	14	26
Virginia		2			2
Washington		3	212	5	220
Wisconsin		18			18
Wyoming			2	55	57
U.S. total	6,194	1,482	1,123	243	9,042

EDMORE, N. DAK.

I am writing you concerning the Farm Bill and the limit on payments. I see by the newspaper that you are for a small limit. I hope you will stick with it and get the limit lowered to help the small farmers.

I am a family-sized farmer with a section of land in North Dakota. My payment this year after taking or cutting my wheat and feed grains came to $5,200. Last year the payment was $3,900 because I didn't cut my wheat acres. My income taxes this winter came to about what I was making farming. I talked with many of my neighbors and they were in the same situation: clearing about what the payment was. So you see the family farmers need this program. The government should help us to make a living and produce cheap food for the consumers. But does it owe the large farmers a large amount so that they can make money on the farm program.

I know a lot of large farmers that are farming land just for the government payment. If we had a small limit, under $10,000 or maybe even as low as $5,000, which is what the welfare figures report that a family needs for a decent living, the large farmers could raise all they want on the world market.

So I hope you will insist on a small limit, because if you can't help the small farmer, at least don't help the large ones over-run us. Thank you.

ARNNOLD INGULSUND.

PLYMOUTH, IND.

I wish you success in your fight for lower farm subsidy limits. This is a particularly bad time to continue such a waste of money.

This program should not guarantee profits at the Taxpayer's expense.

BERNHARD F. TELLKAMP.

ROCKWELL, TEX.

I wish to offer my support to curb the farm subsidy graft racket. I think the $20,000 proposal could even be cut in half. I think you should urge your colleagues to slow down on so much graft that has lasted far too long.

J. H. DUNN.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I listened as you talked today, over FABC Los Angeles, and on the Michael Jackson program.

I appreciate, so much, your efforts and superb intelligence on these farm subsidies, that I was impelled to sit right down to thank you.

You have much courage since you are well aware of the opposing forces against you . . . I am encouraged to know we have men such as you in Congress. Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. FERD S. THEBUS.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

You are not from our bailiwick, but we support your challenging the $55,000 farm subsidy.

Mrs. MARY JO LILLY.

TRENTON, N.J.

I am pleased that a Congressman from my native state is zeroing in on the "fat cat farmers waxing rich on farm subsidies."

It is good to know you are making this effort in the interest of people who work for wages and salaries.

Mr. PETER CONTARDO.

CULLMAN, ALA.

Congratulations on your leading the drive in the House to go along with the Senate in putting a $20,000 limit per crop in the new farm bill.

Won't you please try to come up with a bill more helpful to the small farmer. Actually that was the purpose of the farm program in the first place.

Mrs. EDNA E. ARNOLD.

FAIRFIELD, N. DAK.

In a recent local paper it was stated that you were in favor of a $20,000 Agricultural payment ceiling that possibly will be decided in the near future. . . . I to favor the $20,000 ceiling.

WALTER HLEBECHUK.

GOLDSBORO, N.C.

According to news reports you and Rep. Findley are in favor of limiting the ceiling on annual federal subsidies to farmers to $20,000 per crop. That is quite enough and I agree that this should be the limit.

Our national debt and our federal spending are too high in many areas now. Already there are rumors that taxes will have to be increased next year if the federal budget deficit is too high.

As a taxpayer I am in favor of reducing the federal budget and federal spending now before we have a deficit and your effort to limit subsidies to farmers is an excellent way to start.

I hope that your effort to limit the subsidies is successful.

Mrs. ELIZABETH N. WRIGHT.

MARYSVILLE, KANS.

In our local newspaper yesterday we read that the Agriculture Committee has supported a $55,000 farm subsidy ceiling on each crop. The past weeks the news has been a $20,000 ceiling. There is a vast difference in this.

Also in this article it said you were opposed to the $55,000 ceiling and called it ridiculous. And we want to tell you how glad we are that someone in Congress has a little intelligence.

We are small ordinary farmers, growing wheat and grains and own and operate a 400 acre farm, but there are times when we don't make expenses and feel it is past time for the Agriculture Committee to do something about this. Unless there is, five years from now the farmers will be these men who receive this $55,000 subsidy. Our understanding of the subsidy payments was to help keep the farmer alive instead of helping the rich.

The farmer has lost all pride, and farm prices are at depression level with expenses higher each time you pay them. We often feel that no one cares about the farmer, and then we read about your remark showing us you are concerned and it gives us a lift. Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. DON BREEDING.

NAVASATE, TEX.

Thank you for your work in opposing the continuation of the farm subsidies as they have been paid the past several years.

Please hold out for a maximum of $20,000 to any farmer or farm for all crops. Also please include in the new program clear rules against subdividing ownership to circumvent the rules. Thank you.

Mr. W. E. GIBSON.

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, the farm bill of 1970 presents me with a very difficult vote.

On the one hand I believe in the American farmer, and the farm way of life, as fundamental to American society, and I realize that the farmer pays for everything he buys in a protected and subsidized market, and that he has rarely been able to achieve his fair share of American prosperity.

On the other hand my basic personal philosophy is against Government subsidies and is predisposed in favor of private enterprise and a free market. Moreover, in a poll of the 10th Indiana District which I recently conducted, 62.3 percent of those replying favored a gradual phase-out of all farm price supports, and 87.2 percent favored the limitation of any support payments which might be made to a maximum of $20,000 per farm, even though it may well be true that such a limitation would ultimately operate to make any Government payment program unworkable in practice. Again, I am far from being satisfied that the expensive and complicated farm bill of 1970 would in fact operate successfully to the satisfaction of our farming people.

My decision to vote no is made easier by the fact that the largest and most influential farm organization in our area—the Farm Bureau—is actively opposed to this bill; while the coalition of other farm organizations, although not in agreement with the Farm Bureau, is nevertheless also highly critical of this legislation.

We are, in fact, presented with the anomaly of a farm bill which largely lacks farm organization support and which is presented as a compromise package, not particularly satisfactory even to its proponents, yet to be accepted without any change or amendment by the House of Representatives. This compromise, I think it fairly may be said, is not one particularly favorable to the interests of the Indiana feedgrain farmer. I believe that the Committee might produce a sounder bill, and one more to the interest of our farming people, if this measure is defeated.

I make no claim to being any sort of expert on agricultural legislation; but I believe that one day we must face some fundamental decisions in this area. The Farm Bureau advocates a gradual phase-out of government payments and a return to the free market. The farm coalition tends to accept substantial farm subsidies as a more or less permanent way of life. The present bill does not meet or resolve these fundamental issues. It continues, essentially, for a 3-year period, a farm program which all agree has been exceedingly expensive to the taxpayers, while few contend that it has been highly satisfactory to the farmer, and no one claims that it has solved the agricutural problem.

Much hard and earnest work went into this bill; but its chief accomplishment is to postpone hard decisions—as it is hoped—until after the 1972 elections. This, if it works, is, in its way, not a negligible accomplishment. But it is insufficient to gain my support for a measure of doubtful efficacy and dubious philosophy, which has failed to obtain the support of most of my constituents—including a majority of those who live and work upon the farm.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. If there are no further amendments, under the rule, the committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Chairman pro tempore of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 18546) to establish improved programs for the benefit of producers and consumers of dairy products, wool, wheat, feed grains, cotton, and other commodities, to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 1165, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. TEAGUE of California. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. TEAGUE of California moves to recommit the bill H.R. 18546 to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to report the same back forthwith with the following amendment: Strike out all of titles I, IV, V, VI and VIII, and renumber titles II, III and VII as titles, I, II and III respectively.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the "nays" appeared to have it.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, regretfully, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 167, nays 218, not voting 45, as follows:

[Roll No. 256]

YEAS—167

Adair	Ford, William D.	Patten
Adams	Frey	Pettis
Addabbo	Fulton, Pa.	Pike
Anderson, Calif.	Gibbons	Pirnie
Ashbrook	Gilbert	Poff
Barrett	Goodling	Price, Ill.
Beall, Md.	Green, Pa.	Pucinski
Bell, Calif.	Griffiths	Reid, N.Y.
Bennett	Grover	Reuss
Betts	Gubser	Riegle
Biaggi	Gude	Robison
Biester	Haley	Rodino
Bingham	Halpern	Roe
Boland	Hanley	Rogers, Colo.
Bow	Hanna	Rogers, Fla.
Bray	Harrington	Rooney, Pa.
Broomfield	Harsha	Rosenthal
Brotzman	Harvey	Roth
Brown, Calif.	Hastings	Rousselot
Brown, Mich.	Hechler, W. Va.	Roybal
Brown, Ohio	Heckler, Mass.	Ruppe
Burke, Fla.	Helstoski	St Germain
Button	Hicks	Sandman
Byrne, Pa.	Hogan	Satterfield
Carey	Hosmer	Saylor
Cederberg	Hunt	Scheuer
Chamberlain	Hutchinson	Schmitz
Chappell	Jacobs	Schneebeli
Chisholm	Johnson, Pa.	Scott
Clancy	Kee	Shipley
Clausen, Don H.	Keith	Slack
Clawson, Del	Koch	Smith, Calif.
Cleveland	Kyros	Smith, N.Y.
Cohelan	Landgrebe	Staggers
Conable	Latta	Stanton
Conte	Long, La.	Stokes
Corbett	Lukens	Stratton
Corman	McClory	Sullivan
Coughlin	McCulloch	Taft
Cowger	McDade	Talcott
Crane	McDonald, Mich.	Teague, Calif.
Daniels, N.J.	McEwen	Vander Jagt
Davis, Wis.	Mailliard	Watkins
Delaney	Marsh	Whalen
Dellenback	Martin	Whalley
Dennis	Melcher	Widnall
Derwinski	Minish	Wiggins
Devine	Minshall	Williams
Dwyer	Monagan	Wold
Edwards, Calif.	Morse	Wolff
Eilberg	Mosher	Wyatt
Esch	Nix	Wydler
Eshleman	O'Hara	Wylie
Farbstein	O'Neill, Mass.	Wyman
Fish	Ottinger	Yatron
		Zablocki
		Zion

NAYS—218

Abbitt	Bevill	Byrnes, Wis.
Abernethy	Blackburn	Cabell
Albert	Blanton	Caffery
Alexander	Blatnik	Camp
Anderson, Ill.	Boggs	Carter
Anderson, Tenn.	Brademas	Celler
Andrews, Ala.	Brinkley	Clark
Andrews, N. Dak.	Brock	Collier
Annunzio	Brooks	Collins
Arends	Broyhill, N.C.	Colmer
Ashley	Broyhill, Va.	Culver
Aspinall	Buchanan	Daniel, Va.
Ayres	Burke, Mass.	Davis, Ga.
Belcher	Burlison, Mo.	de la Garza
Berry	Burton, Calif.	Denney
Betts	Burton, Utah	Dickinson
Bevill	Bush	Dingell
Blackburn	Byrne, Pa.	Donohue
Blanton	Cabell	Dorn
Blatnik	Carey	Dowdy
Boggs	Caffery	Downing
Brademas	Camp	Dulski
Brinkley	Carter	Duncan
Brock	Celler	Eckhardt
Brooks	Clark	Edmondson
Broyhill, N.C.	Collier	Edwards, Ala.
Broyhill, Va.	Collins	Edwards, La.
Buchanan	Colmer	Evans, Colo.
Burke, Mass.	Culver	Fascell
Burlison, Mo.	Daniel, Va.	Feighan
Burton, Calif.	Davis, Ga.	Findley
Burton, Utah	de la Garza	Fisher
Bush	Denney	Flood
Byrne, Pa.	Dickinson	Flowers
Byrnes, Wis.	Dingell	Flynt
Cabell	Donohue	Foley
Caffery	Dorn	Ford, Gerald R.
Camp	Dowdy	Foreman
Carter	Downing	Fountain
Cederberg	Dulski	Fraser
Celler	Duncan	Frelinghuysen
Collins	Eckhardt	Friedel
Colmer	Edmondson	Fuqua
Culver	Edwards, Ala.	Gallifianakis
Daniel, Va.	Edwards, La.	Garmatz
Davis, Ga.	Evans, Colo.	Gaydos
Davis, Wis.	Fascell	Gettys
de la Garza	Feighan	Giaimo
Denney	Findley	Gonzalez
Dickinson	Fisher	Green, Oreg.
Dingell	Flood	Griffin
Donohue	Flowers	Gross
Dorn	Flynt	Hagan
Dowdy	Foley	Hall
Downing	Ford, Gerald R.	Hamilton
Dulski	Foreman	Hammer-schmidt
Duncan	Fountain	Hansen, Idaho
Eckhardt	Fraser	Hansen, Wash.
Edmondson	Frelinghuysen	Hathaway
Edwards, Ala.	Friedel	Hays
Edwards, La.	Fuqua	Hébert
Evans, Colo.	Gallifianakis	Henderson
Fascell	Garmatz	Holifield
Feighan	Gaydos	Horton
Findley	Gettys	Howard
Fisher	Giaimo	Hull
Flood	Gonzalez	Hungate
Flowers	Green, Oreg.	Jarman
Flynt	Griffin	Johnson, Calif.
Foley	Gross	Jonas
Ford, Gerald R.	Hagan	Jones, Ala.
Foreman	Hall	Jones, N.C.
Fountain	Hamilton	Jones, Tenn.
Fraser	Hammer-schmidt	Kastenmeier
Frelinghuysen	Hansen, Idaho	Kazen
Friedel	Hansen, Wash.	Kleppe
Fuqua	Hathaway	Kluczynski
Gallifianakis	Hays	Kuykendall
Garmatz	Hébert	Kyl
Gaydos	Henderson	Landrum
Gettys	Holifield	Langen
Giaimo	Horton	Latta
Gonzalez	Howard	Lennon
Green, Oreg.	Hull	Lloyd
Griffin	Hungate	Long, Md.
Gross	Jarman	Lowenstein
Hagan	Johnson, Calif.	McCloskey
Hall	Jonas	McClure
Hamilton	Jones, Ala.	McFall
Hammer-schmidt	Jones, N.C.	McKneally
Hansen, Idaho	Jones, Tenn.	McMillan
Hansen, Wash.	Kastenmeier	Macdonald, Mass.
Hathaway	Kazen	MacGregor
Hays	Kleppe	Madden
Hébert	Kluczynski	Mahon
Henderson	Kuykendall	Mann
Holifield	Kyl	Mathias
Horton	Landrum	Matsunaga
Howard	Langen	May
Hull	Latta	Mayne
Hungate	Lennon	Meeds
Jarman	Lloyd	Michel
Johnson, Calif.	Long, La.	Miller, Calif.
Jonas	Lukens	Miller, Ohio
Jones, Ala.	McClory	Mills
Jones, N.C.	McCloskey	Mink
Jones, Tenn.	McClure	Mize
Kastenmeier	McCulloch	Mizell
Kazen	McFall	Mollohan
Kleppe	McKneally	Montgomery
Kluczynski	McMillan	Moorhead
Kuykendall	Macdonald, Mass.	Morgan
Kyl	MacGregor	Morton
Landrum	Madden	Moss
Langen	Mahon	Murphy, Ill.
Latta	Mann	Murphy, N.Y.
Lennon	Mathias	Myers
Lloyd	Matsunaga	Natcher
Long, Md.	May	Nelsen
Lowenstein	Mayne	Nichols
McCloskey	Meeds	Obey
McClure	Michel	O'Konski
McFall	Miller, Calif.	Olsen
McKneally	Miller, Ohio	O'Neal, Ga.
McMillan	Mills	O'Neill, Mass.
Macdonald, Mass.	Mink	Passman
MacGregor	Mize	Patman
Madden	Mizell	Pepper
Mahon	Mollohan	Perkins
Mann	Montgomery	Pickle
Mathias	Moorhead	Poage
Matsunaga	Morgan	Podell
May	Morton	Preyer, N.C.
Mayne	Moss	Price, Tex.
Meeds	Murphy, Ill.	Pryor, Ark.
Michel	Murphy, N.Y.	Purcell
Miller, Calif.	Myers	Quie
Miller, Ohio	Natcher	Railsback
Mills	Nelsen	Randall
Mink	Nichols	Rarick
Mize	Obey	Rees
Mizell	O'Konski	Reid, Ill.
Mollohan	Olsen	Reifel
Montgomery	O'Neal, Ga.	Rhodes
Moorhead	Passman	Riegle
Morgan	Patman	Rivers
Morton	Pepper	Roberts
Moss	Perkins	Rogers, Colo.
Murphy, Ill.	Philbin	Rogers, Fla.
Murphy, N.Y.	Pickle	Rooney, N.Y.
Myers	Poage	Ruppe
Natcher	Podell	Ruth
Nelsen	Preyer, N.C.	Schadeberg
Nichols	Price, Tex.	Scherle
Obey	Pryor, Ark.	Schwengel
O'Konski	Purcell	Sebelius
Olsen	Quie	Shriver
O'Neal, Ga.	Railsback	Sikes
O'Neill, Mass.	Randall	Sisk
Passman	Rarick	Skubitz
Patman	Rees	Smith, Iowa
Pepper	Reid, Ill.	Snyder
Perkins	Reifel	Springer
Philbin	Rhodes	Steed
Pickle	Riegle	Steiger, Ariz.
Poage	Rivers	Steiger, Wis.
Podell	Roberts	Stephens
Preyer, N.C.	Rogers, Colo.	Stubblefield
Price, Tex.	Rogers, Fla.	Stuckey
Pryor, Ark.	Rooney, N.Y.	Taylor
Purcell	Ruppe	Teague, Tex.
Quie	Ruth	Thomson, Wis.
Railsback	Schadeberg	Udall
Randall	Scherle	Ullman
Rarick	Schwengel	Vigorito
Rees	Sebelius	Waggonner
Reid, Ill.	Shriver	Wampler
Reifel	Sikes	Watson
Rhodes	Sisk	Watts
Riegle	Skubitz	White
Rivers	Smith, Iowa	Whitehurst
Roberts	Snyder	Whitten
Rogers, Colo.	Springer	Wilson, Charles H.
Rogers, Fla.	Steed	Winn
Rooney, N.Y.	Steiger, Ariz.	Wylie
Ruppe	Steiger, Wis.	Zwach
Ruth	Stephens	
Schadeberg	Stubblefield	
Scherle	Stuckey	
Schwengel	Sullivan	
Sebelius	Taft	
Shriver	Taylor	
Sikes	Teague, Tex.	
Sisk	Thomson, Wis.	
Skubitz	Udall	
Smith, Iowa	Ullman	
Snyder	Vigorito	
Springer	Waggonner	
Steed	Wampler	
Steiger, Ariz.	Watson	
Steiger, Wis.	Watts	
Stephens	White	
Stubblefield	Whitehurst	
Stuckey	Whitten	
Sullivan	Wilson, Charles H.	
Taft	Winn	
Taylor	Yates	
Teague, Tex.	Zwach	
Thomson, Wis.		
Udall		
Ullman		
Vigorito		
Waggonner		
Wampler		
Watson		
Watts		
White		
Whitehurst		
Whitten		
Wilson, Charles H.		
Winn		
Wylie		
Zwach		

NOT VOTING—45

Baring	Fallon	Powell
Bolling	Fulton, Tenn.	Quillen
Brasco	Gallagher	Rostenkowski
Burleson, Tex.	Goldwater	Roudebush
Casey	Gray	Ryan
Clay	Hawkins	Stafford
Conyers	Ichord	Symington
Cramer	Karth	Thompson, Ga.
Cunningham	King	Thompson, N.J.
Daddario	Lujan	Tiernan
Dawson	McCarthy	Tunney
Dent	Meskill	Weicker
Diggs	Nedzi	Wilson, Bob
Erlenborn	Pelly	Wright
Evins, Tenn.	Pollock	Young

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Karth for, with Mr. Hawkins against.

Mr. Dent for, with Mr. Burleson of Texas against.

Mr. Ryan for, with Mr. Evins of Tennessee against.

Mr. Brasco for, with Mr. Young against.

Mr. Nedzi for, with Mr. Wright against.

Mr. Clay for, with Mr. Tunney against.

Mr. Conyers for, with Mr. Fallon against.

Mr. Stafford for, with Mr. Fulton of Tennessee against.

Mr. Diggs for, with Mr. Casey against.

Mr. Erlenborn for, with Mr. Dawson against.

Mr. Lujan for, with Mr. Quillen against.

Mr. King for, with Mr. Thompson of Georgia against.

Mr. Goldwater for, with Mr. Cunningham against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Weicker.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Daddario with Mr. Meskill.

Mr. Ichord with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Pelly.

Mr. Gray with Mr. Bob Wilson.

Mr. Baring with Mr. McCarthy.

Mr. Symington with Mr. Powell.

Mr. TALCOTT and Mr. YATRON changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken, and there were—yeas 212, nays 171, not voting 47, as follows:

[Roll No. 257]

YEAS—212

Abbitt	Gallifianakis	Nichols
Abernethy	Garmatz	Obey
Albert	Gettys	O'Konski
Alexander	Gonzalez	Olsen
Anderson, Ill.	Green, Oreg.	O'Neal, Ga.
Anderson, Tenn.	Griffin	O'Neill, Mass.
Andrews, Ala.	Griffiths	Passman
Andrews, N. Dak.	Gross	Patman
Annunzio	Hagan	Pepper
Arends	Hall	Perkins
Aspinall	Hamilton	Pickle
Ayres	Hammer-schmidt	Poage
Belcher	Hansen, Idaho	Podell
Berry	Hansen, Wash.	Poff
Betts	Harsha	Preyer, N.C.
Bevill	Hathaway	Price, Tex.
Blackburn	Hays	Pryor, Ark.
Blatnik	Hébert	Purcell
Boggs	Henderson	Quie
Boland	Holifield	Railsback
Bow	Horton	Randall
Brinkley	Hull	Rarick
Brock	Hungate	Rees
Brooks	Jarman	Reid, Ill.
Broyhill, N.C.	Johnson, Calif.	Reifel
Buchanan	Jonas	Rhodes
Burke, Mass.	Jones, Ala.	Riegle
Burlison, Mo.	Jones, N.C.	Rivers
Burton, Calif.	Jones, Tenn.	Roberts
Burton, Utah	Kastenmeier	Rogers, Colo.
Bush	Kazen	Rogers, Fla.
Byrnes, Wis.	Kleppe	Rooney, N.Y.
Cabell	Kluczynski	Ruppe
Caffery	Kuykendall	Ruth
Camp	Kyl	Schadeberg
Carter	Landrum	Scherle
Cederberg	Langen	Schwengel
Celler	Latta	Sebelius
Collins	Lennon	Shriver
Colmer	Lloyd	Sikes
Culver	Long, La.	Sisk
Daniel, Va.	Lukens	Skubitz
Davis, Ga.	McClory	Smith, Iowa
Davis, Wis.	McCloskey	Snyder
de la Garza	McClure	Springer
Denney	McCulloch	Stanton
Dickinson	McFall	Steed
Dingell	McKneally	Steiger, Ariz.
Dorn	McMillan	Steiger, Wis.
Dowdy	MacGregor	Stephens
Downing	Mahon	Stubblefield
Dulski	Mann	Stuckey
Duncan	Mathias	Sullivan
Eckhardt	Matsunaga	Taft
Edmondson	May	Taylor
Edwards, Ala.	Mayne	Teague, Tex.
Edwards, La.	Meeds	Thomson, Wis.
Evans, Colo.	Michel	Udall
Feighan	Miller, Calif.	Ullman
Fisher	Miller, Ohio	Vigorito
Flowers	Mills	Waggonner
Flynt	Mink	Wampler
Foley	Mize	Watson
Ford, Gerald R.	Mizell	Watts
Foreman	Mollohan	White
Fountain	Montgomery	Whitehurst
Fraser	Murphy, Ill.	Whitten
Frelinghuysen	Murphy, N.Y.	Wilson, Charles H.
Friedel	Myers	Winn
Fuqua	Natcher	Wylie
	Nelsen	Zwach

NAYS—171

Adair	Anderson, Calif.	Ashley
Adams	Ashbrook	Barrett
Addabbo		Beall, Md.

Bell, Calif.	Gaydos	Nix
Bennett	Giaimo	O'Hara
Biaggi	Gibbons	Ottinger
Biester	Gilbert	Patten
Bingham	Goodling	Pettis
Brademas	Green, Pa.	Philbin
Bray	Grover	Pike
Broomfield	Gubser	Pirnie
Brotzman	Gude	Price, Ill.
Brown, Calif.	Haley	Pucinski
Brown, Mich.	Halpern	Reuss
Brown, Ohio	Hanley	Robison
Broyhill, Va.	Hanna	Rodino
Burke, Fla.	Harrington	Roe
Button	Harvey	Rooney, Pa.
Byrne, Pa.	Hastings	Rosenthal
Carey	Hechler, W. Va.	Roth
Chamberlain	Heckler, Mass.	Rousselot
Chappell	Helstoski	Roybal
Chisholm	Hicks	St Germain
Clancy	Hogan	Sandman
Clark	Hosmer	Satterfield
Clausen,	Howard	Saylor
Don H.	Hunt	Scheuer
Clawson, Del	Hutchinson	Schmitz
Cleveland	Jacobs	Schneebeli
Cohelan	Johnson, Pa.	Scott
Collier	Kee	Shipley
Conable	Keith	Slack
Conte	Koch	Smith, Calif.
Corbett	Kyros	Smith, N.Y.
Corman	Landgrebe	Staggers
Coughlin	Leggett	Stokes
Cowger	Long, Md.	Stratton
Crane	Lowenstein	Talcott
Daniels, N.J.	McDade	Teague, Calif.
Delaney	McDonald,	Van Deerlin
Dellenback	Mich.	Vander Jagt
Dennis	McEwen	Vanik
Derwinski	Macdonald,	Waldie
Devine	Mass.	Watkins
Donohue	Madden	Whalen
Dwyer	Mailliard	Whalley
Edwards, Calif.	Marsh	Widnall
Eilberg	Martin	Wiggins
Esch	Melcher	Williams
Eshleman	Mikva	Wold
Farbstein	Minish	Wolff
Fascell	Minshall	Wyatt
Findley	Monagan	Wydler
Fish	Moorhead	Wyman
Flood	Morgan	Yates
Ford,	Morse	Yatron
William D.	Morton	Zablocki
Frey	Mosher	Zion
Fulton, Pa.	Moss	

NOT VOTING—47

Baring	Fallon	Quillen
Blanton	Fulton, Tenn.	Reid, N.Y.
Bolling	Gallagher	Rostenkowski
Brasco	Goldwater	Roudebush
Burleson, Tex.	Gray	Ryan
Casey	Hawkins	Stafford
Clay	Ichord	Symington
Conyers	Karth	Thompson, Ga.
Cramer	King	Thompson, N.J.
Cunningham	Lujan	Tiernan
Daddario	McCarthy	Tunney
Dawson	Meskill	Weicker
Dent	Nedzi	Wilson, Bob
Diggs	Pelly	Wright
Erlenborn	Pollock	Young
Evins, Tenn.	Powell	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Burleson of Texas for, with Mr. Karth against.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee for, with Mr. Dent against.

Mr. Hawkins for, with Mr. Ryan against.

Mr. Young for, with Mr. Brasco against.

Mr. Wright for, with Mr. Nedzi against.

Mr. Tunney for, with Mr. Clay against.

Mr. Fallon for, with Mr. Conyers against.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee for, with Mr. Erlenborn against.

Mr. Casey for, with Mr. Diggs against.

Mr. Blanton for, with Mr. Stafford against.

Mr. Quillen for, with Mr. Reid of New York against.

Mr. Lujan for, with Mr. King against.

Mr. Thompson of Georgia for, with Mr. Goldwater against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Cunningham.

Mr. Daddario with Mr. Meskill.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Pelly.

Mr. Gray with Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Ichord with Mr. Weicker.

Mr. Baring with Mr. Bob Wilson.

Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Symington.

Mr. Powell with Mr. Dawson.

Mr. BUTTON changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter in connection with the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

CHANGE OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of advising Members as to the program for the remainder of this week. I see the distinguished minority leader is present.

Mr. Speaker, on tomorrow the first important order of business will be the conference report on the Postal Reorganization and Salary Adjustment Act, H.R. 17070.

That will be followed by consideration of the bill (S. 1933) Railroad Safety and Hazardous Materials Control, under an open rule with 2 hours of debate. The bill has been previously announced on the program for this week.

May I further advise the Members that we will not have a session on Friday of this week, but we will certainly have one next week.

THE PERIPHERAL CANAL—COME HELL OR LOW WATER

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

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I was more than a little concerned to read in the current newsletter of the California Water Resources Association that a high official of the Department of Interior has expressed his "excitement" about a controversial public works project that has yet to come under the scrutiny of the Environmental Quality Council.

James Watt, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior for Water and Power, told a meeting of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce that this project, the proposed Peripheral Canal, is "urgently needed by both State and Federal water conservation programs."

He also praised the "thorough procedures" used by the State of California in evaluating the Peripheral Canal and went so far as to say, "We in Washington are excited about this project."

One can only deduce from Mr. Watt's comments before his Los Angeles audience—and I might add at this time that the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California which is well represented on the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Water and Power Committees, is a principal beneficiary of the Peripheral Canal project—that it is his belief that the proposed project will encounter little hindrance from the Secretary of Interior prior to being sent to the Congress for authorization.

Equally disturbing to me, Mr. Speaker, were Mr. Watt's comments regarding those concerned Californians opposed to the Peripheral Canal project.

According to the California Water Resources Association newsletter, Mr. Watt "warned that extremist views of some nature preservationists are 'pushing the pendulum too far.'"

I find Mr. Watt's comments premature at best both as to the merits of the project itself and to the "thoroughness" of the State in evaluating the Peripheral Canal feasibility report.

The chairman of the Environmental Quality Council, Mr. Russell Train, just last week informed me of the concern of the council with regard to the environmental impact of the Peripheral Canal. He wrote me that he has directed his staff to undertake a study of the project and is awaiting a report from the Bureau of Reclamation on the environmental aspects of the project in compliance with section 102 of the Environmental Protection Act of 1969.

All these things, Mr. Speaker, would seem to support the contention that the proposed Peripheral Canal has probable questionable environmental defects that warrant a thorough study.

Additionally, Mr. Speaker, subsequent to Mr. Watt's speech in Los Angeles, the U.S. Geological Survey issued a report which indicates that diversion of Delta fresh water inflows through the Peripheral Canal to the proposed Federal and State water projects, will result in dimunition of water quality in San Francisco Bay.

The Peripheral Canal is the conveyance system whereby this diversion will be accomplished.

Mr. Speaker, the Peripheral Canal feasibility reports sent to the State of California and evaluated by the State does not contain any data as to the effect of the canal on bay water quality. Yet the U.S. Geological Survey report makes this relationship between the canal and the bay quite clear.

I would say that this omission detracts from the glowing commendation of the State's "thoroughness" given by the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Mr. Watt.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to question Mr. Watt's qualifications for making such a sweeping and in my opinion, premature, statements.

Mr. Watt formerly served as Secretary of the Natural Resources Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and headed the chamber's efforts to undermine the water quality legislation passed by the Congress under the previous administration.

At hearings held by the Senate Inte-

rior Committee on the nomination of Walter J. Hickel as Secretary of Interior, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE said:

Mr. Watt has been in the forefront of those who have undertaken to challenge the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to require secondary treatment and to adopt what has been referred to as the nondegredation rule.

Senator MUSKIE said he had reviewed the chamber's—Watt's—brief that was solicited or obtained by the chamber on the matter of nondegredation and challenging the Secretary of Interior, and said:

If the point of view of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on these two points were to be adopted, in my judgment it would destroy the water quality standards program as it is now established in law.

Subsequent to the hearings, and to the confirmation of Secretary Hickel by the Senate, Mr. Watt was hired on a temporary consultant basis. On February 11, 1970, then—Under Secretary Russell Train was reported in the New York Times to have said of Watt:

We have no intention of putting him in a policy-making position.

However, Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE said it was his understanding that Watt would be given a permanent post in the Interior Department.

Mr. PROXMIRE said:

I think the appointment of a man who is so identified with the private interests can only create a credibility gap between your (Hickel's) statements of concern for the public interest and your actions as Secretary of Interior. (New York Times, February 11, 1970.)

Watt was later appointed to his present post as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Water and Power.

I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, that perhaps Deputy Assistant Secretary Watt is speaking for the administration and that the Peripheral Canal, despite evidence of grave environmental consequences and despite the concern of the Environmental Quality Council about these consequences, has been preordained to be "urgently needed" and that it has evoked "excitement" in Washington.

I would take this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to renew my strong desire for a full environmental study into this project, especially in the light of the conclusions of the recent U.S. Geological Survey report, and that the feasibility report of the project be reexamined with this new evidence.

I would further hope that Deputy Assistant Secretary James Watt controls his exuberance about public works projects—at least until it is demonstrated that they are worthy of even the least amount of enthusiasm, a demonstration that cannot be made about the Peripheral Canal.

PRESS RESPONSIBILITY

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

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to address the House on the subject of press responsibility.

Two days ago, the President spoke to a group of newsmen in Denver about the press coverage of criminal trials. The thrust of the President's remarks was that the news media should, in the public interest, exercise self-restraint.

During the course of these remarks, the President referred to Charles Manson, a defendant in a pending murder trial in California, as "guilty, directly or indirectly, of eight murders."

The President was wrong in making that comment but subsequent events have clearly demonstrated that the President was correct in urging commonsense restraint upon a sometimes reckless news media.

It is not normally improper for an individual to hold or express a belief in the guilt of an accused. One would assume that someone holds such a belief, else Manson would never have been arrested, a criminal complaint filed, and have been brought to trial on the charge of murder.

The evil is not in expressing a belief in the guilt of an accused; but, rather, in conveying that view to the jury in such a manner as to prejudice the impartiality of their deliberations.

The President spoke to a small group of newsmen a thousand miles from the Manson trial. He did not say a word to the jury or anyone else connected with that trial. But the press has been veritably shouting the words of the President into the ear of anyone connected with that trial without letting up, for 2 days—and for what purpose?

Because of the prominence of the President of the United States, one must concede that he should have withheld his opinion of Manson's guilt. His error, however, is not in passionately believing in Manson's innocence. His error was in not recognizing that the press would irresponsibly carry his words to the courtroom and possibly prejudice the accused thereby.

The President's statement was news, our friends in the Press Gallery are murmuring. The news, and it is relatively unimportant news, is the President's lapse of judgment to the possible prejudice of a criminal defendant. His exact words are not necessary to the story, and to repeat them in dramatic headlines can only be intended to sell newspapers or prejudice the defendant. It demonstrates an utter and reckless abuse of the unique power accorded the media by the first amendment. The Los Angeles Times has a particularly heavy cross to bear, in this case.

The point may be illustrated by an example. Suppose the President had in a moment of high emotion uttered an obscenity. It is perhaps minor news that the President would swear under pressure; but is it necessary to the story to print the obscenity in the headline? Of course not. For to do so would perhaps be harmful to others.

So it is in this case.

In the final analysis, the court will rule in the Manson case whether or not his right to a fair trial has been prejudiced by this furor. But when the dust is settled, and the press has printed its last inflammatory headline, and the defense counsel, shouting like spoiled children to the press, have given up efforts to provoke a mistrial, there will be time to reflect upon where the real irresponsibility lies.

It is hoped that the press will learn from its conduct in this tragic affair. Criminal trials are not intended to be publicity sideshows. They do not exist to sell newspapers or to entertain the public. The trial of a criminal case deals with the serious business of determining the truth under circumstances of fairness and justice to the accused. With the apparent acquiescence of the defendant and perhaps his counsel, the press in this case has done its very best to prejudice the Manson jury.

I hope it has not succeeded.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON MANSON TRIAL

(Mr. BOGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California just made the most amazing speech I have ever heard in the 30 years that I have been in the House of Representatives. He is blaming the press of this country for the President of the United States in a public address on television declaring to the whole world that a man on trial is guilty.

I happen to be a member of the bar. I have been for well over 30 years, since 1937. What the President did is indefensible, inexcusable, unexplainable, and obviously he has prejudiced the trial.

There are former district attorneys sitting here. I see the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. GEORGE ANDREWS), sitting here. He was a former district attorney. There are also former U.S. attorneys in this body. To me it is amazing that the gentleman from California (Mr. WIGGINS, would have the effrontery to defend this action of the President of the United States.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I cannot imagine how the press of the United States could have been more derelict in its duty had it not carried the words of the President of the United States made about a man's guilt or innocence during a trial.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I include herewith editorial comments on the subject:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 5, 1970]

MR. NIXON'S LOOSE TALK

Speaking extemporaneously on important issues can be a dangerous practice for any President, as President Nixon proved Monday with his assertion that one of the defendants in the Sharon Tate murder case "was guilty, directly or indirectly, of eight murders without reason."

The White House press secretary swiftly issued a "clarification" of this remark, and the President himself several hours later retracted it altogether. But the clarification and retraction could not undo the damage. It is self-evident that if the President of the United States publicly states his belief that an accused man is guilty, then that man has an unfair burden in trying to defend his innocence before a jury. The only thing that

prevented an immediate mistrial in this instance was the judge's confidence that the precautions he ordered would keep the jurors from learning of the President's remarks. However, the alleged killer has now undone those safeguards by flaunting a newspaper with a banner headline on the Nixon statement before the jury.

Not the least puzzling aspect of this episode is that Attorney General Mitchell stood silently at Mr. Nixon's side while he made his highly prejudicial comment. The country is entitled to expect that its chief law officer would have acted at once to rescue the President from so serious a gaff.

Nevertheless, the ultimate responsibility lies with Mr. Nixon. Although he is a lawyer, he has practiced over the whole of his career far more politics than law. He approaches the discussion of most public questions, not with the sensitivity to the nuances of language and the habitual caution of an experienced lawyer, but rather with the breezy metaphors and attention-getting if inexact analogies of the politician.

Quite apart from his specific comments on the Tate case, Mr. Nixon's remarks about Congress's "batting average" on crime bills and about "good guys and bad guys" in Westerns were inappropriate to the seriousness and complexity of any useful discussion of the responsibility of the press in reporting crime or of the problem of enhancing popular respect for law and order. His political intent was clear enough. It was to attack the Democrats on the crime issue and to put himself on the side of judges and the police, of improved law enforcement and, by association, of the "good guys" in Western films.

But President Nixon made scant contribution to the elucidation of any serious issue. Every good newspaper gives painstaking attention to the unending tension between the public's right to know about a major crime and a defendant's right to an unprejudiced trial. No paper can ever be sure it strikes a perfect balance in that effort to protect two often contradictory constitutional rights, but it is no help for the President to set his own example in imbalance. Similarly, the press and the public have to weigh the necessity of apprehending and convicting criminals against the harm which can come from "third degree" police methods or misplaced zeal by a prosecutor or judge. In both these fields, discrimination and discrenment are everything; loose talk worse than nothing.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 5, 1970]

WASHINGTON: MAKING THINGS WORSE THAN THEY ARE

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, August 4.—Ever since President Jefferson announced that Aaron Burr was guilty of treason in the Gen. James Wilkinson conspiracy case (he was later acquitted), Presidents of the United States have been in trouble over careless or ill-considered public remarks.

