when retired, pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, Section 5233.

Rear Adm. Charles S. Minter, Jr., U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, December 22, 1970*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men.—Luke 2: 14.

O God, to whom glory is sung in the highest, while on earth peace is proclaimed to men of good will, we bow before Thee with hearts overflowing with gratitude for the coming of Christ into our world. May He—

"Cast out our sin and enter in.
Be born in us today."

Like the shepherds may we in spirit kneel before the manger child in wonder, love, and praise. Like the wise men may we follow the star that shines forever in our sky and like them offer Him the gifts of our love. In truth may we make room for Him in all our hearts through all our days.

In His holy name we pray. Amen.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 444]

Abbitt	Conyers	Hungate
Adair	Corbett	Jarman
Alexander	Cowger	Johnson, Calif.
Andrews, Ala.	Daddario	Johnson, Pa.
Andrews, N. Dak.	Delaney	Karth
Ashley	Denney	Landrum
Aspinall	Cramer	Langen
Ayres	Dent	Latta
Baring	Diggs	Leggett
Barrett	Dingell	Lennon
Bell, Calif.	Dowdy	Long, La.
Berry	Dulski	Lowenstein
Biaggi	Dwyer	Lujan
Blanton	Edwards, Calif.	Lukens
Blatnik	Edwards, La.	McCarthy
Brasco	Esch	McClory
Brock	Evins, Tenn.	McCulloch
Brooks	Fallon	McDade
Broomfield	Farbstein	McDonald, Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.	Fascell	McKneally
Burke, Fla.	Ford, William D.	Martin
Burlison, Mo.	Fountain	Mathias
Burton, Utah	Friedel	May
Button	Fulton, Tenn.	Meskill
Caffery	Gettys	Michel
Camp	Giaimo	Mikva
Carey	Gibbons	Miller, Calif.
Cederberg	Gilbert	Mills
Celler	Gray	Minshall
Chappell	Griffiths	Mize
Chisholm	Gubser	Monagan
Clancy	Haley	Montgomery
Clark	Hall	Moorhead
Clausen, Don H.	Halpern	Morton
Clawson, Del	Hanley	Moss
Clay	Hébert	Murphy, Ill.
Collins, Ill.	Henderson	O'Konski
	Hull	Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.	Roudebush	Steiger, Ariz.
Ottinger	Rousselot	Stephens
Passman	Ruppe	Stratton
Patman	Ruth	Sullivan
Pelly	St Germain	Symington
Pepper	Saylor	Tunney
Pettis	Schadeberg	Waggonner
Pike	Scherle	Whalley
Powell	Scheuer	Winn
Pryor, Ark.	Shipley	Wold
Quie	Sikes	Wolff
Rarick	Smith, N.Y.	Wyatt
Reifel	Snyder	Wydler
Rivers	Steele	Zwach

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 278 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Without objection, further proceedings under the call will be dispensed with.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to dispensing with further proceedings under the call.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ALBERT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ALBERT).

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

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. The Chair will state that the rollcall has just disclosed a quorum is present.

So the motion was agreed to.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I demand that the Journal be read in full.

The Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GROSS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 445]

Abbitt	Aspinall	Blatnik
Adair	Ayres	Brademas
Addabbo	Baring	Brasco
Alexander	Barrett	Brock
Andrews, Ala.	Beall, Md.	Brooks
Andrews, N. Dak.	Belcher	Broyhill, N.C.
Ashley	Bell, Calif.	Burke, Fla.
	Berry	Burlison, Mo.
Burton, Utah	Griffiths	Murphy, N.Y.
Button	Haley	O'Hara
Caffery	Hall	O'Konski
Camp	Halpern	Olsen
Casey	Hanley	Ottinger
Cederberg	Hansen, Wash.	Patman
Chappell	Harsha	Pelly
Chisholm	Hébert	Pepper
Clancy	Henderson	Pettis
Clark	Hull	Pike
Clausen, Don H.	Hungate	Powell
Clawson, Del	Jarman	Pryor, Ark.
Clay	Johnson, Calif.	Railsback
Cleveland	Johnson, Pa.	Rarick
Collins, Ill.	Karth	Reifel
Conyers	Kleppe	Rivers
Corbett	Landrum	Roudebush
Cowger	Langen	Rousselot
Cramer	Latta	Ruppe
Culver	Lennon	Ruth
Daddario	Long, La.	St Germain
Delaney	Lowenstein	Saylor
Denney	Lujan	Schadeberg
Dennis	Lukens	Scherle
Dent	McCarthy	Scheuer
Diggs	McClory	Shipley
Dowdy	McCulloch	Sikes
Dulski	McDonald, Mich.	Snyder
Dwyer	McEwen	Steele
Edwards, Calif.	McKneally	Steiger, Ariz.
Evins, Tenn.	Mailliard	Steiger, Wis.
Fallon	Martin	Stephens
Farbstein	Mathias	Stratton
Fascell	May	Sullivan
Fisher	Meskill	Symington
Flowers	Michel	Teague, Calif.
Ford, William D.	Mikva	Thompson, N.J.
Fountain	Miller, Calif.	Tiernan
Friedel	Mills	Tunney
Fulton, Tenn.	Minshall	Waggonner
Giaimo	Mize	Weicker
Gibbons	Monagan	Whalen
Gilbert	Montgomery	Whalley
Gray	Moorhead	Winn
Green, Oreg.	Morton	Wold
Green, Pa.	Moss	Wolff
	Murphy, Ill.	Wyatt
		Zwach

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 269 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Without objection, further proceedings under the call will be dispensed with.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to dispensing with further proceedings under the call.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ALBERT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ALBERT).

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GROSS) there were—ayes 67, noes 9.

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 278, nays 9, not voting 146, as follows:

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

[Roll No. 446]

YEAS—278

Abernethy	Fulton, Pa.	Perkins
Adams	Fuqua	Pickle
Addabbo	Galifianakis	Pike
Albert	Gallagher	Pirnie
Anderson, Calif.	Garmatz	Poage
	Gettys	Podell
Anderson, Ill.	Gonzalez	Poff
Annunzio	Goodling	Pollock
Arends	Green, Pa.	Preyer, N.C.
Ashley	Griffin	Price, Ill.
Beall, Md.	Gubser	Price, Tex.
Belcher	Gude	Pucinski
Bennett	Hagan	Purcell
Betts	Halpern	Quie
Bevill	Hamilton	Quillen
Biaggi	Hammer-schmidt	Railsback
Biester		Randall
Bingham	Hanna	Rees
Blanton	Hansen, Idaho	Reid, Ill.
Boggs	Hansen, Wash.	Reid, N.Y.
Boland	Harrington	Reuss
Bolling	Harsha	Rhodes
Bow	Harvey	Riegle
Brademas	Hastings	Roberts
Bray	Hathaway	Robison
Brinkley	Hawkins	Roe
Broomfield	Hays	Rogers, Colo.
Brotzman	Hechler, W. Va.	Rogers, Fla.
Brown, Calif.	Heckler, Mass.	Rooney, N.Y.
Brown, Ohio	Helstoski	Rooney, Pa.
Broyhill, Va.	Hicks	Rosenthal
Buchanan	Hogan	Rostenkowski
Burke, Mass.	Holifield	Roth
Burleson, Tex.	Horton	Roybal
Burton, Calif.	Hosmer	Ryan
Bush	Howard	Sandman
Byrne, Pa.	Hunt	Satterfield
Byrnes, Wis.	Hutchinson	Scheuer
Cabell	Ichord	Schneebeli
Carey	Jacobs	Schwengel
Carney	Jarman	Scott
Carter	Jonas	Sebelius
Casey	Jones, N.C.	Shriver
Celler	Jones, Tenn.	Sisk
Chamberlain	Karth	Slack
Chappell	Kastenmeier	Smith, Calif.
Clark	Kazen	Smith, Iowa
Clay	Kee	Smith, N.Y.
Cleveland	Keith	Springer
Cohelan	Kleppe	Stafford
Collier	Kluczynski	Staggers
Collins, Tex.	Koch	Stanton
Colmer	Kuykendall	Steed
Conable	Kyl	Stratton
Conte	Kyros	Stubblefield
Corman	Landgrebe	Stuckey
Coughlin	Leggett	Taft
Crane	Lloyd	Talcott
Culver	Long, Md.	Taylor
Cunningham	Lowenstein	Teague, Calif.
Daniel, Va.	McCloskey	Teague, Tex.
Daniels, N.J.	McDade	Thompson, Ga.
Davis, Ga.	McEwen	Thompson, N.J.
Davis, Wis.	McFall	Thomson, Wis.
de la Garza	McMillan	Tiernan
Dellenback	MacGregor	Udall
Dennis	Madden	Ullman
Derwinski	Mann	Van Deerlin
Dingell	Marsh	Vander Jagt
Donohue	Matsunaga	Vanik
Dorn	Mayne	Waldie
Downing	Meeds	Wampler
Duncan	Melcher	Ware
Eckhardt	Miller, Ohio	Watson
Edmondson	Minish	Watts
Edwards, Ala.	Mink	Weicker
Eilberg	Mizell	Whalen
Erlenborn	Mollohan	White
Eshleman	Morgan	Whitehurst
Evans, Colo.	Morse	Widnall
Feighan	Mosher	Williams
Findley	Murphy, N.Y.	Wilson, Bob
Fish	Myers	Wilson, Charles H.
Flood	Natcher	
Flowers	Nedzi	Wright
Flynt	Nelsen	Wydler
Foley	Nichols	Wylie
Ford, Gerald R.	Nix	Wyman
Foreman	Obey	Yates
Forsythe	O'Hara	Yatron
Fountain	O'Neill, Mass.	Young
Fraser	Passman	Zablocki
Frelinghuysen	Patten	Zion
Frey	Pepper	

NAYS—9

Ashbrook	Dickinson	McClure
Blackburn	Gross	Schmitz
Devine	King	Skubitz

NOT VOTING—146

Abbitt	Fascell	Mize
Adair	Fisher	Monagan
Alexander	Ford, William D.	Montgomery
Anderson, Tenn.		Moorhead
	Friedel	Morton
Andrews, Ala.	Fulton, Tenn.	Moss
Andrews, N. Dak.	Gaydos	Murphy, Ill.
	Giaimo	O'Konski
Aspinall	Gibbons	Olsen
Ayres	Gilbert	O'Neal, Ga.
Baring	Goldwater	Ottinger
Barrett	Gray	Patman
Bell, Calif.	Green, Oreg.	Pelly
Berry	Griffiths	Pettis
Blatnik	Grover	Philbin
Brasco	Haley	Powell
Brock	Hall	Pryor, Ark.
Brooks	Hanley	Rarick
Brown, Mich.	Hébert	Reifel
Broyhill, N.C.	Henderson	Rivers
Burke, Fla.	Hull	Rodino
Burlison, Mo.	Hungate	Roudebush
Burton, Utah	Johnson, Calif.	Rousselot
Button	Johnson, Pa.	Ruppe
Caffery	Jones, Ala.	Ruth
Camp	Landrum	St Germain
Cederberg	Langen	Saylor
Chisholm	Latta	Schadeberg
Clancy	Lennon	Scherle
Clausen, Don H.	Long, La.	Shipley
	Lujan	Sikes
Clawson, Del	Lukens	Snyder
Collins, Ill.	McCarthy	Steele
Conyers	McClory	Steiger, Ariz.
Corbett	McCulloch	Steiger, Wis.
Cowger	McDonald, Mich.	Stephens
Cramer		Stokes
Daddario	McKneally	Sullivan
Delaney	Macdonald, Mass.	Symington
Denney		Tunney
Dent	Mahon	Vigorito
Diggs	Mailliard	Waggonner
Dowdy	Martin	Whalley
Dulski	Mathias	Whitten
Dwyer	May	Wiggins
Edwards, Calif.	Meskill	Winn
Edwards, La.	Michel	Wold
Esch	Mikva	Wolff
Evins, Tenn.	Miller, Calif.	Wyatt
Fallon	Mills	Zwach
Farbstein	Minshall	

So the motion was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. NATCHER). The Clerk will proceed to read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday will stand approved.

There was no objection.

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. 17853. An act for the relief of Carlo Bianchi & Co., Inc.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1681. An act for the relief of Dennis Yiantos; and

S. 4481. An act granting and ceding to the city of Alexandria, in the State of Virginia, certain waterfront land along the Virginia shoreline of the Potomac River, 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. 18306) entitled "An act to authorize United States participation in increases in the resources of certain international financial institutions, to provide for an annual audit of the Exchange Stabilization Fund by the General Accounting Office, 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 House to the bill (S. 1181) entitled "An act to provide for potato and tomato promotion programs."

The message also announced that the Senate having proceeded to reconsider the bill (S. 3867) entitled "An act to assure opportunities for employment and training to unemployed and underemployed persons, to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services, and for other purposes," returned by the President of the United States with his objections, to the Senate, in which it originated.

The message also announced that the said bill did not pass, two-thirds of the Senators present not having voted in the affirmative.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday, December 28, at the conclusion of all business, and any special orders heretofore entered into, I may address the House for 60 minutes to pay tribute to Hon. WILLIAM T. MURPHY of Illinois upon his retirement from the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I will not object, possibly—I would like to inquire of the granting of this unanimous-consent request respecting activities on the 28th of December would in any way interfere with action which might be later taken by the House not to come in on that particular day?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It would not.

Mr. HOSMER. I thank the Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PROGRAM FOR TODAY

(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, I have requested this time in order to ask the distinguished majority leader the program for today.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we have remaining on the calendar one resolution and one bill under a rule. These are the two chief items of business, House Resolution 1238, the Speaker's Office Facilities Act, and H.R. 19953, the Emergency Rail Services Act.

Following the consideration of these two bills the Committee on Ways and Means will call up some 25 or 26 bills which have been unanimously reported from that committee. These bills will be called up by unanimous-consent request. We will seek to get unanimous consent to concur in six Senate amendments on other Ways and Means Committee bills.

As for conference reports, we do not have any conference reports at the desk at this time. We will take them up if they come over from the Senate. I understand that one is under consideration in the Senate now, and that is the International Financial Institutions Act, H.R. 18306. There is also a possibility of Senate action I am told by representatives of the Senate on the potato and other commodity production programs and the Foreign Aid Supplemental Authorization Act. If they come over we will take them up for consideration.

Of course, if there should be a complete break in the logjam over there, we will be glad to take up all of the conference reports they can send us.

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

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the majority leader for advising the common, garden variety Members of the House as to the program for today. I had anticipated last night, as late as it was, that there would be an announcement as to what we would be confronted with today. So, I thank the majority leader for this belated schedule.

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman from Iowa for those comments. It was so late and so many Members had left the floor when the motion to adjourn was made, it would hardly have been advisable. I think everyone was tired also.

However, I apologize for not making that announcement last night.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Michigan will yield further, I am well aware of the lateness of the hour last night because I had supper well after midnight.

Is there any word that can be given to the Members as to an adjournment, recess, or whatever you may wish to call it over Christmas?

Mr. ALBERT. The Senate, as the gentleman knows, has passed an adjournment resolution which provides for adjournment over from tonight until Monday, the 28th, at noon. We have not made a decision yet as to whether we will take that up in that form or seek to amend it. We would like the indulgence of the House on that matter. I think the minority leader concurs with me in this: that we wait and see what happens during the day before we come to that resolution. I think we will take that resolution up as a matter of fact whether we adopt it or amend it or not. I think we owe that to the other body as a matter of comity to take it up at the end of the day.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I think an appropriate comment would be that I have reservations about the Senate resolution, particularly when they cannot give us any assurance that if we come back on Monday there would be final action taken as to this Congress. But I do agree with the distinguished majority leader that we ought to await further developments later in the day. Hopefully, there could be some compromise achieved or some vote taken that would obviate the need and necessity for the approval of that resolution. So, until we have a bit more time, I think it is wise for the leadership on both sides to await developments in that regard.

RELATING TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE 91ST CONGRESS

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1309 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1309

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 1238) relating to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Ninety-first Congress. After general debate, which shall be confined to the resolution and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on House Administration, the resolution shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH) pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1309 provides for an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for considering House Resolution 1238, relating to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. I intend not to go into any eulogies about the Speaker, nor to go into any praise of his great deeds. The facts are that he is retiring after 42 years in this body, and having served longer as Speaker on successive terms than any other one individual.

The purpose of House Resolution 1238 is to facilitate the administration, settlement, and the conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency as Speaker of the House.

The resolution provides for the Speaker to retain the use of his Boston Federal office, including the furniture and equipment, and he will be entitled to reimbursement in amounts equal to those received by Members for office expenses, for telephone service, including long-distance telephone calls, and telegrams, and for stationery and for other office supplies.

Withdrawals from the stationery allowance are not allowed. However, the Clerk of the House is authorized and directed to pay the amount of the purchases made by the Speaker. The Speaker, upon request, is to be furnished by the Clerk with airmail and special delivery stamps in the amount to which a Member is entitled.

The Speaker would be provided with a staff, to be paid for from the contingent fund of the House, limited to one administrative assistant and one secretary, with annual salaries not to exceed $7,500 base in the first instance, and $3,275 base in the second instance.

The resolution also extends the Speaker's franking privilege to 2 years following the expiration of his term as a Representative.

This will merely allow him to conclude the cleaning up of files and the work that, because of his busy office of the Speaker, he has been unable to do.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the rule is adopted.

I now yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1309 provides for a 1-hour open rule for the consideration of House Resolution 1238, relating to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 91st Congress.

I believe that the total amount in the resolution per annum for 2 years will be $49,990 each year. I believe some amendments will be offered, at the request of the Speaker, which will reduce this amount to approximately $38,000 for each of the 2 years. However, I have not seen the amendments and, therefore, I cannot speak definitely concerning them.

Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the gentleman from Massachusetts if he wishes me to proceed to extend time on my side?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California may proceed.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS).

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, there is a fine old English ditty that goes like this:

Christmastime is coming and the geese are getting fat.
Please put a penny in the old man's hat.
If you haven't a penny, a ha'penny will do.
If you haven't got a ha'penny, God bless you.

Mr. Speaker, it should not be necesary to spend an extended amount of time on this resolution. Every Member should be aware of what is here proposed for the resolution has been subject of private discussion among House Members since early October when it surfaced in the House Administration Committee.

The resolution would provide the most expensive going-away present ever bestowed on a Speaker of the House of Representatives. It would give to the retiring Speaker, who will draw retirement benefits of $44,000 a year, an office in Boston, Mass., for the next 2 years, and with that office would go most of the supporting provisions of a duly elected, sitting Member of Congress.

This means that in addition to an office staff, even though somewhat reduced, the former Speaker would be entitled to an office expense allowance, stationery and stamp allowance, the franking privilege, and telephone-telegraph allowances.

This is unprecedented.

It also means that the Federal Government will be compelled to provide fully equipped office space for the Member of the House who will succeed the present Member from the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

A Speaker of the House is not elected by the voting taxpayers of the Nation. He is elected a Member of the House of Representatives in a single district and by a partisan vote. He is elected Speaker of the House by a partisan vote.

Therefore, the Nation, as such, owes him nothing merely by reason of the fact that he was a Speaker. It would be one thing for the House to approve a simple resolution "honoring" a retiring Speaker. It is quite another thing for Members of the House, as in this proposed resolution, to impose their will upon the presumed charity of all the taxpayers to provide this retiring Speaker with a going-away present that will cost many thousands of dollars over the period of the next 2 years. I predict that if this resolution could be submitted to all the taxpayers of the Nation for rejection or approval it would be sunk without a trace.

This resolution would set a bad precedent and it is unwarranted. It ought to be defeated.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in retrospect, there is not a Member of this House who was a Member when a Speaker retired before. The retirement of a Spaeker is a historical event. I think we owe it to our respect of the office that we adopt the resolution. I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 1309, I ask unanimous consent that House Resolution 1238 be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1238

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Ninety-first Congress (hereafter referred to in this resolution as the "Speaker") is entitled to retain, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, the complete and exclusive use of the Federal office space which is currently made available for his use in the congressional district represented by him and which shall be maintained by the Government in a condition appropriate for his use as he may request, together with all furniture, equipment, and furnishings currently made available by the Government for his use in connection with such office space, including any necessary replacements of such office furniture, equipment, and furnishings, in order to facilitate the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency in office as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. The Speaker is entitled to reimbursement, from the contingent fund of the House, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the manner provided by applicable provisions of the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1955, as amended by the Act of June 13, 1957 (71 Stat. 82; Public Law 85–54), and by the provisions of House Resolution 831, Eighty-eighth Congress, adopted August 14, 1964, enacted as permanent law by section 103 of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1966 (79 Stat. 281; Public Law 89–90; 2 U.S.C. 122a), in an aggregate quarterly amount equal to the aggregate quarterly amount to which a Member of the House of Representatives is entitled under such provisions of law as in effect on the date of adoption of this resolution or as amended or supplemented after such date, for office and other expenses incurred in connection with the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency in office as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 3. The Speaker is entitled to reimbursement, from the contingent fund of the House, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, in the manner provided by House Resolution 161, Ninetieth Congress, adopted May 11, 1967, enacted as permanent law by the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968 (82 Stat. 218; Public Law 90–392; 2 U.S.C. 46g–1), in a quarterly amount equal to the quarterly amount to which a Member of the House of Representatives is entitled under such provisions of law as in effect on the date of adoption of this resolution or as amended or supplemented after such date, for charges for telephone service incurred in connection with the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency in office as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 4. There shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House such amounts as may be necessary to pay toll charges on long distance telephone calls and charges on telegrams, cablegrams, and radiograms, made or sent by or on behalf of the Speaker, in the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, in connection with the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency in office as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House of Representatives, aggregating, for each year of such two-year period, not to exceed the total number of units then currently authorized for each Member of the House for each session of the House. Such units shall accumulate and be available for use by the Speaker until the close of such two-year period. For the purposes of this subsection—

(1) one minute of a long distance telephone call shall be four units;

(2) one word of a telegram, cablegram, or radiogram shall be one unit, except that one word of a night letter shall be one-half unit; and

(3) the word "session" means the period beginning at noon on January 3 of each calendar year and ending at noon on January 3 of the immediately following calendar year.

SEC. 5. (a) The Speaker may send mail as franked mail under sections 4161 and 4164 of title 39, United States Code, and send and receive mail as franked mail under section 4162 of that title, for an additional period of eighteen months immediately following the close of the period specified in those sections following the expiration of his terms of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress. The postage on such mail, including registry fees if registration is required, shall be paid and credited as provided by section 4167(a) of title 39, United States Code. When the provisions of sections 3210, 3211, 3213, and 3216(a) of title 39, United States Code, as enacted by the Postal Reorganization Act, became effective, the references in this subsection to sections 4161, 4162, 4164, and 4167(a) of title 39, United States Code, shall be deemed references to sections 3210, 3211, 3213, and 3216(a) of that title, respectively.

(b) For the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, the Speaker shall be entitled to the benefits afforded by section 733 of title 44, United States Code.

SEC. 6. In order to provide staff assistance to the Speaker in connection with the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of his incumbency in office as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House of Representatives, the contingent fund of the House is hereby made available, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of the terms of office of the Speaker as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, to enable the Clerk of the House to pay the salaries of an Administrative Assistant, who shall be paid at a basic per annum rate of not to exceed $7 500, as determined by the Speaker, and a Secretary, who shall be paid at a basic per annum rate of not to exceed $3,275, as determined by the Speaker, designated and appointed by the Speaker to serve as members of his office staff in such two-year period. Each person so designated and appointed as Administrative Assistant or Secretary shall be held and considered, for the duration of such appointment, as—

(1) an "employee" for the purposes of subchapter I of chapter 81 (relating to compensation for work injuries) of title 5, United States Code; and

(2) a "congressional employee" within the meaning of section 2107 of title 5, United States Code, for the purposes of—

(A) subchapter III (relating to civil service retirement) of chapter 83 of such title,

(B) chapter 87 (relating to Federal employees group life insurance) of such title, and

(C) chapter 89 (relating to Federal employees group health insurance) of such title.

SEC. 7. The contingent fund of the House of Representatives is hereby made available to provide to the Speaker, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, an allowance for stationery and other office supplies in an amount for each year of such two-year period, which shall remain available until the close of such year, equal to the amount of the stationery allowance then currently in effect for each Member of the House for each regular session of the Congress. The Clerk of the House shall, out of the stationery allowance provided by this section, pay, on invoices transmitted to the Clerk by the Speaker for payment, the amount, of all purchases made by or on behalf of the Speaker for stationery and other office supplies, or reimburse the Speaker, on vouchers signed and transmitted to the Clerk by the Speaker for reimbursement, in the amount of all such purchases.

SEC. 8. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall procure and furnish to the Speaker, upon his request, for the period of two years immediately following the expiration of his term of office as a Representative in Congress in the Ninety-first Congress, United States airmail and special delivery postage stamps in an aggregate amount, for each year of such two-year period, equal to the aggregate amount of such stamps to which a Member of the House is entitled for each regular session of the Congress under all provisions of law then currently in effect. The contingent fund of the house is hereby made available to carry out the purposes of this section.

SEC. 9. The foregoing provisions of this resolution shall become effective on the date of the enactment of this resolution as permanent law.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1238 sets forth certain emoluments for the present Speaker after retirement. The bill introduced in the committee by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. FRIEDEL) outlines in the bill that the Speaker would be allowed to retain his present Federal office space in the District. It gives him office expenses outside of the District of Columbia in the amount of $100 a month; telephone service outside of the District of Columbia, $100 a month; long distance telephone and telegrams, the same as a Member; franked mail privilege for 2 years; staff assistants, one administrative assistant, and one secretary, stationery allowance the same as a Member, with no cash withdrawal; airmail and special delivery stamps.

Being the conservative—and I use that word in connection with expenses—the type of person he is, the Speaker has asked me to offer four amendments, which I shall do at his request.

One would delete the long-distance telephone calls, except the $100 a month for his local calls.

One would delete the staff administrative assistant and a few secretaries at a gross pay of $10,900 a year.

One would delete the airmail and special delivery stamps.

Therefore, he would have left merely his present office space, his office expense, and telephone expense of $100 a month each franking period for 2 years, two secretaries, and a stationary allowance which would provide him with what he would spend for stationery, but no cash withdrawal.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. HAYS

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, the amendments to which I have referred are at the Clerk's desk. I offer the amendments, and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en block.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. HAYS: Beginning on Page 3, line 20, strike out SEC. 4 down through Page 4, line 20. On Page 6, line 3, strike out "$7,500" and insert in lieu thereof "$3,000". On Page 6, line 5, strike out "$3,275" and insert in lieu thereof "$3,000". Beginning on Page 7, line 15, strike out SEC. 8 down through page 8, line 2.

Renumber the following sections accordingly: SEC. 5, SEC. 6, SEC. 6, and SEC. 9.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio that the amendments be considered en bloc?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio in support of his amendment.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I have already described the amendments. The language is a little technical, but they do exactly what I said they would do. They would strike out "$7,500," inserting in lieu thereof "$3,500," thus cutting the base down—we are still operating on a base—which would make a gross salary of $10,929, and cutting the $3,275 base down and inserting in lieu thereof the "$3,000," which would also make that identically the same.

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

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

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the minority, I pose no objection to the amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Ohio, considered en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last words.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio for 5 minutes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to eulogize the Speaker. I think his record here speaks for itself. He has been a Member of this body for 42 years. As has been said earlier, he has had a longer period of continuous service as Speaker than anyone. The only one who has served a longer time than he has was the late great Speaker who was here when I came, the late Sam Rayburn, of Texas.

I read in the newspaper, and I do not know whether this is true, because not everything we read in the paper is accurate, that this is the first Speaker to retire voluntarily. A great deal of mail comes into the office and a great deal of it still will be addressed to Mr. JOHN MCCORMACK, and he will still receive a great deal of it. What this does is to allow him to forward that mail or to answer it or to otherwise deal with it. Knowing him as I do, if the mail deals with the business of the new Speaker, it will be forwarded to the new Speaker, and if it is personal, JOHN MCCORMACK will handle it.

The office of the Speaker is second only to the President of the United States in power in this country, and we provide retiring Presidents with a staff to take care of the mail that comes to them—not for 2 years but for as long as they live. I do not see anything wrong with this precedent. I do not know whether we will ever have another Speaker to retire, but if we do, I think we should follow the same procedure.

I disagree completely with the gentleman from Iowa that if this were put to a vote of the people, in the vast expenditures of the bureaucracy, they would not sink it without a trace, but they would vote for it, because almost any bureaucrat of sub-Cabinet level downtown spends a great deal more than this in a year and will accomplish a great deal less with it.

I do not want to complicate this matter by being facetious or otherwise, but not being a Scrooge type myself and in the spirit of Christmas, I might say to the gentleman from Iowa that if he will retire, I would try to get the same thing for him.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 1970, it was my pleasure to have introduced House Resolution 1238, and on October 13, 1970, the Committee on House Administration, having considered this resolution, recommended that it pass.

It is universally known that by far the most important influential position in the House of Representatives is that of Speaker. Indeed, the Speaker today frequently is described as the third most powerful figure in our Government and therefore the world, standing second in line of succession to the Presidency of the United States. The high office of Speaker has attained that eminence through a long evolutionary process.

The framers of the U.S. Constitution, in authorizing the House to choose its Speaker, followed the long-established custom of the House of Commons of England. This historic Chamber, over the many years that are now recorded in the annals of history, had many truly great men. This House, where the people govern through their duly elected Representatives, was indeed fortunate to have had as its Speaker, dedicated and patriotic leaders of men. I need not call the roll for their names are well known.

I can say, without fear of successful contradiction, that the distinguished gentleman from the Commonwealth of

that great New England State of Massachusetts will rank among the greatest and most beloved of those who filled the chair of Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD over the same 40 years that this House has been truly blessed to have had him in its midst, speak far more eloquently of his service than any words of mine. A man of the eminence and stature of JOHN MCCORMACK really defines rhetorical description. His integrity, dedication, and constructive and fruitful leadership over the years defies further description. This wise and gracious man who has served continuously as Speaker longer than any other man is truly unique.

Because of the imminent retirement of the Speaker, his long years of service, far beyond the call of duty, both as Representative and Speaker, and the deep respect and warmest affection the membership of the entire House holds for him, House Resolution 1238 is but mere tangible evidence and embodiment of this great respect and the high regard in which he is held and esteemed by his colleagues and associates.

This resolution, I submit, is for the very practical purpose of facilitating the administration, settlement, and conclusion of matters pertaining to or arising out of the incumbency in office of the Speaker—both as a Representative in Congress and as Speaker of the House.

I am sure I do not have to belabor the fact that our Speaker is not only a distinguished legislator but an eminently fair and just man, who elevated his high office to a new and even higher place than ever before. Members of both sides of the aisle love him as a warmhearted individual, a dedicated public servant, and above all, a truly great American.

In order to ease the transition and to settle matters relating to the Speaker's official and very extensive legislative and administrative matters, the House resolution authorizes for the use of the Speaker, for a period of 2 years immediately following the expiration of his present term of office as a Representative in the 91st Congress, and originally the various allowances granted Members for the operation of their office.

However, our great Speaker, in keeping with his legendary modesty and concern for the taxpayers, has asked me to amend the resolution to eliminate the normal allowances for stamps, long-distance calls, and the position of administrative assistant and provide instead for two secretaries at a reduced salary of $10,929 each.

It is a fact that the bulk of the Speaker's vast amount of mail, messages, and material is addressed to him personally, and hence, would be delivered only to him and not to his successor, it seems elementary that he will obviously need assistance in the handling and answering of the voluminous amount of various official documents and correspondence. After all, it pertains to the Congress and to our Nation, so in simple justice, I most strongly urge and recommend the favorable passage of House Resolution 1238.

Yesterday's Washington Post had a fair editorial about this matter which I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 20, 1970]

With all the partying on Capitol Hill and the sentimental farewells that are being said to retiring Speaker John W. McCormack, it may be lese majeste to suggest that there is danger of overdoing it. But Mr. McCormack himself is reported to have told retiring Congressman Friedel, chairman of the House Administration Committee, to go slow with the goodies that had been incorporated in a special bill for the Speaker. The bonus conscious legislator from Baltimore had loaded the gift-box for the Speaker with $39,000 a year for clerical help in addition to a two-year lease on his present Boston office, $1,200 a year for office expenses, free mailing privileges, $700 for airmail, $3,000 a year for stationery and an allowance for long-distance telephone calls. The current word is that the bill will be amended to eliminate the item for long-distance calls and to reduce the salaries of two clerical assistants to a total of about $21,000.

This would leave the Speaker with expense money equivalent to what is provided to sitting members of the House, although with a greatly reduced staff. We think the Speaker properly curtailed the perquisites that were originally proposed and that the taxpayers will not begrudge him the more modest benefits now in the works.

Mr. McCormack is the only Speaker who has retired to private life, and it is a practice to be encouraged when age overtakes the presiding officer of the House. Although we have often disagreed with the Speaker and felt that he should have relinquished leadership in the House to a younger man some years ago, we join in saluting him for long and conscientious service as he leaves and hope that Congress will grant the modified perquisites.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 1238, which would extend for a period of 2 years from the effective date of the Speaker's retirement certain emoluments of office which are associated with service as a Representative to Congress.

The provisions of the resolution are entirely fitting and proper for a retiring Speaker, the only one in recent memory. These provisions would also constitute tangible evidence of the esteem and affection in which the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCCORMACK) has been held for nearly four and a half decades by his colleagues on Capitol Hill and the people of the United States. They are indeed small recompense by a grateful Nation for the Speaker's outstanding leadership and selfless dedication, the hallmarks of his long and distinguished congressional career.

The resolution would simply enable the Speaker to retain the use of his district office in order that matters growing out of his lengthy service would not have to be concluded hastily. He would also have certain office allowances and staff assistance to make the transition from holder of one of the most powerful public offices in the Nation to a private citizen as smooth as possible. Besides, Mr. Speaker, the real beneficiaries of this resolution will be the people of the United States, for it will permit the Speaker to sift and organize the vast amount of documents, records, and information he has accumulated over the years so that they may constitute a meaningful part of our Nation's history for us and our posterity.

Mr. Speaker, as a representative from Hawaii, I would like to express again the eternal gratitude of the people of Hawaii for JOHN MCCORMACK's leadership in the fight for statehood for the then Territory of Hawaii. As House majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCCORMACK) was instrumental in convincing his colleagues, and then Speaker Sam Rayburn that the Territory of Hawaii had earned every right to statehood and was ready to take her place among the other 49 States of the Union. Intangible though the gratitude of the people of Hawaii may be for having been granted statehood, that gratitude nonetheless is as real as the provisions of the pending resolution. Indeed, even after this resolution has expired by its terms, the gratitude of the people of the 50th State will continue, undiminished and unending.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1238 deserves our unanimous vote.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the resolution (H. Res. 1238).

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. Is this on the passage of the resolution?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It is.

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 pro tempore. 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 218, nays 69, not voting 146, as follows:

[Roll No. 447]

YEAS—218

Adams	Biaggi	Bow
Albert	Bingham	Brademas
Anderson, Calif.	Blackburn	Broomfield
	Blanton	Brotzman
Annunzio	Blatnik	Brown, Mich.
Arends	Boggs	Brown, Ohio
Bennett	Boland	Broyhill, Va.
Bevill	Bolling	Buchanan

Burke, Mass.	Hansen, Wash.	Poage
Burleson, Tex.	Harrington	Podell
Burton, Calif.	Harsha	Poff
Byrne, Pa.	Harvey	Preyer, N.C.
Cabell	Hathaway	Price, Ill.
Carey	Hays	Pucinski
Carney	Hechler, W. Va.	Purcell
Carter	Heckler, Mass.	Quie
Casey	Helstoski	Rees
Celler	Hicks	Reid, N.Y.
Chamberlain	Holifield	Reuss
Chappell	Horton	Rhodes
Clark	Howard	Riegle
Cohelan	Ichord	Roberts
Collins, Tex.	Jonas	Rodino
Colmer	Jones, Ala.	Roe
Conte	Jones, N.C.	Rogers, Colo.
Corman	Jones, Tenn.	Rogers, Fla.
Culver	Karth	Rooney, N.Y.
Cunningham	Kastenmeier	Rooney, Pa.
Daniel, Va.	Kazen	Rosenthal
Daniels, N.J.	Kee	Rostenkowski
Davis, Wis.	Keith	Roybal
de la Garza	Kluczynski	Ryan
Dellenback	Koch	Sandman
Dennis	Kyros	Scheuer
Derwinski	Leggett	Schwengel
Dickinson	Long, Md.	Sisk
Dingell	Lowenstein	Slack
Donohue	McCloskey	Smith, Iowa
Dorn	McFall	Smith, N.Y.
Downing	McMillan	Springer
Eckhardt	Macdonald, Mass.	Staggers
Edmondson	MacGregor	Stanton
Edwards, La.	Madden	Steed
Eilberg	Mahon	Steiger, Wis.
Erlenborn	Mann	Stokes
Esch	Marsh	Stratton
Eshleman	Matsunaga	Stubblefield
Evans, Colo.	Mayne	Stuckey
Feighan	Meeds	Taylor
Fisher	Melcher	Teague, Tex.
Flood	Miller, Ohio	Thompson, Ga.
Flowers	Minish	Thompson, N.J.
Flynt	Mink	Tiernan
Foley	Minshall	Udall
Ford, Gerald R.	Mollohan	Ullman
Forsythe	Morgan	Van Deerlin
Fountain	Morse	Vanik
Frelinghuysen	Murphy, N.Y.	Vigorito
Fulton, Pa.	Natcher	Waldie
Fuqua	Nedzi	Ware
Galifianakis	Nichols	Watts
Gallagher	Nix	White
Garmatz	Obey	Whitten
Giaimo	O'Hara	Widnall
Gonzalez	Olsen	Wiggins
Gray	O'Neill, Mass.	Williams
Green, Pa.	Passman	Wright
Griffin	Patten	Wydler
Gubser	Perkins	Wyman
Gude	Philbin	Yates
Halpern	Pickle	Young
Hamilton	Pike	Zablocki
Hanna	Pirnie	
Hansen, Idaho		

NAYS—69

Abernethy	Gross	Railsback
Anderson, Ill.	Hammer-schmidt	Reid, Ill.
Ashbrook	Hastings	Robison
Beall, Md.	Hogan	Roth
Belcher	Hosmer	Schmitz
Betts	Hunt	Scott
Biester	Hutchinson	Sebelius
Bray	Jacobs	Shriver
Brinkley	Jarman	Skubitz
Byrnes, Wis.	King	Smith, Calif.
Cleveland	Kleppe	Stafford
Collier	Kyl	Talcott
Conable	Landgrebe	Teague, Calif.
Coughlin	Lloyd	Thomson, Wis.
Crane	McClure	Vander Jagt
Davis, Ga.	McEwen	Wampler
Devine	Mailliard	Watson
Duncan	Mizell	Whalen
Edwards, Ala.	Myers	Whitehurst
Findley	Nelsen	Wylie
Fish	O'Neal, Ga.	Yatron
Frey	Price, Tex.	Zion
Gettys	Quillen	
Goodling		

NOT VOTING—146

Abbitt	Andrews, N. Dak.	Bell, Calif.
Adair	Ashley	Berry
Addabbo	Aspinall	Brasco
Alexander	Ayres	Brock
Anderson, Tenn.	Baring	Brooks
Andrews, Ala.	Barrett	Brown, Calif.
Burke, Fla.	Grover	Ottinger
Burlison, Mo.	Hagan	Patman
Burton, Utah	Haley	Pelly
Bush	Hall	Pepper
Button	Hanley	Pettis
Caffery	Hawkins	Pollock
Camp	Hébert	Powell
Cederberg	Henderson	Pryor, Ark.
Chisholm	Hull	Randall
Clancy	Hungate	Rarick
Clausen, Don H.	Johnson, Calif.	Reifel
Clawson, Del	Johnson, Pa.	Rivers
Clay	Kuykendall	Roudebush
Collins, Ill.	Landrum	Rousselot
Conyers	Langen	Ruppe
Corbett	Latta	Ruth
Cowger	Lennon	St Germain
Cramer	Long, La.	Satterfield
Daddario	Lujan	Saylor
Delaney	Lukens	Schadeberg
Denney	McCarthy	Scherle
Dent	McClory	Schneebeli
Diggs	McCulloch	Shipley
Dowdy	McDade	Sikes
Dulski	McDonald, Mich.	Snyder
Dwyer	McKneally	Steele
Edwards, Calif.	Martin	Steiger, Ariz.
Evins, Tenn.	Mathias	Stephens
Fallon	May	Sullivan
Farbstein	Meskill	Symington
Fascell	Michel	Taft
Ford, William D.	Mikva	Tunney
Foreman	Miller, Calif.	Waggonner
Fraser	Mills	Weicker
Friedel	Mize	Whalley
Fulton, Tenn.	Monagan	Wilson, Bob
Gaydos	Montgomery	Wilson, Charles H.
Gibbons	Moorhead	Winn
Gilbert	Morton	Wold
Goldwater	Mosher	Wolff
Green, Oreg.	Moss	Wyatt
Griffiths	Murphy, Ill.	Zwach
	O'Konski	

So the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. STUCKEY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON S. 1626, REGULATING PRACTICE OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 1626) to regulate the practice of psychology in the District of Columbia, with House amendments thereto, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? The Chair hears none, and, without objection, appoints the following conferees: Messrs. MCMILLAN, FUQUA, CABELL, NELSEN, BROYHILL of Virginia, and WINN.

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would like to state for information of Members that the Chair will receive unanimous-consent requests for official business, for extensions in the RECORD or for corrections of the RECORD, but not for 1 minute speeches that will be taken, at this time.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 19953, EMERGENCY RAIL SERVICES ACT OF 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1315 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1315

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 19953) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to provide financial assistance to certain railroads in order to preserve essential rail services, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shal continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce now printed in the bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of my remarks, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1315 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 19953, the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970. The resolution also provides that it shall be in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

H.R. 19953 authorizes the Interstate Commerce Commission to provide financial assistance to certain railroads in order to preserve essential rail services.

The bill is designed to prevent a clear threat to the public welfare. The Nation's largest transportation system, Penn Central, will cease within a matter of weeks, with an overwhelming impact to be felt in every region of the United States. H.R. 19953 is an interim measure to avert an immediate crisis.

The legislation provides that the trustees of any railroad undergoing reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, upon approval of the court, may apply to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the guarantee or

purchase of certificates. The Commission is authorized to guarantee or purchase such certificates upon certain findings.

As a condition to a guarantee, the Secretary of the Treasury, after consultation with the Commission, shall require that the proceeds of the sale of certificates will be used solely for meeting payroll and other expenses which, if not met, would preclude continued provision of essential transportation services by the railroad; other revenues of the railroad will be used, to the fullest extent possible, for such expenses; proceeds from the sale of assets will be devoted to the fullest extent possible to the provision of essential transportation services by the railroad; and, in the event of actual or threatened cessation of essential transportation services by the railroad, the Secretary shall have the option to purchase or lease trackage rights over the lines and equipment necessary to provide services and, in the event of a default in payment of principal or interest as provided by the certificates, expenses incurred by the United States shall be considered as having been applied to the purchase or lease price.

The certificates shall bear interest at a reasonable rate, in line with the prevailing rates in the private market.

The outstanding aggregate principal amount of all certificates guaranteed under the act shall not exceed $125 million.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the rule in order that the legislation may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, we realize that the Penn Central has been a muddled mess. It is probably the largest corporation in America today, with some 220, I believe, subsidiaries. But if this railroad were to cease operations, the State of Rhode Island would fall or topple economically within about 3 days. The States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and the rest of New England will last probably 6 weeks. That is what the economic impact of this particular bill means.

Mr. Speaker, the city of New York, Greater New York, and New Jersey would probably economically last about 3 weeks. Everything east of the Mississippi would be affected. Forty-one percent of all the commerce, of all the transportation, commercial transportation that takes place in the United States travels over the roads of the Penn Central. Just imagine it, 41 percent.

Now, it is not going to cost the Government one dime. This great corporation which as I said is a muddled mess, with 222 subsidiaries has somewhere between $6 billion and $7 billion worth of assets which are all tied up at the present time by the Federal court.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal court has recommended and nominated bankruptcy referees to handle the bankruptcy matter and they feel this legislation is very badly needed.

I just say to you, gentlemen, this: If you think the General Motors strike worstened the economy of this country, it is hard to imagine, if we do not pass this legislation, if the stopping of the Penn Central from operating about 3 weeks from now, how it would really tie up the economy of this Nation. Everyone would be affected, no matter what part of the country you come from.

I say to the House this loan is absolutely guaranteed. There is the $6 billion or $7 billion in this great railroad empire and the United States would get first call over and above all liens. We are desperate for the enactment of this legislation in the Eastern section of the country. I hope the rule is adopted.

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

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I am happy to yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CELLER. I want to indicate that this morning Mr. Willard Wirtz, one of the receivers of Penn Central Railroad and a former Secretary of Labor, a very distinguished and eminent gentleman who honestly cannot be questioned, told me that the revelations which were made recently in a certain report had nothing whatsoever to do with the receivership.

And that they had no part or parcel in those actions related in that report, and that he said that the receivers have instituted actions against those who are the malfactors mentioned in that report, and actions have been commenced in the Federal court by the receivers to have restitution made by those who have misused their trust and whose names were mentioned in that report this morning. And he earnestly asked this House to pass this bill for the very reasons that the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL) has now indicated.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I concur with the statement of the gentleman from New York, and may I say that with the adoption of the rule you will get a tremendous insight into the whole problem of the Penn Central from the gentleman from West Virginia and the gentleman from Illinois.

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

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I may not have heard correctly, so that is why I am asking the question:

I thought I understood the gentleman to say during the course of his presentation that this would not cost the U.S. Government any money?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. We are guaranteeing the loans up to $150 million for railroads of this type. They have assets that are tied up in the court bankruptcy action at the present time, of about $6 billion or $7 billion. Now, the U.S. Government would get the first call, or the first rights, at that $6 billion or $7 billion. So there is no possible way in which the U.S. Government can lose on this transaction—no possible way.

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

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, is what the gentleman saying this: That whatever liens there are against the Penn Central properties, they will be subordinated to the lien of the U.S. Government?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Exactly.

Mr. YATES. Which will be given in support of this loan?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. This takes precedence over any liens that are outstanding against the Penn Central.

Mr. YATES. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in order to save time I will not repeat anything that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL) has said. I concur in the statement that the gentleman has made, with one or two exceptions.

While the gentleman says that this will not cost the Government anything, I do not know that we can look into the future and say that this will always be a preferred lien. Labor liens might come first, and it is possible it might be that at some time we will have to pay out some money toward this guaranteed loan.

Further than that, I do not think we should mislead ourselves that this amount of money will take care of all of the ills that beset the Penn-Central. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad, after they combined, had some very poor management. They diversified themselves into all types of real estate, businesses, hotels, and everything else, which they have made money on ostensibly, and in doing so neglected the railroad.

In any event, insofar as the railroad is concerned, the Penn Central is of particular national importance. It serves a heavily populated area. Most of the coal for electric powerplants, food products, and many other items of necessity could not be shipped to the consumers if this railroad were shut down, so it is clearly in the national interest that this operation continue.

I believe that it was a week or so ago that we passed a bill extending the time in which the railroad employees could not strike, based on the fact that one of the four unions refused to agree with the arbitration figures. At that time it is my understanding that the Penn-Central had $75 million, which probably would have taken care of their expenses through March 1. However, in connection with that bill, increased salary rates were included, which we passed. This took about $46 million of the $75 million to pay retroactive salary increases. Conceivably that amount might have enabled the Pennsylvania Railroad to pay its expenses through March 1.

Had we passed other legislation earlier recommended by the President to have compulsory arbitration in matters like that, then possibly we would not be in the position we are now faced with.

Of the $125 million, $100 million I believe will be used principally for the Penn-Central. The other $25 million is kept aside, as I understand it, in order to possibly take care of three other railroads which are in imminent danger of going bankrupt.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, I do not see that there is anything else we can possibly do, even if we get through to March 1. If the powers that be—and I understand there are very brilliant men who are trying hard to work this out, and that salaries have been cut down, and they are trying to salvage other properties and dispose of them, and most of them, I understand, are pretty heavily mortgaged—but if they succeed in working it out, that will be fine; if not, we will be back by March 1 trying to work out something else to keep this railroad going, which is an essential necessity to the welfare of many, many people of the United States of America.

I support the rule, Mr. Speaker, but so far as I am personally concerned, I will have to vote "present" on final passage because I inherited some few shares of Pennsylvania Railroad stock from my father which, unfortunately, I did not sell when they went up as high as the seventies. I still have them. I will have to vote "present" in order to avoid any conflict of interest.

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

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I just want to clarify a point. Did I understand the gentleman in discussing the security arrangement for protecting the Government's investment, did I understand him to say that the Government may have a prior lien rather than will have a prior lien?

Mr. SMITH of California. I am only interpreting this on the basis of my opinion as an attorney and as to how I feel.

The language says that we will—that is the Government—will have the first lien on all of the property. I think as to the railroad, it amounts to $3½ billion or $4 billion and overall assets amount to $6½ or $7 billion. In the building field, when there is a construction loan on houses or buildings, you know that a mechanic's lien comes first. Laborers might have a prior lien for their salary in this instance. The court might give them preference over the Government.

But I am just expressing my personal opinion. Others may differ with me completely. But I do not think we can cut out the salaries of people who have earned them. I do not think we can answer that without getting into court, however, the bill says that we will have a prior lien on all the assets. That is what the bill says.

As I say, I am expressing my personal opinion and that is the way I interpret it.

Mr. YATES. If the bill says that, would this not put the duty on the trustees to require that the Government obtain a prior lien in order to obtain the money?

Mr. SMITH of California. You cannot tell what the wages might be as time goes on. If there are certain mortgages, they will have to be taken off the record. This places it first—and the mortgages will have to be rerecorded. It is not too easy to do that.

Of course, the trustees is under the direction of the court and I think they are very capable men from what I understand, and I do hope they can work out of this very difficult situation.

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

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Is it your understanding that the provisions of this bill require positive action on the part of the current mortgage holders to subordinate their mortgages to the Government certificates?

Mr. SMITH of California. I do not find anything in the language that says action like that has to take place so far as I can see.

The language says that it is a first lien.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Would it be your interpretation of the legislation that this would have to be done?

Mr. SMITH of California. All I can say is that I have expressed my personal opinions on the legal interpretation, but I believe the gentleman from West Virginia will explain it. He is much more knowledgeable than I am.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) for 7 minutes.

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, late in the day, I inserted a short statement on the proposed Guaranteed Loan Bill for Bankrupt Railroads to call attention of the House to the extremely dubious nature of such a proposition. With very limited study and with the scandals of the management of Penn-Central and its numerous subsidiaries I stated then, and I repeat now, it would be a wiser course for the House to refuse to consider the bill or if it is considered, to soundly beat it.

I have no doubt of the sincerity of the Committee in responding to the urgency of the Penn-Central Railroad continuing in operation, and I do not question the integrity of the trustees of the railroad who have appeared before the Senate Committee and the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee requesting immediate action by Congress to guarantee loans without which the trustees claim, the Penn-Central Railroad will cease operation within 30 to 45 days. The trustees urge Congress to guarantee loans up to $125 million for the Penn-Central immediately, and frankly state that a like amount will be needed before spring to keep the railroad in operation.

I have reviewed the testimony, and I have noted in their presentation a refusal by the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank to extend credit to the railroad under existing conditions under any terms. The trustees' testimony before both the House and Senate committee is to the effect that no banking interests will extend credit to the Penn-Central. Attachment A, sheets 3 and 4 of the testimony of the trustees before the Senate committee are pertinent for consideration by the House. And I quote:

> The key unit in what is loosely referred to as the Penn-Central is the Penn-Central Transportation Company which on June 21, 1970, filed for reorganization under Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. We hold the property of the Transportation Company as trustees responsible to Judge Fullam for the conduct of its business—

I am continuing to quote:

> All the stock of the Transportation Company is owned by Penn-Central Company. . . . Penn-Central Company is not in bankruptcy.
>
> Penn-Central Transportation Company owns and operates the Penn-Central Railroad. In addition, it has a controlling interest in over 100 subsidiary corporations. It has large holdings in non-transportation properties, chiefly real estate. Its ownership includes, for example, 5 large New York City hotels and, through a subsidiary corporation, a substantial interest in Executive Jet Aviation, Incorporated.
>
> The largest Penn-Central Transportation Company subsidiary is the Pennsylvania Company in which Penn-Central Transportation Company holds 100 percent of the common stock, the preferred stock being held publicly.

Mr. Speaker, sheets 3 and 4 list some of the subsidiaries of the Pennsylvania Company, but not all, and frankly states that the largest subsidiary controlled by Penn-Central Transportation Co. also holds "sub-subsidiary" corporations under them, and concludes on page 3 with this sentence:

> Pennsylvania Company is not in bankruptcy.

At the top of the vast holdings is the Penn-Central Co., the holding company, which is not affected by Judge Fullam's jurisdiction, and whose stock is traded on the New York Stock Exchange currently at 5⅞. In the middle is the Penn-Central Transportation Co., which is under the jurisdiction of Judge Fullam, and whose actions are controlled by the trustees. The assets of this company, as of September 30 of this year, are listed as $4.6 billion, with an equal amount of liabilities.

Included in these assets is the Pennsylvania Co., which is not in bankruptcy, and whose preferred stock, which is owned publicly, is traded regularly currently at $43½, and which paid a dividend on July 15 of this year of $1.15⅝ on the publicly owned stock.

Mr. Speaker, the scandals involved in the mismanagement of the Penn-Central holdings are beginning to unfold, one aspect which currently is being investigated by the House Banking and Currency Committee. In another action reported by the Washington Star, a lawsuit has been filed in the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia by two bondholders of the Pennsylvania Company accusing 10 banks and officials of using their inside knowledge in financial affairs of the bankrupt Penn-Central Transportation Co. in an attempt to keep the railroad solvent temporarily while they liquidated their holdings.

I remind the Members of the House the Pennsylvania Co. is not in bankruptcy. It is not subject to jurisdictions of Judge Fullam. It is not subject to the control of the trustees.

Mr. Speaker, all of the Penn-Central conglomerate from top to bottom should be considered as one pot and all of the assets should be in this one pot to keep the Penn-Central Railroad running. The holding company, the subsidiary corporations, and the "sub-subsidiary" corporations, whatever their assets are, should be under the jurisdiction, the surveillance and the tight control of the court and the trustees before this House should give any consideration to guaranteeing the loans. Rather than considering this bill, the House should pass a resolution calling for sweeping investigations to unravel the entwined holdings and manipulations that have led to this sorry condition of an important segment of our transportation industry. It is true that continuing operation of this railroad company is in the national interest.

But, "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." Under the conditions that exist and the scandals that have unfolded and probably will continue to unfold, prudent banking interests of this country refuse to participate in loans to this giant.

Guaranteeing a loan as provided in this bill is no less a risk to the taxpayer of this country than would an outright loan be under the same conditions stipulated. I do not pretend to present to the House all of the possible abuse of public trust that has been or is now being consummated within the tangled web of corporate holdings involved in the Penn-Central, but I do strongly urge that no action be taken by Congress to guarantee loans until first all of the assets are pooled together under jurisdiction of the court and are used for furtherance of running the railroad.

I call for House investigation of all aspects of the management of the various holdings of the company. I point out that congressional surveillance is also needed of the Interstate Commerce Commission handling of this affair. The trustees, in their testimony, pointed out that while the management of the Penn-Central Railroad showed $83 million lost in 1969, that they find that 1970 losses will be swollen to nearly $350 million and that the report to the ICC of the 1969 losses were "dubious allies of the truth." There is apparent need for better and more accurate reporting to the Interstate Commerce Commission by railroads if the charge leveled by the trustees against the management of Penn-Central's 1969 loss figure is accurate.

In essence, Mr. Speaker, we do not have all the facts to judge the capability of Penn-Central Holding Co. and the Pennsylvania Co.—the other portion of the holdings that is not in bankruptcy—to provide additional funds to run a railroad. Until these facts are presented, would be derelict and foolish to start guaranteeing loans to this mess. We do have the responsibility for the good of the country to investigate all of its shortcomings, all of the mismanagement, and to insist that all of the holdings be placed in the same pot under the scrutiny of the court and under jurisdiction of the trustees.

Until this is done I call for defeat of the bill.

I submit for the record attachment A, sheets 3 and 4—chart sheet 4 not printed in the RECORD—of the testimony of the trustees before the Senate Commerce Committee. These are the sheets previously referred to.

PENN CENTRAL CORPORATE STRUCTURE

The key unit in what is loosely referred to as "Penn Central" is the *Penn Central Transportation Company* (PCTC, or "the transportation company") which resulted from the merger, in February 1968, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the New York Central Railroad Company. This is the company which on June 21, 1970, filed for reorganization under Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. We hold the property of the transportation company as Trustees, responsible to Judge Fullam for the conduct of its business. Its Board of Directors no longer operates the Company.

All of the stock of the transportation company is owned by *Penn Central Company*, which was set up in October 1969. Its principal asset is the stock of PCTC.

Penn Central Company is not in bankruptcy; it exercises no control over PCTC, nor do the Trustees exercise any control over the holding company.

PCTC owns and operates the Penn Central railroad. In addition, it has a controlling interest in over a hundred subsidiary corporations. Some of these are railroad companies, others are not.

PCTC has large holdings in non-transportation properties, chiefly real estate. Its ownership includes, for example, five large New York City hotels and, through a subsidiary corporation, a substantial interest in *Executive Jet Aviation, Inc.* The largest PCTC subsidiary is the *Pennsylvania Company*, in which PCTC holds 100 percent of the common stock (the preferred stock being held publicly). Pennsylvania Company in turn holds a controlling interest in a number of subsidiaries, of which the largest are: *Buckeye Pipe Line Company; Great Southwest Corporation; Arvida Corporation.* Pennsylvania Company also owns, in conjunction with the transportation company, a 24 percent interest in *Madison Square Garden Corporation.* Its various other holdings include several rail companies that operate as an integral part of the Penn Central railroad network. The largest subsidiaries controlled by Pennsylvania Company also have "sub-subsidiary" corporations under them. Pennsylvania Company is not in bankruptcy.

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

Mr. MELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, what the gentleman says concerning investigation may be proper and true, but what if the railroads stop and we have this cataclysmic result in the various cities and States while the investigation is going on?

Mr. MELCHER. I am sensitive to and cognizant of the very serious nature of the proposals here, but I must admit that I would prefer to remain untainted and unstigmatized by the scandals that are being unfolded before this country on this particular corporation and all its holdings. Until all of the assets and holdings of the conglomerate are used to operate the railroad under jurisdiction of the court and trustees, we cannot be certain that loan guarantees are the right course for Congress.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I say to the House that there is no question, as I said at the outset, that the management of Penn Central is in a muddled mess. There is no question there were scandals there. There is no question about the irregularities and evils. I do not declare myself to be any kind of expert with respect to financial matters of corporations. I think the gentleman from Montana is not a financial expert, either, and I think he is greatly confused. I think, for example, the Penn Central Co. is not in bankruptcy. The Penn Central Co. is not in bankruptcy, I repeat. The Penn Central Co. has assets between $6 and $6½ to $7 billion. They own all the stock of the Pennsylvania Central Transportation Co., which is about $4½ billion, which is in bankruptcy. That is in bankruptcy. The whole empire would go down the drain if we did not have action of this type today.

How did the railroad get itself into such condition? It was not only because of poor management, but we also passed legislation a couple of weeks ago which added $48 million to what they have to pay because of the increase. By the order of the ICC in their merger they had to include the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, bringing them added millions of dollars of losses each year.

There is no question that the U.S. Government is not going to lose one dime in this transaction. There is no question, further, that this is going to tie the economy of the United States into futile knots if we do not pass this legislation today.

So, Mr. Speaker, with that statement I will yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS) for 6 minutes.

(Mr. ADAMS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to speak on the rule, but the remarks which have been made make it apparent to me that the House must have a clear picture of what is the crisis

at the Penn Central, so I will place in the RECORD at this time the report of the trustee and balance sheet of the Penn Central Transportation Co., assets and liabilities; the income statement of the Penn Central Transportation Co., indicating through September of this year a cash loss of $233,691,065; and a chart which will show the flow of funds through this corporation and the forecast for the years 1970 and 1971.

The information is as follows:

ATTACHMENT C

PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORTATION CO., DEBTOR

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

[In accordance with regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission]

	Sept. 30, 1970	Dec. 31, 1969
ASSETS		
Current assets:		
701 Cash (in transit $4,094,256; 1969—$13,484,465)	$43,839,700	$61,117,923
702 Temporary cash investments	211,882	10,077,775
703 Special deposits	842,933	9,135,779
704 Loans and notes receivable	1,332,232	1,495,183
706 Net balance receivable from agents and conductors	101,800,349	92,258,004
707 Miscellaneous accounts receivable	79,510,703	58,854,455
708 Interest and dividends receivable	4,083,335	5,019,842
709 Accrued accounts receivable	175,716,827	135,553,420
710 Working fund advances	1,543,954	1,307,879
711 Prepayments	3,303,145	6,903,184
712 Material and supplies	85,998,488	89,669,579
713 Other current assets	8,292,411	6,421,902
Total current assets	506,475,959	477,814,925
Special funds:		
715 Sinking funds	609	609
716 Capital and other reserve funds (excludes company's issues $4,293,320: 1969–$5,422,071)	24,383,238	6,619,024
717 Insurance and other funds	11,992,641	13,083,267
Total special funds	36,376,488	19,702,900
Investments:		
721 Investments in affiliated companies:		
Stock:		
Leased railroads	550,440,239	550,043,865
Other railroads	88,151,380	91,522,530
Pennsylvania Company	118,278,014	118,278,014
Other companies	29,880,129	31,546,379
Bonds, notes, and advances:		
Leased railroads	119,665,028	186,020,502
Other railroads	117,516,030	102,354,231
Other companies	91,834,362	73,478,895
Total investments in affiliated company	1,115,765,182	1,153,244,416
722 Other investments:		
Stock:		
Railroads	4,385,841	4,385,841
Madison Square Garden Corp	11,499,995	11,499,995
Other companies	427,863	427,835
Bonds, notes and advances:		
Railroads	4,497,821	4,467,607
Other companies	3,035,725	2,497,218
Total other investments	23,847,245	23,278,496
723 Reserve for adjustment of investment in securities—Cr	17,591,229	
Total investments	1,122,021,198	1,176,522,912
Properties:		
731 Road and equipment property:		
Road	1,849,865,167	1,833,946,687
Equipment	1,692,621,696	1,725,339,946
Other property accounts	(12,066,402)	(14,173,342)
	3,530,420,461	3,545,113,291
732 Improvements on leased property:		
Road	265,622,336	263,695,436
Equipment	3,440,594	3,529,793
General expenditures	4,852,976	4,854,626
Total	273,915,906	272,079,855
Total transportation property	3,804,336,367	3,817,193,146
735 Accrued depreciation—Road and equipment	(884,196,277)	(875,534,971)
736 Amortization of defense projects—Road and equipment	(40,079,586)	(41,545,417)
Recorded depreciation and amortization	(924,275,863)	(917,080,388)
Total transportation property less recorded depreciation and amortization	2,880,060,504	2,900,112,758
737 Miscellaneous physical property	$97,606,515	$96,050,816
738 Accrued depreciation—Miscellaneous physical property	(42,912,281)	(41,223,764)
Miscellaneous physical property less recorded depreciation	54,694,234	54,827,052
Total properties less recorded depreciation and amortization	2,934,754,738	2,954,939,810
Other assets and deferred charges:		
741 Other assets	17,691,826	35,859,113
742 Unamortized discount on long-term debt	1,244,836	1,406,522
743 Other deferred charges	39,410,901	39,511,978
Total other assets and deferred charges	58,347,563	70,777,613
Total assets	4,657,975,946	4,699,758,160
LIABILITIES AND SHAREHOLDERS' EQUITY		
Current liabilities:		
751 Loans and notes payable	36,430,000	102,048,000
752 Traffic and car service balance—Cr	11,093,093	3,378,136
753 Audited accounts and wages payable	162,457,183	43,317,081
754 Miscellaneous accounts payable	30,134,392	25,595,191
755 Interest matured unpaid	15,182,652	12,720,449
756 Dividends matured unpaid	312,904	10,805
757 Unmatured interest accrued	3,351,340	15,428,097
758 Unmatured dividends declared	119,366	162,917
759 Accrued accounts payable	286,686,512	230,499,421
760 Federal income taxes accrued	667,857	357,662
761 Other taxes accrued	57,918,705	39,784,234
763 Other current liabilities	44,676,641	10,153,259
Total current liabilities	649,030,645	483,455,252
Long-term debt due within 1 year:		
764 Equipment obligations and other debt	96,516,017	106,058,013
Long-term debt due after 1 year:		
765 Funded debt unmatured	1,088,010,225	1,140,722,655
766 Equipment obligations	457,468,766	493,862,259
768 Debt in default	108,524,137	
769 Amounts payable to affiliated companies	127,277,433	118,710,975
Total long-term debt due after 1 year	1,781,280,561	1,753,295,889
Reserves:		
771 Pension and welfare reserves	6,195,272	6,646,084
772 Insurance reserves	5,169,239	5,489,319
774 Casualty and other reserves	147,177,734	161,028,212
Total reserves	158,542,245	173,163,615
Other liabilities and deferred credits:		
781 Interest in default	26,893,608	
782 Other liabilities	27,509,287	28,797,678
783 Unamortized premium on long-term debt	72,116	75,911
784 Other deferred credits	57,361,601	61,399,187
785 Accrued depreciation—Leased property	168,291,695	167,343,379
Total other liabilities and deferred credits	280,128,307	257,616,155
Shareholders' equity:		
791 Capital stock issued	241,137,030	241,137,030
Capital surplus:		
794 Premiums and assessments on capital stock	87,610,462	87,610,462
795 Paid-in surplus	1,002,403,106	1,002,403,106
Total capital surplus	1,090,013,568	1,090,013,568
Retained income:		
797 Retained income—Appropriated		1,422,000
798 Retained income—Unappropriated	361,327,573	593,596,638
Total retained income	361,327,573	595,018,638
Total shareholders' equity	1,692,478,171	1,926,169,236
Total liabilities and shareholders' equity	4,657,975,946	4,699,758,160

Notes: (1) The above statement is presented in accordance with accounting regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such regulations do not agree in certain respects with generally accepted accounting principles. (2) The transportation company's results of operations are included without adjustment, except as described in note 3 below, which ultimately may result from the company's entry into reorganization under the Bankruptcy Act on June 21, 1970. These results include the period prior to the appointment of the Trustees in Reorganization and for this prior period do not constitute the report of the Trustees. Debt in default classified in the balance sheet represents obligations not paid on their scheduled maturity dates. The payment of certain debt obligations has been deferred by court order. The reorganization proceedings have resulted in technical defaults on substantial additional portions of the transportation company's debt. (3) Provision, in the estimated amount of $17,591,229 is made for impairment in value of investments in Lehigh Valley Railroad, which entered reorganization July 24, 1970, under the Bankruptcy Act, and incidental holdings as to which realization has become doubtful since reorganization of the Penn Central Transportation Co.

PENN CENTRAL TRANSPORTATION COMPANY, DEBTOR

INCOME STATEMENT

[In accordance with regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission]

	Jan. 1 to Sept. 30		September	
	1970	1969	1970	1969
Railway operating revenues:				
Freight	$1,053,823,896	$989,486,094	$115,922,114	$114,194,831
Passenger	108,626,187	109,938,203	11,270,918	11,472,045
Mail	33,409,160	41,849,461	3,990,351	4,363,055
Express	1,885,276	2,461,881	349,483	68,857
Switching	16,348,680	16,358,503	1,774,414	1,921,198
Demurrage	22,071,938	17,220,230	2,580,490	2,509,236
All other	41,300,199	45,028,249	4,561,578	7,314,189
Total	1,277,465,336	1,222,342,621	140,449,348	141,843,411
Railway operating expenses:				
Maintanance of way and structures	164,851,598	137,084,547	17,941,129	13,596,665
Maintenance of equipment	242,760,645	203,855,062	24,559,342	21,969,492
Traffic	17,119,742	17,980,990	1,793,894	2,000,769
Transportation	665,377,830	588,807,728	71,615,810	65,562,381
Miscellaneous operations	8,310,875	8,866,785	828,573	895,358
General	80,192,250	74,953,787	8,498,213	8,419,059
Total	1,178,612,940	1,031,548,899	125,236,961	112,443,724
Net revenue from railway operations	98,852,396	190,793,722	15,212,387	29,399,687
Railway tax accruals	113,140,290	84,103,383	11,958,748	12,127,688
Hire of equipment—Debit balance	148,655,983	135,484,913	19,002,322	12,832,019
Joint facility rents—Debit balance	3,605,122	3,572,925	418,444	280,699
Net railway operating income (loss)	(166,548,999)	(32,367,499)	(16,167,127)	4,159,281
Other income:				
Revenue from miscellaneous operations		146,539		
Income from lease of road and equipment	148,088	204,539	9,910	20,677
Miscellaneous rent income	8,862,103	8,598,546	1,110,526	928,025
Income from nonoperating property	14,748,925	15,595,752	1,494,753	1,761,810
Separately operated properties—Profit	54,751	3,687	6,084	
Dividend income	18,705,676	53,477,774	444,907	14,173,220
Interest income	3,935,127	3,247,745	399,033	483,771
Income from sinking and other reserve funds	1,066,240	542,375	152,812	52,544
Release of premiums on funded debt	$3,796	$3,850	$422	$427
Miscellaneous income	19,894,680	7,390,961	624,411	1,789,292
Total other income	67,419,386	89,211,768	4,242,858	19,209,766
Total income (loss)	(99,129,613)	56,844,269	(11,924,269)	23,369,047
Miscellaneous deductions from income:				
Expenses of miscellaneous operations		29,335		975
Taxes on miscellaneous operating property	41,428	41,435	3,980	5,828
Miscellaneous rents	537,676	563,600	45,922	28,965
Miscellaneous tax accruals	1,184,208	1,182,602	131,490	146,546
Separately operated properties—Loss	2,697,064	3,328,194	272,249	812,734
Maintenance of investment organization	1,066,821	944,376	117,371	68,993
Income transferred to other companies	367,592	179,744	25,354	92,101
Miscellaneous income charges	18,952,705	2,009,752	174,994	317,434
Total miscellaneous deductions	24,847,494	8,279,038	771,360	1,473,576
Income (Loss) available for fixed charges	(123,977,107)	48,565,231	(12,695,629)	21,895,471
Fixed charges:				
Rent for leased roads & equipment	24,547,656	19,885,737	2,959,303	2,284,641
Interest on funded debt:				
Fixed interest not in default	52,054,400	61,843,491	4,205,542	7,778,036
Interest in default	25,815,499		4,521,400	
Interest on unfunded debt	6,964,805	6,763,574	351,921	1,101,271
Amortization of discount on funded debt	331,598	286,965	26,803	28,120
Total fixed charges	109,713,958	88,779,767	12,064,969	11,192,068
Ordinary income (Loss)	(233,691,065)	(40,214,536)	(24,760,598)	10,703,403
Prior period items		(8,817,778)		(8,817,778)
Net income (Loss)	(233,691,065)	(49,032,314)	(24,760,598	1,885,625

NOTES

1 The above statement is presented in accordance with accounting regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such regulations do not agree in certain respects with generally accepted accounting principles.

2 The transportation company's results of operations are included without adjustment, except as described in note 3 below, which ultimately may result from the company's entry into reorganization under the Bankruptcy Act on June 21, 1970. These results include the period prior to the appointment of the Trustees in Reorganization and for this prior period do not constitute the report of the Trustees.

Interest in default provided in the income statement represents interest on obligations not paid on their scheduled maturity dates. The payment of certain debt obligations has been deferred by court order. The reorganization proceedings have resulted in technical defaults on substantial additional portions of the transportation company's debt.

3. Provision, in the estimated amount of $17,591,229 is made for impairment in value of investments in Lehigh Valley RR., which entered reorganization July 24, 1970, under the Bankruptcy Act, and incidental holdings as to which realization has become doubtful since reorganization of the Penn Central Transportation Co.

ATTACHMENT B

SOURCE AND APPLICATION OF FUNDS (IN ACCORDANCE WITH REGULATIONS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION)

[In millions of dollars]

	1971		
	Advance financial plan	Advance [1] financial plan	1970 forecast
Source:			
Net ordinary earnings (loss) for company	(188.2)	(47.5)	(300.9)
Adjustments to Earnings:			
Depreciation	96.3	96.3	97.9
Deferral of payments—Reorganization	174.9	174.9	87.5
Accounts payable increase			92.0
Accrual for anticipated wage increases			46.5
Other adjustments to earnings	(8.9)	(8.9)	30.9
Totoal adjustments	262.3	262.3	354.8
Net cash provided by operations	74.1	214.8	53.9
Other sources:			
Proceeds from sale of property and salvage	35.9	35.9	32.5
Government contribution, Northeast corridor	1.5	1.5	4.6
Passenger service subsidies	28.3	28.3	
Other			(14.4)
Subtotal	65.7	65.7	22.7
Total source other than financing	139.8	280.5	76.6

	1971		
	Advance financial plan	Advance [1] financial plan	1970 forecast
Application:			
Capital program—equipment	14.7	14.7	13.0
Capital program—road	74.6	74.6	68.0
Debt retirement (1971—equipment only)	63.0	63.0	89.3
Debt service—commercial paper			21.9
Merger reserve	10.0	10.0	16.4
Retroactive wage payment for 1970	46.5		
Passenger service expenses net of revenues	28.3	28.3	
Other			25.2
Total application	237.1	190.6	233.8
Net increase (decrease) in cash—other than financing	(97.3)	89.9	(157.2)
Cash at beginning of year	20.5	20.5	58.0
Financing to maintain cash balance	97.3		119.7
Cash at end of year	20.5	110.4	20.5

[1] These figures exclude any increase in current rate of pay and any retroactive adjustment for labor agreements not settled as of this date.

Note: The above figures, for 1971, do not include a $183,500,000 capital equipment program that needs to be financed. The 1970 forecast does not include capital equipment financing of $112,300,000 of which $75,500,000 has been secured.

In reply to my very good friend from Montana—and he is my very good friend—I want to point out that the purpose of this legislation is to provide that you gentlemen will not be required on the 8th of January, approximately, of next year, either to require nationalization of the railroads, to put troops on the railroads, or in some other fashion to make this railroad run.

This is not a crisis of the type which is generally referred to in bankruptcy of not having enough assets as opposed to liabilities. The trustees believe there are sufficient assets. As they drive through these corporate shells and sue the various people involved these assets will come in.

This is the testimony of Mr. Willard Wirtz, who is one of the trustees, and also the testimony of Mr. Langdon. I have no reason to question these men; and I want to state that no one else has questioned their facts.

The Department of Transportation came in to testify, through Secretary Volpe. He supports what we have done.

The ICC came in to testify, and they do, too. I mention the ICC, because they have charge of watching these accounts and these balances as they go up and down.

Here is the problem. They have to meet a payroll on January 6. Their balance, according to every prognostication which they can make—and this is the way they do it—is that they take in about $8 million a day and they spend about $8 million a day, which means they have to have a bank balance of about $8 million, or people do not honor their checks.

I am talking about the trustees now. They are not paying local taxes. They are not paying interest. They are not making any payments of that nature, because they are under the control of the bankruptcy court. But they do have to pay their men. Their men demand cash.

According to the testimony, on January 7 they will have a payroll of $3.3 million, and on that day with the other receipts and disbursements they will end up with a balance of $6.1 million. On January 8 they will have paychecks of $7.4 million. That brings it down, with the other receipts and disbursements, to $2.2 million.

One can argue about the day, but at some point in the early part of January they will run out of cash to pay their men.

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

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. JACOBS. The gentleman is referring to the fact that this bankruptcy corporation will have to pay its men. How much does the head man draw while this railroad is in bankruptcy?

Mr. ADAMS. All the former head men that have been in it have been fired.

I will have to refer to the chairman for the exact amount the man running it today is being paid. He just came in from the Southern Railroad.

Mr. STAGGERS. The gentleman who has been brought in to run this railroad, Mr. William Moore from the Southern Railway, is one of the finest railroad men, I understand, in America. His salary under the trustees will be $165,000 a year.

Mr. JACOBS. What about the President who has retired? Is he not drawing a retirement pension of about a quarter million dollars a year?

Mr. ADAMS. No, he is not. That retirement pension is presently in litigation, and the trustees have indicated they will pursue all the appropriate remedies in bankruptcy court against all the individuals involved. They already have cut off the $250,000 pension that had been voted in the past, to answer the gentleman's question specifically.

Mr. JACOBS. The head man for the railroad, in effect, now is working for the trustees in bankruptcy; is that correct?

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. JACOBS. Therefore he is in the nature of a public servant, and he is drawing $165,000?

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. JACOBS. And they still owe money on the pictures of the girls, I understand.

Mr. ADAMS. That is a different part of the corporate enterprise and this man was not in control of the corporation then. We are certainly willing to discuss that when we get into the Committee of the Whole.

Now, in conclusion—and we are going into this in greater detail in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, but I want to assure the gentleman from Montana that I do understand his concern that these are treated as trustee certificates under title 11, United States Code, section 205, which provides that these are expenses of administration. That is why they come ahead of secured creditors.

Lawyers in the House can argue about this if they want to do so, but in the past this has been done and it has been successfully done. These trustee certificates are credit instruments issued by the Treasury which would be guaranteed by the Government. There is a great amount of insulation.

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

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I have two questions to propound to the gentleman from Washington.

Under the provisions of this bill the gentleman stated that the Secretary shall not guarantee any certificate unless the certificate is treated as an expense of administration and receives the highest lien on the railroad property and priority and payment under the Bankruptcy Act. Nothing we do in this bill can change anything under the Bankruptcy Act having to do with the bankruptcy law.

Mr. ADAMS. We are not undertaking to change all the parts of the Bankruptcy Act. We have not chosen that course. We have taken the course of instructing the Secretary as to when and whether he shall guarantee, and the judge must approve these as expenses of administration before they are issued.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 minutes.

Mr. ADAMS. I thank the distinguished gentleman from California for yielding to me this additional time.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; I yield further to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I would like to say that my concern is that this provision, notwithstanding that the courts may decide—and there may be court litigation on the validity of the priority of the lien and the Government's right to protect itself, may be adversely affected by court decisions which may say that we do not have the priority that we believe we have.

Mr. ADAMS. All I can say to the gentleman from Ohio is that we have checked the court decisions which are most recent and they indicate that certificates can be issued and guaranteed. Of course, there can always be a lawsuit.

Mr. VANIK. If there is a pay out under the guarantee from where will the funds come? Where will the money have to come from to pay off in the event there is a claim under the guarantee?

Mr. ADAMS. That must then come from appropriations by coming to the Congress and by our saying we appropriate so much with which to pay the lawsuits.

Mr. VANIK. Would that be in a general appropriation bill or would it be in the budget under a specific governmental department?

Mr. ADAMS. It could come up either way. My surmise would be that the Department of Transportation would come in with a request for an amount which it felt was necessary.

Mr. VANIK. Can the gentleman assure me that it will not come out of the Defense budget?

Mr. ADAMS. I cannot assure the gentleman of anything along that line, but I do not think so.

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

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GONZALEZ. We have talked about a salary of $165,000 for an official and then the name of a trustee was injected into this. How much of it would the trustees get?

Mr. ADAMS. I cannot answer that now but if you wish we will during general debate go into it in detail. There are four trustees and they are Mr. Willard Wirtz, George P. Baker, Richard C. Bond, and Jervis Langdon.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Are they not receiving about $75,000 a year?

Mr. ADAMS. My understanding is that they are. I might say to the gentleman that I do not either defend or advocate salaries for these people, but someone has got to run this railroad and you are going to have to pay someone to do it. I am not defending the past management.

All I can say is it is in bankruptcy, and that is all at this point we can do to it.

But, I want to say to the gentleman, and make very clear to the House, that prior to March 31 of this next year the House of Representatives and the other body, together with the executive departments, are going to have to decide what they want to do with this railroad. We are trying to carry it on until the Congress can come back and meet and decide what we want to do. And we will give full opportunity to the Members, and this Member pledges that: that there will be special orders taken where Members who oppose that can come in and take part, and make any proposals they might wish to make.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, all I can say is that this is a heck of a way to run a railroad.

Mr. ADAMS. I agree with the gentleman.

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

Mr. ADAMS. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, insofar as the matter of priorities is concerned, while there may be some legal questions raised on the basis of what we have done and what we will be striving to do with this legislation, and other existing rights which are already in existence, do I understand that it is the intention of this legislation to establish the very highest priority that we can do, that we can establish, insofar as the claims of the Government are concerned?

Mr. ADAMS. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I ask the question for the purpose of establishing legislative intent, so that in the event there ever is a court test, to the maximum degree we can do so by legislation we are striving to put the claims of the United States as security for these liens at the very top of the pile?

Mr. ADAMS. The gentleman is again correct.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding me the extra time.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in wholehearted support of H.R. 19953, the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970. The continuation of the essential rail passenger and freight service to the vital and dynamic northeastern portion of the United States is absolutely essential. My Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics has heard from all of the various and concerned or affected groups who are vitally related to this important segment of our transportation system.

Perhaps the most telling testimony was given by Mr. Charles P. Roche, executive vice president of the Freight Forwarders Institute of America. The impact of curtailment of service to small shippers along the line of the Penn Central given by Mr. Roche certainly convinced me that the legislation now before us is absolutely necessary. We simply cannot allow the hundreds of thousands of people who earn their daily bread from business activities dependent on rail transportation to be unemployed.

Mr. Speaker, as the act itself states, this is an emergency situation. I urge all my colleagues to seriously consider only the fact and futures of the employees, small businessmen and small shippers who are dependent on this rail service when they vote on this emergency measure.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MELCHER. 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 263, nays 30, answered "present" 1, not voting 139, as follows:

[Roll No. 448]

YEAS—263

Adams	Edmondson	Keith
Albert	Edwards, Ala.	King
Anderson, Calif.	Edwards, La.	Kleppe
Anderson, Ill.	Erlenborn	Kluczynski
Annunzio	Esch	Koch
Arends	Eshleman	Kuykendall
Ashbrook	Evans, Colo.	Kyros
Beall, Md.	Feighan	Landgrebe
Belcher	Findley	Lloyd
Bennett	Fish	Long, Md.
Betts	Fisher	Lowenstein
Biaggi	Flood	McCloskey
Biester	Flowers	McClure
Bingham	Foley	McDade
Blackburn	Ford, Gerald R.	McFall
Blatnik	Ford, William D.	McMillan
Boggs	Forsythe	Macdonald, Mass.
Boland	Fountain	MacGregor
Bolling	Frelinghuysen	Madden
Bow	Frey	Mahon
Brademas	Fulton, Pa.	Mailliard
Bray	Fuqua	Mann
Brotzman	Gallagher	Marsh
Brown, Mich.	Garmatz	Matsunaga
Brown, Ohio	Gettys	Mayne
Broyhill, Va.	Giaimo	Meeds
Buchanan	Goodling	Minish
Burke, Mass.	Gray	Mink
Burleson, Tex.	Green, Oreg.	Minshall
Bush	Green, Pa.	Mizell
Byrne, Pa.	Griffin	Mollohan
Byrnes, Wis.	Gross	Morgan
Cabell	Grover	Morse
Carey	Gubser	Mosher
Carney	Gude	Murphy, N.Y.
Carter	Hagan	Myers
Casey	Halpern	Natcher
Celler	Hamilton	Nedzi
Chamberlain	Hammer-schmidt	Nelsen
Cohelan	Hanna	Nix
Collier	Hansen, Idaho	Obey
Collins, Tex.	Hansen, Wash.	O'Hara
Colmer	Harsha	Olsen
Conable	Harvey	O'Neal, Ga.
Conte	Hastings	O'Neill, Mass.
Corman	Hathaway	Passman
Coughlin	Hawkins	Patten
Crane	Hays	Perkins
Culver	Hechler, W. Va.	Philbin
Daniels, N.J.	Helstoski	Pickle
Davis, Ga.	Hogan	Pirnie
Davis, Wis.	Holifield	Podell
de la Garza	Horton	Poff
Dellenback	Hosmer	Pollock
Dennis	Howard	Preyer, N.C.
Derwinski	Hunt	Price, Ill.
Devine	Hutchinson	Price, Tex.
Dickinson	Ichord	Pucinski
Dingell	Jarman	Purcell
Donohue	Jonas	Quie
Dorn	Jones, N.C.	Quillen
Downing	Karth	Railsback
Duncan	Kee	Randall
Eckhardt	Keith	Rees
Reid, Ill.	Smith, Calif.	Vigorito
Reid, N.Y.	Smith, Iowa	Wampler
Reuss	Smith, N.Y.	Ware
Rhodes	Springer	Watson
Riegle	Stafford	Watts
Robison	Staggers	Weicker
Rodino	Stanton	Whalen
Roe	Steiger, Wis.	White
Rogers, Colo.	Stokes	Whitehurst
Rooney, N.Y.	Stratton	Widnall
Rooney, Pa.	Stubblefield	Wiggins
Rosenthal	Stuckey	Williams
Rostenkowski	Taft	Wilson, Bob
Roth	Talcott	Wilson, Charles H.
Roybal	Taylor	Wydler
Ryan	Teague, Calif.	Wylie
Satterfield	Teague, Tex.	Wyman
Scheuer	Thompson, Ga.	Yates
Schneebeli	Thompson, N.J.	Yatron
Schwengel	Thomson, Wis.	Young
Scott	Udall	Zablocki
Sebelius	Ullman	Zion
Shriver	Van Deerlin	
Skubitz	Vander Jagt	
Slack	Vanik	

NAYS—30

Abernethy	Gonzalez	Miller, Ohio
Bevill	Harrington	Nichols
Blanton	Hicks	Pike
Brinkley	Jacobs	Poage
Broomfield	Jones, Tenn.	Roberts
Burton, Calif.	Kastenmeier	Sandman
Chappell	Kazen	Schmitz
Cleveland	Kyl	Steed
Conyers	Leggett	Waldie
Eilberg	Melcher	Whitten

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Daniel, Va.

NOT VOTING—139

Abbitt	Edwards, Calif.	Mills
Adair	Evins, Tenn.	Mize
Addabbo	Fallon	Monagan
Alexander	Farbstein	Montgomery
Anderson, Tenn.	Fascell	Moorhead
Andrews, Ala.	Flynt	Morton
Andrews, N. Dak.	Foreman	Moss
Ashley	Fraser	Murphy, Ill.
Aspinall	Friedel	O'Konski
Ayres	Fulton, Tenn.	Ottinger
Baring	Galifianakis	Patman
Barrett	Gaydos	Pelly
Bell, Calif.	Gibbons	Pepper
Berry	Gilbert	Pettis
Brasco	Goldwater	Powell
Brock	Griffiths	Pryor, Ark.
Brooks	Haley	Rarick
Brown, Calif.	Hall	Reifel
Broyhill, N.C.	Hanley	Rivers
Burke, Fla.	Hébert	Rogers, Fla.
Burlison, Mo.	Heckler, Mass.	Roudebush
Burton, Utah	Henderson	Rousselot
Button	Hull	Ruppe
Caffery	Hungate	Ruth
Camp	Johnson, Calif.	St Germain
Cederberg	Johnson, Pa.	Saylor
Chisholm	Jones, Ala.	Schadeberg
Clancy	Landrum	Scherle
Clark	Langen	Shipley
Clausen, Don H.	Latta	Sikes
Clawson, Del	Lennon	Sisk
Clay	Long, La.	Snyder
Collins, Ill.	Lujan	Steele
Corbett	Lukens	Steiger, Ariz.
Cowger	McCarthy	Stephens
Cramer	McClory	Sullivan
Cunningham	McCulloch	Symington
Daddario	McDonald, Mich.	Tiernan
Delaney	McEwen	Tunney
Denney	McKneally	Waggonner
Dent	Martin	Whalley
Diggs	Mathias	Winn
Dowdy	May	Wold
Dulski	Meskill	Wolff
Dwyer	Michel	Wright
	Mikva	Wyatt
	Miller, Calif.	Zwach

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Hall.

Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Cederberg.

Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Snyder.

Mr. Caffery with Mr. Pettis.

Mr. Rarick with Mr. Bell of California.

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.

Mr. Addabbo with Mr. Clancy.

Mr. Symington with Mr. Wyatt.
Mr. Hull with Mr. Foreman.
Mr. Henderson with Mr. Winn.
Mr. Johnson of California with Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Brasco with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.
Mr. Brooks with Mr. Ayres.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Delaney with Mr. Latta.
Mr. Dulski with Mr. Rousselot.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Zwach.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Reifel.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Wold.
Mr. Gaydos with Mr. Adair.
Mrs. Griffiths with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts.
Mr. Hanley with Mr. McClory.
Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Goldwater.
Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Langen.
Mr. Alexander with Mr. Scherle.
Mr. Lennon with Mr. Pelly.
Mr. Tiernan with Mr. Lujan.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. Dwyer.
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Broyhill of North Carolina.
Mr. Wright with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Saylor.
Mr. Montgomery with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Monagan with Mr. Ruth.
Mr. Pryor of Arkansas with Mr. Denney.
Mr. Shipley with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Mikva with Mr. Clay.
Mrs. Chisholm with Mr. Rogers of Colorado.
Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Diggs.
Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Whalley.
Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Cunningham.
Mr. Burlison of Missouri with Mr. Burke of Florida.
Mr. Moss with Mr. Steele.
Mr. Pepper with Mr. Schadeberg.
Mr. St Germain with Mr. Burton of Utah.
Mr. Sikes with Mr. McEwen.
Mr. Sisk with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Stephens with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Haley with Mr. Morton.
Mr. Galifianakis with Mr. McKneally.
Mr. Fascell with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. Hungate with Mr. Martin.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. Dowdy with Mrs. May.
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Button.
Mr. Gibbons with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Fraser with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Meskill.
Mr. Tunney with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Michel.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Mills with Mr. Camp.
Mr. Fallon with Mr. Gilbert.
Mr. Farbstein with Mr. Friedel.
Mr. Rivers with Mr. Ottinger.
Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. Clark.

Mr. COHELAN and Mr. LANDGREBE changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18582, FOOD STAMP ACT

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill, H.R. 18582, the food stamp bill.

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

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 91–1793)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18582), to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

That section 2 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress, in order to promote the general welfare, that the Nation's abundance of food should be utilized cooperatively by the States, the Federal Government, local governmental units, and other agencies to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nations population and raise levels of nutrition among low-income households. The Congress hereby finds that the limited food purchasing power of low-income households contributes to hunger and malnutrition among members of such households. The Congress further finds that increased utilization of food in establishing and maintaining adequate national levels of nutrition will promote the distribution in a beneficial manner of our agricultural abundances and will strengthen our agricultural economy, as well as result in more orderly marketing and distribution of food. To alleviate such hunger and malnutrition, a food stamp program is herein authorized which will permit low-income households to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet through normal channels of trade."

SEC. 2. (a). Section 9(e) of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(e) The term 'household' shall mean a group of related individuals (including legally adopted children and legally assigned foster children) or non-related individuals over age 60 who are not residents of an institution or boarding house, but are living as one economic unit sharing common cooking facilities and for whom food is customarily purchased in common. The term 'household' shall also mean (1) a single individual living alone who has cooking facilities and who purchases and prepares food for home consumption, or (2) an elderly person who meets the requirements of section 10(h) of this Act."

(b) Add the following sentence at the end of subsection 3(f) of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended: "It shall also mean a political subdivision or a private nonprofit organization that meets the requirements of section 10(h) of this Act."

(c) Subsection (j) of section 3 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(j) The term 'State' means the fifty States and the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands of the United States.".

(d) Add the following new subsection at the end of section 3 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended:

"(l) The term 'elderly person' shall mean a person sixty years of age or over who is not a resident of an institution or boarding house and who is living alone, or with spouse whether or not be has cooking facilities in his home."

(e) Section 3 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(m) The term 'authorization to purchase card' means any document issued by the State agency to an eligible household which shows the face value of the coupon allotment the household is entitled to be issued on presentment of such document and the amount to be paid by such household for such allotment."

SEC. 3. Subsections (a) and (b) of section 4 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, are amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Secretary is authorized to formulate and administer a food stamp program under which, at the request of the State agency, eligible households within the State shall be provided with an opportunity to obtain a nutritionally adequate diet through the issuance to them of a coupon allotment which shall have a greater monetary value than the charge to be paid for such allotment by eligible households. The coupons so received by such households shall be used only to purchase food from retail food stores which have been approved for participation in the food stamp program. Coupons issued and used as provided in this Act shall be redeemable at face value by the Secretary through the facilities of the Treasury of the United States.

"(b) In areas where the food stamp program is in operation, there shall be no distribution of federally donated foods to households under the authority of any other law except that distribution thereunder may be made: (1) during temporary emergency situations when the Secretary determines that commercial channels of food distribution have been disrupted; (2) for such period of time as the Secretary determines necessary, to effect an orderly transition in an area in which the distribution of federally donated foods to households is being replaced by a food stamp program; or (3) on request of the State agency: *Provided*, That the Secretary shall not approve any plan established under this Act which permits any household to simultaneously participate in both the food stamp program and the distribution of federally donated foods under this clause (3)."

SEC. 4. Section 5 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5. (a) Except for the temporary participation of households that are victims of a disaster as provided in subsection (b) of this section, participation in the food stamp program shall be limited to those households whose income and other financial resources are determined to be substantial limiting factors in permitting them to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet.

"(b) The Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall establish uniform national standards of eligibility for participation by households in the food stamp program and no plan of operation submitted by a State agency shall be approved unless the standards of eligibility meet those established by the Secretary. The standards established by the Secretary, at a minimum, shall prescribe the amounts of household income and other financial resources, including both liquid and nonliquid assets, to be used as criteria of eligibility. Any household which includes a member who has reached his eighteenth birthday and who is claimed as a dependent child for Federal income tax purposes by a taxpayer who is not a member of an eligible household, shall be ineligible to participate in any food stamp program established pursuant to this Act during the tax period such dependency is claimed and for a period of one year after expiration of such tax period. The Secretary may also establish temporary emergency standards of eligibility, without regard to income and other financial resources, for households that are victims of a disaster which disrupted commercial channels of food distribution when he determines that such households are in need of temporary food assistance, and that commerical channels of food distribution have again become available to meet the temporary food needs of such households: *Provided*, That

the Secretary shall in the case of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, establish special standards of eligibility and coupon allotment schedules which reflect the average per capita income and cost of obtaining a nutritionally adequate diet in Puerto Rico and the respective territories; except that in no event shall the standards of eligibility or coupon allotment schedules so used exceed those in the fifty States.

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the Secretary shall include in the uniform national standards of eligibility to be prescribed under subsection (b) of this section a provision that each State agency shall provide that a household shall not be eligible for assistance under this Act if it includes an able-bodied adult person betwen the ages of eighteen and sixty-five (except mothers or other members of the household who have the responsibility of care of dependent children or of incapacitated adults, bona fide students in any accredited school or training program or persons employed and working at least 30 hours per week) who either (a) fails to register for employment at a State or Federal employment office or, when impractical, at such other appropriate State or Federal office designated by the Secretary, or (b) has refused to accept employment or public work at not less than (i) the applicable State minimum wage, (ii) the applicable Federal minimum wage, (iii) the applicable wage established by a valid regulation of the Federal Government authorized by existing law to establish such regulations, or (iv) $1.30 per hour if there is no applicable wage as described in (i), (ii), or (iii) above. Refusal to work at a plant or site subject to a strike or a lockout for the duration of such strike or lockout shall not be deemed to be a refusal to accept employment."

SEC. 5. Subsections (a) and (b) of section 7 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, are amended to read as follows:

"(a) The face value of the coupon allotment which State agencies shall be authorized to issue to any households certified as eligible to participate in the food stamp program shall be in such amount as the Secretary determines to be the cost of a nutritionally adequate diet, adjusted annually to reflect changes in the prices of food published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, households shall be charged for the coupon allotment issued to them, and the amount of such charge shall represent a reasonable investment on the part of the household, but in no event (2) more than 30 per centum of the household's income: *Provided*, That coupon allotments may be issued without charge to households with income of less than $30 per month for a family of four under standards of eligibility prescribed by the Secretary: *Provided further*, That the Secretary shall provide a reasonable opportunity for any eligible household to elect to be issued a coupon allotment having a face value which is less than the face value of the coupon allotment authorized to be issued to them under subsection (a) of this section. The charge to be paid by eligible households electing to exercise the option set forth in this subsection shall be an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount which would have been charged under subsection (b) of this section as the face value of the coupon allotment actually issued to them bears to the face value of the coupon allotment that would have been issued to them under subsection (a) of this section."

SEC. 6. (a) Subsection (c) of section 10 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended by inserting immediately preceding the first sentence the following: "Any household which is receiving public assistance and which makes application for the benefits of this Act shall be certified for eligibility solely by execution of an affidavit, in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, by the member of such household making application. Certification of a household as eligible in any political subdivision shall, in the event of removal of such household to another political subdivision in which the food stamp program is operating, remain valid for participation in the food stamp program for a period of sixty days from the date of such removal."

(b) Subsection (e) of section 10 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(e) The State agency of each State desiring to participate in the food stamp program shall submit for approval a plan of operation specifying the manner in which such program will be conducted within the State, the political subdivisions within the State in which the State desires to conduct the program, and the effective dates of participation by each such political subdivision. In addition, such plan of operation shall provide, among such other provisions as may by regulations be required, the following: (1) the specific standards to be used in determining the eligibility of applicant households; (2) that the State agency shall undertake the certification of applicant households in accordance with the general procedures and personnel standards used by them in the certification of applicants for benefits under the federally aided public assistance programs; (3) safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information obtained from applicant households to persons directly connected with the administration or enforcement of the provisions of this Act or the regulations issued pursuant to this Act; (4) for the submission of such reports and other information as from time to time may be required; (5) that the State agency shall undertake effective action, including the use of services provided by other federally funded agencies and organizations, to inform low-income households concerning the availability and benefits of the food stamp program and insure the participation of eligible households; and (6) for the granting of a fair hearing and a prompt determination thereafter to any household aggrieved by the action of a State agency under any provision of its plan of operation as it affects the participation of such household in the food stamp program. The State agency shall, notwithstanding any other provision of law, institute procedures under which any household participating in the food stamp program shall be entitled, if it so elects, to have the charges, if any, for its coupon allotment deducted from any grant or payment such household may be entitled to receive under any federally aided public assistance program and have its coupon allotment distributed to it with such grant or payment. In approving the participation of the subdivisions requested by each State in its plan of operation, the Secretary shall provide for an equitable and orderly expansion among the several States in accordance with their relative need and readiness to meet their requested effective dates of participation."

(c) Add the following new subsection to section 10 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended:

"(h) Subject to such items and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary in the regulations issued pursuant to this Act, members of an eligible household who are sixty years of age or over or an elderly person and his spouse may use coupons issued to them to purchase meals prepared for and delivered to them by a political subdivision or by a private nonprofit organization which: (1) is not receiving federally donated foods from the United States Department of Agriculture for use in the preparation of such meals; (2) is operated in a manner consistent with the purposes of this Act; and (3) is recognized as a tax exempt organization by the Internal Revenue Service: *Provided*, That household members or elderly persons to whom meals are delivered are housebound, feeble, physically handicapped, or otherwise disabled, to the extent that they are unable to adequately prepare all of their meals. Meals served pursuant to this subsection shall be deemed 'food' for the purposes of this Act."

SEC. 7. (a) Subsections (a) and (b) of section 14 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, are amended as follows:

"(a) Nothwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, the Secretary may provide for the purchase, issuance or presentment for redemption of coupons to such person or persons, and at such times and in such manner, as he deems necessary or appropriate to protect the interests of the United States or to insure enforcement of the provisions of this Act or the regulations issued pursuant to this Act.

"(b) Whoever knowingly uses, transfers, acquires, alters, or possesses coupons or authorization to purchase cards in any manner not authorized by this Act or the regulations issued pursuant to this Act shall, if such coupons or authorization to purchase cards are of the value of $100 or more, be guilty of a felony and shall upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years or both, or, if such coupons or authorization to purchase cards are of a value of less than $100, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both."

(b) Section 14 of the Food Stamp Act as 1964, as amended, is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(e) No person shall be charged with a violation of this or any other Act, or of any regulation issued under this or any other Act, or of any State plan of operation on the basis of any statements or information contained in an affidavit filed pursuant to section 10(c) of this Act, except for fraud."

SEC. 8. Subsection (b) of section 15 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964 as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Secretary is authorized to pay to each State agency an amount equal to 62½ per centum of the sum of (1) the direct salary, travel, and travel-related cost (including such fringe benefits as are normally paid) of personnel, including the immediate supervisors of such personnel, for such time as they are employed in taking the action required under the provisions of subsection 10(e)(5) of this Act and in making certification determinations for households other than those which consist solely of recipients of welfare assistance; (2) the direct salary, travel, and travel-related costs (including such fringe benefits as are normally paid) of personnel for such time as they are employed as hearing officials under section 10 (e) of the Act."

SEC. 9. Section 16(a) of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, is amended by striking "$170,000,000 for the six months ending December 31, 1970" and inserting in lieu thereof "$1,750,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971; and for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1972 and June 30, 1973 such sums as the Congress may appropriate.".

And the Senate agree to the same.

W. R. POAGE,
JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
THOMAS G. ABERNETHY,
WATKINS M. ABBITT,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE,
WILLIAM C. WAMPLER,
Managers on the Part of the House.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
HERMAN E. TALMADGE,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
JACK MILLER,
CARL CURTIS,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill, H.R. 18582, to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

The Senate struck out all after the enacting clause of H.R. 18582 and substituted a Senate amendment which, while dealing with the same subject matter, differed from it in a number of major respects. The amendment herewith reported embodies the agreement of the conferees on the various points of difference in the House bill and the Senate amendment and was agreed to by the conferees as a substitute for the Senate amendment.

The conference substitute generally follows the form and substance of the House bill but it incorporates the following provisions not included in the original House bill:

1. WORK AMENDMENT

The conferees modified the House language requiring certain unemployed able-bodied persons to register for and accept employment as a condition of eligibility for receiving food stamps. The conference substitute clarifies the persons and the jobs which are specifically covered by this provision. The substitute provides that certain able-bodied persons, including those employed and working for less than 30 hours per week, would be required to register for and to accept employment for jobs covered by State or Federal minimum wage laws or Federal wage regulations. In addition, the substitute makes it clear that any jobs which are not covered by such laws or regulations would not be considered available unless an hourly wage rate of $1.30 is provided. Thus under the terms of the substitute no person would be required to accept a job which paid less than (1) the applicable Federal minimum wage, (2) the applicable State minimum wage, (3) the applicable Federal regulation, or (4) $1.30 per hour if such job were not specifically included in items (1), (2), or (3) *supra*.

The conferees also wish to make clear their intention that the Secretary not impose a requirement for any person to accept a job which is located an unreasonable distance (such as in a distant State) from the residence of such person.

The conference substitute also makes it clear that the refusal to accept work at a plant or site which is subject to a lock-out is the equivalent to the refusal to accept work at a struck plant or site and thus will not, by itself, be the basis for denying food stamp assistance to any person.

In approving the substitute, the conferees were aware of the language included in other welfare and assistance plans. It is the recommendation of the conferees that in any future welfare legislation there should be a uniform application of "workfare" criteria. While it is hoped that the criteria established by this legislation will be the standard, the Agriculture Committees will consider in the future any necessary changes that might be needed to make such programs and the food stamp program consistent in regard to this important feature.

2. VALUE OF COUPON ALLOTMENT

The House bill established the value of the coupon allotment to food stamp recipients at a level which the Secretary finds will provide a "nutritionally adequate diet." The Department informed the Committee that this is currently $106 per month for a family of four. The Senate amendment proposed to establish a "low cost food plan" standard which the Department stated would require $134 per month for a family of four.

The conference substitute retains the House standards, but adopts the language of the Senate amendment requiring the Secretary of Agriculture to make an annual adjustment to reflect increases for food in the "Cost of Living" index published by the Department of Labor.

3. FREE STAMPS

The House bill prohibited free stamps and required a payment by recipients of 50 cents per person, up to a maximum of $3.00 for a family of six or more. The Senate amendment provided free stamps for the very poorest.

The conference substitute provides authority for the Secretary to give free stamps to those who are in the greatest need of assistance. The bill establishes the criteria that families of four persons having an income of less than $30 per month may receive free stamps. The conferees intend that the Secretary will set comparable free stamp benefits for families of more (or of less) than four persons as well as for individuals who are the very poorest.

4. AMENDING STATE PLANS

The House bill provided that State plans of operation approved by the Secretary prior to the date of enactment of this legislation would be specifically preserved, but could remain in effect for no more than 180 days after enactment of this legislation. The Senate amendment carried no comparable provision.

The conference substitute, like the Senate amendment, omits this provision because the conferees feel it is unnecessary. The conferees intend that all State plans which are in effect as of the date of enactment of this bill shall continue to be in effect until such time as they are changed in an orderly manner in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

5. DEFINITION OF HOUSEHOLD

The House bill did not alter the definition of "household" under section 3(e) of the Act. The conference substitute includes language which is designed to prohibit food stamp assistance to communal "families" of unrelated individuals.

The substitute, of course, contemplates that the term "related" shall apply to the relationship between married spouses and to such degree of blood relation and other legal relation (such as adoption and foster children) that the Secretary by regulation may prescribe. The requirement for household members to be related does not apply to persons over 60 years of age.

6. DEDUCTION FROM OTHER FEDERAL PAYMENTS

Under the House bill if a household so authorized it, the food stamp purchase requirements could be withheld from any Federal assistance payment. Under the Senate amendment and the conference substitute households may elect to have their purchase requirements deducted from any federally aided grant or public assistance payment and to have its coupon allotment distributed with its grant or payments.

7. STATE SHARING

The House bill required the several States to commence sharing in the bonus value of food stamps at the rate of 2½ percent the first year, followed by 2½ percent incremental increases until reaching a level of 10 percent State sharing in fiscal year 1974. The Senate amendment omitted this provision.

The conference substitute deletes this provision.

8. APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZATION

The House bill provided "open-end" authorizations for appropriations for the period beginning January 1, 1971, and ending June 30, 1973. The Senate bill provided appropriation authorization of $1.25 billion for FY 1970, $2.0 billion for FY 1971, and $2.5 billion for FY 1972.

The conference substitute provides for an appropriation authorization of $1.75 billion for FY 1971 (the present appropriation for FY 1971 is $1.42 billion) and such sums as may be necessary (i.e. an "open-end" authorization) for FY 1972 and FY 1973.

9. SELF-CERTIFICATION

The House bill did not contain any provision dealing with the self-certification of recipients. The Senate bill provided that certification would be executed by an affidavit carrying criminal responsibility for fraud.

With respect to public assistance recipients, the conference substitute adopts the Senate provision in regard to self-certification. The substitute leaves unchanged the Secretary's authority in regard to determining the eligibility of persons who are not receiving public assistance.

W. R. POAGE,
JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
THOMAS G. ABERNETHY,
WATKINS M. ABBITT,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE,
WILLIAM C. WAMPLER,
Managers on the Part of the House.

EMERGENCY RAIL SERVICES ACT OF 1970

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 19953) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commisson to provide financial assistance to certain railroads in order to preserve essential rail services, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

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 the consideration of the bill H.R. 19953, with Mr. NATCHER in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS) will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SPRINGER) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS).

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself whatever time I might require.

Mr. Chairman, I would just like to give a brief history of what is taking place here.

On Thursday, a week ago, two members of the trustees of the Penn Central came to my office, Mr. Wirtz and

Mr. Langdon. They told me that we are faced with an emergency which threatens this Nation's welfare and security. Unless necessary legislation is enacted by this Congress, there is the prospect bordering on certainty that before the 92d Congress can act the Penn Central Railroad system will have ceased operation.

I would like to illustrate what this could mean.

Over 90,000 persons now employed by the Penn Central would be out of work. Their annual wages amount to over $1 billion.

Coal mines in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and my own State of West Virginia would be without transportation service.

Each of the four major automobile producers would lose service to plants now served exclusively by the Penn Central.

A majority of the coal-burning electric power-generating plants of 48 utilities now served by the Penn Central would be without transportation service, This would affect the supply of electric power in Delaware, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Products from the west coast such as aluminum, canned goods, gypsum, lumber, plywood, pulp, dairy products, and produce, which move to eastern distribution or processing centers served exclusively by the Penn Central would be bottled up.

Thirty-four Army installations, 13 Navy installations, 12 Air Force bases, and certain other defense facilities now served exclusively by the Penn Central would be without rail service.

These are only illustrations of the problem; a detailed list would take hours.

As you know, the Penn Central Transportation Co. is under reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. The four trustees, with former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz acting as their spokesman, appeared before our Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics last Tuesday. In effect they told us that the Penn Central Railroad will probably stop running within the next month or month and a half unless legislation like H.R. 19953 is enacted. They have explored every possibility of self-help and none of them can save the railroad. Secretary of Transportation Volpe and Dale Hardin, the Acting Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, appeared before the subcommittee in the afternoon and concurred in the need for the legislation reported out by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

This legislation would be administered by the Secretary of Transportation acting after consultation with the ICC. Its benefits would be limited to railroads in reorganization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. This would cover three other railroads besides the Penn Central—the Central of New Jersey, the Boston & Maine and the Lehigh Valley.

The Secretary of Transportation would be authorized to guarantee the payment of certificates issued by the trustees of these railroads, but only after making detailed written findings required by the legislation.

Thus, there is no direct grant or loan of Federal moneys involved. However, let me make clear that we have incorporated so-called back-door financing to permit payment if there is default on the guaranteed certificates. I am told this is essential if the certificates are to be sold on the market. In return for guaranteeing the certificates, the Secretary would be required to obtain for the United States the highest lien on the railroads property exclusive of certain rolling stock, and priority in payment under the Bankruptcy Act.

At any time, the aggregate amount of outstanding certificates guaranteed by the Secretary could not exceed $125 million. Now, in this connection, Mr. Chairman, let me emphasize the emergency, short-range nature of this legislation.

This legislation is only intended to make certain that bankrupt railroads—whose cessation of services would endanger the public welfare—remain in operation until the Congress can legislate with respect to them. Before there is any prospect of the Penn Central Railroad moving into the black—which at the earliest is 1974—it will probably require between $225 million and $375 million in addition to the amounts provided for in H.R. 19953. How these funds should be made available to the Penn Central, I would rather not commit myself at this time. But let me emphasize that H.R. 19953, as reported, may not, and I hope will not, require the expenditure of Federal funds.

Mr. Chairman, let me say that I believe that the enactment of this legislation is of the utmost importance.

I dislike as much as any Member of this House coming in at this late date or any date asking for guarantees for a railroad company. When we had hearings before our committee I said at that time that the railroad had been run in the wrong way, that things had been done that I felt were completely wrong, that men had been overpaid, that they were getting into things that did not mean a thing to the operation of a railroad, and its activities should never have been diversified. But bringing these things up at this time is beating a dead cat.

The trustees told me in my office that if the railroad is allowed to go down on January 8, within 1 or 2 weeks New York City will be without heat and perhaps without light.

I am saying these things because these are some of the things that were told me, and I believe these men.

I believe the time now has come to act.

As the chairman of the committee and a Member of this House, I bring this bill to the Members. I am sorry it is so late in the session. We could not help that. I do not know of any other solution. If anybody has any more wisdom on this matter I would like to hear from them. Every precaution has been included to insure that the Government will not lose any money, and we have first lien on everything with the exception of wages and rolling stock.

Mr. Chairman, in concluding, I should like to pay tribute to our Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics which under its able chairman, the honorable SAMUEL FRIEDEL, has worked diligently during the Congress on a great volume of legislation. Some of which will be on the books for years to come. Let me name all the members of that subcommittee. It is made up of JOHN DINGELL, of Michigan, JAKE PICKLE, of Texas, and BROCK ADAMS, of Washington, on the majority side. On the minority side, there is SAM DEVINE, of Ohio, GLENN CUNNINGHAM, of Nebraska, ALBERT WATSON, of South Carolina, and DAN KUYKENDALL, of Tennessee. No subcommittee has worked harder in this Congress than our subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics. I should also like to recognize at this time the able and tireless assistance rendered the subcommittee and full committee by Bill Adams of the Legislative Counsel's Office.

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

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

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman of the committee for yielding. I think he knows the great respect I have for him and the great committee which he chairs. The hearings were held on 1 day when I had to be out of town, so I could not be present at the hearing, but I am bothered by this one thing, and the chairman suggested that if anyone has an alternative he should come forward with it. This is why I propose this question to the chairman.

Let me preface my remarks by saying this. I think the Federal Government indeed has an interest in this. As the report spells out, more than 40 percent of our national defense traffic is moved by the railroads, and that is certainly in itself is a bona fide interest as far as all Members of this House are concerned.

But, by the same token, so do the other major industries across the country who use the rails to move their products have an interest, whether they manufacture automobiles or steel or household appliances. No matter what they are, as enumerated in the report, major industries have a like interest in the movement of their products and the continuance of this rail service.

So I ask my chairman: Why is it that the trustees have not proceeded to secure at least a partial guarantee from some of these other major users? It would seem to me instead of just coming to us for a guarantee of $125 million, they could very well go to some of the major users of the railroads and say: "If it is so vital—and it is—for this particular product to continue to move from one portion of the country to the other, then will you not help guarantee this loan so the railroad can keep your industry's products moving at the same time?"

I have so far been unable to find the answer to that. I hope my chairman can explain it to me.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I believe the trustees did honestly try by different means through the banks and other industries to solve this. Some banks

say that even with a 100-percent Federal loan guarantee they will not lend money. They have gotten in so far. I think the trustees have honestly tried, as well as others, to get this money in every way they can. Let me read from Willard Wirtz' testimony:

> The short of it is that we cannot raise the money for the certificates without some guarantee.

If they had the time and we had the time, it is possible that this could be worked out, but the time is on us, right now.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that very much. I think the chairman of the committee has stated the major importance of it, but to make my point clear again, I am not talking about the willingness of the banks to make these particular loans. I am talking about the willingness of the major industries across the country to guarantee the loan certificates. It seems to me they should be interested in doing this, and it seems to me the trustees should be asking them to do this, and so far as I can tell the trustees have not been asking for this.

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

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

Mr. SPRINGER. Actually, I may say to my distinguished colleague from Michigan, at the present time Penn Central is losing not only on its passenger service, but also on its freight service, because many of these industries, instead of doing what the gentleman suggested, are taking action which they consider to be in their best interest, in the interest of the stockholders, by seeking other means of transportation because of this threatened crisis which will arise on January 8. In other words, because they are not sure they will be able to have this transportation service they are shifting to trucks or any other form of transportation they can. They believe that is wise and in their own best interest. I do not know that either I or the gentleman from West Virginia could blame them for being sure that after January 8 they have some other means of at least conveying a part of the transportation in their business.

This is one of the real problems.

I know the gentleman, not having been present, would not realize this is so.

Immediately now they are losing money on their freight for the very reason the gentleman pointed out, and there is nothing they can do about it.

The trustees have indicated that as soon as they can reassure these many industries and so forth along the rights-of-way they can do their business it will be restored. This is only a temporary thing.

I believe that is the answer to the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. HARVEY. May I conclude on this one note: It does seem to me it is as much in the interest of the directors of General Motors, General Electric, Ford, or United States Steel, or a whole host of other companies right across the country, in making this basic decision to help on this guarantee, as it is in the interest of the Federal Government.

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

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. ADAMS. I understand the gentleman's concern. We asked that specific question not once, but twice in the RECORD. Mr. Wirtz said:

> We have tried for three or four months on this business of floating trustees' certificates. I have to say putting in short the result of those three or four months that we cannot float trustees' certificates without government guarantees.
>
> Mr. ADAMS. Would you repeat that?
>
> Mr. WIRTZ. Yes. We have been trying through our own offices and through Mr. Guest to see if there is any possibility of a private issue of trustees' certificates to be used for operating expenses, and I can only summarize although we could go into a great deal of detail on that, the short of it is that we cannot raise the money which we need through the issuance of trustees' certificates without a government guarantee.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I should like to observe that stockholders of these major companies who use the Penn Central probably would have some cause of action against their corporate organizations if they used corporate funds to help bail out the Penn Central. I wonder what the stockholders of the United States, the taxpayers, have as their right if we bail them out?

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

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MYERS. As a former banker I know that many times in smaller situations than this I have been faced with companies nearing bankruptcy because of poor management.

As has been testified here this afternoon, as to what the witnesses testified before the committee, this has been the case. I know as a banker frequently before the bank would invest more money we would require a change in management.

This the railroads have done already, have they not?

Mr. STAGGERS. That is right.

Mr. MYERS. Did the committee hear any of the bankers who now hold loans against these three railroad companies? Did any of them testify they would not advance any money under any circumstances, contingent upon new management?

Mr. STAGGERS. None of them testified, to my knowledge.

Mr. MYERS. It seems to me that may be a possible solution. Very often we hear that whenever there is a problem anyone who is in trouble looks to the Federal Government, to the poor old taxpayer, to bail him out.

It seems to me that these banks now holding these loans would be interested in securing their existing loans.

I know the trustees probably testified before the committee that they could not borrow the money. Although I am not trying to tell the gentleman whom to invite as witnesses before the committee, the banks have as much interest in making sure that these railroads keep operating as anyone in the Nation. In fact, perhaps they have a greater interest.

I would think, as a banker, perhaps for not as large a bank, they would be interested in advancing loans, only for new management, which could bring new success.

The gentleman feels that they will succeed. I do not see why the banks would not be interested in advancing more money, at least for operations.

Mr. STAGGERS. All I can say is that the gentlemen who appeared before the committee I believe are men of integrity, and they said they had tried every possibility.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, may I say to my distinguished colleague from Indiana that practically every bank in America has a piece of action and all of them are up to the legal limitation. You cannot loan beyond the legal limit, as the gentleman knows.

Mr. MYERS. I think the banking laws in every State, as well as the Federal laws, provide that in order to secure a particular type of loan you can take a kind of security and I think under this restriction to limit, you can make a new loan.

Mr. SPRINGER. I think the gentleman will find that the testimony of the trustees was to the effect that they are at the limit of the banks that presently own anything.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SPRINGER).

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, it seems as if this committee always comes to this House with the most difficult questions. There certainly is not any desire on our part to do that. We came here to you 2 weeks ago with reference to the settlement of the rail strike and my colleagues in their wisdom certainly did not see fit to follow my advice with reference as to how to settle that railroad strike. But may I say that I have never been even in spite of the fact you did not follow my suggestion nevertheless I am not one that believes in finding out how or why the camel broke his leg. That is water over the dam. The question is, What are we faced with today? That is the real problem.

Now, the thing that brought us immediately into this question was the action that the House did take 2 weeks ago when you voted a 5-percent and 32-cents-an-hour retroactive pay package to January 1, 1970. This House so voted. And, what was the result? Well, this retroactive pay is something like $50 million which will be payable sometime in February. An additional $16 million; that is, deficit, is expected by March 31, 1971.

Now, what is the situation if nothing is done? Without cash, without some vote of this House today and concurrence by the Senate and by the President, the Penn Central would close its shop on January 8 or thereabouts, take a day or two either side of that—and I think you are in safe territory. What will the result be if the Penn Central closes? Other roads will quickly follow by stoppages.

As you can well imagine, at least 130 smaller railroads immediately hook onto the Pennsylvania for long transportation. They will stop immediately along with it.

Now, the Penn Central has 20,000 miles of track in 16 States and Canada, from St. Louis to New York. The area covered by the Penn Central is, roughly, 41 percent of the railroad business in this country. In other words, two-fifths of all the business in railroading is carried on by the Penn Central.

This gives you some idea of the magnitude of the Penn Railroad system, and what would happen if it stopped, period.

Now, the greatest effect, of course, would be east of the Appalachians. I think practically all business would come to a halt east of the Appalachians, because almost everything you can think of from food to steel east of the Appalachians is hauled by railroads. Some trucks could absorb so much, but actually the truckers, because of the shortage of their system, could possibly absorb a small percentage, but not very much.

In addition to that, the Penn Central is the largest carrier of mail in this country. Also affected would be electric power for 74 million of the 200 million people in this country, food for eight of the largest cities, and raw materials for all of the factories east of the Appalachians, and a great part of that between the Mississippi River and the Appalachians.

Let me say this: There has been some question about the trustees, and may I say to those who are not lawyers that the trustees are working under a court order and are not the people who got the railroad in the trouble that it is in. The trustees themselves cannot do much of anything. If any of you have ever had any experience under section 77(b) of the Bankruptcy Act, there is almost nothing that can be done except by an order of the court, signed by a judge of the U.S. district court which has direct supervision of the railroad during the time that it is in bankruptcy.

Now, I do not want to give you an idea that the trustees are just wandering around in space trying to settle an argument out here, because they are in direct control of the operation of the road, but they are under the direction of the Federal judge at all times and any kind of a decision of any consequence means that they must go in before the judge under a petition and get an order in order to carry out whatever they see fit to do.

Now, I do not believe that you could find four better men than these who have been selected. One went through the bankruptcy of the Rock Island Railroad. One was dean of the Business School at Harvard, and an expert in transportation. The other two, Willard Wirtz you all know as the Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of the last President preceding President Nixon, and Mr. Richard Bond, who I understand is a merchant in Philadelphia, but a man who has taken a great interest in civic affairs in Philadelphia, a man of independent means, a person of considerable consequence in the area affected.

So you have picked four well-known, well-qualified trustees to run the road. Now you have also taken Mr. William H. Moore off of the Southern Railroad and put him in charge of this.

The Southern, in my estimation, and I hope that I am not hurting anybody's feelings in the railroad industry, nor any of my friends who may be in it, I would say that the Southern, if it is not the best-run railroad in the country it is one of the half a dozen best-run railroads in the country.

May I also say that the Southern has a reputation for being a rather rough, tough outfit, and that is the reason they are a good road. They have been in a good many arguments with me, and I have been on the other side, so I have had some experience with them. Labor has had some experience with them also, and so has industry. They are good operators. They do not ever intend to be in the red, if I understand them, and I think that is the kind of character in Moore that you are putting in charge of the Penn Central Railway System. And it is going to take that kind of character, may I say to my colleagues, if you bring this railroad out of the red and put it in the black.

Now that I have given you the fact sheet, I would like to review what is in the legislation. You have heard a lot of argument here and there have been a great many questions asked, but no one has said what this legislation does do.

Now this legislation gives the Department of Transportation an opportunity to make guaranteed loans up to $125 million to railroads being reorganized under section 77(b). Penn Central is the big one—there are three others that could come in.

This means that the Department of Transportation and Mr. Volpe who is in charge of it can lend money to any of these railroads that he wants to, which are already in bankruptcy but he has to find that there are five criteria followed.

He has to find this and record it and show it to the court—

First, that the stopping of the service in the public interest is simply unacceptable—period.

Second, that the service may stop imminently—and by imminently I mean in a few days.

Third, that there is no way to prevent this stoppage without making the loan and that there is no possibility of getting the loan without the guarantee.

Some of my distinguished colleagues have raised this question—why do not they go someplace else and get a loan?

He has to find, as a matter of fact, that this criteria, the third criteria that I just mentioned—that they cannot get the loan anyplace else.

The fourth criteria and a very important one—do you have a good opportunity, if we make the loan, that this railroad can survive and work out of this difficulty that it is in?

Then the fifth criteria, and the one which is very important to us, if we are going to be a guaranteeing agency, that the assets are available to cover this loan, if it is liquidated.

Now you have $4,560,000,000-plus of assets in the Penn Central system. You are asking for a loan of $125 million possibly?

If my figures are right, that is a 2.8-percent loan. Did everybody absorb that? This is a 2.8-percent loan on the total assets of the corporation.

So I think if my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, who has been handling this matter for the Committee on Rules said that this was about as good a guaranteed loan as you could possibly get because of the banks' loans run roughly up in the neighborhood of 50 percent.

We are making a 2.8-percent loan. In addition, we are the first mortgagee.

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

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JACOBS. If this is such a good deal, why would not the banking industry grant the loan?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is what they are doing. We are guaranteeing the loan. Yes, but you are not going to get anybody to lend them any more money with the mortgages that are outstanding. But what I am saying is some bank will make the loan and all we are doing is guaranteeing it.

Mr. JACOBS. Yes, I am sure that any bank would make the loan if the U.S. Government guarantees the repayment of the loan.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is exactly it. But they will not make any more loans because they are lending up to the hilt. What we are doing is guaranteeing the loan and they become the subrogee of us—so that the bank which makes this loan has our guarantee and stands in our shoes when they go into court if this loan has to be collected.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Is the Penn Central in receivership now?

Mr. SPRINGER. It is, yes, there is a petition.

Mr. PUCINSKI. How long has it been in receivership?

Mr. SPRINGER. My recollection is since June or July.

Mr. PUCINSKI. About 6 months?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Have the receivers presented to the court a plan for a reorganization?

Mr. SPRINGER. They have.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Has the plan been approved by the courts?

Mr. SPRINGER. Let me say this—they have presented a preliminary plan—that would be a better way to put it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I cannot understand—and I wish the gentleman would explain why we here in this Congress are being asked to bail this railroad out when the receivers have had 6 months in which to capitalize on the assets which amount to $4.5 billion to which the gentleman has just referred—they could have done it and could have refinanced and had a reorganization plan a long time ago.

It seems to me they are dragging their feet and waiting for Uncle Sam to bail them out.

Mr. SPRINGER. The assets are mortgaged. No one will loan any more money on them. A railroad is not a salable property. It is not like a house or something like that. You do not sell it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is true. Your 2.8

figure is not quite correct. You gave the House the impression that they have $4.5 billion of assets.

Mr. SPRINGER. Correct.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And they are going to borrow $125 million, which will be secured by the Federal Government?

Mr. SPRINGER. Right.

Mr. PUCINSKI. And you say, "This is really a very good move because they have $4.5 billion of assets to cover this loan." Now you say they have a mortgage against those assets.

Mr. SPRINGER. They have. But we are the first mortgagee. I will not yield further at this time. I will explain it to the gentleman, but I shall have to continue with my remarks. We are the first mortgagee. We would go ahead of all other mortgagees in this matter ourselves.

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

Mr. SPRINGER. I will yield to the gentleman as soon as I finish with my statement.

Mr. MYERS. You are speaking of subordinating the loan.

Mr. SPRINGER. I think I have made it clear. They are subordinated. We are ahead of every other mortgage indebtedness of any kind except wages and rolling stock. Those are the only things we are not ahead of. You have to have that to operate your business. You have to pay your wages every week.

Mr. MYERS. That is statutory?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is statutory. I have stated what the criteria is for making the loan. What must the railroads agree to do? First, to use the money for payroll expenses. Other revenues will be used and may be used for other purposes if they are allowed under an order of the court.

If there is any sale of any assets, they will be used to provide transportation services. So if there is any sale by the order of the court, this will all come back to the corporation, so there is no chance of separating these assets for the benefit of any other mortgagee. So we are always the party who comes ahead of any other indebtedness.