Accordingly, there is nothing particularly new about President Nixon's recent statement that Charles Manson, the hippie cultist now on trial in California, "was guilty, directly or indirectly, of eight murders without reason."

Like former Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who got in trouble during the Eisenhower Administration for passing judgment in the Harry Dexter White case, Mr. Nixon merely talked before thinking, and is entitled to a presumption of innocence, which he later granted to Mr. Manson.

THE NEWS CONFERENCE

The incident raises, however, the old question of how to protect the President of the United States in these days of instant news from unintended and potentially damaging blunders during extemporaneous news conferences.

Every President since Herbert Hoover has become increasingly casual or bold about talking to reporters. Mr. Hoover insisted on written questions at his news conferences; Franklin Roosevelt banned them at his first press conference, but insisted that his answers be reported in the third person. With the advent of television, news conferences were first taped in advance for release later, but Mr. Nixon has insisted on addressing the reporters "live" on TV and without notes.

He is a master of the art and the political advantages are obvious. He conveys the impression of controlling a wide range of complicated subjects and of facing his critics manfully under difficult and often dangerous conditions.

THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF

But Presidents, like baseball pitchers, don't always hit the mark. Unlike Jefferson, who assured the Congress in writing that Aaron Burr's "guilt is placed beyond question," Mr. Nixon merely stumbled into the guilty charge against Manson and then hesitated about setting the record straight.

It is odd that a President, trained in the law, should have violated the elemental presumption of innocence, particularly during a lecture on the majesty of the legal process, but what is even more surprising is why his staff did not protect him in time to keep the blunder from going out on the national television.

Attorney General Mitchell was at his side. He and other members of the President's official family realized what had happened, but either they hesitated to make it clear to the President in time or the President's instructions were not carried out accurately by Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary.

Accordingly, the correction was not made until four hours later when the Presidential plane got to Washington, and even then the big jet was circling Andrews Air Force Base to get the correction in order.

The interesting thing here is that the President's original charge of guilt was not going out on live network television. It was being taped for release later. Thus, the blunder could easily have been corrected before the damage was done. The question, therefore, is whether the staff was alert and confident enough to tell the President what had happened, and if so, why Ziegler came back with a mystifying "clarification."

The relations between a President and his staff are private, and nobody can be quite sure whether Mr. Nixon's staff is timid or intimidated. It is certainly intelligent, but in this case something obviously slipped.

WHY NOT LATER?

Beyond this, it is not quite clear why these Presidential news conferences cannot always be taped and checked for bloopers before they are released. After all, even the football games have instant replay, and even Congressmen have the right to revise and extend their remarks in the Congressional Record.

The trouble is in catching up with charges after they are made, even when corrected. Albert J. Beveridge, writing in *The Life of John Marshall*, says of Mr. Jefferson's charge against Burr:

"The awful charge of treason had now been formally made against Burr by the President of the United States. This . . . at once caught and held the attention of the public, which took for granted the truth of it . . ."

Mr. Nixon's slip, of course, is not comparable, but it was recoverable, and the odd thing was that the President and his staff were still trifling with it four hours after the accident.

[From the Evening Star, Aug. 5, 1970]

NIXON'S BAD GUYS

President Nixon's spectacular assignation of guilt to the chief defendant in the Sharon Tate murder case is subject to a broad range of interpretation. Those most inclined to dismiss the presidential gaffe will put it down as an innocent slip of the tongue, erased completely when his press secretary explained that Mr. Nixon was referring to the "alleged guilt" of Charles Manson rather than to the proven thing. Nixon-haters will see a malevolent disregard of the rights of accused persons, and of the cherished presumption of innocence before conviction.

The possible effect of the Nixon remark on the ability of the Tate defendants to get a fair trial is for the court to decide. The judge so far has refused to declare a mistrial.

We presume the President's essential innocence in the unfortunate affair. Elsewhere in his Denver remarks he spoke feelingly of the need for preserving fairness in the judicial system. But, indicative of a verbal habit that played a part in the Manson lapse, he spoke several times of "the guilty"—rather than just "the accused"—as deserving of fair trials.

Even Mr. Nixon's most extreme detractors give him credit for thinking like a lawyer—putting details in logical order to make an effective case for his viewpoint. It is obvious, though, that the President is not in the habit of thinking and talking like a lawyer specializing in criminal defense. His clients have been his own political positions and government policies, rather than people of all shades of culpability who run afoul of the police.

Having made this allowance for the President's human error and his more consuming interests in foreign affairs and national economics, we still think he is answerable for a bit more than a slip of the tongue. Insertion of the word "alleged" does not take the curse off the failure of sensitivity that led him to discuss the Los Angeles murder trial in the first place. A President, commanding the immense powers of the federal government, has no business talking in public about a case that is pending before a jury. Besides saying that Manson was guilty, Mr. Nixon used strong language to castigate the two defense lawyers who were jailed overnight after being held in contempt of court.

Then there was the implication in the President's remarks that, in their reporting of criminal prosecutions, newspapers and television broadcasts are glamorizing criminals. This, we contend—as one of the newspapers trying to present an honest picture of our society—is a bum rap. Singularly mystifying is the President's belief that Manson, in particular, has been made to appear "glamorous." We've gotten a different impression of the public reaction to the sensational case.

The President's recollection of a John Wayne western he had just seen did little to support his case against glorifying crime. Mr. Nixon spoke wistfully about the celluloid world in which "the good guys come out ahead . . ., the bad guys lose." But the President must deal with a world in which bad guys and good guys are not always distinguishable, in which most people are a mixture of good and bad and in which basically well-meaning citizens do irrational or destructive things.

In his Denver talk, the President started out well, with a call for congressional action on crime legislation, and ended well, pleading for public support of the nation's system of justice. Between the beginning and end, however, he took a curious route.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

Newspapers round the nation and overseas reacted fairly predictably to President Nixon's blunder over the "guilt" of Charles Manson in the Tate-Labianca murders. A UPI roundup of editorial opinion included the following papers.

The Atlanta Constitution: "In truth, the President simply blundered. He's human.

But he still doesn't seem to grasp the role of the press in a free society. He wants the press to tell it his way. But a free press insists on trying to tell it like it is.

The Detroit Free Press: "The nagging point about the President's faux pas is that it may reflect an underlying attitude more worrisome than this particular mistake. His failure to add 'alleged' to his remarks suggests that he may think the presumption of innocence more a technicality than anything else."

The New York Daily News: "The President was a victim of Murphy's Law—if anything can go wrong, it will. The word alleged would have averted all the ensuing hullabaloo."

The New York Times: "He approaches the discussion of most public questions, not with the sensitivity to the nuances of language and the habitual caution of an experienced lawyer, but rather with the breezy metaphors and attention-getting, if inexact, analogies of the politician."

The Philadelphia Inquirer: "A slip of the tongue is understandable. But the comments leave a bad taste in the mouth not only because of his injudicious remarks, but also because of his apparent eagerness to find fault with the media."

The Chicago Tribune: "Suggestions that restrictions be placed on news media are absurd when the highest executive officers in the nation convey the impression that they have prejudged defendants who have yet to have their full day in court."

The Guardian, London: "It is hard to recall a presidential boo-boo quite so appalling as Mr. Nixon's judicial lapse."

The Arizona Republic: "The Nixon statement again put the Administration clearly on the side of law and order. The President spoke for the vast majority of Americans when he criticized the defense lawyers for their contemptuous attacks on the judge.

"He told the absolute truth when he said a new respect for the legal system would have to be created, or the system would be destroyed."

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 5, 1970]

THE TRIAL AND THE "SLIP"

Between them, the President of the United States and the defendant, Charles Manson, managed to throw Mr. Manson's Los Angeles murder trial into sorry disarray, at least temporarily.

The President, in an off-the-tongue comment at a Monday press conference in Denver, casually declared Mr. Manson "guilty, directly or indirectly, of eight murders, without reason."

And while the White House lumberingly was trying to undo this indiscretion, Mr. Manson displayed a newspaper for the jurors to see. The paper had a big headline on the Nixon imprudence.

The only possible purpose of this mischief by Mr. Manson was to trap the court into declaring a mistrial, which the defense lawyers already had demanded purely on the basis of the President's statement.

Since the jury had been secluded, without access to any news, the Judge denied the first defense motion. But after Mr. Manson's brazen stunt, he polled the jurors, all but one of whom said he had caught a glimpse of the headline. But all said they still could act impartially.

As a lawyer, Mr. Nixon knows better than to "convict" any defendant while he still is on trial. He simply was overwhelmed by his own enthusiasm in demanding more help from Congress in combatting crime.

What he said about the Manson case was not at all necessary to the points he was trying to make. He goofed. And the goof, regardless of Mr. Manson, could impinge on the President's reputation for tact and equilibrium. Others may indulge loose tongues, but not a President.

Rightly or wrongly, everything a President says becomes an international event. And nearly every President at some time has spilled a remark he would rather disown. Mr. Nixon now has taken his turn at overtalk and he is not likely to forget it for some time.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AMENDMENT

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

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following statement regarding the women's rights amendment by my constituents, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Logan of Santa Barbara, Calif.:

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AMENDMENT

On the surface, the Women's Rights Amendment looks reasonable and relatively innocuous. However, research by numerous psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists, reveals that it would be detrimental to society. We therefore urge you to oppose the bill and also suggest that you repeal the "sex" provision from the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In researching, we found that the word "sex" was added to the Civil Rights Act almost as a joke by an 81 year-old congressman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia and that it brought a good deal of laughter from the house. It was considered a generous gesture toward women. It seemed like an insignificant matter, and congressmen have more important issues to be considering than women's rights. However this issue and its ramifications of increased broken homes and insecure children could produce one of the great disasters in American history. Such a Women's Rights Amendment would ultimately undermine the integrity of the family and deprive infants and children of a secure home.

It is vital that more citizens understand the meaning of these women's rights bills and their impact on society. We urge you as congressmen to oppose this bill on August 10, and give citizens time to understand it and express themselves. Housewives have had little opportunity to speak on these bills. Housewives have no unions and no lobbys. The vocal and militant women's liberation groups in no way represent the women of our country.

We feel that the vast majority of women do not want the equal "right" to be drafted as the current amendment proposes. (If housewives had unions—there would be a militant! voice against this.)

We should not be misled by the Feminists statements that do have validity. They camoflage their resentment for men and their frustrations in being women by making statements that most women do approve of: 'There ought to be a woman on the Supreme Court", "It is self-denigrating for women to accept the image of being a sexual object".

The nature of their underlying philosophy and its potentially tragic result should be clearly recognized: They scorn man as head-of-the-house, and they degrade the role of wife and mother. These attitudes constitute a grave threat to the integrity of the family.

After reading Mrs. Betty Friedan's book a few years ago, many wives and homemakers wondered what kind of a marriage Mrs. Friedan could have with her negative attitudes toward men, marriage and homemaking. It was interesting to learn that her marriage ended in divorce a year ago. And now Mrs. Friedan is on the trail to "restructure" society so that other women can follow her path.

Feminists are clamoring for equal rights. Of course women must have equality under the law. But there are physical, emotional and social aspects and differences that must be considered. The large majority of our women are also wife, mother and homemaker. Some consideration must be given for these roles and certain privileges should be allowed which are not given male workers. Therefore, state laws intended to protect women workers should not be wiped off the books as the current amendment proposes.

To have equal opportunity for employment of career women and men—yes, in most situations. But when a woman becomes wife and mother the situation changes dramatically. To have equal opportunity for employment for mothers vs. men, society must be willing to place a six-week old baby in a full-time day-care center so that the mother may be assured of her job six weeks after delivery.

Most social scientists agree that in a competitive industrial society there can be no economic equality (between families) or sexual equality (between male and female) except as parenthood is taken into account by some sort of allowance for children and as a supplemental institution shifts the load of child-care from the individual worker to the social group. For complete sexual equality child-care must be shifted from the home to the institution.

Do we really want institutional care of our young? (The President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1963 made such a recommendation and some public funds have been going in this direction ever since.) Would 50% of Americans really vote to have government care for children ages one to four? Do we care about the future of the family and the mental heath of future citizens?

Rather than let the militant feminists push our government into passing bills to further feminist thinking, (And most of them are self-haters who have failed at making home very likely because they lacked proper upbringing and home life.), we propose that our nation have a "Children's Bill of Rights or Amendment". Someone must speak for this silent group.

A "Children's Bill of Rights" should include:

(1) The right to be loved and cared for by a Mother, or an adequate mother substitute.

(2) The right to a good home with a father and mother who love their children and each other.

(3) The right to a thorough, wide and stimulating education.

Vocational education and training activities of our government should give a priority to males and not females. Colored males especially need this upgrading far more than white or colored women. Much of the crime in our country is caused because negro males haven't had opportunities. (Often women have taken jobs that might be theirs). This Women's Rights Amendment is subtly undermining the family by making it more difficult for men to be head-of-the-house and provider, and thus promoting a matriarchy. (A book we are currently writing called "The Joy of Marriage" shows the importance of having man as provider and leader.)

We must elevate the role of wife-mother-homemaker if the family is to survive as a healthy institution. The very salvation of the nation depends upon the homemaker. We could do without nearly every other vocation in the world but that of homemaker. The homemaker's identity and self-worth is being underrated by the feminists who call her the stay-at-home fool who is hoodwinked by the big-bad-advertiser! If Mothers relearned the art of communicating with teenagers we would likely reverse our staggering drug problem.

The role of housewife must be given respect and recognized for its social importance. It deserves the status of other vocations:

(1) vacation guaranteed two weeks per year (possibly the government could subsidize)

(2) a week-end away from home every 3–4 months

(3) ½–1 day off per week with complete freedom. Certainly a mother needs relief from the constant care of youngsters. She will reap psychological and physical benefit from these vacations and be a much better mother when she returns. Men and women in the business world get the variety of office, home and vacation. The homemaker often only has one setting day after day. If a mother can't afford the above vacations, the government might subsidize. (Day care centers, if necessary for widows should be privately run and not a government's obligation. Parents should take responsibility for their own children age one to four.)

The 1968 manpower report of the President stresses that family stability should be a primary objective of government policy. But what specifically can do that? More houses? In part, yes; and Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs George Romney is working to provide thousands of houses for the needy—giving people a feeling of personal responsibility in home ownership. President Nixon has presented an outstanding anti-crime proposal. There were, however, two very pertinent issues which he failed to deal with. The most important is that of the broken family. (The second is violence on film.) A leading columnist said that the broken family is something that no President can do much about. But is this true? We believe that if enough people wrote their President and leaders and expressed concern, priority could be given to the family.

Proposals for strengthening the family might include:

(1) Provide pre-marital counseling (at government expense—this would eliminate the need for so many day-care centers, for women would be happily married, not divorced and in need of someone to care for their children.) This counseling could be effective in preparing young people for marriage. Once introduced to counseling they may seek it more readily during marriage, for the little crises.

(2) Require couples to renew their marriage license just as they do their driver's license. Renewal might require an eight-week course for both husband and wife separately or together. Premarital and college courses are helpful but during courtship so often "love is blind" and it isn't until after a few years of marriage that problems become manifest. Possibly churches, and various Adult Education programs could be enlisted to provide such courses.

(3) Provide TV Programs on marriage relationships. (Just as we have had programs on driving safety recently.) Perhaps having a psychiatrist lead a marriage group-therapy class on TV.

(4) Requiring a course for every couple that has children, on how to be an understanding parent. Possibly based on books like Haim Ginott's "Between Parent and Teenager."

This type of a program would be far more effective and pertinent than the Russians' system for discouraging divorce. They have the highest divorce rate of any country, and have simply legislated increasingly higher fees for each subsequent divorce! (Russians have a greater problem with adultery and alcoholism from "equality marriages".

But we are close behind Russia with one out of three families falling apart. Our situation has almost reached a state of national emergency. The inspiring inauguration theme of President Nixon was "bring us together again". If we could successfully carry this theme to the families of our country most of our other social problems would be resolved. The soundness of our nation and the perpetuation of the race itself depends upon a happy and stable home. President Calvin Coolidge challenged us in the 1920's when he said, "Look well to the Hearthstone. Therein lies all hope for America."

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY INDICATED PUBLICLY THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REMAIN IN SOUTH VIETNAM

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, for some reason beyond my comprehension one of President Kennedy's closest aides has chosen this moment in history to attempt to put the entire blame for the Vietnam war on the shoulders of the late President.

He tells us, according to Life magazine and the Washington Post, that President Kennedy would have pulled all American troops out of South Vietnam in 1963—at a time when it was still feasible—except that he reportedly feared the political consequences of such a move.

For that reason we are told he intended to wait until after the 1964 elections and then pull them out. Tragically, 1965 never came for President Kennedy and the subsequent escalation of the war made it impossible to do in 1969 what was possible in 1963.

I believe the story is phony, Mr. Speaker. The President—any President—must put the good of the Nation ahead of the political consequences of any policy or action. President Nixon is doing this now in winding down the war in such a way that a lasting peace will be a reality. President Kennedy did what he thought was right.

Just 2½ months before his assassination, President John F. Kennedy indicated publicly that the United States should remain in South Vietnam.

On September 9, 1963, the President was interviewed by Chet Huntley and David Brinkley—a one-time television team.

I append to these remarks pertinent excerpts from that 1963 interview:

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S NBC TV INTERVIEW—SEPTEMBER 9, 1963 (EXCERPTS)

Mr. HUNTLEY. Are we likely to reduce our aid to South-Vietnam now?

The PRESIDENT. I don't think we think that would be helpful at this time. If you reduce your aid, it is possible you could have some effect upon the government structure there. On the other hand, you might have a situation which could bring about a collapse. Strongly in our mind is what happened in the case of China at the end of World War II, where China was lost—a weak government became increasingly unable to control events. We don't want that.

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. President, have you had any reason to doubt this so-called "domino theory," that if South Viet-Nam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?

The PRESIDENT. No, I believe it. I believe it. I think that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Viet-Nam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it.

Mr. BRINKLEY. With so much of our prestige, money, so on, committed in South Viet-Nam, why can't we exercise a little more influence there, Mr. President?

The PRESIDENT. We have some influence. We have some influence and we are attempting to carry it out. I think we don't—we can't expect these countries to do everything the way we want to do them. They have their own interest, their own personalities, their own tradition. We can't make everyone in our image, and there are a good many people who don't want to go in our image. In addition, we have ancient struggles between countries. In the case of India and Pakistan, we would like to have them settle Kashmir. That is our view of the best way to defend the subcontinent against communism. But that struggle between India and Pakistan is more important to a good many people in that area than the struggle against the Communists. We would like to have Cambodia, Thailand, and South Viet-Nam all in harmony, but there are ancient differences there. We can't make the world over, but we can influence the world. The fact of the matter is that with the assistance of the United States and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], Southeast Asia and indeed all of Asia has been maintained independent against a powerful force, the Chinese Communists. What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the Government in Saigon, that we should withdraw. That only makes it easy for the Communists. I think we should stay. We should use our influence in as effective a way as we can, but we should not withdraw.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. I commend the gentleman on his statement. As a Member of the House, I attended leadership meetings at the White House with President Kennedy throughout his Presidency, meetings to which Mr. O'Donnell was not privy, and I never at any time heard any such discussion as appears in the article in Life magazine to which the gentleman has referred.

I might say further that the references in the article, the snide references, to former President Johnson are equally untrue, and I thank the gentleman from Michigan for setting the record straight.

DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL TAX DOLLARS TO THE STATES

(Mr. BIAGGI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the President has proposed legislation that would provide for distribution of Federal tax dollars to the States with no strings attached. This essential bill has been gathering dust in the files of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Our State and local governments are finding it increasingly difficult to raise the revenues necessary to support needed operations. Property taxes long ago gave way as a source of revenue, and more and more local jurisdictions have had to resort to the income tax. States entered this field even earlier as their other revenue bases proved inadequate.

The Federal revenue sharing program would, in its first phase, provide the States with an increase in unrestricted revenues so that each government could determine how the funds could best be utilized. The program would also require that a certain percentage of the funds be shared with local governments.

If the revenue sharing concept is fully

developed, the allocations should permit gradual phaseout of State and local income tax collections. The legislation that is finally enacted should have this long-term goal in sight.

We have seen a vast buildup of bureaucratic personnel, paper, and buildings here in Washington and elsewhere to administer the many Federal programs. Much of this proliferation of Federal people and things is due to the monumental amount of requirements placed on an applicant for a Federal grant. Channeling funds back to the States and bypassing this bureaucratic mess would mean more dollars to provide for more of the needs of the people.

Moreover, it makes no sense to me to have three income tax collectors come knocking at my door. It would be far more efficient to let the mighty Federal tax collector in a sense collect for all three through expanded operation of the revenue sharing concept.

Last year, the New York Legislature enacted a revenue sharing program of its own. During my State's current fiscal year—April 1, 1970–March 31, 1971—local jurisdictions will receive substantial sums of new united aid. I am enclosing in the Extensions of Remarks a description of the State of New York's revenue-sharing program.

It is imperative that the Federal Government begin a similar program as soon as possible. I sincerely hope that my colleague from Arkansas (Mr. MILLS) will see the wisdom of the revenue-sharing concept and begin hearings on the very near future.

EMERGENCY BRIDGE REPLACEMENT PROGRAM

(Mr. MOLLOHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to urge my colleagues in the Congress to adopt an emergency bridge replacement program to aid States with a preponderance of antiquated secondary road system bridges.

In my State of West Virginia, for example, we have more older bridges proportionately than any other State in the Nation, and most are not over Federal highways and thus not eligible for Federal repair money.

The President's Task Force on Bridge Safety found West Virginia with 3,982 bridges built prior to 1935 and 1,633 bridges built after 1935.

To bring West Virginia's "deficient" bridges up to adequate standards would cost $169 million.

Only one other State—Virginia with 4,475 pre-1935 bridges and 3,976 post-1935 bridges—has more of its bridges over 35 years old than under.

On a national basis there are approximately 88,900 bridges described as critically deficient and another 900 locations where new crossings must be constructed over major waterways.

The cost of the program, if started right now, would be more than $18 billion.

But a major portion of the critically deficient bridges not included in the Federal aid system of highways are also not included in the system of highways under the control of the States, and therefore without substantial Federal aid they probably never will be replaced.

A bill under consideration would provide 90 percent Federal funding for bridges included in the Federal highway system but nothing for those secondary road bridges which are not included.

We desperately need a program to aid in the repair and replacement of secondary bridges, especially in West Virginia where we have so many of them.

Of the 9.1 million square feet of deck area on West Virginia bridges, some 1.7 million square feet are considered deficient.

And in addition, there are now plans for building 13 new bridges across major waterways in the State at a cost of $14 million.

Our rural areas form the lifelines to our cities and we cannot allow them to remain isolated because of unsafe bridges.

STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER HEARD, CHANCELLOR, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, ON COMPLETION OF HIS MISSION AS SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT

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

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on July 27, 1970, on pages 25836–25839, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of the summary by Dr. Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, of his views of his recent assignment as special adviser to the President on the problems plaguing American universities.

In addition, I inserted the texts of several memorandums that Dr. Heard and his coadviser, Dr. James Cheek, sent to the President during their temporary term of service from May 8 through June 30, 1970.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased now to be able to report that the complete texts of the statement of Dr. Heard, a summary of his activities in connection with his mission as special adviser, copies of recent commentaries on campus issues, and an outline of topics on recommendations to the President, are now available.

Because of the widespread interest in several reports on the parts of Drs. Heard and Cheek, I insert them at this point in the RECORD and I hope that Members of the House and Senate will, in view of the great importance of the subject, find it possible to read them.

The material follows:

STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER HEARD

I am issuing this statement pursuant to a suggestion made by the President to me on July 17 that a summary be released of the activities undertaken by my associates and me, along with the texts of the principal memoranda we have sent to him commenting on campus conditions. I am also, with his agreement, including a brief outline of subjects on which recommendations were made, but not the details of the proposals.

On May 8, the President asked that I serve as Special Advisor to help keep him "fully and currently informed on the thinking of the academic community and especially of the young." I was "to help present to this Administration the views and sentiments of the campuses around the country." The President later also asked that I recommend ways he might in the future keep better advised on campus affairs. These two requests constituted my assignment. It was not my function to investigate individual campuses nor to make recommendations to anyone other than the President or his representatives.

On the urging of academic colleagues, who had proposed to the President that he make such an appointment, I accepted the assignment as an adviser on campus affairs to the President (not as his representative to the campuses). The President asked that the assignment run through the summer. I accepted it until June 30. The Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, Missouri, has covered the expenses of the professional staff, through a grant to Vanderbilt University. Salaries of this staff have been paid by their regular employers.

Shortly after going to the White House, I was joined by James E. Cheek, President of Howard University, who since that time has had the same access to the President as I. Working with us in later weeks were John Gaventa, senior student and president of the student body, Vanderbilt University; Miss Gail Gordon, White House summer intern, senior student, Smith College; Charles V. Kidd, Director, Council on Federal Relations, Association of American Universities; and John Searle, Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley. Supporting clerical and stenographic staff was provided by the White House.

The usefulness of our mission can doubtless best be appraised after a period of time. Even so, observers are likely to measure what they see and don't see against their own hopes and standards, without knowledge of what might or might not have occurred otherwise. Moreover, events themselves are sometimes the best instructor.

From the beginning, the President and many of his staff have made us welcome and have shown hospitality to the purposes of our novel mission. Dr. Cheek and I have had more access to the President than I anticipated when I came, and all we could reasonably expect. I have spent over eleven hours with him in sessions of various kinds. We have submitted memoranda totaling some 50 single-space pages, not including exhibits, and he gave evidence of reading them. Our exposure to other high officials of the government has been extensive (as detailed below.) The President asked me in Cabinet meeting to circulate as "command reading" to all members of the Cabinet the memorandum of June 19 that is quoted in full below. He asked members of the Cabinet to arrange for my colleagues and me to meet with their senior staff in each department, which we did to the extent time permitted. We have been an "embassy" within the White House, courteously accorded opportunities enjoyed by regular staff. In a sense, we have had the privileges of the White House accompanied only by the responsibilities we imposed on ourselves.

I will not attempt to predict what action the President will take on particular proposals made to him or the extent to which we may have affected his general thinking. Nor do I think it useful to estimate what influence Dr. Cheek and I may have had on actions taken by him or others in the recent past. He or I, or both of us, recommended, for example, that the President sign the voting-rights bill, that the tax status of segregated institutions be re-examined by the Internal Revenue Service, that the Internal Revenue Service and the Justice Department work with the American Council on Education to develop guidelines for permissible political activity on campuses, that the Justice Department intervene in Jackson during the tense weekend of the burials of the youths killed at Jackson State College, that

the President meet on two occasions with college and university chief executive officers, that he confer privately with students when he visited Knoxville, Tennessee, in May, and that a national commission be created to inquire into the Kent State and Jackson State tragedies.

In some cases, of which these are illustrations, the actions taken accorded with the recommendations. We were pleased with these responses. On other occasions, proposals were made which, for one reason or another, were not followed—for example, my suggestion made immediately after arriving in Washington that the President confer with the Special Committee on Campus Tensions of the American Council on Education which had issued an informative report in April, a copy of which I sent to the President.

The President made clear to us his serious concern over campus developments. He has displayed openness and a searching interest in what we had to say about campus beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, the conditions that underlie them, and their significance for public policy and national leadership. I judge the mission to have been worthwhile. If I had known on May 8 what I know now, I would still willingly have undertaken the assignment.

The Commission on Campus Unrest, created under the Chairmanship of Governor Scranton following the tragedies at Kent State University and Jackson State College has, unlike my own mission, a comprehensive charge, including "to identify the principal causes of campus violence, particularly in the specific occurrences of this spring." I believe its work can be a compatible follow-on of my mission. It is equipped to address the phenomena of campus violence in depth and on a broad front. At the President's request, we have made our files available to the Scranton Commission. President Cheek is himself a member of the Commission. Another of our group, John Gaventa, has become a member of its staff. We will forward to the Scranton Commission future communications sent to my office and will continue to assist in any way possible.

Attached are three addenda to this release: (1) a summary of activities; (2) copies of written commentaries on campus conditions given to the President in recent weeks; and (3) an outline of topics on which recommendations were made to the President.

I. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

A. Input from campuses

We met with groups from approximately 35 campuses which came to Washington following May 8, along with a large number of individuals familiar with campus conditions. We received several hundred pieces of unsolicited mail conveying views and suggestions, some 40 resolutions and statements from colleges and other organizations, numerous analyses, reports, speeches, and other commentary, and a range of petitions and recommendations.

We held a one-day conference in Washington to discuss ways to improve government-campus communications, and another one-day conference in Washington to discuss ways to expand governmental and political opportunities for young people. Both sessions were attended by individuals invited from in and out of government, in and out of Washington.

Through the U.S. Office of Education a questionnaire was circulated to a sample of 240 campuses across the country soliciting an account of events in May on each of those campuses. Returns were received from 193.

At my suggestion, the American Council on Education commissioned Louis Harris & Associates to survey opinion among a representative sample of students on four-year campuses during the latter part of May. The results of that poll are currently being made public by Harris.

We met with a substantial number of representatives of educational organizations located in Washington, including the President and Directors of the American Council on Education.

B. Consultations in Washington

We have conferred with numerous individuals in and out of government. These individuals included the then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Finch; the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Hardin; the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Hickel; the Attorney General, Mr. Mitchell; the then Secretary of Labor, Mr. Shultz; and the leadership in the Congress, Senators Mansfield and Scott, Speaker McCormack and Representative Ford.

We conferred from time to time with other Members of Congress in both parties in both Houses, and with officials such as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Mr. Thrower; the Director of the National Science Foundation, Mr. McElroy; the Director of the Selective Service System, Mr. Tarr; and Elliot Richardson, first as Under Secretary of Sate and later as Secretary of HEW. Various meetings were held with personnel from the Department of State, HEW, the Peace Corps, the Teacher Corps, the Civil Service Commission, the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the White House Conferences on Children and Youth, etc.

I had an extended meeting with the Attorney General and senior members of his staff in the Department of Justice. Colleagues joined me for meetings with the Secretary and senior staff in the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. At the invitation of John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, on June 11 we also spoke to the "Sub-Cabinet," Presidential appointees below the level of Secretary, meeting in the Department of State Auditorium. We also met with FICE, the Federal Interagency Committee on Education, on June 22.

C. White House consultations

I met with the President in nine sessions related to our mission. President Cheek has been with me in the seven sessions held since he joined our mission. In each instance, one or more of the President's staff was also present. Two meetings concerned with campus unrest were set up independently, one on May 21 with representatives of the American Bar Association (35 minutes) and one on June 8 with eight young White House staff members who had visited college campuses (75 minutes). Two of the sessions were with presidents of colleges and universities invited to confer with Mr. Nixon, one on May 20 of presidents from predominantly black colleges (125 minutes) and one on June 22 of presidents from a wider range of institutions (90 minutes). Four private sessions were held with the President, on May 12 (90 minutes), May 28 (45 minutes), July 7 (120 minutes), and July 17 (25 minutes). On June 24, I appeared before the Cabinet in session with the President (65 minutes).

At the invitation of the Vice President, I met with him and two of his staff for a 90-minute conference. I met later with his staff for a conference of similar length. At my request, the Vice President received a group of faculty from the University of Minnesota. I was present when he met them for slightly over two hours.

My associates and I have conferred frequently with members of the White House staff, doing business at one time or another with two dozen or so of them. My most significant relationships were with Messrs. Ehrlichman, Finch, Garment, Kissinger, and Moynihan. At Mr. Ehrlichman's request, President Cheek and I met on June 2 with his Domestic Affairs staff. Throughout, we also exchanged memoranda with members of the White House staff.

We have not submitted a formal, written "report" to the President. Our written communications with him have consisted of several memoranda. Three principal memoranda were submitted prior to appointments with him as briefing papers. It is from those four memoranda that the following pages come. In reading them, please remember that they were prepared at different times and for different purposes. They were designed to serve as basis for discussion, not as comprehensive treatments of a topic. Since part of my mission was to present information on campus views and sentiments, the observations often simply report attitudes held by others. On occasion, my own conclusions or those of my associates are given. At other times, the "we" means all of us in the country. The context will usually make clear who is referred to.

Please pay special attention to the *"Notes to Press"* that have been added to the text for the purposes of this release.

II. COMMENTARIES

A.

(*Note to Press*: Following is given the text of a memorandum from me to the President dated June 19. The memorandum reports certain student attitudes and was given to the President prior to a meeting with a group of college and university presidents held on June 22, to serve as a basis for questions he might explore with them.)

Seven million students enrolled in colleges and universities are on the threshold of adult citizenship. Millions more in high school and junior high school soon will be. What they believe, how they behave, will inevitably shape decisively future life in the United States and our domestic tranquility this coming September.

We do not believe that our national government really understands that a *national* crisis confronts us. The condition cannot be conceived as a temporary, aberrational outburst by the young, or simply as a "campus crisis" or a "student crisis." Because of its immediate and potential consequences, the condition we face must be viewed as a national emergency, to be addressed with the sense of urgency and openness of mind required by national emergencies. The characteristics of evolving student thought—the characteristics, not their origins, are treated here—help illuminate the condition we face.

(*Note to Press*: Please note particularly the characteristics here portrayed are not offered as describing all college students. The student population is itself divided and often intensely polarized. The qualities described below reveal, according to our analyses, present and developing characteristics of a large and important segment of students.)

1. The Meaning of May: A Big Shove Leftward

The Cambodian action (followed by the Jackson State and Kent State killings) sharply intensified feelings among students already protesting the war and showing disaffection with society generally. More important, Cambodia provoked and exposed anti-war and societal discontents among large numbers of students of normally moderate and conservative political viewpoints. Before Cambodia, many of us on the campuses believed that deep disaffection afflicted only a small minority of students. Now we conclude that May triggered a vast preexisting charge of pentup frustration and dissatisfaction.

A poll conducted for the American Council on Education at the end of May provides significant empirical evidence of widespread anti-war feeling, concern over domestic failures, disaffection with government leaders, and loss of confidence in the basic institutions of our society. The poll sampled opinion on a representative variety of 50 four-year campuses, seeking thus to reach a representative sample of students. (It was conducted by Louis Harris and Associates, the only organization found able to make the poll on short notice. George Gallup was unable to do so. The full report of the poll will be provided to your staff on completion.)

Of those questioned, 48 percent said they had actually taken part in anti-war protests in May; 62 percent believed themselves more politically active than a year ago; 76 percent said they feel basic changes in the system will be necessary to improve the quality of life in America.

(*Note to Press:* Many of our conversations and written communications were private ones with students or others who did not claim to speak for their institutions. Dr. Cheek and I have not made any individual institution the subject of any commentary, report, or recommendation to the President. Where institutions were cited for illustrative purposes as in two places in the following paragraph, and the information came from private sources, the illustrations have been omitted in this release. In each case where this is done, it is so indicated.)

The testimony of delegations visiting Washington that we interviewed (from about 30 campuses across the country) and the many hundreds of letters received strongly support these conclusions. Students from agricultural schools (for example, . . .) and engineering schools (for example, . . .) said they had previously been politically inactive, but were now among the protesters. Some student sentiment favoring U.S. policies in Southeast Asia is visible, but the general effect of May was one of radicalizing as well as politicizing student opinion across the board. One senses that from the best of our young comes the worst of despair. The University of Minnesota's Regent Professors wrote:

"A frightening picture is seen by those of us who work daily with college students. We find among our bright, hard-working, ambitious, well-read students a widespread distrust of their government, a growing despair about the political process, a mixture of fear and resentment toward America's leadership. These are not lazy, violent irresponsible rebels—they are competent and conscientious young people, quietly pursuing their studies to be physicians, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, psychologists, biologists."

2. The Integrity of Intentions

As baffling as student behavior often appears, we cannot discount its motives. "All students want to do is to restore the real ideals of democracy for which the United States has stood for in the past," so said one. Another, crying for what he called a sense of humanity, deplored viewing war solely in military terms (winning or losing) instead of in human terms (death and suffering).

Though often emotional and egocentric, the passions of idealism produce not only brave heroes on the battlefield but also determined fighters in the struggles for social change. Whatever one may think of its origins or consequences, the idealism of college students toward domestic and overseas problems embraces an increasing willingness to abandon the conventional postures of national and personal interest. (The mood is familiar to those of us who went to college in the 1930's.) There is a humane concern for victims of racial discrimination, for those who suffer in the urban ghetto, for the poor in Appalachia, and for those who die—under whatever flag—in Southeast Asia. According to a nationwide survey conducted at Swarthmore College, students' draft status seems to have little relation to his position for or against the war. (*Note to Press:* The survey was done by Professor Kenneth Gergen and Mary K. Gergen, Psychology Department, Swarthmore.)

The strain of idealism in college students helps to explain the intensity of beliefs and the vigor of actions rooted in those beliefs. Student behavior that to some seems simply "unpatriotic" may be intended by the student as the highest form of patriotism. Not my country right or wrong, argues such a student, but my country, if she is right, and to set her right, if she is wrong.

3. The Emerging Class Consciousness of Students

The self-identification by college students as a separate class in society is assuming extraordinary proportions. A student class may well become a structural feature of our political scene, remaining after present issues are ended.

Student class "solidarity" stems in important measure from the conviction of many students that they do not find sympathy for their concerns or understanding of their problems among older people, from the belief that older society brings unwarranted sanctions against them for wanting to be different (e.g., objections against unconventional appearance, use of marijuana, etc.), and from the perception that "society" improperly imposes burdens upon them which, having had little part in their imposition, they do not wish to carry (the draft and "irrelevant" college curriculum being most often cited). One student observed that if he were working in a factory he would be viewed as an adult, but while in college, he is "viewed as a little boy."

Whether easily understandable by older persons or not, we are still faced by a new fact of political life: growing class consciousness among students. For effective national government, this constituency requires attention and understanding just as do farmers, organized labor, veterans, blacks, etc. This group, however, has much ambition, much energy, and more future than the others. Student class consciousness has been growing for some years, but the Cambodian crisis catapulted it into something approaching a national political movement. The crisis also threw a sizable percentage of previously moderate and apolitical students into the arms of the radical elements in the university community. This class consciousness leads very easily to another quality.

4. Fears and Facts of Repression

Men of wide experience and goodwill ask, "What is this repression I hear about? Where is it? Certainly no one is repressing criticism of the government. What is being repressed?"

Perhaps the matter can be understood by reference to Jackson State and Kent State. To most Americans, they were exceptional events, tragic and to be deplored, but accidental and unusual. To the disaffected, they are the norm. The disaffected regard the safe and easy expression of dissent as the exception, and they see the killings as an expression of the American system of authority. Here is a paragraph written by a professional psychologist from Vanderbilt who was reared near Jackson, Mississippi, which he visited after the killings:

"Jackson State College students now find themselves in a great dilemma. They are nearly paralyzed by the fear that any sign of demonstration or protest may be prejudged as a sign of disorder that will result in murder and massacre. On the other hand, they feel an increasing urgency to be heard, to express their feelings as human beings, and to experience the dignity and freedom that characterize the new humanness. Many feel they must bow to the system epitomized in the Mississippi Highway Patrol, or risk death in a struggle for a new level of personal freedom."