There has been some argument here that certificates must have the highest priority in the bankruptcy. This is merely a reiteration, may I say to my colleagues, of what I have said before.

There are other provisions with reference to records, court supervision, spending, auditing, and financing of the certificates by the Department of Transportation.

Let me just say this: I have watched one other railroad in recent years, one out in my own territory. It happens to be the Northwestern. The gentleman from Illinois is familiar because his city is on one end of the Northwestern. I refer to the record which Ben Heineman made with that railroad, which was, in fact, when he took it over, two strips of steel and a bunch of baggage and rolling stock. It was not worth much of anything. He was and is one of those rare administrators, and if I had had my choice of who would have run this railroad, it would have been Ben Heineman. May I say that some of the things he did were pretty ruthless. He had to fire some 6,000 people. He got rid of a lot of executives. But he put that railroad in the black, and it is part of the system. It did not get unloaded on the Federal Government.

Somewhere, gentlemen—I do not know, but somewhere along the line those who are running this railroad are going to have to come through with something of the kind of management that Ben Heineman did with the Northwestern, in my opinion, if they are to make it a success.

Let me just say this: There are two or three things that are handicapping this railroad seriously. I think the Interstate Commerce Commission made a great mistake. But still you are talking about how the camel got its leg broken.

They made it a condition when the Pennsylvania and the New York Central joined hands. They made those railroads as a condition of going together take the New Haven, which is a dead dog and has been losing money for 20 years. They also made them take the Philadelphia transit system, which is another dead log. That is one thing. Their passenger service has lost hundreds of millions of dollars within the last few years.

What is the hopeful sign within this area? Railpax, when we get into it a little further, and corridors have been set up. Sixteen already have been indicated by Mr. Volpe, the Secretary of Transportation. Four of the 16 thus far designated will be in the Penn Central system. It means then that they will be subsidized in that field on those four corridors, so they not only can bring their service up to where it ought to be, as we have it on the Metroliner from here to New York, but also they can within the 2-year period discontinue the unprofitable rail passenger service with which they are overburdened at this time.

Unless we can make some of these reforms, there is not a chance in the world to do anything with this. That is what I think the administrator of this road intends to do. As bad as this railroad has been painted, I do not think it is anywhere near that bad—I am not talking about what was done, and there were some pretty bad things done—but this is financially, that the road is not in anywhere as nearly a bad financial condition as the Northwestern was when Ben Heineman took it over.

May I say in talking with the trustees, my conversation was principally with Mr. Wirtz, and he thought there was a good chance that within 2 or 3 years they could get this into the black, providing they can get some of these reforms which simply have not been made.

Certainly there is no public interest whatever in a railroad in bankruptcy continuing some of these unprofitable operations which have been imposed on them by the ICC and they have not been able to do anything about those operations. There is not any hope unless the administrator is given the right to execute some of the reforms which have to be done—and I am talking about the public interest.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has spoken of some very hard decisions the railroads are going to have to make. I agree with him. But once we start bailing them out, is all the pressure not removed for them to make some of these hard decisions, such as firing thousands of deadwood executives and closing down some inefficient and unnecessary operations? Is not all the pressure taken away? This is what bothers me.

Second, are we not beginning something which we know by intuition is irreversible? Once we start picking up the tab, there will be no end. I have heard Members talking about coming nationalization of railroads, and I think it is ironic that we should begin taking a first step toward nationalizing railroads at the same time we are trying to denationalize the post office away from Government ownership and control.

Mr. SPRINGER. I am not for nationalization of the railroads and I want to make it clear I am not.

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

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

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer my good friend, the gentleman from Maryland, by saying this was before the committee very fully. If my friend will direct his attention to the time when this was before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he will find the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS), and I and the gentleman from California (Mr. Moss), were sternly opposed to going in and bailing out the leadership and management of the Penn Central.

The bill, if my friend will yield further, and I think this point should be made, and it is a point my friend, the chairman, has made, and my friend the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS), has made, is this is not a bill to help the railroads. This is a bill solely to guarantee trusteeship certificates. If anybody is talking about the poor leadership and rascality and poor judgment, I think those problems were involved, and for the most part we are not relieving of responsibility those who were involved in the rascality and stupidity and poor judgment. I must say we are not relieving the old leadership and old management that have been kicked out. But we have a new management and new leadership in. We are trying to restore viability. This will not assist any railroad anywhere in the Nation. It will assist in guaranteeing trusteeship certificates for railroads which are in bankruptcy proceedings.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry I cannot yield any more time.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. VANIK).

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, in order to evaluate the Penn Central problem, I have calculated the long-term debt of the Penn Central at $1,691,642,927. The long-term bonds and their current quote is as follows:

Name of security	Identification	Market value based on $100 bond
N.Y. Central	6 percent of 80	18
Do	6 percent of 90	27¾
Do	5 percent of 2,013	11⅝
Do	4½ percent of 2,013	10⅜
Do	4 percent of 1,998	10
N.Y.C. & L.S.	3½ percent of 97	24½
N.Y.C. & M.C.	3½ percent of 98	12
N.Y.C. & S.L.	3¼ percent of 80	57¼
Penn Ry	4¼ percent of 81	16
Do	4¼ percent of 84	15

Today, the long-term debt of the New York Central, Penn Central, and all other parts of the empire has a market value of about 16 percent of the $1,691,642,927 or $270,662,868. The short-term debt appears as follows:

Todays short-term debt totals	$649,030,645
Less short-term assets	506,475,959
Net short-term debt	142,554,686

According to reports which I have received, there are 24,113,703 shares of Penn Central common stock outstanding which have a market value today of $5.75 per share. A $130 million investment would buy all of it at today's market values—control could be obtained with a fraction of this kind of an investment.

At today's prices, the net short-term debt could be paid off with $142 million, the long-term debt could be bought for about $270 million, and all of the common stock could be acquired for about $130 million. Whatever assets exist could be acquired for about one-half billion dollars.

I do not advocate the nationalization of the railroads—that should be the last resort—but I do advocate a better deal for the country.

I grieve for innocent Americans who believed in the American dream of investment in the free enterprise system and invested in Penn Central. Some were motivated by profit—others made what they thought was a safe investment for their retirement. Whatever their motive, they are the losers. They bought bonds for $1,000 which are now traded for $100. They bought stock as high as $77 which is now worth approximately $5.75 per share. They have been washed out of their profit and security. They are sadder, older, and wiser.

My fear is that what we do today might provide a real bonanza for those who are lurking in the wings—the new owners of stock at knockdown prices—the new owners of bonds who buy for 10 cents on the dollar—and then stand high in priority in eventually getting as much as a full dollar in return.

The distinguished chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee tells us that two of the trustees state that there is an emergency—that the railroad may have to shut down in January—that cities may run out of coal. He tells us that the Secretary of Transportation, John A. Volpe, that the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that the Federal Railroad Administration support this bill.

If this bill is of such grave emergency to the United States and its people, why has not the President messaged the Congress on the urgency of this legislation? Why did not the President place this bill on his list of priorities for action this session? Apparently he does not feel the threat of disaster as keenly as the trustees or the other administration spokesmen.

The railroads affected by this bill own valuable excess property which is critically needed by the Federal, State, and local governments. Without affecting railroad operations, these railroads could sell right-of-ways to the public for mass transit development for urban improvement. It seems to me that it might be more prudent for the Secretary of Transportation to buy such assets as would have tangible value to the Federal Government. He could provide the amount of this loan guarantee by purchasing usable assets of that value.

The Penn Central mess is having a devastating effect on every section of America. I am not convinced that this input of loan guarantee will work out solutions. School and local government in my community are pinched with the loss of unpaid Penn Central taxes. Throughout a wide segment of America—public highway projects, grade eliminations, and urban development projects are held back because of the problems of dealing with a defunct railroad. These problems will not be helped by this infusion of public credit. These public improvements will be held up for years and years until the litigation and liquidation has been cleared.

I know how deeply and extensively the members of this committee have labored over a solution to this problem. However, there must be a better free enterprise solution. There must be a better way to guarantee to the taxpayer that: First, he will get his money back; second, that he is not creating a potential windfall for the speculator; the taxpayer must be assured that this is not the first installment of a really big Treasury drain we cannot afford.

Why not negotiate a cash deal and buy some of these very valuable assets and give them an input into the railroad of income?

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

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BROYHILL) and I filed minority views on this legislation because we objected to the short-range nature of it and the fact that it offers no permanent solution to a problem which has existed for some time.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am sorry. I only have 3½ minutes and I cannot yield at this time. I am sure the gentleman can get some time under the 5-minute rule.

Mr. Chairman, I think asking the Federal Treasury to guarantee the debt of the Penn Central is a little like asking Polly Adler to be a character reference for Fannie Hill. The Government is further in debt than the railroad and it must share the blame for the railroad's plight because it has been its regulator. We are all very much implicated in this whole process. This is one of the most heavily regulated industries in the United States, and there has been very little effort on the part of this Congress or the Federal Government to correct the difficulties that have arisen in this industry from bad regulation over a long period of time.

We know that a shutdown of Penn Central would be serious and its economic impact would be great. All of us must be concerned about the employees and customers of this railroad. But, how serious is it to close down an industry or business that is going broke doing a job poorly?

What of the corporate responsibility here? Who should be left holding the bag—subsidiaries or stockholders as opposed to the taxpayers—if one assumes mismanagement of this business operation? And if one assumes that mismanagement of a corporate operation, how can we justify saving this industry and this particular business with public funds?

On the other hand, if one assumes governmental culpability for misregulation or other reasons in the bankruptcy and ultimate failure of this road, how can we justify taking this action today without doing something to cure the basic problems created by that governmental failure?

Mr. Chairman, we know what the problems are. They are inequitable Federal regulations, inequitable Federal subsidies, inequitable taxes, and inequitable labor law throughout the various modes of the transportation industry.

Mr. Chairman, I had planned to offer an amendment to this legislation to require the Secretary of the Department of Transportation to come up with specific recommendations to cure the long-range problems—the chronic ills which affect this industry and have precipitated the acute crisis we face today. However, in the interest of trying to avoid creating a parliamentary situation on this legislation which would require a conference on Senate and House versions of this bill, I shall not go ahead and pursue that course. I have too much respect for the committee which reported the bill.

But I do think it is worth noting that the Ash Commission is going to make some recommendations with reference to bringing equity in transportation regulations. With reference to the equalization of taxes, there has been a bill before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for some time which has not been heard. Legislation on the labor problems in this industry has been proposed by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PICKLE) but not considered by our committee. And the President has spoken on the importance of this legislation, I might say to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. VANIK). He recommended national emergency strike legislation, but that has been before the Committee on Education and Labor for almost a year and not been heard. And of course, we have had no decision from the administrative level

on the varying inequitable subsidies in this industry. So part of the blame must repose there, but much of it must be borne by Congress for the failure of the Government in this closely regulated industry. It would appear to me from this sad record that Americans would make very poor Socialists.

Now, do we really want to set a precedent which may apply to any business whose collapse could bring about an economic impact on the Nation such as, for instance, Lockheed, Boeing, American Motors, and others you could think of? You complete the list.

Mr. Chairman, I think we should do more than just spend more taxpayer money on this problem. This has been a badly regulated industry by the Federal Government for years and it has been marked by poor management. We all know what has happened to it. Let us now do something to cure the disease rather than just bandage the cancer.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS) a member of the committee who heard the testimony.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, I think one continuing thread of the argument that has been made against this bill indicates that it is not a permanent solution and that we should do better. I want to assure the House that the testimony is absolute that you will have this railroad back on your hands before the 31st of March, and you will have to decide on a permanent solution. Maybe the permanent solution is nationalization. Maybe it is to continue with what I call selective nationalization, which is these railroads gradually going bankrupt.

The reason we have to pass this bill is because we must meet a liquidity crisis between now and the 8th of January, and this House would not be in session, so we could in a period of time spell out the final solution. I hope we can by March 31. I hope all of you will join in it.

The second thread of the argument was why have not the trustees done something to have enough money? I have in my hand here—and I hope some of the Members who want to see it will come in and look at it, this is the corporate structure of the Penn Central Co., the Penn Central Transportation Co., the Pennsylvania Co. and its subsidiaries—it is a very long, highly complex corporate structure. But we did go into this with the trustees and we asked why you have not sold out this subsidiary? And the biggest one, and the one people complain about the most is the Pennsylvania Co. which holds land.

The Penn Central Transportation Co., the Railroad Co., which is in reorganization, owns the stock of that company, but it is pledged for a $300 million loan which the transportation company has already taken in and spent.

So when it comes to selling the stock of the Pennsylvania Co. it has to either do it at a fire sale, or simply let the one who has the pledged assets take it over.

Now, the situation may compare with the other subsidiaries, and we went after the trustees again and again on "When are you going to liquidate? How are you going to realize cash?"

They gave us a prognosis of 3 to 5 years to bring this out of bankruptcy and they are going to sell off many assets to do it.

The interest of the chairman of the committee, and the others that worked on this (Mr. SPRINGER) and myself, has been simply to keep this railroad as an operating entity until January 8, and then do something permanently about it.

Now, maybe you do not want to, but I will tell you that we were told by the trustees, and I have no reason to doubt this, that they will start embargoing freight during the Christmas holidays, they have to, because they can take no more perishables aboard because those perishables would be destroyed when they could no longer run the railroad.

Another alternative would be to put troops on the trains and we have tried to get a little time so the House can think about that before we do it. There is precedent for this. The President came in and asked us, as Mr. DINGELL pointed out, for $750 million this summer to bail out any railroad. We refused to do this because we were worried about the Penn-Central, and we did want to keep it afloat, since there were a lot of shenanigans, so instead we have waited until they were bankrupt before offering Government help.

From 1958 to 1962 Congress authorized $500 million in loan guarantees for the railroads of America. That statute went out of existence in 1962. So far as I know, and the testimony indicates this, we have never lost any money on any of those guarantees, and we were guaranteeing in the past some very bad prospects, like the New Haven Railroad, among others.

We have tried, and I again want to emphasize this, we have tried to give this House a period of time to make up its mind on what the Members want to do permanently with America's railroads.

Now, I will yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remaining time on this side to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. KUYKENDALL).

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the direction of the testimony and the statements different members of the committee have given has tended to point out that we are no longer under any circumstances trying to bail out the management of the Penn Central Transportation Co.

I wish that some of you had an opportunity to go back and read the testimony when the former chariman of the board of Penn Central Co. was before our committee, and you will find that he did not have a very comfortable time.

Now who wants this legislation? And who is opposed to this legislation?

I think it is interesting to anyone who says that we are bailing out Penn Central should bear in mind that the Penn Central Co. is opposed to this legislation. Why are they opposed to this legislation?

My colleagues, I am of the considerable opinion that the Penn Central Railroad has been trying to get out of the railroad business for quite some time. I think the Penn Central Holding Co. would still like to get out of the railroad business and they want to sell it to Uncle Sam at 100 cents on the dollar so that they can get their money back. That, in my opinion, is the fact of the situation.

So if you are for the nationalization of the railroads—if you want to be absolutely certain that we are going to have this massive transportation system dumped in our lap as of the middle of January—just vote against this legislation.

If you want a chance—a chance to prevent the nationalization of this property, then vote for this legislation. Certainty? Absolutely not. Good odds? Not even good odds but a chance to prevent the nationalization of this property.

As the gentleman from Illinois said, there have been several instances of good management taking over rundown property such as the Northwest and the Southern before Mr. Brotzman took it over and they have made good profit-making railroads out of this particular property that they took over.

So I think that we are in a national emergency. But the big thing here is that we have had a combine of management that I think is grossly irresponsible that have tried to drain the assets away from this railroad and dump it on Uncle Sam and then get their money back.

I do not think we should let this happen. I think the receivers of this particular railroad—the four terrific trustees who have been appointed—have given us every evidence and indication that they have the intention of divesting the railroad of these other properties and getting in the railroad business.

I will close with this statement which you will find in the RECORD.

I asked Mr. Moore who is the president, Do you find any corelation between the railroads who have stuck strictly to the business of running the railroad and those who have been successful? He said he definitely did.

So the railroads that stuck to their knitting, of running a railroad—which is what the receivers have indicated—those that will control—they have made a profit out of running the railroad. Those of them that are run by holding companies have ended up like this one.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REID).

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 19953, the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970. This legislation is reportedly necessary to prevent a complete shutdown of the Penn Central Railroad within a matter of weeks. This railroad's cash situation in early January will be critical. The halting of the Nation's largest railroad is something we cannot afford; such a situation would have a devastating effect on our economy as well as on commuter and other passenger transportation.

Senator JAVITS and I first recognized

the need for Federal loan guarantees for the Penn Central and similarly afflicted railroads last June when the Penn Central first declared bankruptcy. I said at that time, and I repeat now, that support for such loan guarantees in no way implies approval of the management practices of the railroad. In fact, extremely poor management and misallocation of resources seem to be among the principal reasons for the Penn Central's continuing crisis. It would appear that in the past undue resources were put in real estate and divested from railroad operations. I am pleased to see in the bill before us a number of safeguards to insure that the funds so guaranteed will be used only for operating expenses of the railroad and that other revenues of the company also must be applied to this purpose.

Mr. Chairman, it is a sad commentary on our free enterprise system that the Federal Government is, in effect, the hostage of a bankrupt company—whether it be a railroad or an aircraft manufacturer. The public interest requires that the railroad be kept operating, but I believe that the public interest also requires that a better method be found to avert such economic disasters in the future. Moreover, it is essential railroad regulations—often dating from the 1890's—be totally reviewed and that consideration be given to costs of rights-of-way and signaling uniquely borne by railroads (but not by airlines and truckers) as well as the competitive future of railroads in our free enterprise transportation system. We need a new national transportation policy.

The bill provides for up to $125 million in loan guarantee certificates subject to six strict criteria and only upon approval of the court. The United States and the taxpayer stand ahead of every other mortgage and indebtedness except statutory wages and rolling stock.

I hope workers will support this bill as an emergency step mindful that we need new approaches urgently to save our railroads.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remaining time to the gentleman from Michigan, a member of the committee.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, no member of the committee is happy to have to bring this bill before you at this particular time.

However, the matter was brought to our attention on the 15th of December of this year. The committee worked with all the speed that it knew how to work and our staff worked late at night in close consultation with the Department of Transportation and the commission and with the trustees in trying to come up with a minimum bill.

I believe everyone recalls that just a little while back we had before us a piece of legislation to stop a nationwide railroad strike, and everyone can remember the cries of calamity and disaster which rang through this hall in contemplation of that particular piece of legislation. I want to make it very plain that if you read the report, pages 5 and 6, you will see what the Penn Central's shutting down means to the Eastern United States; indeed, what it means to the whole of the Nation. So I would commend you to consider this legislation in that frame of view.

More importantly, I would like to make a couple of points very clear. First of all, the old management is gone. They have been kicked out. This is not a bill to bail out railroads or to bail out corrupt, inefficient, and probably jailable management of the Penn Central. This is a piece of legislation to enable the trustees to get the credit and the capital that they need to run the railroad. It is my opinion and the opinion of the committee that we have done everything we possibly can to protect the interests of the United States and to assure that the interests of the United States and the taxpayers not be jeopardized by the guarantee.

And I want to make very clear that there is not one cent of loans in the bill. There only are guarantees, and the guarantees run to the trustees, and we have sought to impose controls which assure that the United States is first to be repaid even above secured creditors. I think those facts should make it very plain. When you consider that we are guaranteeing something only about $125 million, and when you consider that the assets of this corporation are around $7.5 billion, I think it makes it very plain to all of us that this is a good example that it is good business, and that to keep this railroad running is not only in the public interest but also highly desirable.

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

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I oppose H.R. 19953, which has been described as the Emergency Rail Service Act of 1970. It provides for $125 million in certificates guaranteed by our Government, which thus become actual obligations of the United States.

It is most interesting to note that with so much money involved, there is not a word in the bill itself to give a hint that the principal beneficiary is the Penn Central Railroad. But no matter how it is labeled, H.R. 19953 in truth and in fact has as its principal objective to bail out the Penn Central Railroad. The committee report indulges in a long discussion of section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, and has a lot of fine print about court supervision.

The report, interestingly enough, describes this as an interim measure to avert an immediate crisis. Does this mean there will be one or more of similar loans later on? The report goes so far as to suggest that the utility power of 74 million people, and foodstuffs to the Nation's largest cities, would be jeopardized if we do not give our immediate financial assistance right now. The report is so persuasive, that it leaves the impression that without this financial aid, Penn Central will terminate its operations some time in January 1971.

While many of the allegations of the committee report are quite factual, some of them are purely conjectural and most speculative. We all recognize that good rail transportation is important to our economy. However, to suggest that if we do not make this loan a third of our people will be without electricity and eight of our largest cities without foodstuffs, is going to considerable lengths to enlist support of this bill.

The report presents some statistics of what percentages of the total bulk and raw materials railroads transport, all in order to prove the role of the railroad in our Nation's economy. The fallacy of this kind of argument lies in the fact that while the Penn Central may be the largest single rail operation, we should not be asked to jump to the conclusion that Penn Central is synonymous with our entire rail structure and that the problems of just one of our railroads may so disrupt our Nation's transportation as to affect the national economy. Put differently, I hope we are not being asked to believe the parallel of the proposition circulated a few years ago, that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. I hope we do not have to accept the conclusion that what is good for Penn Central must be good for the entire country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the problems of Penn Central are not new or unheard of. For that reason the timing of this legislation is bad. If we do not act to bail out the Penn Central, then the alternatives which have been suggested in the report certainly do make unpleasant reading. No opponent of this bill is going to say that the Penn Central is so unimportant as to be deserving of no Federal action. The real problem would seem to be, what happens next if we take this step to approve this financial support. I am reliably informed that the problems of this railroad are so great that in a very short time we will be asked to increase financial aid. In other words, there is no assurance this present money will provide a permanent solution to the Penn Central problems. If the information I have is accurate, we might just be engaging in a very expensive exercise in futility.

I was interested in the minority views, which point out that we should all first know what cost reduction programs have been initiated and what overall policy reforms have been instituted to reduce losses, before we give them $125,000,000. It was interesting to note that the minority views in the report wondered why the trustees in bankruptcy had not alerted the country earlier about their impending crisis. The minority report is in my opinion quite sound in its reasoning when it points out that we are now being asked to trust to luck that things will get better for the Penn Central, when we have not been shown all the alternatives that could be exercised by this huge and bewildering corporation. The question we must all ponder is, whether the trustees themselves will come up with firm and positive action to get the Penn Central mess straightened out, because that certainly cannot be done by an infusion of this amount of Government money.

Now, Mr. Chairman, under a paragraph entitled "Cost of Legislation" the report states that this bill will not necessarily require the expenditure of any funds from the Federal Treasury. In other words, this is said to be only a guarantee and that the railroad will pay back all the money we let them have.

That kind of thinking is the most foolish kind of optimism. It is like an acquaintance who comes to a person and asks him to be the accommodation maker on a promissory note. The usual conversation is, "If you will just be my cosigner, it will not cost you a cent." It has been my sorry and sad experience to have had to pay off some notes that I was good enough to accommodate someone on as a cosigner.

There are many things wrong with this bill, Mr. Chairman. One of the reasons I cannot support this bill is that if we pour $125 million into the Penn Central, then we impliedly agree that free enterprise has failed and we have expressed a willingness to take this step toward the nationalization of our railroads, which is one of the hallmarks of a socialistic state.

However, this measure sets a very dangerous precedent. Today, it is the Penn Central. If we bail out this big railroad, then we have taken the first step. Tomorrow it may be other railroads. Then it will be the airlines. Of course, always standing in the wings will be Lockheed and other giant corporations that expect a generous measure of Government financial assistance.

But, Mr. Chairman, while I suppose the reasons for opposition may vary from Member to Member, those of us in the Middle West know that out there we have a current unemployment rate approaching 6 percent. Then those who argue that there would be some paydays missed by the Penn Central employees, may not have heard of the failure to fund hundreds of small water and sewer project applications in our communities of the 5,500- to 10,000-population bracket, that have gone on month after month and year after year unfunded. If there could be just a little bit of funding for these small water districts and sewer districts, work could be provided in areas which have felt the crunch of inflation, high interest rates, and unemployment, all at exactly the same moment.

Yet another objection which I suspect is shared by many Members from the Middle West is that there is a considerable expanse of geography in what is called the Farm Belt where corn has suffered from blight, which has resulted in a very small yield, and where because of the extremes of excessive rainfall which prevented the planting of a crop or excessive drought which shortened the yield of a crop, there are some places which are virtual disaster areas. Penn Central may be faced with an emergency, but there are thousands and thousands of farmers in the Middle West that are going to be faced with a disaster and bankruptcy which is as real as that of the Penn Central, if there is no funding for Farmers Home Administration loans to finance the planting of the new crop next spring. I have not heard of any effort to provide funding for these farmers who face bankruptcy, and in fact the farm bill which we enacted appears to be of no immediate help or assistance to these hard-pressed farmers.

I have talked to numerous small bankers in our congressional district. They tell me many more of our small farms will be abandoned if they cannot get Farmers Home Administration loans very soon. No, Mr. Chairman, with hogs bringing a disgraceful 15 cents a pound and our hard-pressed farmers unable to get a Farmers Home Administration loan because there are no Federal funds, why on earth should we hand over $125 million to clean up the Penn Central mess?

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will read the substitute committee amendment printed in the reported bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this Act—

(1) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Transportation.

(2) "Commission" means the Interstate Commerce Commission.

(3) "Railroad" means any common carrier by railroad subject to part I of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C. 1–27).

(4) "Certificate" means certificates issued by trustees of a railroad pursuant to subsection 77(c)(3) of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended (11 U.S.C. 205(c)(3)).

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 3. (a) The trustees of any railroad undergoing organization under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended (11 U.S.C. 205), upon approval of the court, may apply to the Secretary for the guarantee of certificates. The Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, is authorized to guarantee such certificates upon findings in writing that—

(1) cessation of essential transportation services by the railroad would endanger the public welfare;

(2) cessation of such services is imminent;

(3) there is no other practicable means of obtaining funds to meet payroll and other expenses necessary to provide such services than the issuance of such certificates;

(4) such certificates cannot be sold without a guarantee;

(5) the railroad can reasonably be expected to become self-sustaining; and

(6) the probable value of the assets of the railroad in the event of liquidation provides reasonable protection to the United States.

The Secretary shall publish notice of his intention to make such finding in the Federal Register not less than fifteen days prior to such finding, give interested persons, including agencies of the Federal Government, an opportunity to submit written data, views, or arguments (with or without opportunity for oral presentation), and give consideration to the relevant matter presented. The Secretary for good cause shown and upon a finding that extraordinary circumstances warrant doing so may waive the requirements of the preceding sentence.

(b) As a condition to a guarantee, the Secretary, after consultation with the Commission, shall require that:

(1) the proceeds of the sale of certificates guaranteed under this Act will be used solely for meeting payroll and other expenses which, if not met, would preclude continued provision of essential transportation services by the railroad;

(2) other revenues of the railroad will be used, to the fullest extent possible, for such expenses;

(3) proceeds from the sale of assets will be devoted to the fullest extent possible to the provision of essential transportation services by the railroad; and

(4) in the event of actual or threatened cessation of essential transportation services by the railroad, the Secretary shall have the option to procure by purchase or lease trackage rights over the lines of the railroad and such equipment as may be necessary to provide such services by the Secretary or his assignee, and, in the event of a default in the payment of principal or interest as provided by the certificates, the money paid or expenses incurred by the United States as a result thereof shall be deemed to have been applied to the purchase or lease price. The terms of purchase or lease shall be subject to the approval of the reorganization court and the operation over the lines shall be subject to the approval of the Commission pursuant to the provisions of section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act, but in no event shall the rendition of services by the Secretary or his assignee await the outcome of proceedings before the reorganization court or the Commission.

(c) The Secretary shall not guarantee any certificate unless the certificate is treated as an expense of administration and receive the highest lien on the railroad's property and priority in payment under the Bankruptcy Act. The rights referred to in the last sentence of section 77(j) of the Bankruptcy Act shall in no way be affected by this Act.

(d) A certificate under this Act shall bear interest at such per annum rate as the Secretary deems reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Federal Government; nor may its maturity date, including all extensions and renewals thereof, be later than fifteen years from the date of original issuance. The Secretary may prescribe such other terms and conditions as he deems appropriate. In each case, the Secretary shall consider the feasibility of requiring the railroad to dispose of nonrailroad assets as a condition to a guarantee.

(e) At any one time the outstanding aggregate principal amount of all certificates guaranteed under this Act shall not exceed $125,000,000.

(f) The Secretary shall issue such rules and regulations as are appropriate to carry out the authority granted by this Act.

ACCESS TO CARRIER RECORDS

SEC. 4. The Secretary is authorized to, and shall as necessary, inspect and copy all accounts, books, records, memorandums, correspondence, and other documents of any railroad which has received financial assistance under this Act concerning any matter which may bear upon (1) the ability of such railroad to repay the loan within the time fixed therefor, (2) the interest of the United States in the property of such railroad, and (3) to insure that the purpose of this Act is being carried out.

AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE OBLIGATIONS

SEC. 5. (a) To enable the Secretary to carry out his rights and responsibilities under section 3 of this Act, he is authorized to issue to the Secretary of the Treasury notes or other obligations in such forms and denominations, bearing such maturities, and subject to such terms and conditions, as may be prescribed by the Secretary with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States of comparable maturities during the month preceding the issuance of the notes or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase any notes and other obligations issued hereunder and for that purpose he is authorized to use as a public debt trans-

action the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under that Act, as amended, are extended to include any purchase of such notes and obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this subsection. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary such sums as may be necessary to pay the principal and interest on the notes or obligations issued by him to the Secretary of the Treasury.

(b) Any guarantee made by the Secretary under this Act shall not be terminated, canceled, or otherwise revoked, except as provided by the terms and conditions prescribed by the Secretary under section 3(d) of this Act; shall be conclusive evidence that such guarantee complies fully with the provisions of this Act, and of the approval and legality of the principal amount, interest rate, and all other terms of the certificates and the guarantee; and shall be valid and incontestable in the hands of a holder of a guaranteed certificate except for fraud or material misrepresentation on the part of such holder.

(c) The Attorney General shall take such action as may be appropriate to enforce any right accruing to the United States by reason of its having paid money or incurred expenses as a result of making such guarantees.

ASSISTANCE OF DEPARTMENTS AND OTHER AGENCIES

SEC. 6. (a) In carrying out the provisions of this Act the Secretary may use available services and facilities of other departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Federal Government with their consent and on a reimbursable basis, and shall consult with the Interstate Commerce Commission in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(b) Departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Federal Government shall exercise their powers, duties, and functions in such manner as will assist in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

COURT SUPERVISION

SEC. 7. In addition to other duties prescribed by section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, the court shall maintain supervision of the expenditure of funds obtained pursuant to section 3 for the purpose of assuring that such funds are used solely for purposes set forth in subsection (b) of such section, shall make periodic findings regarding such expenditures, and shall report those findings to the Secretary.

AUDIT

SEC. 8. The Comptroller General of the United States, or any of his duly authorized representatives, shall have access to such information, books, records, and documents as he determines necessary effectively to audit financial transactions and operations carried out by the Secretary in the administration of this Act. The Comptroller General shall make such reports to the Congress on the results of any such audits as are appropriate.

GUARANTEE FEES

SEC. 9. The Secretary shall prescribe a guarantee fee in connection with each loan guaranteed under this Act which shall be collected from the railroad upon repayment of the loan guaranteed. Such fee shall be in an amount that the Secretary estimates to be necessary to cover the administrative costs of carrying out the provisions of this Act with respect to such loan. Sums realized from such fees shall be deposited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

REPORTS

SEC. 10. The Secretary shall make an annual report to the President and the Congress with respect to his activities pursuant to this Act, including an evaluation of the financial conditions of railroads which have outstanding certificates guaranteed under this Act. The Secretary shall also make a report to the President and the Congress on the financial condition of each railroad having a loan guaranteed under this Act ninety days after the making of such guarantee and annually thereafter throughout the existence of such loan.

Mr. STAGGERS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the substitute committee amendment be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this time to ask the question that I did not get a chance to ask in my earlier colloquy. I wonder if the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce can tell me if the banks which lend money to the Penn Central under this guarantee can treat such loans as a part of their reserves as a Federal guaranteed security, a reserve against which they can make other loans—in other words, is this treated like the purchase of a Federal bond upon which the bank or the lending institution can then develop a multiplier-of-credit situation?

Mr. STAGGERS. I do not know the answer to the gentleman's question. That would certainly be up to the Federal Reserve Board. I do not see how it would have any connection with this subject whatsoever, because we are not guaranteeing the bank anything—nothing.

Mr. VANIK. We are guaranteeing repayment of the loan.

Mr. STAGGERS. No, sir; only the trustees' certificate. No loan is being guaranteed anywhere.

Mr. VANIK. As I understand the gentleman, what we are authorizing in this bill is a Federal guarantee on a trustee's certificate, and we are guaranteeing this to a lender, most likely a bank. My question is a very important one.

Mr. STAGGERS. If the gentleman will yield, I would say the gentleman from Indiana has just informed me that they would not be so treated.

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

Mr. VANIK. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MYERS. They would be in exactly the same position as a GI guaranteed loan, Farmers Home Administration, or the Federal Housing Authority. They are not considered part of the reserve as a guarantee or to be used as a basis on which to borrow money.

Mr. VANIK. Will the gentleman tell me if that is by his own knowledge?

Mr. MYERS. As a banker, yes.

Mr. VANIK. My concern was whether this was indeed becoming more of a banker's bill rather than a railroad bill.

Mr. MYERS. I think it is a banker's bill, yes; very much so. They want additional security, what they do not now have. I do not blame them, but I do not know that that is our responsibility.

Mr. VANIK. I have just one other thing that I would like to ask about, a problem that is created by this Penn Central disaster in my community and in almost every State in the eastern half of the United States. We are completely paralyzed with respect to a good part of our public improvement programs on highways, on underpasses, because of the impossibility of dealing with a defunct railroad authority. As long as the rights of the railroad and all of this business is tied up, it is almost impossible to get the railroad to provide any granting of rights for easements or the selloff of any of their properties in order to permit us to build overpasses or underpasses or new highway systems or to develop our communities.

I might also suggest that we have another problem that is not at all going to be handled by this situation. I have schools in my community and in my State which are tremendously affected by the nonpayment of taxes by the defunct railroad.

Can the gentleman tell me whether or not any of this loan money that we are going to make available through this guarantee will be used to pay taxes to school districts and to local governments which are located in the community through which the defunct railroad passes?

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I will have to tell the gentleman that this is a matter under the jurisdiction of the court, which, as the gentleman knows, has directed the trustees not to pay State and local taxes. That issue is shortly to be thrashed out. This committee does not have the information which the gentleman would like with respect to this particular point.

Mr. VANIK. From what I can gather, the gentleman is telling me that the chances of having any of this loan money end up in the payment of taxes to the local governments, which must carry on their responsibility not only to their people but also to the defund railroad, are very low, that there is not much likelihood they are going to get any of this tax money.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the testimony on this is that taxes presently are not being paid. When we come back on March 31 and decide we want to keep this alive, it will take between $75 million and $150 million plus this $100 million to meet all the obligations which would include local taxes.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, I would like to inform him the estimates of the trustees are they will want or they indicate they contemplate the expenditure for local taxes of something like $64 million.

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

Mr. Chairman, at the top of this giant structure, this giant conglomerate, is the Penn Central Co., the holding company, which is not in bankruptcy, which is

traded on the New York Stock Exchange, and also trading on the New York Stock Exchange is the Pennsylvania Co., and that is not in bankruptcy, the former trading at $5⅞ and the latter at $43½ currently.

Mr. Chairman, I want to draw particular attention to the holdings of this company which are not involved in bankruptcy. I cannot judge the outcome or the effect of the loan guarantee should we pass this bill and the Senate concur and the President sign it and it becomes law. I cannot judge the effect of these loan guarantees on those mass holdings of the Pennsylvania Co. and the other holdings of the parent holding company, the Penn Central, but I do wonder and I do ask: Will these holdings and their creditors, their loans, their notes, and their mortgages that will be relieved of any possible foreclosure sale to the extent that the loan guarantees prevent that and will be protected by these Government loan guarantees—what avenues, what openings for more contriving, more manipulation are involved in these holdings that are not under the jurisdiction of the court and are not supervised or controlled by the trustees?

I have eminent respect for the trustees and for this committee and for the Senate committee that heard this testimony.

But I would remind all the Members that there has been very little time and very little indepth study of the proposition involved. It took years to entangle this web of Penn Central mismanagement. To think that any committee of the Congress, however wise and however judicious and however diligent, can in the time of 2 weeks properly draft legislation of this magnitude is beyond my comprehension.

I do not think the trustees are trying to mislead the committees or the Congress, and they freely admit that, with respect to the first guaranteed loan of $125 million for which they are now asking, that they also will need the same amount to be guaranteed, before the first day of spring.

I believe we need to investigate what effect this transfusion by means of loans will have on the sale of the stock of the holding company, also. As was pointed out by the gentleman from Ohio, this watered down stock at 5⅞ today was at 35 at the start of the year and I am told was formerly at 70. If it should all of a sudden become worth a great deal more money simply because of the start of these transfusions, who is to gain? The gain will not accrue to the taxpayers that would take the risks under the bill.

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

Mr. MELCHER. I yield to the chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. STAGGERS. I would be willing to go along with a lot of the statements the gentleman has made, but I say we have the situation before us now. Is the gentleman suggesting that we hold off and hold a hearing or that we pass a bill? I should like to ask the gentleman which it is he wants us to do.

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I would prefer that all the assets of all the holding companies be put in one pot, so that they can come under the jurisdiction of the judge and they can come under the control and supervision of the trustees.

Mr. STAGGERS. We are for that, too, but that is not the case now. We have something before us right now.

Mr. MELCHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Short of pooling all Penn Central holdings, I do not believe the Congress should act on this legislation. This avenue has not been adequately pursued. This avenue has not been completely pursued. The court can act. The trustees are desirous of this very point, and the court can act accordingly. To do less will not clear up the mess in which the Penn Central now muddles.

Statements made by the committee members that the Government would come ahead of existing mortgages of all the holdings of the Penn Central are very misleading, because not all of the holdings of the Penn Central conglomerate are in bankruptcy. Not all of them are subject to the court or the control of the trustees. Despite the pleadings of the committee and of the trustees, not all these possible avenues have been pursued, and I believe we would be best off to pursue them before acting on the bill.

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

Mr. Chairman, to use a clean and unencumbered metaphor, I shall not attempt to discover how the camel broke his leg by beating a dead horse, for that, I think, is water under the bridge.

I wish to go back into the history of this matter only to this extent. This bill is quite a different thing from H.R. 18125. That bill as it came before our committee would have pumped $750 billion into failing railroads in the country. It contained no requirement that the Government's interest be placed ahead of all other creditors.

That bill was subject to the criticism that has been made of this one.

The bill which is before us here is quite a different thing. All we are talking about is the order of priority of creditors here.

We are not talking about putting $125 million into the railroad. We will get our $125 million out because we stand as close to the head of the line among creditors as the statute can place us.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I am a little puzzled by the statement of the gentleman, because if it is true that the Government would occupy such a very high position in this matter, then why cannot they get the money from the banking industry? I have no doubt but what the net worth of the railroad is enormous. This is a relatively small loan.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I think I can answer that question. It is simply this: I do not paint as rosy a picture as some of those who have talked about this situation. I think the Penn Central is hocked up to the gills. It is encumbered to the full extent that it can borrow money. The only way additional operating money can be obtained is the same way that operating money is always obtained by a bankrupt corporation in trusteeship and that is to provide that that operating money be secured, first, by assets which will not cover the entire encumbrance of the company, if the assets were sold at that time——

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I understand that, but if the gentleman will yield further——

Mr. ECKHARDT. Let me read you how that works out. The provision appears on page 12 of the bill. It says:

> (c) The Secretary shall not guarantee any certificate unless the certificate is treated as an expense of administration and receive the highest lien on the railroad's property and priority in payment under the Bankruptcy Act.

Then, it makes the one exception of rolling stock which is already subject to an equipment trust.

What we are doing, in effect, is placing the Government in a prior position so that additional money which would not be lent because the assets of the railroad would not properly secure it can flow in and those who lend that money are put in the position of Government itself as a prior creditor. That is what was not done in the original bill and that is the reason the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS) and myself, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) and the gentleman from West Virginia, the chairman of the committee, and practically every other member of the committee was dissatisfied with that earlier bill.

The only thing we are doing here is providing for operating money which as the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS) said is going to provide for operation of a few months. We do not solve the question, but we do not risk Federal money. The committee has guarded against that risk. I think the gentleman from West Virginia, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and the able members of the Subcommittee on Transportation, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. ADAMS, and others deserve great credit in writing a bill which guards so well against risking public money. I shall support the bill.

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

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

Will the gentleman from Texas permit me to ask the gentleman a question? The various gentlemen who have addressed the House previously have indicated if this bill is not approved the railroad will close on or about January 8. The gentleman has just stated, and the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS) has said that this money will keep the railroad in operation until January 9.

It seems to me that there is no assurance the railroad will operate beyond that time as a result of this bill, is that true?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? I thought I indicated——

Mr. YATES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ADAMS. I thought I indicated, and I hope I made it clear, that the $100 million is to keep this railroad operating

until approximately March 31 so that the Congress can decide what they want to do with the railroad. That is the whole purpose, to give this Congress an opportunity to decide what will happen, and we felt that March 31 was the period of time we needed to do this in, because we have to organize, we have to hold hearings, and everybody who has a proposal on this has to make it, and we have to put together a bill to decide what to do with the railroad.

Mr. YATES. How long does this loan run before it matures? It is 15 years, is it not?

Mr. ADAMS. These are 15-year notes which were recommended to us as being marketable at a lower rate of interest than the 5-year certificates which were originally prepared.

That was to give us the flexibility in this particular case to go through a whole series of options. But if we buy it out, as somebody said before, these will come in on top and will be used as part of the purchase price, and if there is some other way to keep it running they then become trustee certificates that are paid off first as money becomes available, which the trustees said it looks now like 3 to 5 years.

Mr. YATES You are buying 90 days in order to find out what can be done to revive the railroad?

Mr. ADAMS. Precisely.

Mr. YATES. And at the end of the 90 days does the gentleman believe that the road will be in the same precarious financial condition that it is in today?

Mr. ADAMS. I am convinced of it, there is no way out for this railroad.

Mr. YATES. Then why make a loan?

Mr. ADAMS. The reason for making the loan is to decide what we are going to do with the road so that the Northeast, New York, Chicago, and the rest can have railroad service. Now, I do not have a preconceived position on that as to whether we should try to keep it a private enterprise, and nationalize it, leave it in bankruptcy, or what. I think this House has to work its will, but I say that from the testimony that prior to March 31 you must act.

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

Mr. YATES. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, let me say that I agree with my colleague entirely in that the whole purpose of the committee was to be assured that the $125 million would be adequately secured, and would have preference in its claims against the entire assets of the corporation which are greatly in excess of that amount. Now, if we buy that time and we keep the railroad operating, it seems to me to be worth it.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YATES. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. It seems to me that the gentleman cannot have it both ways. On the one hand, we are told the Government is not risking very much because this is a very high-priority loan, and yet somehow even with this high-priority security you cannot get money from private industry.

Now, I am willing to accept that perhaps we are not risking a great deal on this, but I do think that there are two questions involved. First, what is the financial obligation we are undertaking? Second, what is the moral obligation? Far more significant than this financial installment we are putting down is the fact that we are being told that 90 days from now, or what-have-you, the railroads are going to come to us and say, "Put more money in, or we will collapse." That is what is basically involved.

Mr. YATES. Is that not what is going to be presented to the Congress during the 90-day respite?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, that is precisely what is going to be presented to the Congress and to the committee. And I hope we have said it strong and well enough so that you will know that you are going to have to decide what to do with the Penn Central before March 31. And nobody on the committee that I know of has a better package plan to present to this House. If we had, we would have tried to pass it in this period of time, but we could not do it.

Mr. YATES. I do not like this bill. It presents us with hard choices. In view of the emergency, I see no alternative at this time except to vote for it and to see, hopefully, what plan is presented during the next 3 months to relieve this terribly complex situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

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

Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of the gentleman from Washington?

A few moments ago the gentleman from Washington made a remark which I know the gentleman and I both had previously spoken on, and that is that he said that there was no chance for this railroad. It is my understanding that what the gentleman meant by this statement is there is no chance in the next few months.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, that is correct.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. That the receivers all made it very clear that this was their considered judgment, that if they were allowed to proceed on this basis that they could have this railroad back in operation in between 3 and 4 years, but as far as the immediate future is concerned it is definitely that we are going to have to give them relief in the immediate future.

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct. But I want to make certain again that Members understand that prior to March 31 a decision must be made as to whether or not the Government wants to give the trustees this chance for the future. They prognosticate that in 3 to 5 years three things have to happen: first, they have to sell off enough assets to improve their cash position; second, that they have management good enough so they can run it at a profit; and, third, that they have to work out with other railroads in the country so that they have a viable system.

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

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DINGELL. I would urge, first of all, if anybody has any ideas as to how this matter is going to be resolved to present themselves to the Commerce Committee between now and the first of March next year when we will be considering a final way out of this thicket that we are in.

I would also like to recommend to the membership of this body the reading of the language on page 10 of the bill beginning on line 1 down through line 13 as to the findings that the Secretary has to make before he can guarantee one nickel, which includes the following:

That the cessation of services is imminent.

That there is no other practicable means of obtaining funds to meet the payroll.

The certificates cannot be sold without a guarantee.

This is an extremely important thing, that the railroad can reasonably be expected to become self-sustaining.

The probable value of the assets of the railroad in the event of liquidation provides reasonable protection to the United States.

How much more can you ask?

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

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. YATES. The colloquy earlier indicated that the critical period is the next 90 days.

What do the trustees intend to do or what does this Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce intend to do within the next 90 days to take care of this emergency?

Mr. KUYKENDALL. One thing, let me say to the gentleman from Illinois, and this was discussed in length in the committee and with the witnesses—one of the major paths or tasks that they have already decided to seek as an answer is the divestiture of as many of its nonrailroad properties, as possible.

Let me give you an example of what they intend to do. In questioning one of the governing boards of a particular subsidiary, one of the many companies that they must manage, I think the speaker for this particular board of directors did not have a single member on it from the parent company.

They have got to be reorganized and get more order before they can get some of the assets back.

That is the only one of the tasks to be taken in the next 90 days which will give us an idea of what can be done here. But the fact that we passed labor legislation 2 weeks ago brought us in here about 60 days earlier than we expected to be. I think that is the key to the thing.

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

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to support this legislation despite the fact that I think the committee has done a good job. If that seems unusual, I want to make a short explanation.

Back during the depression we had a lot of failing businesses, and we organized what became known as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

You heard the gentleman from Ohio just state the name of five or six of the major companies in this country that are important, maybe more important even than the Penn Central, to the defense of this country. These corporations also in serious financial trouble.

As soon as we come back, I am going to do my best to introduce—and I hope many of you will join me in setting up an organization something like the old Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make business loans or to guarantee these loans. But, also, an organization that can look after and guarantee that we get some new management, where needed. An RFC-type agency can really put some restrictions on loans and supervise management which the House cannot do. I hope you will join me in preparing and introducing this badly needed legislation.

I commend the committee for what they have done on such short notice. But I do not think it is the answer. I think we have two or three aircraft plants, we have the airlines, and we have several other major corporations, good business outfits, that are in serious trouble, and we are going to have to do something about it. I do not think we ought to "single shot" it, as this bill does.

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

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana is recognized.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, the thing that disturbs me most about the debate or the discussion up to now is the fact that innumerable times the question has been propounded that if this is such a good deal for Uncle Sam to have a priority as described on page 12 of the bill over all other creditors, if it is such a good deal, why is the banking industry not interested in it? Why will they not touch it with a 10-foot pole or, shall we say, a 15-year-loan pole? I think therein lies the explanation.

You can go to a bank and borrow money for 15 years to buy a house, but you cannot go to a bank and borrow money for 15 years to have one night out on the town. In essence, that is the kind of loan that has been described here.

The gentleman from Maryland asked the question two or three times, and never really specifically got an answer to the question that he asked: Why the banking industry would not be interested in this loan with the creditors agreeing that priority be given for this $125 million loan. And that is the answer. You do not borrow $125 million for 15 years from a bank just in order to put off a decision for 90 days.

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

Mr. JACOBS. In just a moment if you please. On the question of assets, of course, the railroad has tremendous assets. One of those tremendous assets of one of the railroads in this country is in my hometown. They have been trying to sell it for 10 years. That is the Union Station there, a beautiful thing. It cost a lot of money. But it is like a cast iron pea shooter. Nobody wants to buy it. When they go to sell the assets of this railroad to pay off this $125 million loan, which rail are they going to torch out of the system, cut out of the system and sell? Those are some of the subjects that have not been discussed.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

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

Mr. ADAMS. The reason that the banks will not purchase trustees certificates is twofold. First, most of those involved with this business are up to their legal limits and are not allowed to place any more money into it. Second, the banks themselves—this is like a guarantee of an FHA loan—the reason the Government had to guarantee them so banks would take them was because they felt it was easier to get their money from the Government and for the Government to go in and collect the money from the debtor if it had to be done. That is why in this bill we have put in guarantee fees in case there is any expense of it.

Mr. JACOBS. Do not go beyond that point. Let me ask the gentleman, if this is in the nature of an FHA guarantee of a loan—and that is my understanding—the Government itself is not lending the money——

Mr. ADAMS. That is correct.

Mr. JACOBS. Then who is going to lend the money? The bank?

Mr. ADAMS. The bank.

Mr. JACOBS. What about that bank's having reached its legal limit?

Mr. ADAMS. Those banks cannot. What I am saying is that you are going to have to go to a different set of banks. This was testified to in the hearings——

Mr. JACOBS. Why not go to that different set of banks without U.S. banking?

(At the request of Mr. ADAMS, Mr. JACOBS was permitted to continue for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. ADAMS. We specifically asked financial advisers where these could be sold. I am talking about the trustees now. They hope to sell some of them to pension funds and other groups. They require a 15-year limit. The banking industry is not eager to take those loans. I agree with the gentleman. But what we are saying is that the Government will collect its money.

Mr. JACOBS. Cannot the gentleman see that if the trustee is going to go to some other bank than the one that is already up to its limits, under the circumstances if this bill passes, and if this is such a good deal, why not go to these other people in the first place?

So if these banks are up to their legal limit already and if this is such a good deal, why not pass a statute changing their legal limit and giving them an opportunity to get in on this deal?

Mr. ADAMS. I tried to tell the gentleman, maybe these are some of the things we will want to do on a permanent basis, but right now the banks will not buy the trusteeship certificates because they do not want to buy into litigation and tie up their money.

Mr. JACOBS. I think it is a bad deal and I think Uncle Sam is going to get his whiskers pulled on this the same as he is on most other things.

Mr. ADAMS. We are saying he will get his money back out.

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

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

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I think we should bear in mind, in answer to the gentleman's question, that this is not a guarantee insofar as any lending institution or bank is concerned. No bank in its right mind is going to buy into a lawsuit and lend money to someone literally in bankruptcy.

Mr. JACOBS. All I ask is that the committee vote as if it were in its right mind this afternoon.

Mr. GIAIMO. The only way to get the banks to lend money on trusteeship certificates is with this bill. They do not want to buy into a lawsuit and have to wait for liquidation to get their money. The only way to get the banks to lend money on trusteeship certificates is to give them a priority position, right behind wages, and the only way to do that is with a Government guarantee. That is the purpose of the guarantee.

Mr. JACOBS. Let us make it clear the lending institution will be giving nothing. It is getting 8 or 9 or 10 percent. It is Uncle Sam who will be giving. The bankers will make their interest, and the railroad people are going on drawing their big salaries, whoever is president now will continue, and my constituents will pay for the night on the town for the next 90 days. That is why I am opposed to this.

Mr. GIAIMO. The gentleman is correct. The bank will be making money, but the bank will be advancing the money.

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

(On request of Mr. GIAIMO, and by unanimous consent, Mr. JACOBS was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. GIAIMO. If the gentleman will continue to yield, the bank will be giving something for which it will be getting well paid. It will be giving the cash which is necessary to continue these railroads past the middle of January, which will keep northeastern business going. I assure the gentleman that if the economy of the Northeast stops because of the fact the Penn Central closes down, literally chaos is going to hit this country.

Mr. JACOBS. Then, just let me close by saying, someone has said that what is good for a certain corporation is good for America, and I would say that what is bad for the banking industry is bad for the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. GIAIMO. The gentleman may say that, but I would remind the gentleman who comes from Indiana that if the railroad stops in January, the industries of the gentleman's own State of Indiana, as the industries and the commerce and the economy in my own State of Connecticut, are going to hit rock bottom like we have never seen before.

All we ask, all this committee and the

Congress is asking, is: give a priority, not to the railroad, a guarantee, not to the railroad, but give it to the referee in bankruptcy so he can proceed with the reorganization of this railroad.

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

Mr. Chairman, I think the debate we have had this afternoon has been a healthy and informative one for us. I think many of the Members understand the issues better than when we started out. It is so easy to stand on this floor and complain about what is happening to the railroad industry. We could all cry out that the iron horse is a sick turkey. We all know that. We could all cry out at the mess which the Penn Central has found itself in.

The real question is, Do we really have a national crisis on our hands? I am convinced, as a member of the subcommittee that heard this testimony, that we do have. The question is, What is our alternative to this bill? No one has really come forward today with a good, sensible alternative. We could say that we will let the trains stop. Would any of us really allow that? We might be tempted to, but really we cannot afford that. We just cannot do it. It would be an act of nonfeasance of the highest degree. We could let the Government take it over. We could say, let it stop and then we will put our people in charge of it. That could be an alternative, but we do not want to nationalize our transportation industry and that at this time would certainly not be the proper course to take.

Or we could in the Congress make certain appropriations to give cash to this railroad and bail it out and say, "We will have better days down the line." That would not be a proper course.

What we have recommended is that, through these loans, on these certificates, we will leave the railroad operating under the direction of the trustees and under the direction of the court, in the hope that in time to come they can get in the black and go forward under the free enterprise system.

We either take that course or some other one of these alternatives which are not feasible.

I submit that we are buying time. We say we need this money now to meet the payroll expenses within the next 3 weeks, and then we will have some 3 months nearly, to try to decide what is the best course.

I hope we approve this bill. We ought to take a vote on it now. We ought to support the committee, because it is a good approach. It is about the only sensible approach we have. No other proposal has been offered today.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROBERTS) may be right that we may need some type of RFC organization later on. I note that one of our colleagues, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PATMAN), has such a measure. Perhaps it should include transportation. That is something to look at next year.

Right now we have a crisis and we have to keep the trains rolling, and I believe this bill is the proper approach.

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

I should like to be more convinced than I am that we are in a situation where the railroads absolutely cannot get their money anywhere else except from the Federal Government.

I have not had an opportunity to do any research on this, but I do know a little about economic history, and I have a recollection of railroads going bankrupt throughout the history of the United States. I cannot think offhand of any railroad that has ever actually stopped functioning because it went bankrupt.

If the gentleman can show me that this is the usual procedure and that they have not been able to get loans and have actually stopped trains, I would be a little more inclined to go to the rescue.

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

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PICKLE. The Secretary of Transportation appeared before our committee and made a very strong statement that we have a crisis of national character on our hands. A former Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Willard Wirtz, made the same statements to the members of the committee in no uncertain language. The other trustees who appeared said over and over that there is no other reasonable alternative.

I ask the gentleman to look at page 9 of the bill, to section 3, which refers to "financial assistance." There are statements concerning the fact that the Secretary must consult with the commission before he is authorized to guarantee any of these certificates; and, if the gentleman will bear with me, I should like to read what the bill says he must do before he can make these loans:

(1) cessation of essential transportation services by the railroad would endanger the public welfare;

(2) cessation of such services is imminent;

(3) there is no other practicable means of obtaining funds to meet payroll and other expenses necessary to provide such services than the issuance of such certificates;

(4) such certificates cannot be sold without a guarantee;

Then there are two other provisions. We can see the safeguards.

I do not want the gentleman to use all of my time. I would like to comment on this: You and I have been in this House for some time and I think you realize that if we believed everything that Secretaries and bureaucrats said when they came before our committees this Government would be run even worse than it is now.

There are a lot of loopholes in the statement which the gentleman has made. However, the gentleman has not answered my question. Is it absolutely certain from our history of railroad operations that you have got to come in with the Federal Government to bail them out and give them cash in order to keep the railroads functioning? I do not know of any precedent of that kind in the history of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I am not terribly bothered by this $100 million. This is a relatively small amount, considering the money we throw around in this body. What bothers me is that this is just the beginning of a long-term commitment. In my opinion 90 days from now they will come back and say, "If you do not give us some more money, we are going to collapse." This is a kind of economic blackmail.

What is your alternative?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I would like to call their bluff. I do not honestly believe if we refused to give them this loan that the railroads are going to stop running.

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

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. All I would like to say is that I hope we do soon vote, because I think we have had enough discussion of this matter.

I would ask the gentleman is he willing to take the chance that this railroad close down its operations on January 8 and run the risk of the citizens in the northeastern and the eastern part of the United States to be denied the delivery of fresh vegetables and fruit, the delivery of hospital equipment, the delivery of heavy equipment and steel which this Nation so badly needs to operate, are you going to take that on your conscience?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. The gentleman from West Virginia has me almost in tears with the prospect he paints. I have no idea but what the railroads would try to pull a blackmail, but I do not think it is genuine. My guess is that if Uncle Sam were not waiting in the wings, they would find some other means or someone else from whom to borrow the money.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call the attention of this body to the fact that the business which we are discussing at this time is the fact that the Penn Central Railroad has not gone through the rigors. Our western railroads years ago went through the rigors. They paid their debt to society for their mismanagement and they are now a profitable institution. They did it without Federal funds. I hope we will not set the precedent at this time of bailing out the Penn Central and the eastern banks with taxpayers' money and give them a free ride by the use of Federal money.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I agree with the gentleman. There is no end to it once you start.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. NATCHER, Chairman 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. 19953) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to provide financial assistance to certain railroads in order to preserve essential rail services, and for other purposes, pursuant

to House Resolution 1315, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was 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 OFFERED BY MR. BROWN OF OHIO

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am, Mr. Speaker, in its present form.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BROWN of Ohio moves to recommit the bill H.R. 19953 to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. 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 165, nays 121, answered "present" 2, not voting 145, as follows:

[Roll No. 449]

YEAS—165

Adams	Dennis	Harsha
Albert	Dingell	Hastings
Anderson, Ill.	Donohue	Hathaway
Anderson, Tenn.	Dorn	Hawkins
Annunzio	Downing	Hays
Beall, Md.	Eckhardt	Hechler, W. Va.
Betts	Erlenborn	Heckler, Mass.
Biaggi	Eshleman	Helstoski
Biester	Evans, Colo.	Hogan
Bingham	Feighan	Hosmer
Boggs	Flood	Howard
Boland	Flowers	Hunt
Bow	Ford, William D.	Jarman
Brademas	Forsythe	Jonas
Bray	Fraser	Kee
Broyhill, Va.	Frelinghuysen	Keith
Byrne, Pa.	Frey	King
Byrnes, Wis.	Fulton, Pa.	Kleppe
Carey	Fuqua	Koch
Carter	Gallagher	Kuykendall
Celler	Garmatz	Kyros
Chamberlain	Gettys	McCloskey
Clark	Giaimo	McDade
Conable	Goodling	McEwen
Coughlin	Green, Oreg.	McFall
Culver	Griffin	MacGregor
Daniels, N.J.	Gude	Mann
Davis, Wis.	Hamilton	Matsunaga
Dellenback	Hansen, Wash.	Meeds
Mink	Reid, Ill.	Taft
Mollohan	Reid, N.Y.	Teague, Calif.
Monagan	Rhodes	Thompson, Ga.
Morgan	Riegle	Thompson, N.J.
Morse	Robison	Thomson, Wis.
Morton	Rodino	Tiernan
Mosher	Roe	Udall
Murphy, N.Y.	Rogers, Colo.	Ullman
Natcher	Rogers, Fla.	Van Deerlin
Nelsen	Rooney, N.Y.	Vigorito
Nix	Rooney, Pa.	Wampler
O'Hara	Rostenkowski	Ware
O'Neill, Mass.	Roth	Watson
Passman	Satterfield	Weicker
Patten	Schneebeli	Whitehurst
Perkins	Sebelius	Widnall
Philbin	Shriver	Wiggins
Pickle	Skubitz	Williams
Pirnie	Slack	Wilson, Bob
Podell	Smith, N.Y.	Wydler
Poff	Springer	Wyman
Preyer, N.C.	Stafford	Yates
Price, Ill.	Staggers	Yatron
Pucinski	Stanton	Zablocki
Quie	Stratton	Zion
Railsback	Stuckey	

NAYS—121

Anderson, Calif.	Foley	Myers
Ashbrook	Ford, Gerald R.	Nedzi
Ashley	Fountain	Nichols
Belcher	Galifianakis	Obey
Bennett	Gonzalez	Olsen
Bevill	Green, Pa.	O'Neal, Ga.
Blackburn	Gross	Pike
Blatnik	Gubser	Poage
Bolling	Hagan	Pollock
Brinkley	Halpern	Price, Tex.
Broomfield	Hammer-schmidt	Purcell
Brotzman	Hanna	Quillen
Brown, Calif.	Hansen, Idaho	Randall
Brown, Mich.	Harrington	Rees
Brown, Ohio	Harvey	Reuss
Buchanan	Holifield	Roberts
Burke, Mass.	Horton	Rosenthal
Burleson, Tex.	Hutchinson	Roybal
Burton, Calif.	Ichord	Ryan
Cabell	Jacobs	Sandman
Casey	Jones, Ala	Scheuer
Chappell	Jones, N.C.	Schmitz
Cleveland	Karth	Schwengel
Cohelan	Kastenmeier	Scott
Collier	Kazen	Steed
Collins, Tex.	Kyl	Stokes
Colmer	Landgrebe	Stubblefield
Conyers	Leggett	Talcott
Corman	Long, Md.	Taylor
Crane	Lowenstein	Teague, Tex.
Davis, Ga.	McClure	Vanik
de la Garza	Macdonald, Mass.	Waldie
Derwinski	Madden	Watts
Dickinson	Mahon	Whalen
Duncan	Mailliard	White
Edwards, Ala.	Marsh	Whitten
Eilberg	Mayne	Wilson, Charles H.
Esch	Melcher	Wright
Findley	Miller, Ohio	Wylie
Fisher	Mizell	Young
Flynt		

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Daniel, Va.	Smith, Calif.