Perhaps we understand how this comes to be on a black campus in Mississippi. Yet, with the development of class consciousness, similar feelings of fear and persecution have developed among students in general. The Vanderbilt professor further observes, "I believe these turbulent interactions of fear, anger, shame, and despair on the one hand and the desperate search for personal integrity and freedom on the other hand now characterize a large and rapidly growing nationwide segment of students, other youths, and adults."

Fifty-eight percent of the students in the poll agreed with a statement that, compared to a year before, the United States had become a highly repressive society, intolerant of dissent. Among the goals chosen for many of the student strikes in May appears the demand "that the United States Government end its systematic repression of political dissidents."

Among the evidences of repression often cited are: "police brutality," in a variety of forms ranging from hostility toward demonstrators to the alleged unjustifiable assaults of the Black Panther Party; curfews; prohibitions against assembly of more than a limited number of persons; sledgehammer statements by public officials impugning the motives of dissent; and discouragement of outspokenness on grounds of protocol or propriety. The arrest of students and faculty after your speech in Knoxville for "disrupting religious service" is taken as evidence, as are the attacks by construction workers on students in New York and on the veteran and his family in St. Louis.

5. Intellectual Intolerance on Campuses

Some students are guilty of a brand of repression of their own. Its roots include distrust and self-righteousness. Intolerance of contrary opinion on certain campuses has become a virulent form of anti-intellectualism, sometimes involving violent and disruptive attempts to silence opposing views. Said a . . . undergraduate: "You can't go around worrying about freedom of speech and of access when something like Cambodia is going on."

This intolerance poses as great a threat from within to the educational freedom of our campuses as they face from without.

In emphasizing campus intolerance, I also emphasize that on many campuses dissent has been expressed with high loyalty to concepts of free speech, open forum, and intellectual freedom. Strong efforts by students and faculty to moderate the heat, restrain emotionalism, and keep the way open to expression of all viewpoints have been notable on many campuses.

6. Lack of "Responsiveness" by Government

Young people have always been impatient, if only because of their shortened time perspective.

But even from an adult perspective, educational and governmental institutions are often sluggish. When leaders and institutions do not appear to move effectively toward solution of problems, the result, as expressed by the current President of the Ripon Society, is "a frightening feeling of frustration, betrayal and impotence among students of all philosophical outlooks. Students are exhausted with a war which has offered victory just around the corner for all the years of their political awareness." Says a professor of government from . . . : "If the best of our young men and women now in colleges and universities believe strongly that Government is unresponsive, that it is not an instrument through which they can work, the future of the country is indeed grim."

The apparent ineffectiveness of our institutions in solving the great problems of the day—e.g., the war, racism, environmental decay—is as great a cause of disaffection as are any of the problems themselves.

7. Lack of "Credibility" in Government

A student pleaded: He wanted to believe his government, but how could he? It lied when the U–2 was shot down, when the Bay of Pigs was invaded, repeatedly about Vietnam.

Disbelief, added to fear of repression and lack of responsiveness, produces an immense skepticism of government. Only 19 percent of the students surveyed believed that troops would really remain in Cambodia for only six to eight weeks; only 25 percent believed the Administration had been frank with the

American public in the handling of the war; only 21 percent thought the Cambodian move would actually shorten the war. Skepticism produces basic distrust, polarization, and disaffection.

8. The "Validity" of the Whole System

Students ask: How can a system of government that produces a Vietnam and is unable to rectify it be valid? Are we really a good country? For many, Cambodia was the conclusive negative reply.

About 70 percent of college youth had serious doubts about the action. That war *has* been going on for nearly all their politically conscious lives. Add to this the other tensions and unfulfilled expectations of the society. Sixty-five percent of students said that our troubles stem from economic competition as a way of life; 78 percent said that the United States lacks a sense of values, is too conformist and materialistic. Serious students of government, including some political leaders themselves, worry whether we *can* solve the problems of race, poverty, health, environmental contamination, foreign war, and all the rest. Unlike previous crises in our recent history, not just individuals and policies are being questioned, but the political system itself.

9. "One More Chance"

Frustrated, disillusioned students are saying, "The system has one more chance." They are not always clear on when and how they will know whether the system has successfully used that chance—except that ending the war this summer would earn high marks. What if the system does not measure up? Some say revolution; some say they will leave the country; others say they don't know.

It does seem clear that the political activation stimulated in May will have a residual effect, leaving students more sensitive politically, more determined to take a part in the governmental process, and feeling more deeply about a range of issues. At present, a significant proportion of students say that they will direct their energies through ordinary political channels. Fifty-nine percent of those who participated in recent protests and 39 percent of all students surveyed, say they plan to participate this fall in campaigns for "peace candidates." As one letter put it, "The vast majority of moderate students see this as a desperate effort to challenge the revolutionaries and radicals and to make the system work." If those efforts are condemned, or receive no encouragement, and apprehensions about the war continue to deepen, then, as President James Hester of New York University put it, "We can expect the hardcore radicals to gain influence and increasingly violent demonstrations to take place."

The situation is beyond partisan politics. Not surprisingly, over three-fifths of the students surveyed perceived no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. More significantly, few present-day political leaders have extensive student support. Loyalty to existing institutions and faith in the country are crucial contemporary issues.

10. Black Students

The national emergency our nation faces is more acute for black students, by several powers of magnitude, than for other students. The fact of their lives and their sense of deprivation multiply their fears and frustrations and bitterness. We will be addressing you separately about their special emergency.

B

(*Note to Press:* A second long memorandum dated July 6 was sent to the President for the two purposes stated below. The material pertaining to the first purpose is here quoted in full.)

This memorandum does two things. *First,* it states why we believe it essential that you and members of the Administration develop as deep an understanding as possible of moods and beliefs on our campuses—and in the black community, where attitudes and behavior connect closely with the moods and beliefs of black students: *Second,* it recommends procedures to help do this during the next 12 months.

Youth and black attitudes are uniquely important to governing the United States in the 1970's.

1. The segment of black and white young people who are baffled, disillusioned, and angered are at a crucial psychological and intellectual stage in their lives, a stage that shapes lasting personal attitudes and convictions. Many talented individuals who have futures of potentially great social influence are affected. That fact alone behooves the nation's leadership to understand them and to be understood by them.

The percentage of students attending four-year institutions who are disaffected is sufficiently large to warrant concern. Look at these illustrative results from the survey made for the American Council on Education by Louis Harris during the period May 20–26, 1970. (A copy of the survey report is attached as Tab A.) (*Note to Press:* Please don't call us for copies. We have none left.)

Of the students interviewed, 17 percent characterized themselves as "conservative" or "far right" and 27 percent as "middle-of-the-road," a total of 44 percent of the sample. Among these:

[In percent]

Conservative or far right	Middle-of-the-road	
70	75	Agreed that "until the older generation comes to understand the new priorities and life style of the young, serious conflict is going to continue" (p. 37).
47	64	Agreed that "our troubles all stem from making economic competition the basis of our way of life" (p. 42).
50	27	Agreed that "except for a few radicals, most young Americans are satisfied with the direction in which America is heading" (p. 48).
57	66	Believed that "basic changes in the system will be necessary to improve the quality of life in America,"—92 percent of the blacks believed this (p. 55).
62	45	Agreed that "the recent protests and violence are a sign of serious disintegration of American society." (This and the following responses are not included in the attached report. The tabulations from which they are drawn are available to your staff.)
35	41	Believe that "it is possible to have a violent revolution in the country which would overthrow our government."
9	13	Believe that such a revolution "stands a real chance of succeeding."

These are only the *conservative* and *moderate* students. The responses from students who classify themselves as "liberal" and "far left" reveal much greater disaffection. Even with substantial sampling errors, the basic point would remain: Among an important segment of citizens on whom the future governance of the nation inevitably will in part depend, there is significant lack of confidence in the present state of the United States.

2. We are warned on all sides that events of this summer will determine which colleges and universities open this fall, and under what conditions. A widening of the war will make it impossible for some institutions to operate normally. The residual activating effects of May promise, in any event, to keep issues alive (e.g., ROTC) and campuses tense. The elections will further agitate and politicize the campuses.

(*Note to Press:* These comments were made privately. By making them public, we do not wish to encourage the possibilities of their becoming true.)

Several dozen campuses experienced violence in May. The killings at Jackson State and Kent State heighten explosive tensions in many locales. Young blacks are on edge everywhere. Backlash and polarization add to the compound of volatility.

We have been exposed to much sober argument that our international policies simply must in the future take greater account of factors affecting what we shall call internal U.S. security. You are better acquainted than anyone else with the painful competition for the funds that finance domestic programs that affect the social health of the nation, and hence its internal security. On another front, however, the quality of feelings that lead citizens to reject order and normal authority, that lead to violence and other disruptions, are not easy to comprehend secondhand.

That is why we see the need for you to judge at close range the varieties of thought and feeling that pervade the academic and black communities. When disaffection is so widespread among conscientious, patriotic people that ability to govern in accordance with traditional precepts is called into question—and many believe this is now the case and will continue to be—the symptoms and the sources of the trouble need your personal analysis.

3. The young may be trying to tell us things we ought to hear. You should have the chance to evaluate firsthand the assumptions of those who reach different conclusions from yours about Southeast Asia. The views of youth and the trends they represent have grave political and social consequences. Effective execution of foreign policy and maintenance of respect in the world are both hampered by dissent at home.

(*Note to Press:* Please note that the following reference to a "communications gap" does not refer simply to difference in vocabulary but also to difference in assumptions and definitions. See the section following the next paragraph called "A Student's View.")

The "generation gap" and "credibility gap" are really largely a communications gap. A communications gap results when those who seek to communicate use different assumptions and definitions. A nationwide poll taken last October showed 81 percent of respondents saying that "the anti-war demonstrators may not be entirely right, but they are raising real questions that ought to be discussed and answered." It is hard to discuss and answer without a common language. Tab B, "A Student's View," suggests some of the sources of the communications gap and of the seemingly indelible differences over policy.

A student's view

This memorandum addresses three questions we have heard discussed around the White House about student attitudes and their relationship to Administration policies. We have sought to compress here the views of a "composite" student. Something like these views are held by significant numbers of activated students, although obviously not by all such students. We report these views as an aid to understanding the questions being asked, not to imply their validity nor to question their validity.

I. *Why do the President and disaffected college youth have trouble "communicating" about Vietnam?*

At least four factors are at work.

First, the President uses words that mean one thing to him but something different to many students. For example, he has emphasized that he and students both want "peace." By "peace" students mean an end of the killing immediately. To them the

President seems to mean not that but "a just peace" and "self-determination for South Vietnam," which they see as probably meaning maintenance of a pro-American regime in Saigon, continued U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia, and whatever military action is necessary to produce these ends.

Exacerbating this difficulty is the belief of many students (shared, it is fair to say, by many nonstudents) that the course we are on has no real chance of success. They do not believe Hanoi can be induced to negotiate. They find unthinkable using enough military power to force Hanoi to negotiate. They believe the longer we keep fighting the more difficult the U.S. position becomes at home and before world opinion. They believe our leaders must understand this, and consequently when those leaders do not act accordingly by "getting out," they must be either blind or evil. Frustration to the point of fury builds up from watching us follow, at an enormous cost in human life, a policy they believe to be leading nowhere. When the President explains that we must act in Cambodia to protect the lives of American fighting men, they argue that it would be better protection to bring the men home.

The President's admirable remarks in St. Louis on June 25, 1970, showed insight into student idealism and compassion for their anxieties. The phrase "to *win* peace," however, does not describe a proper goal in the eyes of some students.

Second, what the President regards as successes, students often regard very differently. Reducing the troop level in Vietnam by sometime in 1971 to something over 200,000 men seems to many in government a formidable achievement. The President so proclaims it. Yet to the young, who face the draft and think on the time scale of youth, these withdrawals seem wholly inadequate. Their attitude should not be mistaken for that of a draft-dodger in World War II. They are not seeking to avoid personal danger. Rather, they abhor personal involvement in a war they perceive as "immoral." Hence, a plan to have a troop level of over 200,000 men next year, and possibly indefinitely, seems intolerable—to the point that some of them say they would prefer to kill and be killed in a revolution at home to being involved in an immoral war abroad.

Third, to some students, the President appears not to understand the nature of the crisis that has come over the country. He speaks of "deep divisions" in the country. But "deep divisions" suggests a serious disagreement in a stable society, a matter of different groups holding different opinions, whereas students perceive the situation in radically different terms. They see not just differences of opinion, but rather the whole social order as being in a state of erosion. In the St. Louis speech the President said, "we should do something about it and not allow that division to become something that eventually could erupt and destroy a society." The student says the division is already erupting and destroying the society.

The President's visit to the Lincoln Memorial on May 9 was a splendid act. Reports got about, however, that the President passed pleasant queries about surfing and football. That offended students who felt immersed in a national tragedy, like telling a joke at a funeral.

Fourth, and this really underlies the other points, the President and some students proceed from vastly differing assumptions. The Persident says "America has never lost a war," as if "winning" or "losing" were the important consideration. He seems to them to hold attitudes derived from the Cold War, such as the domino theory, and to view Communism in Southeast Asia as a source of danger to America. Wrongly or rightly, many of our best informed students do not share these assumptions.

The President speaks of maintaining "national honor" and implies that this can be done through military power. Students distressed with the failure of their country to achieve all its ambitious ideals at home and abroad think of "national honor" as something yet to be attained. They see the Vietnam war and its effects at home as obstructing fulfillment of their concept of national honor. Just as an earlier generation fought in World War II to *preserve* the nation's ideals, they want to end the war to help *attain* the nation's ideals.

The President presents the goal of "self determination" for South Vietnam as a rationale for our military involvement. To students the cost is too high, so much too high as to make the war "immoral." A faculty member wrote from . . . :

". . . at the root of the opposition to the war in Indo-China is the moral revulsion to the carnage undertaken in our name. Peasant societies are subject to the most awesome destructive technology that man can devise; huge areas are depopulated into free fire areas; defoliants, pesticides, and herbicides scorch the earth, and bomb craters create a moonescape; great masses of people are uprooted from their ancestral lands and turned into refugees in their own countries, and war spares neither the elderly nor the women and children. Surely such death and devastation are out of proportion to whatever objective we might hope to achieve."

II. *Why are students not impressed by Soviet atrocities such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia?*

The apparent insensitivity of students to Soviet actions and to evils in the Soviet system is at least partly explainable by considerations like these: *First,* they feel that by the wrongness of our own policies, such as the war in Vietnam, we have lost our moral standing to condemn other countries. *Second,* there is an obsession with our own problems, a feeling that our own crises should occupy all our attention. *Third,* the fear of Communism is less than existed a decade ago.

Students perceive the Czech invasion as one more evil action by a powerful imperialist government, but they don't perceive it as a threat to the United States. Since the Sino-Soviet split, they see Communism as consisting of different and often competing national governments and styles. The Russians appear to repress their satellite countries, but students see that fact as parallel to American domination in its sphere of influence (the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, economic exploitation, etc.). They see the Russians as, no better than we, maybe not as good, but feel more responsibility for our actions than for those of foreign powers.

III. *How do they compare the United States with other countries generally?*

Instead of viewing the United States as in competition with other great powers, or as being potentially threatened by them, the students we speak of tend to be suspicious of all national powers, including the United States. As the President said in his "State of the World" message on February 18, 1970, "Today, the 'isms' have lost their vitality—indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes." A generational loyalty appears to develop, a loyalty to young people internationally, that transcends national loyalties.

A tendency toward an *absolutist* conception of moral values helps to make it impossible for these students to be satisfied with the comparative superiority of the U.S. in striving for social justice and equality. Rather than emphasize what is good about America, most students emphasize what could be better about America (which frequently appears to be merely an emphasis on what is wrong with America). Therefore, any form of injustice and inequality, such as is evident in our racial problems, is taken as an indictment of the entire social system, regardless of its improvements over the past, or its relative superiority over other societies.

C

(*Note to Press:* Because Dr. Cheek and I were advising the President, we concerned ourselves primarily with the relationship of Federal Government actions and policies to campus beliefs and events. To put our conversation in broader perspective, I sent him the following statements in a memorandum, dated July 16. All language except that pertaining to specific recommendations is included.)

In seeking to understand the "causes and cures" of student disaffection, perhaps an imperfect analogy to human illness helps. There are symptoms, particular ailments that produce the symptoms, and a general level of susceptibility to illness. Many of the observations and recommendations made by President Cheek and me to you have concerned symptoms—the seriousness of prevailing discontent and hostility. When fever is raging, the first therapeutic need is to reduce it. We have also had a few things to say about the next need, to attack the conditions that produce the symptoms—the policies and actions of colleges and universities of other types of private institutions in society, and of government. Since our mission has been to advise the President, we have focused our observations and suggestions on what you and the U.S. Government might do, rather than where our attention usually is, on ourselves.

We have not addressed systematically the conditions of "susceptibility," the worldwide assertion of individual personality against institutions and traditions, which sometimes manifests itself as a crisis of authority and self-discipline. I will not speak of this last matter except to applaud your own awareness that we are dealing with a social condition found in all categories of nations. That condition is doubtless related to contemporary existential thinking, and also—among other things—to erosion in all cultures of stabilizing influences of family, religion, education, historical tradition, etc. This erosion, in turn, is probably a consequence of magical increases in mobility, communications, and the rapidity of institutional change.

Certain factors at work are beyond your influence. Certain factors that lead to campus disruption are beyond the control of the college or university president. The painful part is that when the campus comes apart, regardless of the reasons, the campus president gets the blame, and often the gate—simply because he couldn't make the show go. Even those who think he did right desert him because he could not get enough others to do right, too. (One must not only be right, but also succeed!) Similarly, if the U.S. has a sustained, serious, national campus crisis, an unwelcome share of the "responsibility" may be assigned to you simply because there is a problem and you are in office.

Educators have a lot of work to do for themselves. At my first meeting with you on May 12, George Shultz said, profoundly, that the big question now is "What is a university for?" American colleges and universities are being forced to make basic reappraisals of their purposes and working requirements. If we in education are smart enough and lucky enough, we will largely lead the reappraisal and take whatever actions are indicated ourselves. Much inventive energy will be directed by able and dedicated persons to answering George Shultz's question, and also to creating and maintaining (or recreating) the conditions of intellectual freedom necessary for any of the basic functions of a college or university to be performed well.

Your principle of Federal "non-interference" in internal educational affairs is wise. As educators assess their own processes, how-

ever, remember that colleges and universities are so much a part of national life that they can never do this alone. The American university is probably the central secular institution in our society, aside from government itself. In our day, more aspects of our national life ultimately depend on the university than on any other type of institution. Inevitably, many persons outside of education will be involved in the processes of reassessment and change, the Federal Government not least among them.

Federal policies shape higher education, in ways intended and anticipated by both government and educators, and sometimes with side effects not foreseen by either. The G.I. Bill of Rights after World War II, subsidy of medical and scientific research after 1951, subsidy of graduate education through the National Defense Education Act of 1958, construction loans and grants, tax policies to encourage private donations, and all the rest, were designed by the Federal Executive and Congress—in proper exercise of their functions—to achieve national objectives. In clear ways like these, as well as for more general reasons, Federal policies directly affect what colleges and universities do, and how they do it. In years ahead, Presidents of the United States will probably need to look at higher education through more concerned and sophisticated eyes than deemed necessary or appropriate in years past.

Higher education can accept a share of responsibility for the symptoms that have concerned our mission—distrust of government, frustration on campuses, etc.—but its doing so should not obscure the role of Federal policies in producing these symptoms.

One campus representative after another has emphasized his deeply held conviction that, as long as our "national priorities" remain unchanged, no improved Presidential communications or understanding will soften tensions and dissipate alienation and disaffection. The tough version says that the only communication that counts is action, and the only action that counts is "getting out" of Vietnam and applying ourselves more effectively to home difficulties.

To describe or predict a condition is not to favor it. To foretell the near or distant future is very difficult. It does appear to me and my colleagues that if the Vietnam war is thought to "expand" (as was the case with the Cambodian action), the consequence will probably be further internal campus turmoil including some violent protest, increased radicalization of many students and some faculty, alienation of large numbers of presently moderate students, and the intensification of hostile reactions both on and off the campuses to these developments. As during last May, it would be difficult for some institutions to operate normally.

When the war is brought to an end, the salient issue, though not the only issue, of radical student protest will have been removed. Only when that happens can steps to restore the confidence of the disaffected young in the political system be most effectively taken. Though most students feel that student activism will continue, an end to the war will reduce the volume and volatility of campus dissent.

If involvement in Southeast Asia continues generally its present course, with periodic, moderate decreases, steps to restore confidence on the campuses in the the effectiveness of public policies, and to bring the country together, ought to have, and appear to have, certain qualities.

First, students, blacks, and others who are disillusioned simply must feel that their President has sincerely listened to them, listened with an ear willing to learn from them. They want assurance that he has given thought to their feelings and views, and even though not always agreeing with them, has taken those feelings and views seriously into account in making national decisions.

Second, the policies adopted and steps taken that respond to concerns of the disillusioned must be recognized and understood by them as doing just that—if their confidence is to be restored. In other words, measures taken that benefit, for example, American blacks, must be clearly identified and communicated so that those concerned know what has been done and for what purposes.

Third, the measures adopted must also add up to a sense of national leadership and common purpose. They must also have the subtle psychological element that somehow conveys the feeling that we are moving forward together.

All of this is easier to say than to do. The recommendations in my memorandum of July 7, 1970, and the comments on vocabulary difficulties under its Tab B, are designed to help. So are the recommendations later in this memorandum on engaging youth in government and improving communications.

Some realist might well ask whether the students, faculties, blacks, and the others warrant all this energy and emphasis. They do. The importance of the symptoms that have concerned us, and their causes, goes beyond manifestations of unrest and protest. Power takes many forms in society. We are familiar with military power, financial power, governmental power, political power in organized groups, and other effective influences. *Intellectual power ought not to be forgotten.* Time and again in the world's history, ideas have prevailed over other forms of power, from the teachings of Jesus through those of Tom Paine and Karl Marx to those of Adolph Hitler. *Intellectual power* is at work in new ways in the United States. New ideas are challenging established ways—which is the most important fact of all to be acknowledged and understood.

(*Note to Press:* The following paragraph opened the section on recommendations.)

Young people, in all their variety and conditions of organization, need to be viewed as full-fledged constituents of government. Effective participation in politics and government by them increases their understanding of government (and therefore often their patience with it), increases their acceptance of the results of community decision-making processes (local, state and national), and increases their influence over substantive policy, thereby sometimes improving the quality of public decisions.

D.

(*Note to Press:* This memorandum was prepared by Dr. Cheek and was dated July 22, 1970. Much of its content was discussed with the President prior to that date. All language except that pertaining to the recommendations is included.)

This memorandum is provided as a follow-up to the several memoranda that Chancellor Heard and I have provided in connection with our special mission on colleges and universities. The justification for providing a separate memorandum on the "Black Institutions and Black Students" lies in the fact that while these institutions are faced with the same general problems and issues that face all institutions of higher learning, they are sufficiently distinctive to warrant special consideration and attention.

No effort is made in this communication to treat the subject systematically or in great depth. What this memorandum does seek to do is to provide you with a quick overview of the context in which the condition of black institutions and black students can be viewed and to highlight some specific aspects, which hopefully, may clarify some questions. Specific recommendations for your consideration are included.

I. General overthrow

"Campus unrest" among black students has its genesis in and is related to the total socio-economic situation of black Americans in 1970. It represents in microcosm the macrocosm of opinion, feelings and attitudes of the black communities in general across the country. The frustration, anger, outrage, fears and anxieties of black students are expressive of the same feelings and emotions which exist among a large spectrum of the black population—"moderate" as well as "militant." Today there is not an appreciable difference between the feelings and attitudes of these generalized categories; the principal difference may lie in the degree of faith each has in the ability and willingness of the government (Federal) to be responsive to the legitimate goals and aspirations of black Americans.

Black students and black institutions of higher learning also must be understood and seen in the context of the overall contemporary struggle of black Americans.

In the latter 1960's, especially among the college age population, the struggle of black Americans began to shift its focus from that of "civil rights" to "social justice."

This is not to suggest that "civil rights" did not—and does not now—remain a concern, but the ethos and spirit of "social justice" are grounded largely in issues related to equity, opportunity and human dignity. The emergency of concepts of "black power," the increasing emphasis upon black pride, black identity, black unity, black studies in the universities, etc., are all expressive of this changing focus among black college students, and to some extent among other segments of the black population.

It can be said that civil rights dealt with issues of being American citizens and directed its interest toward changes in the law. Social justice, however, grows out of the consciousness of black Americans *as human beings* and as members of a society whose principles are founded in the honoring and preserving of human rights, human liberties and human equality.

In sum, what has been called the "black revolution" can be characterized as more fundamentally in the spirit and character of the original "American Revolution."

There is among the black students much of the rhetoric, passion and commitment that characterized the original "radicals" in the 1700's who are national heroes and regarded as our "founding fathers."

Black Americans see themselves today in relation to their government in much the same way as Hamilton, Jay, Madison, etc., saw themselves in relation to the "Mother Country." There is beginning to emerge among the black leadership a delineation of the grievances against the "establishment" which echoes the "Declaration of Independence."

The achievement of the goals of social justice will be harder to achieve than those of civil rights. The issue of civil rights addressed itself to changes in our laws; that of social justice addresses itself to the character of the American society. The fulfillment of social justice will require a fundamental redistribution of the nation's opportunities, rewards, benefits, and powers. Such a redistribution must affect all minorities—the disadvantaged and disprivileged segments of our society—but, because black Americans are the largest and currently the most volatile of such groups, immediate attention must be given to their needs and grievances; and, in so doing, the other minorities that are disadvantaged and disprivileged can also be accommodated.

In the struggle for social justice, *educational opportunity is vital and strategic.* The rewards, benefits and powers of the society—which black Americans now seek—depend for their realization on *equity* in the opportunity of access to education beyond the high school, and on the successful comple-

tion of such education. Higher education leading to the standard or traditional degrees is critical as opposed to technical and vocational training for this segment of the black population. The "Booker T. Washington philosophy" will not do and every effort must be avoided to suggest that this approach represents national policy in educational opportunity for black youth.

II. Specific Observations

The following specific observations may be helpful:

A. The new black outlook

There are special characteristics that differentiate the mood and posture of the black college community from the broader higher education community. The attitudes and postures of the black college community are based on past and present experiences with racially defined issues. These issues are more sharply drawn by the fact that most of these colleges are in the South. Though progress has been made, the underlying inequities based on racial issues have been harder to endure. As many students view it, no promises are the norm. Where promises are made, broken promises are the expectation. In any period there is cynicism and skepticism. The students and faculty hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

Against this background the war in Vietnam is an additional issue that aggravates and intensified feelings already there. If the war ended today, however, and the draft ended the day after that, it would not significantly reduce the feelings of cynicism and distrust among black college youth or the potential for more unrest. In fact, the ending of the war without some accompanying dramatic attention to their historic problems would increase their feelings of doubt that the basic institutions in the society will be responsive to their needs and to those of their colleges.

Higher education for many black youth increases their intellectual grasp of the current inequities and how deeply embedded they are in the fabric of American life. Thus they feel more keenly how difficult it will be to achieve equality of income, housing and equal education for their future offspring. A stronger sense of history among this generation of black youth impresses them with how long and hard it has been for their parents and grandparents to get this far. They are now re-evaluating all the basic strategies used by the established civil rights groups. The black community is in what might be described as a "generational transition" with respect to the question of how best to achieve social justice and equal status as citizens and as human beings. This "generational transition" began before the Vietnam war and before this Administration took office. There is then, an opportunity for this Administration to take advantage of this searching for new strategies among black youth. Students say there are "political wolves" in the South and "political foxes" in the North—which means that these young black students have no strong allegiances to traditional political alliances or strategies. They are looking for what works and what gives them some sense of control in working out new directions—as against those new directions worked out by others, e.g., "liberal" social planners.

B. Police-student relations

Another special characteristic of the problems of unrest on black college campuses is the nature of student perceptions of all law enforcement agencies. Decades before the current antipathy between white college youth and policemen, black students viewed police officers with suspicion, hostility and fear. Very few black persons in southern communities expect fair treatment at the hands of law enforcement agencies. College students come out of those communities. It is of great importance and significance to these youth that so many black persons in the South have been murdered in the last decade and so few convictions for murder have occurred. Some of the more cynical black students had only the comment "now they know how it feels to be black" after the police-student confrontations in Chicago in 1968 and after the Kent State slayings last May. When such things happen to white students it creates greater fear as to what will happen to black students at the hands of the police and the national guard. Jackson State, following the Augusta slayings, confirmed their worst apprehensions.

C. The Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970

The approach to student unrest on black college campuses must deal with the fact that the status and the financial support patterns of the black colleges are an extension of the students' own unequal status and needs. These students have struggled through many handicaps to get to college and in finding ways to survive there. Half of them come from small towns and rural areas in the South, the sources of the congestion and social dynamite in the hearts of our major cities. Two-thirds of them come from families with less than $5,200 family income, compared to 60 percent of the national college population with family incomes of $10,000 or better. Most parents of black college freshmen have less than a high school education, a third of the fathers went only as far as grade school, and a third of both fathers and mothers are domestics or laborers—yet these families are producing college freshmen, not delinquents or welfare cases.

When one talks about initiative, determination, and sheer grit within the American social order, these college freshmen represent tens of thousands of miracles based on just those qualities, and precious little else. Somehow these families have given their children the guts and fortitude to stick it out in poorly equipped and understaffed high schools and to go on to enter college.

The great needs of these students make clear the correctness and foresight of the policy expressed in the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970 in targeting subsidized loans and outright grants to students from low income families. Implementation of this legislation is vital to maintaining and increasing the opportunity of higher education for black youth.

III. A Note of Recommendations

Detailed recommendations were made to the President on a number of subjects. Some of them proposed particular assignments for named individuals. Implementation of some of the proposals might be handicapped by making them public. All of the recommendations, like the comments on campus conditions reported above, were drafted as private communications to the President.

Among the subjects on which we made recommendations are the following:

A. That the President increase his exposure to campus representatives, including students, faculty, and administrative officers, so that he can better take into account their views, and the intensity of those views in formulating domestic and foreign policy.

B. That the President designate a senior staff member in the White House to have special responsibility for White House liaison with higher education.

C. That the President arrange for the considerable knowledge of higher education already available in United States government agencies, especially the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to be put more readily at his disposal.

D. That the President increase his exposure to representatives of the Black community and other racial minorities.

E. That the President take initiatives welcoming young people into political and governmental processes.

F. That the President initiate an assessment of youth opportunity programs in the Federal government, looking toward their enrichment and better utilization.

G. That the President take steps to improve two-way communications with the campuses of the country through activities in which he, White House staff members, and others in government participate.

H. That the President and others undertake to understand the fears of "repression" among certain groups in our country and to understand the realities underlying those fears.

I. That the President use the moral influence of his office in new ways designed to reduce racial tensions and help develop a climate of racial understanding.

J. That the President increase involvement of blacks in domestic policy formation and develop an ongoing Federal mechanism for research and action on minority problems.

K. That the President act immediately to provide additional student aid funds for the coming academic year to economically disadvantaged students.

L. That the President seek to provide special additional assistance during the coming academic year to those institutions primarily serving black youth.

M. That the President make a long-term commitment to assist predominantly black colleges and universities to enable these institutions to increase their enrollment and improve their academic programs.

From time to time Dr. Cheek and I have made other recommendations to the President, orally or in writing.

NATURAL GAS AND OIL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BUSH) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, exploration for oil is a very risky business. Only one out of nine exploratory wells encounters any trace of oil or gas. And, only one out of every 50 exploratory wells produces enough oil or gas to repay its costs. It is clearly in the national interest that we find gas and make it producible. One of the big factors in producing gas is the wellhead price. If it is too low, there will be no incentive—no matter how great the demand—to produce it.

Domestic oil from within our own borders is our only secure source of petroleum. The degree of lack of comprehension by the critics of the oil industry of this one essential fact is to me the tragedy of the whole problem. Because of the opposition to this industry and the incentives necessary to make it work, we have seen a retardation in the development of new domestic oil reserves and as a result are rapidly approaching the time of maximum deliverability from all of our domestic petroleum reserves.

Thus, this Nation is facing a critical shortage of natural gas. Petroleum now supplies each U.S. citizen with almost three-quarters of his total energy needs and of this amount about 40 percent is in the form of natural gas. The demand for energy from natural gas is increasing. The supply is not. The share of natural

gas in total U.S. power use has risen from 15.5 percent in 1947 to approximately 40 percent this year. During 1961 the petroleum industry drilled over 46,800 wells in the United States. Last year only 30,800 wells were drilled and I can see no reason why this downward trend will not continue.

There is no adequate substitute for natural gas. Coal production is in short supply and our projected nuclear energy plants are lagging so far behind that they will not be able to meet our demands.

To freeze gas and bring it in tankers to the east coast would cost five to eight times the current wellhead price of gas in Texas. And, what happens to this Nation if our base load supplies of natural gas come from a country subject to constant revolution and subversion?

Tanker rates that were, only a few months ago, less than $1 per barrel from the Eastern Mediterranean area to the east coast of the United States are now approximately $2.50 per barrel and more for replacement oil from the Persian Gulf. This transportation charge, when added to the price of the oil, results in competitive domestic oil from Texas and Louisiana being laid down on the east coast at prices that were less than oil from the Middle East.

The rapidly increasing prices for imported crude oil should serve to warn those who would import liquified natural gas by tanker that their prices also may be subject to sudden rise.

The tanker shortage not only affects the crude oil at east coast refineries but it affects equally the consumers of fuel oil in the East and North Central portion of this country. As a consequence of sophisticated petrochemical technology the national output of plain heavy residual fuel oil is low and decreasing every year. We now consume approximately 1.8 million barrels each day of residual fuel oil but only manufacture 700,000 barrels. The remaining 1.1 million barrels are imported by tanker from foreign sources. Here is where the real squeeze is developing from the tanker shortage. There is not enough natural gas to substitute for the unavailable fuel oil. The large interstate pipeline companies cannot supply their existing customers. So not only is fuel oil not available as a replacement for gas, more gas is needed to replace the gap caused by the shortage of fuel oil.

Geological authorities in whom I have confidence state that tremendous reserves of oil and gas are yet to be found on this continent and on the submerged lands of the Outer Continental Shelf. I have urged the Secretary of the Interior to hold the lease sales for offshore western Louisiana at an early date. Alaska has promise, but it will be years before any great volume of crude oil and natural gas found in the Prudhoe Bay area will be available in this country.

Clearly the decline in exploration must be reversed. Last Wednesday at the Federal Power Commission hearing in Midland, Tex., I urged the Federal Power Commission to:

First. Remove the low ceiling prices for natural gas sales previously set for Texas. If prices are to be regulated, market forces should be the key factor for determination, rather than use of cost data which reflects only past, not future conditions.

Second. Review the whole question of regulation of gas prices at the wellhead. Legislation to free the individual gas producer from utility ratemaking control would, to my way of thinking, do much to stimulate the exploration for gas.

Third. Take all steps possible to expedite the resolution of price-setting proceedings. Hearings have taken from 5 to 8 years to complete. This delay, with its resultant uncertainties for both consumers and producers, has contributed to our present situation.

Fourth. Do everything possible to reduce the uncertainty which now plagues the gas industry. Producers find it difficult to arrive at long-term decisions concerning investment in exploratory activities when their expectations as to future prices may prove ill-founded. The Commission has in the past reduced prices which producers could receive for gas sales even though the contracts under which these sales were made had been certified years earlier by the Commission. Reliance by the industry upon its long-term contracts would go far toward encouraging the search for new supplies.

Today, along with 17 of my colleagues, I am introducing a Sense of Congress Resolution takes into account this critical gas shortage and suggests that the answer lies in less regulation and a return to the free market pricing of natural gas. This resolution would go a long way, in my opinion, toward inducing the FPC to take the steps I suggested in the hearings in Midland. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the text of the resolution printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE PROTECTION OF CONSUMER SUPPLY OF NATURAL GAS

Whereas a shortage of natural gas exists in some areas of the United States;

Whereas this shortage will spread to other areas of the United States during the coming months unless immediate corrective action is taken;

Whereas severe hardship would accompany such shortages;

Whereas it is in the best interest of the Nation and of the consumer to alleviate this shortage by securing adequate domestic supplies of natural gas to meet the present shortage and future demands for natural gas;

Whereas natural gas is a desirable fuel because it pollutes least of all fuels;

Whereas the Federal Power Commission regulates the price of natural gas paid to the producer of natural gas;

Whereas the main cause of the shortage of natural gas in the United States is the low price paid to the producer;

Whereas exploring for natural gas is a relatively high risk endeavor;

Whereas there must exist adequate economic incentives for those who explore for natural gas;

Whereas one necessary incentive is the assurance that the price received by the producer will be high enough to reward the high risk of invested capital;

Whereas the free market mechanism is the best method for determining the price to be paid to the producer for his gas;

Whereas the Federal Power Commission intends to reconsider the price of gas to be paid to the producer under contracts entered into by the producer after June 17, 1970; and

Whereas the urgency of the situation requires immediate action: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That for the above reasons and in consideration of the above facts, the House of Representatives hereby goes on record that it favors the free market mechanism as the most desirable method for determining the price of natural gas to be paid to the producer of natural gas; that the present price of natural gas as determined by the Federal Power Commission is too low to provide the necessary economic incentives to explore for new reserves of natural gas; and that it is in the best interest of the Nation and the consumer to allow the price of natural gas to be paid to the producer to seek its own level in the free market as this would tend to guarantee continued existence of adequate supplies of this desirable fuel.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the distinguished gentleman from Texas for his interest in this issue and to join with him in cosponsoring this legislation expressing the concern of the House of Representatives over the current domestic natural gas shortage.

I have discussed this matter at some length with my good friend and colleague (Mr. BUSH). As a result of our conversations, I sent out a joint letter to several other Members whom we thought might also be interested in this issue, We were both pleased and gratified that 16 of our colleagues shared our concern, and we welcome as cosponsors of the resolution:

JIM COLLINS, PAGE BELCHER, ED FOREMAN, LAURENCE BURTON, JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT, KEITH SEBELIUS, GARNER SHRIVER, and JOHN WOLD.

GEORGE MAHON, ROBERT POAGE, ED EDMONDSON, EARLE CABELL, OMAR BURLESON, O. CLARK FISHER, G. V. MONTGOMERY, and GRAHAM PURCELL.

We also hope that other concerned members will join us in this nonpartisan effort to encourage the resolution of the natural gas shortage problem.

According to recent reports, the 12 major interstate gas transmission companies will be unable to meet an estimated demand of 3.1 billion cubic feet of natural gas per day for this coming winter. Even given the possibility that this figure includes some duplication in supply patterns, it is still a staggering deficiency. It means that many homes this winter, particularly those in the Northeastern United States, will be without sufficient supplies of natural gas.

This shortage will not disappear overnight. Given the economic conditions in the petroleum exploration industry and current Federal Power Commission regulations, it may well take 4 to 6 years before new gas reserves can be established.

It appears that Federal Power Commission policies have contributed much to the current shortage. To be fair to the Commission, however, all of these policies were not of its own doing. Certain of them were imposed on the Commission by virtue of court orders, and decrees, and changing times. Be that as it may,

though, it is clear that FPC pricing policies are outdated and stand in sore need of revision. For the short run, I would recommend an immediate 10-cent-per-thousand-cubic-foot hike in natural gas prices at the wellhead. In the long run, I would suggest that the price for natural gas could best be established by the unfettered operation of the open market.

Mr. Speaker, the present shortage in natural gas reflects the folly in Government's interfering with the operation of the free market system. I am confident the market system has the strength and ability to resolve this problem if only we give it the opportunity.

TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today we should take note of America's great accomplishments and in so doing renew our faith and confidence in ourselves as individuals and as a nation. In the past 30 years over $2 billion has been spent in the United States to conquer cancer. The number of people with cancer who are saved has increased from 1 in 5 in 1940 to 1 in 3 today.

CANNED FOODS ARE NOT GOOD INDEFINITELY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I have today asked the Federal Trade Commission to enjoin the national canners from continuing to deceive the public with claims that canned foods are good indefinitely.

The average person believes that food cannot deteriorate in a vacuum. The canners have been spending vast amounts through their trade association to play on the public's confusion.

The Department of Defense has done studies which developed specific storage lives for canned and baby foods and thus contradict the canners' claim. The studies, used by PX's with respect to food sold to civilian dependents as well as for military rations, were done by Natick Laboratories of Natick, Mass., and are based upon laboratory and field testing, work done by the University of Georgia, and technical data provided by individual canners.

The canners give the Department of Defense one set of data and turn right around and through their trade association attempt to convince the public of the direct opposite.

Even if contradictory evidence were not available, the canners would still be guilty of unfair and deceptive practices since they have no evidence upon which to base their claims.

A recent FTC ruling requires technical claims to be backed up with scientific evidence. Representatives of the canners association told my office they had no scientific studies to justify their claim and simply relied upon experience.

They did, however, attempt to justify their claim by producing a Food and Drug Administration factsheet, which turned out to have been based upon information supplied by the canners association, and which is being rewritten.

Many canned items are being sold far after the time they should have been removed from the shelves. A case of strained baby meats recently purchased by a woman in Baton Rouge, La., turned out to be 8 years old, despite a storage life of 18 months. A case of mayonnaise purchased by a woman in Pennsylvania included five rancid jars more than 2 years old. Mayonnaise is good for 6 months. A suburban Chicago woman recently purchased a can of 5-year-old chicken. Canned chicken is good for 3 years.

I have previously introduced H.R. 17005, legislation to require the dating of packaged foods and filed a petition with the FTC to accomplish the same objective.

This situation demonstrates why canned foods should be included in any open dating regulations or legislation.

The housewife who finds many canned items spoiled when she opens them may think she is just having a run of bad luck if she listens to the canners association. I have asked the FTC to act so that she will know that all these years she was not the only one having such bad luck.

I insert in the RECORD at this point my letter to the Federal Trade Commission, U.S. Armed Forces shelf life regulations based on Natick Laboratories' studies, and related material.

AUGUST 5, 1970.

Hon. CASPAR W. WINBERGER,
Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Food industry advertising and promotional material conveys much of the information the consumer relies upon in determining what she buys and how and when she uses it. This is especially true of canned foods, an understanding of which requires complex laboratory testing and lengthy studies. The average person is confused about the properties of a vacuum and even more so about the properties of the vacuum can which, in terms of commercially available food products, is not a total vacuum.

The National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, is the trade association representing the canning industry. It is also one of very few major trade associations which does not make its budget public.

In its advertising and promotional material, which is circulated to schools and the Federal government as well as to the general public, the association claims that canned foods will last "indefinitely." A typical example is found in the association publication entitled "Know your canned goods." To the question, "How long will canned foods keep?", the publication answers "Indefinitely, if nothing happens to the container to cause a leak. . . ."

The Canners Association claim is flatly contradicted by shelf life schedules produced by Natick Laboratories of Natick, Massachusetts, an experimental facility under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army. Over the last 20 years, Natick has conducted numerous tests on storage lives of virtually all food items, civilian and military. In its latest findings published as Army and Navy regulations, applicable to sales by military PX's to military dependents, Natick sets forth specific shelf lives not only for perishable and semi-perishable foods, but for baby and canned foods as well. For perishable and semi-perishable foods, for which industry shelf life tables are available, there is general comparability on the figures.

The assessment of shelf lives by Natick is based upon information from its own laboratory and field tests; surveys conducted for it by the University of Georgia, and testing and information provided them by various canned food manufacturers. The canners have been giving Natick one set of data, upon which it has been able to develop specific shelf lives for canned foods, then turning right around and through their trade association have been attempting to convince the public of the direct opposite; that, in effect, canned items do not have specific shelf lives.

The head of the Reaction Mechanism Group of the Food Chemistry Division of Natick Laboratories told my office that while canned foods which have been stored for a long period may be technically safe to eat and even contain nutritional value, because of the change in taste, smell and appearance, like sour milk, few would find it appealing.

He told my office that unlike most perishable and semi-perishable foods, canned foods do not suddenly spoil, but that change in color, smell and appearance take place gradually over a period of time, and occur as a result of 1) the presence of even a token amount of oxygen; 2) chemical reactions even in the absence of oxygen; and 3) reactions between the food and the material composing the can.

The Natick shelf lives are based upon the point in time at which the food item should reach a condition making it generally unacceptable to a human being as food even though it may be safe and nutritious. A brief summary of the above conversation appears in the attached letter.

It appears to me that the National Canners Association is attempting, through its claim that canned foods are good "indefinitely", to play on the complexity of the subject matter to deceive and mislead the public as section 5 of the Federal Trade Act defines "unfair and deceptive advertising." I urge the Commission to instigate proceedings to enjoin the Canners Association and the individual manufacturers from continuing this deception.

Even if contradictory, independent evidence were not available I believe the canners would still be guilty of unfair and deceptive practices since they have done no scientific testing to verify their claims.

The Commission in its hearing notice of July 6, 1970 in the Matter of Pfizer, Inc. (Docket No. 8819), states that by making certain advertising claims "respondent represents, and has represented, directly or by implication, that each of that statements respecting the pain relieving properties of the said product has been substantiated by respondent by adequate and well-controlled scientific studies or tests prior to the making of such statements." Such a situation applies to this situation.

Representatives of the National Canners Association told my office that they had no studies on which to base their claim and simply relied on "experience." This is particularly surprising as the Canners Association operates an extremely well-equipped laboratory.

In response to an inquiry from my office as to the basis for their claim that canned foods are good "indefinitely," the representatives of the National Canners Association produced

a publication copyrighted by them in 1929, which had only an intangible bearing on the question, and upon which they indicated they were not relying. When pressed, they produced a quote from a fact sheet produced by the Food and Drug Administration. A subsequent check with FDA produced evidence that this fact sheet, revised in 1969, was partially based upon information provided by the Canners Association, and that the fact sheet was currently being revised in connection with this question. Finally, the two representatives of the National Canners Association admitted that their organization had not conducted any scientific studies to verify their claim and simply relied upon "experience."

I believe this situation falls under the precedent set by the Pfizer case, and even without taking into account the contradictory evidence, should be declared an unfair and deceptive practice within the purview of section 5 of the Federal Trade Act as above stated.

Commission action to correct this deception is important, not only to enable the consumer to better plan her purchasing and potential storage of canned and baby foods, but to make the food retailer aware of the limited shelf life of such foods.

I have uncovered many examples of canned items being sold at or far after the time they should have been removed from the shelves according to the Natick data. A case of strained baby meats purchased in May, 1970 by a woman in Baton Rouge, Louisiana turned out to be eight years old, despite a shelf life of 18 months. A case of mayonnaise purchased by a woman in Pennsylvania included five rancid jars more than two years old. Mayonnaises are good for six months. A suburban Chicago women recently purchased a can of five year old chicken. Canned chicken is good for three years. My own staff studies found many Washington supermarkets selling soup a year to a year and a half old.

The housewife who finds many canned items spoiled when she opens them, may think she is just having a run of bad luck if she listens to the Canners Association. I urge the Commission to act so that she will know that all these years she was not the only one having such bad luck.

This situation further documents the need for quick action on my petition of June 9, 1970 requesting a rule to require the last date a food item can be sold to appear on the label. That rule (or any legislation) should most certainly apply to canned foods as well as to perishable and semi-perishable items. I ask the Commission to incorporate by reference this letter and the accompanying documents into the record of that petition.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
Member of Congress.

[From the Technical Manual for Storage and Material Handling for the Departments of the Army; the Navy, the Air Force, U.S. Marine Corps; and the Defense Supply Agency, June 17, 1969]

CHAPTER 5—STORAGE OF SPECIAL COMMODITIES

TABLE I.—*Storage life of frozen subsistence at 0°F or below*

[Approximate storage life, months]

Apples	18
Apple juice, concentrated	30
Asparagus	10
Bacon: [2 3]	
Slab, type I	5½
Slab, type II	12
Sliced, type I	1½
Sliced, type I, vacuum packed	3
Sliced, type II	2¼
Sliced, type II, vacuum packed	4½
Beans:	
Green	10
Lima	14
Wax	10
Beef: [2]	
Boneless, fabricated (without ground meat)	10
Boneless, fabricated (with ground meat)	8
Carcass, wholesale cuts	10
Corned	6
Dried, sliced	12
Ground	4
Ground patties	3
Liver, whole or portion cut	4
Tongue, fresh	4
Tongue, cured or smoked, type 1	6
Tongue, cured or smoked, type 2	4
Blackberries	18
Blueberries	18
Bologna: [2 3]	
Lebanon	8
50 percent beef	3–4
60 percent beef	3–4
75 percent beef	6
Boysenberries	18
Bread dough [2]	6
Bread yeast raised (and rolls fresh) [2]	6
Broccoli	14
Brussels sprouts	11
Butter prints and patties [2]	12
Carrots	24
Cauliflower	14
Cervelat: [2 3]	
Dry	6
Soft (thuringer)	3–4
Cherries, RSP	24
Chicken: [2]	
Parts, cut up, ready-to-cook	8
Whole, ready-to-cook	10
Clams, shucked [2]	9
Corn	24
Corn on the cob	9
Cream [2]	8
Dates	12
Duck [2]	10
Eggs:	
Whole (including table grade) [2]	9
Whites [2]	12
Yolks, sugared or salt added [2]	12
Fish, fillets, portions, steaks (varies with species) [2]	3–9
Frankfurters—50 percent beef, 50 percent pork: [2 3]	
Type I, carton	½
Type I, flexible package	1
Type II, carton	2½
Type II, flexible package	6
Type III, flexible package	12
Type III, can with thaw indicator	15
Grape juice, concentrated	24
Grapefruit juice, concentrated	24
Grapefruit-orange juice, concentrated	24
Grapefruit sections	12
Greens, leafy	14
Hams: [2]	
Boneless, cooked	6
Smoked, bone in	6
Ice cream, sherbets or ices [2]	9
Lamb: [2]	
Boneless, fabricated	6
Carcass, wholesale cuts	8
Slices, chops	6
Telescoped	8
Lemon juice, concentrated	18
Lime juice, concentrated	18
Lime juice, single strength	18
Lobster tail [2]	8
Lobster, whole [2]	8
Luncheon loaf [2 3]	3–4
Margarine, prints and patties [2]	12
Meal, precooked (TV dinners, pot pies, etc.) [1 6]	6
Milk fat anhydrous [2]	12
Milk, pasteurized, homogenized [2]	1
Milk, pasteurized, homogenized, sterilized [2]	3
Milk, whole, concentrated [2 4]	9
Okra	12
Orange juice, concentrated	24
Oysters [2]	9
Peaches	18
Peas:	
Black eyed	12
Dehydrofrozen	14
Green	14
Peas and carrots	14
Peppers	12
Pies, fruit, baked and unbaked [2]	4
Pineapple	12
Pineapple juice, concentrated	24
Pizza shells [2]	6
Pork [2]	4
Diced	4
Loin, boneless, fabricated	4
Slices, chops	4
Wholesale, cuts	6
Potatoes, white, french fries	12
Rabbit [2]	
Ready-to-cook	6
Ready-to-cook, cut up	5
Raspberries	24
Rhubarb	24
Salami: [2 3]	
Cooked	3–4
Dry	5
Sausage: [2 3]	
Liver	3–4
New England style	4
Pork, bulk style	3
Pork links	
Type I, carton	3–4
Type II, carton	2
Type III, carton	3
Type III, can	9
Pork, precooked	3–4
Pork and beef, precooked	6
Scallops [2]	8
Shrimp [2 7]	
Raw, peeled/unpeeled	8
Raw, breaded, molded	8
Soups [4]	12
Spinach	14
Squash, summer	24
Strawberries	18
Succotash	12
Sweet goods, yeast raised [2]	2
Topping, dessert	24
Turkey [2]	
Boneless, cooked	9
Boneless, raw	8
Whole, ready-to-cook	10
Veal [2]	
Diced	6
Boneless, fabricated	6
Carcass, wholesale cuts	8
Semi-boneless	8
Vegetables, mixed	10
Waffles [2]	1

[1] Any evidence that meal has been thawed is reason for discarding.

[2] Many of the products listed herein are also storable under chill conditions (above 32° F.). See 5.5.1.1.4.

[3] These products suffer deteriorative changes as a result of freezing. If frozen storage is necessary, storage times indicated will tend to minimize rancidity development.

[4] Storage life above 0° F. is 4 months.

[5] Cream style soups which have broken down during freezing will be satisfactory when heated.

[6] These meals may be used for their intended purpose up to 9 months after date of pack provided surveillance inspections performed at least every 30 days subsequent to the 6 months period result in the product being accepted for consumption.

[7] The quality of frozen shrimp will deteriorate within 30 days if held between 14° and 18° F.

TABLE II.—CHILL STORAGE OF PERISHABLE SUBSISTENCE

Item	Average freezing point	Accepted storage temperature	Preferred relative humidity (percent)	Approximate storage life (days)
Artichokes, globe	30	32	90–95	30
Apples	29	32	90	(2)
Apricots [3]	30	32	85–90	7–14
Asparagus, fresh [3 19]	31	32	95	10
Avocados:				
Cold tolerant [3]	31	40–45	85–90	28
Cold intolerant [3]	31	55	85–90	14
Bacon: [9]				
Slab, type I		32–35	85–90	42
Slab, type II		32–35	85–90	70
Sliced, type I		32–35	85–90	14
Sliced, type I, vacuum packed		32–35	85–90	21
Sliced, type II		32–35	85–90	21
Sliced, type II, vacuum packed		32–35	85–90	35
Banana:				
Green	31	56–58	90–95	7–10
Ripe		56–58	85	2–4
Beans:				
Green or wax	31	45–50	90–95	8–10
Lima, unshelled	31	32	85–90	14–21
Beef: [9]				
Carcass and wholesale cuts		32–35	85–90	10–14
Corned		32–35	85–90	9–11
Dried, sliced		32–35	----------	28–42
Ground		32–35	85–90	4
Tongue, fresh		32–35	85–90	35–42
Tongue, smoked		32–35	85–90	35–42
Beets, topped [11]	30	32	90–95	30–90
Berries, black rasp, straw [3]	31	32	90–95	5–7
Blueberries	30	32	90–95	14–21
Bologna: [9]				
Lebanon		32–35	85–90	60
50-percent beef		32–35	85–90	12
Broccoli [3]	31	32	90–95	7–10
Brussel sprouts	31	32	90–95	21–28
Butter, prints and patties		32–35	<55	30
Cabbage:				
Red	31.7	32	90–95	21–42
Summer types	31	32	90–95	21–42
Winter types	31	32	90–95	90–120
Cake, fresh:				
Layer		35	80–85	7
Loaf		35	80–85	10
Coffee		60	80–90	5
Cantaloup:				
Hard ripe [3]	30	36	85–90	15
Fullslip	30	32–34	85–90	5–14
Carrots: [11 20]				
Mature, topped	30	32	90–95	120–150
Immature, topped	31	32	90–95	28–42
Casaba melon	30	45–50	85–90	21–42
Catsup:				
Boat, envelopes [17]		50	80–90	180
Cup, foil pouch [17]		50	----------	365
Cauliflower [11]	31	32	90–95	14–28
Celery:				
Northern grown [11]	31	32	90–95	60–90
California or Florida [21]	31	32	90–95	35–42
Cervelat: [9]				
Dry [19]		32–35	75–80	45
Soft (thuringer)		32–35	85–90	14
Cherries, sweet [3 18]	29	32	90–95	10–14
Chicory	31	32	90–95	10–30
Chives, potted	30	35–45	90–98	14
Cheese:				
Blue veined, natural		32–35	70–75	135
Cheddar, natural		32–35	70–75	360
Cottage	30	32–35	----------	14
Mozzarella, natural		35	70–75	30
Processed American, pimiento or Swiss:				
Loaf	16	32–35	70–75	240
Sliced		32–35	70–75	180
Parmesan, natural		32–35	70–75	180
Provolona, natural		35	70–75	180
Romano, natural		32–35	70–75	180
Swiss, natural		32–35	70–75	360
Chocolate drink	29	32–35	----------	7
Clams, shucked		32–35	----------	4
Cookie dough		32	----------	90
Corn on the cob, top-iced [3]	31	32	90–95	4–8
Cranberry:				
Fresh	30	36–40	90–95	30–90
Sauce, cup [17]		50	----------	180
Cream:				
Half and half, including filled	31	32–35	----------	7
Sour, cultured	31	32–35	----------	14
Table, including filled	31	32–35	----------	10
Whipping	31	32–35	----------	10
Whipping, sterilized	31	35–50	----------	360
Cucumbers [6]	31	45–50	85–95	14–21
Dates, pitted, cured:				
Cane sugar types	1	32	70–75	360
Invert sugar types	5	32	75	180
Doughnuts, cake and yeast		60	80–90	3
Eggs, shell:				
Fresh	27	32	88–92	120
Oil processed	27	32	88–92	180
Eggplant [3 6]	31	45–50	85–90	10
Frankfurters, 50 percent beef, 50 percent pork: [9]				
Type I, carton		32–35	85–90	10
Type, I, flexible package		32–35	85–90	21
Type II, carton		32–35	85–90	14
Type II, flexible package		32–35	85–90	35
French dressing, cup, boat or envelope	31	50	80–90	90
Fruitcake, fresh		40	50–60	300
Garlic, dry	30	32	65–70	180–240
Grapefruit [16 17]	30	50	85–90	28
Grapefruit, September to February harvest [16 17]	30	60	85–90	28
Grapes:				
American, types [4]	30	32	85	21–28
European, types	28	30	90–95	90–180
Greens:				
Endives, kale and romaine [11]	31.9	32	90–95	14–21
Collards, parsley, mustard, turnip [3]	31	32	90–95	7–10
Ham: [9]				
Cured, canned, type 1		32–35	60–65	180
Cured, canned, type 2		32–35	60–65	270
Boneless, cooked		32–35	85–90	28
Smoked [10]		32–35	85–90	28
Honeyball melon	30	45–50	75–85	21–28
Honeydew, melon	30	45	75–85	21–28
Horseradish, prepared	30	32	----------	90
Jams, jellies, preserves:				
Boat, envelope [17]		50	80–90	180
Cup, foil pouch [17]		50	----------	365
Kohlrabi [3]	30	32	90–95	14–28
Lamb, carcass, wholesale cuts [9]		32–35	85	7–10
Lard, service style		32–35	55	120
Lettuce, individually wrapped in polystyrene film [12]	31	32	95	14–21
Lobster, live, in water		33–50	----------	7
Lemons [5]	30	55	85–90	30–120
Limes	29	48–50	85–90	42–56
Luncheon loaf		32–35	85–90	14
Margarine, prints and patties [1]		32–35	<55	60
Meal, combat, individual		32	50	[23] 7
Milk:				
Buttermilk	31	32–35	----------	14
Chocolate flavored	29	32–35	----------	7
Chocolate flavored, sterilized	29	32–35	----------	360
Concentrated	29	32–35	----------	6
Fluid, pasteurized, all types	30	32–35	----------	7
Fat, anhydrous		32–35	----------	180
Mustard:				
Boat, envelope [17]	30	50	80–90	90
Cup, foil pouch [17]	30	50	----------	270
Nectarines	30	32	90	14
Okra	29	45–50	85–95	7–10
Onions: [13]				
Bermuda, dry	31	32	65–70	42–56
Globe, dry	30	32	65–70	180–240
Green, top-iced	30.4	32	90–95	10–14
Spanish	31	32	65–70	30–60
Oranges:				
California [22]	30	40–44	85–90	35–56
Florida [22]	30	30–32	85–90	60–90
Temple	30	38	85–90	10
Orange juice	30	32	----------	21
Oysters, shucked in ice		32–35	----------	4
Parsnips	30	32	90	60–120
Peaches [3]	30	32	90	14–21
Pears [3 7 8]	29	29–31	90–95	(8)
Peas, unshelled	31	32	90–95	7–14
Peppers, sweet	31	45–50	90–95	8–10
Pepperoni, dry [9]		32–35	75–80	28
Persian melons	31	45–50	75–85	7–14
Pies:				
Fruit, fresh		35	80–85	3
Fried, fresh		35	80–90	5
Pineapple:				
Mature, green [6]	30	5–55	85–90	14–21
Ripe [3]	30	45	85–90	14–18
Plums	30	32	90–95	21–28
Pork, wholesale cuts [9]		32–35	85–90	5
Poultry, all forms		32–35	90–95	5
Potatoes, sweet (cured at 85° F.) [3 6]	30	55–60	85–90	120–180
Potatoes, white: [14]				
Early crop, uncured	31	50	85–90	60–90
Early crop, cured before storage	31	40	85–90	120–150
Late crop	30	40	85–90	240
Potatoes, white, irradiated, LPPD	30	40–45	85–90	360
Pumpkin	30	50–55	70–75	60–180
Radishes:				
Spring, topped, poly bag	31	32	90–95	21–28
Winter, topped	31	32	90–95	60–120
Rhubarb	30	32	90–95	14–21
Rolls, brown and serve		32	80–85	21
Rutabagas, topped	30	32	90–95	60–120
Salad dressing, cup, boat, envelope [17]	31	50	89–00	90
Salmon steaks		32–35	85–95	28
Salami: [9 10]				
Dry		32–35	75–80	60
Cooked		32–35	85–90	14
Sausage: [9]				
Liver		32–35	85–90	14
New England style		32–35	85–90	10
Pork links:				
Type I		32–35	85–90	14
Type II and III		32–35	85–90	21
Pork bulk		32–35	85–90	14
Scallops		32–35	----------	4
Shallots	31.7	32	90–95	10–14
Shortening compound, can, carton, cube		32–35	<55	1,800
Shrimp, unpeeled, in ice		32–35	----------	14
Sirup, imitation maple, cup, boat or envelope [17]		50	80–90	365

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE II.—CHILL STORAGE OF PERISHABLE SUBSISTENCE—Continued

Item	Average freezing point	Accepted storage temperature	Preferred relative humidity (percent)	Approximate storage life (days)
Spinach [3]	31	32	90–95	10–14
Squash:				
Fall and winter [15]	30	50–55	70–75	120–180
Summer	31	32	85–90	10–14
Swiss chard [3]	31	32	85-90	10–14
Tangerines	30	31–38	90–95	14–28
Tomatoes:				
Green [3 6]	31	55	85–90	14–42
Ripe	31	50	85–90	8–12
Turnips	30	32	90–95	120–150
Veal and calf sides, wholesale cuts [9]		32–35	85	6
Watermelon [3]	31	36–40	85–90	14–21
Yeast, bakers:				
Active dry		32	50	18
Compressed cake		32	80–83	0

[1] Soybean oil margarine is considered by some authorities to be less stable than cottonseed oil margarine.

[2] The length of time apples can be held successfully in cold storage will vary with the variety, with the district where grown, as well as with their condition when harvested. The following data show about how much time different varieties as grown in regions to which they are adapted require to reach full-eating-soft condition when picked at proper maturity and stored immediately at 32° F.

Variety	Storage period (months) Normal	Maximum
Jonathan	2 to 3	4.
Grimes Golden	2 to 3	4.
McIntosh	2 to 4	4 to 5.
Golden Delicious	3 to 4	6 (8*).
Courtland	3 to 4	5.
Delicious	3 to 4	6 (8*).
Rhode Island Greening	3 to 4	6.
Baldwin	4 to 5	6 to 7.
Stayman Winesap	4 to 5	5 to 6.
York Imperial	4 to 5	5 to 6.
Northern Spy	4 to 5	6.
Rome Beauty	4 to 5	6 to 7.
Winesap	5 to 7	8.
Yellow Newton	5 to 6	8.

*Stored in polyethylene film bag liners (unscaled).

[3] Commodities not recommended for export but which are suitable for immediate use by shore activities and by ships in port or shortly after sailing.

[4] Not recommended for export since the European type of grape from California with better keeping quality is available during the same period.

[5] Foothill grown lemons store better than coastal grown lemons, especially late picked; at receiving markets only "strong" lots of lemons should be stored and frequently inspected.

[6] Damage will result if item is stored at lower temperature than indicated.

[7] For best ripening pears should be held at about 65° F. for 2 to 3 days prior to serving.

[8] Pears—Length of time at various temperatures for safe storage of certain varieties of pears at shipping point and after shipment to market.

Storage treatment and variety	Length of storage period (months)	End of storage period
Stored immediately after harvest at 30° to 31° F.:		
Angouleme	3 to 5	November to January.
Anjou	5 to 6*	February to March.
Barry	6 to 8	March to May.
Bartlett	1½ to 3	August to October.
Bosc	3 to 3½*	November to December.
Clairgeau	2 to 4	November to January.
Comice	2 to 3	November to December.
Easter Beurre	5 to 7	March to May.
Flemish Beauty	3 to 4	December to January.
Forelle	6 to 8	March to May.
Glo Morceau	5 to 7	February to April.
Hardy	2 to 3	September to November.
Howell	3 to 4	November to December.
Kieffer	2 to 3	September to November.
Winter Nelis	6 to 7	March to May.
Stored at 30° to 31° F after 12-day transit period (not pre-cooled):		
Bartlett	0 to 1	July to September.
Bosc	2*	November.
Clairgeau	2 to 4	October to December.
Easter Beurre	4 to 6	January to March.
Winter Nelis	2 to 4	October to January.
Stored at 30° to 31° F after 12-day transit period (precooled):		
Anjou	4 to 5*	March.
Bartlett	1½ to 2	July to September or October (depending on date of harvest).
Hardy	2 to 3	October to November.
Comice	2 to 3*	November to December.
Bosc	2 to 3	October to December.
Clairgeau	3 to 6	November to February.
Easter Beurre	5 to 7	March to May.
Winter Nelis	6 to 7	March to May.

*The storage life of Anjou, Bose, and Comice pears may be extended for an additional 1 to 2 months by packaging in polyethylene bag liner. USDA—Agricultural Handbook No. 66—September1954.

[9] Carcasses and cuts: Quarters, carcasses, and cuts of beef, lamb and veal should be hung or placed on racks when in chill space. If such items are in a solid frozen condition when received, stow compactly as possible in the freezer space. Frozen, boneless beef should be stacked compactly. Veal carcasses or cuts, particularly of the lighter weights and lower grades, are subject to rapid deterioration. Holding time of such items in the chill space should be held to a minimum. Fresh chilled pork cuts should be treated as highly perishable.

Variety meats and sausage: Such items are highly perishable. Hold storage time to a minimum.

Cured and smoked meat: The keeping qualities of cured and smoked meats depend upon the type of cure, the length of the smoking period, and the method of packaging. The storage life of such items is further influenced by the condition of the storeroom with regard to humidity, temperature and sanitation.

Growth of mold and development of rancidity in hams and bacon can be retarded by stowing such items in the chill space for current consumption and in freezer space for seasonal stocks. Since the growth of mold on cured and smoked meats is favored by the presence of condensed water, excessive humidity should be avoided. If the relative humidity is higher than recommended, it is essential that good circulation of air be maintained.

Hams and bacon which have been individually wrapped on one or more layers of paper have a tendency to retain upon the surface of the meat any moisture which may have come from the product after wrapping. This moisture, in a measure, stimulates mold and bacterial growth. If hams so wrapped are held at temperatures of 45° F. or above for a considerable length of time, mold and slime will form on the surface of the meat. Surface slime and mold make the ham unattractive and unpleasant to handle, but do not necessarily indicate spoilage. Accordingly, such products should be carefully inspected to determine how far the mold has penetrated. In most cases, where only the surface is affected, the mold can be removed from the meat by brushing with a stiff-bristled brush, wiping with a clean cloth moistened with a vinegar or salt-water solution, and allowing to air dry. When the mold growth is heavy it may be trimmed away. If the ham does not have deep cracks or abrasions, the meat underneath the surface usually is found to be perfectly sound and wholesome. When mold growth or spoilage is evidenced deeply between he muscles and around the bone, a survey is usually necessary.

[10] Very susceptible to mold growth or surface. Inspect and wipe often.

[11] This item keeps better unwashed.

[12] Export pack only for ships and oversea shipments. Ice packed lettuce will encourage the growth of mold on other commodities. The storage life shown for lettuce is lengthened substantially by trimming closely and wrapping heads individually in polystyrene film.

[13] This commodity should not be stored with items such as apples and grapefruit since they will acquire an onion taste. Compartments should be kept dark.

[14] Early and intermediate crop potatoes may possess better or poorer keeping qualities than potatoes shown on the table. Many lots of early potatoes are too immature for export and some intermediate crop potatoes are not suitable for export because of poor quality and condition. Extreme care must be exercised in the selection of potatoes for export from the middle of May to the middle of August. The quality and condition of available supplies must govern the final choice between old and new crop stock for export during the first part of this perid and such factors also must govern the choice of stocks of new crop potatoes for export later in this period.

[15] Winter storage varieties such as Hubbard.

[16] The refrigerated storage of Florida grapefruit is not recommended for more than a limited period and then only if the fruit is inspected at intervals. Grapefruit very susceptible to rind pitting. and aging at comparatively low temperatures, especially at 38° F. (as compared with 32° F.). At higher temperatures, such as 50° F. the rapid development of decay is troublesome.

[17] Keeping time in uncontrolled storage (dry storage) is less than 3 months because of desiccation.

[18] Sweet cherries packed in sealed polyethylene bag liners can be stored for up to 21 days.

[19] Asparagus held too long at 32° F. is subject to chill injury. The butts of asparagus should be placed in an absorbent material during storage.

[20] Carrots may become bitter if stored with fruits which give off ethylene, such as apples and pears.

[21] Polyethylene liners will extend storage life an additional 7 to 14 days.

[22] Cold intolerant, most Florida grown varieties. Cold tolerant, most California varieties.

[23] 7 years.

TABLE III.—DRY STORAGE OF SEMIPERISHABLE SUBSISTENCE [1]

Item	Packaging	Keeping time in months (approximate) 40° F.	70° F.	90° F.
Almond paste	Can	36	9	3
Antioxidant compound, food service	Bag	60	36	24
Apple:				
Regular pack	Can	72	36	24
Pie style, dehydrated	do	36	24	12
Butter	Can/jar	48	18	10
Sauce	Can	72	36	24
Baby food, strained	Jar	36	18	12
Dehydrated (instant)	Can	36	24	12
Dietetic pack	do	66	42	15
Junior food	Jar	36	18	12
Juice	Can	60	36	12
Dehydrated [11]	do	60	36	18
Single strength	do	60	36	12
Apricots:				
Regular pack	do	60	33	12
Baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Dietary pack	Can	56	30	12
Dried	Carton	24	3	1
Freeze, dehydrated	Can	24	12	5
Apricot nectar:				
Regular pack	do	48	24	10
Freeze dehydrated	do	24	12	5
Asparagus	do	60	36	12
Baby formula preparation	do	24	12	3
Bacon:				
Sliced	do	48	18	12
Sliced, irradiated	do	48	30	12
Sliced, prefried	Can/flexible pkg	48	30	12
Bakery mixes	Can	48	36	9
	Bag/carton	12	6	3
Baking powder	Can	24	12	6
Baking soda	Carton	indef	indef	indef
Barley, pearl	Bag/carton	36	24	12
Banana, baby food, strained	Jar	24	12	6
Beans:				
Dried [12]	Bag/carton	24	12	9
Green, baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Green, regular	Can	60	36	12
Green junior food	Jar	30	18	9
Green, dehydrated	Can	84	60	24
Kidney	do	72	48	24
Lima	do	72	48	24
Lima, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Sprouts	do	48	24	10
Wax	do	60	36	18
White, dehydrated	do	48	24	6
White with pork in sweet sauce	do	72	42	24
White with pork in tomato sauce	do	60	36	12
Beef, liver, pork or veal:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Junior food	do	30	18	9
Beef:				
Broth, baby food, strained	do	30	18	9
Chunks with natural juices	Can	60	42	30
Corned	do	60	42	30
Diced, raw, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Flakes and shaped, raw, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
With gravy	do	60	42	30
Patties, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Beef steak, raw, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Beets:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	24	12	6
Junior food	do	24	12	6
Regular pack	Can	48	24	10
Berries, black, etc	do	40	22	9
Beverage base:				
Cocoa, liquid	do	36	24	6
Cocoa, powder	do	60	24	12
Imitation, liquid	Bottle	48	9	6
Powder	Envelope	60	24	12
Blueberries	Can	36	18	9
Cabbage:				
Cooked, dehydrated	do	72	36	18
Raw, diced, dehydrated [11]	do	60	24	12
Candy:				
Caramel	Box	12	9	4
Coated (bridge mix)	do	24	12	4
	Can	60	35	12
Hard	do	60	24	12
Starch jelly	Box	24	12	6
Carrot:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	36	25	12
Junior food	do	36	25	12
Puree	Can	72	42	24
Regular pack	do	72	42	24
Catsup:				
Regular pack	Bottle	48	24	12
	Can	36	18	9
Dehydrated	Envelope/can	72	24	6
Cereal:				
Baby food, strained, barley	Container	24	12	6
Quick cooking	Carton	12	12	6
	Can	36	12	6
Ready to eat, prepared	Package	24	12	6
Sugar coated	do	12	12	6
Cheese:				
Cheddar, processed	Can	60	36	12
Cottage, dehydrated	do	24	12	9
Grated	Container	18	6	3
Processed, American, dehydrated	Can	36	15	6
Cherries:				
Dehydrated	do	48	24	12
Dietetic pack	do	36	18	9
Maraschino	Jar	24	18	9
RSP (red sour pitted)	Can	24	18	9
Sweet, dark	do	42	24	12
Sweet, light	do	56	30	12
Chewing gum	Carton	9	4	2
Chicken:				
Dehydrated	Can	60	36	18
Regular pack	do	60	36	18
Baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Chili con carne:				
Without beans	Can	48	36	24
Dehydrated, with beans	do	60	36	18
Chili sauce	Bottle	48	24	12
Chocolate, cooking:				
Semisweet chips [15]	Package	36	18	6
Unsweetened [16]	Carton	48	24	12
Chocolate sirup, beverage	Can	60	24	12
Clams	do	48	18	9
Cocoa, natural	Carton	36	18	9
	Can	60	24	18
Cocoanut, prepared:				
Sweetened	do	36	18	6
	Container	24	6	1
Unsweetened	Bag	24	6	1
Coffee:				
Instant	Envelope	36	18	9
	Jar	60	36	24
Roasted and ground	Pouch	9	2	1
	Can	18	12	5
Cookies	Carton	6	4	2
Corn, cream, and whole grain styles	Can	72	42	24
Corn, dehydrated, LPPD, cooked or uncooked	do	48	24	6
Corn chips	Package	1	½	¼
Cornmeal	do	36	12	6
	Can	36	24	18
Crackers:				
Graham	Carton	4	2	1
Oyster, soda	do	6	4	2
Cranberry sauce	Can	48	24	12
Cream:				
Coffee type, 18 percent fat	Container	12	12	3
Whipping, 30 percent fat [7]	do	12	3	1
Substitute	Can/envelope	60	36	12
Whipping, dry	Can	8	6	4
Cream of tartar	Container	indef	indef	indef
Currants, dried	Carton	24	12	6
Custard, pudding, baby food, strained	Jar	15	9	6
Dessert powder:				
Gelatin, based, all flavors [14]	Can	60	36	12
	Container/package	36	12	6
Starch, based, all flavors [14]	Can	60	18	6
	Container/package	30	12	6
Instant, all flavors [14]	Can	60	18	6
	Carton	30	12	6
Ice cream mix:				
Paste	Can	24	12	4
Powder	do	36	15	6
Icing mix	do	60	24	6
Inhibitor, mold, bread and rolls [14]	Bag	12	9	3
Jam, fruit	Can/jar	48	18	10
	Package	24	12	6
Jelly, fruit	Can/jar	48	18	10
	Package	24	12	6
Lard, service style	Carton	12	6	3
Lemon juice, dehydrated [11]	Can	60	36	18
Lime juice, single strength	do	30	18	9
Luncheon meat	do	60	36	24
Macaroni [14]	Carton	48	36	24
Malted cereal sirup	Can	60	24	12
Margarine	do	60	24	9
Marmalade	Jar	48	18	10
Marshmallow	Container	12	9	1
Mayonnaise	Can/jar	10	6	4
Meal, combat, individual	Case	60	24	12
Meringue powder	Can	48	24	1
Milk:				
Chocolate (cocoa flavored)	Envelope	60	24	12
Chocolate, sterilized [19]	Can	12	6	3
Dry, nonfat	Can/drum	60	24	9
Evaporated [8]	Can	24	12	6
Filled, dry, including chocolate	do	24	12	6
Malted dry	do	60	24	9
Whole, dry	do	60	24	9
Whole, sterilized	do	12	6	3
Mincemeat	do	36	24	9
Molasses	do	60	18	12
Monosodium glutamate	Container	indef	indef	indef
Mustard, prepared	Can/jar	36	18	9
Mushrooms	Can	56	30	12
Noodles:				
Chow mein	do	6	2	1
Egg [14]	Carton	36	24	9
Nuts:				
Shelled, roasted	Can	60	24	12
Unshelled	Bag	12	6	2
Okra	Can	48,	24	10
Olives:				
Green	Jar	36	24	12
Ripe	Can	36	24	12
Olive oil	do	18	6	4
Onions, dehydrated	do	48	24	12
Orange juice:				
Dehydrated (instant) [11]	do	60	36	18
Single strength	do	48	36	18
Parsley, dehydrated	do	18	9	6

Footnotes at end of table.