NOT VOTING—145

Abbitt	Chisholm	Foreman
Abernethy	Clancy	Friedel
Adair	Clausen, Don H.	Fulton, Tenn.
Addabbo	Clawson, Del	Gaydos
Alexander	Clay	Gibbons
Andrews, Ala.	Collins, Ill.	Gilbert
Andrews, N. Dak.	Conte	Goldwater
Arends	Corbett	Gray
Aspinall	Cowger	Griffiths
Ayres	Cramer	Grover
Baring	Cunningham	Haley
Barrett	Daddario	Hall
Bell, Calif.	Delaney	Hanley
Berry	Denney	Hébert
Blanton	Dent	Henderson
Brasco	Devine	Hicks
Brock	Diggs	Hull
Brooks	Dowdy	Hungate
Broyhill, N.C.	Dulski	Johnson, Calif.
Burke, Fla.	Dwyer	Johnson, Pa.
Burlison, Mo.	Edmondson	Jones, Tenn.
Burton, Utah	Edwards, Calif.	Kluczynski
Bush	Edwards, La.	Landrum
Button	Evins, Tenn.	Langen
Caffery	Fallon	Latta
Camp	Farbstein	Lennon
Carney	Fascell	Lloyd
Cederberg	Fish	Long, La.
Lukens	Murphy, Ill.	Sikes
McCarthy	O'Konski	Sisk
McClory	Ottinger	Smith, Iowa
McCulloch	Patman	Snyder
McDonald, Mich.	Pelly	Steele
McKneally	Pepper	Steiger, Ariz.
McMillan	Pettis	Steiger, Wis.
Martin	Powell	Stephens
Mathias	Pryor, Ark.	Sullivan
May	Rarick	Symington
Meskill	Reifel	Tunney
Michel	Rivers	Vander Jagt
Mikva	Roudebush	Waggonner
Miller, Calif.	Rousselot	Whalley
Mills	Ruppe	Winn
Minshall	Ruth	Wold
Mize	St Germain	Wolff
Montgomery	Saylor	Wyatt
Moorhead	Schadeberg	Zwach
Moss	Scherle	
	Shipley	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Symington for, with Mr. Hébert against.

Mr. Addabbo for, with Mr. Waggonner against.

Mr. Brasco for, with Mr. Burlison of Missouri against.

Mr. Dent for, with Mr. Rarick against.

Mr. Kluczynski for, with Mr. Abernethy against.

Mr. Gray for, with Mr. Fulton of Tennessee against.

Mr. Grover for, with Mr. Andrews of Alabama against.

Mr. Shipley for, with Mr. Jones of Tennessee against.

Mr. St Germain for, with Mr. Blanton against.

Mr. Delaney for, with Mr. Montgomery against.

Mr. Brooks for, with Mr. Clay against.

Mr. Barrett for, with Mr. Abbitt against.

Mr. Aspinall for, with Mr. Farbstein against.

Mr. Dulski for, with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin against.

Mr. Edmondson for, with Mr. Broyhill of North Carolina against.

Mr. Hanley for, with Mr. Conte against.

Mr. Corbett for, with Mr. Zwach against.

Mr. Meskill for, with Mr. Henderson against.

Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania for, with Mr. Lennon against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Del Clawson.

Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Reifel.

Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Snyder.

Mr. Fascell with Mr. Kramer.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Adair.

Mr. Pepper with Mr. Devine.

Mr. Pryor of Arkansas with Mr. Fish.

Mr. Sikes with Mr. Camp.

Mr. Stephens with Mr. Winn.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Rousselot.

Mr. Alexander with Mr. Scherle.

Mr. Hicks with Mr. Pelly.

Mr. Hull with Mr. Mize.

Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. Dwyer.

Mr. Caffery with Mr. Lukens.

Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Ruppe.

Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Collins of Illinois.

Mr. Ottinger with Mr. Diggs.

Mrs. Chisholm with Mr. Tunney.

Mr. McMillan with Mr. Ruth.

Mr. Johnson of California with Mr. Steele.

Mr. Hungate with Mr. Hall.

Mr. Wolff with Mr. Langen.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Don H. Clausen.

Mr. Gibbons with Mr. Cunningham.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Arends.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Smith of Iowa with Mr. Ayres.

Mr. Moss with Mr. Goldwater.

Mr. Moorhead with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.
Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Whalley.
Mr. Carney with Mr. Saylor.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Foreman.
Mr. Mikva with Mr. Schadeberg.
Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. O'Konski.
Mr. Mills with Mr. Burke of Florida.
Mr. Friedel with Mr. Bell of California.
Mr. Gaydos with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Haley with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Rivers with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Steiger of Arizona.
Mr. Denney with Mr. Wold.
Mr. Burton of Illinois with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Andrews of North Dakota with Mr. Button.
Mr. Michel with Mr. Bush.
Mr. Floyd with Mr. Martin.
Mr. Latta with Mr. McClory.
Mr. Cederberg with Mr. Clancy.
Mr. Pettis with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. McKneally with Mrs. May.

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. ALBERT changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. O'HARA changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The doors were opened.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to provide financial assistance to certain railroads in order to preserve essential rail services, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, 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. 19911) entitled "An act to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes."

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order. It gives the Chair pleasure to use this gavel which was sent to him by Governor Burns of Hawaii.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 19911, SUPPLEMENTAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATION

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 19911) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of December 21, 1970.)

Mr. MORGAN (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the statement.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I take it that the gentleman will explain the result of the conference?

Mr. MORGAN. I intend to do so.

Mr. GROSS. I withdraw my reservation.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, we have just finished a difficult conference and have not been able to get everything that we wanted.

We were not in a strong bargaining position.

Time was not on our side.

In essence, however, we believe that the bill as agreed to by the conferees will enable the President to provide increased military and economic assistance to selected countries which will enable those countries to protect and defend their own security interests.

The managers on the part of the House agreed to accept five of the principal Senate amendments to H.R. 19911 because of the importance of this authorization to the continued withdrawal of American soldiers from South Vietnam and Korea and the fact that there is an urgent requirement for additional funds—now.

Mr. Speaker, there is no difference in the total amount authorized by the House and that authorized in H.R. 19911 as agreed to by the conferees.

The amount authorized to be appropriated is $550 million.

As a result of Senate amendment the bill authorized these funds on a line item basis. The amounts authorized, however, for each country and program conform to the amounts requested by the President in his supplemental foreign assistance authorization message, with the exception that the Congress increased the authorization for economic assistance $15 million which is to be used for the relief of the victims of the recent disaster in East Pakistan. Thus, the funds requested are for specified programs to achieve specific foreign policy objectives.

The House conferees do not like the idea of authorizing on a line item basis. They were of the opinion, however, that the appropriation of these funds as soon as possible is so important to the foreign policy objectives of the United States that an exception should be made in this one instance.

The Senate amendment also contained language which places a restriction on U.S. involvement in Cambodia. Briefly stated, this language prohibits the use of any funds authorized or appropriated under the Foreign Assistance Act or any other act from being used to finance the introduction of U.S. ground troops into Cambodia, or to provide military assistance advisers to or for Cambodian military forces in Cambodia.

The Senate refused to delete these provisions. Because of the fact that funds allocated for Cambodia are almost exhausted and that there is an immediate requirement for additional funds for military assistance, the House conferees agreed to accept this Senate amendment.

The amendment as passed by the Senate also contained language to the effect that the grant of military and economic assistance to Cambodia did not constitute a commitment by the United States to defend that country. The provision is similar in language and intent to the provisions of section 650 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. For that reason, the House conferees agreed to accept the Senate amendment.

The Senate also added an amendment which requires the President to notify the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations 30 days in advance—10 days in an emergency—that he intends to use the transfer authority granted to him under the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, to provide military and economic assistance to Cambodia.

The managers on the part of the House agreed to accept this amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 because they were of the opinion that the assistance already given to Cambodia, and that which will be made available under this authorization, will be sufficient to enable that country to defend its security and independence over the next 6 months, which is the period covered by this authorization.

It was also thought that the situation in Cambodia is such that any additional requirement for military or economic assistance for that country will be apparent far enough in advance to enable the President to make additional assistance available to Cambodia and to notify the Congress in accordance with the provisions of this section.

In another amendment, the Senate included language which requires that military and economic assistance furnished under the provisions of this bill be subject to the standard safeguards and requirements of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The House conferees were in full agreement with this amendment.

The statement of managers on the part of the House that accompanies the conference report on H.R. 19911, inadvertently omitted any reference to section 6 of the bill as it passed the House. That section was adopted in the House during the consideration of the bill. It deals with the matter of the suspension of economic and military assistance to countries that do not take appropriate steps to prevent narcotic drugs entering the United States from such countries.

I want to assure the House that there was no lack of sympathy on the part of all the conferees for the objective of the amendment. The issue was whether this bill is the most appropriate vehicle for achieving that objective. The U.S. Government has made known its position to

countries that are potential sources of narcotics. Those governments are undertaking increasingly stronger measures to deter the production and export of drugs. We had to weigh the positive steps that are being taken against the possible negative effects that the amendment might have in pursuit of our foreign policy objectives. Accordingly, the managers on the part of the House agreed to delete this section.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will judge this bill we have brought back from conference in terms of the importance of what it does and not in terms of its shortcomings, which I freely acknowledge. The need for additional funds is urgent if U.S. policy objectives in Southeast Asia, Korea, and the Middle East are to be achieved. The authorization and appropriation of these funds will insure the continued withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It should enable the Vietnamization program to proceed apace and it should contribute to peace in the Middle East.

I am certain that I speak for the House conferees when I say that I am convinced that this bill is the best that we can do. The executive branch poses no serious objection to the Senate amendments. The national interests of the United States require enactment of this bill. I urge the House to accept the bill that has been agreed upon by the conferees of both Houses.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the ranking minority member on the conference committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. MAILLIARD).

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on H.R. 19911 that we are considering here today.

In my opinion the agreement that has been reached on the various provisions of the bill should be reasonably satisfactory to the great majority of the Members of this body.

Since the House considered this bill, the administration has made it clear that it seeks only to use U.S. Armed Forces prudently and with a clear definition of this country's security goals. Events since mid-1970 have confirmed the restraint and integrity with which the President is pursuing this country's goals in Asia.

The record of debate clearly establishes that the Congress has no desire to weaken the powers of the President as Commander in Chief. The President retains his discretionary powers in this respect, which is wise and justified.

The administration has indicated that it intends to keep the Congress fully informed as concerns U.S. assistance programs for Cambodia. Indeed, the administration has exercised admirable restraint and shown that it is determined to avoid a repetition of our unhappy experience in Vietnam.

While there are provisions in the compromise now before us which I personally do not consider desirable, on the whole the report does meet urgent requirements and I feel that the House should support the conference report and I urge it to do so.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FULTON).

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report because it is one of those necessary kinds of items that we need until we can in the Foreign Affairs Committee look into the foreign aid program in the coming year, 1971.

I would ask the chairman one question. As far as the ability of the President to act in an emergency, in the chairman's judgment, does the President have sufficient flexibility or does this restrict the President so much in the case of emergency that we might endanger our U.S. security or U.S. military forces in any place?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly it does restrict the President, but as I said before, it should keep Cambodia going until we can next year enact legislation that will take care of the situation in Cambodia adequately.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. While it is restrictive, it is not too restrictive?

Mr. MORGAN. It is restrictive.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. But the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State feel we can live with these restrictions?

Mr. MORGAN. They have both assured me of that.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. I feel we should support the conference report.

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

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

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I feel this late in the session, after numerous conference reports have been debated, it might not be amiss too much to observe that any group of conferees that has to meet with their Senate counterparts deserves our appreciation. There is not anything worse than to send our fine, stable, responsible Members of the House over to meet with the dissimilar types in the other body. So I commend the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and our ranking Republican Member for facing the group they faced.

Mr. Speaker, all in all I feel this is an acceptable report that should be adopted.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the gentleman from Illinois will stay around until he reaches a place on the Foreign Affairs Committee so that I can take him with us to conference, because we need his help.

Mr. DERWINSKI. It will be a pleasure to cooperate.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, during consideration of this bill by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I offered an amendment in order to make clear that approval could not be construed as giving congressional sanction to a commitment to defend Cambodia or to authorize the introduction of U.S. military advisers into Cambodia.

The amendment I offered, which was rejected as I recall by a vote of 18 to 9, read as follows:

SEC. 3. The military and supporting assistance funds authorized for Cambodia by the amendments made by the first two sections of this Act shall be used exclusively for purposes the President determines to be essential to the withdrawal of United States military personnel from South Vietnam, and in no case shall be used to establish or maintain United States military advisory personnel in Cambodia.

Mr. Speaker, the United States presently has no treaty obligation to Cambodia. By mutual agreement, our obligation to that state under the SEATO Treaty was terminated long ago. We have had no AID or military assistance program there since 1963.

H.R. 19911, therefore, has major importance because it sanctions a commitment where none presently exists. It authorizes both military and supporting assistance to the Government of Cambodia, and thus brings the Congress squarely to the question of a new commitment.

When Congress approves for the first time money and arms for a foreign government, it thereby sanctions a new commitment in some form.

Because the sanction of an initial commitment can become the foundation of broad involvement—as happened in Vietnam—the action is one of gravity.

I argue that the Congress should approve the emergency request by the President, but should establish as policy that the military assistance funds authorized for Cambodia shall be used exclusively for purposes the President determines to be essential to the withdrawal of U.S. military personnel from South Vietnam, and in no case used to establish or maintain U.S. military advisory personnel in Cambodia.

One reason my amendment lost was the objection of the administration. Fortunately the administration reversed its position, as evidenced by its acquiescence in the language of section 7 as set forth on page 2 of the conference report now before us.

This language embraces completely the points embodied in my earlier proposal. Section 7 is a valuable addition to the bill.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ARTICLES INTENDED FOR PREVENTING CONCEPTION

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 4605) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 and the United States Code to remove the prohibitions against importing, transporting, and mailing in the U.S. mails articles for preventing conception, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 2, strike out all after line 7 over to and including line 16 on page 3 and insert:

"SEC. 5. (a) Section 4001 of title 39 of the United States Code, relating to nonmailable matter, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"'(d) (1) Any matter which is unsolicited by the addressee and which is designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception (except unsolicited samples thereof mailed to a manufacturer thereof, a dealer therein, a licensed physician or surgeon, or a nurse, pharmacist, druggist, hospital, or clinic) is nonmailable matter, shall not be carried or delivered by mail, and shall be disposed of as the Postmaster General directs.

"'(2) Any unsolicited advertisement of matter which is designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception is nonmailable matter, shall not be carried or delivered by mail, and shall be disposed of as the Postmaster General directs unless the advertisement—

"'(A) is mailed to a manufacturer of such matter, a dealer therein, a licensed physician or surgeon, or a nurse, pharmacist, druggist, hospital, or clinic; or

"'(B) accompanies in the same parcel any unsolicited sample excepted by paragraph (1) of this subsection.

An advertisement shall not be deemed to be unsolicited sample excepted by paragraph if it is contained in a publication for which the addressee has paid or promised to pay a consideration or which he has otherwise indicated he desires to receive.'

"(b) The eighth paragraph of section 1461 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting 'or section 4001(d) of title 39' after 'this section'.

"SEC. 6. Effective on the date that the Board of Governors of the United States Postal Service establishes as the effective date for section 3001 of title 39 of the United States Code, as enacted by the Postal Reorganization Act—

"(1) such section 3001 is amended—

"(A) by redesignating subsection (e) as (f); and

"(B) by inserting after subsection (d) the following new subsection:

"'(e) (1) Any matter which is unsolicited by the addressee and which is designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception (except unsolicited samples thereof mailed to a manufacturer thereof, a dealer therein, a licensed physician or surgeon, or a nurse, pharmacist, druggist, hospital, or clinic) is nonmailable matter, shall not be carried or delivered by mail, and shall be disposed of as the Postal Service directs.

"'(2) Any unsolicited advertisement of matter which is designed, adapted, or intended for preventing conception is nonmailable matter, shall not be carried or delivered by mail, and shall be disposed of as the Postal Service directs unless the advertisement—

"'(A) is mailed to a manufacturer of such matter, a dealer therein, a licensed physician or surgeon, or a nurse, pharmacist, druggist, hospital, or clinic; or

"'(B) accompanies in the same parcel any unsolicited sample excepted by paragraph (1) of this subsection.

An advertisement shall not be deemed to be unsolicited for the purposes of this paragraph if it is contained in a publication for which the addressee has paid or promised to pay a consideration or which he has otherwise indicated he desires to receive,';

"(2) section 4001(d) of title 18 of the United States Code, as added by section 5(d) of this Act, is repealed; and

"(3) the eighth paragraph of section 1461 of title 18 of the United States Code, as amended by section 5(b) of this Act, is amended by striking out '4001(d)' and inserting in lieu thereof '3001(e)'.

SEC. 7. The amendments made by this Act (other than by section 6) shall take effect on the day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. BOGGS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment and that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is the gentleman undertaking the disposal of some 20 bills that come from the Ways and Means Committee?

Mr. BOGGS. It is my intention to take up the bills which passed the House unanimously some time ago and which passed the Senate with certain amendments, and to consider the Senate amendments. In most cases only minor Senate amendments are involved. I would then hope also to be able to take up bills unanimously reported by the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. GROSS. The bill the gentleman is calling up now is not on this long list of bills?

Mr. BOGGS. It is not. This bill passed the House unanimously, and later passed the Senate with a minor, technical amendment.

Mr. GROSS. I could not find it on this list of bills. I am just trying to ascertain what schedule the gentleman is using.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I can explain to the gentleman that I believe there are six bills which passed the House previously which have some minor amendment or two. That will be the first group the gentleman, as I understand it, is going to call up.

I assume that the gentleman will explain the nature of the Senate amendment in those cases where that is involved, so that the Members can be assured of an explanation.

Mr. BOGGS. That is right. I appreciate the gentleman's clarifying explanation.

Mr. GROSS. May I ascertain at this point, so I will not have to interrupt, whether all amendments to these bills the gentleman now proposes to call up are germane to the bills?

Mr. BOGGS. Yes; for the most part they are germane. There is only one about which there might be a question.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Yes, there is one bill, H.R. 17473, which was passed, which does have an amendment as to which there is a question of germaneness, because the amendment does relate to a charitable deduction whereas the basic bill related to a forced stock arrangement. I give the gentleman the number of that bill so that he can be alerted to it. It is H.R. 17473.

Mr. GROSS. I am interested particularly in whether it is completely extraneous to the subject matter of the bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. It is an amendment of the Internal Revenue Code. All of them are germane to that extent.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana to dispense with further reading of the amendment?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 4605, which passed the House on June 22, 1970, is to remove the prohibitions against importing, transporting, and mailing in the U.S. mails articles for preventing conception. The Senate amendments are technical in nature. They would conform the provisions of H.R. 4605, as passed by the House, to the new provisions of the Postal Reorganization Act which was approved August 12, 1970, as Public Law 91-375.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that the House concur in the Senate amendments to H.R. 4605.

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

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DIRECTING THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKE A CORRECTION IN THE ENROLLMENT OF H.R. 4605

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 797) and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 797

Concurrent resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a correction in the enrollment of H.R. 4605

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Clerk of the House of Representatives, in the enrollment of the bill (H.R. 4605) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 and the United States Code to remove the prohibitions against importing, transporting, and mailing in the United States mails articles for preventing conception, is authorized and directed to strike out "title 18" in section 6(2) and insert in lieu thereof "title 39".

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

There was no objection.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY ON PARTS OF STETHOSCOPES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 7311) to amend item 709.10 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that the rate of duty on parts of stethoscopes shall be the same as the rate on stethoscopes,

with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 2, strike out lines 1 to 8, inclusive.

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, let me say that I will reserve the right to object on these various bills as they come up, not for the purpose of objecting to them, because in these cases I am in favor of the bills, but in order to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana so that the House may have an explanation of the Senate amendment.

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

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 7311, as passed by the House on May 13, 1969, would provide that the rate of duty on imports of parts of stethoscopes shall be the same as the rate of duty on imports of stethoscopes. The Senate amendment to H.R. 7311 is technical in nature. The amendment would delete subsection (c) of the House bill which was intended to make clear the tariff concession status on parts of stethoscopes with respect to the tariff adjustment and adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act. The Committee on Finance of the Senate was informed that this subsection is unnecessary.

I have been subsequently informed that the provision is unnecessary to the purpose intended by the House-passed bill.

I urge that the House concur in the Senate amendment to H.R. 7311.

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

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING INTERNAL REVENUE CODE RELATING TO DISTILLED SPIRITS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 10517) to amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to distilled spirits, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 8, after line 10, insert:

"SEC. 7. AMENDMENTS OF SECTION 5232.

"(a) The first sentence of section 5232(a) (relating to transfer of imported distilled spirits) is amended to read as follows: 'Distilled spirits imported or brought into the United States in bulk containers may, under such regulations as the Secretary shall prescribe, be withdrawn from customs custody and transferred in such bulk containers or by pipeline to the bonded premises of a distilled spirits plant without payment of the internal revenue tax imposed on such distilled spirits.'

"(b) Section 5232(b) (relating to withdrawals) is amended by striking out 'Imported distilled spirits' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Distilled spirits'."

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so in order to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana for a brief explanation of the Senate amendment.

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 10517, as passed by the House on July 6, 1970, would make a series of amendments to the distilled spirits tax provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. These amendments, in general, are designed to remove restrictions no longer needed for effective enforcement of the revenue and regulatory aspects of such provisions of the Internal Revenue Code.

In approving H.R. 10517, as passed by the House, the Senate amended the bill by adding a provision which would amend sections 5232 (a) and (b) of the Internal Revenue Code. Section 5232(a) presently permits, under certain conditions, imported distilled spirits in bulk containers to be withdrawn from customs custody and transferred into Internal Revenue bonded warehouses without payment of the internal revenue tax imposed on such distilled spirits. However, distilled spirits produced in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands when shipped into the United States in bulk containers may not be withdrawn from customs custody and transferred in such bulk containers or by pipeline into Internal Revenue bonded warehouses without payment at the time of such withdrawal and transfer of the applicable excise tax imposed on such distilled spirits. The Senate amendment would extend such privilege to shipments of distilled spirits in bulk from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

I am informed that the Treasury Department supports the Senate amendment. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Senate amendment is meritorious and urge that the House concur in the Senate amendment to H.R. 10517.

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

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OF THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up Senate Concurrent Resolution 87 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution as follows:

S. CON. RES. 87

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That when the two Houses adjourn on Tuesday, December 22, 1970, they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday, December 28, 1970.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ALBERT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ALBERT: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That when the Senate adjourns on Tuesday, December 22, 1970, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday, December 28, 1970; and that when the House adjourns on Tuesday, December 22, 1970, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, December 29, 1970."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ALBERT).

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate concurrent resolution, as amended, was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE UNTIL TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1970

(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, some of the Members know that I had hoped we could amend the resolution sent over from the other body so we would come back on the 2d of January, but the other body indicated that if that were done they would not approve the resolution as amended. I believe that this is the best possible resolution of the situation that we could achieve.

Mr. Speaker, I do hope that the other body will get down to work on Monday, and I hope they will continue to work on Tuesday with the hope and expectation that between their working on Monday and Tuesday and our willingness to cooperate on Tuesday, we can conclude the business of this Congress on Tuesday of next week.

Mr. Speaker, I do think it is vitally important that all of our Members be here, because there will be several things that might develop that would require a quorum.

I wonder if I might suggest to the distinguished majority leader if there is a chance of getting the House to come in at 11 o'clock on Tuesday morning next week so hopefully we might get started earlier, and perhaps finish earlier?

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

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection personally to that, although I have not conferred with the Speaker. I do urge all Members to be here on Tuesday. This is vital. The House will recess an extra day, that is, one more day than the other body will recess. I think they need the additional day's work more than we do, but it is necessary for Members

to be here when the House returns on Tuesday.

May I also urge the Members to remain until we finish tonight, because we would like to have the table as clean as possible, and we hope to wipe the slate as clean as possible before we leave here tonight so that we will have that much less to do when we come back. I urge all the Members to stay here this evening. I think we can quickly dispose of most of the business.

Mr. Speaker, I will therefore ask unanimous consent, at the request of the minority leader, that when we come in on Tuesday, December 29, we adjourn to come in at 11 o'clock a.m.

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

Mr. ALBERT. In considering the matter, I am not sure that such a request is parliamentarily possible in the light of a concurrent resolution.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I was just going to ask that question.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my unanimous-consent request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma withdraws his unanimous-consent request.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, what was the determination with respect to the reconvening of the House on Tuesday?

The Speaker. The Chair will state that the House will meet at 12 o'clock noon, on Tuesday, December 29, 1970.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the Speaker.

SHRIMP BOATS AND OTHER "SPECIAL SERVICE" VESSELS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 16745) to exempt shrimp vessels from the duty imposed on repairs made to, and repair parts and equipment purchased for, U.S. vessels in foreign countries, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 1, strike out lines 3 to 9, inclusive, and insert: "That section 466 of the Tariff Act of 1930 is amended to read as follows:

"'SEC. 466. EQUIPMENT AND REPAIRS OF VESSELS.

"'(a) The equipments, or any part thereof, including boats, purchased for, or the repair parts or materials to be used, or the expenses of repairs made in a foreign country upon a vessel documented under the laws of the United States to engage in the foreign or coasting trade, or a vessel intended to be employed in such trade, shall, on the first arrival of such vessel in any port of the United States, be liable to entry and the payment of an ad valorem duty of 50 per centum on the cost thereof in such foreign country; and if the owner or master of such vessel shall willfully and knowingly neglect or fail to report, make entry, or pay duties as herein required, such vessel, with her tackle, apparel, and furniture, shall be seized and forfeited. For the purposes of this section, compensation paid to members of the regular crew of such vessel in connection with the installation of any such equipments or any part thereof, or the making of repairs, in a foreign country, shall not be included in the cost of such equipment or part thereof, or of such repairs.

"'(b) If the owner or master of such vessel furnishes good and sufficient evidence that—

"'(1) such vessel, while in the regular course of her voyage, was compelled, by stress of weather or other casualty, to put into such foreign port and purchase such equipments, or make such repairs, to secure the safety and seaworthiness of the vessel to enable her to reach her port of destination;

"'(2) such equipments or parts thereof or repair parts or materials, were manufactured or produced in the United States, and the labor necessary to install such equipments or to make such repairs was performed by residents of the United States, or by members of the regular crew of such vessel; or

"'(3) such equipments, or parts thereof, or materials, or labor, were used as dunnage for cargo, or for the packing or shoring thereof, or in the erection of temporary bulkheads or other similar devices for the control of bulk cargo, or in the preparation (without permanent repair or alteration) of tanks for the carriage of liquid cargo;

"'then the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to remit or refund such duties, and such vessel shall not be liable to forfeiture, and no license or enrollment and license, or renewal of either, shall hereafter be issued to any such vessel until the collector to whom application is made for the same shall be satisfied, from the oath of the owner or master, that all such equipments or parts thereof or materials and repairs made within the year immediately preceding such application have been duly accounted for under the provisions of this section, and the duties accruing thereon duly paid; and if such owner or master shall refuse to take such oath, or take it falsely, the vessel shall be seized and forfeited.

"'(c) In the case of any vessel designed and used primarily for purposes other than transporting passengers or property in the foreign or coasting trade which arrives in a port of the United States two years or more after its last departure from a port of the United States, the duties imposed by this section shall apply only with respect to (1) fish nets and netting, and (2) other equipments, and parts thereof, and repair parts and materials purchased, or repairs made, during the first six months after the last departure of such vessel from a port of the United States.'"

Page 2, line 2, strike out "articles entered" and insert "entries made in connection with arrivals of vessels".

Page 2, line 6, strike out "the entry of any article" and insert "any entry in connection with the arrival of a vessel used primarily for the catching of shrimp".

Page 2, after line 15, insert:

"SEC. 3. Effective with respect to entries made in connection with arrivals of vessels on or after the date of the enactment of this Act (or treated under section 2 as made on the day after such date), sections 3114 and 3115 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (19 U.S.C. 257 and 258) are repealed."

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to limit, in the case of certain special service vessels, the application of the duties imposed on equipments and repair parts purchased for, and repairs made to, United States vessels in foreign countries."

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I do not object—I do so in order to allow the gentleman from Louisiana to explain the amendments.

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 16745, which passed the House on June 22, 1970, would amend section 3114 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to exempt U.S. vessels which are primarily used for the catching of shrimp from the 50-percent ad valorem duty imposed on repairs made to, and equipment purchased for, U.S. vessels in foreign countries.

The amendment to H.R. 16745, proposed by the Committee on Finance and approved by the Senate would amend H.R. 16745, as passed by the House, in a number of respects.

First, the Senate amendment would extend the proposed exemption from duty on repairs made in foreign countries to any "special service" vessel of the United States that is not used primarily to carry passengers or cargo. As indicated previously, the House bill would exempt only vessels primarily used for the catching of shrimp.

Further, under the Senate amendment, such duty exemption on repairs performed abroad would apply only to such repairs made after the first 6 months of any voyage in which such vessel operated in international or foreign waters for a period of 2 years or more.

The amendment made by H.R. 16745, as approved by the Senate, to section 3114 of the Revised Statutes of the United States is to apply to the arrival of vessels on or after the date of enactment of the act. However, the amendment to section 3114 of the Revised Statutes would apply to arrivals of shrimp vessels made after January 1, 1969, under certain conditions, as provided in the bill as passed by the House.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Senate amendment is meritorious. I urge that the House concur in the Senate amendment to H.R. 16745.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

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

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING TARIFF SCHEDULES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 17068) to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide for a partial exemption from duty for aircraft manufactured or produced in the United States with the use of foreign components imported under temporary importation bond, with the Senate amendments thereto, and con-

sider the Senate amendments in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 4, after line 7, insert:

"SEC. 3. (a) Section 313 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1313) is amended by redesignating subsections (h), (i), and (j) as (i), (j), and (k), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (g) the following new subsection:

"'(h) Upon the exportation of jet aircraft engines that have been overhauled, repaired, rebuilt, or reconditioned in the United States with the use of imported merchandise, including parts, there shall be refunded, upon satisfactory proof that such imported merchandise has been so used, the duties which have been paid thereon, in amounts not less than $100.'

"(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to articles exported on or after the date of the enactment of this Act."

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide for a partial exemption from duty for aircraft manufactured or produced in the United States with the use of foreign components imported under temporary importation bond, and for other purposes."

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so in order that the gentleman from Louisiana may explain the Senate amendments and also the proposed limitation on the Senate amendment which I think the gentleman intends to offer.

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct.

Mr. Speaker, this involves the treatment of certain exempt aircraft.

We have an amendment from the Finance Committee, adopted by the Senate, which I will ask to be reported in a minute.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 17068, as passed by the House on July 6, 1970, would provide for a partial exemption from duty for returned American aircraft which were manufactured in the United States with the use of foreign articles which had been admitted duty free under bond. Briefly, the bill provides that returned American aircraft would, in general, be subject to a duty equal to the amount of duty which would have been payable on the foreign articles had they not been entered free of duty under bond.

In approving H.R. 17068 as passed by the House, the Senate amended the bill to provide drawback privileges to imported articles used in the repair or overhaul of jet aircraft engines in the United States which are subsequently exported. At present "overhaul, repair, rebuilding and reconditioning" are not considered to be "manufactured or produced" in the context of the drawback provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930.

It is understood that if firms overhauling or rebuilding jet aircraft engines could use the drawback provisions and obtain a rebate of the duty originally paid on the imported parts, it would enhance their competitive ability vis-a-vis aircraft engine overhauling operations in other countries. Mr. Speaker, I believe the purpose of the Senate amendment is meritorious. Although the Committee on Ways and Means has not had the opportunity to review this matter, I would urge that the House concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment restricting the use of the drawback provisions in this instance to jet aircraft engines manufactured or produced abroad.

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

There was no objection.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOGGS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOGGS moves to concur in the Senate amendment to the text of the bill with the following amendment: On page 1, line 5, of the Senate engrossed amendments, insert immediately after "engines" the following: "manufactured or produced abroad".

The motion was agree to.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOGGS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOGGS moves to concur in the Senate amendment to the title of the bill.

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENDING THE PERIOD FOR FILING CERTAIN MANUFACTURERS CLAIMS FOR FLOOR STOCKS REFUNDS UNDER SECTION 209(b) OF THE EXCISE TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 17473) to extend the period for filing certain manufacturers claims for floor stocks refunds under section 209(b) of the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965, with Senate amendments thereto, and consider the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 2, after line 2, insert:

"SEC. 2. Section 231(d)(1) of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 is amended by striking out 'July 1, 1970' and inserting in lieu thereof 'January 1, 1971'.

"SEC. 3. For purposes of the tax imposed by section 2001 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the estate tax), the value of the taxable estate of Martha W. Brice, who died on November 2, 1969, shall be determined by deducting from the value of the gross estate of the said Martha W. Brice (in addition to any other deductions and exemptions allowed by part IV of subchapter A of chapter II of such Code) an amount equal to any amounts transferred, prior to the time prescribed by law (including any extensions thereof) for the filing of an estate tax return for such estate, from the proceeds of such estate to a charitable use specified by item III of the will of the said Martha W. Brice, executed on July 3, 1969.

"SEC. 4. (a) Section 56 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to imposition of minimum tax for tax preferences) is amended—

"(1) by striking out paragraph (2) of subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'(2) the sum of—

"'(A) the taxes imposed by this chapter for the taxable year (computed without regard to this part and without regard to the taxes imposed by sections 531 and 541) reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under—

"'(i) section 33 (relating to foreign tax credit),

"'(ii) section 37 (relating to retirement income), and

"'(iii) section 38 (relating to investment credit); and

"'(B) the tax carry backs and carry overs to the taxable years."; and

"(2) by adding at the end of such section the following new subsection:

"'(c) TAX CARRY BACKS AND CARRY OVERS.—If for any taxable year—

"'(1) the taxes imposed by this chapter (computed without regard to this part and without regard to the taxes imposed by sections 531 and 541) reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under—

"'(A) section 33 (relating to foreign tax credit),

"'(B) section 37 (relating to retirement income), and

"'(C) section 38 (relating to investment credit), exceed

"'(2) the sum of the items of tax preference in excess of $30,000.

then the excess of the taxes described in paragraph (1) over the sum described in paragraph (2) shall be a tax carry back to each of the 3 taxable years preceding such year and a tax carry over to each of the 5 taxable years following such year, except that such excess may not be a carry back to any taxable year ending on or before December 31, 1969. The entire amount of the excess for a taxable year shall be carried to the earliest of the taxable years to which such excess may be carried, and then to each of the other taxable years to the extent that such excess is not used to reduce the amount subject to tax under subsection (a) for a prior taxable year to which excess may be carried.

"(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 1969. In the case of a taxable year beginning in 1969 and ending in 1970, the excess referred to in section 56(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (as added by subsection (a)) shall be an amount equal to the excess determined under such section (without regard to the sentence) multiplied by a fraction—

"(1) the numerator of which is the number of days in the taxable year occurring after December 31, 1969, and

"(2) the denominator of which is the number of days in the entire taxable year."

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to extend the period of filing certain manufacturers claims for floor stocks refunds under section 209(b) of the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965, and for other purposes."

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I do so in order that the gentleman from Louisiana may explain the two Senate amendments which I believe he will ask the House to concur in and the one Senate amendment that I expect the gentleman to ask that the House disagree with.

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. There are three Senate amendments. It is my understanding there is objection to one of them and a request for concurrence in the other two. I will attempt to explain the amendments.

H.R. 17473, as it passed the House, permitted a manufacturer who complied with all the requirements of the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 with regard to floor stock refunds, except that he did not file his claim by February 10, 1966, or August 10, 1966, as the case may be, to file a claim for refund by the 19th day after the date of enactment of this bill. The Senate agreed to this provision without change.

However, the Senate has added three other provisions to this bill, two of which we believe it is appropriate to adopt.

The first of the two amendments, which appear appropriate, relates to a transitional rule with respect to moving expenses. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 limited the deductibility of moving expenses to cases generally where an individual's place of employment was 50 miles or more farther from his old place of residence than was his prior place of employment. The prior rule had allowed limited deductions where a 20-mile test was met rather than this 50-mile test. However, a special transitional rule allowed taxpayers to elect the old moving expense deduction rule where the employees had been notified by their employer of a move before December 20, 1969, and the amounts were paid or incurred for the moving expenses before July 1, 1970.

The Senate amendment retains this transition rule but modifies it to cover cases where the deduction for moving expenses relates to amounts paid or incurred before January 1, 1971, again so long as the employees were notified by the employer of the move before December 20, 1969. This amendment is substantially identical to a bill which the Committee on Ways and Means has unanimously reported and to which the Treasury has indicated it has no objection. In view of this we see no problems with this amendment.

That is the first amendment, I might say to the gentleman from Wisconsin, adopted by the Senate.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. It is intended to ask the House to concur in that amendment?

Mr. BOGGS. Exactly.

The second Senate amendment to which we see no objection deals with a situation where a decedent in her will specifically left $1 million to the University of South Carolina for the construction of a building to represent a memorial for her husband. However, the will also expressed the desire that the heirs provide a further amount for the same purpose. It is also understood that a codicil was prepared which would have specifically provided for the larger amount being set aside for this charitable purpose but was not actually attached to the will.

The heirs now would like to fulfill the intent of the decedent and give an additional $4 million to the University of South Carolina, but financially in order to do so need to have this recognized as a charitable deduction in the estate of the decedent. The Senate amendment has this limited objective.

While we do not believe that generally it is desirable to permit heirs to decide on charitable contributions after the death of a decedent and treat them as though the contributions were made by the decedent, in this case there are sufficient facts and circumstances indicating that this was the intent of the decedent to allow the charitable contribution deduction in this one situation.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. It would be treated as deductible?

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct, giving a charitable contributions deduction.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. It is my understanding that that amendment is agreeable.

Mr. BOGGS. That amendment is agreeable, I understand.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. There is an amendment, Mr. Speaker. I do not know whether there is a necessity to explain it, except the motion will be to disagree to that amendment.

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct.

Mr. Speaker, the third amendment made by the Senate is one that we cannot accept and believe should be deleted from the bill. In the 1969 Tax Reform Act we added a provision providing that a 10-percent minimum tax is to be imposed in those cases where an individual or a corporation has items of income or deduction which receive preference under the tax laws. However, this tax is imposed only where these amounts exceed $30,000 plus the regular tax liability of the individual or corporation involved. This amendment would provide that to the extent that an individual or corporation has regular tax liability in excess of his tax preference items this excess amount may be carried back and used as a deduction in computing a minimum tax in any of the past 3 years or if not used up in this manner, may be carried forward and used to offset preference income otherwise subject to the minimum tax in any of the 5 succeeding years.

After considering various kinds of minimum taxes, the Congress settled on the present form in no small part because of its simplicity. The tax rate is relatively low and the tax computation is simple. There are many adjustments which could be made which are not made in order to maintain the simplicity of this tax. The Senate amendment represents the first step in a departure from this concept of a simple minimum tax. We believe that it is an undesirable step to take.

I should also say that this is a very expensive step to take as well. The staffs of the Treasury Department and Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, taking into account the effect that this would have on both corporations and individuals, estimate that this would result in an annual revenue loss of close to $100 million. When it is recalled that the minimum tax in total is expected to raise approximately $635 million a year, this represents a major change which we believe should not in any event be considered by the Congress without an adequate opportunity for consideration of the proposal.

I should also add that the Treasury Department has indicated that it strongly opposes this amendment which we recommend be deleted from the Senate-passed bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

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

There was no objection.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOGGS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOGGS moves to concur in the Senate amendment to the text of the bill, with the following amendment: On page 2 of the Senate engrossed amendments, strike out line 8 and all that follows thereafter down through line 15 on page 4.

The motion was agreed to.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOGGS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOGGS moves to concur in the Senate amendment to the title of the bill.

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the several motions was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING CLERK TO RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM THE SENATE AND SPEAKER TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS DULY PASSED BY THE TWO HOUSES AND FOUND TRULY ENROLLED, NOTWITHSTANDING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House until Tuesday, December 29, 1970, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate and the Speaker be authorized to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

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

There was no objection.

BILLS FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I might say for the benefit of the Members of the House that we have concluded the bills that have been passed by both the House and the Senate. I have before me the list of the 29 bills which have been unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and it is my understanding that these bills were printed in the RECORD at least 10 days ago and made available to all Members of the House.

I want to say also that the bills were all reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and all the departments affected thereby have approved of the proposed bills.

TO PROVIDE FLOOR STOCK REFUNDS IN THE CASE OF CEMENT MIXERS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 17658) to provide floor stock refunds in the case of cement mixers, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, normally we follow the process of reserving the right to object and asking for an explanation. I think it may satisfy the membership if it is announced that all of these bills that are called up at this time were reported without objection unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, and in each case the departmental reports were favorable. I make that statement in order to save time, but I might say that an explanation will be put into the RECORD, I assume by the gentleman from Louisiana, and in some cases I will also join with a statement in an extension of remarks.

I wonder under those circumstances if it may be unnecessary to take this time for a verbal explanation, but any Member desiring to do so certainly should feel free to ask for such an explanation.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 17658

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) where before January 1, 1970, and after June 30, 1968, any cement mixer subject to the tax imposed by section 4061 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 during such period, had been sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer, and on January 1, 1970, was held by a dealer and had not been used and was intended for sale, there shall be credited or refunded (without interest) to the manufacturer, producer, or importer an amount equal to the tax paid by the manufacturer, producer, or importer on his sale of the cement mixer, if—

(1) claim for such credit or refund is filed with the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate on or before the end of the ninth month beginning after the date of enactment of this bill, based upon a request submitted to the manufacturer, producer, or importer on or before the sixth month beginning after the date of enactment of this bill, by the dealer who held the cement mixer in respect of which the credit or refund is claimed; and

(2) on or before the ninth month beginning after the date of enactment of this bill, reimbursement has been made to the dealer by the manufacturer, producer, or importer for the tax on the cement mixer or written consent has been obtained from the dealer to allowance of the credit or refund.

(b) For the purposes of this section—

(1) The term "cement mixer" means—

(A) any article designed (i) to be placed or mounted on an automobile truck chassis or truck trailer or semitrailer chassis and (ii) to be used to process or prepare concrete, and

(B) parts or accessories designed primarily for use on or in connection with an article described in subparagraph (A).

(2) The term "dealer" includes a wholesaler, jobber, distributor, or retailer.

(3) A cement mixer shall be considered as "held by a dealer" if title thereto has passed to the dealer (whether or not delivery to him has been made), and if for purposes of consumption title to the cement mixer or possession thereof had not at any time prior to January 1, 1970, been transferred to any person other than a dealer. For purposes of subsection (a) and notwithstanding the preceding sentence, a cement mixer shall be considered as "held by a dealer" and not have been used, although possession of such cement mixer has been transferred to another person, if such cement mixer is returned to the dealer in a transaction under which any amount paid or deposited by the transferee for such cement mixer is refunded to him (other than amounts retained by the dealer to cover damage to the cement mixer). Moreover, such a cement mixer shall be considered as held by a dealer on January 1, 1970, even though it was in the possession of the transferee on such day, it was returned to the dealer (in a transaction described in the preceding sentence) before January 31, 1970.

(c) No manufacturer, producer, or importer shall be entitled to credit or refund under subsection (a) unless he has in his possession such evidence of the inventories with respect to which the credit or refund is claimed as may be required by regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate under this subsection.

(d) All provisions of law, including penalties, applicable in respect of the taxes imposed by section 4061 of such Code shall, insofar as applicable and not inconsistent with subsections (a), (b), and (c) of this section, apply in respect of the credits and refunds provided for in subsection (a) to the same extent as if the cerdits or refunds constituted overpayments of the taxes.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 5, strike out "end of the ninth month" and insert "last day of the ninth calendar month".

Page 2, line 6, strike out "bill" and insert "Act".

Page 2, beginning in line 7, strike out "on or before the sixth month" and insert "on or before the last day of the sixth calendar month".

Page 2, line 9, strike out "bill" and insert "Act".

Page 2, line 11, strike out "the ninth month" and insert "the last day of the ninth calendar month".

Page 2, line 12, strike out "bill" and insert "Act".

Page 3, line 19, strike out "it" and insert "if it".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 17658 is to provide for floor stocks refunds in the case of tax-paid cement mixer bodies and parts and accessories which were in the hands of dealers on January 1, 1970.

It will be recalled that until July 1, 1968, cement mixer bodies and parts and accessories thereof were held not to be subject to the truck tax or to the tax on truck parts and accessories. Effective as of that date, however, the Internal Revenue Service, by ruling, held these bodies and parts and accessories to be subject to tax.

In the Tax Reform Act of 1969, Congress removed the tax on cement mixer bodies and parts effective January 1, 1970. That act, however, did not provide for floor stocks refunds as we customarily do in such situations.

Because of the absence of the usual floor stocks refund provision in the 1969 act, dealers have had to absorb excise taxes ranging up to $700 to $800 for each mixer on which tax had already been paid in dealers' inventory on January 1, 1970. This has had the effect of placing heavy financial burdens on dealers with tax-paid stocks of cement mixers and places them at a competitive disadvantage as compared with dealers who purchased stock from manufacturers tax free in 1970 after the Tax Reform Act provision went into effect.

Mr. Speaker, the granting of refunds for tax-paid floor stocks in such situations is customary, and the pending bill, which allows refunds for tax-paid stocks in dealers' hands on January 1, 1970, will supply this provision, which was unintentionally omitted from the Tax Reform Act.

Mr. Speaker, the Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of H.R. 17658, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its approval by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 17658, a bill to provide, in the case of cement mixers mounted on truck chassis, floor stock refunds of the 10 percent manufacturers' excise tax on trucks.

The bill would correct an unintended hardship arising from provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which exempted all cement mixers sold after December 30, 1969, from the excise tax on truck bodies. When these provisions were enacted, the Congress did not, as is customary in such cases, provide floor stock refunds to relieve dealers who held tax-paid floor stocks at the date the exemption became effective.

As a result, and in the absence of remedial legislation, dealers would be forced to absorb from $700 to $800 in excise tax expenditures for each mixer on which the tax has been paid, and which was in inventory as of January 1, 1970.

This would impose a heavy financial burden on such dealers and put them at a severe competitive disadvantage in relation to manufacturers selling tax-free mixers and dealers who acquired stock this year.

Mr. Speaker, there is ample precedent for the action contemplated in H.R. 17658. Section 6412 of the Internal Revenue Code provides for floor stock refunds as of October 1, 1972, when the tax on automobile bodies and chassis is scheduled to be reduced. The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 provided for floor stock refunds on appliances, musical instruments, photographic equipment and other items. And the Congress traditionally has endeavored to avoid discriminating among dealers with varying inventories.

Accordingly, this bill provides for the granting of refunds on cement mixers held by dealers on January 1, 1970, and on which the excise tax was paid. The

Treasury Department has indicated no objection to H.R. 17658, and the committee has reported it unanimously. I hope the House will approve it now and thus remove an inequity in the law.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my own remarks prior to the passage of the bill, in explanation of the bill, and that I may extend my remarks on the remaining bills to be called up; and I ask unanimous consent for the same permission for the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. BOGGS), as to extension of remarks prior to the passage of the bills.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, in that connection, some of the authors of the various bills have requested the same privilege to extend their remarks, and I ask unanimous consent that they may be permitted to do so.

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

There was no objection.

JOINT INCOME TAX LIABILITY OF INNOCENT SPOUSES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19774) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that in certain cases a spouse will be relieved of liability arising from a joint income tax return, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Ways and Means Committee.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—this bill seems to do something for innocent spouses. Did the committee provide for common, everyday spouses?

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19774

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 6013 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to joint returns of income tax by husband and wife) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) SPOUSE RELIEVED OF LIABILITY IN CERTAIN CASES.—

"(1) IN GENERAL. Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, if—

"(A) a joint return has been made under this section for a taxable year and on such return there was omitted from gross income an amount properly includable therein which is attributable to one spouse and which is in excess of 25 percent of the amount of gross income stated in the return,

"(B) the other spouse establishes that in signing the return he or she did not know of, and had no reason to know of, such omission, and

"(C) taking into account whether or not the other spouse significantly benefited directly or indirectly from the items omitted from gross income and taking into account all other facts and circumstances, it is inequitable to hold the other spouse liable for the deficiency in tax for such taxable year attributable to such omission.

then the other spouse shall be relieved of liability for tax (including interest, penalties, and other amounts) for such taxable year to the extent that such liability is attributable to such omission from gross income.

"(2) SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of paragraph (1)—

"(A) the determination of the spouse to whom items of gross income (other than gross income from property) are attributable shall be made without regard to community property laws, and

"(B) the amount omitted from gross income shall be determined in the manner provided by section 6501(e)(1)(A)."

SEC. 2. (a) Section 6501(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to limitations on assessment and collection) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In the case of a joint return under section 6013, the preceding sentence shall not apply to a spouse who establishes that, at the time the return was made, he or she did not know, and had no reason to know, that the return was false or fraudulent."

(b) Section 6653(b) of such Code (relating to failure to pay tax) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In the case of a joint return under section 6013, this subsection shall not apply to a spouse who establishes that, at the time the return was made, he or she did not know, and had no reason to know, of the fraud."

SEC. 3. The amendments made by the first two sections of this Act shall apply to all taxable years to which the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 applies. Corresponding provisions shall be deemed to be included in the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 and shall apply to all taxable years to which such Code applies.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 3, strike out line 6 and all that follows down through line 19, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. Section 6653(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to failure to pay tax) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'In the case of a joint return under section 6013, this subsection shall not apply with respect to the tax of a spouse unless some part of the underpayment is due to the fraud of such spouse.'"

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19774 would provide relief in the compelling situations which have been brought to the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means in connection with the imposition upon innocent spouses of large liabilities for taxes and penalties attributable to income omitted from a joint return by the other spouse.

Mr. Speaker, under existing law, individuals filing a joint income tax return are jointly and severally liable for any tax liability found to be due. This general joint and several liability rule is necessary for administrative simplicity since a joint return does not separately show the respective incomes of husband and wife and the statute imposes a single tax on their aggregate income.

Numerous cases have both brought to the committee's attention in which the imposition of joint liability upon an innocent spouse has resulted in grave injustice. A typical situation is one in which a husband embezzles funds and omits the proceeds from gross income. Because of the fact that the wife of the embezzler filed a joint return with him for the year in which the income should have been reported, the Internal Revenue Service may, under existing law, hold the innocent spouse liable for the tax liability resulting from the underpayment and for the 50-percent fraud penalty due as a result of the fraudulent omission from income.

This liability may be imposed upon the spouse even though she had no knowledge of her husband's activities and even though she did not benefit in any way from the use of the embezzled funds. Several cases of this nature have involved situations in which the innocent spouse has been deserted by her husband and the funds gained by embezzlement or theft have been squandered and spent by the wrongdoer.

Mr. Speaker, the pending bill, H.R. 19774, seeks to correct the unfairness in these situations and to bring Government tax collection practices into accord with basic principles of equity. First, the bill provides that when three conditions exist, the innocent spouse is to be relieved of tax liability, including interest and penalties, to the extent that such liability is attributable to an omission from gross income. These three conditions are:

First. A joint return has been filed and the omission from gross income attributable to one spouse amounts to more than 25 percent of the total gross income stated on the return;

Second. The innocent spouse establishes that in signing the return he or she did not know of, and had no reason to know of, the omission from income; and

Third. Taking into account whether or not the spouse significantly benefited from the items omitted from gross income and all other facts and circumstances, it is inequitable to hold the spouse in question liable for the deficiency in tax.

Mr. Speaker, section 2 of the bill also amends the present provision imposing a 50-percent fraud penalty when an underpayment is due to fraud. In this case, the bill provides, in effect, that if one spouse is shown to be guilty of fraud in the filing of a joint return, the other spouse is not to be liable for the fraud penalty unless it is established that he or she is also guilty of fraud. This potential relief from the fraud penalty applies even though the spouse in question may be jointly liable for the underpayment of tax due.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means is convinced that the changes that would be brought by H.R. 19774 are

necessary to simple equity and justice in the administration of our tax laws. The committee is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 19774, a bill which would in certain cases relieve a spouse of liability connected with omissions from gross income on joint tax returns.

Under present law, persons who file joint returns are jointly and severally liable. This is administratively sound because the joint return does not show separate entries of husband or wife, and because the statute calls for the imposition of a single tax on the aggregate income.

However, the committee's attention was called to cases in which one spouse had no knowledge of the other's income or failure to report it, and did not benefit at all from the unreported income, yet was held liable for its omission from the joint return. The members agreed that such injustices should be averted, and attempted to do so in this bill by providing that an innocent spouse would be relieved of liability attributable to an omission from gross income, if:

First, the omission amounted to more than 25 percent of total gross income;

Second, the innocent spouse established complete ignorance of the omission; and

Third, it would be inequitable to hold the innocent spouse liable, taking into consideration whether or not he or she benefited from the omitted income.

The bill also provides that the 50-percent fraud penalty would not apply to a spouse unless some part of the underpayment on the joint return were due to the fraud of that spouse.

In short, the committee has endeavored in this bill to protect the innocent spouse in cases involving a significant understatement of income once that innocence has been established.

No departmental or other objection to the bill was heard, and the committee was unanimous in reporting it.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INCOME TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN SALES BY CORPORATION OF REAL PROPERTY HELD MORE THAN 25 YEARS.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19790) relating to the income tax treatment of certain sales of real property by a corporation, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19790

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) for purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 any lot or parcel of real property sold of exchanged by a corporation which would, but for this Act, be treated as property held primarily for sale to customers in the ordinary course of trade or business shall not, except to the extent provided in (b), be so treated if—

(1) no shareholder of the corporation directly or indirectly holds real property primarily for sale to customers in the ordinary course of trade or business; and

(2) (A) such lot or parcel is a part of real property held for more than twenty-five years at the time of sale or exchange acquired before January 1, 1934, by the corporation as a result of the foreclosure of a lien (or liens) thereon which secured the payment of indebtedness held by one or more creditors who transferred one or more foreclosure bids to the corporation in exchange for all its stock (with or without other consideration), or

(B) (i) such lot or parcel is a part of additional real property acquired before January 1, 1957, by the corporation in the near vicinity of any real property to which subparagraph (A) applies, or

(ii) such lot or parcel is wholly or to some extent a part of any minor acquisition made after December 31, 1956, by the corporation to adjust boundaries, to fill gaps in previously acquired property, to facilitate the installation of streets, utilities, and other public facilities, or to facilitate the sale of adjacent property, or

(iii) such lot or parcel is wholly or to some extent a part of a reacquisition by the corporation after December 31, 1956, of property previously owned by the corporation;

but only if at least 80 percent (as measured by area) of the real property sold or exchanged by the corporation within the taxable year is property described in subparagraph (A); and

(3) there were no acquisitions of real property by the corporation after December 31, 1956, other than—

(A) acquisitions described in paragraph (2) (B) (ii) and reacquisitions described in paragraph (2) (B) (iii), or

(B) acquisitions of real property used in a trade or business of the corporation or held for investment by the corporation; and

(4) the corporation did not after December 31, 1957, sell or exchange (except in condemnation or under threat of condemnation) any residential lot or parcel on which, at the time of the sale or exchange, there existed any substantial improvements (other than improvements in existence at the time the land was acquired by the corporation) except subdivision, clearing, grubbing, and grading, building or installation of water, sewer, and drainage facilities, construction of roads, streets, and sidewalks, and installation of utilities.

In any case in which a corporation referred to in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) is a member of an affiliated group as defined in section 1504(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, such affiliated group shall, for purposes of such paragraphs, be treated as a single corporation.

(b) (1) Gain from any sale or exchange described in subsection (a) shall be deemed, for purposes of such Code, to be gain from the sale of property held primarily for sale to customers in the ordinary course of trade or business to the extent of 5 percent of the selling price.

(2) For the purpose of computing gain under paragraph (1), expenditures incurred in connection with the sale or exchange of any lot or parcel shall neither be allowed as a deduction in computing taxable income, nor treated as reducing the amount realized on such sale or exchange; but so much of such expenditures as does not exceed the portion of gain deemed under paragraph (1) to be gain from the sale of property held primarily for sale to customers in the ordinary course of trade or business shall be so allowed as a deduction, and the remainder, if any, shall be treated as reducing the amount realized on such sale or exchange.

(c) The provisions of subsections (a) and (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1957, and before January 1, 1984. In case refund or credit of any overpayment resulting from the application of the provisions of subsections (a) and (b) to any of such taxable years is prevented by the operation of any law or rule of law (including sections 7121 and 7122 of such Code) refund or credit of such overpayment, may, nevertheless, be made or allowed if claim therefor is filed within one year from the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) Section 1237 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by:

(1) in subsection (a), striking out the parenthetical expression: "(including corporations only if no shareholder directly or indirectly holds real property for sale to customers in the ordinary course of trade or business and only in the case of property described in the last sentence of subsection (b) (3))" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "other than a corporation";

(2) in subsection (b), striking out the last sentence.

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall be effective for taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 4, strike out "sold of" and insert "sold or"

Page 2, line 2, strike out "held for" and insert "(i) held for"

Page 2, line 3, strike out "or exchange" and insert "or exchange, and (ii)"

Page 4, beginning in line 16, strike out "In case" and all that follows down through line 23.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19790 is, in essence, a perfecting amendment to a provision of law originally enacted in 1956. The bill is concerned with section 1237 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which specifies cases in which those who subdivide property for sale may obtain capital gains treatment, as distinguished from ordinary income treatment, with respect to the gain on sales of such property.

In 1956 Congress amended section 1237 to make its rules available in the case of corporations acquiring property as a result of the foreclosure of a lien, which property is subsequently subdivided. The 1956 rule also was intended to apply to property adjacent to the foreclosed property. There have been difficulties, however, in administering and interpreting this provision, Mr. Speaker, and the pending bill is designed to provide a perfecting amendment clarifying the intent of the original provision. In general terms, this clarifying amendment restricts the capital gains treatment in the case of corporations to situations where property was acquired by foreclosure of a lien before 1934, where the property has been held for 25 years before sale, and where no additional property was acquired after 1956. The provision also applies to property in the near vicinity of the foreclosed property

so long as it does not constitute more than 20 percent of the property sold in any year. This provision will apply to sales made after 1957 but only to years which are open at the time of enactment of this bill.

The Treasury Department has indicated it has no objection to the enactment of H.R. 19790, Mr. Speaker, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its approval by the House.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN TRANSFERS OF PROPERTY TO FOREIGN CORPORATIONS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19686) to amend section 367 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19686

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 367 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to foreign corporations) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 367. FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In determining the extent to which gain shall be recognized in the case of any of the exchanges described in section 332, 351, 354, 355, 356, or 361, a foreign corporation shall not be considered as a corporation unless—

"(1) before such exchange, or

"(2) in the case of an exchange described in subsection (b), either before or after such exchange, it has been established to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that such exchange is not in pursuance of a plan having as one of its principal purposes the avoidance of Federal income taxes. For purposes of this section, any distribution described in section 355 (or so much of section 356 as relates to section 355) shall be treated as an exchange whether or not it is an exchange.

"(b) APPLICATION OF SUBSECTION (a)(2).—Subsection (a)(2) shall apply in the case of an exchange by a foreign corporation of—

"(1) stock in one foreign corporation for

"(2) stock in another foreign corporation,

if the corporations referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) differ only in their form of organization, and if the ownership of the corporation referred to in paragraph (1) immediately prior to such exchange is identical to the ownership of the corporation referred to in paragraph (2) immediately after such exchange."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by this Act shall apply with respect to exchanges occurring after December 31, 1967.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

That (a) section 367 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to foreign corporations) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 367. FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In determining the extent to which gain shall be recognized in the case of any of the exchanges described in section 332, 351, 355, 356, or 361, a foreign corporation shall not be considered as a corporation unless—

"(1) before such exchange, or

"(2) in the case of an exchange described in subsection (b), either before or after such exchange,

it has been established to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that such exchange is not in pursuance of a plan having as one of its principal purposes the avoidance of Federal income taxes.

"(b) APPLICATION OF SUBSECTION (a)(2).—Subsection (a)(2) shall apply in the case of a mere change in form in which there is an exchange by a foreign corporation of—

"(1) stock in one foreign corporation for,

"(2) stock in another foreign corporation,

if the corporations referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) differ only in their form of organization, and if the ownership of the corporation referred to in paragraph (1) immediately before such exchange is identical to the ownership of the corporation referred to in paragraph (2) immediately after such exchange.

"(c) SECTION 355 DISTRIBUTIONS TREATED AS EXCHANGES.—For purposes of this section, any distribution described in section 355 (or so much of section 356 as relates to section 355) shall be treated as an exchange whether or not it is an exchange.

"(d) CONTRIBUTIONS OF CAPITAL TO CONTROLLED CORPORATIONS.—For purposes of this chapter, any transfer of property to a foreign corporation as a contribution to the capital of such corporation by one or more persons who immediately after the transfer, own (within the meaning of section 318) stock possessing at least 80 percent of the total combined voting power of all classes of stock of such corporation entitled to vote shall be treated as an exchange of such property for stock of the foreign corporation equal in value to the fair market value of the property transferred unless, before such transfer, it has been established to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that such transfer is not in pursuance of a plan having as one of its principal purposes the avoidance of Federal income taxes."

(b) Section 1492 of such Code (relating to nontaxable transfers) is amended—

(1) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and "or"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(3) To a transfer to which section 367(d) applies."

(c) The amendments made by this section shall apply to transfers made after December 31, 1967; except that sections 367(d) and 1492 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (as amended by this section) shall apply only with respect to transfers made after December 31, 1970.

Mr. BOGGS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19686 would amend the rules under section 367 of the Internal Revenue Code, which presently provides that if a foreign corporation is involved in an exchange which otherwise would be a tax-free transaction, tax-free treatment is not available unless prior to the transaction the Internal Revenue Service has made a determination to the effect that the transaction is not being made to avoid Federal income taxes. Under current practice this determination is made by the issuance of a ruling.

H.R. 19686 modifies this provision in two respects. First, the bill provides that the required determination may be obtained after, as well as before, the transaction in the case of a transaction which involves only a change in the form or organization of a second, or lower, tier foreign subsidiary. The committee is convinced that such situations are unlikely to involve avoidance of Federal income taxes, and in the interest of avoiding delay in effectuating such transaction, the bill provides that the ruling may be obtained subsequent to the transaction.

In the second situation to which the bill is directed, however, prior clearance under section 367 would be required. The bill provides that a contribution of property to the capital of a foreign corporation by one or more of the controlling shareholders of the corporation is to be treated as a taxable exchange unless the required determination is obtained from the Internal Revenue Service prior to the transaction.

Mr. Speaker, the first of the cases dealt with by the bill involves a mere change in the form of organization of a second or lower tier foreign subsidiary, and as indicated previously, the bill would allow the required ruling under section 367 to be obtained subsequent to such a transaction. This treatment would be available in the case of an exchange by a foreign corporation of its stock in a second foreign corporation for stock in a third foreign corporation if three requirements are met: First, the transaction must be merely a change in form of the type which would qualify as a "change of form F reorganization" under section 368(a)(1)(F) of the Code; second, the second and third corporations may differ only in their form of organization; and third, the ownership of the second and third foreign corporations must be identical.

Turning again, Mr. Speaker, to the second situation dealt with by the bill, that which would require an advance ruling under section 367, the committee's attention was called to the fact that a recent court case held that the advance ruling provision did not apply to a capital contribution to a controlled foreign corporation if the shareholder did not receive any stock in return. The requirements of this provision would clearly have been applicable, however, had stock been received by the shareholder. The Committee on Ways and Means believes that there is as much opportunity for tax avoidance in the case of capital contribution of property to a controlled foreign corporation where no stock is received in return as in the case where stock is received. Accordingly, the bill provides that the advance ruling requirements of section 367 are to apply to cap-

ital contributions to foreign corporations by controlling shareholders of the corporation.

Mr. Speaker, as I previously indicated, the Department of the Treasury has no objection to the enactment of H.R. 19686 and the committee is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19686, a bill to improve the present ruling procedures governing tax-free exchanges between domestic corporations and their foreign subsidiaries. The present law provides that unless a favorable ruling is first received from the Internal Revenue Service, to the effect that an exchange does not involve a plan of tax avoidance, nontaxable transfers will be taxable.

The basic rules governing prior rulings procedures in these cases are under review by the Treasury Department and the joint committee staff, and the committee will probably be considering amendments in the next Congress. However, it was felt that the two specific situations dealt with by this bill needed immediate attention. The first situation involves a change in a so-called second tier foreign subsidiary that amounts to no more than a change in form presently treated as a tax-free "F"-type reorganization under the code. The bill will permit such a change to take place without prior clearance where there is no change in ownership between the first and second tier foreign subsidiaries. Secondly, the bill provides that where property is contributed by U.S. stockholders to a foreign subsidiary that they control, prior rulings procedures will remain applicable even though stock is not taken in return. A court decision has held that the prior rulings procedures are inapplicable in this situation. The committee concluded that since the stockholders control the foreign corporation, the potential for abuse is inherent in such a transfer even though stock is not received.

Mr. Speaker, these changes will result in improvements in the rules relating to prior rulings that are justified both on grounds of equity and efficiency. The Treasury Department has expressed no opposition to the bill and the committee reported it unanimously. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 RELATING TO BEER

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 6562) to amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to beer, and for other purposes, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 6562

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraph (c)(2) of section 5052 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) REMOVALS. Any removal of beer from the brewery."

SEC. 2. Paragraph (d) of section 5053 of such Code is redesignated as paragraph (e), and a new paragraph (d) is added as follows:

"(d) REMOVALS FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, OR TESTING. Under such conditions and regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, beer may be removed from the brewery without payment of tax for use in research, development, or testing (other than consumer testing or other market analysis) of processes, systems, materials, or equipment relating to beer or brewery operations."

SEC. 3. Paragraph (a) of section 5056 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"(a) BEER RETURNED OR VOLUNTARILY DESTROYED. Any tax paid by any brewer on beer produced in the United States may be refunded or credited to the brewer, without interest, or if the tax has not been paid, the brewer may be relieved of liability therefor, under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, if such beer is returned to any brewery of the brewer or is destroyed under the supervision required by such regulations: *Provided,* That, in determining the amount of tax due on beer removed on any day, the quantity of beer returned to the same brewery (of the brewer) from which removed shall be allowed, under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, as an offset against or deduction from the total quantity of beer removed from that brewery on the day of such return."

SEC. 4. Paragraph (b) of section 5056 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"(b) BEER LOST BY FIRE, THEFT, CASUALTY, OR ACT OF GOD. Subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate the tax paid by any brewer on beer produced in the United States may be refunded or credited to the brewer, without interest, or if the tax has not been paid, the brewer may be relieved of liability therefor, if such beer is lost, whether by theft or otherwise, or is destroyed or otherwise rendered unmerchantable by fire, casualty, or act of God before the transfer of title thereto to any other person: *Provided,* That, in the case of loss by theft, the tax shall be collected unless the Secretary or his delegate finds that the theft occurred before removal from the brewery without connivance, collusion, fraud, or negligence on the part of the brewer, consignor, consignee, bailee, or carrier, or the employees or agents of any of them: *Provided further,* That, in any case in which beer is lost or destroyed, whether by theft or otherwise, the Secretary or his delegate may require the brewer to file a claim for relief from the tax and submit proof as to the cause of such loss: *Provided further,* That, in every case where it appears that the loss was by theft, the burden shall be upon the brewer to establish to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that such loss did not occur as the result of connivance, collusion, fraud, or negligence on the part of the brewer, consignor, consignee, bailee, or carrier, or the employees or agents of any of them.

SEC. 5. Paragraph (c) of section 5056 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"(c) LIMITATIONS.—No claims under this section shall be allowed unless filed within 6 months after the date of such removal from the market, loss, or destruction, or if the claimant was indemnified by insurance or otherwise in respect of the tax."

SEC. 6. Paragraph (b) of section 5401 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"(b) BONDS. Every brewer, on filing notice as provided by subsection (a) of his intention to commerce business, shall execute a bond to the United States in such reasonable penal sum as the Secretary or his delegate shall by regulation prescribe as necessary to protect and insure collection of the revenue. The bond shall be conditioned (1) that the brewer shall pay, or cause to be paid, as herein provided, the tax required by law on all beer, including all beer removed for transfer to the brewery from other breweries owned by him as provided in section 5414; (2) that he shall pay or cause to be paid the tax on all beer removed free of tax for export as provided in section 5053(a), which beer is not exported or returned to the brewery; and (3) that he shall in all respects faithfully comply, without fraud or evasion, with all requirements of law relating to the production and sale of any beer aforesaid. Once in every 4 years, or whenever required so to do by the Secretary or his delegate, the brewer shall execute a new bond (or a continuation certificate) in the penal sum prescribed in pursuance of this section, and conditioned as above provided, which bond or continuation certificate shall be in lieu of any former bond or bonds, or continuation certificate(s), of such brewer in respect to all liabilities accruing after its approval. If the contract of surety between the brewer and the surety on an expiring bond or continuation certificate is continued in force between the parties for a succeeding period of not less than 4 years, the brewer may submit, in lieu of a new bond, a certificate executed, under penalties of perjury, by the brewer and the surety attesting to continuation of the bond, which certificate shall constitute a bond subject to all provisions of law applicable to bonds pursuant to this section."

SEC. 7. Paragraph (a) of section 5402 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"(a) BREWERY. The brewery shall consist of the land and buildings described in the brewer's notice. The continuity of the brewery must be unbroken except where separated by public passageways, streets, highways, waterways, or carrier rights-of-way, or partitions. If parts of the brewery are separated they must abut on the dividing medium and be adjacent to each other: *Provided,* That where facilities under the control of the brewer for case packing, loading, or storing are located away from the brewery but within reasonable proximity thereto, such facilities may be approved by the Secretary or his delegate as a part of such brewery if the revenue will not be jeopardized thereby."

SEC. 8. Section 5411 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5411. USE OF BREWERY.

"The brewery shall be used under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate only for the purpose of producing, packaging, and storing beer, cereal beverages containing less than one half of 1 percent of alcohol by volume, soft drinks, vitamins, ice, malt sirup, and byproducts; for the purpose of processing spent grain, carbon dioxide, and yeast; and for such other purposes as the Secretary or his delegate by regulation may find will not jeopardize the revenue."

Sec. 9. Section 5416 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5416. DEFINITIONS OF PACKAGE AND PACKAGING.

"For purposes of this subchapter, the word 'package' means a bottle, can, keg, barrel, or other original consumer container, and the such package."

SEC. 10. A new section 5417 is added to word 'packaging' means the filling of any such Code as follows:

"SEC. 5417. PILOT BREWING PLANTS.

"Under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, and on the filing of such bonds and applications as he may require, pilot brewing plants may, at the discretion of the Secretary or his delegate, be established and operated off the brewery premises for research, analytical, experimental, or development purposes with regard to beer or brewery operations. Nothing in this section shall be construed as authority to waive the filing of any bond or the payment of any tax provided for in this chapter."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

That (a) section 5056 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to refund and credit of tax, or relief from liability) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5056. REFUND AND CREDIT OF TAX, OR RELIEF FROM LIABILITY.

"(a) BEER RETURNED OR VOLUNTARILY DESTROYED.—Any tax paid by any brewer on beer produced in the United States may be refunded or credited to the brewer, without interest, or if the tax has not been paid, the brewer may be relieved of liability therefor, under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, if such beer is returned to any brewery of the brewer or is destroyed under the supervision required by such regulations. In determining the amount of tax due on beer removed on any day, the quantity of beer returned to the same brewery from which removed shall be allowed, under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, as an offset against or deduction from the total quantity of beer removed from that brewery on the day of such return.

"(b) BEER LOST BY FIRE, THEFT, CASUALTY, OR ACT OF GOD.—Subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, the tax paid by any brewer on beer produced in the United States may be refunded or credited to brewer, without interest, or if the tax has not been paid, the brewer may be relieved of liability therefor, if such beer is lost, whether by theft or otherwise, or is destroyed or otherwise rendered unmerchantable by fire, casualty, or act of God before the transfer of title thereto to any other person. In any case in which beer is lost or destroyed, whether by theft or otherwise, the Secretary or his delegate may require the brewer to file a claim for relief from the tax and submit proof as to the cause of such loss. In every case where it appears that the loss was by theft, the first sentence shall not apply unless the brewer establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that such theft occurred before removal from the brewery and occurred without connivance, collusion, fraud, or negligence on the part of the brewer, consignor, consignee, bailee, or carrier, or the employees or agents of any of them.

"(c) LIMITATIONS.—No claim under this section shall be allowed (1) unless filed within 6 months after the date of the return, loss, destruction, or rendering unmerchantable or (2) if the claimant was indemnified by insurance or otherwise in respect to the tax."

(b) Section 5052(c)(2) of such Code (relating to definition of removed for consumption or sale) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) REMOVALS.—Any removal of beer from the brewery."

SEC. 2. Section 5053 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to exemptions from imposition of tax on beer) is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as (e), and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) REMOVALS FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, OR TESTING.—Under such conditions and regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, beer may be removed from the brewery without payment of tax for use in research, development, or testing (other than consumer testing or other market analysis) of processes, systems, materials, or equipment relating to beer or brewery operations."

SEC. 3. (a) Section 5401(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to bonds) is amended by striking out the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Once in every 4 years, or whenever required so to do by the Secretary or his delegate, the brewer shall execute a new bond or a continuation certificate, in the penal sum prescribed in pursuance of this section, and conditioned as above provided, which bond or continuation certificate shall be in lieu of any former bond or bonds, or former continuation certificate or certificates, of such brewer in respect to all liabilities accruing after its approval. If the contract of surety between the brewer and the surety on an expiring bond or continuation certificate is continued in force between the parties for a succeeding period of not less than 4 years, the brewer may submit, in lieu of a new bond, a certificate executed, under penalties of perjury, by the brewer and the surety attesting to continuation of the bond, which certificate shall constitute a bond subject to all provisions of law applicable to bonds given pursuant to this section."

(b) Section 5402(a) of such Code (relating to definition of brewery) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) BREWERY.—The brewery shall consist of the land and buildings described in the brewer's notice. The continuity of the brewery must be unbroken except where separated by public passageways, streets, highways, waterways, or carrier rights-of-way, or partitions; and if parts of the brewery are so separated they must abut on the dividing medium and be adjacent to each other. Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, facilities under the control of the brewer for case packing, loading, or storing which are located within reasonable proximity to the brewery packaging facilities may be approved by the Secretary or his delegate as a part of the brewery if the revenue will not be jeopardized thereby."

(c) Section 5411 of such Code (relating to use of brewery) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5411. USE OF BREWERY.

"The brewery shall be used under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate only for the purpose of producing, packaging, and storing beer, cereal beverages containing less than one-half of 1 percent of alcohol by volume, vitamins, ice, malt, malt sirup, and other byproducts and of soft drinks; for the purpose of processing spent grain, carbon dioxide, and yeast; and for such other purposes as the Secretary or his delegate by regulation may find will not jeopardize the revenue."

(d) Section 5412 of such Code (relating to removal of beer in containers, etc.) is amended by stirking out "barrels, kegs, bottles," and inserting "packages,".

(e) Section 5416 of such Code (relating to definitions of bottle and bottling) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5416. DEFINITIONS OF PACKAGE AND PACKAGING.

"For purposes of this subchapter, the term 'package' means a bottle, can, keg, barrel, or other original consumer container, and the term 'packaging' means the filling of any package."

SEC. 4. (a) Part II of subchapter G of chapter 51 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to operations) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 5417. PILOT BREWING PLANTS.

"Under such regulations as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe, and on the filing of such bonds and applications as he may require, pilot brewing plants may, at the discretion of the Secretary or his delegate, be established and operated off the brewery premises for research, analytical, experimental, or development purposes with regard to beer or brewery operations. Nothing in this section shall be construed as authority to waive the filing of any bond or the payment of any tax provided for in this chapter."

(b) The table of sections for part II of subchapter G of chapter 51 of such Code is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 5416. Definition of package and packaging.

"Sec. 5417. Pilot brewing plants."

SEC. 5. The amendments made by the first four sections of this Act shall take effect on the first day of the first calendar month which begins more than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. BOGGS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 6562 provides a series of amendments to the beer tax provisions of present law.

Each of these amendments would change regulatory provisions dealing with beer, but only under such regulatory authority and other restrictions as are designed to assure efficient supervision of operations and collection of tax by the Internal Revenue Service.

The amendments can be summarized as follows:

First. The bill permits credits or refunds if beer is returned to another brewery of the same brewer, and offsets are permitted if the beer is returned to the brewery from which it was removed.

Second. The bill permits credits or refunds in the case of loss by theft and also where the beer is rendered unmerchantable.

Third. The bill permits tax-free research and development.

Fourth. The bill permits the bonding requirements to be met by certifying the continuation of an existing bond, in place of the present requirement that a new bond be secured.

Fifth. The bill codifies present regulations defining the area of a brewery and permitting certain facilities to be near the main facilities, rather than requiring them to adjoin the main facilities.

Sixth. The bill eliminates the requirement of separate facilities for the bottling of beer and cereal beverages.

Seventh. The bill codifies present regulations permitting the establishment of experimental breweries.

Mr. Speaker, each of the foregoing amendments provided by the pending bill would remove restrictions no longer needed for effective enforcement of the

revenue and regulatory aspects of the beer tax.

The Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of H.R. 6562, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 6562, a bill including a number of amendments to the Internal Revenue Code as it applies to beer and brewing.

The major proposed changes are as follows:

First. Credits or refunds would be permitted if beer were returned to another brewery owned by the same brewer. Present law requires that beer be returned to the same brewery from which it was removed before a credit or refund can be awarded.

Second. Credits or refunds would be permitted in the event of loss by theft—as long as there was no collusion of the brewer, his employees or associates—and where the beer had been rendered unmerchantable, even though not actually destroyed.

Third. Beer could be removed from a brewery without payment of tax for use in research and development, or related projects. Consumer testing or market analysis would not be acceptable reasons for removal.

Fourth. Brewers would be permitted to obtain continuation certificates on bonds for tax liability, instead of having to file for new bonds every 4 years. The committee understands that this would not change the bonding requirements otherwise.

Fifth. Existing regulations defining the area of a brewery would be codified, and packing and storage facilities would be accepted as part of a brewery under the same circumstances now applying to loading facilities.

Sixth. Bottling of beer and cereal beverages would no longer have to be accomplished in a separate section of a brewery, as under present law, and the terms "bottle" and "bottling" would be discarded in favor of "package" and "packaging." The committee was informed that both changes would be in keeping with modern brewing practices.

Seventh. Experimental breweries, now recognized in regulations, would be recognized by statute.

Mr. Speaker, the provisions of this bill are designed to bring the tax law into closer harmony with business practices without creating collection difficulties. The Treasury Department indicated that it has no objection to this bill, and the committee was unanimous in reporting it.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING SECTION 905 OF THE TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 17984) to amend section 905 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17984

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c) of section 905 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 (Public Law 91–172) is hereby amended as follows:

(a) in paragraph (1) strike out "(2) and (3)" and insert in lieu thereof "(2), (3), and (4)"; and

(b) at the end of such subsection add the following new paragraph.

"(4) The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply to a distribution by a corporation of specific property (held on December 1, 1969, by the distributing corporation or a corporation which was a wholly owned subsidiary of the distributing corporation on such date) in redemption of stock outstanding on November 30 1969, which is redeemed and canceled before December 31, 1970, if—

"(A) such redemption is pursuant to a resolution adopted before November 1, 1969, by the Board of Directors authorizing the redemption of a specific amount of stock constituting more than 10 percent of the outstanding stock of the corporation at the time of the adoption of such resolution; and

"(B) more than 40 percent of the stock authorized to be redeemed pursuant to such resolution was redeemed before December 30, 1969, and more than one-half of the stock so redeemed was redeemed with property other than money."

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 1, strike out "specific".

Page 2, line 6, strike out "December 31, 1970," and insert "July 31, 1971,"

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 17984 is to add another appropriate transitional rule to section 905 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

That section of the 1969 act, in general, provides that if a corporation distributes appreciated property to a shareholder in redemption of his stock, gain is recognized to the distributing corporation. Transitional rules in the act continued nonrecognition of gain, however, in those limited cases in which a definite program or commitment on the part of the taxpayer was evident before the time the matter was discussed in Congress. Under the act's present transitional rules, this definite program or commitment must be evidenced by a binding contract, a public offer or a written description of the program filed with a public agency.

A substantially similar type of situation was brought to the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means which the committee unanimously feels should be provided for under the transitional provisions. This new transitional rule, which would be added by the pending bill, would continue nonrecognition of gain in situations in which a corporation had in fact already begun a plan of redemption pursuant to directors' resolution adopted before congressional consideration of the 1969 provision and where a substantial part of the plan had been carried out prior to the date of enactment of the Tax Reform Act.

Mr. Speaker, the committee is convinced that a preexisting authorization to redeem, taken together with the fact that to a significant extent a program of redemption had already been carried out, is substantially the equivalent of those situations originally covered in the transitional rules in section 905.

The Department of the Treasury has no objection to the enactment of this bill, and as previously indicated, the Committee on Ways and Means unanimously recommends its approval by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 17984, a bill having to do with the treatment of appreciated property distributed by corporations to shareholders in redemption of their stock.

Under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, corporations would recognize a gain in such cases, except under certain special circumstances covered by transitional rules.

The effect of these transitional rules has been to continue the nonrecognition of gain in cases where a definite program of redemption had been undertaken and was apparent prior to congressional consideration of the matter. Such a program would be evidenced by a binding contract, a public offer, or a filing with a public agency regarding the redemption.

However, since the act has been in effect, a fourth situation fitting the principle behind the three existing transitional rules has been called to the attention of the committee.

Essentially, Mr. Speaker, this fourth situation is one in which a corporation actually started plans for redemption, pursuant to a resolution adopted by its board of directors, and carried out a substantial portion of the plans before enactment of the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

This situation would not be covered under the existing transitional rules because it does not involve a binding contract, public offer or a description filed with a public agency. However, the committee believes it meets the intent of the transitional rules and should, therefore, be added to them.

The Treasury Department assured the committee that it has no objection to the enactment of this legislation. Mr. Speaker, the bill was reported unanimously by the committee, and I urge the House to add its approval now.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRANSITION RULE FOR MOVING EXPENSES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 17917) to amend the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17917

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 231(d) of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 is amended by inserting after subparagraph (2) the following new subparagraph:

(3) The amendments made by this section shall not apply (at the election of the taxpayer made at such time and manner as the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate may prescribe) with respect to moving expense paid or incurred before December 31, 1970 in connection with the commencement of work by the taxpayer as an employee at a new principal place of work, provided the change is necessitated by a relocation of an office or other facility of his employer and the plan of relocation was announced by the employer on or before December 19, 1969."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That section 231(d)(2) of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 is amended by striking out "before July 1, 1970," and inserting in lieu thereof "on or before December 31, 1970,".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 17917 would extend the cutoff date of a transition rule in the new provisions relating to moving expenses contained in the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

It will be recalled that the 1969 act modified the rules with respect to the deduction of job-related moving expenses to allow deductions for certain additional categories of moving expenses and to provide other rules generally liberalizing the deduction. One provision went the other way, however, and tightened the moving expense rules by requiring that the employee's new place of employment must be 50 miles or more—instead of the 20 miles under prior law—farther from his old residence than was his prior place of employment. Because this constituted a more strict rule, the Tax Reform Act provided that the taxpayer could still elect to have the old rules apply for amounts paid or incurred before July 1, 1970, if the taxpayer had been notified by his employer on or before December 19, 1969, of a move.

It has been brought to the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means that some workers who were notified of a pending move on or before December 19, 1969, were not able to complete their moves before the July 1, 1970, cutoff date. For example, it was brought to the committee's attention that in a number of instances the anticipated new jobs were not available soon enough at the location to complete moves prior to the present cutoff date.

The Committee on Ways and Means has concluded, therefore, that it would be equitable to extend the cutoff date from the present "before July 1, 1970," to "on or before December 31, 1970." The 6-months extension of the cutoff date provided by H.R. 17917 would still apply, however, only in those situations where an employee had been notified by his employer of the move on or before December 19, 1969.

Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Treasury has no objection to the enactment of this bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its approval by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 17917, a bill to extend the cutoff date of the special transition rule applied to moving expenses in section 231 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

As passed, the Tax Reform Act liberalized most moving expense provisions, except in the case of the requirement as to the distance moved. In this case, the new place of employment must be at least 50 miles, instead of 20 miles, farther from the prior residence than the former place of employment. Because this was a stricter provision than under prior law, a special transition rule was included which allowed taxpayers to elect the old moving expense deduction rule in cases where the employee had been notified by his employer of a move on or before December 19, 1969, and the amounts were paid or incurred for the moving expenses before July 1, 1970.

It has been brought to the attention of the committee that some employees who were notified of a pending move on or before December 19, 1969, were not able for varying reasons to complete their moves before the July 1, 1970, cutoff date, thus denying them moving expense deductions available under prior law. The committee has deemed it equitable to extend the cutoff date in the transition rule from "before July 1, 1970," to "on or before December 31, 1970," thus enabling taxpayers to elect to have moving expenses paid or incurred in this additional 6-month period treated under the old moving expense rules.

The bill was unanimously reported, and I urge my colleagues to join me in support of its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SECTION 165(g) OF THE 1954 CODE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19369) to amend section 165(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 which provides for treatment of losses on worthless securities.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19369

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 165 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to losses) is amended—

(a) by striking out in section (g)(3)(A) "at least 95 percent of each class of its stock" and inserting in lieu thereof "stock possessing at least 80 percent of the voting power of all classes of its stock and at least 80 percent of each class of its nonvoting stock", and

(b) by adding at the end of subsection (g)(3) the following: "As used in subparagraph (A), the term 'stock' does not include nonvoting stock which is limited and preferred as to dividends."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1970.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19369 would reduce from 95 to 80 percent the amount of stock a parent corporation must own in a subsidiary corporation in order to claim an ordinary loss deduction, rather than a capital loss, if the stock it holds in the subsidiary becomes worthless.

This amendment would conform the percentage of ownership requirements for such ordinary loss treatment with the 80 percent ownership requirement which presently applies to the filing of consolidated returns by corporations.

Originally, Mr. Speaker, both the consolidated return filing requirements and the ordinary loss deduction requirements were equal with a 95 percent of ownership in subsidiary rule applicable in each situation. The concept was that the companies in the 95-percent ownership relationship were considered closely enough related to, in effect, treat them as one operating business. In the case of consolidated return treatment, the losses of one could be offset against the income of the other. In the case where the securities of the subsidiary company become worthless, the loss, in effect, should be regarded as a loss of part of the business of the parent corporation rather than a loss on an investment.

Mr. Speaker, in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, the required ownership requirements for consolidated returns was reduced from 95 to 80 percent but a similar change has not been made, to date, with respect to the rule for ordinary loss treatment for worthless securities of a subsidiary. Accordingly, the bill, H.R. 19369, makes this conforming change, applicable to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1970.

Mr. Speaker, the Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of this bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its approval by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19369, which would change the ownership requirement for a parent corporation wishing to claim an ordinary loss deduction on worthless stock in a subsidiary.

Present law allows an ordinary loss deduction, instead of capital loss treatment generally provided for worthless securities, only if the parent corporation owns at least 95 percent of each class of the subsidiary's stock. H.R. 19369 would change this ownership requirement to 80 percent, which is the same percentage of ownership required in order for a parent company to file a consolidated income tax return with its subsidiary.

Inasmuch as an 80-percent-control interest is considered an appropriate degree of relationship for the purposes of treating two or more corporations as one

business under the consolidated return provisions of the tax law, the committee felt it also would be an appropriate degree of relationship for the treatment of worthless stock in a subsidiary.

The Treasury Department is not opposed to the bill, and it was unanimously approved by the committee. Mr. Speaker, I urge its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN STATUTORY MERGERS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19562) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in relation to corporate reorganizations.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19562

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 368(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to corporate reorganizations) is amended by adding the following paragraph:

"SEC. 368. (a)(2)(E) STATUTORY MERGER USING STOCK OF CONTROLLING CORPORATION WHERE ACQUIRED CORPORATION SURVIVES.—The acquisition by one corporation of substantially all of the properties of another corporation which in the transaction is merged into the acquiring corporation shall not disqualify a transaction under paragraph (1)(A) if immediately after such merger (i) the corporation formerly in control of the merged corporation controls the acquiring corporation, and (ii) the former stockholders of such acquiring corporation own, as the result of owning stock of such corporation, no stock other than voting stock of such controlling corporation."

SEC. 2. That section 368(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to parties to corporate reorganizations) is amended by adding the following sentence thereto:

"In the case of a reorganization qualifying under paragraph (1)(A) of subsection (a) by reason of paragraph (2)(E) of that subsection, the term 'party to a reorganization' includes the corporation formerly in control of the merged corporation referred to in such paragraph (2)(E)."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That section 368(a)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (definitions relating to corporate reorganizations) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(E) Statutory merger using voting stock of corporation controlling merged corporation.—A transaction otherwise qualifying under paragraph (1)(A) shall not be disqualified by reason of the fact that stock of a corporation (referred to in this subparagraph as the 'controlling corporation') which before the merger was in control of the merged corporation is used in the transaction, if—

"(i) after the transaction, the corporation surviving the merger holds substantially all of its properties and of the properties of the merged corporation (other than stock of the controlling corporation distributed in the transaction); and

"(ii) in the transaction, former shareholders of the surviving corporation exchanged, for an amount of voting stock of the controlling corporation, an amount of stock in the surviving corporation which constitutes control of such corporation."

(b) Section 368(b) of such Code (relating to parties to corporate reorganizations) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In the case of a reorganization qualifying under subsection (a)(1)(A) by reason of subsection (a)(2)(E), the term 'party to a reorganization' includes the controlling corporation referred to in subsection (a)(2)(E)."

(c) The amendment made by this section shall apply to statutory mergers occurring after December 31, 1970.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19562 would amend the provisions of the tax law relating to tax-free statutory mergers of corporations to permit a tax-free statutory merger when stock of a parent corporation is used in a merger between a controlled subsidiary of the parent and another corporation, and the other corporation survives—a transaction called a reverse merger.

The Department of the Treasury has no objection to this measure, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

Inasmuch as the reorganization sections of the Internal Revenue Code are perhaps its most complex provisions, Mr. Speaker, the most lucid means of explaining the pending bill is by use of an example. Under existing law, corporation X, an unrelated corporation, may be merged into corporation S, a subsidiary of corporation P, in exchange for the stock of corporation P in a tax-free statutory merger. However, if for business and legal reasons wholly unrelated to Federal income taxation it is considered more desirable to merge S into X rather than merging X into S, so that X is the surviving corporation—a reverse merger—the transaction is not a tax-free statutory merger.

Although the reverse merger does not qualify as a tax-free statutory merger, it may, in appropriate circumstances, be treated as a tax-free stock-for-stock reorganization. However, in order to qualify as a tax-free stock-for-stock reorganization, it is necessary that the acquisition be solely for voting stock and that no stock be acquired for cash or other consideration. Thus, if a small amount of the stock of X, the unrelated corporation, is acquired for cash before the merger of S into X, there often may be doubt as to whether or not the transaction will meet the statutory requirements of a stock-for-stock reorganization.

The Committee on Ways and Means believes that there is no reason why a merger in one direction, S into X in the example, should be taxable when the merger in the other direction, X into S, under identical circumstances is tax free. Moreover, the committee sees no reason why in cases of this type the acquisition needs to be made solely for stock.

Under this new provision, such a statutory merger may be tax free if it meets several conditions, among which are: First, the corporation surviving the merger must hold substantially all of its own properties and substantially all of the properties of the merged corporation—except stock of the controlling corporation distributed in the transaction. Second, in the transaction former shareholders of the surviving corporation must receive voting stock of the controlling corporation in exchange for an amount of stock representing control in the surviving corporation.

Mr. Speaker, as previously indicated, the Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of H.R. 19562, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to certain statutory mergers."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CREDIT FOR FOREIGN TAXES PAID BY CERTAIN FOREIGN CORPORATIONS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18549) to amend sections 902(b) and 902(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to reduce the 50-percent requirement to 10 percent between first and second levels and to include third-level foreign corporations in the tax credit structure if the 10-percent test is met.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 18549

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 902(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) FOREIGN SUBSIDIES OF FIRST AND SECOND FOREIGN CORPORATION.—

"(1) If such foreign corporation owns 10 percent or more of the voting stock of a second foreign corporation from which it receives dividends in any taxable year, it shall be deemed to have paid the same proportion of any income, war profits, or excess profits taxes paid or deemed to be paid by such second foreign corporation to any foreign country or to any possession of the United States on or with respect to the accumulated profits of the corporation from which such dividends were paid which—

"(A) for purposes of applying subsection (a)(1), the amount of such dividends bears to the amount of the accumulated profits (as defined in subsection (c)(1)(A)) of such second foreign corporation from which such dividends were paid in excess of such income, war profits, and excess profits, taxes, or

"(B) for purposes of applying subsection (a)(2), the amount of such dividends bears to the amount of the accumulated profits (as defined in subsection (c)(1)(B) of such second foreign corporation from which such dividends were paid.

"(2) If such first foreign corporation owns 10 percent or more of the voting stock of a second foreign corporation which, in turn, owns 10 percent or more of the voting stock

of a third foreign corporation from which the second foreign corporation receives dividends in any taxable year, the second foreign corporation shall be deemed to have paid the same proportion of any income, war profits, or excess profits taxes paid by such third foreign corporation to any foreign country or to any possession of the United States on or with respect to the accumulated profits of the corporation from which such dividends were paid which—

"(A) for purposes of applying subsection (a)(1) the amount of such dividends bears to the amount of the accumulated profits (as defined in subsection (c)(1)(A)) of such third foreign corporation from which such dividends were paid in excess of such income, war profits, and excess profits taxes, or

"(B) for purposes of applying subsection (a)(2), the amount of such dividends bears to the amount of the accumulated profits (as defined in subsection (c)(1)(B)) of such third foreign corporation from which such dividends were paid."

"(3) For purposes of this subpart, subsection (b)(1) shall not apply unless the percentage of voting stock owned by the domestic corporation in the first foreign corporation and the percentage of voting stock owned by the first foreign corporation in the second foreign corporation when multiplied together equal at least 5 percent, and for purposes of this subpart, subsection (b)(2) shall not apply unless the percentage arrived at for purposes of applying subsection (b)(1) when multiplied by the percentage of voting stock owned by the second foreign corporation in the third foreign corporation is equal to at least 5 percent."

SEC. 2. That subsections (c)(1)(A) and the first three lines of subsection (c)(1)(B) of section 902(c) are amended to read as follows:

"(c) APPLICABLE RULES.

"(1) ACCUMULATED PROFITS DEFINED. For purposes of this section, the term 'accumulated profits' means with respect to any foreign corporation—

"(A) for purposes of subsections (a)(1), (b)(1)(A), and (b)(2)(A), the amount of its gains, profits, or income computed without reduction by the amount of the income, war profits, excess profits taxes imposed on or with respect to such profits or income by any foreign country or any possession of the United States; and

"(B) for purposes of subsections (a)(2), (b)(1)(B), and (b)(2)(B), the amount of its gains, profits, or income in excess of the income, war profits, and excess profits taxes imposed on or with respect to such profits or income."

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to all taxable years of domestic corporations, ending after the date of enactment of this Act, but only in respect of dividends received or deemed to be received from foreign corporations after such enactment."

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 7, strike out "such foreign corporation" and insert "the foreign corporation described in subsection (a) (hereinafter in this subsection referred to as the 'first foreign corporation')".

Page 3, line 9, insert a comma after "(1)".

Page 3, line 19, strike out the quotation marks.

Page 4, strike out line 7 and all that follows down through line 25 and insert:

"Sec. 2. Section 902(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'subsections (a)(1) and (b)(1),' in subparagraph (A) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'subsections (a)(1), (b)(1)(A), and (b)(2)(A),' and

(2) by striking out 'subsections (a)(2) and b(2),' in subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'subsections (a)(2), (b)(1)(B), and (b)(2)(B),'.

Page 5, line 4, strike out "dividends received" and all that follows down through line 5 and insert the following: "dividends paid by one corporation to another corporation after the date of the enactment of this Act."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 18549 modifies in two respects the indirect foreign tax credit which is presently allowed domestic corporations for foreign income taxes paid by a first tier or second tier foreign corporation on earnings that are distributed to the domestic corporation.

First, the bill would extend the indirect foreign tax credit to foreign income taxes paid by third tier foreign corporations in which the second tier foreign corporation has at least a 10-percent ownership interest. Second, the bill would reduce the required percentage of ownership for allowance of the indirect foreign tax credit between first and second tier foreign corporations from the present 50 percent requirement to 10 percent. A credit would not be available in either of these two situations, however, unless the domestic corporation has at least a 5-percent indirect ownership interest in the second and third tier foreign corporations.

Mr. Speaker, it has become increasingly common for U.S. taxpayers to engage in joint ventures at the second tier level in foreign countries in situations where there is not a 50-percent ownership between the first and second tier levels. In many instances, foreign law will require a substantial degree of local ownership so that it is becoming increasingly difficult for a first tier foreign corporation to have the presently required 50-percent ownership in a second tier foreign subsidiary.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, it has become more and more common, and at times necessary, in international business practice for U.S. taxpayers to engage in business in foreign countries through foreign subsidiaries at the third tier level.

Mr. Speaker, the explanation for the development of the present structure of the indirect foreign tax credit is largely historical, and there is no sound reason why it should not be amended to conform the tax law to the realities of modern business practices. Extension of the credit, as provided in the bill, is entirely consonant with the principle of the indirect credit as allowed under present law. Moreover, the Committee on Ways and Means does not anticipate significant administrative difficulties with the new rules because of the improved reporting and more complete information that is available today to compute and verify the foreign tax credit.

The Treasury Department has indicated to the committee that it has no objection to the enactment of this bill. The Department recognizes, however, as does the committee, that there are a number of other problems in present tax law related to foreign income. The committee, therefore, wishes to make it clear that the action taken with respect to this bill will not in any way affect or foreclose any future consideration of other problems involving U.S. taxation of foreign income.

The committee is unanimous in recommending passage by the House of H.R. 18549.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 18549, a bill to amend the foreign income tax credit as it applies to corporations.

The foreign tax credit permits a U.S. citizen or domestic corporation to credit foreign income taxes paid during the taxable year against their U.S. income. Additionally, under rather complex provisions, a domestic corporation is permitted to credit against its income taxes a part of the foreign taxes paid by a foreign corporation in which it owns 10 percent or more of the stock—a first tier corporation. Where the first tier corporation in turn owns 50 percent or more of a second foreign corporation—second tier corporation—the domestic corporation may also be entitled to a credit for part of the taxes paid by the second foreign corporation. In both cases, the amount of foreign taxes the domestic corporation may credit is related to the dividends it receives directly or indirectly from the foreign corporations.

The committee has been informed that U.S. foreign subsidiaries often engage in joint ventures through a second tier foreign corporation under circumstances that prevent the required 50 percent ownership of the second tier corporation from being satisfied. These circumstances are often compounded by requirements concerning local ownership of businesses imposed by some foreign countries. The bill before the House therefore reduces the 50-percent ownership requirement between the first and second tier foreign corporations to 10 percent.

Additionally, the committee has been advised that it is often necessary and advantageous for U.S. corporations to engage in business in foreign countries through foreign corporations at the third tier level. The underlying rationale for permitting indirect tax credits to a domestic corporation for foreign taxes by a first and second tier foreign corporation also applies to a third tier foreign corporation. The committee therefore has extended the foreign tax credit for indirect foreign taxes to the third tier level. In view of the extensive records that must be filed under provisions of existing law in order to claim the credit for indirect foreign taxes already allowed, the committee has been assured that there will be no unwarranted administrative burden imposed on either taxpayers or the Treasury by this liberalization.

Mr. Speaker, the amendments included in this bill will conform the rules relating to the foreign tax credit more closely to present business practices. The bill was unanimously reported, and the Treasury Department expressed no objections. I urge my colleagues to join me in support of its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPLICATION OF INVESTMENT CREDIT RECAPTURE RULE TO LEASED AIRCRAFT

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 17988) to amend section 47 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow aircraft to be leased for temporary use outside the United States without a recapture of the investment credit.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 17988

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 47(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to certain dispositions of section 38 property) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(6) AIRCRAFT USED OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES AFTER APRIL 18, 1969.—In any case in which—

"(A) any aircraft was section 38 property with respect to the taxpayer for the taxable year in which placed in service, and

"(B) after April 18, 1969, such aircraft is leased from an air carrier (as defined in section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1301)), other than under a lease purchase arrangement, for use predominately outside the United States for a term (including any renewal periods) not exceeding three years under any one lease and in compliance with the provisions of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, and the rules and regulations promulgated by the Civil Aeronautics Board thereunder,

such aircraft shall not be treated as ceasing to be section 38 property with respect to the taxpayer by reason of the use of such aircraft in the manner described in subparagraph (B) or by reason of the registration of such aircraft under the laws of a foreign country for a period or periods not exceeding three years in total."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out line 7, page 1, and all that follows down through page 2, line 17, and insert the following:

"(6) AIRCRAFT USED OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES AFTER APRIL 18, 1969.—

"(A) GENERAL RULE.—Any aircraft which was new section 38 property for the taxable year in which it was placed in service and which is used outside the United States under a qualifying lease or leases shall be treated as not ceasing to be section 38 property by reason of such use until such aircraft has been so used for a period or periods exceeding 4 years in total. For purposes of the preceding sentence, the registration of such aircraft under the laws of foreign country shall be treated as use outside the United States.

"(B) COMPUTATION OF QUALIFIED INVESTMENT.—If an aircraft described in subparagraph (A) is disposed of or otherwise ceases to be section 38 property, the increase under paragraph (1) and the adjustment under paragraph (3) shall not be greater than the increase or adjustment which would result if the qualified investment of such aircraft were based upon a useful life equal to the lesser of (i) the actual useful life of such aircraft with respect to the taxpayer, or, (ii) twice the number of full calendar months during which such aircraft was registered by the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency and was used in the United States operated to and from the United States, or operated under contract with the United States. For purposes of the preceding sentence, an aircraft shall be treated as used in the United States for any calendar month beginning after such aircraft was placed in service, if such month is included in a taxable year ending before January 1, 1971, for which such aircraft was section 38 property (determined without regard to this paragraph).

"(C) QUALIFYING LEASE DEFINED.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term 'qualifying lease' means a lease from an air carrier (as defined in section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1301)) which complies with the provisions of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, and the rules and regulations promulgated by the Civil Aeronautics Board thereunder, but only if such lease was executed after April 18, 1969."

SEC 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply to taxable years ending after April 18, 1969.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 17988 would amend the investment credit provisions of the Internal Revenue Code to allow aircraft to be leased for temporary use outside the United States without a recapture of the investment credit.

Members of the House will recall that the investment credit was repealed for property acquired after April 18, 1969, but vestiges of it are being phased out under the transitional rules adopted in connection with its repeal.

Mr. Speaker, under the investment credit provision in order for an airplane to initially qualify as investment credit property, it must be principally used in the United States or be operated either to or from the United States or be under contract with the United States. This requirement has been interpreted by the Treasury Department to mean that the plane must be used in the specified manner for more than half of each taxable year. If an airplane, with respect to which an investment credit was previously allowed, ceases to be used for a taxable year in this manner, then the airplane ceases to qualify as investment credit property and the investment credit previously allowed is recaptured in whole or in part.

In recent years U.S. air carriers have acquired airplanes based on a projected demand which was accounted for in significant part by governmental airlift requirements, particularly those associated with Southeast Asia. Governmental airlift needs, however, have been decreasing from past levels, and as a result, a number of domestic airlines find they have excess equipment. The only practical use of the excess airplanes at the present time, other than letting them remain idle and deteriorate, is to lease them on a temporary basis for use outside the United States. If this were done, however, such leases would have to apply for periods under 6 months in any given year, in order to avoid a recapture of the previously allowed investment credit. This procedure is quite expensive, and in some cases, it is not possible to effect leases for such a short period of time.

Mr. Speaker, since a large part of the excess equipment which U.S. air carriers presently have, or have on order, was acquired in view of governmental needs which no longer exist, the Committee on Ways and Means does not believe it is appropriate to require domestic air carriers, in order to preserve the investment credit they previously received, to either let the excess planes remain idle or to go through this impractical rotation procedure.

H.R. 17988, therefore, provides that a new airplane which qualified for the investment credit for the year it was placed in service may be used outside the United States for up to half of the period taken into account in determining the amount of the credit allowed with respect to the airplane and still not be subject to investment credit recapture. In effect, Mr. Speaker, this would apply the concept of the present Treasury regulations which require an airplane to be used principally in the United States, but over the longer period used in computing the amount of the credit allowable, instead of on a year-by-year basis.

Inasmuch as the maximum period which may be taken into account in computing the amount of an investment credit is 8 years, the bill provides that there would in all cases be a recapture of the investment credit if an airplane is used outside the United States under the type of lease described or, under the laws of a foreign country, for more than 4 years.

Those provisions would only apply, however, if the airplane is used outside the United States under a lease from a U.S. air carrier which is made after April 18, 1969, and which complies with the provisions of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 and the Civil Aeronautics Board's rules and regulations under that act.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 17988 would enable excess aircraft, which would otherwise remain idle, to be used in an economic manner. The Treasury Department has no objection to the bill's enactment, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 17988.

The investment credit, which Congress repealed last year, required that qualifying property be held at least 4 years, and the amount of the credit varied with the length of the holding period. The taxpayer was permitted to claim one-third of the credit for property held from 4 to 6 years, two-thirds for property held from 6 to 8 years, and the entire credit for property held over 8 years. When property is sold prior to the length of time assumed when the credit was claimed, the excess credit previously allowed is "recaptured."

The law also requires that the investment credit on an airplane be recaptured as of any year in which the plane is used outside of the United States for more than half the year—in effect, such use is treated as a disposition for purposes of the recapture rules. Due to the acquisition of airplanes by U.S. carriers to meet Government airlift requirements, particularly those associated with Southeast Asia which have been declining re-

cently, many airlines have excess capacity.

In order to utilize this capacity, some airlines have entered into leases for use of aircraft outside the United States on a temporary basis. However, if these aircraft are to remain eligible for the investment credit, they may not be used more than 6 months during any year outside of the United States. In order to avoid violating this rule, the airline must go through the expensive and impractical procedure of rotating aircraft under the lease every 6 months.

The committee feels that as long as the aircraft is not used outside the United States during more than one-half of the holding period on which the credit is predicated, the recapture provisions should be inapplicable. This accomplishes the same overall result as existing law by substituting a longer period, conforming to the holding period on which the credit is predicated, for the annual test now utilized. It will avoid the expensive rotating procedures required to avoid recapture under existing law while preserving the underlying intent of the law.

The bill was not opposed by the Treasury, and was unanimously reported by the Ways and Means Committee. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTAIN PASSIVE INCOME OF SUBCHAPTER S CORPORATIONS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19627) to amend section 1372 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, relating to passive investment income.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19627

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subparagraph (C) of section 1372(e)(5) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to passive investment income of small business corporations) is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Gross receipts derived from sales or exchanges of stock or securities for purposes of this paragraph shall not include amounts received by an electing small business corporation which are treated under section 331 (relating to corporate liquidations) as payments in exchange for stock where the electing small business corporation owns more than 50 percent of the stock of the liquidating corporation."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years of electing small business corporations ending after the date of the enactment of this Act. Such amendment shall also apply with respect to any taxable year ending before October 7, 1970, but only if—

(1) on such date the making of a refund or the allowance of a credit to the electing small business corporation is not prevented by any law or rule of law, and

(2) within one year after the date of enactment of this Act and in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate prescribes by regulations—

(A) the corporation elects to have such amendment so apply, and

(B) all persons (or their personal representatives) who were shareholders of such corporation at any time during any taxable year beginning with the first taxable year to which this amendment applies and ending on or before the date of the enactment of this Act consent to such election and to the application of the amendment made by subsection (a).

(c) If the assessment of any deficiency in income tax resulting from the filing of such election for a taxable year ending before the date of such filing is prevented before the expiration of one year after the date of such filing by any law or rule of law, such deficiency (to the extent attributable to such election) may be assessed at any time prior to the expiration of such one-year period notwithstanding any law or rule of law which would otherwise prevent such assessment.

(d) If the election of a corporation under subsection (a) of section 1372 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 would have been terminated because of the application of subsection (e)(5) of such section (before the amendment made by subsection (a) of this Act) but for the election by such corporation under paragraph (2) of subsection (b) (and the consent of shareholders under such corporation, such election under section 1372 (a) of such code shall not be treated as terminated for any year beginning before the date of the enactment of this Act as a result of—

(1) such corporation filing its income tax return on a form 1120 (instead of a form 1120S), or

(2) a new shareholder not consenting to such election of such corporation in accordance with the requirements of subsection (e)(1) of such section 1372.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, beginning in line 1, strike out "owns more than 50 percent of the stock" and insert "owned more than 50 percent of each class of the stock".

Page 3, line 11, strike out "Act" and insert "section".

Page 3, line 13, strike out "corporation" and insert "paragraph".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19627 amends provisions of the tax law applicable to small business corporations—so-called subchapter S corporations—which are taxed in a manner similar to partnerships.

It will be recalled that when the subchapter S provisions were first enacted in 1958, Congress determined at that time to make them applicable to operating businesses as distinguished from businesses which received significant amounts of passive investment income, such as royalties, rents, dividends, interest, annuities, and gains from sales or exchanges of stock and securities. Accordingly, a rule was included in the 1958 enactment providing that in those cases in which a corporation derives more than 20 percent of its gross receipts from passive investment sources, it becomes ineligible for subchapter S treatment and loses its election to continue as a small business corporation.

Mr. Speaker, this passive investment income limitation has presented especially difficult problems where corporations carrying on active business have realized capital gains which have unexpectedly disqualified them for subchapter S treatment. For example, the Tax Court recently held that passive investment income for purposes of subchapter S includes capital gains received by a corporation in the liquidation of another corporation. These gains are so treated even though the business operation is clearly active, as evidenced by the ownership by the corporation involved of more than 50 percent of the liquidated corporation's stock. As a result, in those cases where such a gain brings the corporations passive income over the 20-percent limitation, the company becomes ineligible for subchapter S treatment, even though the company is obviously an operating business.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means does not believe it necessary that the passive income limitation operate in such fashion. Accordingly, the pending bill, H.R. 19627, provides that, for purposes of applying this limitation, a capital gain occurring upon the liquidation of a corporation is not to be considered passive income for subchapter S purposes if the subchapter S corporation has more than a 50-percent interest in the corporation which is liquidated. This treatment would be applied generally to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of the bill. It would also apply, however, to years which were open on October 7, 1970, the date of introduction.

Mr. Speaker, the Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of this measure, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 19627.

The bill amends the rather complex provisions of the Internal Revenue Code relating to subchapter S corporations. As the Members may remember, Congress enacted subchapter S in order to permit small businesses to elect corporate status without losing the tax benefits generally associated with conducting the business as a sole proprietorship. By electing subchapter S status, the profits may be "passed through" to other stockholders, thus avoiding the tax at the corporate level.

However, in order to insure that these benefits available to small businesses were provided only to active businesses, we also denied this special treatment to corporations who derived more than 20 percent of their income from passive investments—dividends, interest, and profits on the sale or exchange of securities.

These and other features of the subchapter S provisions have, in the words of some tax commentators, made it a "trap for the unwary." As specific situations have been called to the committee's attention in the past, that have resulted in unintended inequities, the law has been amended.

The bill provides that gain on the sale of stock by a subchapter S corporation in a corporation in which it owns a controlling interest will not be counted as passive income. Stockownership in

this context does not reflect a passive investment, but the active conduct of a trade or business through a subsidiary. Gain pursuant to the sale of stock in this business, which is essentially a liquidating operation, should not result in disqualification for subchapter S status.

Although the committee hopes to consider comprehensive amendments in the subchapter S provisions in the next Congress, it was felt advisable to remove this inequity as quickly as possible. The bill will apply to taxable years that were open on October 7, 1970. The Treasury Department has expressed no objection to the bill and the committee was unanimous in recommending it. I urge my colleagues to join me in approving this bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTAIN REGULATED INVESTMENT COMPANIES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 6742) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a longer period of time for disposition of certain assets in the case of regulated investment companies furnishing capital to development companies, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6742

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 851(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to investment companies furnishing capital to development corporations) is amended—

(1) by striking out paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(2) LIMITATIONS.—

"(A) EXCESS INVESTMENTS AFTER 15 YEARS.—If—

"(i) at the close of any taxable year (whether beginning before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this subparagraph), more than 25 percent of the value of the total assets of an investment company is represented by securities of issuers with respect to each of which the investment company holds more than 10 percent of the outstanding voting securities of such issuer and in respect of each of which or any predecessor thereof the investment company has continuously held any security for 10 or more years, and

"(ii) at the close of the fifth taxable year following such taxable year (but only if such fifth taxable year begins after the date of the enactment of this subparagraph), the investment company has not reduced by at least 40 percent its holdings of each issue of securities described in clause (i) which represented the excess investment in such securities (as determined under paragraph (5)),

the provisions of this subsection shall not apply at the close of any quarter of such fifth taxable year to such investment company, unless at the close of such year the securities described in clause (i) represent 25 percent or less of the value of its total assets (or are reduced to 25 percent or less of such value within 30 days thereafter).

"(B) EXCESS INVESTMENTS AFTER 20 YEARS.—The provisions of this subsection shall not apply at the close of any quarter of a taxable year to an investment company if at the close of such quarter more than 25 percent of the value of its total assets is represented by securities of issuers with respect to each of which the investment company holds more than 10 percent of the outstanding voting securities of such issuer and in respect of each of which or any predecessor thereof the investment company has continuously held any security for 20 or more years preceeding such quarter unless the value of its total assets so represented is reduced to 25 percent or less within 30 days after the close of such quarter."; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (4) thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) RULES FOR APPLICATION OF PARAGRAPH (2)(A).

"(A) EXCESS INVESTMENT.—For purposes of paragraph (2)(A), the excess investment with respect to any issue of securities described in clause (i) of such paragraph held by an investment company is an amount equal to an amount determined by multiplying—

"(i) the aggregate value of the securities described in clause (i) of such paragraph, reduced by an amount equal to 25 percent of the value of the total assets of the investment company, by

"(ii) a fraction the numerator of which is the value of such issue of securities and the denominator of which is the aggregate value of all securities described in such clause (i) held by the investment company.

"(B) SUBSTITUTION FOR LESS-APPRECIATED SECURITIES.—If the percentage appreciation in value per share of any issue of securities described in clause (i) of paragraph (2)(A) is less than the average percentage appreciation in value per share of all issues of securities described in such clause, the reduction, or any part thereof, in the holdings of such issue required under clause (ii) of paragraph (2)(A) shall be treated as satisfied by a reduction (in addition to the reduction required under such clause) of a dollar amount of the holdings of any other issue of securities described in clause (i) of such paragraph, the average appreciation in value per share of which is higher than the average appreciation in value per share of all issues of securities described in such clause, equal to the dollar amount of such issue which would have to be disposed of to effectuate such reduction or such part. This subparagraph shall apply only if the investment company files a statement, at the time of making its return for the taxable year, identifying the transaction or transactions in which its holdings of such other issue were reduced in substitution for a reduction in the holdings of such issue.

"(C) TIME FOR MAKING DETERMINATIONS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A) of this paragraph and clause (ii) of paragraph (2)(A), all determinations shall be made as of the close of the applicable taxable year referred to in clause (i) of paragraph (2)(A). For purposes of applying subparagraph (B) of this paragraph, all determinations shall be made at the time of the transaction identified by the investment company under such subparagraph."

(b) Section 851(d) of such Code (relating to determination of status of regulated investment companies) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "If a corporation meets the requirements of subsection (b)(4)(A) at the close of any quarter of any taxable year (whether beginning before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this sentence) by reason of the application of the provisions of subsection (c), this subsection shall not apply to such corporation for any subsequent quarter of any taxable year (beginning after the date of the enactment of this sentence) for which the Securities and Exchange Commission fails to make the determination provided for in paragraph (1) of subsection (c) or for which the corporation fails to satisfy the limitation set forth in paragraph (2)(A) of subsection (c) or the limitation set forth in paragraph (2)(B) of such subsection."

(c) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1967. The amendment made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 3, line 22, strike out "paragraph" and insert "paragraphs".

Page 5, strike out line 24 and all that follows down through line 20 on page 6 and insert:

subparagraph.

"(6) Termination of status.—If a corporation meets the requirements of subsection (b)(4)(A) at the close of any quarter of any taxable year (whether beginning before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this paragraph) by reason of the application of the foregoing provisions of this subsection, subsection (d) shall not apply to such corporations for any subsequent quarter of any taxable year (beginning after the date of the enactment of this paragraph) for which the Securities and Exchange Commission fails to make the determination provided for in paragraph (1) or for which the corporation fails to satisfy the limitation set forth in paragraph (2)(A) or the limitation set forth in paragraph (2)(B)."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1967; except that section 851(e)(6) (as added by subsection (a)) shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 6742 relates to the asset diversification requirement for a so-called development company which qualifies for regulated investment company tax treatment. The advantage of this tax treatment is that the company only pays tax on the income which it retains and does not pay any tax on the income which it distributes to shareholders. This bill has been reported unanimously by your committee and the Treasury has indicated that it does not object to its passage.

Present law generally requires a regulated investment company to diversify its investments within prescribed limits. There is a limited exception, however, for a development company. This is a company which is principally engaged in furnishing capital to new, small businesses, businesses principally engaged in developing or exploiting new products.

A development company can rely on the exception to the general asset diversification requirement only if no more than 25 percent of the value of its assets represents securities of issuers in which, first, the company has held an interest for 10 years or more, and second, the development company's holdings represent more than 10 percent of the voting stock of each issuer. Even after this 10-year period, however, a development

company may retain its "excess holdings" and continue to qualify as a regulated investment company. It can do so by relying on a savings provision in present law which applies to regulated investment companies generally.

A case has come to the attention of the committee of a development company relying on the savings provision I have just described to continue to qualify as a regulated investment company. The company continues to qualify for this preferential tax treatment even though the company can no longer make "development company" type investments in small, new businesses principally engaged in developing or exploiting new products. This situation—that of a former development company qualifying as a regulated investment company even though it is not making investments in small, new businesses—frustrates the purpose of providing the present exception for the development company and making preferential tax treatment available to it.

The Committee on Ways and Means does not believe this situation should be permitted to continue. As a result, the committee has decided to limit the general saving provisions so that a development company cannot rely on it. The result generally is to require a development company, if it is to continue to qualify for regulated investment company tax treatment, to dispose of its "excess holdings."

The sudden withdrawal of the right of a development company to rely on the general savings provision of present law would, the committee believed, be unfair to companies which in good faith are relying on this provision. The committee's bill, therefore, permits a development company a 20-year period, as contrasted to the 10-year period of existing law, in which to dispose of its excess holdings so as to continue to qualify for regulated investment company tax treatment. The bill requires a company to evidence its intent to dispose of its excess holdings, however—if the company wants to retain regulated investment company tax treatment—by disposing of at least 40 percent of its excess holdings not later than the close of the 15th year. The company must dispose of all its excess holdings by the close of the 20th year for it to continue to qualify for regulated investment company tax treatment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 6742.

This bill is in substance identical to legislation that passed both the House (H.R. 15025) and the Senate (S. 2767) in the 90th Congress, but neither of these bills was enacted into law. My remarks on the House floor at that time—appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 114, part 22, page 28696, expressed my views on the substance of this proposal, so I will not go into any great detail at this time.

Briefly, the bill amends complex provisions of the Internal Revenue Code governing the taxation of regulated investment companies. The committee has been informed of situations where provisions of the law designed to encourage certain investment companies to provide capital to corporations developing innovative products are not accomplishing their intended purposes.

The rules generally applicable to regulated investment companies require diversification of investment which is consistent with the overall goal of Congress in providing special tax benefits for these companies. In order to encourage "development companies" to provide capital to promising and innovative enterprises, the diversification requirements are less restrictive for certain investments of development companies. But at the end of a 10-year period from the date such an investment is made, the general diversification requirements are again applicable.

Investments in companies developing new technology may, if they are successful, appreciate and represent a proportion of an investment company's assets that at the end of the 10-year period is greater than the statute allows. If these shares must then be dumped on the market in order for the investment company to meet the diversification requirements, they may have to be sold at substantially reduced market prices.

The bill provides an additional 10-year period during which a company may gradually sell off this type of security in order to get down to the requirements of the general diversification rules. However, they must clearly show that substantial progress is being made by the fifth year, or they will not be entitled to any additional time.

In view of the safeguards written into the bill, rules are provided that will enable development companies to more readily achieve the goals the law contemplates consistent with the general framework for the taxation of investment companies.

The Treasury Department has expressed no opposition to the bill, and it was unanimously reported by the committee. I urge my colleagues to join with me in support of its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REFUNDS IN THE CASE OF CERTAIN USES OF TREAD RUBBER

Mr. BOGGS. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18251) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide refunds in the case of certain uses of tread rubber, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 18251

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subparagraph (L) of section 6416(b) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended to read as follows:

"(L) in the case of tread rubber in respect of which tax was paid under section 4071(a) (4)—

"(i) used or sold for use otherwise than in the recapping or retreading of tires of the type used on highway vehicles (as defined in section 4072(c),

"(ii) destroyed, scrapped, wasted, or rendered useless in the recapping or retreading process, or

"(iii) used in the recapping or retreading of tires the sale of which is later adjusted, in which case the overpayment shall be in proportion to the adjustment in the sale price,

unless credit or refund of such tax is allowable under subsection (b) (3);".

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) applies to—

(1) tread rubber destroyed, scrapped, wasted, or rendered useless in the recapping or retreading process on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, and

(2) adjustments of sales of tires, which adjustments are made on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, strike out line 4 and all that follows down through line 17 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(iii) used in the recapping or retreading of a tire the sale of which is later adjusted pursuant to a warranty or guaranty, in which case the overpayment shall be in proportion to the adjustment in the sales price of such tire,

unless credit or refund of such tax is allowable under subsection (b) (3);".

(b) Section 6416(b) (3) of such Code is amended by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

"(D) in the case of tread rubber in respect of which tax was paid under section 4071(a) (4) used in the recapping or retreading of a tire, such tire is sold by the subsequent manufacturer or producer on or in connection with, or with the sale of, any other article manufactured or produced by him and such other article is by any person exported, sold to a State or local government for the exclusive use of a State or local government, sold to a nonprofit educational organization for its exclusive use, or used or sold for use as supplies for vessels or aircraft, unless credit or refund of such tax is allowable under subparagraph (C);".

(c) (1) Section 6416(b) (2) (F) of such Code is amended by inserting after "paragraph (3)" the following: "(or in the case of the tread rubber on a recapped or retreaded tire, resold for use as provided in subparagraph (D) of paragraph (3)),".

(2) Section 6416(b) (3) (A) of such Code is amended by inserting "(D)," after "(C),".

(3) Section 6416(b) (4) (A) of such Code is amended by striking out "section 4071" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 4071 or a recapped or retreaded tire in respect of which tax under section 4071(a) (4) was paid on the tread rubber used in the recapping or retreading".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall take effect on the first day of the first calendar month which begins more than 10 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 18251 is to provide credits or refunds for the tax on tread rubber used in recapping or retreading tires under circumstances similar to those in which a credit or refund is available under present law for new tires. The bill is thus designed to equalize the credit and refund provisions for rubber in recapped or retreaded tires on the one hand and new tires on the other.

Mr. Speaker, the bill would amend

the excise tax law to provide credits or refunds on the manufacturer's excise tax on tread rubber when tax-paid tread rubber: first, is wasted in the recapping or retreading process; second, is used in the recapping or retreading of tires, the sale of which is later adjusted; or third, is used in the recapping or retreading tires which are exported, are sold to State and local governments, are sold to nonprofit educational institutions, or are sold as supplies for vessels or aircraft.

Mr. Speaker, credits or refunds are available in the foregoing situations when new tires are involved and the Committee on Ways and Means has concluded that the differences in impact between the new tire tax and the tread rubber tax are not warranted. The committee has, therefore, unanimously approved H.R. 18251 to correct this situation.

The Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of this bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 18251, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide refunds in the case of certain uses of tread rubber.

Under present law, a manufacturer's excise tax of 5 cents a pound is imposed on the sale of tread rubber; a credit or refund is allowed if the tread rubber is used or sold for use otherwise than in the recapping or retreading of tires of the type used on highway motor vehicles.

The committee recognized that present law as described above created several instances where a manufacturers tax is imposed on tread rubber when in a similar situation a manufacturers tax would not be imposed in the case of a new tire. To correct this situation, H.R. 18251 would amend this law to make available a credit or refund in the following three situations: First, where tread rubber is destroyed, scrapped, wasted, or rendered useless in the recapping or treading process; second, where warranty adjustments are made with respect to recapped or retreaded tires; and, third, where recapped or retreaded tires are exported, sold to a State or local government for the exclusive use of a State or local government, sold to a nonprofit educational organization for its exclusive use, or used or sold for use as supplies for vessels or aircraft.

These changes are intended to provide a credit or refund under parallel circumstances in the case of both recaps and new tires. The bill is reported unanimously by the committee, and the Treasury Department has indicated that it has no objection to its enactment, and I, therefore, urge my colleagues to join me in support of its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WAGERING TAX AMENDMENTS OF 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 322) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 322

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE, ETC.

(a) SHORT TITLE. This Act may be cited as the "Wagering Tax Amendments of 1969."

(b) AMENDMENT OF 1954 CODE. Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this Act shall apply after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. MODIFICATIONS TO INSURE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND FACILITIES COLLECTION.

(a) AMENDMENT OF CHAPTER 35.—Chapter 35 (relating to taxes on wagering) is amended to read as follows:

"SUBCHAPTER A—TAX ON WAGERS

"Sec. 4401. Imposition of tax.
"Sec. 4402. Cross references.

"SEC. 4401. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

"(a) WAGERS.—There shall be imposed on wages, as defined in section 4421, an excise tax equal to 10 percent of the amount thereof.

"(a) WAGERS.—There shall be imposed on wagers, as of any wager for the purposes of this subchapter, all charges incident to the placing of such wager shall be included; except that if the taxpayer establishes, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, that an amount equal to the tax imposed by this subchapter has been collected as a separate charge from the person placing such wager, the amount so collected shall be excluded.

"(c) PERSONS LIABLE FOR TAX.—The following persons shall be liable for the excise tax imposed by this subchapter:

"(1) PRINCIPALS AND PUNCHBOARD OPERATORS.—Each person who is a principal or a punchboard operator, as defined in section 4421, shall be liable for and shall pay the tax under this subchapter on all wagers placed with him or in a pool or lottery conducted by him.

"(2) AGENTS. Each person who is an agent, as defined in section 4421, and who fails to register under section 4412 shall be liable for and shall pay the tax imposed by this subchapter on all such wagers received by him.

"SEC. 4402. CROSS REFERENCES.

"For penalties and other administrative provisions applicable to this subchapter, see sections 4421 to 4424, inclusive; and subtitle F.

"SUBCHAPTER B—OCCUPATIONAL TAX

"Sec. 4411. Imposition of tax.
"Sec. 4412. Registration.
"Sec. 4413. Certain provisions made applicable.
"Sec. 4414. Cross references.

"SEC. 4411. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

"(a) PERSONS LIABLE FOR TAX.—There is hereby imposed—

"(1) PRINCIPALS AND AGENTS.—A special tax of $1,000 per year to be paid by each person who is a principal or an agent.

"(2) PICKUP MEN, EMPLOYEES, AND PUNCHBOARD OPERATORS.—A special tax of $100 per year to be paid by each person who is a pickup man, an employee, or a punchboard operator.

"(b) RATE OF TAX.—Whenever a person is liable for the special tax under more than one of the rates applicable under subsection (a), such person shall be liable for only one such tax payable at the highest applicable rate.

"SEC. 4412. REGISTRATION.