Item	Packaging	Keeping time in months (approximate) 40° F.	70° F.	90° F.
Egg mix, dehydrated	Can	60	34	15
Eggs, whole, dry	do	60	36	18
Emulsifier, bread and rolls	Bag/can	18	12	6
Figs	Can	48	24	12
Fish, dehydrated:				
Patties	do	60	36	18
Squares	do	60	36	18
Flavoring:				
Imitation maple or vanilla	Bottle	indef	indef	indef
Nonalcoholic, lemon, orange, peppermint, rum.	do	24	18	6
Rye	Fiberdrum	12	6	3
Tablet, imitation maple or vanilla	Bottle	indef	indef	inde
Flour:				
Rye [18]	Bag	30	12	3
Wheat, hard or soft [2]	Can	48	18	6
	Bag	30	12	3
Food coloring	Bottle	indef	indef	indef
Food packet:				
Abandon aircraft [3]	Can	60	40	20
In flight	Carton	60	24	12
Long-range patrol	Case	84	30	6
Survival, abandon ship	Carton	84	84	72
Survival, aircraft, liferaft	Can	84	84	72
Survival, general purpose	Carton	60	48	24
Frankfurter	Can	60	48	30
Fruitcake	Box	10	6	1
Fruit, candied	Jar	12	6	3
Fruit, cocktail	Can	56	33	12
Fruit mix, freeze dehydrated	do	24	12	6
Fruit puree	do	48	24	10
Fry mix, breading	Bag	24	12	6
Garlic:				
Dehydrated	Can	36	24	12
Dry	Box	5	4	3
Gelatin, plain, edible	Container	60	36	24
Grape juice:				
Dehydrated [11]	Can	60	36	18
Single strength	do	30	18	9
Grapefruit:				
Regular pack	do	56	30	12
Juice, dehydrated (instant) [11]	do	60	36	18
Juice, single strength	do	48	36	18
Grapefruit—orange juice blend:				
Dehydrated [11]	do	60	36	18
Single strength	do	48	36	18
Ham chunks	do	60	48	30
Hamburgers, without gravy	do	60	42	30
Hominy:				
Grits	Container	36	12	6
Whole	Can	60	36	18
Honey, extracted	Jar	36	24	12
Horseradish, dehydrated	Bottle	36	24	6
Peaches:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Dietetic pack	Can	56	33	15
Regular pack	do	60	36	18
Slices (freeze dehydrated)	do	24	12	6
Peanut butter	Can/jar	60	36	12
Pears:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	33	20	9
Dietetic pack	Can	60	36	12
Freeze dehydrated	do	24	12	9
Regular pack	do	66	40	15
Peas:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	33	20	9
Blackeyed	Can	66	42	18
Dehydrated, cooked/uncooked	do	60	24	12
Dried [12]	Bag/carton	24	12	9
Green	Can	66	42	18
Peppers, green, dehydrated	do	60	24	12
Pickles:				
Cucumber, cured	Jar	36	24	12
	Can	24	12	6
Cucumber, fresh pack	Jar	27	18	9
	Can	18	9	4
Mixed	Jar	36	24	12
	Can	24	12	6
Relish	Jar	36	24	12
	Can	24	12	6
Pie filling, prepared fruit, apple, cherry, peach. [5]	do	36	12	6
Pimentos	do	48	36	18
Pineapple:				
Dietetic pack	do	48	24	9
Freeze dehydrated	do	24	12	6
Juice, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Juice, single strength	do	60	36	12
Regular pack	do	60	33	12
Plums:				
Dietetic pack	do	48	24	9
Regular pack	do	56	30	12
Popcorn, unpopped	do	96	36	24
	Carton	2	¼	⅛
	Cello bag	24	3	1
Pork chops, raw, dehydrated	Can	60	36	18
Potato:				
Chips	Package	1	½	¼
	Can, air	4	2	1
	Can, nitrogen	24	12	1
Sticks	Can	36	24	12
Sweet	do	56	30	12
Potato—Continued				
Sweet, instant, dehydrated	do	48	24	12
White	do	56	30	11
White, dehydrated	do	48	30	18
Prunes:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	15	9	6
Dehydrated/pitted (low moisture)	Can	24	12	9
Dried	do	36	18	9
Dried, soaked	do	24	14	5
Pumpkin	do	56	27	11
Raisins, dried	do	36	18	9
Ration supplement aid station	Case	60	36	18
Rice:				
Instant [14]	Carton	36	18	6
Milled [14]	Bag	36	24	9
Parboiled [14]	Container/bag	24	12	6
Salad dressing [4]	Can/jar	8	5	3
Salad oil [9]	Can	24	12	6
Salmon	do	60	30	12
Salt:				
Celery, garlic, onion	Container	60	36	12
Substitute	Envelope	indef	indef	indef
Table [5]	Bag envelope	indef	indef	indef
Sauces, hot, kitchen, meat, soy, or Worcestershire.	Bottle	48	24	12
Sauerkraut	Can	36	18	9
Sardines	do	48	18	9
Sardines in tomato sauce	do	24	15	8
Sausage, pork, link	do	60	36	24
Shortening compound: [10]				
Bakery type [9]	Can/cube	60	24	12
Deep fry, cooking type, fluid	Can	60	24	12
Deep fry, cooking type, plastic	do	60	24	12
General purpose, regular	Can/cube	60	24	12
General purpose, high stability	do	60	30	18
Shrimp	Can	48	18	9
Shrimp, dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Sirup:				
Blended	Can	60	24	12
Maple, sirup, imitation	Bottle/can	60	24	12
Soup:				
Baby food, chicken, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Beef noodle, dehydrated	Package	48	18	9
Chicken, chunk, dehydrated	Can	60	36	18
Chicken, noodle, dehydrated	do	60	24	12
	Package	48	18	9
Condensed [13]	Can	48	36	12
Cream of onion, instant, dehydrated.	Flexible package	24	12	6
Cream of potato, instant, dehydrated.	do	24	12	6
Green pea, instant and simmer types, dehydrated.	Package/can	24	12	6
Lima bean, instant, dehydrated	Can	60	30	12
Onion, dehydrated	do	60	30	12
	Package	24	12	6
Ready to serve	Can	48	36	12
Tomato-vegetable with noodle, dehydrated.	do	48	24	9
Vegetable, dehydrated	Package	24	12	6
Soup and gravy base:				
Beef flavored	Can/jar envelope	48	24	12
Chicken, flavored	do	48	24	12
Ham, flavored	do	48	24	12
Sour cream sauce mix	Can	24	12	4
Spaghetti [14]	Carton	48	36	24
Spices, seasonings, herbs [6]	Can	60	36	12
	Container	36	18	3
Spinach:				
Baby food, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Dehydrated, cooked	Can	60	24	12
Junior food	Jar	30	18	9
Regular pack	Can	56	33	12
Puree	do	56	33	12
Starch:				
Corn, edible	Carton	60	36	24
Pregelantized edible [16]	Can/bag	indef	indef	indef
Sugar:				
Brown [17]	Carton	36	18	4
Confectioners [17]	Carton/bag	36	18	6
Refined, granulated [17]	Bag/can, envelope	indef	indef	indef
Sugar substitute	Envelope	indef	indef	indef
Tapioca [14]	Carton	60	48	24
Tea:				
Black, bags or loose	Can/carton	36	18	12
Instant	Envelope	36	18	9
Tomato:				
Juice, concentrated 3+1	Can	36	18	9
Juice, single strength	do	36	24	15
Paste, instant, dehydrated	do	60	36	12
Paste, regular pack	do	36	18	9
Puree	do	42	30	10
Regular pack	do	48	30	12
Topping, dessert: Dehydrated	do	36	24	6
Tuna:				
Dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Dietetic water pack, no added salt	do	48	24	12
Oil pack	do	60	30	12
Water pack	do	48	24	12
Turkey:				
Dehydrated	do	60	36	18
Regular pack	do	60	36	18

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE III.—DRY STORAGE OF SEMIPERISHABLE SUBSISTENCE [1]—Continued

Item	Packaging	Keeping time in months (approximate) 40° F.	70° F.	90° F.
Vegetable:				
Baby food, mixed, strained	Jar	30	18	9
Juice, single strength	Can	36	24	15
Vinegar:				
Liquid	Bottle	48	30	18
Synthetic, dry	Flexible bag	24	12	6
Water	Can	indef	indef	indef
Wheat base [14]	Bag	48	36	12
Yeast, bakers, active dry	Can	6	1	¼
Yeast food	Bag	48	24	6

[1] In general, relative humidity 50 to 55 percent. Metal cans are susceptible to rust and most boxed or bagged food to mustiness or molding above R.H. 60 percent.
[2] Flour should be stored under cool, dry conditions. The major problem is protection against dampness, insects and rodents. Low temperatures, 32 to 40° F., protect against insects. Humidity greater than 70 percent leads to mustiness. Best storageconditions are at 52 to 55° F., 50 to 65 percent relative humidity.
[3] Designed to be edible after one month at 140° F.
[4] Separates at high temperatures or after freezing.
[5] Humidity above 90 percent will cause caking. "Caked" salt is usable.
[6] Above 100° F. there is complete loss of flavor in less than 6 months. "Whole" spices keep longer than "ground" spices.
[7] Guaranteed to whip only if stored below 50° F.
[8] Cases should be turned every 30 to 60 days to prevent separation of butterfat. Separated or grainy milk can be used for cooking.
[9] When held below 32° F. may show solid material which will disappear on warming.
[10] If held above 90° F. changes may occur in texture unfavorable to normal creaming properties.
[11] Store at cool temperatures below 75° F. during first 3 months.
[12] High temperatures harden, high humidity causes molding.
[13] Cream style soups break down on freezing, but are not spoiled.
[14] Highly susceptible to damage by moisture.
[15] Freezing alters appearance of starch thickening. Baking restores desirable appearance.
[16] Do not store near other material capable of imparting odor to chocolate.
[17] Keeping time based on relative humidity not more than 60 percent. For storage longer than 1 month, sugar should be covered with tarpaulins and not stored on damp or concrete floors or near cold walls.
[18] Rye flour loses its most delicate flavor after 2 months at 40° F., 1 month at 70° F. and 1 week at 90° F. After this time further flavor change is very slow. It is said that only experts can detect this first, subtle flavor change.
[19] These items should be stored at temperatures below 72° F. For long holding, chill storage is recommended. Do not freeze.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
U.S. ARMY NATICK LABORATORIES,
Natick, Mass., July 29, 1970.

Mr. ELLIS LEVIN,
Legislative Assistant to Congressman Leonard Farbstein, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LEVIN: To summarize our telephone conversation of last Friday, 24 July 1970, the following answers are provided to your 2½ questions:

(1) What is meant by shelf-life?

Shelf-life is the average period of time during which a food retains most of those qualities for which it is purchased and consumed. It is generally dependent upon the temperature, packaging, and processing which the food has experienced. Unprocessed foods are generally subject to microbial spoilage which in some fresh fruits and vegetables is similiar to over-ripening. Spoilage of this type is readably recognizable and therefore does not present a major problem to the consumer.

Processed foods, particularly canned foods, but also including frozen and dried food items, are largely prevented from microbial spoilage by their processing. Therefore, chemical deterioration is the principal factor which determines shelf-life of these foods. Changes brought about by chemical reaction in processed foods including those of appearance, including the appearance of the inside of the container; color; flavor; odor; and texture: For example, a canned food item stored in room temperature over a long period will exhibit progressive staining of the interior of the can, darkening of the surface of the fruit pieces and the juice, development of metallic flavor and softening or mushiness of texture. At higher temperature these changes occur more rapidly; at lower temperature, more slowly. None of these changes grossly affects the nutritional value of the food, but they have a major influence on consumer acceptability.

The meaning of shelf-life, then, is somewhat different for each class of food items depending upon the kinds of changes under which the food undergoes while on the shelf. For processed and preserved foods, shelf-life in general is that period during which the slow chemical deterioration is, in sum, not sufficient to cause rejection. A special case exists for canned foods of high acidity. In addition to other chemical changes a tin-acid reaction produces hydrogen gas. With time this gas displaces the original vacuum in the can and ultimately causes the can ends to swell and bulge. This swelling, although of different causation, is, in appearance, indistinguishable from microbial spoilage in improperly processed cans. Although the contents of these swollen cans are quite safe to eat, consumers generally are unwilling to take the risk. In summary then, shelf-life is that period of time during which a food item remains acceptable to the consumer, and therefore, saleable. For most commercial establishments, planned shelf-life is somewhat less than the maximum period for the food to allow some time for additional storage by the purchaser.

(2) How is shelf-life determined?

It is clear from the above that shelf-life determinations must be made separately for each class of foods. Since it appears from our conversation that your principal interest was in canned foods, this portion of the discussion will be devoted primarily to shelf-life determination in canned foods. It was stated above that during storage canned foods change little in their nutritional quality. The sole exception to this are some losses in water soluble vitamins and some randicidy in high fat dry or cold packed foods. The principal changes are those in sensory quality and the external appearance of the can. Since it can be taken as almost axiomatic that canned foods are safe to eat so long as the can remains intact, shelf-life determination for canned foods are usually made by controlled studies of can failure rates. Can failures are defined as chemical swelling or corrosive pin holding. Test packs of foods, in cans appropriate to each, are made and stored at controlled temperatures to determine their rates of can failures. Shelf-life is then established at some period before appreciable failure is expected to occur.

Are canned foods good indefinitely?

In the sense of "fit for human consumption", all canned foods are good for as long as the can remains intact. Some few cold packed or dry items packed in cans undergo chemical changes, principally oxidation of their lipid components, during which off-flavors, which most people find distasteful, develop.

Rarely, then, would one call these foods good indefinitely. The vast majority of canned foods including fruits, vegetables, meats and combination items remain good as long as the can remains intact. For the most part, the American canning industry packs for one year in the distribution channel and one year in the home, with sufficient additional shelf-life in the can to accomplish at least twice this with safety.

Canned foods packed for military use have been stored, to my certain knowledge, for as long as 22 years during which time the contents remained "fit for human consumption". This is not to say that they were in appearance, flavor, and texture highly acceptable.

A short list of reference material used to establish the shelf-life list in TM743-200 is appended. Copies of "Long Term Storage of Military Rations" and of TM743-200 are being mailed under separate cover.

It was a pleasure to talk with you on this subject for which I have been the Army Specialist for 15 years. If I can be of any further assistance to you or Congressman Farbstein, please call upon me.

Very truly yours,

A. S. HENICK,
Reaction Merchanisms Group, Food Chemistry Division, Food Laboratory.

[From "Focus on Canned Foods," National Canners Association (Fifth Edition)]

ANSWERS TO SOME QUESTIONS ASKED ABOUT CANNED FOODS

How long will canned foods keep? Indefinitely, if nothing happens to the container to cause a leak. Extremely long periods of storage at high temperatures may result in some loss in color, flavor and appearance, although they will remain wholesome. Long storage at high temperatures will also cause some loss in nutritive value. So, if it is feasible to use and replace at regular intervals, there is little point in storing foods for several times their regular maximum utility. From the standpoint of best utilization it is probably best to have a regular turnover, say once a year.

[From "Know Your Canned Foods" (Third Edition), National Canners Association]

THIS TO REMEMBER

How long will canned foods keep? Indefinitely, if nothing happens to the container to cause a leak. They are thoroughly heat processed. Extremely long periods of storage at high temperatures may result in some loss in color, flavor and nutritive value. We recommend that canned foods be stored in a fairly cool area . . . away from steam pipes or radiators. (See 5.) Place on shelves, or put cases on racks rather than directly on the floor.

[From "Interesting Facts About Canned Foods" National Canners Association]

HOW LONG WILL CANNED FOODS KEEP?

Canned foods will keep just as long as nothing happens to the can or jar to make it leak.

[From Food and Drug Administration Factsheet]

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT CANNED FOODS

How long will canned foods keep? Canned foods will keep as long as nothing happens to the container to make it leak. Extremely long periods of storage at high temperatures may result in some loss in color, flavor, appearance, and nutritive value, but the foods will remain wholesome. A regular turnover about once a year is best.

PANAMA CANAL: SOVEREIGNTY AND MAJOR MODERNIZATION—SEQUEL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the question of what should be done concerning the Panama Canal is now actively before the Congress in two important respects:

First, the transcendent question of safeguarding our indispensable sovereignty and ownership of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal; and

Second, the problem of the major increase of capacity and operational improvement of the existing canal.

For the first, more than 100 Members of the House have introduced identical resolutions opposing any surrender in regard to this priceless asset of the United States. As to the second point, that of the major modernization of the canal, identical bills have been introduced in both House and Senate. All other interoceanic canal questions, however important, are irrelevant and should not be allowed to confuse these two major issues.

In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs on August 3, 1970, in connection with its inquiry into Caribbean policy matters, I made a carefully prepared statement on the interoceanic canal question, urging prompt action by the House on House Resolution 593 and expressing my readiness to lead a march of all the sponsors of this and other identical resolutions and other members interested in continued U.S. control over the Panama Canal to the offices of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to request time for each member to oppose any surrender at Panama by treaty.

Mr. Speaker, based upon an extensive correspondence from various parts of the United States, I believe that I reflect the feeling of the people of our country when I say that if they had a vote on this vital subject they would reject overwhelmingly any proposal to cede U.S. sovereignty and ownership of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

In presenting my statement, I appended to it a "Memorial to the Congress" prepared by a distinguished group of knowledgeable Americans, which, in condensed form, gives the essentials of the problem and what they consider the proper course of action.

In order that the information brought forth in the two documents may be readily available to all Members of the Congress and the Nation at large, I include both as parts of my remarks, and invite attention to my statement in the RECORD of July 28, 1970, on "Panama Canal: Sovereignty and Major Modernization" in which the texts of current measures before the Congress referred to in the two papers were quoted.

The two indicated documents follow:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE DANIEL J. FLOOD BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AUGUST 3, 1970

The interoceanic canal problem, in its overall aspects, is an immensely complicated subject. Yet, if reduced to its central issues, it is relatively simple.

Whenever the canal question comes up for national attention, two subjects for debate always develop: (1) site, and (2) type.

After a memorable struggle in 1902 known as the "battle of the routes", the President and the Congress, in the Spooner Act of that year, decided in favor of the Panama site and authorized the acquisition by treaty of the perpetual control of the Panama canal with the Canal Zone to serve as its protective frame. Such control of the Zone was the absolutely necessary prerequisite demanded by the Congress and the Nation before assuming the large financial obligation involved in the construction and defense of the Panama Canal.

Later, in 1906, the President and the Congress, after thorough study and scorching debate, made a second great decision in favor of the existing high level lake and lock type canal, which was constructed. History has established the wisdom of that determination, economically, operationally, technically, and environmentally.

Today, the Panama Canal is in another era of decision. There are two major issues:

First, the transcendent question of safeguarding our indispensable sovereignty and ownership of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal; and

Second, the problem of the major modernization of the canal. All other interoceanic canal questions, however important, are irrelevant and should not be allowed to confuse these two major issues.

As to sovereign control, it must be emphasized that, because of its strategic position as the crossroads of the Western Hemisphere, the Isthmus of Panama has always been, and always will be, an object for predatory designs. Its loss to a potential enemy power is unthinkable, as recognized by the more than 100 members of the House who have sponsored identical resolutions opposing any surrender at Panama.

The problem of modernization depends upon the reaffirmation by the Congress of our national policy as to Canal Zone sovereignty and Panama Canal control. The best way, in fact the only way to effect such policy, is to maintain our present treaty rights and modernize the existing Panama Canal according to the well known Terminal Lake—Third Locks Plan that was developed in the Panama Canal organization during World War II and eventually approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a post war project. This plan, it should be especially noted, calls for a major increase of capacity and operational improvement of the existing canal and does not require the negotiation of a new treaty with Panama which is a paramount consideration.

Many able and well informed engineers, navigators, geologists, economists, biologists, nuclear physicists, defense and other experts strongly support the plan as offering the best solution of the canal problem. Such modernization should provide a capacity of 40,000 vessels a year at a minimum, including vessels of larger size, and identical bills to provide for it have been introduced in both House and Senate. Moreover, previous Governors of the Canal Zone have approved the plan in principle and the present Governor has expressed his belief that it is in the interest of the United States that the existing Canal be "operated, maintained, defended and augmented as necessary".

In official discussions of modernization plans, there is still mention of the 1939 Third Locks Project along with the terminal lake proposal. Such mention is confusing, for the original Third Locks Project does not provide for the elimination of the Pedro Miguel Locks, and would perpetuate and compound the bottleneck at these locks. Any plan that fails to eliminate them is unworthy of any serious attention whatever.

At this point, it is well to record that the total net investment of the taxpayers of our country in the Panama Canal enterprise, including defense, from 1904 through June 30, 1968, was more than $5,000,000,000. This sum, if converted into 1970 dollars, would be a far greater sum.

In these general connections, its is important to remember that the much propagandized and costly sea level proposal hinges on ceding U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone and Canal to Panama before constructing any new canal; and that a new canal, if constructed at the taxpayers' expense, would also be given to Panama without the least compensation.

The Chairman of the current Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Honorable Robert A. Anderson, a leading sea level project advocate, was the chief negotiator for the discredited 1967 treaties. Notwithstanding this fact, he still heads our diplomatic team now reopening treaty negotiations with Panama.

Throughout their treaty negotiations the members of our diplomatic team have steadily ignored the provisions of Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution that vests the power to dispose of territory and other property of the United States in the Congress (House and Senate) and not in the treaty making power of our government (President and Senate). In addition, our negotiators have also ignored the responsibilities of the United States under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and the rights of Colombia under the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty. As to these, shipping interests in Great Britain have already made known their opposition to the proposed surrender at Panama, and Colombia has announced that it will defend its rights. In fact, the Colombian Government for many months has been collecting documentary material in the United States concerning the canal question.

The foregoing facts, together make favorable action on the pending sovereignty resolutions a matter of the greatest importance. In the interest of avoiding a possible misinterpretation of the resolutions, I would suggest changing the term "Panama Canal Zone" in the first whereas clause to "Canal Zone and Panama Canal" and the words "said canal" in line 4 of the resolve on p. 3 of the resolution to "said Canal Zone and Panama Canal."

An example of the application of the wise Constitutional provision previously cited is the 1955 Treaty with Panama, which authorized conveyance to that country of valuable U.S. Property in Panama, including the Panama Railroad terminal yards and passenger stations in Panama City and Colon, *subject to the enactment of legislation by the Congress*. It is appropriate to state that the the House stepped into that situation and rescued the main line of the railroad from liquidation. Had it not been for such action by the House this vital rail link, which would be so urgently needed in event of interruption of transit, would have been abandoned.

In regard to a sea level project, either in the Canal Zone or in Panama, that ancient idea would involve a new treaty with a huge indemnity and greatly increased annuity.

The 1939 Third Locks Project, authorized primarily for defense reasons, at a cost of $277,000,000, did not require a new treaty. Construction on it started in 1940 and was suspended in May, 1942, with a total expenditure of $76,357,405, largely on huge lock site excavations at Gatun and Miraflores, which are still usable. The current enlargement of Gaillard Cut, now nearing completion, was estimated to cost $81,257,097. Together, these two projects total more than $137,000,000 toward the major modernization of the existing Panama Canal, which is too large an expenditure to be swept under the rug.

The solution of the problem of increased

capacity and operational improvement of the Canal was developed as the result of World War II experience in the previously mentioned Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan for the existing canal. This can be accomplished at relatively low cost and, like the Third Locks Project, does not involve the negotiation of a new treaty with Panama.

An important angle in the Panama Canal situation is that the Canal Zone has served many times as a haven of refuge for Panamanian leaders seeking to escape assassination by their political enemies. The most recent example of the use of the Zone as an asylum was on June 8, 1970, when three colonels and a sergeant of the Panamanian National Guard escaped from prison in Panama City and found safety in the Zone—an island of security in a land of endemic revolution and endless political turmoil, and which today is without a constitutional government.

Another case of such use of the Zone territory was by Senora Torrijos, wife of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos, on December 15, 1969, when she fled to the Canal Zone during an abortive revolt against her husband, the caudillo of Panama.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot stress too strongly that were it not for the Canal Zone under United States soverign control, some of the most brilliant leaders of Panama would have died by assassination. If the United States ever surrenders the Zone to Panama as contemplated in the proposed new treaties the Panama Canal would become a political pawn for Panamanian politicians and the Canal Zone the scene of guerilla warfare with its inevitable cruelty and tragedy.

For many years, the Caribbean has been recognized as the Mediterranean of the Americas. As far back as 1960, in an address to the House, I described it as our fourth front and the Panama Canal as the key target for the communist conquest of that strategic basin. Subsequent events since then have justified my worst fears. The surrender by the United States of the Canal Zone and Canal would inevitably result in a communist takeover of Panama, as occurred in Cuba, which would include the Canal itself. With our country having given up its legal rights in the premises, it would be powerless to oppose. Moreover, within the last year Soviet missile-capable submarines and surface vessels stationed in Cuba have been sighted in our fourth front. For these and many other reasons, some of them related to the security of the Panama Canal, the Southern Command with headquarters in the Canal Zone should be maintained as essential to the Hemispheric security and not reduced in importance.

Fortunately for the United States, respected leaders in various parts of the Nation have studied the Canal problem and recently expressed their views in a "Memorial to the Congress". This, in precisely stated terms, describes the problem involved and outlines a program of action. Because of its quality, I append it as part of my remarks and urge that it be studied by all members of the committee.

Finally, I would summarize some of the principal lessons from my many years of study of the Panama canal question:

We have a fine canal now but it is approaching capacity saturation—not obsolescence.

We know how to maintain and operate it.

We know how to increase its capacity and operational efficiency as demonstrated by experience.

We have a workable treaty with Panama, although partly abrogated through ill advised surrenders.

We have defended the lives of our citizens in the Canal Zone and the Canal itself by the use of our authority.

We have now reached the point where, if we do not make known our determination to hold on to this priceless asset of the United States, we may lose it to Soviet power, as happened at the Suez Canal.

Accordingly, I urge prompt action by this Subcommittee on the pending Panama Canal sovereignty resolutions and the printing of 1967 hearings along with the present hearings.

Such action should enable early adoption by the House of the resolutions and open the way for the long overdue major modernization of the Panama Canal. Moreover, such action by the House would serve notice on the Executive Branch of the determination of the People of the United States to retain full control of the Panama Canal.

With such resolutions adopted by the House, should the proposed treaties be sent to the Senate for ratification, some of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and I wish to lead a march by all the sponsors of the resolutions and other members interested in continued U.S. control over the Panama Canal, to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to request time to be heard in opposition to the proposed treaties.

MEMORIAL TO THE CONGRESS: COMMITTEE FOR CONTINUED U.S. CONTROL OF THE PANAMA CANAL, 1970

Honorable Members of the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, who have studied various aspects of interoceanic canal history and problems, wish to express our views:

1. The construction by the United States of the Panama Canal (1904–1914) was one of the greatest works of man. Undertaken as a long-range commitment by the United States in fulfillment of solemn treaty obligations (Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901) as a "mandate for civilization" in an area notorious as the pest hole of the world and as a land of endemic revolution, endless intrigue and governmental instability (Flood, "Panama: Land of Endemic Revolution . . ." Congressional Record, August 7, 1969, temp. pp. H7187–90), the task was accomplished in spite of physical and health conditions that seemed insuperable. Its subsequent management and operation on terms of "entire equality" with tools that are "just and equitable" have won the praise of the world, particularly countries that use the Canal.

2. Full sovereign rights, power and authority of the United States over the Canal Zone territory and Canal were acquired by treaty grant from Panama (Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903), all privately owned land and property in the Zone were purchased from individual owners, and Colombia, the sovereign of the Isthmus before Panama's independence, has recognized the title to the Panama Canal and Railroad as vested "entirely and absolutely" in the United States (Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914–22).

3. The gross total investment of our country in the Panama Canal enterprise, including its defense, from 1904 through June 30, 1968, was $6,368,009,000; recoveries during the same period were $1,359,931,421, making a total net investment by the taxpayers of the United States of more than $5,000,000,000. Except for the grant by Panama of full sovereign powers over the Zone territory, our Government would never have assumed the grave responsibilities involved in the construction of the Canal and its later operation, maintenance, sanitation, protection and defense.

4. In 1939, prior to the start of World War Two, the Congress authorized, at a cost not to exceed $277,000,000, the construction of a third set of locks known as the Third Locks Project, then hailed as "the largest single current engineering work in the world." This Project was suspended in May 1942 because of more urgent war needs, and the total expenditures thereon were $76,357,405, mostly on lock site excavations at Gatun and Miraflores, which are still usable. Fortunately, no excavation was started at Pedro Miguel. The current program for the enlargement of Gaillard Cut is scheduled to be completed in 1970 at an estimated cost of $81,257,097. These two projects together represent an expenditure of more than $157,000,000 toward the major modernization of the existing Panama Canal.

5. As the result of canal operations during the crucial period of World War Two, there was developed in the Panama Canal organization the first comprehensive proposal for the major operational improvement and increase of capacity of the Canal as derived from actual marine experience, known as the Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan. This conception includes provisions for the

(1) Elimination of the bottleneck Pedro Miguel Locks.

(2) Consolidation of all Pacific Locks South of Miraflores.

(3) Raising the Gatun Lake water level to its optimum height (about 92').

(4) Construction of one set of larger locks.

(5) Creation at the Pacific end of the Canal of a summit-level terminal lake anchorage for use as a traffic reservoir to correspond with the layout at the Atlantic end, to permit uninterrupted operation of the Pacific locks during fog periods.

6. Competent, experienced engineers have officially reported that "all engineering considerations which are associated with the plan are favorable to it." Moreover, such solution:

(1) Enables the maximum utilization of all work so far accomplished.

(2) Avoids the danger of disastrous slides.

(3) Provides the best operational canal practicable of achievement with the certainty of success.

(4) Preserves and increases the existing economy of Panama.

(5) Avoids inevitable demands for damages that would be involved in a Canal Zone sea level project.

(6) Averts the danger of a potential biological catastrophe with international repercussions that would be caused by removing the fresh water barrier between the oceans.

(7) Can be constructed at "comparatively low cost" without the necessity for negotiating a new canal treaty with Panama.

7. All of these facts are paramount considerations from both U.S. national and international viewpoints and cannot be ignored, especially the diplomatic and treaty angles. In connection with the latter, it should be noted that the original Third Locks Project, being only a modification of the existing Canal, and wholly within the Canal Zone, did not require a new treaty with Panama. Nor, as previously stated, would the Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan require a new treaty.

8. In contrast, the persistently advocated and strenuously propagandized Sea-Level Project at Panama, initially estimated in 1960 to cost $2,368,500,000, exclusive of indemnity to Panama, has long been a "hardy perennial," and according to former Governor of the Panama Canal, Jay J. Morrow, it seems that no matter how often the impossibility of realizing any such proposal within practicable limits of cost and time is demonstrated, there will always be someone to argue for it; and this, despite its engineering impracticability. Moreover, any sea-level project, whether in the U.S. Canal Zone territory or elsewhere, will require a new treaty or treaties with the countries involved in order to fix the specific conditions for its construction; and this would involve a huge indemnity and a greatly increased annuity that would have to be added to the cost of construction and reflected in tolls, or be wholly borne by the United States taxpayers.

9. Starting with the 1936–39 Treaty with Panama, there has been a sustained erosion of United States rights, powers and authority on the Isthmus, culminating in the com-

pletion in 1967 of negotiations for three proposed new canal treaties that would:

(1) Surrender United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama;

(2) Make that weak, technologically primitive and unstable country a partner in the management and defense of the Canal;

(3) Ultimately give to Panama not only the existing Canal, but also any new one constructed in Panama to replace it, all without any compensation whatever and all in derogation of Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution. This provision vests the power to dispose of territory and other property of the United States in the entire Congress (Senate and House) and not in the treaty-making power of our Government (President and Senate).

10. It is clear from the conduct of our Panama Canal policy over many years that policy-making elements within the Department of State have been, and are yet engaged in efforts which will have the effect of diluting or even repudiating entirely the sovereign rights, power and authority of the United States with respect to the Canal and of dissipating the vast investment of the United States in the Canal Zone project. Such actions would eventually and inevitably permit the domination of this strategic waterway by a potentially hostile power that now indirectly controls the Suez Canal. That canal, under such domination, ceased to operate in 1967 with vast consequences of evil to world shipping.

11. Extensive debates in the Congress over the past decade have clarified and narrowed the key canal issues to the following:

(1) Retention by the United States of its undiluted and indispensable sovereign rights, power and authority over the Canal Zone territory and Canal, and

(2) The major modernization of the existing Panama Canal.

Unfortunately, these efforts have been complicated by the agitation of Panamanian extremists, aided and abetted by irresponsible elements in the United States which aim at ceding to Panama complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone and, eventually, the ownership of the existing Canal and any future canal in the Zone or in Panama that might be built by the United States to replace it.

12. In the First Session of the 91st Congress identical bills were introduced in both House and Senate to provide for the major increase of capacity and operational improvement of the existing Panama Canal by modifying the authorized Third Locks Project to embody the principles of the previously mentioned Terminal Lake solution.

13. Starting on October 27, 1969 (Theodore Roosevelt's birthday), more than 100 Members of Congress have sponsored resolutions expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should maintain and protect its sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal enterprise, including the Canal Zone, and not surrender any of its powers to any other nation or to any international organization.

14. The Panama Canal is a priceless asset of the United States, essential for interoceanic commerce and Hemispheric security. Clearly, the recent efforts to wrest its control from the United States trace back to the 1917 Communist Revolution and conform to long range Soviet policy of gaining domination over key water routes as in Cuba, which flanks the Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal, and as was accomplished in the case of the Suez Canal. The real issue as regards the Canal Zone and Canal sovereignty is not United States control *verus* Panamanian, but United States control *versus* Communist control. This is the subject be debated in the Congress, especially in the Senate.

15. In view of all the foregoing, the undersigned urge prompt action as follows:

(1) Adoption by the House of Representatives of pending Panama Canal sovereignty resolutions; also similar action by the Senate.

(2) Enactment by the Congress of pending measures for the major modernization of the existing Panama Canal.

To these ends, we respectfully urge that hearings be promptly held on the indicated measures and that Congressional policy thereon be determined for early prosecution of the vital work of modernizing the Panama Canal, now approaching capacity saturation.

Dr. Karl Brandt, Palo Alto, Calif., Economist, Hoover Institute, Stanford, Calif. Formerly Chairman, President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Dr. John C. Briggs, Tampa, Fla., Chairman, Department of Zoology, University of South Florida.

William B. Collier, Santa Barbara, Calif., Business Executive with Background of Engineering and Naval Experience.

Dr. Lev E. Debriansky, Alexandria, Va., Professor of Economics, Georgetown University.

Dr. Donald M. Dozer, Santa Barbara, Calif., Historian, University of California Authority on Latin America.

Cmdr. Carl H. Holm, Miami Beach, Fla., Business Executive, Naval Architect and Engineer.

Dr. Walter D. Jacobs, College Park, Md., Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.

Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, McLean, Va., Engineer and Author.

Dean Edwin J. B. Lewis, Washington, D.C., Professor of Accounting, George Washington University President, Panama Canal Society, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Leonard B. Loeb, Berkeley, Calif., Professor of Physics, University of California.

Howard A. Meyerhoff, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Consulting Geologist, Formerly Head of Department of Geology, University of Pennsylvania.

Richard B. O'Keeffe, Washington, D.C., Assistant Professor, George Mason College, Formerly Research Associate, The American Legion.

William E. Russell, New York, N.Y., Lawyer, Publisher and Business Executive.

Capt. C. H. Schildhauer, Owings Mills, Md., Aviation Executive.

V. Ad. T.G.W. Settle, Washington, D.C., Formerly Commander, Amphibious Forces, Pacific.

Harold L. Varney, New York, N.Y., Editor, Authority on Latin American Policy, Chairman, Committee on Pan American Policy.

B. Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, Washington, D.C., Consulting Engineer, Formerly Deputy Governor, Panama Canal Zone.

R. Ad. Charles J. Whiting, La Jolla, Calif., Attorney at Law.

(Institutions are listed for identification purposes only.)

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AND AGRICULTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that more than 50 percent of the people in Latin America earn their livelihood from agriculture. It is also a fact that production of food is just beginning to increase at a rate faster than the growth of their population. When these truths are viewed on the ninth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, August 17, 1970, we begin to realize the tremendous uphill battle that has raged in the large-scale cooperative effort to meet the needs of millions of people in Latin America.

Successes in the field of agriculture have mounted in these years of the Alliance. Over 1 million families have benefited to date; more than $210 million in loans for credit and production inputs have been provided by the Agency for International Development; realistic pricing policies are being instituted; the use of fertilizers and modern seeds is becoming more diverse; and technical skills and tools are reaching more of the people. The number of students in agricultural schools in Latin America rose from 13,000 in 1960 to 40,000 last year, reflecting the expansion of facilities for agricultural education. All countries have inaugurated agricultural planning agencies and are at work to standardize testing of soils with a view to improve production by the use of plant food chemicals. AID provides training or technical support to these agencies. Further, the response of AID to increasing requests for assistance in the various aspects of marketing has continued.

All of these inputs have helped to increase total food production in Latin America under the Alliance by 35 percent, largely due to acreage explosion, but also attributable to the increasing effectiveness of local agricultural institutions.

New and exciting developments in the entire field of agriculture are challenging man's ability to adapt this new knowledge in the struggle against needs. On this anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, giant steps are being taken to help close the gap between food production and population growth.

SUSTAINING OUR FRUITFUL PARTNERSHIP WITH SOUTH KOREA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON), is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, during the Easter recess, I made a short personal trip to the Far East at no expense to our Government. I had originally planned to visit Korea, Hong Kong, and the Osaka Trade Fair before returning to work in my district. However, I found developments in Korea so interesting and important that I decided to forego visiting Hong Kong and Japan. Through the good offices of Mr. Yungsoo Shin, publisher of Korea's Seoul Economic Daily, I received the unusual opportunity of meeting with President Park Chung Hee, Premier Chung Il Kwon, K. W. Kim, director of Korea's Central Intelligence Agency, and numerous top-level cabinet officials. During my stay in Seoul, from March 29 to April 1, Korea was in the midst of a mini international crisis posed by the seizure of a Japanese passenger plane by militant Japanese students. Both President Park and CIA Director Kim took time to receive me during the height of the emergency.

I am certain that many of my colleagues in the House are familiar with

the facts of Korea's economic resurgence during the past 17 years, and most spectacularly in the past few years under President Park's leadership. In meetings with our ambassador, General Michaelis, commander of the Eighth Army and of United Nations Forces in Korea, plus their staffs and other American officials, the opinion of Korea's leaders and their policies was unanimously favorable. Should the current trend continue, there is no doubt that Korea will shortly be economically self-sustaining, and the living standard of its 30 million people will continue to rise dramatically.

Yet this trip to Korea brought home to me the importance of America's role as her ally. Our military personnel in Korea are full of praise for the Korean armed forces, the caliber of its officer's corps, its high level of professionalism and firm anticommunism. Should the Communist North launch an allout attack as in 1950, South Korea's troops will be adequately prepared to resist. But if the North Koreans, with their vastly superior air force, should first launch an attack upon South Korea's air defenses, as both American and Korean military personnel fear, then the South would be hard pressed indeed to resist. American air defense is vital to South Korea's existence as a free nation, and for that reason both Korean and American officials are concerned about the strength of our commitment to the Republic of Korea, especially in the light of the recently proclaimed "Nixon Doctrine" in Asia.

That the Communists are probing for weaknesses is unquestionable. Even as I was talking with Korea's Minister of Defense, reports were brought in to him of the capture of two armed North Korean agents on Korea's east coast. A great number of such armed provocateurs have been captured in the past 2 years, especially by the vigilant home guard or militia, in the coastal areas and countryside. Although the Government feels that it has been highly successful in detecting these Communist agents—indeed, the capture of one or more of them is a daily occurrence—nevertheless this brought home to me the fact that the Korean Republic is still under siege at this moment.