"(a) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS.—Each principal, agent, pickup man, employee, and punchboard operator shall register with the official in charge of the internal revenue district in which such person is principally engaged in the activity which makes him liable for tax under this chapter. The form of the registration and the information to be provided by such person shall be prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate in such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this chapter.

"(b) FIRM OR COMPANY.—Where subsection (a) requires the name and place of residence of a firm or company to be registered, the names and places of residence of the several persons constituting the firm or company shall be registered.

"(c) SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION.—In accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, he or his delegate may require from time to time such supplemental information from any person required to register under this section as may be needed for the enforcement of this chapter.

"SEC. 4413. CERTAIN PROVISIONS MADE APPLICABLE.

"Sections 4901, 4902, 4904, 4905, and 4906 shall extend to and apply to the special tax imposed by this subchapter and to the persons upon whom it is imposed, and for that purpose any activity which makes a person liable for special tax under this subchapter shall be considered to be a business or occupation referred to in such sections. No other provision of sections 4901 to 4907, inclusive, shall so extend or apply.

"SEC. 4414. CROSS REFERENCES.

"For penalties and other administrative provisions applicable to this subchapter, see sections 4421 to 4424, inclusive; and subtitle F.

"SUBCHAPTER C—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

"Sec. 4421. Definitions.
"Sec. 4422. Applicability of Federal and State laws.
"Sec. 4423. Disclosure of wagering tax information.
"Sec. 4424. Territorial extent.

"SEC. 4421. DEFINITIONS.

"(a) WAGER.—For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The term 'wager' means—

"(A) any wager with respect to a sports event or a contest placed with a person engaged in the business of accepting such wagers,

"(B) any wager placed in a wagering pool with respect to a sports event or a contest, if such pool is conducted for profit, and

"(C) any wager placed in a lottery conducted for profit.

"(2) Exceptions. The term 'wager' does not include—

"(A) any wager placed with, or any wager placed in a wagering pool conducted by, a parimutual wagering enterprise licensed under State law,

"(B) any wager placed in a coin operated device with respect to which an occupational tax is imposed by section 4461, or any amount paid in lieu of inserting a coin, token, or similar object, to operate a device described in section 4462(a)(2), if an occupational tax

is imposed with respect to such device by section 4461, or

"(C) any wager placed in a sweepstakes, wagering pool, or lottery—

"(i) which is conducted by an agency of a State acting under authority of State law, and

"(ii) the ultimate winners in which are determined by the result of a horserace.

but only if such wager is placed with the State agency conducting such sweepstakes, wagering pool, or lottery, or with its authorized employees or agents.

"(b) Lottery. For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) In general. The term 'lottery' means the numbers game, policy, and similar types of wagering.

"(2) Exceptions. The term 'lottery' does not include—

"(A) any game of a type in which usually—

"(i) the wagers are placed,

"(ii) the winners are determined, and

"(iii) the distribution of prizes or other property is made, in the presence of all persons placing wagers in such game; and

"(B) any drawing conducted by an organization exempt from tax under section 501 and 521, if no part of the net proceeds derived from such drawing inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

"(c) Principal. For purposes of this chapter, the term 'principal' means any person (other than a punch board operator) who is engaged in the business of accepting wagers or who conduct any wagering pool or lottery.

"(d) Agent. For purposes of this chapter, the term 'agent' means any person who is engaged in receiving wagers for or on behalf of a principal.

"(e) Pickup Man. For purposes of this chapter, the term 'pickup man' means any person who knowingly is engaged in transmitting in any manner wagers, or information, records, or payments relating to wagers, between any principal, agent, pickup man, employee, or combination thereof.

"(f) Employee. For purposes of this chapter, the term 'employee' means any person (other than an agent or pickup man) who knowingly is employed to assist in any capacity in an activity which makes another person liable for special tax as a principal, agent, or pickup man.

"(g) Punchboard Operator. The term 'punchboard operator' means any person who accepts wages only in the form of chances on a punchboard, 'five card draw game,' or similar gaming device for profit, either on his own behalf or on behalf of another person.

"SEC. 4422. APPLICABILITY OF FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS.

"The payment of any tax imposed by this chapter with respect to any activity shall not exempt any person from any penalty provided by a law of the United States or of any State for engaging in the same activity, nor shall the payment of any such tax prohibit any State from placing a tax on the same activity for State or other purposes.

"SEC. 4423. DISCLOSURE OF WAGERING TAX INFORMATION.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as otherwise provided in this section, neither the Secretary nor any other officer or employee of the Treasury Department may divulge or make known in any manner whatever to any person—

"(1) any original, copy, or abstract of any return, payment, or registration made pursuant to this chapter,

"(2) any record required for making any such return, payment, or registration, which the Secretary or his delegate is permitted by the taxpayer to examine or which is produced pursuant to section 7602, or

"(3) any information derived, directly or indirectly, from any such return, payment, registration, or records.

"(b) PERMISSIBLE DISCLOSURE.—A disclosure otherwise prohibited by subsection (a) may be made in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of any tax imposed by this title. However, any document or information so disclosed may not be—

"(1) divulged or made known in any manner whatever by any officer or employee of the United States to any person except in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of this title, nor

"(2) used, directly or indirectly, in any criminal prosecution for any offense occurring prior to the effective date of this Act.

"(c) USE OF DOCUMENTS POSSESSED BY TAX PAYER.—Except in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of any tax imposed by this title—

"(1) any stamp denoting payment of the special tax under this chapter,

"(2) any original, copy, or abstract possessed by a taxpayer of any return, payment, or registration made by such taxpayer pursuant to this chapter, and

"(3) any information derived, directly or indirectly, from any such document,

shall not be admitted as evidence or used for any purpose against such taxpayer in any action, suit, or other judicial or administrative proceeding.

"(d) INSPECTION BY COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.—Section 6103(d) shall apply with respect to any return, payment, or registration made pursuant to this chapter.

"SEC. 4424. TERRITORIAL EXTENT.

"The taxes imposed by this chapter shall apply only to wagers accepted in the United States, or wagers placed by a person who is in the United States—

"(a) with a person who is a citizen or resident of the United States, or

"(b) in a wagering pool or lottery conducted by a person who is a citizen or resident of the United States."

(b) REPEAL OF PUBLIC DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENT.—Section 6107 (relating to list of special taxpayers for public inspection) is hereby repealed.

(c) REPEAL OF POSTING REQUIREMENT.—Section 6806 (relating to posting occupational tax stamps) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 6806. POSTING OCCUPATIONAL TAX STAMPS.

"Every person engaged in any business, avocation, or employment, who is thereby made liable to a special tax (other than the tax imposed under subchapter B of chapter 35 or under subchapter B of chapter 36), shall place and keep conspicuously in his establishment or place of business all stamps denoting payment of such special tax."

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 61 (relating to miscellaneous provisions) is amended by striking out:

"SEC. 6107. List of special taxpayers for public inspection."

(2) Section 6110 (relating to cross references) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(6) For prohibition on disclosure of wagering tax information, see section 4423."

SEC. 3. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.

(a) UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. Section 7213 (relating to unauthorized disclosure of information) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (e) as subsection (f); and

(2) by adding after subsection (d) the following new subsection:

"(e) WAGERING TAX RETURNS. Any officer or employee of the United States who violates section 4423 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, together with the cost of prosecution; and the offender shall be dismissed from office or discharged from employment."

(b) ELIMINATION OF MANDATORY MINIMUM FINE.—Section 7262 (relating to violation of occupational tax laws relating to wagering—failure to pay special tax) is amended by striking out "be fined not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than 3 months, or both, together with costs of prosecution."

(c) FAILURE TO POST TAX STAMPS.—Section 7273 (relating to penalties for offenses relating to special taxes) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7273. PENALTIES FOR OFFENSES RELATING TO SPECIAL TAXES.

"Any person who shall fail to place and keep stamps denoting the payment of the special tax as provided in section 6806 shall be liable to a penalty (not less than $10) equal to the special tax for which his business rendered him liable, unless such failure is shown to be due to reasonable cause. If such failure to comply with section 6806 is through willful neglect or refusal, then the penalty shall be double the amount above prescribed."

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 5692 (relating to penalties relating to posting of special tax) is amended by striking out "section 7273(a)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 7273."

(2) Section 7609(a) (relating to inspection of books, papers, records, and other data) is amended by striking out paragraph (5) and redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (5).

SEC. 4. IMMUNITY FOR WITNESSES IN TAX MATTERS

(a) GRANTS OF IMMUNITY.—Chapter 75 (relating to crimes, other offenses, and forfeitures) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subchapter:

"Subchapter E—Immunity

"Sec. 7351. Immunity for witnesses.

"SEC. 7351. IMMUNITY FOR WITNESSES.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Whenever in the judgment of a United States Attorney the testimony of any witness, or the production of books, papers, or other evidence by any witness, in any case of proceeding before any grand jury or court of the United States relating to the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of any tax imposed by chapter 35 of this title, is necessary to the public interest, the United States Attorney, upon the approval of the Attorney General or an Assistant Attorney General designated by the Attorney General, shall make application to the court that the witness shall be instructed to testify or produce evidence subject to the provisions of this section and upon order of the court such witness shall not be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers, or other evidence on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a criminal penalty or forfeiture. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any criminal penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transactions, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, nor shall testimony so compelled nor evidence so produced be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding (except prosecutions described in subsection (b) against him in any court.

"(b) EXCEPTIONS.—No witness shall be exempt under the provision of this section from prosecution for perjury or contempt

committed while giving testimony or producing evidence under compulsion as provided in this section."

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 75 (relating to crimes, other offenses, and forfeitures) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Subchapter E. Immunity."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE, ETC.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Wagering Tax Amendments of 1970".

(b) AMENDMENT OF 1954 CODE.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, wherever in this Act an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the first day of the third month which begins after the date of the enactment of this Act, and shall apply only with respect to wagers placed on or after such first day.

(2) TRANSITIONAL RULES.—

(A) Any person who, on the first day of the third month which begins after the date of the enactment of this Act, is engaged in an activity which makes him liable for payment of a tax imposed by section 4411 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (as in effect on such first day) shall be treated as commencing such activity on such first day for purposes of such section and section 4901 of such Code.

(B) Any person who, before the first day of the third month which begins after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(i) become liable for and paid the tax imposed by section 4411 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (as in effect on July 1, 1970) for the year ending June 30, 1971, shall not be liable for any additional tax under such section for such year, and

(ii) registered under section 4412 of such Code (as in effect on July 1, 1970) for the year ending June 30, 1971, shall not be required to reregister under such section for such year.

SEC. 2. MODIFICATION TO INSURE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND FACILITATE COLLECTION.

(a) AMENDMENT OF CHAPTER 35.—Chapter 35 (relating to taxes on wagering) is amended to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 35—TAXES ON WAGERING

"SUBCHAPTER A. TAX ON WAGERS.
"SUBCHAPTER B. OCCUPATIONAL TAXES.
"SUBCHAPTER C. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

"Subchapter A—Tax on Wagers

"Sec. 4401. Imposition of tax.
"Sec. 4402. Cross references.

"SEC. 4401. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

"(a) WAGERS.—There is hereby imposed on wagers (as defined in section 4421) an excise tax equal to 10 percent of the amount thereof.

"(b) AMOUNT OF WAGER.—In determining the amount of any wager for purposes of this subchapter, all charges incident to the placing of such wager shall be included; except that if the taxpayer establishes, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, that an amount equal to the tax imposed by this subchapter has been collected as a separate charge from the person placing such wager, the amount so collected shall be excluded.

"(c) PERSONS LIABLE FOR TAX.—The following persons shall be liable for the excise tax imposed by this subchapter:

"(1) PRINCIPALS AND PUNCHBOARD OPERATORS.—Each person who is a principal or a punchboard operator (as defined in section 4421) shall be liable for and shall pay the tax under this subchapter on all wagers placed with him or in a pool or lottery conducted by him.

"(2) AGENTS.—Each person who is an agent (as defined in section 4421) and who fails to register under section 4412 shall be liable for and shall pay the tax imposed by this subchapter on all wagers received by him.

"SEC. 4402. CROSS REFERENCES.

"For penalties and other administrative provisions applicable to this subchapter, see sections 4421 to 4425, inclusive, and subtitle F.

"Subchapter B—Occupational Taxes

"Sec. 4411. Imposiiton of taxes.
"Sec. 4412. Registration.
"Sec. 4413. Certain provisions made applicable.
"Sec. 4414. Cross references.

"SEC. 4411. IMPOSITION OF TAXES.

"(a) PERSONS LIABLE FOR TAX.—There is hereby imposed—

"(1) PRINCIPALS AND AGENTS.—A special tax of $1,000 per year to be paid by each person who is a principal or an agent.

"(2) PICKUP MEN, EMPLOYEES, AND PUNCHBOARD OPERATORS.—A special tax of $100 per year to be paid by each person who is a pickup man, an employee, or a punchboard operator.

"(b) LIMITATION.—Any person who, but for this subsection, would be subject to a special tax under both paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (a), shall be liable only for the tax imposed by paragraph (1).

"SEC. 4412. REGISTRATION.

"(a) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS.—Each principal, agent, pick up man, employee, and punchboard operator shall register with the official in charge of the internal revenue district in which such person is principally engaged in the activity which makes him liable for tax under this subchapter. The form of registration and the information to be provided by such person shall be prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate in such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this chapter.

"(b) FIRM OR COMPANY.—Where under subsection (a) the name and place of residence of a firm or company is required to be provided, the names and places of residence of the several persons constituting the firm or company shall be provided.

"(c) SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION.—The Secretary or his delegate may, in accordance with regulations prescribed by him, require from time to time such supplemental information from any person required to register under this section as may be needed for the enforcement of this chapter.

"SEC. 4413. CERTAIN PROVISIONS MADE APPLICABLE.

"Sections 4901, 4902, 4904, 4905, and 4907 shall extend to and apply to the special taxes imposed by this subchapter and to the persons upon whom they are imposed, and for that purpose any activity which makes a person liable for a special tax under this subchapter shall be considered to be a business or occupation referred to in such sections. No other provision of sections 4901 to 4907, inclusive, shall so extend or apply.

"SEC. 4414. CROSS REFERENCES.

"For penalties and other administrative provisions applicable to this subchapter, see sections 4421 to 4425, inclusive, and subtitle F.

"Subchapter C—Miscellaneous Provisions

"Sec. 4421. Definitions.
"Sec. 4422. Applicability of Federal and State laws.
"Sec. 4423. Disclosure of wagering tax information.
"Sec. 4424. Territorial extent.
"Sec. 4425. Credit for State and local taxes paid by licensed persons.

"SEC. 4421. DEFINITIONS.

"(a) WAGER.—For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The term 'wager' means

"(A) any wager with respect to a sports event or a contest placed with a person engaged in the business of accepting such wagers,

"(B) any wager placed in a wagering pool with respect to a sports event or a contest, if such pool is conducted for profit, and

"(C) any wager placed in a lottery conducted for profit.

"(2) EXCEPTIONS.—The term 'wager' does not include—

"(A) any wager placed with, or any wager placed in a wagering pool conducted by, a parimutuel wagering enterprise licensed under State law,

"(B) any wager placed in a coin-operated device with respect to which an occupational tax is imposed by section 4461, or any amount paid in lieu of inserting a coin, token, or similar object, to operate a device described in section 4462(a)(2), if an occupational tax is imposed with respect to such device by section 4461, or

"(C) any wager placed in a sweepstakes, wagering pool, or lottery—

"(i) which is conducted by an agency of a State acting under authority of State law, and

"(ii) the ultimate winners in which are determined by the results of a horserace, but only if such wager is placed with the State agency conducting such sweepstakes, wagering pool, or lottery, or with its authorized employees or agents.

"(b) LOTTERY.—For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The term 'lottery' includes the numbers game, policy, and similar types of wagering.

"(2) EXCEPTIONS.—The term 'lottery' does not include—

"(A) any game of a type in which usually—

"(i) the wagers are placed,

"(ii) the winners are determined, and

"(iii) the distribution of prizes or other property is made,

in the presence of all persons placing wagers in such game; and

"(B) any drawing conducted by an organization exempt from tax under section 501 or 521, if no part of the next proceeds derived from such drawing inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

"(c) PRINCIPAL.—For purposes of this chapter, the term 'principal' means any person (other than a punchboard operator) who is engaged in the business of accepting wagers or who conducts any wagering pool or lottery.

"(d) AGENT.—For purposes of this chapter, the term 'agent' means any person who is engaged in receiving wagers for or on behalf of a principal.

"(e) PICKUP MAN.—For purposes of this chapter, the term 'pickup man' means any person who knowingly is engaged in transmitting in any manner wagers, or information, records, or payments relating to wagers, between any principal, agent, pickup man, or employee and any other principal, agent, pickup man, or employee.

"(f) EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this chapter, the term 'employee' means any person (other than an agent or pickup man) who knowingly is employed to assist in any capacity in an activity which makes another person liable for special tax as a principal, agent, pickup man, or punchboard operator.

"(g) PUNCHBOARD OPERATOR.—The term 'punchboard operator' means any person who accepts wagers only in the form of chances

on a punchboard, 'five card draw game,' or similar gaming device for profit, on his own behalf.

"SEC. 4422. APPLICABILITY OF FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS.

"The payment of any tax imposed by this chapter with respect to any activity shall not exempt any person from any penalty provided by a law of the United States or of any State for engaging in the same activity, nor shall the payment of any such tax prohibit any State from placing a tax on the same activity for State or other purposes.

"SEC. 4423. DISCLOSURE OF WAGERING TAX INFORMATION.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as otherwise provided in this section, neither the Secretary or his delegate nor any other officer or employee of the Treasury Department may divulge or make known in any manner whatever to any person—

"(1) any original, copy, or abstract of any return, payment, or registration made pursuant to this chapter,

"(2) any record required for making any such return, payment, or registration, which the Secretary or his delegate is permitted by the taxpayer to examine or which is produced pursuant to section 7602, or

"(3) any information come at by the exploitation of any such return, payment, registration, or record.

"(b) PERMISSIBLE DISCLOSURE.—A disclosure otherwise prohibited by subsection (a) may be made in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of any tax imposed by this title. However, any document or information so disclosed may not be—

"(1) divulged or made known in any manner whatever by any officer or employee of the United States to any person except in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of this title, nor

"(2) used, directly or indirectly, in any criminal prosecution for any offense occurring before the effective date of the Wagering Tax Amendments of 1970.

"(c) USE OF DOCUMENTS POSSESSED BY TAXPAYER.—Except in connection with the administration or civil or criminal enforcement of any tax imposed by this title—

"(1) any stamp denoting payment of the special tax under this chapter,

"(2) any original, copy, or abstract possessed by a taxpayer of any return, payment, or registration made by such taxpayer pursuant to this chapter, and

"(3) any information come at by the exploitation of any such document,

shall not be used against such taxpayer in any criminal proceeding.

"(d) INSPECTION BY COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.—Section 6103(d) shall apply with respect to any return, payment, or registration made pursuant to this chapter.

"SEC. 4424. TERRITORIAL EXTENT.

"The taxes imposed by this chapter shall apply only in the case of—

"(1) wagers accepted in the United States, and

"(2) wagers placed by a person who is in the United States—

"(A) with a person who is a citizen or resident of the United States, or

"(B) in a wagering pool or lottery conducted by a person who is a citizen or resident of the United States.

"SEC. 4425. CREDIT FOR STATE AND LOCAL TAXES PAID BY LICENSED PERSONS

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—There shall be allowed as a credit against the taxes imposed by sections 4401 and 4411, in the order provided by subsection (b), the sum of—

"(1) the taxes paid or accrued by a licensed person with respect to wagers placed with him, or in a pool or lottery conducted by him, during any year under a law of a State or political subdivision thereof which imposes an excise tax or similar tax with respect to wagers, and

"(2) the taxes and fees paid or accrued by a licensed person for any year (or portion thereof) under a law of a State or political subdivision which imposes an occupational tax, license fee, or similar tax or fee on an activity which makes such person liable for payment of a special tax under section 4411.

"(b) ORDER.—The credit allowable under subsection (a) for taxes and fees paid or accrued by a licensed person for any year shall be allowed—

"(1) against the tax imposed by section 4411 on such person for such year.

"(2) if such credit exceeds the tax imposed by section 4411 on such person for such year, against the taxes imposed by section 4401 on wagers placed with such person, or in a pool or lottery conducted by such person, during such year, and

"(3) if such credit exceeds the taxes described in paragraphs (1) and (2) for such year, in such amounts as such person may designate under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, against the tax imposed by section 4411 for such year on licensed persons who are agents, pickup men, or employees of such person.

"(c) LIMITATION.—No credit shall be allowed under this section for any tax or fee imposed under a law of a State or political subdivision unless such tax or fee is paid not later than the earlier of—

"(1) the last day provided by such law for payment, or

"(2) the last day of the year following the year (or portion thereof) for which such tax or fee was imposed.

"(d) PAYMENT OF TENTATIVE TAXES.—Any licensed person who establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that, for any year, he reasonably expects to be allowed a credit under this section with respect to the taxes for which he is liable under sections 4401 and 4411, may elect, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, to pay tentative taxes equal to the amount of such taxes reduced by the amount of the credit reasonably expected under this section for such year. Payment of such tentative taxes for any year shall not relieve such person from payment of the liability for the taxes imposed for such year by sections 4401 and 4411, reduced by the credits allowed under this section, both determined as of the close of such year.

"(e) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) The term 'licensed person' means a person who (A) is licensed under the laws of a State or a political subdivision thereof to engage in one or more activities with respect to wagers, and (B) solely by reason of such activities, is liable for payment of a special tax under section 4411.

"(2) The term 'year' means the one-year period beginning on July 1, except that, in the case of the period in which falls the date of the enactment of the Wagering Tax Amendments of 1970, such term means the period beginning on the first day of the third month which begins after such date and ending on June 30 following such date."

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—Section 6110 (relating to cross references) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(6) For prohibition on disclosure of wagering tax information, see section 4423."

SEC. 3. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.

(a) UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.—Section 7213 (relating to unauthorized disclosure of information) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (e) as subsection (f); and

(2) by inserting after subsection (d) the following new subsection

"(e) WAGERING TAX RETURNS.—Any officer or employee of the United States who violates section 4423 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, together with the cost of prosecution; and the offender shall be dismissed from office or discharged from employment."

(b) CREATION OF A NEW FELONY CRIME AND THE ELIMINATION OF THE MANDATORY MINIMUM FINE FOR A MISDEMEANOR VIOLATION.—Section 7262 (relating to violation of occupational tax laws relating to wagering) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7262. VIOLATION OF WAGERING EXCISE AND OCCUPATIONAL TAX LAWS.

"(a) WILLFUL FAILURE TO PAY EXCISE TAX.—Any person required to pay the tax imposed under subchapter A of chapter 35 who willfully fails to pay such tax at the time or times required by law or regulations shall, in addition to being liable for the payment of the tax, be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $10,000, or up to treble the amount of the tax with respect to which the failure occurred, whichever is greater, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both, together with the costs of prosecution.

"(b) FAILURE TO PAY EXCISE TAX.—Any person required to pay the tax imposed under subchapter A of chapter 35 who fails to pay such tax at the time or times required by law or regulations shall, in addition to being liable for the payment of the tax, be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $5,000 or up to double the amount of the tax with respect to which the failure occurred, whichever is greater, or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, together with the costs of prosecution.

"(c) WILLFUL FAILURE TO PAY OCCUPATIONAL TAX.—Any person required to pay a special tax imposed under subchapter B of chapter 35 who willfully fails to pay such tax at the time or times required by law or regulations shall, in addition to being liable for the payment of the tax, be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both, together with the costs of prosecution.

"(d) DOING ANY ACT WITHOUT HAVING PAID OCCUPATIONAL TAX.—Any person who does any act which makes him liable for payment of the special tax imposed under subchapter B of chapter 35 without having paid such tax shall, in addition to being liable for the payment of the tax, be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both, together with the costs of prosecution."

(c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 7203 (relating to willful failure to file return, supply information, or pay tax) is amended by inserting "(other than a tax imposed by chapter 35)" after "required under this title to pay any estimated tax or tax".

(2) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 75 is amended by striking out the item relating to section 7262 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 7262. Violation *of wagering excise and* occupational tax laws."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. H.R. 322 revises the wagering tax provisions of the tax laws to remove constitutional infirmities in those provisions, facilitates, and increases collection of such taxes, provides a credit against the tax on wagers, and the oc-

cupational tax in the case of persons who pay similar taxes to State and local governments, and increases the criminal penalties of existing law.

Mr. Speaker, the bill has been reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Treasury Department and the Justice Department recommend its enactment.

Mr. Speaker, as a result of two Supreme Court decisions, *Marchetti* v. *United States* (390 U.S. 39) and *Grosso* v. *United States* (390 U.S. 63), the wagering tax provisions of existing law have become largely unenforceable. These decisions held that a person may validly refuse to comply with the Federal wagering tax statute by asserting the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment to the Constitution in those situations in which compliance with the statute could incriminate him.

The bill seeks to cure the constitutional infirmities found in these cases by amending the disclosure and use of information rules pertaining to taxpayer compliance with the wagering tax law. Specifically, the bill provides that no Treasury Department official or employee may disclose, except in connection with the administration or enforcement of internal revenue taxes, any document or record supplied by a taxpayer in connection with such taxes or any information come at by the exploitation of any such documents or records. Additionally, the bill provides that certain documents relating to wagering taxes, and information come at by the exploitation of such documents, may not be used against the taxpayer in any criminal proceeding, except in connection with the administration or enforcement of internal revenue taxes. The bill also provides penalty provisions to insure that Government personnel will abide by the nondisclosure rules.

Mr. Speaker, under present law little revenue is collected from the occupational tax. The Committee on Ways and Means has determined that proper enforcement of these provisions requires significant additional manpower and believes that the occupational taxes should be substantially increased. The Treasury Department has estimated that these taxes will yield $20 to $25 million annually.

Under existing law, the annual occupational tax is imposed at a rate of $50. The bill increases the occupational tax from $50 to $1,000 for principals and agents, and punchboard operators will be subject to a $100 tax. Additional categories of persons not now subject to the tax will be subject to a $100 annual occupational tax. These persons include pickup men and other employees of a gambling enterprise.

Existing law also imposes a 10-percent tax on wagers. Liability for this tax is placed on persons in the business of accepting wagers and on persons who receive wagers for or on behalf of others but who fail to comply with the requirements of the occupational tax in that they fail to provide certain information regarding those for whom they are receiving wagers. The bill makes such persons, referred to as "agents" in the bill, liable if they fail to comply with any of the registration requirements.

Another principal feature of the bill is a credit provision for State and local taxes. Existing law does not provide for any reduction in the wagering taxes on account of any State or local taxes paid which are analogous to the wagering taxes, nor does it provide any exemption from the wagering taxes for persons liable for similar State or local taxes. The committee believes that relief should be afforded persons liable for the Federal wagering taxes who are also required to pay similar State or local taxes. Accordingly, the bill provides a credit against both the tax on wagers and the occupational tax for State or local taxes which are similar in nature to the Federal taxes.

Mr. Speaker, the committee also examined the penalty structure of existing law and finds that it impedes enforcement of the wagering taxes by not providing penalties commensurate with the seriousness of the crime involved in nonpayment of wagering taxes. In pursuance of this finding, the bill upgrades the penalty provisions and makes a willful failure to pay the tax on wagers a felony. Failure to pay the tax on wagers without the element of willfulness would be a misdemeanor, however. Similar penalty rules are provided in the cases of the occupational taxes.

Mr. Speaker, these are the principal provisions of H.R. 322. As previously stated, the bill has been recommended by both the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Justice, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in urging its passage by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 322, a bill to amend provisions of the tax law relating to the occupational gambling and wagering taxes.

Mr. Speaker, the principal purpose of this bill is to amend the wagering tax provisions of the Internal Revenue Code to comply with defects found in two Supreme Court cases. The Supreme Court found that complying with the occupational and wagering taxes imposed by the Internal Revenue Code might subject an individual to criminal prosecution based on his gambling activities and that the penalties imposed for noncompliance therefore violated an individual's right against self-incrimination. The bill before the House amends the law to provide that any document or record supplied to the Treasury Department by a taxpayer in connection with wagering taxes must remain completely confidential information that may be used only in connection with the enforcement of the tax laws. Additionally, these documents may not be used against a taxpayer under the bill in connection with any criminal proceeding except in connection with the administration or enforcement of the internal revenue laws.

The bill also changes the rate structure of various taxes in order to raise additional money to finance the enforcement program associated with these provisions. Additionally, in order not to interfere with States deriving revenue from similar taxes, a credit is provided against the Federal tax for payments of similar taxes to a State.

Finally, the bill readjusts the sanctions imposed for failure to comply with these provisions to provide additional deterents, and limits the number of inspections of a taxpayer's books of accounting in connection with enforcement of the wagering tax to correspond to the limits provided in income tax audits.

Mr. Speaker, our wagering tax laws are ineffective at the present time and this bill is urgently needed. The bill is strongly supported by both the Treasury Department and the Justice Department and was unanimously reported by the committee. I urge all my colleagues to join me in supporting its enactment.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of the 91st Congress I introduced H.R. 322 as part of a 10-bill package of anticrime legislation. The substance of most of that legislation has been enacted into law as parts of other bills, such as the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970. H.R. 322 is a tax measure, and thus was considered separately from the other bills. I am gratified that the Committee on Ways and Means has now completed its action on H.R. 322, and hopefully the House will add its blessing to this significant measure, which was endorsed by President Nixon in his message to the Congress on organized crime of April 23, 1969. Indeed, this bill is the only legislative proposal mentioned by the President in that message which has not yet been enacted into law.

The wagering tax statute was first enacted by the Congress in 1951. It imposed a $50 occupational tax on persons who accepted bets and wagers or operated various forms of lotteries, and a 10-percent excise tax on gross wagers received. Certain forms of gambling, such as parimutuels, slot machines, State-operated lotteries, charitable drawings, and casino and social-type gambling were exempt. Basically, the tax covered sports, books and numbers-type lotteries. In addition, only two categories of persons involved in a gambling business were covered: "Principals"—those whose money is ultimately at stake against the betting public, and their agents—those who receive wagers for their principals by dealing with the betting public. Other employees of the gambling businesses were not covered.

A final feature of the original law was one which disclosed its true purpose of penalizing illegal gambling, and which ultimately led to its downfall in the courts. The law placed an affirmative duty on the Internal Revenue Service to make information provided to it by taxpaying gamblers available to local officials for possible prosecutive use.

On January 29, 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that persons accused of failure to comply with the requirements of the wagering tax law could invoke their fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination. *Marchetti* v. *United States*, 390 U.S. 39 (1968) (occupational tax); *Grosso* v. *United States*, 390 U.S. 63 (1968) (excise tax).

As a result of the decisions, the present wagering tax law is of no force and effect. Those who engage in the business

of accepting wagers will not voluntarily pay the tax. Thus, the immense profits derived from illegal gambling remain tax free and, more important, continue as the principal source of revenue of organized crime.

H.R. 322 is designed to reinstate the wagering tax law by removing the constitutional infirmity. It would prohibit the Internal Revenue Service from disclosing to outside sources any information submitted by the taxpaying gambler. This, as the Justice Department has said, is the "price of constitutionality."

H.R. 322 would also improve the wagering tax law as a revenue measure by substantially increasing—to $1,000—the occupational tax for principals and agents, and by providing a new occupational tax of $100 for certain employees.

As amended by the committee, the bill also provides for a tax credit for State and local taxes paid under similar provisions in State law, and for increased sanctions for violations of the wagering tax law. These amendments are improvements and have my full support.

I urge my colleagues to approve H.R. 322, as amended by the committee.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTAIN CUBAN EXPROPRIATION LOSSES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18693) to amend section 165(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wonder if the gentleman from Louisiana, would give us a brief explanation of the purpose of this bill?

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

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

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 18693 would amend the provisions of present law relating to the deduction for Cuban expropriation losses of individuals so as to permit the carryback and carryover of losses of individuals resulting from the Cuban expropriation of "investment property."

Mr. Speaker, as a result of what is really an anomaly of existing law, an individual's foreign expropriation losses on "investment property," that is, property held for the production of income not in a trade or business as distinguished from "trade or business property" or "personal use property," may not be carried back or carried forward to other years except to the extent the taxpayer has investment income.

To be distinguished from this treatment of "investment property" is the treatment of net operating losses arising from foreign expropriation losses of an individual's property used in his "trade or business," which unused losses may be carried forward 10 years under present law. In similar manner, in the case of "personal use property," such as a residence, a special rule in present law provides for a 3-year carryback and 5-year carryforward of losses resulting from Cuban expropriation.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means considers it anomalous that unused Cuban expropriation losses of business property and personal use property may be carried to other taxable years, but unused Cuban expropriation losses of investment property may not. H.R. 18693, therefore, provides that Cuban expropriation losses of individuals with respect to investment property are to be treated in the same manner as Cuban expropriation losses of individuals with respect to personal use property—that is, as casualty losses which may be carried back 3 years and carried over 5 years under the net operating loss provisions.

The bill also modifies the requirement that the expropriated property must have been held by the taxpayer in Cuba on December 31, 1958. Under the modified requirement, the property must have been held at some time during the period from December 31, 1958, through May 16, 1959. The modified requirement applies to personal use property under present law, as well as to investment property under the bill. A trade or business expropriation loss, however, may be deducted when sustained without regard to these limitations. The bill also makes provision for the filing of claims for refund under the new rules.

Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Treasury has no objection to the enactment of this bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in recommending its passage by the House.

In similar manner, in the case of personal use property such as a residence, there is a special rule under the present law which provides a 3-year carryback and a 5-year carryforward of losses resulting from Cuban expropriation.

Mr. GROSS. Then this is a benefit to Cubans who may be in this country?

Mr. BOGGS. It may be—it is possible. But the intent and thrust of this bill is, if it benefits anyone it benefits Americans in this country who have had investments in Cuba.

Mr. GROSS. Oh, I see, this applies to American investments?

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

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

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. YATES. Does this apply only to Cuba? What about expropriation from another country?

Mr. BOGGS. It only applies to Cuba.

Mr. YATES. What happens with respect to an American investment in a country like Chile?

Mr. BOGGS. That would require special legislation.

Mr. YATES. It would require special legislation in order to get the tax benefits of this kind?

Mr. BOGGS. It already applies by general statute in the case of a business investment, in the case of a trade or business. But in the case of investment income, special legislation would be required.

Mr. YATES. Is there a distinction between an investment for business purposes and the type of bill that the gentleman is presenting to the House at this time?

Mr. BOGGS. This covers investment credits rather than carrying on or operating a trade or business. A trade or business is already covered generally. A good example would be someone operating a sugar mill in Cuba and he would be covered under the provisions of the law having to do with a trade or business. But someone investing in that trade or enterprise would not be covered.

Mr. YATES. So this carries back as to the income rather than to a capital investment; is that correct?

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct; yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 18693

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 165(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to certain property confiscated by the government of Cuba) is amended—

(1) by striking out "or (2)" in paragraph (1)(B),

(2) by striking out "December 31, 1958." in the last sentence of paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof "May 16, 1959."

(3) by striking out "held by the taxpayer on December 31, 1958," in paragraph (2)(B) and inserting in lieu thereof "held by the taxpayer on May 16, 1959," and

(4) by striking out "January 1, 1965." in paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof "January 1, 1965, except that if such overpayment results from a loss that would be deductible under subsection (c)(2) if paragraph (1) did not apply, refund or credit may be made or allowed if claim therefor is filed before January 1, 1971."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) of this Act shall apply in respect of losses described in section 165(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 sustained in taxable years ending after December 31, 1958.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That (a) section 165(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to certain property confiscated by the government of Cuba) is amended—

(1) by striking out "or (2)" in paragraph (1)(B);

(2) by striking out "on December 31, 1958" in the last sentence of paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "on one or more days in the period beginning on December 31, 1958, and ending on May 16, 1959";

(3) by amending paragraph (2)(B) to read as follows:

"(B) For purposes of subsection (a), the fair market value of property held by the taxpayer on one or more days during the

period beginning on December 31, 1958, and ending on May 16, 1959, to which paragraph (1) applies, on the day on which the loss of such property was sustained, shall be its fair market value on the first day in such period on which the property was held by the taxpayer."; and

(4) by striking out paragraph (3) thereof.

(b)(1) The amendments made by subsection (a) of this section shall apply in respect of losses sustained in taxable years ending after December 31, 1958.

(2) Notwithstanding any law or rule of law, refund or credit of any overpayment attributable to the amendments made by subsection (a) may be made or allowed if claim thereof is filed after the date of the enactment of this Act and before July 1, 1971. No interest shall be allowed with respect to any such refund or credit for any period before January 1, 1972.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 18693, a bill to provide a loss carry back and carry forward for Cuban expropriation losses on investment property.

Under present law, unused Cuban expropriation losses of business property and tangible property held for personal use may be carried forward to other taxable years. But unused Cuban expropriation losses of investment property—property held for the production of income not in connection with a trade or business—is not accorded the same treatment.

The committee felt that treatment accorded expropriation losses of property held for personal use certainly should be given to expropriation losses of investment property, which is more closely related to business property, on which losses traditionally have been carried to other years.

The committee also attempted in this bill to correct what it considered to be another inequity in existing law, which requires that expropriated property held for personal use must have been held by the taxpayer on December 31, 1958, which was actually before the Cuban Government began its widespread policy of expropriation. Consequently, H.R. 18693 would require that this property—as well as the investment property covered by this bill—must have been held between December 31, 1958, and May 16, 1959. This slight liberalization will remove an unintended inequity.

The committee unanimously reported this bill, Mr. Speaker, and the Treasury Department expressed no objection. I urge all my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CAPITALIZATION OF COSTS OF PLANTING ALMOND GROVES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19242) to amend section 278 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend its application from citrus groves to almond groves, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19242

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the text of section 278 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to capital expenditures incurred in planting and developing citrus groves) is amended by striking out "citrus grove" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "citrus or almond grove".

(b) The heading for section 278 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 278. CAPITAL EXPENDITURES INCURRED IN PLANTING AND DEVELOPING CITRUS AND ALMOND GROVES."

(c) The table of sections for part IX of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking out the item relating to section 278 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 278. Capital expenditures incurred in planting and developing citrus and almond groves."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, immediately before line 8, insert:

(d) Subsection (b)(2) of such section 278 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) planted or replanted before—

"(A) December 30, 1969, in the case of a citrus grove, or

"(B) December 30, 1970, in the case of an almond grove."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19242 would amend the provision of present law, section 278 of the Internal Revenue Code, which requires the capitalization of expenditures incurred in developing a citrus grove, to also make this section applicable to almond groves.

Mr. Speaker, last year in the Tax Reform Act of 1969 the Congress eliminated a preference that was resulting from the tax rules formerly applicable to the development of citrus groves. A combination of the special cash accounting rules available to farming, which had allowed current expensing of such costs against nonfarm income, the capital gains treatment available on sale of such groves and the unfavorable economic consequences of these rules on the citrus growing industry, prompted the Congress to enact new section 278 of the code. This section requires the capitalization, rather than the current expensing, of expenditures incurred in the first 4 years of the development of a citrus grove.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in the case of almond groves has been shown to be substantially the same as that which formerly existed in the case of citrus groves. The pending bill, therefore, includes almond groves under section 278 and provides that the expenditures attributable to purchasing, planting, cultivating, maintaining, or developing an almond grove must be capitalized if the expenditures are incurred prior to the end of the third taxable year after the year in which the grove is planted. Expenditures incurred during this period cannot be deducted as a current expense but instead must be charged to capital account.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and the Treasury has no objection to its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19242, a bill to extend to almond groves the same capitalization and writeoff provisions which were made applicable to citrus groves under the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

Under present law, the expenditures for purchasing, planting, cultivating, maintaining and developing an almond grove can be expensed and a deduction taken currently, during the early years of the life of the asset. This combination of a current deduction against ordinary income for expenses of a capital nature, coupled with the capital gains treatment available when the almond grove is sold, combines to produce significant tax advantages and savings for grove owners.

This can be a break for high-income taxpayers and also can lead to unfavorable economic consequences for the almond industry. It can result in large speculative, tax-motivated plantings which bid up the prices of land suitable for groves. There also may be overproduction, causing a price decline. In either case, growers who depend upon income from the groves as their major source of livelihood would be disadvantaged.

This was essentially the thinking of the Congress when it enacted the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which required that expenditures incurred in the first 4 years of development of a citrus grove must be capitalized and written off over the life of the grove, rather than expensed and deducted in the year the expenses were paid or incurred.

The Treasury Department voiced no objection to this bill, and it was reported unanimously by the committee.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INTEREST RATES UNDER THE RENEGOTIATION ACT OF 1951

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19566) to amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951, and for other purposes, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19566

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. MODIFICATION OF INTEREST RATE ON EXCESSIVE PROFITS.

(a) Section 105(b)(2) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1215(b)(2)), is amended—

(1) By striking out "rate of 4 per centum per annum" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "rate per annum determined pursuant to the penultimate sentence of this paragraph for the period that includes the date on which interest begins to run".

(2) By inserting in subparagraph (A) thereof "at the same rate" between "in addition thereto, interest" and "shall accrue and be paid".

(3) By adding at the end thereof the following new sentences:

"Interest shall accrue and be paid at a rate which the Secretary of the Treasury shall specify as applicable to the period from the date of the enactment of this sentence to December 31, 1970, and to each six month period thereafter. Such rate shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration current private commercial rates of interest for borrowing for a period of approximately five years."

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to amounts of excessive profits determined by the Renegotiation Board and the amounts of additional excessive profits determined by the Tax Court after the date of the enactment of this Act, except that, with respect to any such amount determined before such date, interest at the rate of 4 per centum per annum shall accrue and be paid on such amount to the date of the enactment of this Act, and interest at the rate per annum determined under the amendments made by subsection (a) for the period ending December 31, 1970, shall accrue and be paid on such amount from the date of the enactment of this Act to the date of repayment.

SEC. 2. MODIFICATION OF INTEREST RATE ON REFUNDS.

(a) Section 108 of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1218), is amended by striking out "at the rate of 4 per centum per annum" in the last sentence and by inserting before the period at the end of such sentence "at the rate per annum determined pursuant to the penultimate sentence of section 105(b)(2) for the period that includes the date on which interest begins to run."

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to amounts finally adjudged or determined after the date of the enactment of this Act to have been erroneously collected by the United States pursuant to a determination of excessive profits, except that, with respect to amounts so adjudged or determined to have been erroneously collected by the United States before such date, interest shall accrue and be paid to such date at the rate of 4 per centum per annum and shall accrue and be paid from such date to the date of repayment at the rate per annum determined under the amendments made by subsection (a) for the period ending December 31, 1970.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

SECTION 1. MODIFICATION OF INTEREST RATE ON EXCESSIVE PROFITS

(a) Section 105(b)(2) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1215(b)(2)), is amended—

(1) by striking out "rate of 4 per centum per annum" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "rate per annum determined pursuant to the next to the last sentence of this paragraph for the period which includes the date on which interest begins to run";

(2) by striking out the phrase "interest shall accrue and be paid" the second place it appears in subparagraph (A) and inserting in lieu thereof "interest at the same rate shall accrue and be paid";

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences:

"Interest shall accrue and be paid at a rate which the Secretary of the Treasury shall specify as applicable to the period beginning on January 1, 1971, and ending on June 30, 1971, and to each six-month period thereafter. Such rate shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration current private commercial rates of interest for new loans maturing in approximately five years."

(b) The amendments made by the subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to amounts of excessive profits determined by the Renegotiation Board and with respect to the amounts of additional excessive profits determined by the Tax Court after December 31, 1970.

SEC. 2. MODIFICATION OF INTEREST RATE ON REFUNDS

(a) Section 108 of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1218), is amended by striking out "at the rate of 4 per centum per annum" in the last sentence and by inserting before the period at the end of such sentence "at the rate per annum determined pursuant to the next to the last sentence of section 105(b)(2) for the period which includes the date on which interest begins to run".

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to amounts finally adjudged or determined to have been erroneously collected after December 31, 1970, by the United States pursuant to a determination of excessive profits.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19566 would amend the provisions of the Renegotiation Act of 1951 respecting interest rates required of contractors on excessive profits determinations by the Renegotiation Board and correlatively, in cases where overcollections are refunded by the Government to contractors.

Under existing law interest at the rate of 4 percent is required on unpaid excessive profits beginning 30 days after the Renegotiation Board's determination and running until these excessive profits, or any lesser excessive profits as determined by the Tax Court, are actually repaid to the Government. The converse is likewise true in that under present law a 4-percent interest rate is also applicable to refunds to contractors of amounts repaid the Government under order of the Renegotiation Board and subsequently found by the Tax Court as not due.

Mr. Speaker, while the present 4-percent statutory rate was reasonable when it was adopted, it is obviously unrealistic in view of presently prevailing interest levels. The bill, H.R. 19566, therefore, would substitute for the inadequate 4-percent rate of present law a provision that will always apply a current rate of interest both with respect to excessive profits determinations and refunds on overcollections.

Under the bill the rate of interest to be used is to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury for the 6-month period beginning on January 1, 1971, and for each 6-month period thereafter. The Secretary is to determine the rate by taking into consideration current rates of interest on new private commercial loans maturing approximately 5 years in the future. The prevailing rate will be determined on the basis of a 5-year period because this approximates the average time over which interest has been paid on excessive profits recovered under the Renegotiation Act in the past.

Mr. Speaker, the Renegotiation Board favors the enactment of H.R. 19566, and the committee is convinced that providing interest rates that reflect the prevailing commercial rates of interest on borrowed money will be more equitable both to contractors and the Government. The committee is unanimous, therefore, in recommending passage of this bill by the House.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19566, a bill to amend the Renegotiation Act with respect to interest rates on excessive profits determinations and on refunds where excessive profits determinations are found to be in error.

Under present law, the interest on excessive profits is charged at a fixed rate of 4 percent, which was reasonable when the Renegotiation Act was enacted in 1951, but which is far out of line with more recent prevailing rates.

To bring this particular interest charge into line with prevailing levels, H.R. 19566 would provide a flexible rate, varying from time to time with the current cost of borrowing.

A new rate would be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury for every 6-month period beginning with January 1, 1971. Only excessive profit determinations and overcollections made after December 31, 1970, would be affected.

The bill also would change present law relating to the interest on refunds. The new and variable rates would be charged to the contractor in cases where it was established that there were excessive profits and to the Government where excessive profits as initially determined were repaid and the Tax Court subsequently ruled that there were no excessive profits or that they were less than the sum determined by the Renegotiation Board. In the first instance, it seemed clear to the committee that the contractor would, in effect, be borrowing money from the Government, and in the second instance, the Government would be borrowing from the contractor, and interest should be paid accordingly.

The bill is endorsed by the Renegotiation Board, and no objection to it was registered before the committee. It was, therefore, unanimously reported.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill relating to the interest rate under the Renegotiation Act of 1951."

The motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMPUTATION OF POLICYHOLDERS' SHARE OF INVESTMENT YIELD ON LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY TAX RETURNS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19881), consolidated returns of life insurance companies, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19881

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 818 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) COMPUTATION OF POLICYHOLDERS' SHARE OF INVESTMENT YIELD ON CONSOLIDATED RETURNS.—For purposes of this part, in the case of a life insurance company filing or required to file a consolidated return of income tax for a taxable year, the computation of the policyholders' share of investment yield (including all determinations and computations incident thereto) shall be made as if such company were not filing a consolidated return."

(b) Effective Date.

(1) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1957.

(2) Notwithstanding any law or rule of law other than section 7121 of such Code, in the case of a company subject to taxation under section 802 of such Code, the time prescribed for the filing of returns of income tax under substitle A of such Code for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1957, and ending before the date of enactment of this section shall extend to and include the 90th day after such date enactments. The preceding sentence shall apply—

(A) only with respect to a taxable year for which a return was timely filed (determined with regard to extensions of time therefor and without regard to this section) and with respect to which the company filed or was required to file a consolidated return under section 1501 of such Code pursuant to an election first made for a taxable year ending before March 13, 1969, and

(B) only if the taxpayer files a separate return for all of such years on or before such 90th days, or on or before such later date (including extensions of time therefor) otherwise provided by law for the filing of such return.

(3) Paragraph (2) shall have effect under the provisions of such Code only with respect to, and to the extent of, increases or decreases in income tax liabilities which result solely from the differences in the computation of such liabilities on the separate returns and under the election in effect under section 1501 of such Code.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

That (a) section 818 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to life insurance company accounting provisions) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) Computation on Consolidated Returns of Policyholders' Share of Investment Yield.—For purposes of this part, in the case of a life insurance company filing or required to file a consolidated return under section 1501 for a taxable year, the computations of the policyholders' share of investment yield under subparts B and C (including all determinations and computations incident thereto) shall be made as if such company were not filing a consolidated return."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1957.

SEC. 2. (a) If—

(1) any insurance company subject to taxation under section 802 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 filed a consolidated return under section 1501 of such Code for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 1957, and ending before March 13, 1969, and

(2) not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(A) such company elects (in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate may prescribe) to have this section apply,

(B) such company files consents to the application of this section of all companies which at any time during any taxable year beginning after December 31, 1957, and ending before March 13, 1969, were members of the same affiliated group as such company, and

(C) such company (and each company referred to in subparagraph (B)) files a separate return for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 1957, for which such company filed a consolidated return and for each taxable year thereafter ending before the date of the enactment of this Act.

then notwithstanding any law or rule of law the requirement of filing a consolidated return shall be replaced by a requirement of separate returns for each company referred to in paragraph (2)(C) for each taxable year to which paragraph (2)(C) applies with respect to such company. Paragraph (2)(C) shall not apply with respect to any company for any taxable year the allowance of a credit for which is barred on the date of enactment of this Act by res judicata or through the operation of section 7121 or section 7122 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(b) If the making or allowance of any refund or credit, or the assessment of any deficiency, of income tax for any taxable year to which subsection (a)(2)(C) applies is prevented before the expiration of 2 years after the date of the enactment of this Act by any law or rule of law (other than sections 7121 and 7122 of such Code and other than res judicata), such refund or credit may nevertheless be made or allowed, and such deficiency may nevertheless be assessed, at any time before the expiration of such 2-year period, but only to the extent that the overpayment or deficiency is attributable to an election made under this section. No interest shall be allowed on any credit or refund described in the preceding sentence, and no interest shall be assessed with respect to any deficiency described in the preceding sentence, for any period before the day which is one year after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 19881 resolves the principal ambiguities which have arisen under the Life Insurance Company Income Tax Act of 1959 regarding the manner in which the provisions governing the taxation of life insurance companies are to be correlated with the provisions of the tax law governing the treatment of affiliated companies which file consolidated income tax returns. In general, the bill provides that life insurance companies which file consolidated tax returns are to compute the amount of their investment yield which is taken into account in determining their taxable income as if they were filing separate returns. In addition, it is provided that life insurance companies which previously filed consolidated returns under the 1959 act may elect to refile on a completely separate basis for those prior years.

Mr. Speaker, in the Life Insurance Company Income Tax Act of 1959, Congress extensively revised the income tax treatment of life insurance companies. This revision, however, did not include rules dealing with the taxation of a group of affiliated life insurance companies which elected to file a consolidated income tax return. The Internal Revenue Code as well as the Treasury regulations under both the life insurance company provisions and the consolidated return provisions have remained silent on the manner in which these two complex areas of the tax law relate to each other and are to be applied.

The litigation that has resulted—*Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co.* v. *United States,* 408 F. 2d 842 (CA 4, 1969)—held that life insurance companies filing consolidated returns should compute the amount of their investment yield which is taxable to them as if they were filing separate returns. The Committee on Ways and Means believes that this is an appropriate holding in view of the method provided in the code for taxing life insurance companies.

The committee is concerned, however, with the effect the principle enunciated by the court could have in the case of prior years where there was a lack of any official guidance as to the manner in which these provisions of the tax law were to be coordinated. The court's holding deprived life insurance companies of the advantages they anticipated receiving from filing consolidated returns—primarily the elimination of intercorporate dividends—while not returning to them various benefits each company in the group would have had if completely separate returns had been filed in the first instance—principally not having to pay the 2-percent penalty tax imposed prior to 1964 on companies which filed consolidated tax returns.

Mr. Speaker, in view of these considerations, H.R. 19881 adopts the principle that life insurance companies filing consolidated tax returns are to compute their share of their investment yield as if they were filing separate tax returns.

Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Treasury has no objection to H.R. 19881, and the committee unanimously recommends its passage by the House.

This rule is made applicable as of the effective date of the Life Insurance Company Income Tax Act of 1959. In addition, the bill deals with the problem of those insurance companies who, faced with a complex and unclear law, chose to file consolidated tax returns on the basis of the method of computation which it has subsequently been decided was incorrect. In these cases, the bill provides that these companies may file separate tax returns for all prior years to which the Life Insurance Company Tax Act of 1959 was applicable beginning with the first year for which a consolidated return was filed. If this is done, the companies are to be allowed any credit or refund of tax, or reduction in a deficiency of tax, which may result solely from filing their returns on a separate, rather than a consolidated, basis. It is important to note that for this treatment to be available, however, the companies must file separate returns for all

prior consolidated return years to which the 1959 act is applicable—other than years for which there has been a court decision or a closing agreement. In other words, the previous consolidation must be completely undone for this rule to apply.

The election of a life insurance company to file separate returns under the bill, the filing of the required consents to that election of affiliated companies and the filing of separate returns must be made within 1 year after the date of enactment of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROTEST OF CUSTOMS DECISIONS BY TRANSFEREES OF WAREHOUSED MERCHANDISE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19391) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to grant to the transferee of merchandise in bonded warehouse the right to administrative review of customs decisions, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 19391

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 557(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1557(b)) is amended by striking out the fourth, fifth, and sixth sentences and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "The transferee shall also have the right to receive all lawful refunds of money paid by him to the United States with respect to the merchandise the subject of the transfer, and shall have the right to file a protest under section 514 of this Act the same extent that such right would have been available to the transferor. Notice of liquidation shall be given to the transferee in the form and manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered for warehousing on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 19391 is to amend section 557(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 in order to grant to the transferee of merchandise in bonded warehouse the right to administrative and judicial review of customs decisions.

H.R. 19391 would restore to the transferee of merchandise in bonded warehouse, after withdrawal of the goods and liquidation of the entry, the same right to file a protest pursuant to section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, as was possessed by the importer of the merchandise.

As a result of customs court decision with regard to the notice of liquidation to transferees and in consideration of the cost of separately notifying the transferee of merchandise of the liquidation of import entries, the Treasury Department recommended the withdrawal of the right of the transferee of merchandise in bonded warehouse to file protests under section 514. That recommendation was adopted by the Congress in the Customs Simplification Act of 1953.

The Treasury Department has informed the committee on Ways and Means, in submitting the proposal contained in H.R. 19391, that it is now recognized that the denial of this protest right to transferees may result in inequities. Under existing law, the transferee has the legal obligation to pay additional duties and must put up a bond to insure payment of such duties. In the absence of this legislation, however, the transferee has no direct right to secure administrative and judicial review of customs decisions affecting his merchandise, except in extremely limited and unusual circumstances.

The importer of record, who has the right to file protests on behalf of the transferee, may be unable or unwilling to do so. Thus, without an independent right to file protests, transferees in such situations are without a remedy.

The committee is convinced that the independent right of a transferee of merchandise in a bonded warehouse to file protest to secure administrative and judicial review of customs decisions affecting his merchandise should be restored.

The bill provides that the notice of liquidation shall be given to the transferee in the form and manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. Your committee is informed that if such notice cannot be handled satisfactorily in the daily bulletin of liquidation, then adequate and timely notice of liquidation would be mailed to the transferee.

The act would become effective with respect to articles entered for warehousing on or after the date of enactment.

The committee unanimously recommends enactment of H.R. 19391.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELIMINATION OF DUTY ON CERTAIN NATURAL RUBBER

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19526) to eliminate the duty on natural rubber containing fillers, extenders, pigments, or rubber-processing chemicals, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19526

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That rate column numbered 1 for item 446.10 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended by striking out "7% ad val." and inserting in lieu thereof "Free".

SEC. 2. (a) The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) The rate of duty for item 446.10 in rate column numbered 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, as amended by the first section of this Act, shall (1) be treated as not having the status of a statutory provision enacted by the Congress, but as having been proclaimed by the President as being required or appropriate to carry out a foreign trade agreement to which the United States is a party, and (2) supersede the staged rates of duty provided for such item in annex III to Proclamation 3822, dated December 16, 1967 (32 Fed. Reg., No. 244, pt. II, p. 19089).

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 19526 is to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to make duty free the imports of natural rubber containing fillers, extenders, pigments, or rubber-processing chemicals when entered at the column 1 rate of duty under item 446.10 of the tariff schedules.

Imports of unprocessed natural rubber have long been free of duty. Processed natural rubber, that is, natural rubber containing fillers, extenders, pigments, or rubber-processing chemicals, is presently dutiable at 7 percent ad valorem—the most-favored-nation or trade agreement rate—under item 446.10 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS. The rate of duty under TSUS item 446.10 is scheduled to be further reduced to 5 percent ad valorem by January 1, 1972, pursuant to the rate reduction agreed to in the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations.

Natural rubber consumers in this country, particularly small extruded-goods manufacturers, very often require natural rubber containing small amounts of processing chemicals. Such chemicals can easily be added in the country producing the natural rubber.

Elimination of the duty on TSUS item 446.10 should benefit domestic manufacturers by reducing the cost of this specialized rubber material. We have been informed that domestic rubber manufacturers do not object to the elimination of the duty on processed natural rubber. Finally, developing countries which produce natural rubber, principally Malaysia, have expressed an interest in the removal of this tariff barrier to their exports.

H.R. 19526 was originally proposed in draft form to the Congress by the Secretary of Commerce. No objection to the bill was made by any other Government agency. The Committee on Ways and Means has received no objection from any other interested party.

The committee unanimously recommends passage of H.R. 19526.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19526, a bill to eliminate the duty on natural rubber containing fillers, extenders, pigments, or rubber-processing chemicals.

Imports of unprocessed natural rubber have been free of duty for a long time and would not be affected by removing the duties on the processed rubber covered by this bill.

Elimination of the duty would eliminate a cost burden on domestic rubber manufacturers, as well as a barrier to our

trade with certain less developed countries, principally Malaysia.

This bill originally was proposed by the Commerce Department, and no objection was heard from any other Government agency or interested party. Against this background, Mr. Speaker, the committee unanimously recommended it for enactment. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TARIFF CLASSIFICATION OF CERTAIN SUGARS, SIRUPS, AND MOLASSES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 7626) to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States, with respect to the tariff classification of certain sugars, sirups, and molasses, and for other purposes, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 7626

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United Staes of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. That the article description for item 155.40 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended to read as follows: "Sugars, sirups, molasses, and mixtures thereof; all the foregoing derived from sugar cane or sugar beets and containing soluble nonsugar solids (excluding any foreign substance that may have been added or developed in the product) equal to over 6% by weight of the total soluble solids, if imported for use other than (a) the commercial extraction of sugar, or (b) human consumption".

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after the date of enactment of this Act. Upon request therefor filed with the customs officer concerned on or before the one hundred and twentieth day after the date of enactment of this Act, entries and withdrawals of articles described in item 155.40 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (as amended by the first section of this Act) which were made after August 30, 1963, and before the date of enactment of this Act shall, notwithstanding the provisions of section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 or any other provision of law, be liquidated or reliquidated as though such entries or withdrawals had been made on the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 3. Upon request therefor, filed with the Customs Officer concerned on or before the 30th day after the date of enactment of this Act, warehouse entries made in the period February 1967 to May 1967, inclusive, shall, notwithstanding the provisions of section 514 of the Tariff Act of 1930 or any other provision of law, be liquidated or reliquidated with the assessment of duty at the rate of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars with respect to sugar products withdrawn from warehouse for consumption after manipulation in accordance with section 562 of the Tariff Act, upon the furnishing of appropriate evidence that such sugar products were actually used for purposes other than (a) human consumption or (b) the commercial extraction of sugar.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 3, strike out "SECTION 1."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 7626, as reported, is to amend item 155.40—relating to molasses, including dried molasses, for use other than the commercial extraction of sugar for human consumption—of the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS—by broadening the article description to make certain other products derived from sugarcane and sugar beets dutiable at the existing rate—0.012 cent per pound of total sugars—imposed by such item. H.R. 7626 also would provide for the liquidation or reliquidation of certain specified entries of sugar at Philadelphia at the rate of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars.

Invert or high-test molasses, the principal product covered by this bill, is usually used for other than human consumption or commercial extraction of sugars. Its primary uses are for the distillation of alcohol, as livestock feed, and other industrial uses.

Prior to August 31, 1963—the effective date of the TSUS—imports of "invert or high-test molasses" were dutiable at the rate of duty applicable under paragraph 502 of the former tariff schedules—section 1 of the Tariff Act of 1930—to molasses imported for use other than the commercial extraction of sugar for human consumption. The assessment of duty at this rate was based on the "similitude" provision in paragraph 1559 of such section 1.

The same duty treatment, by similitude, was also accorded to certain other products containing over 6 percent by weight of soluble nonsugar solids which products resulted from a manipulation in bonded warehouse consisting of the admixing of sugars and molasses. The Bureau of Customs practices based on similitude under such paragraph 1559 were not of public record, and these particular similitude practices were not called to the attention of the Tariff Commission when it drafted item 155.40 of the new tariff schedules. As a result, the products which were covered by such practices are presently dutiable under the TSUS at rates considerably higher than the rate of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars imposed under item 155.40.

In the absence of the charge in classification as proposed by H.R. 7626, as amended, imports of these products will remain dutiable at rates considerably higher than they were prior to the new tariff schedules.

The first section of the bill would amend the item description for item 155.40 to include: "sugars, sirups, molasses, and mixtures thereof; all the foregoing derived from sugarcane or sugar beets and containing soluble nonsugar solids—excluding any foreign substance that may have been added or developed in the product—equal to over 6 percent by weight of the total soluble solids, if imported for use other than (a) the commercial extraction of sugar, or (b) human consumption." The item description as provided in the bill as reported will provide greater clarity and certainty in classification and in particular, will avoid a conflict with the definition of liquid sugar as set forth in the Sugar Act of 1948 (7 U.S.C. 1101(f)).

Section 2 provides that the amendment made by the first section will be effective on or after the date of enactment of the bill. Section 2 further provides that the entries of articles described under 155.40—as amended by the first section of the bill—which were made after August 30, 1963, and before the date of enactment, may be liquidated or reliquidated as though such entries or withdrawals had been made on the date of enactment. This provision for retroactive liquidation or reliquidation is subject to a request being filed therefor with the customs officer concerned on or before the 120th day after enactment.

Section 3 of the bill, as amended, provides for the liquidation or reliquidation of certain entries of sugar at Philadelphia, Pa., at the rate of duty of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars, upon the furnishing of appropriate evidence that the sugar was not used for human consumption or for the commercial extraction of sugar.

A misunderstanding between the Bureau of Customs and the importer making the entries of the sugar products referred to in section 3 with regard to warehouse manipulation privileges and the requirements as to end use resulted in a higher duty assessment than that originally indicated by the Bureau of Customs or anticipated by the importer. The committee is convinced that in this instance, the rate of duty of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars should be assessed providing the importer furnishes appropriate evidence as to end use.

Favorable reports on H.R. 7626 were received by the committee from the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce, and the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. An informative report was received from the Tariff Commission.

The committee unanimously recommends enactment of H.R. 7626, as amended.

(Mr. MATSUNAGA asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, as the introducer of H.R. 286, a similar bill, I rise in support of H.R. 7626, which would amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the tariff classification of certain sugars, sirups, and molasses.

This legislation relates to an imported commodity which is commonly referred to as invert or high-test molasses. Sometimes called industrial molasses, it is a dark brown sirupy liquid which is made by adding an acid or yeast to sugarcane or sugar beet juice that has been boiled. This process results in an inversion of the sugars and the prevention of crystallization. Invert molasses is used for purposes other than human consumption or

the commercial extraction of sugar. It is used primarily in fermentation processes, animal feeds, and citric acid production.

Although invert molasses is a relatively crude product of the sugar industry, it is an important export commodity for sugar-producing countries when world sugar prices are low. In recent years, the Dominican Republic has been the major supplier of invert molasses to the United States. Industry sources indicate that at least 24 million gallons of the product were imported during the years 1965, 1966, and 1967 from the Dominican Republic. This legislation would clarify the tariff classification of such imports.

Historically, imports of invert molasses were dutiable at the rate applicable to molasses imported for uses other than the commercial extraction of sugar for human consumption. In 1956, the duty rate applicable to that commodity was reduced from 0.015 cents to 0.012 cents per pound of total sugars. However, according to the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS—effective August 31, 1963, invert molasses became classifiable as a sugar sirup under item 155.30 or item 155.35 at the much higher duty rates of 0.6625 cents per pound of total sugars and 2.9 cents per gallon, respectively. In the Tariff Classification Study preparatory to the adoption of the TSUS, the Tariff Commission specifically recognized that invert molasses could be classified under item 155.40 covering industrial molasses. Subsequently, the United States offered, and the Dominican Republic accepted, a binding on TSUS item 155.40 at 0.012 cents per pound of total sugars as an equal replacement for the old binding of the duty on molasses under the superseded Tariff Act of 1930. That old binding, as we have seen, was 0.012 cents per pound in 1956.

The situation became further confused in the fall of 1967, when the Bureau of Customs ruled that invert molasses containing over 6 percent nonsugar soluble solids was dutiable as a sugar sirup under item 155.35, at the rate of 2.9 cents per gallon, rather than as inedible molasses under item 155.40, at the rate of 0.012 cents per pound.

The Government of the Dominican Republic has expressed considerable concern over the reclassification of invert molasses, and indicated an estimated loss of over $1 million in annual exports to the United States. Our State Department has indicated that the loss of this amount of foreign exchange would place additional burdens on the extensive United States aid program in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the customs treatment of invert molasses prior to adoption of the revised Tariff Schedules and the previously negotiated tariff binding, it would be equitable to correct the tariff description which led to the Customs ruling classifying invert molasses at the higher rate of duty. The enactment of H.R. 7626 would accomplish this and restore equity to a situation that is actually the result of no one's fault. H.R. 7626 would also establish a procedure for making the 0.012-cent rate applicable to shipments of invert molasses which were entered after August 30, 1963, and before the date of enactment. In addition, the bill would provide for the liquidation or reliquidation of certain specified entries of sugar at Philadelphia at the rate of 0.012 cent per pound of total sugars.

Mr. Speaker, the bill only seeks to correct an unintended inequity under our present laws and I strongly urge a favorable vote for this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUSPENSION OF DUTY OF CERTAIN BICYCLE PARTS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19670) to suspend the duties on certain bicycle parts and accessories until the close of December 31, 1973, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subpart B of part 1 of the appendix to title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 F.R., pt. II, Aug. 17, 1963; 77A Stat.; 19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended as follows:

Immediately preceding item 915.25 insert the following new items:

"912.05	Generator lighting sets for bicycles (provided for in item 653.39, pt. 3F, schedule 6).	Free	No change	On or before 12/31/73.
912.10	Derailleurs, caliper brakes, drum brakes, 3-speed hubs [with] *incorporating* coaster brakes, 3-speed hubs [without] *not incorporating* coaster brakes, click twist grips, click stick levers, multiple freewheel sprockets (provided for in item 732.36, pt. 5C, schedule 7).	Free	No change	On or before 12/31/73."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after the date of enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, in the article description for item 912.10 appearing immediately above line 1, strike out "with" and insert "incorporating", and strike out "without" and insert "not incorporating".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 19670, as reported, is to suspend to the close of December 31, 1973, the duties on imports of certain bicycle parts and accessories.

H.R. 19670 is intended to improve the competitive ability of domestic producers of bicycles by temporarily suspending the duty on imports of certain bicycle parts and accessories, thereby reducing their costs. The temporary suspension of duties would only apply to imports from countries to which the United States extends most-favored-nation treatment under column 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

The bill would temporarily suspend the duty on generator lighting sets for bicycles provided for in item 653.39 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS. The committee was informed that generator lighting sets for bicycles are not produced domestically and that apparently no domestic manufacturer is interested in making such sets.

Imports under TSUS item 653.39 presently are dutiable at 19 percent ad valorem, and such duty is not scheduled for further reduction pursuant to any trade agreement concession.

H.R. 19670 would also suspend the duty on derailleurs, caliper brakes, drum brakes, three-speed hubs incorporating coaster brakes, three-speed hubs not incorporating coaster brakes, click twist grips, click stick levers, and multiple freewheel sprockets. These parts and accessories presently are dutiable under TSUS item 732.36 at the rate of 21 percent. The committee is informed that with one exception the parts and accessories imported under TSUS item 732.36, on which the duty would be suspended temporarily, are not produced domestically.

The committee has amended the bill with regard to coaster brakes, which are produced in the United States. The amendment would assure that only coaster brakes that are physically joined to three-speed hubs would be accorded duty-free entry. Your committee is informed that the domestic producer of click stick levers, who is a manufacturer of bicycles, does not object to the temporary duty suspension on this article. As to the other articles included under TSUS item 732.36 on which the duty would be suspended by H.R. 19670, the committee is informed that there appears to be no domestic manufacturer interested in making the articles for sale in competition with the low-priced foreign-made articles.

The rate of duty under item 732.36 was subject to a tariff concession pursuant to the Kennedy round of trade negotiations and is scheduled for further reduction to 15 percent ad valorem by January 1, 1972.

The temporary suspension of duty on the bicycle parts and accessories provided for in H.R. 19670 would be beneficial to domestic manufacturers of bicycles, particularly in competing with imported bicycles.

No objection was received from any interested Government agency to the bill, as amended, nor was any objection received from domestic producers of bicycle parts to the bill as reported by your committee.

The committee is unanimous in recommending passage of H.R. 19670.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19670, a bill to suspend, through 1973, the duties on certain bicycle parts and accessories.

Specifically, the bill would suspend the duty on generator lighting sets which

the committee understands are not produced in the United States. It also would suspend duties on a number of other articles under item 732.36 of the Tariff Schedules. However, the committee was informed that only one of these articles is produced domestically, and that the domestic producer in this instance also manufactures bicycles and does not object to the duty suspension on this particular part.

The committee was further informed by domestic bicycle manufacturers that the elimination of these duties would substantially reduce their costs and thus improve their competitive position with respect to imported bikes.

For this reason, and because the committee heard no objection from departments or agencies of Government, it unanimously reported this bill. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELIMINATION OF DUTY ON UPHOLSTERY REGULATORS AND UPHOLSTERS' REGULATING NEEDLES AND PINS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill H.R. 10875, to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to permit the importation of upholstery regulators, upholsterers' regulating needles, and upholsterers' pins free of duty, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 10875

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That schedule 6, part 3, subpart E of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended—

(1) by striking out "upholstery regulators, and", and by inserting "and upholstery regulators, upholsterer's regulating needles, and upholsterer's pins" after "other hand needles," in the item description preceding item 651.01;

(2) by striking out "and upholstery regulators" in item 651.04; and

(3) by inserting after item 651.05 the following new item:

" 651.06	Upholstery regulators, upholsterer's regulating needles, and upholsterer's pins	Free	Free "

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of H.R. 10875 to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States and to make duty free the imports of upholstery regulators, upholsterers' regulating needles, and upholsterers' pins.

H.R. 10875 would provide for the duty-free treatment for imports of upholstery regulators, upholsterers' regulating needles, and upholsterers' pins by establishing a new item 651.06 in the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS—under which all imports of these articles would be free of duty.

The committee was informed that there is no commercial production of these articles in the United States and that the domestic upholstery trade is dependent on imports of these articles. Imports of upholstery regulators and upholsterers' pins and regulating needles are not separately reported. However, it is known that the volume of such imports is small.

The committee received favorable reports on H.R. 10875 from the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Treasury, and State. No objection to the bill was received by your committee.

The committee is unanimous in recommending passage of H.R. 10875.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 10875, a bill to permit the duty-free importation of upholstery regulators, upholsterers' regulating needles, and upholsterers' pins.

These are tools used by the domestic upholstery industry. During consideration of the bill, the committee was told that there is no domestic commercial production of the articles, and that the American upholstery industry depends upon imports, which are low in volume.

No objection to the bill was voiced to the committee, and favorable reports on it were received from the Treasury, State, Commerce, and Labor Departments.

The committee was unanimous in recommending prompt enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF CARILLON FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SANTA BARBARA

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 14995) to provide for the free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Santa Barbara, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the reqeust of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 14995

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty a carillon imported June, 1969, for the use of the University of California at Santa Barbara.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of the article described in the first section of this bill has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 14995 is to provide duty-free entry of a carillon for the use of the University of California at Santa Barbara.

H.R. 14995 would authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty a carillon for the use of the University of California at Santa Barbara. The bill further provides that if liquidation of the entry has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty made.

The committee was informed that the carillon for the use of the University of California at Santa Barbara was entered in 1969 at the aggregate value of $63,046. Total duties of $8,160.35 were assessed and paid. In the favorable consideration of this bill and similar bills in the past, the committee has been informed by appropriate agencies of Government, including the Tariff Commission, that such bells are not produced in the United States.

The committee unanimously recommends enactment of H.R. 14995.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 14995, a bill to permit the duty-free entry of a carillon for use by the University of California at Santa Barbara.

This is virtually identical in principle to legislation which has been approved by the Congress in the past. The product involved is not produced in the United States, and there has been no departmental or other objection to the measure.

The committee, therefore, ordered it reported favorably by a unanimous vote, and I urge the House to approve it now.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE ENTRY OF CARILLONS FOR INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19113), to provide for the free entry of a 61-note bell carillon and a 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for the use of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19113

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to admit free of duty a 61-note cast bell carillon and a 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for the use of Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

SEC. 2. If the liquidation of the entry of the article described in the first section of this Act has become final, such entry shall be reliquidated and the appropriate refund of duty shall be made.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 19113 is to provide for the duty-

free entry of a 61-note cast bell carillon and a 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for the use of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

H.R. 19113 would authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty a 61-note cast bell carillon and a 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for the use of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. The bill further provides that if liquidation of the entry has become final, such entry shall be liquidated and the appropriate refund of duty made.

The committee was informed that the 61-note cast bell carillon and the 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for the use of Indiana University at the time of entry were valued at $40,000 and the estimated duty was $1,800 to $2,000. In favorably considering similar bills in the past, and in this instance, the committee has been informed by appropriate agencies of Government, including the Tariff Commission, that such bells are not produced in the United States.

The committee unanimously recommended enactment of H.R. 19113.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19113, a bill to provide for the duty-free entry of a 61-note cast bell carillon and a 42-note subsidiary cast bell carillon for Indiana University.

The carillons are not produced domestically, and no departmental or other objection to the measure was registered with the committee, which reported it unanimously.

The bill is similar to others enacted by the Congress, and I join in urging House passage at this time.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REASONABLE APPROVAL OF RURAL HOSPITAL FOR MEDICARE PURPOSES

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19470) to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to modify the nursing service requirement and certain other requirements which an institution must meet in order to qualify as a hospital thereunder so as to make such requirements more realistic insofar as they apply to smaller institutions, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I notice that the bill H.R. 19470 is similar to the bill, which I introduced last September, and other Members joined me, giving relief to these small rural hospitals. Certainly this legislation should be moved forward. I understand that the essence of this legislation reportedly at least is in the social security bill. That bill may or may not move forward. Regardless of that, it is the intent of the committee to move this legislation forward to give relief to the small hospitals.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to speak in favor of the purpose of this bill. The necessity for this legislation was brought about by the Social Security Administration's demands that all hospitals provide 24-hour coverage by registered nurses in order to receive medicare certification. Due to a general shortage of manpower, many small hospitals cannot find nurses to comply with this requirement.

I fully realize that this requirement, where it can be met, is beneficial to the patients and to our national health service. However, until we get enough nurses to fill the need, it is harsh medicine to close these rural and smalltown hospitals. Many small hospitals in Texas and other States face the strong possibility of closing if they are cut off from medicare funds.

This bill that we are considering will keep these small hospitals open, but at the same time it will be consistent with the goal of trying to give the best health service possible. Under this bill the Secretary can waive the 24-hour requirement if the hospital meets the following requirements:

First. The hospital has at least one registered nurse on duty on the day shift and is continuing to make a bona fide effort to comply with the 24-hour requirement with respect to the other shifts. During the shifts which do not have a registered nurse present, there must be a licensed practical nurse on hand.

Second. The hospital must be in a geographic area where hospitals are in short supply and the closest other hospitals participating in medicare are not readily accessible to people of the area.

Third. Nonparticipation of the hospital in the medicare program would seriously reduce the availability of hospital services to medicare beneficiaries residing in the area.

Under this legislation the Secretary would regularly review the particular situation of each hospital and the waiver of the 24-hour registered nurse requirement would be granted on annual basis for not more than 1 year at a time.

The waiver authority under this bill expires in 1975. The purpose of this expiration date is to cause Congress to reassess the supply of medical personnel at that time to see if the waiver provision is still needed. This reassessment of the need for the waiver is in line with our overall purpose of seeing that the best medical care possible is supplied. Mr. Speaker, I think this is a good bill and one that is desperately needed.

I withdraw my objections to the consideration of this legislation.

Mr. BOGGS. The gentleman is correct. Of course, it is our very firm hope that the bill will move ahead in the other body, but it is very difficult to give any guarantee.

Mr. PICKLE. I commend the committee for bringing this forward.

Mr. BOGGS. The gentleman's colleague from Texas joined him in sponsoring this legislation.

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

Mr. BOGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. KAZEN).

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I commend the committee for bringing this bill out. It is a much needed bill. As one who has had experience in having a rural hospital closed down because of this particular deficiency, I welcome this bill. I hope it will help all the rural areas of this country.

Mr. BOGGS. I might say to the gentleman the Senate Finance Committee has reported this bill and the overall bill, and for us to pass it will make it possible for them to consider this separately.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the author of the bill, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURLESON).

Mr. BURLESON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman and my associates who have explained the situation, which is really critical. There is no question about the need or the reasonableness or the practicality of this approach.

Mr. Speaker, when H.R. 19470 was originally introduced, it provided a broader judgment and discretion on the part of HEW and our State health officials in establishing standards for hospitals under medicare.

There must be adequate standards for adequate health care. This we all recognize. There is, however, the practical aspect of what can be immediately provided in certain areas of the country.

In many small towns of the more rural sections there is only one hospital. In many instances it is miles removed from a larger town hospital and is necessary to the community. To establish standards and requirements which cannot be met at this time and a few years in the immediate future, would work an extreme hardship on medicare patients who have no other place to go.

Medicare patients should not be required to leave their home community, their familiar surroundings and, particularly, their doctor for care in another area not familiar to them.

The bill before the House permits discretion on the part of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine, under certain criteria, whether a registered nurse must be required around the clock at these particular hospitals. Originally, the bill which I introduced included a relaxation of rather stringent requirements in connection with physical facilities. Since there is some latitude already permitted in connection with these standards, H.R. 19470 was amended in the Ways and Means Committee to apply only to registered nurses. Under present law it appears there is no discretion on the part of those who make these determinations to waive for any period of time this provision.

Mr. Speaker, it is my feeling that a greater latitude should be given in the

requirements of physical facilities but, in this measure, we are reaching for the possible and it is needed immediately. The Senate Finance Committee has tentatively adopted language applicable only to the nursing requirement and, therefore, it is hoped that with narrowing my original proposal we can get this much accomplished in the hope that these other things will come along in due time.

The bill before us is temporary in nature in that it allows the nursing requirement discretion to be exercised for a period of 5 years. The Secretary may determine on a year-to-year basis whether a hospital can provide around the clock nursing care and if it is found that such is impractical and impossible, then the requirement may be waived year by year for the next 5 years.

I repeat that physical facilities are not involved in this more narrow legislation since some discretion can evidently be applied. The requirements necessary to the interest of the health and safety of patients must be protected to the greatest possible extent. The requirement of a sprinkler system is an example of these requirements. It is true enough that some of the hospitals in the "access" category at the present time must show that efforts are being made to comply with safety standards. Although it is going to be difficult for some of the small rural hospitals to meet this standard, it is likely most will make the effort and, with time allowed, will be able to qualify in a reasonable time. The nursing requirement, however, creates a situation which can not be solved until there is available more nursing and health care personnel. As you know, Mr. Speaker, we have passed legislation for this purpose and other proposals are pending which, it is hoped, within the period allowed, will alleviate the present situation in connection with the availability of nursing care.

I urge the passage of this much needed revision in the Social Security Act which will give relief for this specified time and not work such a hardship on medicare patients who depend entirely upon local care and facilities.

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

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

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman tell the House why the same thing should not be accorded for the urban as well as the rural nursing homes?

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas to respond.

Mr. BURLESON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, if I may respond to my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, there is pending legislation which will do exactly what the gentleman expresses a concern about. There is a gap between urban hospital care and rural care. There is legislation pending which I think will take care of both situations. The gentleman is exactly right. There is a critical situation in the urban areas, and it may be that legislation will be considered by the Ways and Means Committee in the early part of the coming session which will address itself to that problem.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for that assurance.

Mr. BOGGS. There is no intention on the part of the committee to discriminate against the urban hospitals or nursing homes. The bill was presented to us as an emergency measure and it contains many safeguards which were written into it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19470

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 1861 (c) (5) of the Social Security Act is amended by inserting "(A)" after "(5)", and by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", or (B) in the case of an institution having fifty or fewer inpatient beds, provides (under the general supervision of a registered professional nurse) twenty-four-hour nursing service rendered by licensed practical nurses (including vocational nurses) or registered professional nurses, or both".

SEC. 2. Section 1861(c)(8) of the Social Security Act is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after "except that"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: ", and (B) such other requirements when applied to an institution having fifty or fewer inpatient beds may not include (i) a requirement that the institution have fire sprinklers, (ii) a requirement that any specified number of deaths in the institution be subject to autopsy, or (iii) any nursing service requirement more stringent than the requirement imposed by paragraph (5)(B)".

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

That section 1861(e)(5) of the Social Security Act is amended by adding immediately after the semicolon at the end thereof the following:

"except that until January 1, 1976, the Secretary is authorized to waive the requirement of this paragraph for any one-year period with respect to any institution, insofar as such requirement relates to the provision of 24-hour nursing service rendered or supervised by a registered professional nurse (except that in any event a registered professional nurse must be present on the premises to render or supervise the nursing service provided during at least the regular daytime shift), where immediately preceding such one-year period he finds that—

"(A) such institution is located in a rural area and the supply of hospital services in such area is not sufficient to meet the needs of individuals residing therein,

"(B) the failure of such institution to qualify as a hospital would seriously reduce the availability of such services to such individuals, and

"(C) such institution has made and continues to make a good faith effort to comply with this paragraph, but such compliance is impeded by the lack of qualified nursing personnel in such area;".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill, as amended, which was introduced by our colleague, the Honorable OMAR BURLESON, is to permit certain hospitals which have had difficulty in securing required nursing services to continue to participate in medicare for up to 5 years under specified conditions.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be empowered to grant waivers, no longer than a year at a time, on the requirement that the hospital have registered professional nurses on duty around the clock. The requirement could be waived only if:

First, the hospital has a registered nurse on the day shift and is making bona fide efforts to hire registered nurses for all shifts;

Second, the hospital is located in an isolated geographic area with no other medicare hospitals within a reasonable distance; and

Third, hospital services to medicare beneficiaries in the area would be seriously reduced if the hospital could not participate in medicare.

Enactment of this bill will assure that medicare beneficiaries living in remote areas will not be denied access to the only hospital care available in their communities. The committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of H.R. 19470.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 19470, a bill which would enable small hospitals in rural areas to continue qualifying as providers under medicare even if they are temporarily unable to obtain certain nursing services required by the law.

As we all know, Mr. Speaker, a number of hospitals throughout the country have great difficulty in finding and employing enough professional registered nurses. This is particularly true in sparsely populated areas.

Although the medicare law was designed to recognize hospitals with facilities, equipment, and personnel deemed adequate by nationally accepted standards, it also was designed to assure continuing availability of institutional care for medicare beneficiaries. Consequently, the Social Security Administration has adopted the practice of certifying certain institutions as "access" hospitals, which means that they can retain medicare status if they strive to upgrade staff and plant deficiencies which have been documented.

One of the most prevalent documented deficiencies has been in registered professional nursing staffs. And in order to deal with this particular problem, H.R. 19470 would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to waive the requirement that an access hospital have registered professional nurses on duty 24 hours a day if the following conditions could be met:

First. The hospital would be required to have at least one registered nurse on the day shift and would have to show that it was making a continuing effort to fill the gap on other shifts.

Second. It would have to be situated

in a remote area where hospitals as well as nurses were in short supply.

Third. Participating hospitals would have to be so scarce and/or far away that nonparticipation of this particular access hospital would "seriously reduce" the availability of hospital services to medicare beneficiaries.

The proposed waiver could be granted by the Secretary only for a year at a time, and would expire at the end of 1975.

Mr. Speaker, the committee was unanimous in reporting this bill, and I urge the House to take affirmative action now.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COUNTING OF CERTAIN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT TOWARD RETIREMENT

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2984) to permit service performed as a temporary employee of the field service of the Post Office Department to be counted toward civil service retirement, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

S. 2984

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 115 of the Social Security Amendments of 1954 is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. (a) The repeal of such section 115, made by the first section of this Act, shall not apply in the case of a person who, on the date of enactment of this Act, is receiving or is entiled to receive benefits under any retirement system established by the United States or any instrumentality thereof unless he requests, in writing, the office which administers his retirement system to apply it in his case.

(b) Any additional benefits payable pursuant to a request made under subsection (a) of this section shall commence on the first of the month following enactment of this Act.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, such equal treatment is now precluded by section 115 of the Social Security Amendments of 1954, which section S. 2984 would repeal.

Under existing law, some temporary, part-time and intermittent employment by the Federal Government is covered by the social security program rather than by the civil service retirement program or other retirement programs for Federal employees. Certain of these positions were covered under social security by the Social Security Amendments of 1950; others were covered under the Social Security Amendments of 1954. Federal civilian employment covered under the 1950 amendments is creditable for civil service retirement purposes if the employee is later employed in a position subject to the civil service retirement system. Those covered under the 1954 amendments may not have such service later credited under civil service retirement simply because of the enactment of section 115 of the Social Security Amendments of 1954.

By the terms of section 115, Federal employees who acquired social security coverage under the 1954 amendments may never receive credit under a retirement system for Federal employees for this service covered by social security. Most of the employees so affected are those who receive temporary appointments in the field service of the Post Office Department, but section 115 applies also to a small number of other temporary employees.

An employee who has service which becomes creditable for retirement purposes as a result of this bill may, if he wishes, make a deposit to the Civil Service Retirement Fund equal to retirement deductions for the period, plus interest. If he failed to make this deposit, his retirement annuity would be reduced by 10 percent of the amount owed as deposit. This is the same treatment as is given to the temporary employees brought under social security by the 1950 amendments who later acquire coverage under the civil service retirement system.

Mr. Speaker, enactment of the bill would affect around 345,000 Post Office employees and would require additional appropriations to the civil service retirement and disability trust fund of an estimated $21.1 million a year.

The bill has the approval of both the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Your committee is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DISREGARDING OF OASDI AND RAILROAD RETIREMENT INCOME IN DETERMINING NEED FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 19915) to make permanent the existing temporary provision for disregarding income of old-age, survivors, and disability insurance and railroad retirement recipients in determining their need for public assistance, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 19915

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, effective with respect to months after October 1970, section 1007 of the Social Security Amendments of 1969 is amended by striking out "and before November 1970".

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under section 1007, the States were required to take action to assure that recipients of public assistance under the federally aided adult public assistance programs—the old-age assistance, aid to the blind and aid to the permanently and totally disabled programs—who also received a social security benefit increase under the 1969 amendments would realize an increase in combined income from public assistance and social security equal to $4 a month or the amount of the social security benefit increase received by the recipient if less. A State could meet this requirement either by disregarding a portion of the recipient's social security payment or by raising the State's standard of assistance for all recipients under the program involved.

Section 1007 of the 1969 amendments as originally enacted applied only to public assistance payments made before July 1970. The provision was enacted on a temporary basis in order to allow Congress time to consider the problem with which it dealt more thoroughly in connection with the work it had planned to do on major welfare proposals this year.

This matter has already been considered an acted upon by the House. In April, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 16311, the administration's proposed welfare legislation. One of the sections of this bill provided for making section 1007 permanent law in the same manner as H.R. 19915.

Under legislation enacted in June of this year, the provision was extended for another temporary period, through the end of October. The pending social security bill (H.R. 17550) as reported in the Senate contains a provision extending the application of section 1007, through December 31, 1971.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is important that action be taken on this bill so that States will not discontinue applying the $4 income disregard. This legislation is required to protect many recipients against a cut in their public assistance payments. It is also required in order that the States may know whether or not they should continue to apply the income disregard provision.

Mr. Speaker, this bill was favorably reported unanimously by the committee.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request that all Members may be permitted to extend their remarks on this series of bills that we have just passed.

I thank the Chamber for being so patient.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18306, INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 18306) to authorize U.S. participation in increases in the resources of certain international financial institutions, to provide for an annual audit of the exchange stabilization fund by the General Accounting Office, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of December 21, 1970.)

Mr. REUSS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the House-passed bill providing for participation by the United States in various international financial institutions contained the following provisions:

First, a proposed increase in the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund in an amount of $1,540 million as part of a general and special increase in the Fund quotas. This increase involves no budgetary expenditure since it represents merely a transfer or exchange of assets by the United States in the Fund;

Second. A proposed increase of $246.1 million in the U.S. capital subscription to the World Bank. Of this increase in our subscription to the World Bank, $221.5 million would be callable and, therefore, involves no budgetary expenditure. Only $24.6 million would be paid into the Bank by the United States;

Third. A proposed contribution of $100 million to the Asian Development Bank Special Fund over a 3-year period; and

Fourth. A proposal increasing the resources of the Inter-American Development Bank comprised of both callable capital in the amount of $673.5 million involving no budgetary expenditure, and a paid-in capital subscription of $150 million payable in a letter of credit in three equal annual installments; and a U.S. contribution to the Fund for special operations of $1 billion in three installments, the first of which would be $100 million and two subsequent installments of $450 million each.

In addition, the House-passed bill provided for an audit of the exchange stabilization fund, an annual report of the National Advisory Council to the Congress concerning loans made by the IBRD, IDA, IDB, and ADB, and, finally, a provision allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to make certain adjustments in employee benefits for various U.S. financial institutions.

Mr. Speaker, the House provisions concerning the audit of the Exchange Stabilization Fund, the annual report of the National Advisory Council, and the employee benefit provisions were, with minor changes in the first two instances, accepted by the Senate conferees.

The provisions providing for the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were identical in both bills and, therefore, not in conference.

Unfortunately, the Senate conferees remained adamant in their position on funding for the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The bill passed by the other body contained no authorization for appropriations for the Asian Development Bank and, reluctantly, your House conferees were forced to recede to the Senate in this instance or else, in the opinion of your conferees, have no legislation enacted at all this year for any of the international financial institutions in which the United States participates.

Both the House and Senate-passed bills contained identical provisions providing additional contributions to the authorized capital stock of the Inter-American Development Bank and, therefore, were not in conference. However, contrary to the House provision authorizing the appropriation of funds for a total of $1 billion for the Inter-American Development Bank, the Senate provision provided only for the first year authorization of $100 million for this institution. Again, reluctantly, your House conferees were forced to recede to the Senate.

In so doing, however, I wish to point out that it is not the intention of the conferees to alter in any way the past procedure of allowing the U.S. Governor to the IDB to commit our Government to the resolutions of April 1970 of the Inter-American Development Bank, contingent, of course, upon subsequent authorization and appropriation by the Congress.

In the conference bill before us, what the conferees have done is to make payment of the subsequent two installments to the Inter-American Development Bank by the United States subject to congressional authorization and appropriation. This will provide the Congress with a continuing opportunity to review IDB activities before any subsequent funds are provided.

It is not only anticipated, but the firm conviction of your conferees that the U.S. Governor to the IDB should proceed as in previous authorizations for the IDB by the U.S. to commit the United States to pay the full amount of the proposed U.S. subscription to the resources of the Fund for special operations. In so doing, the United States will be in a position to continue to support this regional international lending institution and, at the same time, assure ourselves of the fact—since subsequent review, authorization and appropriations will be called for—that the Bank is carrying out its activities in accordance with our understanding of its functions and objectives.

I now append an exchange of letters with the Treasury concerning the Bretton Woods Recreation Center:

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FOR MONETARY AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., November 30, 1970.

Hon. HENRY S. REUSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HENRY: I would like to provide you with information about the Bretton Woods Recreation Center that has recently come to my attention. As you will recall, creation of the Center was financed by the International Monetary Fund in order to provide recreational facilities for its international staff coming from 116 countries which were not available in the Washington area.

It has been our understanding, and you had been so informed, that under the policy of the IMF the Center was expected to become entirely self financing so far as operating costs are concerned. I now find that, while this remains the objective, dues and charges paid by members have continued to fall short of operating costs. The operating deficits which have been sustained have been met by the International Monetary Fund. These operating deficits amounted to $65,000 in 1968 (the first year of operation) and $60,000 in 1969. The deficit for the fiscal year ending in April 1971 is expected to be $61,000. Further, the Fund has met certain additional capital costs totaling $102,000. These Fund contributions to expenses have been met from its earnings which are derived largely from charges to borrowing member countries.

I want to assure you that the United States Government is seeking to eliminate Fund contributions to the remaining operating dificit of the Center as quickly as possible and to avoid further financing of capital improvements for the Center by the Fund. I have asked the U.S. Executive Director to explore with his colleagues all steps that should be taken to achieve this objective.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

PAUL A. VOLCKER.

DECEMBER 15, 1970.

Mr. PAUL A. VOLCKER,
Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs Department of Treasury, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. UNDER SECRETARY: Thank you for your letter of November 30, in which you report that operating costs of the Bretton Woods Recreation Center are being met by the International Monetary Fund, in the amounts of $65,000 in 1968, $60,000 in 1969 and $61,000 for the fiscal year ending in April 1971, and that the fund "has met certain additional capital costs totaling $102,000."

I am disturbed because this information is contrary to the information given the House Committee on Banking and Currency by the Treasury during the hearings on this year's International Financial Institution's legislation. On July 1, 1970 (hearings on H.R. 18236, pp. 194–195) the Treasury informed us concerning the Bretton Woods Country Club, that "the operating expenses are those of the members." The full Treasury statement follows.

The International Monetary Fund decided in 1966 to facilitate the establishment of a recreation center to which its international staff would have access. The basic reason for this decision was to provide recreational facilities for the international staff of the Fund, which comes from many of the 116 countries that form the membership of the Fund. Recreational facilities of the kind which the Fund considered would be appropriate for this purpose are generally available in the Washington area only through private membership organizations. For the purposes of an international staff such as that of the Fund, such private membership organizations pose three main difficulties.

1. Large initiation fees are charged, which usually are not refundable when the membership is discontinued. This makes membership financially difficult, particularly for individuals, of whom there are a number at any given time on the staff of the Fund, who do plan to remain in Washington for more than a very few years.

2. Waiting lists for membership are often rather long, with a considerable time required before membership can be achieved. This is again difficult for those who do not plan to stay long, and can be particularly discouraging to new foreign residents who are anxious to make social contacts.

3. Membership in such private organizations is not generally open to individuals who come from Africa and Asia, as a very appreciable proportion of the Fund staff does.

In providing for the recreational facilities, the Fund itself purchased approximately 280 acres of land, and the Fund has also financed, and owns, the capital improvements. These include an 18-hole golf course, a swimming pool and bath house, a modest snack bar, other playing fields, a golf house, and picnic areas. The Fund has spent approximately $1.1 million for land and about $1.0 million for capital improvements, for a total of $2.1 million, and considers that it could recover this investment if the facility were to be sold in the future. The World Bank has not participated in the financing of the Center.

The operation of the facility is by the Bretton Woods Recreation Center, Inc., a private non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of Maryland. The Fund permits the Association to use the land and capital improvements which it owns, and by appropriate arrangements protects the value of its investment and ensures that it will be used for the primary purpose of improving the morale of its international staff. Membership in the Center is open to any employee of the Fund and, to the extent the capacity of the facility will permit, to limited numbers of others, who come almost entirely from the staffs of other international organizations headquartered in Washington.

Members of the Center pay operating dues and the Center is expected to be entirely self-financing so far as operating costs are concerned.

On the basis of this testimony, I informed the House during the Floor debate on September 14, 1970, that "the expenses of that Country Club are borne by the members of it". (Congressional Record, September 14, 1970, p. 31463).

I shall take the first opportunity that presents itself to call to the attention of the House the incorrect information which has unfortunately been disseminated.

I want to make clear once again that the Congress expects the United States Treasury to take the position in the International Monetary Fund that the Fund is not to make any more capital contributions or contributions for operating expenses, for the Bretton Woods Recreation Center. While the creation of the Bretton Woods Recreation Center is justified, there is no reason why golf-playing members or employees of the IMF should be subsidized over their non-golf-playing colleagues, or that the United States, through its interest in the capital and earnings of the Fund, should join in such subsidy. While your November 30, 1970, letter states that IMF contributions "have been met from its earnings which are derived largely from charges to borrowing member countries", the United States should take no more joy in the frittering away of the Fund's earnings than it should in the impairment of the Fund's capital.

Your letter says that you've asked "the Executive Director to explore with his colleagues all steps that should be taken to achieve" an end to further Fund contributions to capital and operating expenses. The United States cannot govern the Fund, but the United States Executive Director should surely cast his vote against what is regarded as an improper expenditure of the Fund. I therefore request a prompt report of the voting position taken by the U.S. Executive Director, and the current state of Fund activity, with respect to the Bretton Woods Recreation Center.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
Chairman, International Finance Subcommittee, House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. Speaker, the question of U.S. taxes paid by U.S. citizens working in these international institutions has been raised in this body several times. I have prepared a memo on this subject for the benefit of the House, as follows:

U.S. TAXATION OF U.S. EMPLOYEES OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Asian Development Bank.—U.S. citizens who are staff employees of the Bank pay U.S. taxes on the same basis as do all U.S. citizens residing abroad. They do not receive reimbursements from the Bank for U.S. tax payments.

The U.S. Executive Director of the Bank and his Alternate pay U.S. tax on the same basis as United States residents. They do not receive any reimbursement from the Bank nor do they enjoy non-resident tax status even though they are residents abroad.

International Monetary Fund, World Bank Bank and Inter-American Development Bank.—All of these institutions give the same tax treatment to U.S. employees. This treatment is described in the attached paper.

PAYMENT OF UNITED STATES INCOME TAXES BY AMERICAN EMPLOYEES OF WORLD BANK GROUP

American staff members of the World Bank and its affiliated organizations are not now, and have never been, exempt from United States federal, state and local income taxes on their salaries and other compensation from the World Bank Group. They pay income taxes on these and other earnings just as other American citizens.

The World Bank Group organizations were established by and operate under international treaties called "Articles of Agreement," signed by their respective member countries (115 in the case of the World Bank). In accordance with general international practice, the Articles of each organization prohibit member countries from taxing compensation paid by the organization to employees "who are not local citizens, local subjects or other local nationals." But a member country is not prohibited from taxing the World Bank Group compensation received by its own citizens. In accordance with the Articles, World Bank Group employees who are not American citizens are exempt from United States taxes on their Bank Group compensation. They are of course subject to U.S. tax laws as to income from sources outside the Bank Group. American employees, on the other hand, are fully subject to federal, state and local income taxes on their Bank Group pay.

At the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Governors of the World Bank in March 1946 at Savannah, Georgia, a resolution was passed calling on the member countries of the Bank to take the necessary action to exempt from national taxation the salaries and allowances paid by the Bank to their own citizens and nationals. The By-Laws of the Bank include a provision, also adopted at that Inaugural Meeting, directing that "pending the necessary action being taken by members to exempt from national taxation salaries and allowances paid out of the budget of the Bank," staff members shall be reimbursed by the Bank for taxes they are required to pay on their Bank salaries and allowances to the countries of which they are citizens.

In accordance with that provision of the By-Laws, the World Bank Group states all staff salaries and other compensation on a net-of-tax basis, but pays its American employees additional amounts calculated to yield after taking account of federal, state and local income taxes on the total of their compensation (including these additional amounts) the same net-of-tax compensation as their non-American colleagues of equal pay status receive. The result of this system of tax reimbursement, which is necessary to ensure equitable treatment of Americans whose pay is subject to U.S. income tax and non-Americans whose pay is *not* subject to tax, is that the World Bank Group pays its American staff members substantially higher amounts than its non-American employees of equal rank. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970 this meant an extra expenditure for the Group of $3,029,000 on account of federal income taxes, and of $582,000 on account of state and local income taxes, representing 12% of the Bank's total payroll (including Americans and non-Americans).

The tax exemptions of staff members of international organizations are granted for the benefit of the organizations rather than the staff members. The exemption enables the organization to pay lower salaries than it would have to pay if the salaries were subject to tax.

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

Mr. REUSS. I am very glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa who was most helpful to our committee in first calling this matter to our attention.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I well recall the colloquy we had when this bill was before the House. I want to commend the gentleman from Wisconsin for his continuing interest in this matter. I trust that unless it is resolved satisfactorily that the gentleman will take further action by

virtue of the position which the committee has taken to convince these people that capital outlays for this purpose were never the intent of the Congress.

Again, I commend the gentleman and thank him for yielding.

Mr. REUSS. I thank the gentleman from Iowa for his comments. The gentleman can be assured that we will be tenacious in this and I think the matter will be resolved satisfactorily.

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

Mr. REUSS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HANNA. I know the gentleman's position and I know that he and the other conferees pursued very vigorously the position of the House in regard to the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

I want to express to the gentleman my feeling of disappointment that the other body did not see the wisdom of the position taken by the House.

I would hope that both bodies, especially the Senate, will reestablish what I think is the credibility of the United States with regard to these two institutions. I think we were moving in the right direction on the Asian Development Bank to encourage the Japanese to become more aggressive in taking a position of prominence in the Bank, and saying that we would match them in terms of our commitment to the Bank.

I know the gentleman in the well agrees with me that that should zealously be pursued early next year as to our position in terms of the Inter-American Development Bank, because here are two places in this world where we have the possibility of building future trade for our sophisticated industries, and if we do not plant the seeds we will not get the future crops.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the Members of the other body who thought they were serving the interest of the United States were certainly short-sighted in terms of the decisions made there.

Again I say that I am persuaded that the gentleman in the well agrees with the position that I have just expressed.

Mr. REUSS. I completely agree with the gentleman from California. It would seem to be little short of outrageous that after years of spending $30 billion or more a year making war, we are unwilling to spend $100 million trying to heal the wounds and enable those countries in that area to get started in peaceful progress. It is particularly unfortunate that just as we persuaded our Japanese friends that they ought to make a bigger contribution, which they did, that we find ourselves wanting. I can assure the gentleman that I shall work with him in the next Congress to see that we place a similar matter before this body, and I think once again we will prevail in it.

Mr. HANNA. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I will not require the full 20 minutes.

I would like to report that I concur with the statement made by the gentleman from Wisconsin. I believe that he has reported accurately on the sum of the results of the conference we had with the Senate.

I regret very much that the Senate conferees seemed to me—and I think to others on the House side—extremely shortsighted when it came to the future development in the areas where they made drastic cuts. We have to face up to the fact that nature is going on year by year, and that the development and evolvement of countries are going on year by year, and when we were participating in that through the Asian Development Bank that was concrete evidence of our desire to cooperate with other nations in that area of the world in doing our part, and without trying to grab the credit for such participation, that is, equally participating on our part with the Japanese, and a substantial participtation by not only the Asian nations, but others who are not in the Asian area.

We would like to have come back to the House with a better report that would reflect more of the thinking of the House when it passed these bills. I just feel that we are going to have to go through this again when we realize fully the facts of life as to what has been done with this conference.

I think that we have made a compromise that preserved some of the best that was in the original bill. I just hope that we will pass this and we will check back on what has been done, and we can look forward to more progress in the future.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I, too, concur with the disappointment that has been expressed here on the floor this evening regarding the conference report, but probably more particularly and appropriately the action of the other body, or the conferees of the other body with respect to this report.

I think in view of the past history of the gentlemen from the other body who apparently caused most of the problems with respect to a direct compromise being effected, in view of his previous history in legislation of this nature, I think that it goes beyond disappointment even to the point where I think that he has probably epitomized what is wrong with lameduck sessions.

There were many of us who worked very hard on this legislation from the House side. Many Members of this House for some time have felt that a unilateral program of financial assistance to underdeveloped or developing countries was not the right or adequate approach. As a consequence, the idea of multilateral financing was developed, and regional banks, and the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Bank were developed where basically we say to other nations that we are willing and even eager to assume not just our proportionate share of the responsibility of helping other nations in their development, but we are willing to assume a disproportionate part, but will insist that other nations bear some of that responsibility and we will constantly strive in our efforts to cause other nations to assume greater and greater responsibility.

This spring the very realization of our aim occurred when with respect to the Inter-American Development Bank we were able to get our Latin neighbors to accept not a one-to-three responsibility with respect to funding for special operations but a one-to-two responsibility. In fact, that is the very first time in the history of the bank. The increase in the amount of replenishment in actual dollars was greater by our Latin friends than by this country. That is the first time in history.

Yet, although my colleagues here in the House very properly and very significantly supported this legislation, we have found it rather cut to pieces in the other body.

It is most disturbing that I am required to concur with the gentleman from Wisconsin when if, and I hope I am paraphrasing him correctly—when he says that what he is advocating we support this evening, and that is the conference report. It is not what he would advocate if he really had his "druthers".

The gentleman from Wisconsin is totally consistent with me in his beliefs that we are doing tonight is not right from the standpoint and content and substance of the conference report. But I am sure he feels the report should be supported and we advocate the same.

I would like to ask the gentleman from Wisconsin to clarify a couple of things that have occurred either in the colloquies or in the content of the conference report.

I would like to ask the gentleman to, in effect, confirm, reiterate, exaggerate, if he might, and emphasize the final sentence of the report on page 6 dealing with the IDB, in which it has been said by the managers on the part of the House:

> It is not our intention to limit in any way the past procedure of allowing the United States Governor to commit the United States to the full amount of its proposed contribution by signifying our agreement to contribute to the FSO in accordance with the applicable IDB resolution.

And, further, that the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to sign the subscription to the Bank; and, finally, we shall move very early in the next session of Congress to correct this wrong.

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

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. REUSS. The gentleman has asked me to exaggerate. I am not going to do that, but I will iterate and reiterate that the bill which is now on its way to enact-

ment authorizes and directs the U.S. Governor, the Secretary of the Treasury, to commit the United States to a 3-year reinforcement and replenishment of the Fund for Special Operations according to the Punta del Este resolution. In so doing that, of course, it will be clear to the other signatories, because the law we are passing will be at an end, and that an authorization and an appropriation for both the second and the third years will be necessary. However, that is nothing in and of itself unusual. The tradition is for Congress to be seized with the obligation of making the appropriations in successive years. I am confident that Congress will of its own free will and volition both authorize and appropriate the sums which we are now authorizing the U.S. Governor to indicate his acceptance of. In a word, I agree with the observations of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. I thank the gentleman. Would the gentleman not, before I ask a final question, agree that he concurs substantially in what I have said regarding the position he finds himself in as the chairman of the conferees on the House side, and the potential or anticipated impasse which would have occurred had we not accepted the conference report as it was being submitted?

Mr. REUSS. I agree completely. It is customary for managers in a conference to come back and brag a bit about how they were successful with their colleagues in the other body. In this case, however, I admit they scarcely left us our horses for the spring plowing. But it is better than no bill at all, and that which it lacks can be improved next year.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. If the gentleman will respond to one further statement, there is one sentence in that same paragraph on which I would like clarification.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will count.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman withdraws his point of order.

The gentleman from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time. I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 13493. An act to change the name of certain projects for navigation and other purposes on the Arkansas River;

H.R. 17901. An act to improve judicial machinery by providing for the appointment of a circuit executive for each judicial circuit;

H.R. 19342. An act to establish and develop the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, and for other purposes;

H.R. 19857. An act to name certain Federal buildings; and

H.J. Res. 1420. Joint resolution authorizing the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives, to accept and wear the Cavaliere di Gran Croce, of the Order Al Merito della Repubblica, an award conferred by the Government of the Republic of Italy.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested. A bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 10482. An act to authorize the establishment of the Voyageurs National Park in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 17473. An act to extend the period for filing certain manufacturers claims for floor stocks refunds under section 209(b) of the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965.

The message also announced that the Senate recedes from its amendment to a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 14984. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Mississippi Sioux Indians in Indian Claims Commission dockets numbered 142, 359–363, 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 amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 19333) entitled "An Act to provide greater protection for customers of registered brokers and dealers and members of national securities exchanges."

The message also announced that the Senate further insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 17867) entitled "An act making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes," requests a further conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McGEE, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. FONG, Mr. PEARSON, and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill and a concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 11. An act to reinforce the federal system by strengthening the personnel resources of State and local governments, to improve intergovernmental cooperation in the administration of grant-in-aid programs, to provide grants for improvement of State and local personnel administration, to authorize Federal assistance in training State and local employees, to provide grants to State and local governments for training of their employees, to authorize interstate compacts for personnel and training activities, to facilitate the temporary assignment of personnel between the Federal Government, and State and local governments, and for other purposes; and

S. Con. Res. 87. Concurrent resolution providing for an adjournment of the two Houses of Congress.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1971

Mr. MAHON submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 19928) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 91–1794)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 19928) "making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 4, 19, 25, 28, 40, 41, 47, 67, 68, 69, 73, 75, 76, and 79.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 2, 5, 14, 20, 21, 24, 26, 30, 32, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 49, 51, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 72, 74, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, and 90, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named by said amendment insert "$3,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 17: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$19,150,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 23: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$15,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 31: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 31, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"FOREST SERVICE

"FOREST PROTECTION AND UTILIZATION

"For an additional amount for 'Forest land management', $150,000.

"For an additional amount for 'Forest research', $108,000.

"CONSTRUCTION

"For an additional amount for 'Construction', $198,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 33: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 33, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$400,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 36: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 36, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"MANPOWER TRAINING ACTIVITIES

"For an additional amount for 'Manpower Training Activities', $17,500,000: *Provided*, That the additional amount appropriated herein is for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and shall remain available until June 30, 1972."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 39: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 39, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"MENTAL HEALTH

"For an additional amount for 'Mental Health', $6,500,000, of which $5,000,000 shall be for grants for specia. community projects as authorized by section 1(d) of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 (Public Law 91–513), and $1,500,000 shall be for grants and contracts for education projects as authorized by section 1(c) of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 (Public Law 91–513)."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 46: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 46, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"For an additional amount for:

"'Joint Economic Committee,' $3,750.

"'Joint Committee on Atomic Energy', $5,000.

"'Joint Committee on Printing', $11,700."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 54: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 54, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$21,400,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 56: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 56, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert the following: "$280,000, of which $200,000 shall"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 57: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 57, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$9,428,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 77: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 77, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$48,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 78: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 78, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$70,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22, 27, 29, 34, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 71, 81, and 84.

GEORGE MAHON,
JOHN J. ROONEY,
OTTO E. PASSMAN,
JOE L. EVINS,
EDWARD P. BOLAND,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
DANIEL J. FLOOD,
TOM STEED,
JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
FRANK T. BOW,
CHARLES R. JONAS,
JOHN J. RHODES,
ROBERT H. MICHEL,
GLENN R. DAVIS,
Managers on the Part of the House.

ROBERT C. BYRD,
JOHN O. PASTORE,
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
JOHN STENNIS,
GALE W. MCGEE,
MILTON R. YOUNG,
MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
ROMAN L. HRUSKA,
GORDON ALLOTT,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 19928) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments; namely:

CHAPTER II—DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates $3,000,000 for "Surface Effects Ships" instead of $10,000,000 proposed by the Senate.

The $20,000,000 request for this program was reduced by $10,000,000 by the Senate in the consideration of the Military Authorization Bill (H.R. 17123). The report on this action was issued on July 14, 1970. The item was restored to the authorization bill but deleted by both Houses in the Defense Appropriation Bill (H.R. 19590). The Department was on notice that there was considerable opposition to the full funding of the program by the Navy in the Congress. Nevertheless, the Navy continued to obligate funds at the level of the Budget request and in excess of the rate of the previous year permitted under the Continuing Resolution.

The conferees do not desire to terminate the program at this time and have agreed to provide an additional $3,000,000. The Navy is directed to seek any further funding required in fiscal year 1971 through the Congressional reprogramming process.

CHAPTER III—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Amendment No. 2: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 3: Deletes item proposed by the Senate to appropriate $34,178,000 for "Loans to the District of Columbia for capital outlay".

Amendment No. 4: Appropriates $10,612,000 for "Capital outlay" as proposed by the House instead of $44,790,000 as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER IV—FOREIGN OPERATIONS

Funds appropriated to the President

Amendment No. 5: Conforms chapter number.

Military assistance

Amendment No. 6: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides language that makes the availability of the appropriation contingent upon enactment of authorizing legislation.

Amendment No. 7: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides language that states the obligations incurred from funds appropriated in this item cannot exceed the total amount authorized in H.R. 19911, or similar legislation.

Economic assistance

Supporting Assistance

Amendment No. 8: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment which appropriates $155,000,000 instead of $150,000,000 as proposed by the House and $195,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 9: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides language that makes the availability of the appropriation contingent upon enactment of authorizing legislation.

Amendment No. 10: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides language that states the obligations incurred from funds appropriated in this item cannot exceed the total amount authorized in H.R. 19911, or similar legislation.

Contingency Fund

Amendment No. 11: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment which appropriates $7,500,000 instead of $15,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. The language making the appropriation available until expended as proposed by the Senate is deleted.

Export-Import Bank of the United States

Limitation on Administrative Expenses

Amendment No. 12: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides $8,000 for entertainment allowances to be financed from available funds.

Excess Foreign Currencies for Pakistan

Amendment No. 13: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides that excess Pakistani rupees shall be available for one year from the date of enactment of authorizing legislation to assist in the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of East Pakistan.

CHAPTER V—INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Amendment No. 14: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 15: Reported in disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to insist on an appropriation of $250,000 for Salaries and expenses, Federal Trade Commission, as proposed by the House instead of $500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 16: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to appropriate $8,000,000 for

Operating expenses, Public Buildings Service, instead of $11,350,000 as proposed by the Senate, and insert Senate language authorizing the use of such funds for employment of guards and special policemen under the charge and control of the General Services Administration and the Postal Service.

Amendment No. 17: Appropriates $19,150,000 for additional court facilities instead of $14,150,000 as proposed by the House and $34,150,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 18: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate to appropriate $2,452,000 for sites and expenses, public buildings projects, for the proposed project at San Diego, California.

Amendment No. 19: Deletes the amendment of the Senate to appropriate $205,000 for salaries and expenses, Office of Administrator, General Services Administration, for expenses of a new Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center.

Executive Office of the President

Amendment No. 20: Inserts heading.

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates $500,000 for salaries and expenses, Council on Environmental Quality and Office of Environmental Quality, as proposed by the Senate.

Funds appropriated to the President

Amendment No. 22: Reported in disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to appropriate $8,500,000 for "Appalachian Regional Development Programs" as proposed by the Senate, but to delete the Senate provisos that would change grant formulas of present law. The committee of conference is agreed that the funds provided shall be used only for airport projects.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Amendment No. 23: Appropriates $15,000,000 for Urban Research and Technology instead of $5,000,000 as proposed by the House and $25,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER VI—DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Amendment No. 24: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 25: Appropriates $500,000 for "Bureau of Land Management, management of lands and resources" as proposed by the House instead of $1,050,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The Conferees agree that the land-use survey in Alaska is of high priority. However, until the new Secretary of Interior has had an opportunity to appraise this program and there is specific evidence of cooperation on this project by the State of Alaska, funding for this activity has been deferred. It is further agreed that the significance of the Trans-Alaska pipeline should receive proper attention in any study of this type that may be performed.

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates $50,000 for "Bureau of Indian Affairs, resources management" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 27: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides $3,561,700 for "Bureau of Indian Affairs, payment to the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation".

Amendment No. 28: Appropriates $50,000,000 for "Bureau of Mines, helium" as proposed by the House instead of $56,100,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 29: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment to provide $2,155,000 for "National Park Service, management and protection" instead of $2,125,000 as proposed by the House and $1,855,000 as proposed by the Senate. The increase over the amount provided by the House includes $30,000 to implement Public Law 91-462 authorizing a study of the feasibility and desirability of establishing a unit of the national park system to commemorate the opening of the Cherokee Strip to homesteading.

Related agencies

Amendment No. 30: Changes heading.

Amendment No. 31: Appropriates $456,000 for "Department of Agriculture, Forest Service" instead of $606,000 as proposed by the Senate. Of the total amount provided, $258,000 is for forest protection and utilization of which $150,000 is for forest land management and $108,000 is for forest research; and $198,000 is for construction.

Amendment No. 32: Appropriates $775,000 for "Smithsonian Institution, restoration and renovation of buildings" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 33: Appropriates $400,000 for "National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, salaries and expenses" instead of $250,000 as proposed by the House and $600,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 34: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment to provide $2,500,000 for "Youth Conservation Corps, salaries and expenses".

CHAPTER VII—DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Amendment No. 35: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 36: Appropriates $17,500,000 for "Manpower training activities" instead of $5,000,000 as proposed by the House and $49,230,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Amendments Nos. 37 and 38: Insert headings.

Amendment No. 39: Appropriates $6,500,000 for "Mental health" instead of $43,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. The conferees did not include funds for the proposed Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention and Rehabilitation Act of 1970. The bill has passed the Senate and was scheduled for action in the House later in the day that the conferees made this decision. The conferees are agreed that if this bill becomes law, the most serious consideration will be given to the proper level of funding in the next session of Congress.

Amendment No. 40: Strikes the appropriation of $12,000,000 for "Maternal and child health" proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 41: Strikes the appropriation of $5,000,000 for "National Institutes of Child Health and Human Development" proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 42: Appropriates $8,000,000 for "Research and training" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 43: Appropriates $1,900,000 for "Office of Child Development" as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER VIII—LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Amendment No. 44: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment which would make permanent, as provided for in the Resolution, the provisions of House Resolution 1238 of the 91st Congress, adopted in the House on December 22, relating to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Amendment No. 45: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment to appropriate a total of $3,096,032 for various Senate items, and insert provisions relating to the employment and compensation of certain Senate employees.

Amendment No. 46: Appropriates $3,750 for "Joint Economic Committee" as proposed by the Senate; $5,000 for "Joint Committee on Atomic Energy" as proposed by the Senate; and $11,700 for "Joint Committee on Printing" as proposed by the Senate instead of $9,200 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 47: Deletes item proposed by the Senate to appropriate $1,209,000 for "Restoration of Old Senate Chamber and Old Supreme Court Chamber in the Capitol".

Amendment No. 48: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment to appropriate $189,500 for "Senate Office Buildings".

CHAPTER IX—PUBLIC WORKS

Amendment No. 49. Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 50: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment appropriating $25,500,000 for Atomic Energy Commission, Plant and Capital Equipment. The amount provided is to initiate a program to improve fire protection, safety, and operating conditions at various installations of the Commission. The conferees agree in reference to the renovation of the plutonium recovery facility at Rocky Flats, Colorado, that upon completion of a study of various alternatives, including replacement or renovation of existing facilities, that the Atomic Energy Commission should advise the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate of the results of the study before proceeding with the detailed design phase of planning.

Amendment No. 51: Inserts heading.

Amendment No. 52: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment appropriating $300,000 for Department of Defense—Civil, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers—Civil, General Investigations. The amount provided includes $200,000 for a study of the seepage problem affecting the town of Niobrara, Nebraska, and $100,000 for the development of a plan for a comprehensive study of Long Island Sound, N.Y. and Conn. The latter amount shall be available solely for the preparation, under the supervision and direction of the Water Resources Council, of the study plan for review by the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate prior to the consideration of additional funds for actual initiation of the study.

The conferees are in agreement regarding report language inserted by the Senate under Corps of Engineers—Civil, Construction, General that, within funds available for the Libby Dam and Reservoir project, Montana, the Corps of Engineers shall proceed with the required detailed planning for a central sewage connection and treatment facility in connection with the pending relocation of the town of Rexford, Montana.

Amendment No. 53: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of

the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment, with an amendment appropriating $1,000,000 for Corps of Engineers—Civil, Operation and Maintenance, General, instead of $2,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. In addition, the conferees direct that $1,000,000 be allocated from available funds to provide a total of $2,000,000 to finance 200 additional positions for the balance of the current fiscal year to implement the revised permit requirements under the Refuse Act of 1899 pertaining to industrial discharges into navigable waters and their tributaries.

Amendment No. 54: Appropriates $21,400,000 for Environmental Protection Agency, Pollution Control Operations and Research, instead of $20,400,000 as proposed by the House and $23,400,000 as proposed by the Senate. The increase over the House bill amount is for study and demonstration of methods for the elimination and control of acid and other mine water pollution in the Monongahela River Basin. The portion of the study and demonstration relating to the potential economic development in the Basin shall be carried on under the direction of the Appalachian Regional Development Commission.

CHAPTER X—DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES

Amendment No. 55: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 56: Appropriates $280,000 for International conferences and contingencies instead of $200,000 as proposed by the House and $300,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 57: Appropriates $9,428,000 for salaries and expenses, United States Attorneys and Marshals instead of $5,928,000 as proposed by the House and $12,928,000 as proposed by the Senate. The amount allowed will provide 300 additional positions for courtroom security.

Amendment No. 58: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate, with an amendment, which provides that of the additional funds for salaries and expenses, United States Attorneys and Marshals, $1,610,000 shall remain available until expended for acquisition and repair of security equipment, instead of $3,220,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 59: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate providing for the purchase of 500 passenger motor vehicles by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Amendment No. 60: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate to provide an additional $489,000 for support of United States prisoners for fiscal year 1970.

Amendment No. 61: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate to provide an additional $7,000,000 for salaries and expenses, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

Amendment No. 62: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to provide $700,000 for research, engineering, analysis, and technical services, Office of Telecommunications, instead of $1,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 63: Inserts heading.

Amendment No. 64: Appropriates an additional $54,000 for salaries, Supreme Court, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 65: Appropriates an additional $20,000 for fiscal year 1970 and $63,000 for fiscal year 1971 for printing and binding, Supreme Court reports as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 66: Appropriates an additional $25,000 for care of the building and grounds, Supreme Court of the United States as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 67: Appropriates $400,000 for salaries and expenses, Commission on Bankruptcy Laws of the United States as proposed by the House instead of $600,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 68: Deletes the proposal of the Senate to appropriate $850,000 for salaries and expenses, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Amendment No. 69: Deletes the proposal of the Senate to appropriate $143,000 for the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control.

Amendment No. 70: Inserts heading.

Amendment No. 71: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to provide an additional $3,000,000 for salaries and expenses, Small Business Administration instead of $5,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 72: Appropriate $100,000,000 for Disaster loan fund, Small Business Administration, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 73: Appropriates $350,000 for salaries and expenses, Tariff Commission as proposed by the House instead of $450,000 as proposed by the Senate.

CHAPTER XI—DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Amendment No. 74: Changes chapter number.

Amendments Nos. 75 and 76: Restore language as proposed by the House providing that the appropriation for Operations, Federal Aviation Administration, is to be derived from the Airport and Airway Trust Fund.

Amendment No. 77: Appropriates $48,000,000 for Facilities and Equipment (Airport and Airway Trust Fund) instead of $36,000,000 as proposed by the House and $60,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 78: Appropriates $70,000,000 for Grants-in-Aid for Airports (Airport and Airway Trust Fund) instead of $50,000,000 as proposed by the House and $115,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 79: Provides that $10,000,000 of the appropriation for Grants-in-Aid for Airports (Airport and Airway Trust Fund) shall be available for airport planning grants as proposed by the House instead of $15,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 80: Appropriates $40,000,000 for Federal Grants to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, Federal Railroad Administration, as proposed by the Senate.

Related agency

Amendment No. 81: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur with the Senate amendment appropriating $40,685,000 (together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest) for payment of loan guarantees, Interstate Commerce Commission.

CHAPTER XII—DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Amendment No. 82: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 83: Authorizes the purchase of six passenger motor vehicles for the Bureau of Customs as proposed by the Senate instead of nine as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 84: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which will appropriate $5,026,000 for the Internal Revenue Service, Compliance, as proposed by the Senate instead of $750,000 as proposed by the House. The motion will also embrace the Senate language authorizing purchase of additional passenger motor vehicles, amended to delete the limitation of $800 on the purchase price per vehicle in excess of the general purchase price limitation.

Amendment No. 85: Appropriates $960,000 for salaries and expenses of the Domestic Council under the Executive Office of the President, as proposed by the Senate instead of $210,000 as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER XIII—CLAIMS AND JUDGMENTS

Amendment No. 86: Changes chapter number.

Amendments Nos. 87 and 88: Appropriate $43,130,510 for claims and judgments as proposed by the Senate instead of $41,747,738 as proposed by the House.

CHAPTER XIV—GENERAL PROVISION

Amendments Nos. 89 and 90: Change chapter and section numbers.

CONFERENCE TOTAL—WITH COMPARISONS

The total new budget (obligational) authority for the fiscal year 1971 recommended by the committee of conference, with comparisons to the 1971 budget estimate total, and the House and Senate bills follows:

Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1971	$1,928,985,264
House bill, fiscal year 1971	1,525,365,538
Senate bill, fiscal year 1971	2,089,107,792
Conference agreement	[1] 1,853,372,792
Conference agreement compared with:	
Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1971	−75,612,472
House bill, fiscal year 1971	+328,007,254
Senate bill, fiscal year 1971	−235,735,000

[1] Includes amounts in amendments reported in technical disagreement. Also includes $250,000 in amendment No. 15 reported in disagreement.

GEORGE MAHON,
JOHN J. ROONEY,
OTTO E. PASSMAN,
JOE L. EVINS,
EDWARD P. BOLAND,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
DANIEL J. FLOOD,
TOM STEED,
JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
FRANK T. BOW,
CHARLES R. JONAS,
JOHN J. RHODES,
ROBERT H. MICHEL,
GLENN R. DAVIS,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 19928) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

Mr. MAHON (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House.

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

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, can the chairman tell me if this conference report contains an appropriation for the authorization of S. 2108.

Mr. MAHON. What is that reference, may I ask the gentleman?

Mr. SCHMITZ. That is referring to the Bureau of Population Control.

Mr. MAHON. Is the gentleman talking about family planning?

Mr. SCHMITZ. Yes.

Mr. MAHON. The funds for family planning which was included in the Senate version of the bill were stricken from the bill in conference.

We took the position that Congress had provided adequate funds for this purpose for the current fiscal year. The funds were not in the House version of the bill.

Mr. SCHMITZ. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, this supplemental bill is the final appropriation bill of the session.