Another incident revealed to me just what kind of allies the Koreans are. During the height of the crisis over the kidnaped airliner with its 138 passengers aboard, I was with Korean officials as they attempted to cajole the sword-carrying radicals into releasing the passengers before proceeding to their destination in the north. There is one aspect of that affair that I do not believe has been discussed here in America. When asked why they did not just let the airplane go to Pyongyang with its hostages rather than risk their lives, the director of the Korean CIA and other officials solemnly told me that the presence of the two Americans onboard the craft was the determining factor in their actions, for they did not want to see the North Koreans place the United States in the same humiliating position that the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* had. Rather than to see America subject to blackmail and threats from the North Koreans, the South Koreans felt it was vital to work on their own initiative to persuade the Japanese hijackers to release their captives. This clearly shows that the Koreans do not see themselves as a "client state," but instead view their relationship with us as a two-way street in which they are prepared to act on our behalf just as we have acted on theirs. When the chips were down, they acted swiftly and ungrudgingly to preserve our interests, as indeed they have in Vietnam. I left Korea more than ever convinced that the South Koreans are our worthy allies.

In conversations with President Park, as well as with numerous other officials and private citizens, I was repeatedly asked about the significance of the Nixon doctrine for American policy in Korea. Would the United States unwittingly lead the North Koreans to believe that America would not support the South in the event of a Communist invasion? I assured my hosts that such a turn of events is most unlikely. While we are scaling down the number of U.S. troops remaining in that part of the world, the United States has not forgotten that the Korean conflict was the first armed clash in a world divided bitterly between East and West. We have invested heavily in the future of Korea—an investment which included the blood of our men slain there in its defense.

The considerable aid which we have given the South Koreans since the early 1950's, coupled with the progress which these spirited and industrious people have made for themselves, underscores the need for the United States to exercise extreme caution while encouraging the somewhat fragile South Korean nation toward self-reliance. I believe such caution is present. Although the administration's decision to cut back troops in South Korea appears firm, I am confident that the President and his advisers fully realize how much is at stake. They have already made it clear that we will not withdraw this portion of our troops hastily, but only when the well-trained South Korean forces are fully prepared. From my own experience during my visit, I know these preparations will be thorough. I am persuaded that we are on the right track in our supportive efforts on behalf of South Korea.

As audacious as they are, I think that the North Koreans understand that an attack on their neighbors to the south would hold the gravest consequences for them. North Korea's continuing devotion to adventuristic foreign policies and belligerent posture has for years kept both the United States and its South Korean allies on the alert. We will maintain that alert. To do anything less would waste our worthwhile, bilateral attempts to aid South Korea in her nation building and squander our fruitful partnership. This we are not prepared to do, because such actions would constitute a tragic mistake for our two nations and for world peace.

CONGRESSMAN YATRON ANNOUNCES POLL RESULTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. YATRON) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, my first public opinion questionnaire has been tabulated and I would like to take this opportunity to share the results with my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

This opinion survey was mailed to approximately 25,000 residents of the Sixth District who specifically asked to be included on my special mailing list, nearly 9,200 of whom responded. This 37-percent response, well above the number who usually participate in polls of this kind, clearly indicates that the people of Berks and Schuylkill Counties are deeply interested in the major issues of the day and are willing to convey their views to their elected Representatives.

Mr. Thomas A. Coyle, president of Systems Associates Inc., a Reading-based computer consulting company, served as a technical adviser in tabulating the results of this poll.

The questionnaire consisted of two main sections: issues and priorities. The issues included inflation, pollution, social security, crime, Indochina, foreign policy, welfare, consumer affairs, and farm subsidies. In addition, I asked each person to list five issues in terms of their relative importance.

In the second part of the poll, I asked them to indicate whether Government spending should be increased, decreased, or held at present levels in the following areas: Vietnam, defense, welfare, space programs, pollution control, agriculture, aid to education, programs for the poor, aid to the cities, crime prevention and control, and health.

Before I insert the complete results into the RECORD, I would like to draw some conclusions about their significance.

Most people in my congressional district regard the economy as the top-priority issue facing our Nation today. Moreover, nearly 85 percent feel the Federal Government has failed to curb inflation and the rising cost of living.

More than 75 percent want us to do more, and if necessary spend more, to control air and water pollution.

Nearly two-thirds favor an increase in social security benefits.

Most people want to increase spending for crime prevention and control, although 66.2 percent feel that lenient Supreme Court decisions are the main cause of the high crime rate.

Sixty-seven percent said they are opposed to President Nixon's welfare bill and its key section, the guaranteed annual income.

Some 72.5 percent declared that present consumer protection laws are inadequate.

Fifty-three percent expressed the view that we should reduce farm subsidies.

A narrow majority of 50.1 percent said that the Federal Government should spend less on the space program.

A decisive majority indicated a willingness to appropriate more for health and education.

Most people want to reduce defense spending in general and expenditures for the Vietnam war in particular.

Nearly 64 percent declared we should

reduce our military commitments around the world.

On the Indochina question, although 28.6 percent of those responding believe we should seek a military victory, nearly 68 percent favor the withdrawal of American forces and a total of 37 percent feel we should accelerate our policy of troop withdrawals.

Mr. Speaker, this public opinion poll has proved to be extremely useful in measuring more precisely the attitudes of my constituents on the major problems confronting the 91st Congress. I know it will help me provide the people of the Sixth Congressional District with effective representation in the days and months ahead.

Under unanimous consent I include the results in the RECORD at this point:

MAJOR ISSUES

1. *Inflation.*—Do you feel that the Federal Government is effectively curbing inflation and the rising cost of living?

	Percent
a. yes	10.4
b. no	84.7
c. no opinion	4.9

2. *Pollution.*—With respect to controlling air and water pollution, the Federal Government is doing:

	Percent
a. too much	2.1
b. too little	76.6
c. enough	19.0
No opinion	2.3

3. *Social security.*—Do you believe that Social Security benefits should be increased?

	Percent
a. yes	64.9
b. no	24.8
c. no opinion	10.3

4. *Crime.*—With respect to the high crime rate, what do you regard as the *main* cause?

	Percent
a. poverty and high unemployment	12.5
b. lenient Supreme Court decisions	66.2
c. failure of prisons to rehabilitate criminals	6.7
d. increasing use of drugs	10.4
No opinion	4.2

5. *Indochina.* (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos).—In Indochina the U.S. should:

	Percent
a. increase military operations to secure a military victory	28.6
b. continue the present rate of troop withdrawal	30.7
c. increase the rate of American troop withdrawal	17.2
d. withdraw all of our forces immediately	19.8
No opinion	3.7

6. *Foreign policy.*—Some people believe that we should reduce our military commitments abroad. Do you thing this is a good proposal?

	Percent
a. yes	63.9
b. no	28.8
c. no opinion	7.3

7. *Welfare.*—President Nixon has proposed a new welfare plan featuring a "guaranteed annual income" for poor people. Do you think this is a good idea?

	Percent
a. yes	25.3
b. no	67.4
c. no opinion	7.3

8. *Consumer affairs.*—Do you feel that the laws designed to protect the consumer are:

	Percent
a. adequate (no legislation needed)	15.7
b. inadequate (new legislation needed)	72.5
c. no opinion	11.8

9. *Farm policy.*—With respect to Federal farm policy, I would favor:

	Percent
a. maintaining present programs	24.3
b. providing greater Federal support to farmers	12.7
c. providing less Federal support to farmers	53.1
d. no opinion	9.9

10. *Priorities.*—Would you please number the issues listed below in what you feel is their proper order of importance, from 1 to 5 (most serious to least serious):

	Percent
a. economy (cost of living, inflation, etc.)	39.0
b. Vietnam	33.4
c. crime	10.7
d. poverty	1.5
e. pollution	6.8

Federal spending should be:

NATIONAL SPENDING PRIORITIES

[In percent]

	Increased	Decreased	Held at present levels	No opinion
1. The Vietnam war	13.1	57.4	25.1	4.4
2. Other defense spending	9.4	47.6	38.1	4.9
3. Welfare programs	19.3	42.2	33.1	5.4
4. Space programs	8.3	50.1	37.3	4.3
5. Pollution control	75.8	4.3	16.0	3.9
6. Farm programs	12.3	47.5	33.5	6.7
7. Aid to education	44.2	17.7	36.7	4.4
8. Programs for the poor	37.7	17.8	39.2	5.5
9. Aid to cities	28.2	23.9	42.2	5.7
10. Crime prevention, control	82.1	2.7	12.1	3.1
11. Health programs	57.0	5.9	33.4	3.7

DON'T KILL AGRICULTURE

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, agriculture has become one of the controversial subjects in the field of legislation. This is due to the high cost of food, plus the fact that most Congressmen and Senators are city minded rather than rural minded. Actually, only a fractional part of the high cost of food can be blamed on the farmer. Most of it stems from handling and shipping charges. But the effect of these factors has been to create an atmosphere in Congress which is unfriendly to agricultural programs. This is unfortunate because agriculture is an essential part of the American way of life. The American farmer has established unheard of records of production and he is able, on comparatively few acres, to supply the agricultural needs for our Nation and much of the world. Much of our Nation's strength and independence has always stemmed from this agricultural capability, and it continues to be an important factor.

For years there has been subsidy for farmers. The farmer is not alone in this situation. Most American industry is subsidized in one way or another, including such giants as airlines and oil. It has long been accepted that without farm subsidies, prices to the consumer would jump to an unacceptable extent and that the farming industry in the United States would perish. Nevertheless, farm subsidies are constantly under attack. The present program expires this year. It is now before Congress for renewal. Essentially, H.R. 18546, the bill now under consideration, is a continuation of the acreage control subsidy program, but even that is in trouble. The principal change in the current bill is the limitation on the amount which can be paid to a single individual or corporation for nonproduction. There are big producers who now draw payments which run more than a million dollars annually. The present bill establishes a limitation of $55,000. This generally will be applauded and I support it. A continuation of the farm program appears to be necessary if we are to have a strong farming industry and acceptable standards of living on the farms. Although decreasing, agriculture is America's largest single industry, and rural values, now generally overlooked, are a very important factor in the life and traditions of the Nation.

This bill, as I stated, is primarily an extension of current agriculture programs. There is great need for a new program designed to check the rural exodus which now is significantly affecting our country. The present farm bill will not accomplish this goal. There has been in recent years a tremendous shift in population from rural and small-town communities to the cities, to the detriment of both. Simply stated, people have left the farms and small towns because they thought the cities provided a better opportunity for a livelihood. For some of them, it has meant going on relief instead of working for a living and that, too, is unhealthy. I have long been convinced that one of the most important objectives of our age would be a reversal of this rural exodus to bring people back to the smaller communities and away from the city slums. If this is done, it will be necessary to provide more wholesome living conditions, more jobs, better jobs, and opportunity for the young.

This is something that should concern government very much, but I see little to indicate real interest. If government will begin to place more emphasis on a reversal of the rural exodus by the establishment of programs which encourage small industries or recreation programs and help to provide jobs and to improve living conditions, much can be accomplished in a most important area. Possibly in time this would serve to reduce some of the requirements for farm subsidies.

RUSSIA COULD DESTROY THE ILO

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this

point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the International Labor Organization has for many years been a respected organization which attempts to improve the lot of the workingman worldwide. It first originated in the days of the League of Nations and it is now an important agency of the United Nations. The United States pays 25 percent of the cost of its operations. This is about par. For some reason, the State Department feels obligated to commit us for the lion's share of the operating costs of most activities in which we engage.

Russia pays 10 percent. However, Russia's participation in the ILO is farcical as there are no trade unions in Russia of the type that the free world knows. Labor organizations there operate simply for propaganda purposes and to indoctrinate working people with communistic pronouncements. Russia's presence in ILO has been characterized more and more by propaganda activities against the United States. By threatening to withhold their payments, they have been able to push the organization around to the point that its effectiveness has been seriously damaged.

Now comes the crowning affront to organized labor. A Russian has been selected for one of the two or three top administrative posts in the organization. This was accomplished through action of the newly selected British head of ILO. With a representative in that position, Russia would exercise much greater control over the operations of ILO and conceivably could succeed to the position of Director General. The House Appropriations Subcommittee, which deals with appropriations for U.N. organizations, has launched a strong protest. Nevertheless, the appointment has been made. An effort is now in progress to withhold U.S. funds from ILO. This is language that international organizations can best understand.

COASTAL PLAINS REGIONAL COMMISSION

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, some years ago I participated in the establishment of the Northwest Florida Development Council under the auspices of the Economic Development Administration. Its principal objectives are to coordinate the resources of member counties and to utilize the best talents of all for the advancement of each portion of the district. It has accomplished some good and I think its potential continues to be excellent. However, its requirements are such that some of northwest Florida's counties have not been able to participate. Now there is under consideration a regional commission which would encompass all of northern Florida. It would broaden the work now being done by the development council and attempt to stimulate the development of natural resources throughout the area. This is not a proposal solely to bring additional Federal dollars into the State, for this alone cannot solve the problem of lagging economic development. Nevertheless, there would be available the help of technical assistance and supplementary grants. There would also be demonstration projects, training areas, special studies of other needs. It is hoped to encourage a systematic program of public interest which stimulates private investment to bring about improved economic conditions within the counties which are lagging and to close the income gap which now exists between counties. I have long known that the improvement of any portion of our district helps all of it. But we need activity directed to specific areas. Some of our counties cannot now provide significant opportunities for their young people and many of these have to leave their homes in search of opportunity. This situation we want to correct. The meeting we are holding in Tallahassee this morning is an effort to explore the potentialities of a regional commission which will embrace most if not all of north Florida, and which it is hoped can improve opportunity in the areas which need it most.

The significant thing is that north Florida counties now are eligible to affiliate with the Coastal Plains Regional Commission as part of an economic development region. The Coastal Plains region includes parts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, but has not heretofore extended into Florida. This extension has now been recommended by the Secretary of Commerce and concurred in by Governor Kirk. The Coastal Plains Regional Commission seeks to strengthen the economy of the area which it serves through Federal grant-in-aid programs and independent authority to provide technical assistance, demonstration projects, and training programs. Such a program seeks to improve an area by taking advantage of its natural resources. In north Florida, this would mean improving the marine resources, timber and agricultural resources, tourism, and other activities which are natural to the area.

A meeting will be held in Tallahassee on August 8 by officials of the Coastal Plains Regional Commission and interested officials and citizens of the north Florida counties in which we believe an excellent potential exists for development. In connection with this meeting, I would be remiss if I were not to express appreciation for the work of our distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM C. CRAMER, in securing the necessary congressional approval for this undertaking and for his enthusiastic support of the program. I wish to call attention also to the very helpful efforts of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable DON FUQUA, in developing plans for the meeting which is to be held in his district and for his continuing and helpful efforts to improve the economy of his district and of our State.

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1970

(Mr. SCHWENGEL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I commented on the failure of the House to proceed with adequate speed on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. The following article from the Cedar Rapids Gazette of July 30 indicates the same feeling:

FEAR REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS MAY DIE

WASHINGTON.—The house has sidetracked temporarily a congressional reorganization bill, giving rise to fears the measure might die of neglect.

Rep. Sisk (D-Calif.), the bill's floor manager, predicted the house may not get back to it until after the Aug. 14–Sept. 9 recess.

"I would like to go ahead with it now," Sisk said. "I would like to stay with it until it is finished and I hope to do that when we return."

The 140-page bill embodying some proposed major changes in ancient congressional procedures was laid aside Wednesday after being sporadically debated for almost three weeks.

SOME ADDED

Some big amendments were added during that period, but more than 100 pages remain to be discussed and many amendments are pending.

The announced reason for laying the measure aside was to make it possible for action on other legislation between now and the start of the recess.

There is a possibility, Sisk said, that the bill might be brought up again late next week.

Some colleagues said they fear the bill will get caught in a time squeeze. The house plans to take some more time off before November when the entire membership for the 1971 session is up for election.

If it passes the house, the bill must be approved by the senate before it can become law. Any changes made by the senate would require its return to the house and a possible time-consuming conference committee.

NEXT JANUARY

Most of the changes would go into effect when the new congress convenes next January.

But one of its leading backers, Rep. Bolling (D-Mo.), said he does not share the concern that the bill might be caught in an adjournment logjam. Bolling and others contend that when members go home they may discover their constituents will demand congress streamline its procedures.

Since it started debate, the house has added amendments permitting broadcasting of some committee meetings, requiring committee to make public major votes taken behind closed doors, and curbing use of nonrecord votes on major amendments.

Even if the bill fails to become law, many of the changes could be included in the house rules without senate approval.

Mr. Speaker, we simply must regain the confidence of the people of this Nation, and the way to achieve that goal is prompt and meaningful action on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970.

RESULTS OF POLL CONDUCTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FIRE FIGHTERS

(Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, recently the International Association of Fire Fighters conducted a post-card poll of the presidents and

secretaries of its 1,200 local unions regarding the President's actions in Cambodia.

The poll drew an interesting response.

On the first question, Do you approve of the recent actions taken by President Nixon in Cambodia? the response was yes, 1,245 and no, 187.

The second question was: The AFL–CIO executive council has voted to uphold President Nixon on his action in Cambodia. Do you agree with this position? The answer was yes, 1,288 and no, 184.

Apparently, Mr. Speaker, America's firefighters appreciate a President who is willing to do what is necessary to prevent a blaze, despite the heat that may be applied by a local minority.

FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING PROGRAM

(Mr. BIAGGI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, because of the urgent need to enact legislation that would provide for a Federal revenue-sharing program, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a brief commentary on the State of New York's revenue sharing program. I hope it will contribute positively to the discussion of this new fiscal concept.

STATE-LOCAL REVENUE SHARING PROGRAM AIDS COUNTIES, CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES

New York State's local governments will receive an annual share of the State's personal income tax collections as a result of a new revenue sharing program developed by Governor Rockefeller and the State Legislature.

The new program, Chapter 142 of the Laws of 1970, provides that beginning in 1971 the State of New York will share annually 21 per cent of its personal income tax collections with counties, cities, towns and villages.

In a joint statement announcing the new revenue sharing program, Governor Rockefeller, Senate Majority Leader Earl W. Brydges, and Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea pointed out that this annual sharing of the State's personal income tax collections will allow local governments to participate in the growth of the State's largest revenue source.

TO INCREASE ANNUALLY

The total revenues received by the State's local governments under this program will automatically increase each year as the total State personal income tax collections increase.

During the current State fiscal year, which is April 1, 1970, to March 31, 1971, the total amount of regular per capita and special city aid distributed to the State's local governments is expected to be $151.9 million.

During the State's 1971–72 fiscal year, under the new state-local revenue sharing program, the total of such general grant aid to local governments will rise to an estimated $598.5 million, which is an increase of 70 per cent over the preceding year.

During the State's 1971–72 fiscal year, under the new revenue sharing program, the villages of the state are expected to have their total general grant aid increased from the prior year's $9.1 million to $14.1 million; the towns, from $41.1 million to $70.4 million; and the counties from $20.9 million to $27.6 million.

As to the cities, which now receive per capita aid and special city aid, the new revenue sharing program is expected, during the State's 1971–72 fiscal year, to increase such general grants to New York City from the prior year's $207.6 million to $365.6 million, and to the remaining "Big Five" cities (Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Yonkers) from $33.5 million to $54.6 million. General grant aid to all other cities in the State would increase from a total of $39.7 million to $66.2 million.

The 21 per cent local government share of the State's annual personal income tax collections will be distributed under a new two-part formula.

1. The first part of this revenue sharing formula provides that beginning April 1, 1971, and annually thereafter, 10½ per cent of the State's personal income tax collections during the preceding State fiscal year will be paid to all counties, cities, towns and villages which now participate in the State's regular per capita and program.

The share of each local government will be determined by: A—First computing the regular per capita said share to which such individual local government would be entitled under present law, B—Increasing this regular per capita aid share of such individual local government by a percentage equal to the percentage by which the total 10½ per cent of the State's personal income tax collections exceeds the total regular per capita aid payments which would otherwise be made in 1971–72 to all local governments in the State under the present law.

2—The second part of this revenue sharing formula provides that beginning June 25, 1971, and annually thereafter, an additional 10½ per cent of the State's total personal income tax collection during the preceding state fiscal year will be shared by all cities in the State which were in existence as of April 1, 1968. This amount will be apportioned to each city on the basis of the percentage that the total population of the individual city bears to the total population of all cities in the State.

All State aid payments to counties, towns and villages under this new state-local revenue sharing program will be made in four equal installments during the fiscal year of each local government. These payments will be made at the same times as under the present program.

As to the aid payment schedule for cities under the new program, the regular State per capita aid payments will be made, as in the past, in four equal installments during the fiscal year of each city. The increased per capita aid for each city, as well as that city's proportionate share of the 10½ per cent of the State's personal income tax collections, allocated solely to cities, will be made on June 25 of each year, starting in 1971.

The new revenue sharing program also contains a provision which will protect any county, city, town and village in the State from any loss in general grant aid in the 1971–72 State fiscal year.

Without this provision, individual local governments might have received less aid in 1971, either through a loss of population as shown in the 1970 federal census or through the use of 1969 full valuations of taxable properties (instead of, for example, 1961 valuations), and 1969 personal income data, in computing their aid payments as required by existing law.

HOW IS THAT AGAIN?

(Mr. SAYLOR asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, two college presidents are currently basking in a press-created limelight on the basis of their attacks on the administration and its so-called responsibility for the turmoil on the Nation's campuses. The vituperation of the Heard and Cheek attack is predictable: College administrators and "educators" in general are not used to accepting responsibility for anything more than spending other people's money, in larger and larger amounts. For the President to suggest that college decorum is a college responsibility and not that of the Federal Government, is unheard of and unthinkable in this day when big Government is supposed to solve every problem, everywhere.

One could dismiss the Cheek and Heard irresponsibility were it not for the obvious delight of the press in finding and making heroes of anyone who attacks the President. Fortunately, the anti-Nixon press bias is not total and on occasion one finds a calmer assessment of the facts of the case.

An editorial in this morning's Wall Street Journal sets the record straight on the history of college turmoil and the Nixon administration's alleged responsibility. I trust our colleagues' minds are not closed to this short historical fact-finding tour by the Journal. The editorial follows:

HOW'S THAT AGAIN?

A short and not very inclusive chronology:

1964: "Free speech" demonstrations over rules about political speeches break out at the University of California at Berkeley. Sit-in demonstrators occupy the Administration building, Governor Edmund Brown orders their removal and 796 students are arrested.

Two-time political loser Richard Nixon emerges from somewhere to stump for Barry Goldwater. Spiro Agnew completes his third year as chief executive of Baltimore county.

1965: Berkeley's "free speech" movement becomes the "filthy speech movement," as demonstrators back the free use of obscenity. Demonstrations, on a smaller scale, appear at other campuses, and the press and public bodies start to analyze the "new student revolt" and "new student left."

Richard Nixon practices law in New York, and Spiro Agnew finishes another year as Baltimore County executive.

1966: Student strike at Berkeley proves abortive, but anti-draft demonstrators hold the University of Chicago administration building for three days. Anti-war Harvard students surround and stop a car carrying Secretary of Defense McNamara, shout him down when he tries to answer their questions.

Richard Nixon stumps successfully for Republican Congressional candidates. Spiro Agnew is elected governor of Maryland.

1967: Disruptive demonstrations occur at California, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Minnesota, Oberlin, Princeton, Stanford, Wisconsin and others.

Richard Nixon tours Europe, Asia and Latin America; Spiro inaugurated in Maryland.

1968: Columbia University erupts as blacks and the Students for a Democratic Society occupy several buildings to protest a proposed gymnasium location; police are called and a student strike closes most classes. A study by the National Student Association counts 221 major demonstrations at 101 colleges and universities between January 1 and June 15. S. I. Hayakawa pulls the plug on the demonstrators' sound truck at San Francisco State College.

Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew win the November election.

1969: Order is restored at the University of Wisconsin by 1,900 National Guardsmen. Swarthmore President Courtney Smith dies of a heart attack while awaiting a faculty

committee studying demands of students occupying the admissions office. Harvard deans dragged out of the admistration building by students opposing retention of ROTC on the proposed noncredit basis. Students at Cornell University demand a fully autonomous "Afro-American College," occupy the student union building and, feeling threatened, arm themselves with guns.

Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew are inaugurated in January. The new President announces a policy of withdrawing troops from Vietnam.

1970: Yale University suffers a student strike over the torture-murder trial of Black Panthers in New Haven. Hundreds of campuses erupt to protest the American attack on Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. After three nights of violence at Kent State University, National Guardsmen open fire and kill four students. Two students are also killed at Jackson State College.

President Nixon appoints a special commission to probe into the basic causes of campus unrest. The drift of the testimony is that it's caused by Richard Nixon's policies and Spiro Agnew's rhetoric.

A FUTURE MODEL FOR THE MIAMI POLICE DEPARTMENT

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, when the appropriation for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was considered by this House, I urged upon my colleagues the great importance of increased funding. I felt then, as I do now, that the money we spend now to attack crime will be more than repaid as it will strike out against the root causes of crime and civil disturbance before the loss of life and property in our country becomes even worse than it is now.

The Miami Police Department, under the able leadership of Chief Bernard Garmire, is an innovator in the use of new techniques and emphases in law enforcement. Aside from helping to obtain $20 million in aid from the city of Miami to facilitate an improvement program for the Miami Police Department, Chief Garmire has set out some cogent ideas regarding this important matter. His article, "A Future Model for the Miami Police Department" was published in the June issue of Miami Interaction. I welcome the opportunity to commend this new approach to my colleagues at this time:

A FUTURE MODEL FOR THE MIAMI POLICE DEPARTMENT

(By Bernard Garmire)

During the past five years, public attention has focused increasingly upon the issues of crime and the administration of justice. The police service has come under particular scrutiny because it is the most visible element of the justice system, and because it has the primary responsibility for law enforcement and prevention of crime. Public attention upon the police has resulted in a greater awareness of police problems and a greater willingness on the part of the constituency—perhaps even to the point of a mandate—to provide the police with adequate support. Numerous election campaigns can be cited to demonstrate the existence of such a mandate, *e.g.*, crime in the streets became a national issue in both the 1964 and 1968 Presidential elections.

DIRECTION OF POLICE TECHNIQUES CHANGING

Accompanying the increase in public concern about crime and the justice system—particularly the police role in that system—has been the increase in scholarly and governmental attention. Three Presidential commissions have examined, at least in part, the problems of police. Scholars who have long neglected the police role in society are now turning their efforts toward an examination of that role. Research and development institutions are experimenting with new concepts, techniques, and tools specifically designed for the police service. In short, we are experiencing a "knowledge" explosion in the police service.

One immediate consequence of such a phenomenon is that accepted doctrines of policing are no longer valid, and the new doctrines are either not thoroughly tested or, if tested, not generally disseminated among administrators throughout the police service. A second consequence relates to dissemination in that there is so much relevant information about new techniques, concepts, and tools—scattered all over the nation and in a multitude of different institutions—that a single police agency cannot by itself become aware of more than a small part of that information.

Therefore, a police administrator who has the opportunity to acquire extensive financial support if he can submit programs and projects, is on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, he can submit programs and projects with which he is familiar but which are simply extensions of traditional practices; or, on the other hand, he can attempt to survey new developments and take the risk of submitting ideas which have promise but have not been fully tested or are not representative of the best thinking in the field. In the former, the administrator runs the certain risk of investing monies in projects which will become obsolete. In the latter, he runs the risk of investing monies in projects which may fail because they are not fully tested, or are second rate, because he was not aware of the best projects in the field. In any event, the investment of large sums of public monies in obsolete, untested, or second rate projects will result in disaster for the administrator, the police department, and the community.

It was with these constraints in mind that the Police Department submitted a $20 million program for inclusion in the City of Miami's total $129 million bond issue. The primary goal of the police bond program is to develop a model or "modern" Police Department.

Attempts have been made to establish model or modern traffic units, juvenile units, etc.; but, no one has attempted, or had the resources to develop a *model department*. Given adequate financial resources along with sufficient expertise, it can be done. If we can develop "model cities" why can we not develop model police departments to serve model cities? The benefits to the community will be commensurate with the resources applied.

It is not that crime cannot be controlled; rather, it is that the volume of crime exceeds the quantity and *quality* of resources heretofore applied to its control. But, I do not mean to imply that the mere acquisition of physical resources such as computers, communication systems, etc. will result in crime reduction and elimination. Crime is the product of a myriad of social, economic, and political factors, and until the root causes of crime are resolutely and effectively dealt with, our society will be riven by crime and its attendant violence. The police mission, at least as historically and legally defined, is directed at the symptoms of crime rather than the disease itself. Other agencies in the administration of justice and in society at large must seek to eradicate the disease. May I add, parenthetically, that time is running out for us because of our collective tendency to provide words rather than deeds in response to the social problems of crime and violence. However, the physical resources we are requesting will enable the police to carry out their mission, and thereby provide the time, hopefully, for the other agencies to respond to the root problems producing crime.

MODEL OF POLICE DEPARTMENT SUBMITTED

There is no such thing as a model police department anywhere in the nation, or in the world for that matter. Therefore, we cannot describe the precise elements which will constitute the model, but we can suggest its dimensions and basic components. We can do no more than suggest because of: (1) the "knowledge" explosion in the police field alluded to above; and (2) our limited knowledge of what the future will provide in terms of new demands upon the police service and new developments to meet those demands.

Therefore, what the Department submitted was a skeletal concept for a modern police department which was fleshed out by several requests for the types of facilities, equipment, and systems which would constitute the basic components of a modern department. All the items incorporated in the bond program are in use now in either police departments or industry, or both, but they are not yet anywhere integrated into a total system specifically designed to serve a particular police department. What we have attempted to do is to pull all the items together into a total system and its supporting subsystems.

Essentially, what is proposed for the modern Miami Police Department is the acquisition of the basic facilities and equipment—conventional and sophisticated—to provide the capability to produce any kind of specific system that is necessary. Again, referring to the "knowledge" explosion and to our limited expertise in technical areas, we cannot specifically list the precise details of the systems to be ultimately developed, e.g., a complete description of a vehicle locator device to include unit specifications, supporting facilities, and detailed costs. What we can do, however, is indicate the purpose of such a device and the basic equipment available, *e.g.*, a vehicle locator device functions to locate all police vehicles within a specific degree of accuracy to provide police commanders a means of more efficiently dispatching cars to answer citizen calls for police assistance, thus conserving manpower and time; such a device will involve the use of a computer, communications equipment, cathode ray tubes, etc.

The capability which we wish to develop will be such that it can respond to technological advances in the police service, chances in the concept of the police role, and the changing needs of a growing community. We can state with some degree of confidence that no matter what the foreseeable future brings in the form of technological advances, such technology in the police application will be built around two components: computer systems and electronic communications systems. In short, a modern police department will provide capacity for response to technological advances and flexibility for response to changing community needs.

The mere addition of increased numbers of police officers is not the answer to 20th Century crime problems—particularly, when they will be fed into a system that is based on archaic concepts and supported by an obsolescent technology. We are striving *not* for an increase in personnel, but rather for an increase in the quantity and quality of concepts and technology to support existing personnel and enhance their effectiveness.

Although the purpose of this article was primarily to articulate the fundamental rationale underlying the Police Department's submission in the City bond issue, a brief description of some of the systems and technologies involved might be in order. As pre-

viously indicated, the basis of the modern police department will be a computerized information handling system and an electronics communications system. Some of the specific subsystems supporting the major systems are: Document Originating System, Document Retrieval System, Video Tape File, Video Microfilm File, Suspect Modus Operandi Data File, Suspect Offense Comparison, Electronic Dispatch System (Command and Control System), Police Management Information System, Geographic Index System, Car Locator System, and a Message Switching System. These systems will be supported by approximately $3 million worth of peripheral equipment. The total cost for the systems and equipment just described will be $7 million.

In terms of additional equipment to complement the computer and electronics systems, the bond program provides for the acquisition of such items as helicopters, closed circuit television monitors, mobile teleprinters, portable radios, mobile crime investigation units, and numerous other items. Total cost for this part of the bond program is $1.6 million.

A new police building is an integral element of the bond program. The building is proposed to meet the needs of the City of Miami to at least the year 2000. The type of building envisioned is not a traditional police structure; rather it is a modern administrative office building. A jail is not incorporated in the building because it is believed that the operation of a jail is the function of corrections, not police. The building will be designed in such a way as to emphasize that the police are a part of the community, not a quasi-military institution apart from the community. Building cost is $11 million.

Finally, $400,000 is requested for professional consulting and planning assistance to develop and implement the systems and technologies incorporated in the bond issue.

CRIME STATISTICS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

It is customary to accompany bond proposals such as this with detailed documentation of needs. In fact, it appears that a formula must be applied which says that for x number of dollars requested, there must be x number of pounds of paper work justifying the request. We would submit that in the areas of crime, violence, and the police, justification for increased support of police services has been more than amply documented. Public opinion polls indicate that the average man in the street, including minority groups, perceives that crime in all its manifestations is the paramount domestic concern. Research has indicated that the public's perception of the prevalance of crime has led to changes in basic life-styles. Research has also demonstrated that the police are attempting to cope with 20th Century problems with 19th Century concepts and technology. Simply stated, the modern police department proposal is offered as an opportunity to develop 20th Century capability for response to 20th Century problems.

However, to bring the point home a few illustrations will be offered:

The major crimes (Part I Offenses—murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over $50, and auto theft), based on trend projections computed from the past five years experience in Miami, will increase nearly 40% (38.6%) from 1969 to 1974—20,635 to 28,600 Part I Offenses!

Certain crimes which have a definite impact on the public consciousness are rape and burglary. Based on the same trend experience of the past five years in Miami, rape will increase 89.2% and burglary 67.2% in the next five years, 1969–1974.

Traffic statistics based on trends and computed for the next five years indicate that Miami will experience a 34.5% increase in total accidents, a 44.9% increase in total injuries, and an 80.3% increase in total fatalities.

Projected population growth in Miami for the next five years will be much less than the projected crime increase. Population will increase somewhere around 9% to 10%. Quite obviously, the crime increase will be greater than population increase and this is just for *reported* crimes. Studies indicate that one-half or more of the crimes go *unreported*.

It should be noted that for the funds the City of Miami invests, a possibility exists of receiving a significant amount of grant-in-aid monies from the federal government. Without going into detail, suffice it to say that through the Safe Streets Act of 1968, the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1968, and the various statutes administered by Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Department of Transportation, funds exist. If the concept of a modern police department is given substance by local support, then the federal government can be induced to assist. The federal government is particularly interested in supporting innovative projects and has demonstrated this in the past through generous funding programs. What is suggested here is the same thing except in terms of project scope. Previously, in the case of the police, the scope has been restricted to functional projects or to projects which embrace one part of the whole. What we are suggesting is funding for the whole—an entire police department.

CHALLENGE TO CITIZENS

If the citizens of Miami are willing to finance a $20 million expansion, renovation, and improvement of their police department, the federal government could not ignore this kind of effort on the part of local government. Additionally, we could offer the federal agencies the opportunity to participate in an ongoing experiment of tremendous dimension. The Miami Police Department could become the "police laboratory" for the nation. Thus, an investment of $20 million could result in an ultimate investment, through federal assistance, of a significantly larger sum. The direct beneficiaries of such a program would be the citizens of Miami.

Now, we must address the question, "If a modern department is developed, what is the pay-off?" Unfortunately, the question cannot be answered in the positive sense, *i.e.*, if x millions are invested in a police department, then the crime rate will be reduced by x amount, which will in turn produce enough benefits through decreases in injuries and property loss to equal the original investment. In a computer laboratory and using a sophisticated, statistical method, a statement such as the above could be made. Whether the statement would be validated in the real world as opposed to the "laboratory" is problematic.

Therefore, if we are to be honest and realistic, we can only answer the question of pay-off in a negative sense. A great body of literature exists to prove that crime is increasing relatively and absolutely, that the police service has been bypassed by the technological revolution, and that although there has been a substantial increase in the number of police in the past twenty-five years, the battle against crime is being slowly, but inexorably lost. Common sense tells us, therefore, that if the past and present systems have not been effective, then new systems must be developed.

The modern police department concept carries with it the implicit assumption that if police are supported by an adequate technological base, guided by enlightened philosophies of crime prevention, and given adequate financing, police will have a *realistic chance* of coping with the crime problem. We are convinced this assumption is valid, and we are willing to put our professional reputations on the line in support of that assumption. We are not willing, however, to promise that we can reduce crime by any specific percentage; nor, are we willing to promise that every dollar invested will result in a dollar's saving through reduction of crime. To promise this would be to deceive the public and ourselves; furthermore, it would be the epitome of professional irresponsibility. We think the modern police department will achieve our expectations, but the final answer lies in the future. Unfortunately, we are not soothsayers—only ordinary men confronted with an extraordinary task.

TIME TO SPEAK OUT

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our Nation is beset by many divisive issues, it is both refreshing and essential to draw upon the experience of leaders outside government so that the wisdom of those close to the common man may be of benefit to all of us.

Jacob S. Potofsky, general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, is just such a man. He has been a part of the organized labor movement for many decades and is better able to express the views of this important segment of our population than any man I know.

At the 27th biennial convention of the clothing workers, Mr. Potofsky addressed himself to the needs of our country and proposed some meaningful areas in which government could and should respond now. His defense of the right to dissent and his commentary on the alienation of government from the needs of many sectors of the population are an eloquent testimony to the urgent priority we must now establish in the areas of public welfare, respond to the young, and the termination of war abroad. We would all do well to heed the advice he offers. It is for this reason that I am grateful for the opportunity to insert his remarks in the RECORD and to commend them to my colleagues at this time:

TIME TO SPEAK OUT

Our country is facing one of the darkest periods of the century. We are beset by a host of problems—more complex, more perilous and more numerous than at any time in recent history.

The war in Southeast Asia is escalating without end in sight; more of our boys are being killed and maimed. The blight of our cities is becoming worse with every passing day; pollution is increasing; our natural resources are being wasted; inflation is continuing at an intolerable rate; unemployment is increasing daily; prices and interest rates are soaring; dissent is discouraged and intimidated; our young people are frustrated, alienated and angry; our foreign friends are bewildered by our actions; extremism of right and left is becoming a part of our daily life; and our country is more bitterly divided than it has been in a century or more.

TIME TO SPEAK OUT

This is a sad and sorry picture. It can be remedied only if we begin by having the courage to look honestly at these issues. It is time to speak out. This is what I shall attempt to do.

I shall therefore talk principally about Vietnam because it underlies practically all our troubles. Vietnam is a vital key to war or peace in the world. On its swift end may well depend the very preservation of our own democratic way of life. And everything

that we cherish lies in balance on the developments in that area.

I am not suggesting that the American public is of one mind about Vietnam. Because that is so, it is important to analyze the issue as rationally as possible.

Now, let's see what are the facts.

Vietnam has cost us almost 50,000 of our young and almost 300,000 wounded and maimed.

A week before last, more of our soldiers were killed than in any week during the past nine months.

It has disrupted the lives of millions of our young who were inducted in that war.

It has brutalized and demoralized our soldiers on a scale never before experienced.

We have devastated a land that we are trying to save; villages and towns have been destroyed; uncounted numbers of innocent Vietnamese have been killed or uprooted.

This war has already cost us more than $100 billion; yes, $100 billion.

The President recently vetoed a measure of Congress providing one and a half billion dollars more for education, on the ground that it is inflationary. Yet, at the same time, we are spending more than 2½ billion dollars a month on the war in Vietnam.

How topsy-turvy things are! Money for education is inflationary but money for killing is considered by some to be right.

But $100 billion is not the only cost.

We shall have to pay interest on that $100 billion probably indefinitely, and the interest bill alone in the future will be tens of billions of dollars.

We have been in Vietnam for almost nine years. We have bombed Vietnam, North and South, with more explosives than were used in World War II. Think of all that bombing against a small country. Yet it appears that the military will of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong has not been broken.

MILITARY VICTORY A QUESTION

It has become questionable whether a military victory will ever be possible—a fact that even the generals are now admitting.

General Ridgway—the former UN and U.S. Commander in Japan, Korea and Far East, and later Army Chief of Staff, said some time ago:

"We should repudiate once and for all the search for a military solution and move resolutely along the path of disengagement."

On April 20, the President gave the nation a reassuring report that "everything is going well and we are in sight of a just peace." He announced at the same time an intention to withdraw 150,000 troops within a year. Yet, only nine days later, with nothing substantially new developing on the military scene, the President widened the war in Cambodia and renewed the bombing of North Vietnam—a complete re-escalation of the war.

One may ask: why the panicky rush? Why didn't he consult with the Congress about this? There was plenty of time. Was he afraid that the Congressional and public opposition would veto the military eagerness to go into Cambodia? After all, Congress has a Constitutional responsibility in these matters, too.

Our invasion in Cambodia means that all the tragic errors of escalation are being repeated. We are being plunged deeper and deeper into the pit of disaster.

CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

That is why we support the efforts of those courageous and truly patriotic American Senators who have sponsored legislation designed to bring to a speedy end the most disastrous war in our history. Let us pray that success may crown their efforts.

The Congress must exercise its Constitutional responsibility of not leaving the war-making decisions to the President alone. To do so would spell the abdication of its responsibility.

The Cambodian invasion is tragic on other grounds as well. For example, it may undermine or threaten the success of the arms control negotiations and talks in Vienna. And the success of these talks is vital to the peace of the world.

Another damaging consequence of the Cambodian maneuver is the definite weakening of American power to influence the situation in the Middle East. I need not remind you what a powder keg that is. The Middle east may blow up again.

Israel's security is an over-riding moral imperative of the world. Yet the Soviet Union freely sends arms, planes, missiles, technicians and pilots into Egypt to support Egyptian and Arab belligerency. Direct Soviet intervention in the Middle East has already stimulated Egyptian offensive action along the Suez Canal.

Do you believe that the Soviets would have dared to risk such brazen intervention into Egypt—particularly after its brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia—if we were not bogged down in Vietnam?

One must ask: "How did our country get so involved in Southeast Asia? What is the explanation?"

I suggest that there are two explanations underlying our activities in Vietnam. One is the dominant role of the military, and the other is the enormous profitability of war.

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

It is probably a fact that never before in our history have the military and their allies in defense industries possessed such power in our nation. This military influence even worried President Eisenhower after his long experience as a general and as President. And if anyone had intimate knowledge of this military-industrial connection, President Eisenhower was the one.

President Eisenhower said in his farewell speech (January 18, 1961):

"We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex . . . We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes . . ."

Yet, that is exactly what happened.

The record of military miscalculation in Vietnam is terrifying.

Our so-called military experts have made one costly mistake after another. They have asked us to swallow their forecasts of victory through escalation far, far too often. They have asserted that their special sources of secret intelligence should command complete and unquestioning support. But their dismal record of failure has lost them their right to a blank check from the American people. We have all paid, and are still paying dearly, for their mistakes—and how much longer? Who knows?

Now we come to the other half of the military-industrial complex. If profits were taken out of war, we would have fewer and shorter wars. I have no hesitation in saying that if profits were taken out of the Vietnam war—profits shared by industrialists here and by the new crop of millionaires in Saigon—the Vietnam war would have been a dim memory by this time. All the talk about saving democracy for the South Vietnamese would have vanished into thin air by this time. Pious cries of security and patriotism are too often the mask for profiteering patriots. Let us never forget that.

The military are responsible for the staggering increase in defense expenditures from 12 billion dollars in 1948 to 80 billion this year—an increase of 700 per cent.

Senator William Proxmire established that military spending could be cut by $10 billion a year without impairing national security. The waste runs into billions more.

An Air Force efficiency expert testified on the enormously inflated costs of a Lockheed plane for the Air Force, amounting to $2 billion. You know what happened to him? He was fired for telling.

Over 2,000 former officers of the rank of colonel or navy captains or higher were employed by the leading military contractors. I don't have to tell you what that means.

The former Research Chief of the Pentagon called on Congress to halt the growth of the United States military machine before it became a Frankenstein monster that could destroy us.

WASTE VERSUS SECURITY

Do you know what happened when Congress was asked to scrutinize defense spending more closely? The President appointed a blue-ribbon panel to serve as a watchdog over the Pentagon. But do you know who was on the blue-ribbon panel? Eight of its members have interests of more than a billion dollars in defense-related industries. Instead, what we desperately need is the most critical, intensive examination of every aspect of defense spending industries.

Let us not mistake waste for security. The true American patriot is not the one who wants to increase defense spending. The true American patriot is the one who wants every dollar spent on defense to be spent effectively, not wastefully—and not for the benefit of defense profiteers.

We want an America which is strong—strong not only militarily, but economically, politically, diplomatically, and above all, humanly.

Now let me turn from the military arena to our domestic scene. What has the Vietnam war done to us at home?

The war has done great damage to the spirit of America. There is a bitter and ugly mood in the nation. A climate of fear has descended upon our land. The war has set men against each other. The war has caused division between the people and their government. It has aroused suspicions and false accusations. It has brought back some of the evils of McCarthyism—an evil which it took us years to overcome, and which we had all hoped would never reappear.

Today, we have tapped wires, political snooping, secret informers—all of them the marks not of a democracy but of a police state.

Our Bill of Rights is in danger of erosion. Until we have peace, our very democratic processes are threatened.

Today those who oppose war are attacked for their lack of patriotism. Dissent is confused with disloyalty. Yet high government officials try to intimidate our newspapers and radio and TV.

THE RIGHT TO DISSENT

Let us bear this important fact in mind. Dissent is the spur to reform. It is in troubled days that the rights of the dissenters must be upheld if the liberties of the many are to remain safe.

Let us not forget that our nation's greatness springs from the vision of greater freedom for all, not restricted liberties for some. We must carry the torch of freedom against the forces of dark suspicion and fear.

When the war ends, we can hope that we will be able to establish our democratic priorities once again. But it may take much longer to recover from the spiritual effects of this military disaster.

One of the greatest tragedies is what has happened to our youth, so many of whom have lost much of their faith in our leadership and in our democratic system. Students are not saints, but neither are they bums or rotten apples!

Their frustrations and alienation have become intense. Some have resorted to violence—and in some cases, such as in the tragedy at Kent State and Jackson State, they have been met with inexcusable violence.

It is unfortunate that it took these tragedies to wipe out the indifference with which the problems of the young were met in high places.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. Violence must be condemned. It is self-defeating and leads only to more violence.

VIOLENCE LEADS TO CHAOS

Those who practice violence—whether they be young or old—whether they be white or black—whether they be students or national guard, or police or workers—must recognize that they are all contributing to chaos. If history teaches one thing, it is that chaos is followed by periods of the iron fist. After the chaos, no one knows what kind of dictatorship will emerge. We do not have to be reminded how Hitler came into power.

Let me say one word to the youth, to our young—for they are our most precious asset. Meet the challenge that faces you not with violence but with practical, constructive action. Choose the traditional way of democracy, the peaceful way. Become active this summer and fall in the election campaigns; work with labor to elect candidates who will help end the war in Vietnam speedily. Help not only end the war, but enable America to meet its domestic needs.

Years ago, students used to be excused from school to harvest the crops in the fall. Today, why not let them out of school to harvest votes?

I hope that we will give our youth the right to vote in national elections.

It will bring the talents and energies of our young into the normal democratic processes. Today, the educational levels of our young people are so much higher than they were before. They are old enough to fight and die in Vietnam; they are old enough to work, to marry, to pay taxes, yet they are denied the basic right to participate in our democratic society—the right to vote.

As a matter of fact, by depriving 18, 19 and 20 year olds of the right to vote we are contributing to one of the causes for their despair.

The 18-year vote is overdue and should be passed by Congress this year.

BYPRODUCTS OF WAR

There are many other consequences of the Vietnam War.

The 30 billion dollars a year we spend for war cripples our financial ability to deal with serious domestic needs.

Every warplane built for Vietnam means we cannot build a new high school.

Every shipment of guns costs us public housing for our cities.

Every tank and truck means a cutback in our war on poverty.

Our needs are almost without end. Our resources of water and air are being polluted at such a rapid rate that the very life of civilization is in danger.

To reclaim our air and water will cost billions of dollars, to build advanced disposal plants, to change the way we burn our fuels, to create new and cleaner sources of power.

We must spend those billions of dollars if we are to preserve life itself—but today we are spending those billions on tanks and ammunition for Vietnam—almost $3½ million every hour of the day and night.

NEED DECENT HOMES

One of the most serious national needs is housing for those of moderate income. We need officially 2,600,000 new units of housing each year just to keep up with our population growth, but we are building less than half. In some cities, including New York, our stock of housing is slowly growing smaller at the very time when our needs are increasing.

We will never solve the crisis of our cities until we start a massive housing program.

But today inflation has driven up the cost of housing beyond the means of private enterprise to build it, and the war has robbed our government of the funds to build it.

As a result, we are not building middle- or low-income housing to meet our needs, and our cities continue to deteriorate.

Many of our citizens—blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and others—have not been given equal opportunity. Some of their needs must be met through laws requiring an end to discrimination in voting, jobs, housing and education. These laws must be enforced vigorously and fairly.

TO WIPE OUT GHETTOS

But some of the needs of minorities can only be met by new expenditures for schools and housing and medical facilities to wipe out the ghetto slums from the face of the land. So long as we have a war budget and inflation, we will not have the funds that are needed for these purposes. Until we have peace, we will not be able to make substantial progress in reducing poverty and ending all trace of discrimination and bringing all people into a first-class citizenship.

My friends, the quicker we extricate ourselves from the war in Vietnam, the sooner we can attend to these urgent needs.

There are other costs of war as well.

Working people in America do not need an economist to tell them about inflation. We feel and see inflation every time we walk into a supermarket or barber shop or movie theatre. We feel and see inflation when we buy a car, or look around for a modest home to buy—those who can afford it —or get a bill from a doctor or hospital.

Despite wage increases negotiated by trade unions for every major industry during the past five years, workers' real wages have gone down instead of up.

There appears to be no end to the inflationary spiral. Despite the Administration's repeated predictions to the contrary, the battle against inflation has been lost! It is estimated that it won't take many more years before our present dollar will lose a third of its purchasing power.

Inflation is a direct consequence of our swollen wartime economy—and so are the steps taken by the Administration to halt inflation. One of these steps has resulted in the highest level of interest rates in more than a century. The government had to borrow more than 100 billion dollars for the Vietnam war. This has resulted in an escalation of interest rates, with the result that every purchase became more costly. The cost of money affects every nook and cranny of our lives.

If the war continues, interest rates may go so high that the government may find it difficult to finance the war and even minimum domestic requirements. That will mean higher taxes and more will be taken out of our pay envelopes.

Between inflation and high interest rates, many businesses will have to close down or face bankruptcy.

We don't need dictionaries to tell us when a recession comes. It is here right now—it is here!

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

What do you think will happen when businesses close down? More and more unemployment. Those still working will be working fewer hours. Take home pay will go down and down.

I ask you, who is the first to lose his job when unemployment rises? Is it the President of General Motors or Dupont? Of course not! It is the working man, and what is worse, it is likely to be the least skilled, the member of a minority group, the person who has the least savings to fall back on, and the one who has the most difficult time to find a new job.

Neither inflation nor recession affects all equally. It is those of modest means—workers, retired people—who are hardest hit by both. If this trend continues, social tensions are bound to be aggravated. Both inflation and recession are a direct result of the war, and we will not end them until we end the war.

Two years ago we faced the challenge of a Presidential election. The trade union movement met that challenge with all its energy and determination, and almost singlehandedly made it one of the closest elections of modern times. Nevertheless, despite our efforts, the election was lost.

The 1970 elections will be a battlefield for the control of Congress, particularly the United States Senate. In the elections of six to 12 years ago, a number of remarkable liberals came to the Senate from marginal states—men who might never have won except for the unusual liberal landslides of those years.

This year, no one has any expectation of a liberal landslide, and, as a matter of fact, a number of those Senators face very difficult reelection races. One of them, Senator Ralph Yarborough, of Texas, the chairman of the Senate Labor Committee and one of our liberal champions, has already lost to a conservative in the primary.

The labor movement must meet this challenge with all its resources. These Senators depend to a large extent on organized labor, because the support which used to come from their party has sharply declined. Only the trade union movement survives as a strong, nationwide institution to support liberal candidates.

I know I do not have to urge the officers and staff members of the Amalgamated to greater political efforts, for it was under Sidney Hillman's leadership that the labor movement first became active in political education and we have continued to devote ourselves wholeheartedly to this important task.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

So, delegates, I have talked this morning mostly about challenges, not achievements. The fact is, that we have much to be proud of. We have given working people a strong voice in their own destiny. In the course of our years, we in the Amalgamated have built institutions to provide many of the necessities of a decent life—health insurance, pensions, education, housing, medical care, and much more.

But this is no time to rest on our achievements. The challenges that confront our country and indeed the world, are overwhelming. If we do not meet them, our way of life, and civilization itself could be in mortal danger.

We, as Amalgamated officers, and members, represent a cross section of American working people, men and women from every area of the nation, from big cities and small towns and villages, from North and South, from the East Coast and the West Coast. Our membership works in factories and stores and service establishments. We represent every nationality and every race and religion.

Delegates, I am convinced that our members, like all working people, and like the majority of all Americans, want peace. They want peace now, without delay. They want peace without further military adventures, without more killing.

So I call on you today, to bring up all your reserves of strength and dedication to our noblest ideals and goals.

PEACE, NOT WAR

We must strive to impress upon our government that the people of our country and of the world want and demand an immediate commitment to peace, not war.

We must bend every effort to influence our military leaders that death and destruction must come to an end, that the way of weapons is not our way.

I do not talk of peace next year. I talk of peace now. The hour is late and the country's danger is great.

This is the hour of decision.

Our nation needs peace now. The world needs peace now.

Let us all be united to help achieve that inspiring goal.

(*The audience stood and applauded.*)

LEGISLATION TO REQUIRE THE OPEN DATING OF PACKAGED FOODS—VIII

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, on July 9, Jewel Food stores, the fourth largest chain in the country, and one of the fastest growing, announced its intention to make the meaning of many of the food codes found on its items available to its customers.

In so announcing its decision, Jewel stressed the fact that they fully expected to economically profit from this move by attracting the intelligent shopper who is concerned about the freshness of the food she buys.

One of Jewel's representatives told my office that they expected to have to readjust their ordering procedures initially so that they would not be left with out-of-date food. On the other hand, they fully expected that once the initial adjustment had been made, they would have little difficulty.

This analysis contrasts markedly with the views expressed by the official spokesman for the grocery industry, the National Association of Food Chains, which vehemently opposes the open dating of foods. The association says open dating will increase the price of food. They, of course, have made the same statement about every proposed consumer reform. They contend that if the consumer knows the freshness of all items she is able to examine in the supermarket, she will choose the one with the latest date, and the store will have to discard large amounts of food.

Jewel's answer on this subject is, I believe, quite enlightening. They say that letting the consumer know how fresh an item is will restore confidence in the freshness of their foods. I really think this is what open dating is all about. For if a consumer knows a product is fresh, she is not going to take the time or trouble to scrutinize every item in the store to find one which may be 1 day fresher.

Open dating will affect the grocery store owner who sells out-of-date food differently, if he is inefficient, than it will if he is deliberately selling stale food.

The New York City experience with dating of milk demonstrates that open dating compels the inefficient store manager to become more efficient. He has no choice. As Jewel Food stores say, he must start watching his inventory turnover and do his ordering accordingly. Once he adopts efficient practices, not only will open dating not hurt him, but since he has become more efficient, it may not only improve his trade but also his profits.

The store owner who deliberately sells out-of-date food for whatever reason, will, of course, be economically hurt by open dating, for he will not be able to sell stale food any more.

Jewel is to be commended by taking this pioneering step in making the meanings of many of its codes known to its customers. I understand other chains in Washington and Chicago are also planning on adopting similar policies.

But I do not think Jewel went as far as it could in making freshness information available in a form in which the shopper can readily use it. To begin with, the translated codes cover only a very small part of the items in a grocery store.

The beginning of the Jewel Coding Guide divides all food items into four groups based upon the length of their shelf lives. It is interesting that almost all of the items in the first group of foods, those with the shorter shelf lives, have translations while almost none in the fourth group have translations. Among the items not translated are baby and canned foods.

With a few exceptions, all the codes and their translations are being listed by the store in a book on the customer service desk, far from the items themselves. Why are not all codes made understandable on the packages themselves? I doubt if more than a few customers will regularly use the information contained in the book.

The store should clearly stamp the last date on the label that the food item could be sold.

This is what legislation which 59 other Members the House have joined me in introducing calls for, and what a petition I filed with the FTC requests.

If Jewel is sincere about making food freshness information available to the consumer, it will not only adopt open dating for its own items, but will fight for Government action to require it on all packaged and canned food.

I insert at this point in the RECORD the Jewel Rotation Guide and Code Book, which lists the translations of many of the food codes found on products sold in Jewel stores as well as related material. Unfortunately, Jewel would not make this guide directly available to me and I had to secure it from other channels.

It should be pointed out at this point that many of the codes apply only to Jewel products while others which apply to a manufacturer's item may only apply to that item in certain areas or as it is sold to certain supermarkets.

The materials follow:

ROTATION GUIDE AND CODE BOOK

ROTATION OF MERCHANDISE

(Revised May 18, 1970)

It is extremely important that all merchandise in your store is rotated at one time or another to insure that your customers receive the freshest merchandise possible. Fresh merchandise insures satisfied customers will return week after week. These customers are also some of our best advertisers.

A regular program of rotation should be established for all grocery items. Grocery items can be divided into four groups for this purpose.

Group I: Items to be rotated each time the shelf is stocked. (Particular attention should be paid to the codes on the package so that the oldest merchandise is sold out first.)

Bakery Products.
Flour.
Cake & Pie Mixes.
Pancake Flour.
Nut Meats.
Cookies & Crackers.
Potato Chips & Snacks.
Cigarettes & Tobacco.
Milk & Milk Products.
Dairy Products.

Codes for all the major manufacturers' products for this group are listed in this manual.

Group II: Items to be rotated once each month or whenever the shelf is low at stocking time.

Prepared Foods—Dried Pkgs.
Pet Food—Dry & Semi Moist.
Peanut Butter.
Baby Food—Cereals.
Canned & Dry Milk.
Coffee—Regular & Instant.
Tea.
Baking Supplies.
Desserts.
Dried Fruits & Vegetables.
Beverages.
Dried Macaroni Products.
Breakfast Food.
Gum & Candy Bars.
Packaged Candy.
Salted Nuts.
Health & Beauty Aids.
Frozen Foods.
Salad Dressings.
Instant Potatoes.

Some of the codes for these items are listed later in this manual.

Group III: Items to be rotated once each quarter or whenever the shelf is low at stocking time.

Soup—Dried.
Jellies, Jams & Preserves.
Olives—Glass Pk.
Mustard & Sauces.
Baby Food—Jars.
Cocoa & Cocoa Drinks.
Molasses & Syrups.
Shortening & Oils.
Spices & Extracts.
Fruit & Vegetable Juices.
Diet Foods.
Vinegar.

Group IV: Items to be rotated twice each year or whenever the shelf is low at stocking time. Particular attention should be paid to this group as far as unsalable merchandise is concerned.

Canned Soup.
Prepared Foods—Canned.
Canned Fish.
Catsup.
Sugar & Salt.
Soap Products.
Nylons.
Canned Pet Food.
Canned Olives.
Pickles.
Canned Fruit & Vegetables.
Laundry Supplies.
Household Supplies.
Paper Products.

Deal Packs and Off Label Packs—should be sold as soon as they are received regardless of normal rotation procedures. In these cases, you want to pass these savings on to your customer as soon as possible so that you can maintain your competitive advantage.

Jewel manufactured or Jewel labeled products should receive special attention with respect to rotation. Private label merchandise is one of our strongest assets in grocery items. Proper rotation will assist in maintaining our fine reputation for the finest quality in Private Label.

The Basic Jewel Code is an Expiration Code as opposed to most manufacturers' codes that are date of manufacture codes. However, the Four Digit Jewel Code has several variations as to the method of reading. Some of these variations are as follows:

(a) Add the first and last digit for the month. Read the middle two digits for the day. (This code is used on all Barrington manufactured items).

(b) Hillfarm Fluid Milk Products uses the

four digit code as follows—outside digits read off-sale date in suburbs, the inside digits read the off-sale date in the city.

(c) Gaymonts Yogurt uses a similar four digit code that is read as follows—1st and last digit reads the month, the middle two digits the date, i.e. 1142=December 14.

(d) Daisy Brand Yogurt uses a four digit code that is read as follows—first two digits=month, second two digits=date.

Codes for Group I items:

Dry groceries:

Nut meats

Jewel: All Jewel products have the standard Jewel code used on Barrington manufactured items.

Evon: The code is as follows:

2E=February 21, 1970 Expiration.

2 is the period (January 25 to February 21).

E is the year (1970).

The following is a list of Evons 1970 and 1971 Periods:

1970 E

1. Dec. 28 to Jan. 24.
2. Jan. 25 to Feb. 21.
3. Feb. 22 to Mar. 21.
4. Mar. 22 to Apr. 18.
5. Apr. 19 to May 16
6. May 17 to June 13.
7. June 14 to July 11.
8. July 12 to Aug. 8.
9. Aug. 9 to Sept. 5.
10 Sept. 6 to Oct 3.
11. Oct. 4 to Oct 31.
12. Nov. 1 to Nov. 28
13. Nov. 29 to Dec. 26.

1971 (F)

1. Dec. 27 to Jan. 23.
2. Jan. 24 to Feb. 20.
3. Feb. 21 to Mar. 20.
4. Mar. 21 to Apr. 17.
5. Apr. 18 to May 15.
6. May 16 to June 14.
7. June 15 to July 10.
8. July 11 to Aug. 7.
9. Aug. 8 to Sept. 4.
10. Sept. 5 to Oct. 2.
11. Oct. 3 to Oct. 30.
12. Oct. 31 to Nov. 27.
13. Nov. 27 to Dec. 25.

Potato chips and snacks

Jays foods: The code is as follows:

Day of year.

i.e. 347=347 day or Dec. 13th.

Frito Lay: The code is as follows:

Month—Day—Plant.

i.e. 1110=January 11

1=January

11=Day

0=Plant.

Note: Jan=1.

Feb=2.

Mar=3.

Apr=4.

May=5.

Jun=6.

July=7.

Aug=8.

Sept=9.

Oct=0.

Nov=N.

Dec=D.

General Mills: The code on snacks is a color code that appears as dot on the top and side of the package.

The sequence of colors is—Green, Orange, Black, Red, Blue and Yellow then a repeat. Black coded package must be sold before Red, Blue or Yellow. These items carry a 6 month shelf life.

Jewel Maid: The code is as follows:

Normal expiration code (Variation(a) in previous paragraph.)

Nabisco Pretzels: The code is as follows:

Shift—Plant—Day of Year.

i.e. 1L103=April 13.

1=Shift.

L=Plant.

103=day of Year=April 13.

Cigarettes and tobacco

Philip Morris: The code is as follows:

Month—Year.

i.e. 101=Oct., 1971.

10=October (10th Month).

1=1971 (Last digit of year).

American Tobacco: The code is based on the word "Ambidextrous" plus a letter for the year, that is

A=Jan.

M=Feb.

B=Mar.

I=Apr.

D=May.

E=June.

X=Jul.

T=Aug.

R=Sept.

O=Oct.

U=Nov.

S=Dec.

AI=Jan. 1970.

I=1970.

J=1971.

K=1972.

L=1973.

Brown and Williamson: The code is as follows:

Year—Month.

I.e. OE=May, 1970.

O=1970.

E=May (F=Jun, G=Jul, etc.).

R. J. Reynolds: The code is as follows:

Month—Year.

i.e. AJ=Jan 1970.

A=Jan (Feb=B, Mar=C, etc.).

J=1970 (1971=K, 1972=M, etc.).

Liggett and Myers: The code is based on the words "Quality Smoke", plus a number for the year.

Q=Jan.

U=Feb.

A=Mar.

L=Apr.

I=May.

T=Jun.

Y=Jul.

S=Aug.

M=Sept.

O=Oct.

K=Nov.

E=Dec.

i.e. E1=Dec 1971.

0=1970.

1=1971.

2=1972.

P. Lorillard: The code is based on the words "BLACK OR WHITE" plus a number for the year.

B=Jan.

L=Feb.

A=Mar.

C=Apr.

K=May.

O=Jun.

R=Jul.

W=Aug.

H=Sept.

I=Oct.

T=Nov.

E=Dec.

i.e. K2=May 1972.

O=1970.

1=1971.

2=1972.

3=1973.

Cookies and crackers

Crackin Good: The normal Jewel Code appears and is an Expiration Date. It is read as Variation (a) previously mentioned.

Salerno: The code is based on a weekly number and the product is unsalable 12 weeks after that date.

Nabisco: The code is as follows:

Shift—Plant—Day of Year.

i.e. 1B103=April 13.

1=Shift.

B=Plant.

103=103 day or April 13.

Flavor Kist: The code is as follows:

Month—Date—Shift.

i.e. C 122=March 12.

C=March.

12=12.

2=2nd Shift.

Sunshine: The code is as follows:

Month—Date—Plant (Expiration date).

The months are assigned letter codes as follows:

Jan=M.

Feb=N.

Mar=O.

Apr=P.

May=Q.

Jun=R.

Jul=S.

Aug=T.

Sep=U.

Oct=V.

Nov=W.

Dec=X.

i.e. Q6D=May 6, 1970.

Q=May.

6=6th.

D=Plant.

i.e. Q2520D=May 20, 1970.

When you find 3 or 4 numbers between the letters, disregard the first two.

Q=May.

2=Forget.

5=Forget.

20=20th Day.

D=Plant.

Sunshine is an expiration code date.

Keebler: The code is as follows:

Day & Plant or Plant & Day.

i.e. 35A or A358.

358=358th day of year—Dec. 24, 1970.

A=Plant.

This is manufacture code date.

Flour, cake mixes, and pancake mixes

(All are Manufacturing Dates Except Jewel)

Pillsbury: The code is as follows:

Month—Year.

i.e. B70=February, 1970.

B=2nd Month—February.

70=Last two digits of year—1970.

Duncan Hines: The code is as follows:

Week—Year—Plant.

i.e. 0270B.

02=2nd Week of year.

70=Last two digits of year—1970.

B=Plant of Manufacture.

Swansdown: The code is as follows:

Shift—Year Day—Line.

i.e. A00993=April 9, 1970.

A=Shift of Manufacture.

0=Last digit of year—1970.

099=Day of year (99th)—April 9th.

Jewel Maid: The code is as follows:

Outside digits=Month.

Inside digits=Day.

i.e. 2182=April 18, 1970.

2—Plus last digit=4 or April.

1

8 Day of 18th.

2

(NOTE.—This is an expiration code.)

Ceresota: The code is as follows:

Mill—Year—Day of Year.

i.e. T0150=May 30, 1970.

T—Mill=Topeka.

0=Year=1970.

150=150th Day=May 30.

General Mills: Gold Medal & Betty Crocker, the code is as follows:

Month—Year—Day—Plant.

I.e. A019T=June 19th, 1970 (G.M. year begins with June=A, July=B, etc.).

A=Month—Jun.

0=Year—1970.

19=Day—19th.

T=Plant.

Jun=A.

Jul=B.

Aug=C.

Sep=D.

Oct=E.

Nov=F.

Dec=G.

Jan=H.

Feb=J.

Mar=K.
Apr=L.
May=M.

Aunt Jemima and Quaker flours: The code is as follows:
Year—Plant—Date—Dash—Month.
I.e. 0A16–C.
0=1970.
A=Plant.
16=16th Day.
—=Dash.
C=March.

In addition, each package carries the letter identifying the month on the top.

IMPORTANT GROUP II CODES

Breakfast foods

Kellogg Cereals: The code is based on a numbering system 1 thru 12, representing the months of the year.
I.e. 11=November.

Post cereals: The code is as follows:
Year—Day of Year.
i.e. 9239=August 27, 1969.
9=1969.
239=239 day (August 27).

Quaker Oats: The code is as follows:
Year—Plant—Date—Month.
i.e. 9L17F.
9=1969.
L=Plant.
17=17th Day.
F=June (Month begins with January as "A", February=B, etc.).

Big "G" cereals: The code is based on a color system of a dot on the package top and side. The sequence of colors is—Green, Orange, Black, Red, Blue and Yellow. Then the sequence is repeated.
i.e. Black should be sold before Red, Blue or Yellow.

Nabisco cereals: The code is as follows:
Year—Day of Year.
i.e. 0103=April 13, 1970.
0=1970.
103=103rd day (April 13).

Ralston cereals: The code is as follows:
Year—Month.
i.e. 02=March, 1970.
0=1970.
2=March.
Note:
01=Jan.
—01=Feb.
02=Mar.
—02=Apr.
03=May.
—03=June.
04=Jul.
—04=Aug.
05=Sept.
—05=Oct.
06=Nov.
—06=Dec.

Dry and semi-moist dog foods

Ken-L products: The code is as follows:
Year—Plant—Date—Month.
i.e. 0R05B.
0=1970.
R=Plant.
05=Date.
B=February (Month begins with January as "A", February=B, etc.).

Milkbone: The code is as follows:
Year—Date of year.
i.e. 0103=April 13, 1970.
0=1970.
103=103rd day (April 13).

Friskies: The code is as follows:
Plant—Month—Year—Date.
i.e. JG030=July 30, 1970.
J=Plant.
G=July (Month begins with January as "A", February=B, etc.).
0=1970.
30=30th (This would be a single digit for the first through the ninth).

Ralston: The code is as follows:
Year—Month.
i.e. 01=January, 1970.
Note:
01=Jan.
—01=Feb.
02= Mar.
—02=Apr.
03=May.
—03=Jun.
04=Jul.
—04=Aug.
05=Sept.
—05=Oct.
06=Nov.
—06=Dec.

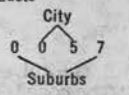
Vets: The code is as follows:
Month—Date—Year.
i.e. 2010=February 1, 1970.
2=February.
01=1st Day.
0=1970.

General Foods: the code is as follows:
Year—Day of Year.
i.e. 0165=June 14, 1970.
0=1970.
165=165th Day of Year (June 14th).

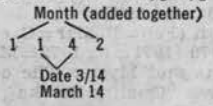
(NOTE.—All dry dog foods have a 6 month shelf life.)

MILK CODES

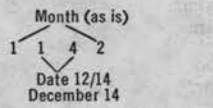
Hillfarm Fluid Milk Products



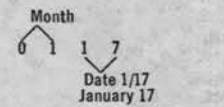
Hillfarm Cottage Cheese Sour Cream Sour ½ & ¼



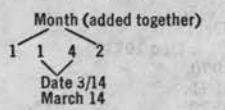
Gaymonts Yogurt



Daisy Brand Yogurt



Topsy Turvy Yogurt



All of the above products are out of code at midnight on the given dates.

JEWEL MAID BREADS, COMMERCIAL BREADS, AND CAKES

Jewel Maid: All Jewel Maid breads which are packaged and sealed with a kwik-lok seal are coded with a color code system. This code has a two-day shelf life which reads as follows:

[In store, code, and out of code]

Monday, red, Wednesday before opening.
Tuesday, white, Thursday before opening.
Wednesday, blue, Friday before opening.
Thursday, red, Saturday before opening.
Friday, white, Sunday before opening.
Saturday, blue, Monday before opening.

All other Jewel breads, rolls, and sweet goods carry a standard Jewel code which consists of four digits. The sum total of the first and four the digits represents the month. The center two digits represent the date of expiration.

Example—Bread coded 8042 is out of code on October 4th.

Brownberry-Catherine Clark's: The tie color indicates the date of pick-up as follows:
Green=Monday.
Red=Tuesday.
Orange=Wednesday.
White=Thursday.
Blue=Friday.
Yellow=Saturday.
Brown=Sunday (Monday Pickup).

Castle: All products have two day code. Castle products will have the same code system as Wards. There are three numbers on each item. Number on the left is the month. The two on the right are the date the product is to be removed from the shelf.

Example—407 means the month (April or October) and the morning of the 7th the product should be picked up. It is not to be sold on the 7th.

[Month and first digit]

January or July	1
February or August	2
March or September	3
April or October	4
May or November	5
June or December	6

The tabs on the poly-bagged products from Castle indicate the day the merchandise was put into the stores:
Monday, pink.
Tuesday, white.
Wednesday, gray.
Thursday, blue.
Friday, green.
Saturday, yellow.

Continental—Wonder Bread: Continental uses a combination of color codes, letter codes, and number codes depending on the item.
Wonder Bread, 2 day code.
English Muffins, 4 day code.
French Rolls, 4 day code.
Bread:

Code, in store, and pick up

W or Red, Monday, Second trip Tuesday.
O or White, Tuesday, Thursday before opening.
N or Blue, Thursday, Saturday before opening.
E or Yellow, Friday, Monday before opening.
R or Green, Saturday, Monday before opening.

English Muffins: Two numbers indicate the last selling day of product. Twelve would be January 12 to be picked up on January 13. Four day code.

Interstate—Butternut Bread (two day code): Ties are used as the code for all bag bread units by color.
White Bread:

Code, in store, and pick up

Black, Monday, 2nd trip Tuesday.
Blue, Tuesday, Thursday morning.
Red, Thursday, Saturday morning.
White, Friday, Monday morning.
Yellow, Saturday, Monday morning.

Variety bread: Pick up code is delivery date plus two. Example—delivery on April 5 would be coded for April 7 and would be picked up that morning. It is not to be sold the day of the seventh.

New Process—Holsum Bread (two day code):

Code, in store, and pick up

Green, Monday, 2nd trip Tuesday.
Yellow, Tuesday, Thursday morning.
Red, Thursday, Saturday morning.
Blue, Friday, Monday morning.
White, Saturday, Monday morning.

New Process—Sweet Rolls:
1. Three digit code—740.
2. Middle number is the month—740 (4=October or April) (1–6 January to June and 1–6 July to December).
3. Transpose the third number 0 in front of the first number 7 to determine the pick-up date (074).

Example—Code 740 would be picked up the morning of October 7th.

Pepperidge Farm: Breads have a two-day shelf life. Dinner rolls have a four or six-day code.

Bread and rolls are coded with a fraction type code which indicates the last day of shelf life on the product. For instance, the code 1/5 would indicate that this item should

be removed from the shelf on the 15th of the current month.

Silvercup: All items carry a two day code. Any bagged bread product is coded by tie color.

Code, in store, and pick up

White, Monday, 2nd delivery Tuesday.
Yellow, Tuesday, Thursday morning.
Blue, Thursday, Saturday morning.
Red, Friday, Monday morning.
Black, Saturday, Monday morning.

Conventional wrap white bread is coded on the end seals.

Code, in store, and pick up

S, Monday, Thursday.
L, Tuesday, Thursday.
V, Thursday, Monday.
E, Friday, Monday.
R, Saturday, Monday.

Ward Baking (Tip Top Breads): All breads on a two day code. All bagged bread from Wards is coded with a colored wire twist tie that closes the bag.

Code, in store, and pick up

Red, Monday, Second delivery Tuesday.
White, Tuesday, Thursday before opening.
Blue, Thursday, Saturday before opening.
Green, Friday, Sunday at closing.
Yellow, Saturday, Monday before opening.

The variety breads not in a bag and all cake items are coded with the expiration date—the bread on the end label and the cake on the label. The method of coding is as follows:

There are three numbers in the labels, the first number indicates the month beginning with the number one in January and graduates to the number six in June. In July it reverts backs to one and goes to number six in December. The remaining two numbers indicate the day due out. For example, the code 310 would indicate the item to be picked up March or September 10th.

Gonnella: All Gonnella bread products carry a one day code. Delivery on one day with pick up on the first delivery of the next day.

McKee Baking—Little Debbie Snack Cakes: On all Little Debbie Cakes there is a quality control number on the bottom of the carton. The last four numbers in this series of numbers refer to the code expiration date. For example, the quality control number—10Y1206 would tell us that this merchandise should be picked up on December 6th. The first two numbers being the month and the last two numbers referring to the day.

Hostess Cakes—(48 hour code on all Hostess cakes):

Code, in store, and pick up

5, Monday, Wednesday A.M.
1, Tuesday, Thursday A.M.
2, Wednesday, Friday A.M.
3, Thursday, Saturday A.M.
4, Friday, Monday A.M.

Hostess pies have the same code except for pecan pies which are delivered on Thursday and Friday and are out of code on Monday A.M.

Dolly Madison Cakes: Dolly Madison runs an eight day code on their merchandise. However, Jewel has a five day code; therefore, subtract three from the code shown on the merchandise.

The Dolly Madison code is as follows: All cake and donut varieties have a two number code—16–23. The first number designates the date the merchandise is to be taken off the market, the second number is insignificant for retail sales.

Example: Merchandise coded 16–23 is taken off the market the 13th of the month according to Jewel's coding requirements. Code 16 indicating pick-up date for Dolly Madison but less three days for Jewel. Pies and donut gems have a one number code—16 which would indicate Jewel's pick-up date to be the 13th (Dolly Madison code less three for Jewel).

Fasano Pies and Cakes: All Fasano pies and cakes have a three day code based on an alphabetical coding system. The first letter represents the month and the last one or two letters refer to the day.

Example—The code CAD would refer to March 14th.

CODE BOOK

This Dairy Department Code Book contains code examples of the dairy products currently available to your store. Jewel's reputation for freshness and quality has been built during the years by adhering to these code policies. Proper rotation and observation of all codes guarantee your customers the best products they can obtain.

There are three (3) basic Jewel codes:

JEWEL CODE

(Expiration date)

Example—1152—March 15

Add the first and last digits for the month of the year. Read the second and third digits for the day of the month.

Remove product from sale the day following the code date.

MANUFACTURING CODE

(With shelf life)

Properly interpreted, the code shown will give you the date the product was packaged. To this date, add the number of "Shelf Life" days shown in the "Unsalable After" column for that product. After that date, remove the product from sale.

MANUFACTURING CODE

(Without shelf life)

Certain cheese items, such as Jewel Fresh Cut Cheese, do not have specified "Shelf Life" days. The code refers to the day of packaging and the product should be removed from sale when mold or other damage occurs.

All the code examples used in this book are designed to read a date of March 31, 1969.

Item and code example	Type	Unsalable after	Salvage code
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 1A			
Butter—All (Jewel code).	E	Code date	V
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 1B			
Margarine:			
Bluebrook (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Imperial	M	90 days	W
Good Luck		120 days	
Imperial Diet (C319X—C = month of year; 31 = day of month; 9 = year; X = plant location).		90 days	
Chiffon	M	do	W
Chiffon Soft (J9CB1—J = plant; 9 = year; C = month of year; 31 = day of month).			
Fleischmann's	E	Code date	Y
Blue Bonnet			
Fleischmann's Soft			
Blue Bonnet Soft (3-31—3 = month; 31 = day of month).			
Allsweet (Jewel code).	M	120 days	Y
Jewel Corn Oil (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Mazola	M	120 days	X
Diet Mazola (C31—C = month; 31 = day of month).			
Parkay	M	150 days	Y
Parkay Soft (90D9 (Kraft code)—90 = day of year; D = plant; 9 = year).			
Southern Roll (90P9—90 = day of year; P = plant; 9 = year).	M	90 days	Z
Wilson Lard (3C111—3=1st digit of day; C=manufacturer; 1=2d digit of day; 13=month of year; (January=11, February=12)).	M	Code date	Z

Item and code example	Type	Unsalable after	Salvage code
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 2A			
Miscellaneous items:			
Cherry Valley orange juice (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Eversweet orange juice (Jewel code).	E	do	Z
Borden orange juice drink	E	do	Z
Tip-n-Whip Topping (No code).		180 days	Z
Sta Wip Dessert Topping (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Gaymonts Sour (3C31—3=plant; C=month; 31=day of month).	E	do	Z
Deans Sour Delite (Jewel code).	E 9	do	X
Cypress Garden Citrus Salad (5C1—CABNS; 5=production shift; C=chilled plant; 1=year (A=1961); C=month of year; AB=day of month; N=plants; S=product).	M		Z
Milrose Fruit Jubilee (M909—M=Michige; 90=day of year; 9=year).	M	90=120 days	Y
Bays English Muffins (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Corkette Cream Garlic Dressing (C=March).	M		W
Sta-Wip Coffee White (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Mother Hubbard Cheese Cake (Jewel code).	E	do	Z
Thor's Cocktail Sauce (090T9—090=day of year; T=plant information; 9=year).	M	100 days	Z
Ricotta Cheese (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Noon Hour Herring (Jewel code).	E	do	Z
Sau Sea Shrimp Cocktail and King Crab Cocktail (3J31—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M	60 days	Z
Noon Hour Horse-Radish (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Iverson Pumpernickel 331—3=month of year; 31=day of month).	M	60 days	Z

Item and code example	Type	Unsalable after	Salvage code
GlenEllyn Horse-Radish (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 2B			
Dough products:			
Pillsbury (March 31).	E	do	Y
Crackin' Good (March 31).	E	do	Y
Borden Biscuits (March 31).	E	do	Y
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 3A AND 3B			
Cream cheese:			
Jewel Cream Cheese (A3 31—A=plant; 3=month of year; 31=day of month).	E	do	Z
Kraft Philadelphia (90D9).	M	60 days	Y
Processed cheese:			
Kraft Processed Cheese (all) (90D9).	M	210 days	Y
Jewel Processed American (0909—090=day of year; 9=year).	M	90 days	Z
Sargento Burger-Cheese (3J31B—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M	120 days	Z
House of Gold Burgercheese (090=day of year).	M	90 days	Z
Fresh cut cheese:			
All Jewel (331—3=month of year; 31=day of month).	M	Mold	Z
Lomke Brick (No code).		do	Z
Stella Boccini (None).		do	Z
Wisconsin Colby Longhorn (90=month).	M	do	Z
Schreiber (all) (090D9—090=day of year; D=plant; 9=year).	M	do	Z
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 4A AND 4B			
Sliced natural cheese:			
Jewel Sliced (all) (3J31C—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M	do	Z
Kraft Sliced (all) (90D9).	M	120 days	Y
Jewel kitchens salads:			
All varieties (Jewel code).	E	Code date	Z
Sealtest Puddings (0331B2—03=month of year; 31=day of month; B2=plant information).	E	do	X
Peter Piper Salads (Jewel code).	E	do	Z
Foil Yeast (P0331—P=pick-up date; 03=month of year; 31=day of month).	E	do	W
Fleischmann's Dry (March 31).	E	do	W
Red Star Yeast (Dry) (March 31).	E	do	W
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 5A AND 5B			
Snack cheese items:			
YeOlde Tavern (all) (03319—03=month of year; 31=day of month; 9=year).	E	do	Z
Gaymonts Dips (C31—C=month; 31=day of month).	E	do	Z
Cheez Whiz (90D9).	M	210 days	Y
Mohawk Valley Limburger (90D9).	M	264 days	
Dean's Spreads (Jewel code).	E	Code date	X
Kraft Jar Spreads (90D9).	M	264 days	Y
Woodys Spreads (3J31—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M	150 days	Z
Chunk cheese:			
Viking Baby Munster (Case code 3-31-9).	M	120 days	Z
Miss Wisconsin (all) (Case code 0331—03 = month of year; 31 = day of month).	M	Mold	Y
Cracker Barrel (all) (90D9).	M	134 days	Y
Maybud Baby Gouda		Mold	Z
Purity Party Edam (None).	M	do	Y
Milwaukee Beer Kaese (0909—090 = day of year; 9 = year).	M	do	Z
Baronet (331—3 = month of year; 31 = day of month).	M	90 days	Z
House of Gold Edam (090 = day of year).			
Semi-perishable cheese:			
Velveeta Kraft American (90D9).	M	154 days	Y
Chef's Delight Loaf (R90E—R = year; 90 = day of year).	M	90 days	Y
Swisstar Plain Gruyere (None).		Mold	Z
Zingg Variety Gruyere		do	Z
Eagle Brand Neufchatel (A3 31—A = plant; 3 = month of year; 31 = day of month).	E	Code date	Y
Kraft Whipped Cream Cheese (90D9).	M	120 days	Y
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 6A AND 6B			
Grated cheese:			
Kraft Grated (all) (90D9).	M	210 days	Y
Stella Grated (all) (3 9—C = month of year; 9 = year).	M	180 days	Z
Pizza cheese:			
Frigo Scamorze (090=day of year).	M	90 days	Z
Stella, Shredded 909—90=day of year; 9=year).	M	90 days	Z
Snack cheese items:			
Stell Blue Cheese, Sticks (909—90=day of year; 9=year).	M	do	Z
Camembert Lierderkranz (March 31).	E	Code date	Y
Miss Wisconsin Blue (Jewel code).	E	do	Y
Kraft Limburger (90D9).	E	120 days	
Kraft Party Dips (90D9).	M	154 days	Y
Dorman Sliced Smoked 3J31—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M	Mold	Z
Swisstar Sliced Swiss Danistar Tilsitter (33169—3=month of year; 31=day of month; 69 =year).	M	do	Z
Louis Rigal Roquefort (90D9).	M	do	Y
Frenstar Roquefort Danistar Blue Cheese (None).		do	Z
Gold Crown Port Salute (None).		do	Z
Bonbel Wedge (None).		do	Z
Sargento Variety Pack 3J31—3=month of year; J=year; 31=day of month).	M		
Austrian Alps Cheese (None).		do	Z
ORDER GUIDE PAGE 7			
Eggs (all) (Jewel code).	E	Code date	V

Note: All code dates are designed to show an expiration date of Mar. 31, 1969.

CODE DATE

Day of month	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
1	0.001	0.032	0.060	0.091	0.121	0.152	0.182	0.213	0.244	0.274	0.305	0.335
2	.002	.033	.061	.092	.122	.153	.183	.214	.245	.275	.306	.336
3	.003	.034	.062	.093	.123	.154	.184	.215	.246	.276	.307	.337
4	.004	.035	.063	.094	.124	.155	.185	.216	.247	.277	.308	.338
5	.005	.036	.064	.095	.125	.156	.186	.217	.248	.278	.309	.339
6	.006	.037	.065	.096	.126	.157	.187	.218	.249	.279	.310	.340
7	.007	.038	.066	.097	.127	.158	.188	.219	.250	.280	.311	.341
8	.008	.039	.067	.098	.128	.159	.189	.220	.251	.281	.312	.342
9	.009	.040	.068	.099	.129	.160	.190	.221	.252	.282	.313	.343
10	.010	.041	.069	.100	.130	.161	.191	.222	.253	.283	.314	.344
11	.011	.042	.070	.101	.131	.162	.192	.223	.254	.284	.315	.345
12	.012	.043	.071	.102	.132	.163	.193	.224	.255	.285	.316	.346
13	.013	.044	.072	.103	.133	.164	.194	.225	.256	.286	.317	.347
14	.014	.045	.073	.104	.134	.165	.195	.226	.257	.287	.318	.348
15	.015	.046	.074	.105	.135	.166	.196	.227	.258	.288	.319	.349
16	.016	.047	.075	.106	.136	.167	.197	.228	.259	.289	.320	.350
17	.017	.048	.076	.107	.137	.168	.198	.229	.260	.290	.321	.351
18	.018	.049	.077	.108	.138	.169	.199	.230	.261	.291	.322	.352
19	.019	.050	.078	.109	.139	.170	.200	.231	.262	.292	.323	.353
20	.020	.051	.079	.110	.140	.171	.201	.232	.263	.293	.324	.354
21	.021	.052	.080	.111	.141	.172	.202	.233	.264	.294	.325	.355

CODE DATE—Continued

Day of month	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
22	0.022	0.053	0.081	0.112	0.142	0.173	0.203	0.234	0.265	0.295	0.326	0.356
23	.023	.054	.082	.113	.143	.174	.204	.235	.266	.296	.327	.357
24	.024	.055	.083	.114	.144	.175	.205	.236	.267	.297	.328	.358
25	.025	.056	.084	.115	.145	.176	.206	.237	.268	.298	.329	.359
26	.026	.057	.085	.116	.146	.177	.207	.238	.269	.299	.330	.360
27	.027	.058	.086	.117	.147	.178	.208	.239	.270	.300	.331	.361
28	.028	.059	.087	.118	.148	.179	.209	.240	.271	.301	.332	.362
29	.029	----------	.088	.119	.149	.180	.210	.241	.272	.302	.333	.363
30	.030	----------	.089	.210	.150	.181	.211	.242	.273	.303	.334	.364
31	.031	----------	.090	----------	.151	----------	.212	.243	----------	.304	.335	.365

Note: During leap year (i.e. 1968) add 1 day to any day after February 28 to determine "pull" date. Example: March 1st=60th day of year; in leap year it would be the 61st day of the year.

JEWEL FOOD STORES,
Melrose Park, Ill., July 23, 1970.

Mr. ELLIS LEVIN,
Care of Hon. LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LEVIN: In reference to your request to Robert Jones for copies of our Rotation Guide and Code Book, I must inform you that it is not our policy to distribute this book to anyone outside our employees and as reference copies in our stores for the following reasons:

This information—including our own codes, those codes supplied to us by manufacturers, and our product Rotation—to the best of our knowledge is applicable only to Jewel Food Stores, and therefore, not relevant for any other store.

Codes are subject to frequent change and we cannot be responsible for maintaining the accuracy of books that are not in our possession.

The manufacturers' codes contained in the books apply to products in our stores and are not necessarily the same for other stores and all areas.

These books have been prepared for the use of our store personnel and our customers and are not intended to be, nor should we make them available for any use which might enable them to be, used in any way that might raise questions about codes on merchandise that might be found in stores of our competitors.

Also, there is the possibility of typographical errors in the book and we do not wish to distribute erroneous information.

While it is not possible to comply with your request for a copy of the Rotation Guide and Code Book, we will attempt to answer any specific questions which you might have with reference to this publication.

We appreciate your interest in our Code Information program.

Sincerely,

WM. H. NEWBY,
Director, Public Relations.

JEWEL COMPANIES, INC.,
Melrose Park, Ill., July 15, 1970.

Hon. LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
Member of Congress, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FARBSTEIN: Enclosed is information regarding the Jewel Food Store's coding education program which I indicated in a recent letter would be forthcoming. In short, it will provide in-store reference information for customers in the form of signs explaining codes in four departments—Fresh Meats, Processed Meats, Dairy and Snacks—as well as making available for customer use a code reference book listing all codes of Jewel and other food manufacturers whose products are sold at Jewel. This coding information is designed to enable customers to personally check freshness so they may be assured of selecting only the best food for their families.

I hope the enclosed information explaining the Jewel coding program will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

DONALD S. PERKINS.

JEWEL ANNOUNCES CODE INFORMATION PROGRAM

"Freshness is a Jewel tradition," Harry G. Beckner, Jewel Food Store President stated in announcing the inauguration today of in-store code dating reference information for customers.

Jewel is the first major food store group in the nation to initiate a coding educational program for consumers. The program, to be an expanding and continuing effort, starts this week with signs explaining codes in four departments—Fresh Meats, Dairy and Snacks. Specific examples used are actual fresh meat, bacon, hot dogs, refrigerated biscuits, butter, potato chips and pretzel rings.

In addition, a code reference book listing all codes of both Jewel and other food manufacturers whose products are sold at Jewel is available for customer use at the Customer Service Desk. This code book is organized by merchandising groups and lists code explanations by brands, indicating whether the code is the date of manufacture or the expiration date for sale of the product.

Beginning Thursday, July 9th, a series of weekly ads will direct attention to coding information.

Beckner stressed the fact that freshness of the items offered customers has long been a concern of Jewel, the company philosophy being customers should be able to purchase merchandise with confidence that it is fresh. He further pledged that it is Jewel's responsibility to take every precaution to make certain nothing but fresh, wholesome food is offered for sale. "Coding systems are the key to controlling freshness and Jewel strictly observes the codes," Beckner continued.

The consumer educational program announced today is designed to enable customers to personally check freshness so they may be assured they are selecting only the best for their families.

"Efforts are currently underway in cooperation with manufacturers to supply and standardize coding procedures so both customers and store personnel will find it even easier to recognize coding information and be guaranteed product freshness," Beckner concluded.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 10, 1970]

JEWEL DECODES SYSTEMS FOR DATING FOOD

(By Camille Jilke)

Jewel Food Stores announced Thursday it will translate the codes that food companies use to indicate the freshness of a product.

Joseph F. Grimes, Jewel's vice president of sales, said customers would be able to determine for themselves whether food was outdated. He said Jewel would discard any outdated food customers found.

An aide to Rep. Leonard Farbstein (D-N.Y.), who has introduced legislation that would require simple dates, said Jewel is the first major food-store chain in the nation to translate the codes for customers.

Grimes said the codes of some of the most popular items in the fresh meats, processed meat, dairy and snack departments will be explained on signs in the stores.

He said books listing the codes of all products sold at Jewel will be available to use at customer service desks.

The codes indicate to retail stores the date a food product was manufactured or the date it should be taken off the shelf.

For example, a Nabisco pretzel box that has "1L103" written on it was manufactured by shift 1 at plant L on the 103d day of the year, or April 13.

For Jewel Maid bread with "kwik-lok" seals, the color of the seal indicates the day of delivery.

The symbol "0057" on a Hillfarm milk carton means the milk should be taken off the shelf at midnight on the fifth (05) day (middle two digits) of the month in Chicago or the seventh (07) day (first and fourth digits) in the suburbs.

At a press conference at Jewel headquarters, in Melrose Park, Grimes said Jewel has strictly observed the codes even though they were unknown by the public.

Grimes said he did not expect translation of the codes to result in the sales of only the freshest merchandise.

Farbstein's proposed legislation would require labels on all food that could deteriorate to have clear letters and numbers announcing the last day the item would be safe to sell.

Ellis Levin, Farbstein's legislaitve assistant, said the legislation would cost nothing to enforce because consumers would enforce it.

Levin said his investigation showed outdated food is sold throughout the country to all socio-economic levels.

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 10, 1970]

JEWEL TO LET BUYERS IN ON STOCK CODES

Shoppers who have been curious about the meaning of cryptic letters and numbers stamped on grocery products they buy will be let in on some secrets by Jewel Food Stores.

Jewel, stating it is the first major chain in the country to do so, announced yesterday that it is initiating an educational program in all its stores this week to explain some of the codes to its customers.

CONCERNED ABOUT CONCERN

Joseph A. Grimes, vice president for sales, said that the action was being taken to minimize any concerns that consumers might have about product freshness.

"We need to make it clear to the shopper that she shouldn't have her confidence shaken," said Grimes.

Every supermarket item carries a code of some type, Grimes said, and Jewel customers will be able to check their meaning in a master "rotation guide and code book" at customer service desks.

SIGNS TO BE POSTED

Specific informational signs on coding are being posted in four departments to initiate the program on a product basis, he said. These are for fresh meats, processed meats, dairy and snacks. The number 4113 stamped on a package of Jewel hot dogs means that the product should be removed from the shelf by July 11.

The date is determined by adding the first and fourth digits, the 4 and the 3, to arrive at the seventh month, July, and by not adding the second and third digits to get the 11th day of the month.

Another sample of Jewel's freshness coding was Pillsbury dough products, which are stamped at the manufacturing plant with a visible selling expiration date.

Officials said efforts currently are under way in cooperation with manufacturers to supply and standardize coding procedures so both customers and store personnel will find them easier to recognize.

OTHERS TO BE ADDED

Other items will be added to the four initial departments as customer interest warrants, they said.

Jewel's master code book shows how complicated the situation is. Not only do different manufacturers in the same product line have different codes, but they change them from time to time.

Some represent the day of manufacturing, others the pickup date, or the plant number, or the shelf life.

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 9, 1970]

FOOD-PACKAGE CODES: STORES BARE TRADE SECRETS

(By Isabel Du Bois)

Jewel Food Stores Thursday began opening up some trade secrets to housewives—how to interpret the code dating on food packages.

Harry G. Beckner, Jewel president, said, "in-store code dating reference information" charts have been posted throughout Jewel stores.

"We're the first major food store group in the nation to initiate a coding educational program for consumers," Beckner said.

Charts explaining the coding system are displayed in various departments.

Here's how the system works:

A housewife picks up a package of hot dogs and discovers the code date is 4113. To find out what that means, she must add the first and last digits, which together represent the month of the year, in this case 7 or July. The 11 represents the day of the month by which the product must be removed from the shelf.

To be certain she is getting fresh bread, the housewife must turn to a color code, a seal on the end of the package.

Red means Monday, white Tuesday, blue Wednesday, red Thursday, white Friday and blue Saturday.

The decoding information will be available for all of Jewel's own products, Beckner said.

In addition, shoppers may check a code reference book listing all codes of all food manufacturers whose products are sold by Jewel.

The book, available at customer service desks, indicates whether the code is the date of manufacture or packaging or the expiration date for the sale of the product.

"Coding systems are the key to controlling freshness," Beckner said.

[From the Chicago Today, July 9, 1970]

SHOPPING A FRESH BALL GAME

Jewel Food stores announced a program today to enable their customers to tell how fresh a product is by reading coded dates on cans and boxes.

Jewel President Harry G. Beckner said the chain will begin a coding education effort employing signs in stores, advertisements and code reference books available at customer service desks.

The code books list explanation by brand, indicating whether the code is the date of manufacture or the expiration date after which the product should not be sold, Beckner said.

This week, signs in stores will provide code translations in four departments—fresh meats, processed meats, dairy products and snack products, Beckner said at a press conference at Jewel headquarters, 1955 North av., Melrose Park.

Codes have appeared on food products for many years to indicate when freshness will expire, or to cite the date of manufacture. They are designed to help retail food store personnel regulate product freshness.

Joseph Grimes, Jewel vice president of sales, said Jewel's code educational program was not started to relieve stores of product freshness responsibility.

"We're just trying to help the customer understand the codes," Grimes said.

Jewel is the first major food store chain in the nation to offer a code educational program for customers. Beckner said:

"Efforts are under way to cooperate with manufacturers to supply and standardize coding procedures, so both customers and store personnel will find it even easier to recognize coding information and be guaranteed product freshness.'

REPLY OF CONGRESSMAN LEONARD FARBSTEIN, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, TO WMAQ RADIO EDITORIAL

Radio station WMAQ recently carried an editorial praising Jewel Food Stores for making food coding information available to the customer.

While I fully share this station's view of the supermarket's move in making codes understandable, I do not think they went as far as they could have in making this information available in a form in which the shopper can readily use it.

With a few exceptions, all the codes and their translations are being listed by the store in a book on the customer service desk, far from the items themselves. Why are not all codes made understandable on the package itself? I doubt if more than a few customers will regularly use the information contained in the books.

The stores should clearly stamp the last date the food item could be sold on the label.

This is what legislation which 59 other Congressmen joined me introducing calls for, and what a petition I filed with the Federal Trade Commission asks.

If Jewel is sincere about making food freshness information available to the customer, it will not only adopt open dating for its own items, but will fight for government action to require it on all packaged foods.

BROADCAST BY MR. HARRY D. JACOBS, JR., GENERAL MANAGER

You should know when you are buying stale, unappetizing and potentially unsafe food products. Store managers know by coding information when a particular can or package should be taken off the shelf. But they have kept the code a secret, and with no way for the customer to check, food products have been known to stay on store shelves long past the expiration date. WMAQ believes all food stores should make this coding information available to their customers. But so far only one, the Jewel supermarket chain, has done so. Last week it announced that effective immediately managers would make decoding information available to customers on request. Stores have frequently argued that to do so would increase already rising food prices. Jewel executives say "no," rather that store operations will become more efficient.

WMAQ Radio urges those of you who shop at Jewel to use the decoding information and to let the manager know you appreciate it. We also urge those of you who shop at another store to ask the manager for their decoding information.

It's the best way to be sure the food you buy is fresh.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. MAILLIARD, for next week, on account of official business.

Mr. GRAY (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SCHERLE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MILLER of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOREMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WATSON, for 10 minutes, on August 6.

Mr. BUSH, for 10 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. STOKES), to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter to:)

Mr. FARBSTEIN, today, for 20 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD, today, for 15 minutes.

Mr. HAMILTON, today, for 10 minutes.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, today, for 10 minutes.

Mr. YATRON, today, for 15 minutes.

Mr. MATSUNAGA, today, for 10 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN, on August 6 for 20 minutes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. MCMILLAN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SISK, to include extraneous material in connection with the debate on the farm bill.

Mrs. DWYER, following Mr. CONTE's remarks in the Committee of the Whole today on the Conte-Findley substitute amendment.

Mr. FISH, following Mr. CONTE's remarks in the Committee of the Whole today on the Conte-Findley substitute amendment.

Mr. BOLAND, to revise and extend his remarks immediately prior to the vote on the Findley amendment.

Mr. NELSEN to extend his remarks following those of Mr. ZWACH, with respect to the CCC release price, today.

All Members (at the request of Mr. SCHERLE) 1 legislative day to revise and extend their remarks on the subject matter of Mr. BUSH's special order, today.

Mr. RANDALL to revise and extend his remarks prior to the vote in Committee of the Whole on amendment offered by Mr. ZWACH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SCHERLE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SPRINGER.
Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia.
Mr. GUDE.
Mr. BLACKBURN in five instances.
Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania in 10 instances.
Mr. HOGAN.
Mr. ADAIR.
Mr. BOB WILSON in two instances.
Mr. JONAS.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. ESCH.
Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN.
Mr. WOLD in three instances.
Mr. LANGEN in two instances.
Mr. NELSEN.
Mr. REID of New York.
Mr. BIESTER.
Mr. MYERS in two instances.
Mr. HALL.
Mr. FOREMAN.
Mr. HORTON.
Mr. DERWINSKI.
Mr. BUSH.
Mr. ASHBROOK.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. STOKES), and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado in two instances.
Mr. HULL.
Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts in two instances.
Mr. BOGGS.
Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI.
Mr. NIX.
Mr. PATTEN in two instances.
Mr. LOWENSTEIN in six instances.
Mr. O'HARA.
Mr. WOLFF.
Mr. GALLAGHER.
Mr. HOWARD.
Mr. JOHNSON of California in two instances.
Mr. RODINO.
Mr. GONZALEZ.
Mr. PICKLE in two instances.
Mr. GIAIMO in two instances.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 14114. An act to improve the administration of the national park system by the Secretary of the Interior, and to clarify the authorities applicable to the system, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 14705. An act to extend and improve the Federal-State unemployment compensation program.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1703. An act for the relief of Rosa Pintabona;

S. 1704. An act for the relief of Lillian Biazzo;

S. 2427. An act for the relief of Cal C. Davis and Lyndon A. Dean;

S. 2863. An act for the relief of Mrs. Cumorah Kennington Romney; and

S. 3136. An act to confer United States citizenship posthumously upon Guy Andre Blanchette.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1453. An act for the relief of Capt. Melvin A. Kaye;

H.R. 1697. An act for the relief of Jack Brown;

H.R. 1703. An act for the relief of the Clayton County Journal and Wilber Harris;

H.R. 1728. An act for the relief of Capt. Norman W. Stanley;

H.R. 2209. An act for the relief of Carlo DeMarco;

H.R. 2241. An act for the relief of John T. Anderson;

H.R. 2407. An act for the relief of Elbert C. Moore;

H.R. 2458. An act for the relief of Frank J. Enright;

H.R. 2481. An act for the relief of Commander John W. McCord;

H.R. 2950. An act for the relief of Edwin E. Fulk;

H.R. 3558. An act for the relief of Thomas A. Smith;

H.R. 3723. An act for the relief of Robert G. Smith;

H.R. 5337. An act for the relief of the late Albert E. Nameson, Jr.;

H.R. 6375. An act for the relief of Amalia P. Montero;

H.R. 6377. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Earl Spofford Brown, U.S. Army Reserve (retired);

H.R. 6850. An act for the relief of Maj. Clyde Nichols (retired);

H.R. 9092. An act for the relief of Thomas J. Condon;

H.R. 9591. An act for the relief of Elgie L. Tabor;

H.R. 10662. An act for the relief of Walter L. Parker;

H.R. 11890. An act for the relief of T. Sgt. Peter Elias Gianutsos, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12176. An act for the relief of Bly D. Dickson, Jr.;

H.R. 12622. An act for the relief of Russell L. Chandler;

H.R. 12887. An act for the relief of John A. Avdeef;

H.R. 15118. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of Ohio Northern University;

H.R. 15354. An act for the relief of Anthony P. Miller, Inc.; and

H.R. 17548. An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, August 6, 1970, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2278. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting reports of violations of section 3679 of the Revised Statutes, pursuant to the provisions of section 3679(i)(2), Revised Statutes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

2279. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a report on professional and scientific positions established in the administration as of June 30, 1970, under the authority provided in 72 Stat. 426, 429, pursuant to 75 Stat. 785, 791; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

2280. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report on Department of the Interior grants to nonprofit institutions and organizations for support of scientific research programs during calendar year 1969, pursuant to section 3 of Public Law 85–934; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

RECEIVED FROM THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

2281. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the assurances needed that the cost of the Celilo-Mead transmission line project will be recovered by the Department of Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 1065. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on the Judiciary (Rept. No. 91–1376). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 1115. Resolution authorizing expenditures incurred by the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures to be paid from the contingent fund of the House; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91–1377). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 1117. Resolution relating to the compensation of two positions created by House Resolution 543, 89th Congress (Rept. No. 91–1378). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Resolution 1145. Resolution providing funds for the operation of the Select Committee on Small Business (Rept. No. 91–1379). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HAYS: Committee on House Administration. House Concurrent Resolution 679. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of "Education in Israel" for use of the Select Subcommittee on Education; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91–1380). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 18801. A bill to amend section 826b of the act of March 3, 1901 (D.C. Code, sec. 22–2204), to cover unauthorized use of vehicles by a bailee; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN (for himself and Mr. MAILLIARD):

H.R. 18802. A bill to strengthen the penalties for illegal fishing in the territorial waters and the contiguous fishery zone of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 18803. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to provide for a middecade census of population in the year 1975 and every 10 years thereafter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SPRINGER (for himself, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. MORTON, and Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina):

H.R. 18804. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for television broadcasting of certain evening proceedings of the Houses of Congress; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H.R. 18805. A bill to repeal chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code (relating to firearms), to reenact the Federal Firearms Act, and to restore chapter 53 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect before its amendment by the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYDLER:

H.R. 18806. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the control and abatement of pollution by aircraft, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 18807. A bill to assure performance of obligations undertaken by operators of international tour groups; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROWN of Michigan (for himself and Mr. VANDER JAGT):

H.R. 18808. A bill to establish improved programs for the benefit of producers and consumers of dairy products and wool, and to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DELLENBACK:

H.R. 18809. A bill to strengthen the penalties for illegal fishing in the territorial waters and the contiguous fishery zone of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 18810. A bill to provide partial reimbursement for losses incurred by commercial fishermen, as well as allied sport fishing camps, as a result of restrictions imposed on domestic fishing by a State or the Federal Government; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 18811. A bill to extend for 2 months the period within which the Secretary of Commerce is required to report the decennial census tabulation of total population by States for the apportionment of Representatives; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 18812. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to establish an equitable survivors' annuity plan for the uniformed services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. PEPPER (for himself, Mr. ANDERSON of California, Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BURKE of Florida, Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. DOWDY, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. FRASER, Mr. GALLAGHER, Mr. GILBERT, Mr. HANLEY, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. HICKS, Mr. HELSTOSKI, and Mr. HOWARD):

H.R. 18813. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide grants to States for the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of low-cost meal programs, nutrition training and education programs, opportunity for social contacts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PEPPER (for himself, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. KYROS, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. NIX, Mr. SCHWENGEL, Mr. SEBELIUS, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. VANIK, Mr. WEICKER, and Mr. WRIGHT):

H.R. 18814. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide grants to States for the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of low-cost meal programs, nutrition training and education programs, opportunity for social contacts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 18815. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize educational assistance and home loan benefits to wives of members of the Armed Forces who are missing in action or prisoners of war; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 18816. A bill to establish the statutory maximum interest rate at 6 percent for Veterans' Administration guaranteed and direct loans and to expand authority to make direct loans to veterans where private capital is unavailable at the statutory interest rate; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 18817. A bill to amend section 1811 of title 38, United States Code, to raise the limit on the amount of direct housing loans which may be made by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 18818. A bill to provide veterans residing 100 miles or more from Veterans' Administration facilities the option to receive hospital care in facilities other than Veterans' Administration facilities, and for other purposes, to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 18819. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to provide additional beds and special units in Veterans' Administration hospitals for the care and treatment of veterans afflicted with alcoholism or drug addiction, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 18820. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide improved medical care to veterans; to provide hospital and medical care to certain dependents and survivors of veterans; to improve recruitment and retention of career personnel in the Department of Medicine and Surgery; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF (for himself, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BRASCO, Mr. LOWENSTEIN, and Mr. ROSENTHAL):

H.R. 18821. A bill to provide for a program of Federal financial assistance for the installation of noise suppression devices on aircraft to suppress aircraft noise pollution; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 18822. A bill to strengthen the penalties for illegal fishing in the territorial waters and the contiguous fishery zone of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FISH (for himself, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. SMITH of New York, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. HORTON, Mr. PIRNIE, Mr. BUTTON, and Mr. ROBISON):

H.R. 18823. A bill to establish an improved program for the benefit of producers and consumers of dairy products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 18824. A bill to elevate status of U.S. military personnel and develop a voluntary system of meeting U.S. military manpower needs; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 18825. A bill to exempt from certain deep-draft safety statutes passenger vessels operating solely on the inland rivers and waterways; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. JACOBS:

H.R. 18826. A bill to amend the act of July 16, 1914, to limit the number of chauffeur-driven passenger motor vehicles provided officers of the Federal Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MacGREGOR:

H.R. 18827. A bill to establish within the Department of the Interior the position of an additional Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 18828. A bill to amend certain laws relating to Indians; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 18829. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the treatment of certain uncompensated services of attorneys and physicians; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD:

H.R. 18830. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that no Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary facility shall be constructed, acquired, or altered unless such action is first approved by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WAMPLER:

H.R. 18831. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to encourage physicians, dentists, optometrists, and other medical personnel to practice in areas where shortages of such personnel exist, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WHALLEY (for himself, Mr. GOODLING, and Mr. REIFEL):

H.R. 18832. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Carlisle Indian School National Monument in Carlisle, Pa.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ZION:

H.R. 18833. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for medical and hospital care through a system of voluntary health insurance financed in whole for low-income groups, through issuance of certificates, and in part for all other persons through allowance of tax credits, and to provide a system of peer review of utilization, charges, and quality of medical service; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BELCHER (for himself, Mr. STEED, Mr. JARMAN, Mr. EDMONDSON, and Mr. CAMP):

H.J. Res. 1342. Joint resolution to proclaim "National Good Grooming Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.J. Res. 1343. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H. Con. Res. 699. Concurrent resolution to provide for a joint session of Congress to discuss problems relating to U.S. citizens who are being held as prisoners of war in foreign countries; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H. Res. 1171. Resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives that the U.S. maintain its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H. Res. 1172. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of the care of the aged in the United States and the effects of Federal laws and programs on the availability and quality of care; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PATTEN (for himself, Mr. ABBITT, Mr. ADDABBO; Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN, Mr. CLARK, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. FARBSTEIN, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. HAYS, Mr. MCKNEALLY, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. REES, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ANNUNZIO,

Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. ROE, and Mr. LEGGETT):

H. Res. 1173. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to balance of power in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BUSH (for himself, Mr. PRICE of Texas, Mr. BELCHER, Mr. BURLESON of Texas, Mr. BURTON of Utah, Mr. CABELL, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. EDMONDSON, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FOREMAN, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Mr. MAHON, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. POAGE, Mr. PURCELL, Mr. SEBELIUS, Mr. SHRIVER, and Mr. WOLD):

H. Res. 1174. Resolution relating to the protection of consumer supply of natural gas; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LUKENS:

H. Res. 1175. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to balance of power in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. VAN DEERLIN introduced a bill (H.R. 18834) for the relief of Karl E. Neathammer, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ENFORCED BUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN VIRGINIA

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 5, 1970

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I can say with candor that rarely, if ever, during my 23 years in public office have I seen the people of Virginia so disturbed and so embittered as they are about the prospective compulsory busing of children away from their neighborhood schools.

I feel that it is the obligation of the Department of Justice to support the expressed will of Congress in opposition to enforced busing.

A prohibition against enforced busing was included in the Education Appropriation Act of 1970 approved last week by Congress and now awaiting final action by the President.

It is of great significance that Congress last week spoke loudly and clearly. This makes timely, I feel, a letter which I wrote to the Attorney General of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that my letter of August 4, 1970, addressed to the Honorable John N. Mitchell, the Attorney General, be published in Extensions of Remarks.

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

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., August 4, 1970.

Hon. JOHN N. MITCHELL,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: The crisis in the school situation in Virginia has reached such serious proportions as to require immediate action by the Department of Justice.

There are seven Federal court suits now pending against school boards, including major ones in Richmond, Norfolk, Lynchburg and Roanoke. In at least four of these suits the compulsory busing of children away from their neighborhood schools is the central issue.

It hardly need be said that the school systems involved are threatened with chaotic conditions. No one knows in these communities how or what to plan for the new school year which opens in September. Indeed, no one knows whether the schools will be able to open and operate as required by the constitution and laws of Virginia.

No thoughtful Virginian seeks to reopen the basic issue resolved by *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. Desegregation is the policy of our Virginia schools and this has been progressing in an orderly manner, and on a substantial scale, predicated primarily on a freedom of choice program which accorded to each child and his parents a reasonable option.

Now that such programs have been held invalid in southern states, the demand is for instant and complete racial mixing without regard to neighborhood patterns, the availability of school and transportation facilities, or the deep feelings of the parents and children concerned. The proposed method of accomplishing this end is by the arbitrary uprooting and busing of children.

Moreover, when the enforced mixing of races pursuant to a prescribed formula becomes the dominant end of public education—as now appears to be the objective—we are witnessing a perversion of the educational processes. These processes have been developed with great care and cost. They have been of great benefit to the community and country.

The Congress, recognizing all of this, has at least twice recorded its opposition to achieving racial balance by enforced busing. In the 1964 Act authorizing suits by the Attorney General (upon receipt of a complaint), the Congress provided:

". . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance . . ." 42 U.S.C.A. 2000c-6.

A similar prohibition against enforced busing was included in the Education Appropriation Act of 1970 approved last week by the Congress and now awaiting final action by the President. Section 209 states:

"No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force any school or school district . . . to take any action to force the busing of students; . . . or to force the transfer or assignment of any student . . . to or from a particular school over the protest of his or her parents or parent."

It is of great significance that the Congress last week spoke loudly and clearly. This makes timely, I feel, this letter to you.

It is my understanding that President Nixon also has expressed the opposition of the Executive Branch of the government to this form of coercion.

Finally, I am informed that the Supreme Court has not held that the Constitution requires any such action.

We thus appear to be in a most remarkable posture.

The Legislative and Executive Branches of the Federal Government oppose enforced busing. The Supreme Court has not held that this is required by the Constitution. Yet lower Federal courts continue to decree busing in the South, and in my state of Virginia, there appears to be every prospect of enforced busing decrees becoming effective any day.

Is there such a state of paralysis in the Government that the expressed will of the Congress and the President is not being enforced—at a time when public education, the rights of citizens, and, indeed, the well-being of our communities are endangered?

1. *Oppose enforced busing.* I respectfully request that you, on behalf of the United States, take appropriate action in the Virginia cases to oppose the enforced busing of children (i) as being a denial of the constitutional rights of such children and their parents, and (ii) as being contrary to the will of the Congress as expressed in the Acts above cited.

2. *End the double standard.* It is time, in the interest of elementary fairness and of assuring a renewal of respect for our system of "equal justice under the law", that the double standard with respect to school integration be ended.

That such legally enforced hypocrisy exists, no one doubts—as Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut so eloquently stated some months ago. The legal standards with respect to school integration should be the same in all states. There can be no moral or legal justification for one vindicative set of rules in the South and a different and a much more lenient set of rules for other areas of the country.

The Department of Justice is the agency of the government most responsible for assuring both equal justice and respect for law. I respectfully request that you take such steps as may be necessary to bring an end to this unprecedented double standard which so degrades the quality of justice in our country.

More specifically, I feel that it is the obligation of the Department of Justice to support the expressed will of the Congress in opposition to enforced busing.

I am informed that the Justice Department is a party to the Norfolk Suit. It is not my purpose to comment on any particular litigation but rather to address the overriding principles with which I am concerned. If, as I believe, the Justice Department has not yet taken a strong and unequivocal position against enforced busing and against the double standard, it is urgently necessary that you do so now. This is necessary to resolve the conflicting and chaotic condition being imposed upon public education, and also to sustain and implement the expressed will of the Legislative and Executive Branches of government.

In recent years, the Justice Department has been imaginative and innovative in making its voice heard effectively on behalf of civil rights. The issue here involved is one of basic civil rights—of both white and black pupils—not to be forced, against their wills, to be transported away from their own neighborhood schools to accomplish arbitrary and theoretical concepts of enforced racial mixing.

I can say with candor that rarely if ever, during my long public service, have I seen the people of my state so disturbed, frustrated and embittered. This public attitude does not reflect—certainly to any major extent—opposition to racial integration of the schools.

This unprecedented opposition results, rather, from the traditional American resentment of (i) extraordinary invasion of personal liberty, (ii) enforced separation of children from neighborhood life and activity, and (iii) a policy so widely regarded as