The bill has been in conference with the other body for several days. The legislative authorization for certain funds in this bill has cleared the Senate and House today, enabling us to reach an agreement with the Senate conferees on all of the items in disagreement in this supplemental bill.

The conference bill contains a total of $1,853,372,792. This is $75,612,472 below the budget requests.

It is $328,007,254 above the bill as it passed the House.

And it is $235,735,000 below the Senate figure.

I think it might be appropriate to point out some of the major items in the bill.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield before he leaves that point?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman mentioned how much more this conference report is above the House-passed bill. I think that point should be noted, and it should be pointed out $235 million in this bill went to the Senate in budget request that we did not even consider.

Mr. MAHON. This is right. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. That is one reason why the conference report is so much higher than the House-passed bill.

Mr. MAHON. It is the main reason.

One of the major items added in the Senate upon submission of a budget estimate by the President was $100 million for the disaster loan fund under the Small Business Administration. This is a very necessary and important item in this bill.

Another one of the items in the bill of some special interest to Members is the $48 million included in the bill for airway safety equipment.

There is $43 million in the bill to pay claims and judgments.

From the standpoint of law enforcement, $7 million is in the bill for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, providing for additional agents and beefing up their operations otherwise.

We provide in this bill $14 million for additional agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In other words, law enforcement assistance.

Unemployment compensation, $66 million.

There was considerable controversy over housing research in the regular independent offices-HUD bill. We provided in that bill, I believe, $25 million. We provide an additional $15 million for housing research to try to make breakthroughs for a better housing program at a lesser cost to the purchaser.

The law requires that we make appropriations for the civil service retirement fund. We met the requirement of the law by providing in this bill $158 million for civil service retirement.

Those are some of the major items.

The bill provides $255 million for aid to Cambodia.

The largest item in the bill is $500 million for military credit sales to Israel—an item which was of course also in the House bill.

Then there is provided military assistance in the sum of $340 million. These very large sums are not foreign aid in the normal meaning of the term. This is military assistance.

Mr. Speaker, I shall be glad to yield for questions. I will insert a table of the exact amounts, item by item. The statement of the managers of course explains what the conference agreement is on each Senate amendment.

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the minor items in the conference report is the funding of the bankruptcy commission created by Congress this year. To refresh the chairman's recollection, the House figure was $400,000 and the Senate figure was $600,000. It is my understanding that the Senate receded and the conferees came back with the House figure.

Mr. MAHON. That is correct, and I would ask the gentleman from New York (Mr. ROONEY), who worked more closely on that item, to respond to the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. In the conference we pointed out that we took testimony indicating that they intended to have seminars at colleges and universities, with the taxpayers' money, to teach bankrupts that they should not become bankrupts again.

On bankruptcies arising from installment buying, they get after this man who does not make the payments on the piano and then someone says, "Why do you not go bankrupt? It will cost you so much. I know a fellow who will do it for so much," and you will see the fellow collecting for the piano again. With this type of bankruptcy I do not see any reason to send them to colleges and universities.

Mr. WIGGINS. I might say that I totally agree with the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I knew the distinguished gentleman would. Let me state to the distinguished gentleman that I talked with the distinguished chairman of the full Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER), and with the ranking gentleman on that committee, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ROGERS) and I do not think there is any problem.

Mr. WIGGINS. I merely wish to clarify the intention of the conferees in approving this $400,000 sum. It is my understanding that it is the intention to fund the activities of the bankruptcy division for the remainder of the fiscal year only and the $400,000 is appropriated for that purpose. During the remaining life of the Commission it would be proper for them to seek the balance of their authorization and, of course, your committee would give appropriate consideration to that request; is that true?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No; that is not correct, because this $400,000 is to cover the entire period.

Mr. WIGGINS. That is the 2-year period.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Which is the life of the Commission.

Mr. WIGGINS. That is correct.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I will say to the distinguished gentleman that we could rent a nice suite of rooms on the Boardwalk in Atlantic City and send them down there, the retired head of the Bankruptcy Commission and the President of the Bankruptcy Commission, and let them spend a couple of weeks there and they could come up with a pretty good new bankruptcy law.

Mr. WIGGINS. I will not quarrel at this point with the gentleman's conclusion, but suffice it to say I believe the gentleman is wrong. As this Commission progresses with its work and as it develops, it should utilize the funds appropriated for it, and if the need develops, they will at least receive sympathetic consideration of their view for an additional appropriation?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. We always view everything with sympathetic consideration, but we do take testimony and when we learn that something is wrong

about an item, we try to save some money for the taxpayers.

Mr. WIGGINS. I totally agree with the gentleman. I think we have made our point. However, with respect to testimony in the future I would like for the gentleman's subcommittee to help toward an understanding of this matter.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. We shall be glad to receive the gentleman's views and recommendations.

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

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CLARK. Would the gentleman from Texas please explain amendment No. 22 which appears on page 10 as to what the conferees have done in this regard?

Mr. MAHON. Amendment 22, I would say to the House, has to do with Appalachia. It provides $8.5 million for air port development in Appalachia.

Now, the amendment as written in the other body provided that these funds would be available for the payment of the total cost of airport development in Appalachia—100 percent. The House conferees took the position that we were willing to provide necessary additional funds for airports in Appalachia, recognizing the special difficulties that arise there and taking into consideration the very serious accident which recently took place in West Virginia.

The House conferees took this into consideration and agreed to provide for the Appalachia area the sum of $8.5 million, but the House conferees did not agree to change the formula as the Senate had proposed. We felt that the appropriate legislative committees should first judge if a change in the formula for airport assistance to communities was appropriate; that it should be considered in the regular legislative process, not in an appropriation bill. So we did not agree to the language in the amendment which would have given this special preference.

Already in Appalachia the Federal Government can provide up to 80 percent of the cost of an airport, generally speaking, whereas outside of Appalachia the Federal Government provides 50 percent.

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

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Then this language is deleted which starts "Provided, such funds shall only be available"?

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Public Works I am 100 percent in agreement with the action taken by the House conferees.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his statement, and we anticipate approval of the action taken by the House conferees.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

As the gentleman from Texas has so well described, there is a very serious problem with airports built in mountainous terrain. It costs far more money for site preparation when you have to move mountains or shave off the tops of mountains. We have the double handicap in Appalachia that it is impossible in many instances to raise sufficient matching funds, even with the extra supplementary grants allowed under Appalachian Regional Act legislation. It seems to me that every passenger on an airline, no matter what State he comes from, should be provided with protection for his safety. I would certainly hope that the Congress will come to grips with this crisis in air safety, and both authorize and appropriate sufficient funds so that every passenger, no matter what State he comes from, will be protected at whatever airport he flies into.

The November 14 air tragedy in my hometown of Huntington, W. Va., resulted in the loss of 75 lives, and these 75 came from 12 different States. When the other body passed the provision allowing use of 100 percent Federal funds, it furnished the hope that we might start quickly to improve safety features of Tri-State Airport by installing a glide slope for the instrument landing system and lengthening the runway to 6,500 feet. I think it is very unfortunate that the language of the other body was not accepted for that reason. I appreciate very much, as the gentleman has described, the fact that there is $8.5 million available, however, which will enable us to go forward on some safety improvements.

Mr. MAHON. I would say that there are communities in Appalachia and all over the United States that are in financial difficulty, and they are communities which are interested in air transportation. We have some laws which are very helpful in connection with these programs, and it was felt that any additional law providing further special assistance in Appalachia and elsewhere should be considered by the appropriate legislative committees. So we struck the proposed preferential language from the bill.

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

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

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, do I understand the distinguished gentleman correctly that you have put into this supplemental $8.5 million for airport support in Appalachia?

Mr. MAHON. That is correct.

Mr. HARSHA. But you did not pinpoint this to any patricular airport?

Mr. MAHON. No; it is not pinpointed for any particular State, town, or area in Appalachia. It is within the jurisdiction of the appropriate authorities to provide these funds, but the money is to be used for airports.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I think this whole matter came about and was brought to the attention of the distinguished junior Senator from West Virginia as a result of the tragic loss of life at Huntington, W. Va.

Mr. HARSHA. I am aware of that.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. And in the conference the Senator contended that that was one of the principal bases for requesting the approval of this money.

Mr. HARSHA. I understand that, and I thank the gentleman. I am fully aware of that, because my district abuts the area in which this tragic accident occurred, and of course my district is in Appalachia, and we are very concerned with this airport.

Now, also we have before the Committee on Public Works the jurisdiction over this Appalachia program and, as I understand it, under the law you cannot participate above 80 percent, that is, for Federal participation. Do I further understand that there is no exception to that particular feature with possible 100 percent Federal participation in this particular matter?

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is correct, because we did not want to go beyond the limits of the present law, which limits the Federal participation at 80 percent in Appalachia, and 50 percent elsewhere.

Mr. HARSHA. I thank the gentleman.

I would further point out that, as a member of the committee that deals with Appalachia, and as a Member of Congress whose district abuts the airport, many of the people in my district do not want to use that airport, and are vitally concerned with it. I would still feel that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is eminently correct, that we should not here try to change the law and make the participation 100 percent when the basic law limits this to 80 percent, and I would concur with the distinguished gentleman's judgment on that.

Mr. MAHON. I thank the gentleman.

I would point out that all of the $8.5 million, according to the conference agreement, is for airport development.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS).

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I was simply going to comment—I wonder what Appalachia wants—bodies as well as blood? West Virginia is already getting 80 percent in grants for airport construction, which is far better than most of the rest of the country. In this case it tried to get 100 percent financing of an airport.

Mr. MAHON. The action of the conference would not change the basic law nor would it provide 100 percent.

Mr. GROSS. No; the conference would not and I commend the conference for at least holding the line at 80 percent. My question is whether it ought to be even 80 percent.

Mr. MAHON. Under leave granted, Mr. Speaker, I include an item-by-item comparative tabulation of the amounts in the conference bill and agreement:

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE ACTION—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1971 (H.R. 19928)

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
	CHAPTER I							
	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE							
	AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE							
----------	Indemnity payments to dairy farmers		$300,000	$300,000	$300,000	+$300,000	----------	----------
	Total, chapter 1, new budget (obligational) authority		300,000	300,000	300,000	+300,000	----------	----------
	CHAPTER II							
	DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE							
91-241	Research, development, test, and evaluation, Navy	($10,000,000)	----------	10,000,000	3,000,000	+3,000,000	+$3,000,000	−$7,000,000
	Total, chapter II, new budget (obligational) authority	(10,000,000)	----------	10,000,000	3,000,000	+3,000,000	+3,000,000	−7,000,000
	CHAPTER III							
	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA							
	Federal Funds							
91-406	Federal payment to the District of Columbia	17,571,000	11,794,000	11,794,000	11,794,000	−5,777,0000	----------	----------
91-406	Loans to the District of Columbia for a capital outlay	34,178,000	----------	34,178,000	----------	−34,178,000	----------	−34,718,000
	Total, Federal funds	51,749,000	11,794,000	45,972,000	11,794,000	−39,955,000	----------	+34,178,000
	District of Columbia Funds							
91-406	General operating expenses	(895,000)	(776,000)	(776,000)	(776,000)	(−119,000)	----------	----------
91-406	Public safety:							
	1971	(12,938,000)	(12,902,000)	(12,902,000)	(12,902,000)	(−36,000)	----------	----------
	1970	(9,861,000)	(9,801,000)	(9,861,000)	(9,861,000)	----------	----------	----------
91-406	Education:							
	1971	(15,370,000)	(10,425,000)	(10,425,000)	(10,425,000)	(−4,945,000)	----------	----------
	1970	(9,772,000)	(9,772,000)	(9,772,000)	(9,772,000)	----------	----------	----------
91-406	Highways and traffic	(89,000)	(56,000)	(56,000)	(56,000)	(−33,000)	----------	----------
91-406	Sanitary engineering	(540,000)	(503,000)	(503,000)	(503,000)	(−37,000)	----------	----------
91-406	Settlement of claims and suits	(7,225)	(7,225)	(7,225)	(7,225)	----------	----------	----------
91-406	Capital outlay	(46,655,000)	(10,612,000)	(44,790,000)	(10,612,000)	(−36,043,000)	----------	(−34,178,000)
	Total, District of Columbia funds	(96,127,225)	(54,914,225)	(89,092,225)	(54,914,225)	(−41,213,000)	----------	(−34,178,000)
	RELATED AGENCY							
	Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia							
91-404	Salaries and expenses	325,000	325,000	325,000	325,000	----------	----------	----------
	Total, chapter III, new budget (obligational) authority (Federal funds)	52,074,000	12,119,000	46,297,000	12,119,000	−39,955,000	----------	−34,178,000
	CHAPTER IV							
	FOREIGN OPERATIONS							
	Funds Appropriated to the President							
	Foreign Assistance							
91-418	Military credit sales to Israel	500,000,000	500,000,000	500,000,000	500,000,000	----------	----------	----------
91-418	Military assistance	340,000,000	340,000,000	340,000,000	340,000,000	----------	----------	----------
	Economic Assistance							
91-418	Supporting assistance	195,000,000	150,000,000	195,000,000	155,000,000	−40,000,000	+5,000,000	−40,000,000
----------	Contingency fund	----------	----------	15,000,000	7,500,000	+7,500,000	+7,500,000	−7,500,000
	Total, foreign assistance	1,035,000,000	990,000,000	1,050,000,000	1,002,500,000	−32,500,000	+12,500,000	−47,500,000
	Export-Import Bank of the United States							
S. Doc. 91-114	Limitation on administrative expenses	(8,000)	----------	(8,000)	(8,000)	----------	(+8,000)	----------
	Total, chapter IV:							
	New budget (obligational) authority	1,035,000,000	990,000,000	1,050,000,000	[1] 1,002,500,000	−32,500,000	+12,500,000	−47,500,000
	Limitation	(8,000)	----------	(8,000)	(8,000)	----------	(+8,000)	----------
	CHAPTER V							
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES							
	Civil Service Commission							
91-404	Salaries and expenses	Language	Language	Language	Language	----------	----------	----------
91-382	(By transfer)	(685,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(−200,000)	----------	----------
91-382	Payment to Civil Service retirement and disability fund	157,816,600	157,816,600	157,816,600	157,816,600	----------	----------	----------
	Federal Trade Commission							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	500,000	250,000	500,000	250,000	−250,000	----------	−250,000
	General Services Administration							
S. Doc. 91-382	Operating expenses, public buildings service	11,350,000	----------	11,350,000	8,000,000	−3,350,000	+8,000,000	−3,350,000
91-382	Automatic data processing fund	20,000,000	20,000,000	20,000,000	20,000,000	----------	----------	----------
91-382	Additional court facilities	34,150,000	14,150,000	34,150,000	19,150,000	−15,000,000	+5,000,000	−15,000,000
91-382	Sites and expenses, public buildings projects	2,452,000	----------	2,452,000	2,452,000	----------	+2,452,000	----------

Footnotes at end of table.

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses, Office of the Administrator	$205,000	----------	$205,000	----------	−$205,000	----------	−$205,000
	Total, General Services Administration	68,157,000	$34,150,000	68,157,000	$49,602,000	−18,555,000	+$15,452,000	−18,555,000
	Total, Independent Offices: New budget (obligational) authority	226,473,600	192,216,600	226,473,600	207,668,600	−18,805,000	+15,452,000	−18,805,000
	By transfer	(685,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(−200,000)	----------	----------
	EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT							
	Council on Environmental Quality and Office of Environmental Quality							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses	500,000	----------	500,000	500,000	----------	+500,000	----------
	Funds Appropriated to the President							
----------	Appalachian regional development program	----------	----------	8,500,000	8,500,000	+8,500,000	+8,500,000	----------
	DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE							
	Office of Civil Defense							
91-404	Construction of facilities, civil defense	496,000	496,000	496,000	496,000	----------	----------	----------
	DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT							
----------	Urban research and technology	----------	5,000,000	25,000,000	15,000,000	+15,000,000	+10,000,000	−10,000,000
	Total, chapter V: New budget (obligational) authority	227,469,600	197,712,600	260,969,600	232,164,600	+4,695,000	+34,452,000	−28,805,000
	By transfer	(685,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(485,000)	(−200,000)	----------	----------
	CHAPTER VI							
	DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR							
	Bureau of Land Management							
91-382 91-404	Management of lands and resources	1,050,000	500,000	1,050,000	500,000	−550,000	----------	−550,000
	Bureau of Indian Affairs							
91-404	Education and welfare services	17,000,000	16,925,000	16,925,000	16,925,000	−75,000	----------	----------
----------	Resources management	----------	----------	50,000	50,000	+50,000	+50,000	----------
S. Doc. 91-114	Payment to the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation	3,561,700	----------	3,561,700	3,561,700	----------	+3,561,700	----------
	Total, Bureau of Indian Affairs	20,561,700	16,925,000	20,536,700	20,536,700	−25,000	+3,611,700	----------
	Bureau of Mines							
91-382	Health and safety	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	----------	----------	----------
91-382	Helium fund (borrowing authority)	56,100,000	50,000,000	56,100,000	50,000,000	−6,100,000	----------	−6,100,000
	Total, Bureau of Mines	57,500,000	51,400,000	57,500,000	51,400,000	−6,100,000	----------	−6,100,000
	Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife							
91-382	Construction	161,000	161,000	161,000	161,000	----------	----------	----------
	National Park Service							
91-382	Management and protection	2,585,000	2,125,000	1,855,000	2,155,000	−430,000	+30,000	+300,000
91-382	Construction	2,420,000	2,420,000	2,420,000	2,420,000	----------	----------	----------
	Total, National Park Service	5,005,000	4,545,000	4,275,000	4,575,000	−430,000	+30,000	+300,000
	Total, Department of the Interior	84,277,700	73,531,000	83,522,700	77,172,700	−7,105,000	+3,641,700	−6,350,000
	RELATED AGENCIES							
	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE							
	Forest Service							
	Forest protection and utilization:							
----------	Forest land management	----------	----------	300,000	150,000	+150,000	+150,000	−150,000
----------	Research	----------	----------	108,000	108,000	+108,000	+108,000	----------
----------	Construction	----------	----------	198,000	198,000	+198,000	+198,000	----------
	Total Forest Service	----------	----------	606,000	456,000	+456,000	+456,000	−150,000
	Smithsonian Institution							
S. Doc. 91-114	Restoration and renovation of buildings	775,000	----------	775,000	775,000	----------	+775,000	----------
	EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT							
	National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	600,000	250,000	600,000	400,000	−200,000	+150,000	−200,000
	Youth Conservation Corps							
	Salaries and expenses	----------	----------	2,500,000	2,500,000	+2,500,000	+2,500,000	----------
	Total, related agencies	1,375,000	250,000	4,481,000	4,131,000	+2,756,000	+3,881,000	−350,000
	Total, chapter VI, new budget (obligational) authority	85,652,700	73,781,000	88,003,700	81,303,700	−4,349,000	+7,522,700	−6,700,000

Footnotes at end of table.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE ACTION—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1971 (H.R. 19928)—Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
	CHAPTER VII							
	DEPARTMENT OF LABOR							
	Manpower Administration							
91-404	Manpower training activities	$5,000,000	$5,000,000	$49,230,000	$17,500,000	+$12,500,000	+$12,500,000	−$31,730,000
91-404	Unemployment compensation for Federal employees and ex-servicemen and trade adjustment activities	67,050,000	66,650,000	66,650,000	66,650,000	−400,000		
91-404	Limitation on grants to States for unemployment compensation and employment service administration (trust fund)	(25,500,000)	(25,500,000)	(25,500,000)	(25,500,000)			
91-404	Limitation on unemployment insurance service, salaries and expenses (trust fund)	(1,100,000)	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)	(−100,000)		
	Wage and Labor Standards Administration							
91-404	Wage and labor standards, salaries and expenses	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000			
	Bureau of Labor Statistics							
91-404	Salaries and expenses	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000			
	Total, Department of Labor	72,800,000	27,400,000	116,630,000	84,900,000	+12,100,000	+12,500,000	−31,730,000
	Limitations (trust fund)	(26,600,000)	(26,500,000)	(26,500,000)	(26,500,000)	(−100,000)		
	DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE							
	Health Services and Mental Health Administration							
----------	Mental health			43,000,000	6,500,000	+6,500,000	+6,500,000	−36,500,000
----------	Maternal and child health			12,000,000				−12,000,000
	Total, Health Services and Mental Health Administration			55,000,000	6,500,000	+6,500,000	+6,500,000	−48,500,000
	National Institutes of Health							
----------	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development			5,000,000				−5,000,000
	Office of Education							
----------	Research and training			8,000,000	8,000,000	+8,000,000	+8,000,000	
	Departmental Management							
S. Doc. 91-114	Office of Child Development	1,900,000		1,900,000	1,900,000		+1,900,000	
	Total, Department of Health, Education and Welfare	1,900,000		69,900,000	16,400,000	+14,500,000	+16,400,000	−53,500,000
	RELATED AGENCIES							
91-382	Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People: Salaries and expenses	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000			
91-404	Commission on Railroad Retirement: Salaries and expenses	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000			
91-404	Railroad Retirement Board: Limitation on salaries and expenses (trust fund)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)			
	Total, related agencies	350,000	350,000	350,000	350,000			
	Limitation (trust fund)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)			
	Total, chapter VII: New budget (obligational) authority	75,050,000	72,750,000	186,880,000	101,650,000	+26,600,000	+28,900,000	−85,230,000
	Limitations (trust fund)	(27,800,000)	(27,700,000)	(27,700,000)	(27,700,000)	(−100,000)		
	CHAPTER VIII							
	LEGISLATIVE BRANCH							
	Salaries, Officers and Employees							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries, officers and employees	871,624		878,352	878,352	+6,728	+878,352	
	Contingent Expenses of the Senate							
S. Doc. 91-114	Senate Policy Committees	5,000		5,000	5,000		+5,000	
S. Doc. 91-114	Inquiries and investigations	2,185,020		2,185,020	2,185,020		+2,185,020	
S. Doc. 91-114	Miscellaneous items	27,510		27,510	27,510		+27,510	
S. Doc. 91-114	Stationery (revolving fund)	150		150	150		+150	
	Total, Senate	3,089,304		3,096,032	3,096,032	+6,628	+3,096,032	
	House of Representatives							
----------	Gratuities to widows of deceased Members		85,000	85,000	85,000	+85,000		
	Salaries, Officers and Employees							
91-420	Committee employees	625,000	550,000	550,000	550,000	−75,000		
91-420	Office of the Legislative Counsel	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000			
	Contingent Expenses of the House							
91-420	Miscellaneous items	680,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	−180,000		
	Total, House of Representatives	1,350,000	1,180,000	1,180,000	1,180,000	−170,000		
	Joint Items							
	Contingent Expenses of the Senate							
S. Doc. 91-114	Joint Economic Committee	3,750		3,750	3,750		+3,750	
S. Doc. 91-114	Joint Committee on Atomic Energy	5,000		5,000	5,000		+5,000	
S. Doc. 91-114	Joint Committee on Printing	2,500	9,200	11,700	11,700	+9,200	+2,500	
	Total, joint items	11,250	9,200	20,450	20,450	+9,200	+11,250	

Footnotes at end of table.

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
	Architect of the Capitol							
	Capitol Buildings and Grounds							
----------	Capitol buildings		$30,000	$30,000	$30,000	+$30,000		
S. Doc. 91-114	Restoration of old Senate Chamber and old Supreme Court Chamber in the Capitol.	$1,209,000		1,209,000		−1,209,000		−$1,209,000
S. Doc. 91-114	Senate office buildings	189,500		189,500	189,500		+$189,500	
91-404	Acquisition of property, construction and equipment, additional House office building (liquidation of contract authorization).	(1,250,000)				(−1,250,000)		
91-404	John W. McCormack Residential Page School	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000			
	Total, Architect of the Capitol	1,448,500	80,000	1,478,500	269,500	−1,179,000	+189,500	−1,209,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(1,250,000)				(−1,250,000)		
	Government Printing Office							
	Office of the Superintendent of Documents							
91-420	Salaries and expenses	265,000	265,000	265,000	265,000			
	Cost-Accounting Standards Board							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	1,100,000	820,000	820,000	820,000	−280,000		
	Total, chapter VIII, new budget (obligational) authority	7,264,054	2,354,200	6,859,982	5,650,982	−1,613,072	+3,296,782	−1,209,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(1,250,000)				(−1,250,000)		
	CHAPTER IX							
	PUBLIC WORKS							
	Atomic Energy Commission							
91-382	Plant and capital equipment	25,500,000	(2)	25,500,000	25,500,000		+25,500,000	
	DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—CIVIL							
	Department of the Army							
	Corps of Engineers—Civil							
----------	General investigations			300,000	300,000	+300,000	+300,000	
----------	Operation and maintenance, general			2,000,000	1,000,000	+1,000,000	+1,000,000	−1,000,000
	Total, Corps of Engineers—Civil			2,300,000	1,300,000	+1,300,000	+1,300,000	−1,000,000
	INDEPENDENT OFFICES							
	Environmental Protection Agency							
91-382	Pollution control operations and research	20,400,000	20,400,000	23,400,000	21,400,000	+1,000,000	+1,000,000	−2,000,000
	Total, chapter IX, new budget (obligational) authority	45,900,000	20,400,000	51,200,000	48,200,000	+2,300,000	+27,800,000	−3,000,000
	CHAPTER X							
	DEPARTMENT OF STATE							
	Administration of Foreign Affairs							
91-382	Payment to Foreign Service retirement and disability fund	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000			
	International Organizations and Conferences							
S. Doc. 91-114	International conferences and contingencies	318,000	200,000	300,000	280,000	−38,000	+80,000	−20,000
91-382	Special contribution to the United Nations	20,000,000				−20,000,000		
	Total, International conferences and contingencies	20,318,000	200,000	300,000	280,000	−20,038,000	+80,000	−20,000
	Total, Department of State	22,318,000	2,200,000	2,300,000	2,280,000	−20,038,000	+80,000	−20,000
	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE							
	Legal Activities and General Administration							
91-382 and S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses, U.S. attorneys and marshals	14,057,000	5,928,000	12,928,000	9,428,000	−4,629,000	+3,500,000	−3,500,000
	Federal Bureau of Investigation							
91-389	Salaries and expenses	14,150,000	14,150,000	14,150,000	14,150,000			
	Federal Prison System							
S. Doc. 91-114	Support of U.S. prisoners: Fiscal year 1970	(489,000)		(489,000)	(489,000)		(+489,000)	
	Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses	7,609,000		7,000,000	7,000,000	−609,000	+7,000,000	
	Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated							
91-382	Limitation on administrative and vocational training expenses, Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)			
	Total, Department of Justice	35,816,000	20,078,000	34,078,000	30,578,000	−5,238,000	+10,500,000	−3,500,000
	Fiscal year 1970 (by transfer)	(489,000)		(489,000)	(489,000)		(+489,000)	
	Limitation	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)			

Footnotes at end of table.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE ACTION—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1971 (H.R. 19928)—Continued

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
	DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE							
	Office of Telecommunications							
S. Doc. 91-114	Research, engineering, analysis, and technical services	$1,000,000		$1,000,000	$700,000	−$300,000	+$700,000	−$300,000
	Maritime Administration							
91-404	State marine schools (liquidation of contract authorization)	(105,000)	($105,000)	(105,000)	(105,000)			
	Total, Department of Commerce	1,000,000		1,000,000	700,000	−300,000	+700,000	−300,000
	Liquidation of contract authorization	(105,000)	(105,000)	(105,000)	(105,000)			
	THE JUDICIARY							
	Supreme Court of the United States							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries	54,000		54,000	54,000		+54,000	
S. Doc. 91-114	Printing and binding Supreme Court reports:							
	Fiscal year 1970	20,000		20,000	20,000		+20,000	
	Fiscal year 1971	63,000		63,000	63,000		+63,000	
S. Doc. 91-114	Care of the buildings and grounds	25,000		25,000	25,000		+25,000	
	Total, Supreme Court of the United States:							
	Fiscal year 1970	20,000		20,000	20,000		+20,000	
	Fiscal year 1971	142,000		142,000	142,000		+142,000	
	Total	162,000		162,000	162,000		+162,000	
	Court of Claims							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	12,000				−12,000		
	Courts of Appeals, District Courts, and Other Judicial Services							
91-382	Salaries of judges	1,910,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	−510,000		
91-382	Salaries of supporting personnel	2,700,000	1,900,000	1,900,000	1,900,000	−800,000		
91-420	Fees and expenses of court-appointed counsel	6,700,000	5,700,000	5,700,000	5,700,000	−1,000,000		
91-382	Fees of jurors	1,400,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	−400,000		
91-382	Travel and miscellaneous expenses	1,560,000	1,360,000	1,300,000	1,360,000	−200,000		
91-382	Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts	202,400	70,000	70,000	70,000	−132,400		
and 91-420	Total, Courts of Appeals, district courts, and other judicial services	14,472,400	11,430,000	11,430,000	11,430,000	−3,042,400		
	Commission on Bankruptcy Laws of the United States							
91-420	Salaries and expenses	600,000	400,000	600,000	400,000	−200,000		−200,000
	Total, the Judiciary:							
	Fiscal year 1970	20,000		20,000	20,000		+20,000	
	Fiscal year 1971	15,226,400	11,830,000	12,172,000	11,972,000	−3,254,400	+142,000	−200,000
	Total	15,246,400	11,830,000	12,192,000	11,992,000	−3,254,400	+162,000	−200,000
	RELATED AGENCIES							
	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses	850,000		850,000		−850,000		−850,000
	Foreign Claims Settlement Commission							
91-382	Payment of Vietnam and U.S.S. "Pueblo" prisoner of war claims	265,000	265,000	265,000	265,000			
	National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control							
91-404	Expenses	500,000		143,000		−500,000		−143,000
	Small Business Administration							
S. Doc. 91-114	Salaries and expenses (by transfer)	(5,000,000)		(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)	(+3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)
S. Doc. 91-114	Disaster loan fund	10,000,000		100,000,000	100,000,000		+100,000,000	
	Tariff Commission							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	450,000	350,000	450,000	350,000	−100,000		−100,000
	Total, related agencies	102,065,000	615,000	101,708,000	100,615,000	−1,450,000	+100,000,000	−1,093,000
	By transfer	(5,000,000)		(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)	(+3,000,000)	
	Total, chapter X, new budget (obligational) authority:							
	Fiscal year 1970	20,000		20,000	20,000		+20,000	
	Fiscal year 1971	176,425,400	34,723,000	151,258,000	146,145,000	−30,280,400	+111,422,000	−5,113,000
	Total	176,445,400	34,723,000	151,278,000	146,165,000	−30,280,400	+111,442,000	−5,113,000
	By transfer:							
	Fiscal year 1970	(489,000)		(489,000)	(489,000)		(+489,000)	
	Fiscal year 1971	(5,000,000)		(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)	(+3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)
	Total	(5,489,000)		(5,489,000)	(3,489,000)	(−2,000,000)	(+3,489,000)	(−2,000,000)
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(105,000)	(105,000)	(105,000)	(105,000)			
	Limitation	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)	(75,000)			

Footnotes at end of table.

H. Doc. No.	Department or activity	Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with— Budget estimate	House bill	Senate bill
	CHAPTER XI							
	DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION							
	Federal Aviation Administration							
91-408	Operations (airport and airway trust fund)	$8,963,000	$6,000,000		$6,000,000	−$2,963,000		+ $6,000,000
	Operations			$6,000,000				−6,000,000
91-408	Facilities and equipment (airport and airway trust fund)	[1] 36,000,000	36,000,000	60,000,000	48,000,000	+12,000,000	+$12,000,000	−12,000,000
91-408	Research and development (airport and airway trust fund)	[1] 33,000,000	24,000,000	24,000,000	24,000,000	−9,000,000		
91-408	Grants-in-aid for airports (airport and airway trust fund):							
	Planning grants	10,000,000	10,000,000	15,000,000	10,000,000			−5,000,000
	Development grants (appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	(40,000,000)	(40,000,000)	(100,000,000)	(60,000,000)	(+20,000,000)	(+20,000,000)	(−40,000,000)
91-408	Payments to the airport and airway trust fund (intragovernmental transaction)	(576,989,000)				(−576,989,000)		
91-408	Safety regulation	3,537,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	−2,537,000		
	Total, Federal Aviation Administration	91,500,000	77,000,000	106,000,000	89,000,000	−2,500,000	+12,000,000	−17,000,000
	Consisting of:							
	Trust funds	87,963,000	76,000,000	99,000,000	88,000,000	+37,000	+12,000,000	−11,000,000
	Federal funds	3,537,000	1,000,900	7,000,000	1,000,000	−2,537,000		−6,000,000
	Federal Railroad Administration							
S. Doc. 91-114	Federal grants to the National Railroad Passenger Corporation	40,000,000		40,000,000	40,000,000		+40,000,000	
	RELATED AGENCY							
	Interstate Commerce Commission							
S. Doc. 91-114	Payment of loan guaranties	40,685,000		40,685,000	40,685,000		+40,685,000	
	Total, chapter XI, new budget (obligational) authority.	712,185,000	77,000,000	186,685,000	169,685,000	−2,500,000	+92,685,000	−17,000,000
	Appropriation to liquidate contract authority	(40,000,000)	(40,000,000)	(100,000,000)	(60,000,000)	(+20,000,000)	(+20,000,000)	(−40,000,000)
	Intragovernmental transaction (Federal funds payment to trust fund).	(576,989,000)				(−576,989,000)		
	CHAPTER XII							
	TREASURY DEPARTMENT							
	Bureau of Customs							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000			
	Bureau of the Mint							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	(language)	(language)	(language)	(language)			
	Internal Revenue Service							
91-382	Revenue accounting and processing	118,000	118,000	118,000	118,000			
S. Doc.	Compliance	6,200,000	750,000	5,026,000	5,026,000	−1,174,000	+4,276,000	
91-114	Total, Treasury Department	6,818,000	1,368,000	5,644,000	5,644,000	−1,174,000	+4,276,000	
	EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT							
	Domestic Council							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	960,000	210,000	960,000	960,000		+750,000	
	Office of Management and Budget							
91-382	Salaries and expenses	1,036,000	900,000	900,000	900,000	−136,000		
	Total, Executive Office of the President	1,996,000	1,110,000	1,860,000	1,860,000	−136,000	+750,000	
	Total, chapter XII, new budget (obligational) authority	8,814,000	2,478,000	7,504,000	7,504,000	−1,310,000	+5,026,000	
	CHAPTER XIII							
	Claims and Judgments							
91-420 and S. Doc. 91-117	Claims and judgments	43,130,510	41,747,738	43,130,510	43,130,510		+1,382,772	
	Total, new budget (obligational) authority:							
	Fiscal year 1970	20,000		20,000	20,000		+20,000	
	Fiscal year 1971	1,928,965,264	1,525,365,538	2,089,087,792	1,853,352,792	−75,612,472	+327,987,254	−235,735,000
	Grand total	1,928,985,264	1,525,365,538	2,089,107,792	1,853,372,792	−75,612,472	+328,007,254	−235,735,000
	Limitations	(27,883,000)	(27,775,000)	(27,783,000)	(27,783,000)	(−100,000)	(+8,000)	
	By transfer:							
	Fiscal year 1970	(489,000)		(489,000)	(489,000)		(+489,000)	
	Fiscal year 1971	(5,685,000)	(485,000)	(5,485,000)	(3,485,000)	(−2,200,000)	(+3,000,000)	(−2,000,000)
	Total, transfers	(6,174,000)	(485,000)	(5,974,000)	(3,974,000)	(−2,200,000)	(+3,489,000)	(−2,000,000)
	Appropriations to liquidate contract authorization	(41,355,000)	(40,105,000)	(100,105,000)	(60,105,000)	(+18,750,000)	(+20,000,000)	(−40,000,000)

[1] In addition, excess Pakistani rupees are made available for relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction in East Pakistan.

[2] Excludes $22,500,000 for payment to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (H. Doc. 91-404) not considered in connection with this bill.

[3] Deferred pending authorization.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bow).

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as this is the last appropriation bill of this session, I believe I should point out that the Joint Committee on the Reduction of Federal Expenditures has recently issued its staff report, No. 14, on the 1971 budget. The information it contains is especially pertinent in view of some of the remarks that have been made on this floor in recent weeks about how this Congress is cutting the budget by reducing appropriations.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we are reducing appropriations—but the only substantial reduction is in Defense. And it may be that our reductions here have been too severe when you consider that our national security is involved. In many of our appropriation bills there was no significant change. In others, such as Education, Housing, Agriculture, and Labor-HEW, we have added over $1.2 billion. Except for our action on the Defense bill, this Congress has increased the budget—and by a considerable amount.

But Mr. Speaker, claiming credit for reducing appropriations is like a half-truth. It ignores the many actions of this Congress that have authorized "mandatory" and "backdoor" spending. These kinds of legislative bills have added $8.4 billion in spending authority to the President's budget in the House. Over $6.8 billion of this kind of authority has already become law. This will add at least $3 billion in expenditures this fiscal year and billions more in years to come. These amounts cannot be overlooked.

As I have said many times before, Congress has been on record for a long time in trying to avoid back-door spending. It is one way we can protect the Treasury of the United States. It is one way we can respect the Constitution which provides that no moneys may be expended except by appropriation. This year this House has failed to protect the Treasury to date by the amount of $8.4 billion.

In addition congressional action on over $4 billion worth of income producing or revenue legislation requested by the President has not been completed. These moneys should not be forgotten when people express concern about the possibility of decreased receipts next spring. The absence of these moneys will also help to insure a deficit for fiscal year 1971.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we will have a deficit this year. I do not know how much it will be or whom it will help, but I do know whom it will not help.

It will not help 25 million people fighting a losing battle to make their social security checks cover the cost of living.

It will not help 9 million or more citizens on public assistance.

It will not help millions of middle-class Americans caught between taxes and a cost of living that all of us want to bring down.

So, Mr. Speaker, none of my colleagues should be claiming credit for this Congress for reducing the budget. As the most recent joint committee budget scorekeeping report shows—it did not really happen that way.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS IN DISAGREEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 6. Page 5, line 21, insert: *"Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available only upon enactment into law of authorizing legislation".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 7. Page 5, line 23, insert: *"Provided further,* That obligations incurred from funds appropriated herein shall not exceed the total amount authorized in H.R. 19911, or similar legislation."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 8. Page 6, line 4, strike out "$150,000,000" and insert "$195,000,000".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment, insert "$155,000,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 9. On page 6, line 4, insert: *"Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available only upon enactment into law of authorizing legislation".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 10. Page 6, line 6, insert: *"Provided further,* That obligations incurred from funds appropriated herein shall not exceed the total amount authorized in H.R. 19911, or similar legislation."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 11. Page 6, line 10, insert:

"CONTINGENCY FUND

"For the additional amount for 'Contingency funds', $15,000,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available only upon enactment into law of authorizing legislation."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"CONTINGENCY FUND

"For the additional amount for 'Contingency funds,' $7,500,000: *Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available only upon enactment into law of authorizing legislation "

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 12: Page 6, line 15, insert the following:

"EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

"LIMITATION ON ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

"In addition to the amount otherwise made available for entertainment allowances for members of the Board of Directors, for the current fiscal year, $8,000 shall be available for such purposes."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 13: Page 6, line 21, insert the following:

"EXCESS FOREIGN CURRENCIES FOR PAKISTAN

"For assistance for relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction in East Pakistan in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, such amounts of Pakistani rupees

as the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States on the date of enactment of this Act, such amounts to remain available for a period of one year from the date of enactment of H.R. 19911, or similar legislation."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement:

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 15: Page 8, line 6, strike out "$250,000" and insert "$500,000".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House insist on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 16: Page 8, line 8, insert the following:

"OPERATING EXPENSES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS SERVICE

"For an additional amount for 'Operating expenses, Public Buildings Service', $11,350,000: *Provided*, That this appropriation and the 'Buildings management fund' (40 U.S.C. 490(f)), shall be available for employment of guards for all buildings and areas owned or occupied by the United States and under the charge and control of the General Services Administration or the Post Office Department (or the Postal Service), and such guards shall have, with respect to such property, the powers of special policemen provided by the first section of the Act of June 1, 1948 (62 Stat. 281; 40 U.S.C. 318), but shall not be restricted to certain Federal property as otherwise required by the proviso to said section: *Provided further*, That the limitation on the amounts deposited for Administrative operations in the Administrative Operations Fund for the current fiscal year is increased by the amount of the administrative expenses appropriated herein."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: "$8,000,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 18: Page 9, line 23, insert the following:

"SITES AND EXPENSES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS PROJECTS

"For an additional amount for 'sites and expenses, public buildings projects', $2,452,000, to remain available until expended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate Amendment No. 22: Page 10, line 13, insert the following:

"FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

"APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

"For an additional amount for 'Appalachian Regional Development Programs', $8,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That such funds shall only be available for increasing the Federal contribution to projects under the Airport and Airways Development Act of 1970; and *provided further*, That, when the Secretary of Transportation determines that the project enhances safety, the total Federal contribution may be 100 percent notwithstanding the provisions of section 214(b) of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, as amended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 22 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

"APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

"For an additional amount for 'Appalachian Regional Development Programs,' $8,500,000, to remain available until expended."

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Nation was shocked at the tragedy which occurred on the evening of November 14, 1970, when the entire Marshall University football team; coaches, athletic staff as well as many prominent Huntingtonians—friends of Marshall University—were killed in the crash of a Southern Airways chartered DC–9 attempting to land in the fog and rain at the Tri-State Airport in my hometown of Huntington, W. Va.

There were 75 wonderful people on that plane, including the pilot, copilot, and crew, and all 75 men and women perished in that terrible accident. Commencing December 14, the National Transportation Safety Board held hearings for 3 days in Huntington, W. Va., at which many witnesses testified on the probable and possible causes of the crash. There has been a vast amount of speculation, informed and uninformed, about the reasons why the plane was coming in too low and struck the tops of tall trees, cart-wheeled after striking the mountainside, and burned.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the State of West Virginia is doubly handicapped when it comes to building airports which will reduce the margin of safety error to a minimum, so as to protect the lives and safety of those who fly into these airports. I challenge anyone who has flown into either Charleston or Huntington, W. Va.—hilltop airports with runways of 6,300 and 5,280 feet, respectively, to compare and contrast these airports with other airports around the Nation. In West Virginia and other sections of Appalachia, we have very little level ground on which to build airports, hence the price of moving earth to shave the tops off mountains runs very high. That is our first handicap. Our second handicap is that every mile of road in West Virginia costs more than in flat areas, and we simply do not have sufficient funds in the economy of our State to raise millions of dollars needed in matching funds to build safe and secure airports.

Let me give you a specific example, Mr. Speaker. In 1967, the Federal Aviation Administration selected a site for a new airport with a runway upwards of 8,000 feet—capable to being easily extended to 10,000 feet—which was located 24.5 miles from Charleston and 25.5 miles from Huntington, half a mile north of Interstate Highway 64. The new airport was to be located almost midway between these two cities which are 50 miles apart and joined by an interstate highway. After an extensive, impartial, and objective study, the FAA strongly recommended that the communities get together and support construction of such an airport. Bond elections were held in two counties, and carried by 85 percent majorities, but a bond election failed in Kanawha County in which the city of Charleston is located. Critics of the new, safe, superior airport claimed that enough local financing did not exist to build this new airport, and unfortunately it has not been built.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that wherever an air traveler boards a plane, whatever State he comes from, he should have his safety protected and his life not jeopardized by flying into airports that are inferior. In answer to this observation, there are those who state that FAA maintains safety standards, and would close any airport in West Virginia which is unsafe. I submit that safety is a relative matter which consists of many factors, and no matter how high your standards may be, a combination of many factors can reduce the margin of error. It stands to reason that some airports are relatively safer than others. Dulles Airport would probably be near the top of the list in relatively safe airports. I regret that I cannot say the same for West Virginia's airports.

In order to improve the existing airports in West Virginia, it is certainly essential to lengthen the runway at the Tri-State Airport to 6,500 feet and install a glide slope for the instrument landing system. Beyond this, it is as important now as it always has been to move forward quickly toward construction of a modern regional airport to serve both Charleston and Huntington. I certainly wish that the Senate ver-

sion of the supplemental appropriation bill had prevailed, for this would have enabled an immediate start on necessary improvements at the Tri-State Airport in Huntington, by allowing for 100 percent Federal expenditure—instead of the upper limit of 80 percent now authorized by the basic FAA legislation which provides 50 percent, plus the 30-percent supplement provided by the Appalachian Regional Act. Although I am pleased that $8.5 million has been added for the Appalachian Commission, I regret that the formula will not allow 100-percent Federal funding for the construction of necessary safety features at Tri-State Airport.

I have conferred on several occasions with my colleague from West Virginia, Senator BYRD, who sponsored the 100-percent amendment which passed the other body. I have also conferred with my colleague from West Virginia (Mr. SLACK), who serves on the House Committee on Appropriations. I have also talked with my colleague from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS), who is chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Earlier today, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. JONES) indicated informally that he would be glad to speak in favor of retention of the provision sponsored in the Senate by Senator BYRD. I consider this significant, because the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. JONES) is a key sponsor of the authorizing legislation, as a member of the Public Works Committee.

I am disappointed that the House conferees did not come to agreement with the Senate conferees on this item, since we are dealing with the lives and safety of people from many States. There were residents of 12 different States among the 75 who lost their lives in the Marshall tragedy. I repeat that residents of every State in the Union should have their safety fully protected, no matter where they fly commercially, and their life and safety must not be jeopardized because a State has to build an expensive airport in mountainous terrain or does not have the matching funds to provide a superior airport. Congress must face up to this problem, because it is a national problem which legislation now on the statute books fails to meet.

(Mr. ROONEY of New York asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to advise the House of the yeoman-like work of a member of the House Appropriations Committee, the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. SLACK) in obtaining for his State approval by the House conferees of the $8.5 million provided in amendment in disagreement No. 22 for upgrading and improving airports in West Virginia. The upgrading and improving includes extensions of runways and modern electronic equipment designed to insure safety of aircraft and passengers during takeoffs and landings.

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

The motion was agreed to

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 27: Page 12, line 1, insert the following:

"PAYMENT TO THE UTE TRIBE OF THE UINTAH AND OURAY RESERVATION

"For reimbursement to the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation for tribal funds that were used to construct, operate, and maintain the Uintah Indian irrigation project, Utah, and for interest thereon, as authorized by the Act of September 18, 1970 (Public Law 91-403), $3,561,700: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, pay directly to the tribe, or the tribal trust fund, any or all of seventy-two and eight hundred and thirty-eight one-thousandths per centum (72.838 per centum) of the foregoing amount."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 27 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendments No. 29: Page 13, line 8 strike out "$2,125,000" and insert "$1,855,-000"

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the amount stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert "$2,155,000".

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding.

I notice the figure in the conference report is $30,000 above either the House or the Senate figure. Can the chairman explain this to me?

Mr. MAHON. The gentleman is inquiring as to amendment No. 29. It was reported in technical disagreement.

The managers on the part of the House have offered a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment to provide $2,155,000 for the National Park Service, "Management and Protection," instead of the $2,125,000 as proposed by the House and $1,855,000 as proposed by the Senate. The increase over the amount provided by the House includes $30,000 to implement Public Law 91-462 which authorizes a study of the feasibility and desirability of establishing a unit of the national park system to commemorate the opening of the Cherokee Strip to homesteading. It was brought back in disagreement and therefore is subject to a decision by the House. It was not included in the conference report. It is above the figure of either house, so under the rules of conference it had to be brought back outside the formal conference report in technical disagreement and made subject to a separate motion.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. And the chairman then is suggesting that the figure be the $30,000 in excess of the figure as it passed the House.

Mr. MAHON. Yes, that is what the conferees agreed to do.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, may I say this is the figure the House approved with the exception of the item of $30,000 for the Cherokee Strip.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. So it is the opinion of the chairman that it is necessary for the House to take this action because it was not in the House bill?

Mr. MAHON. That is essentially correct. The conference amount is above the total amount originally approved by either the House or the Senate.

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

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 34: Page 14, line 14, insert:

"YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act of August 13, 1970 (Public Law 91-378), establishing the Youth Conservation Corps, $2,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That $1,250,000 shall be available to the Secretary of the Interior and $1,250,000 shall be available to the Secretary of Agriculture."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 44: Page 20, line 1, strike "VII" and insert "VIII".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by the Senate amendment, insert the following:

"VIII

"LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

"The provisions relating to the Speaker of the House of Representatives carried in House Resolution 1238, Ninety-first Congress, shall be the permanent law with respect thereto."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 45: Page 20, line 3, insert:

"SENATE

"CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

"INQUIRIES AND INVESTIGATIONS

"For an additional amount for 'Inquiries and Investigations'. $2,185,020.

"LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION

"For additional amounts for increased costs as authorized by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, related costs, and for other purposes, as follows:

" 'Salaries, Officers and Employees', $878,352: *Provided,* That effective January 1, 1971, the per annum compensation of the six expert transcribers in the Office of the Secretary shall not exceed $16,008 each, and the Secretary of the Senate may employ and fix the compensation of a Special Assistant and a Clerk at not to exceed $16,472 each in lieu of two Clerks at not to exceed $15,312 each.

"CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

" 'Senate Policy Committees', $5,000.

" 'Miscellaneous Items', $27,510.

" 'Stationary (Revolving Fund)', $150.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 45 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 48: Page 23, line 6, insert:

"SENATE OFFICE BUILDINGS

"For an additional amount for 'Senate Office Buildings' $189,500, to remain available until June 30, 1972."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 48 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 50: Page 24, line 9, insert:

"ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

"PLANT AND CAPITAL EQUIPMENT

"For an additional amount for 'Plant and capital equipment', $25,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided,* That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of S. 4557, 91st Congress."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 50 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 52: Page 24, line 18, insert:

"GENERAL INVESTIGATIONS

"For an additional amount for 'General Investigations', $300,000, to remain available until expended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 52 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 53: On page 25, line 1, insert:

"OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, GENERAL

"For an additional amount for 'operation and Maintenance, General', $2,000,000, to remain available until expended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 53 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert "$1,000,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 58: On page 26, line 12, insert: "of which $3,220,000 is for acquisition and repair of security equipment for Federal court facilities and shall remain available until expended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 58 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$1,610,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 59, on page 26, line 18, insert: "including the purchase for police-type use without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year 500 passenger motor vehicles."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 59 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 60: On page 26, line 22, insert:

"SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PRISONERS

"For an additional amount, fiscal year 1970, for 'Support of United States prisoners', $489,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons', fiscal year 1970."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 60 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 61: On page 27, line 9, insert:

"BUREAU OF NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For an additional amount for 'Salaries and expenses', including purchase of not to exceed two hundred and eighty-eight passenger motor vehicles for police-type use without regard to the general price limitation for the current fiscal year; and not to exceed $145,000 for payment of accommodations in the District of Columbia in connection with training activities, $7,000,000."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 61 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 62: On page 27, line 19, insert:

"OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS

"RESEARCH, ENGINEERING, ANALYSIS, AND TECHNICAL SERVICES

"For expenses necessary for the conduct of telecommunications functions assigned to the Secretary of Commerce pursuant to Executive Order 11556 of September 4, 1970, including activities authorized by 15 U.S.C. 272(f) (12) and (13), $1,000,000, to remain available until expended."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 62 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$700,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 71: On page 30, line 20, insert:

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For an additional amount for 'Salaries and expenses', $5,000,000, to be transferred from the 'Disaster loan fund'."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 71 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert "$3,000,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 81: On page 34, line 18, insert:

"RELATED AGENCY

"INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

"PAYENT OF LOAN GUARANTEES

"For an additional amount for 'Payment of Loan Guaranties', $40,685,000, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay interest."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 81 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 84:

Page 35, strike "$750,000" and insert the following. "including the purchase of one hundred and fifty passenger motor vehicles for police-type use, in addition to those heretofore authorized, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, but not in excess of $800 per vehicle, $5,026,000."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. MAHON

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MAHON moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 84 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert the following: "including the purchase of one hundred and fifty passenger motor vehicles for police-type use, in addition to those heretofore authorized, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, $5,026,000."

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the conference report and on the several motions was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days during which to extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to, and to include pertinent extraneous matter and tables.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

ANOTHER BLOW AT THE COAL INDUSTRY: OIL IMPORTS

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

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in reading the front page of this evening's paper, I see the President has struck another blow at the coal industry by increasing the oil import quota by 100,000 barrels per day. Mr. George A. Lincoln, Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, told newsmen about this action which will probably have an adverse effect on the coal miners of West Virginia.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is very unfortunate at this time that the President should increase the oil import quota.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

(Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from West Virginia knows full well that this additional 100,000 barrels of oil a day is just a drop in the bucket. I realize that the gentleman from West Virginia has been the cause, more or less, for keeping these restrictions on imports more than any other Member of the House. I know he is concerned about the coal miners and the economy in West Virginia. In fact, the gentleman keeps talking about West Virginia as though there were no other States in the Union. Cannot the gentleman stop talking about West Virginia. Does he think that West Virginia is the only State in the Union?

I would suggest to the gentleman that he pay a little bit of attention to other parts of the country, particularly New England, which is faced with frigid weather without adequate fuel and oil supplies because of the brinksmanship that is being played by the administration with reference to increasing these oil imports. They could increase these imports from Canada by another 200,000 barrels a day, and it would not affect the security of the United States or Canada one iota.

I hope that the gentleman will let up a little bit in his strenuous and successful efforts on behalf of the people of the State of West Virginia, and perhaps give some more consideration to New England.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. I thank the gentleman for his contribution, but I have run out of time to answer.

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

FURTHER CONFERENCE ON THE BILL H.R. 17867, MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, FISCAL YEAR 1971

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 17867) making appropriations for foreign assistance and related programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, insist on disagreement to the Senate amendments and agree to the further conference requested by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, could this possibly be the annual foreign giveaway bill?

Mr. PASSMAN. That is correct. This is the regular bill that passed the House and passed the Senate and was sent to conference. The conference agreement was brought back to the House and passed the House and sent to the Senate and the Senate rejected it. The Senate appointed new conferees and are asking for a new conference.

Mr. GROSS. It seems to be a rather devious course that this bill is taking.

Mr. PASSMAN. There are a lot of things that take that procedure at this time of the year.

Mr. GROSS. Would it be any great loss if this bill never again saw the light of day and stopped traveling back and forth between the two bodies?

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman and I have views in common on this legislation. But we must do everything in our power to maintain the House position.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman can assure me that he will keep our views on a common plane with respect to the foreign handout bill, I will withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. PASSMAN. I will assure the distinguished gentleman from Iowa that I will try to do that.

Mr. GROSS. With that assurance, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. PASSMAN. May I wish all a Merry Christmas.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana? The Chair hears none, and, without objection, appoints the following conferees: Messrs. PASSMAN, NATCHER, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, and Messrs. COHELAN, LONG of Maryland, MCFALL, MAHON, SHRIVER, CONTE, REID of Illinois, RIEGLE, and BOW.

There was no objection.

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. Church membership in the United States has nearly doubled since 1940 from 64,502,000 to 128,470,000 in 1968.

REPRESENTATIVE TAFT PRAISES CLEVELAND PRESS FOR STORIES ENCOURAGING NORTHERN OHIOANS TO WRITE NORTH VIETNAM GOVERNMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TAFT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Press recently invited northern Ohioans to write letters to the North Vietnamese Government, urging the release of American prisoners of war. They are to be commended for this public service.

Over 21,000 responded and the letters were sent to Scripps-Howard's Paris correspondent Richard Boyce, for presentation to the North Vietnamese delegation at the peace talks. Predictably, they refused to accept the letters.

U.S. Ambassador Bruce suggested to Mr. Boyce, as an alternative, that stories about the letters from Ohioans be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because it was his understanding that translated copies of the RECORD are read by the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris.

With that hope, I include the Cleveland Press articles, in full, in the body of the RECORD:

PRESS POW NOTES SPURNED, U.S. ENVOY SAYS HE'LL HELP

(By Richard H. Boyce)

PARIS.—North Vietnam's peace talks delegation here has slammed the door on the the POWrite-a-thon letters you Clevelanders wrote pleading for American prisoners of war.

But do not give up hope. Today the 21,000 letters flown to Paris will be shown to David K. E. Bruce, head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Talks.

Ambassador Bruce promised to study them personally, and perhaps he can find a way to get them—or at least some of them—into the hands of the North Vietnamese delegation.

Members of the American delegation assured me that Bruce is "in deep sympathy" with the Cleveland letter campaign, sponsored by The Press, as he is with other letter-writing groups in the U.S.

He has talked with a number of such groups, has read selections of the prisoner-plea letters they have brought—almost none of which the North Vietnamese have accepted.

Before being turned over to Ambassador Bruce, the letters spurned by the Hanoi delegates were placed on display in the Pan American World Airways ticket office on the Christmas-decorated Avenue des Champs Elysees. Many, many Parisians noted the impressive stack of mail.

Earlier yesterday the letter presentation was attempted at the North Vietnamese delegation, headquarters in Choisy-le-Roi, a Paris suburb.

No explanation for the cold refusal was given by the Communists.

As soon as the Vietnamese at the door saw the impressive containers of letters, he slammed the door without saying a word.

Later, this correspondent telephoned a member of the North Vietnamese delegation, asking information about the Cleveland letters. He was told, "we have not accepted any letters. We do not accept letters."

Asked if he was aware of widespread resentment in Cleveland and throughout the United States because of North Vietnam's brutal treatment of American prisoners, the Communist official said:

"That is American propaganda. Our people continue to practice a policy of humanity toward prisoners."

Yet the Communist delegation's refusal to accept or read any of the letters was not explained.

While Clevelanders' letters were on display at Pan-Am I joined officials of the airline in reading them at random.

We were deeply impressed by the sincerity and eloquence with which you Clevelanders pleaded your case for the American prisoners of war hidden behind the bamboo curtain of North Vietnam.

Here are some examples of the touching messages we read . . .

The John R. Zanath family of 5624 North Circle View Dr. Seven Hills, wrote:

"In the name of humanity and the hope this action will help end a war which has caused misery and suffering to people in your country and ours—release them!"

In the same vein of simple eloquence was the plea of Leona K. Schroeder, 4465 South Hills Dr.

"Neither your boys nor our boys did it by choice. God bless them all. We in America do care."

"Please," wrote Mrs. Ray J. Young of 794 Quilliams, Cleveland Heights. "Surely it can have no bearing on the outcome of this war."

Jim Morgan of 7336 Brookside Pkwy., Middleburg Heights, challenged the Communists to "prove you are humane."

Nancy Davigon of 6775 Smith Rd., counts herself blessed because her man "came home from Vietnam." She wrote to Xuan Thuy, chief of the North Vietnamese delegation: "I'm sure you have heard this (plea) a thousand times. I hope you hear it a thousand more."

PRESS IS FLYING POW APPEAL TO PARIS TALKS

More than 21,000 letters representing the hopes and prayers of Great Clevelanders for captive American servicemen are airborne today heading for Paris and the North Vietnamese peace negotiating team.

With them went a personal letter from Press Editor Tom Boardman which summed up the sentiments of Press readers who called for freedom for the prisoners and relief for their families.

"It is the hope of those who have expressed themselves through these messages that these matters can somehow be set apart from the agonies of combat and dealt with as a pressing human question," Boardman wrote.

Boardman said the "messages constitute an appeal to you and to your government to agree to make the release of prisoners a matter of urgent and hopefully productive negotiations.

"And, meanwhile, they express the hope that channels of communication between prisoners and their families will continue to improve, and that the full list of those held will be made available, so that the uncertainty in which so many families now live may be cleared away."

The letters were loaded aboard a Buckeye Air Freight plane at Cleveland Hopkins Airport. They were transferred in Detroit to a Pan American Airlines Clipper cargo plane. They are due to arrive in Paris this afternoon.

"I was an Air Force pilot," said Buckeye Air Freight representative Bog Karns. "Some of my friends have been captured in Vietnam. I sure hope this does some good."

The shipment of letters will be met in Paris by newsman Richard Boyce who has covered the Paris peace talks for The Press and other Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

Boyce has made arrangements for the U.S. peace negotiation team to review the letters. He is attempting to deliver them to the hands of the North Vietnamese delegation.

The first dispatch from Paris should reach The Press in time for publication tomorrow.

NIXON LAUDS PRESS POW LETTERS

President Nixon today voiced his encouragement and approval of the Press POWrite-a-thon project aimed at seeking freedom and relief for American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia.

As more than 10,000 messages of concern were being prepared for their journey from The Press to the Paris peace talks, President Nixon sent Press Editor Tom Boardman the following telegram:

"DEAR TOM: The initiative which you and The Cleviand Press have undertaken in behalf of American held prisoner in North Vietnam is deeply gratifying.

"What you and your readers are doing can make an important difference, not only in the vital task of achieving humane treatment, as well as early release for our men, but also in assuring them and the members of their families that they have not been forgotten.

"For our part, we in government will continue to do everything we can through every means available to bring our prisoners of war home as soon as possible."

"Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON."

Tomorrow the letters from Press readers will be sent to Richard Boyce, Press correspondent at the Paris peace talks.

Boyce will deliver them to peace negotiators and keep readers informed of their impact.

POW WRITE-A-THON: LET'S TELL HANOI

The Press urges its readers to join in a massive effort to obtain freedom for the American servicemen held prisoner in Vietnam.

We make this appeal today after deliberation and consultation with U.S. State Department officials and after encouragement by Ohio Sens. Stephen M. Young and William Saxbe.

Press readers are asked to share this effort by launching their own personal appeals for freedom to the heads of the North Vietnamese government.

There are no reliable figures on how many U.S. servicemen are alive and captive in Southeast Asia. Of some 1500 men reported missing in action, only about 300 have been seen alive and in prison in North Vietnam.

The wives, the parents, the children of these men have been living a nightmare.

Some have had the consolation of seeing their loved ones in a blurred photo or a grainy newsreel clip—alive a month ago, a year ago.

Others have lived solely on hope and prayer with nothing but faith to carry them through years of not knowing whether their young men are dead or alive.

The suffering, the frustration of their existence cuts across political lines. There are no politics to despair.

The American Government has offered to exchange prisoners with the government of North Vietnam at a ratio of 30 men to one. The offer was made, not in the interest of politics or strategy but in the interest of humanity—Humanity on both sides of the battlefield. The offer was rejected.

The Press today asks its readers to join in a POW Write-a-thon to demonstrate to the North Vietnamese this nation's concern for the plight of prisoners, theirs and ours. And for the plight of families—theirs and ours.

Printed with this article is a message form containing space to write of your concern to Xuan Thuy, the chief negotiator for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

There is room for a short message in the name of human compassion, asking that the

prisoners be freed, that the families now living in darkness at least be granted the consolation of knowing if their loved ones are alive or dead.

This form will be printed again in The Press next week.

After that, the letters will be bundled and delivered to the Paris peace negotiations to be turned over to North Vietnamese diplomats.

Part of the frustration of six years of painful war has come from the inability of American citizens to do anything personally without aligning themselves with political factions; without worrying about whether their actions will help or harm our soldiers in the field.

Here is a chance for a peace demonstration held in the name of brotherhood.

The Press hopes its readers will send in the Write-a-thons, and take part in an attempt to show the North Vietnamese we are concerned about our men.

And to demonstrate to the families of the captives that they have not been abandoned by their countrymen.

THE REALITY OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND THE PRESSING NEED FOR A SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DERWINSKI) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the recent events of the suppressed defection of the Lithuanian sailor and the riots and political changes in Poland underscore again the blunt reality of the captive nations as well as the pressing need for a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations in the 92d Congress. Relatively few of us are aware of the continuing discussion and popular activities bearing on the captive nations. Captive Nations Week, and our policy toward the Red empire in toto. To cite several self-explanatory items on these issues, I bring to the attention of our Members the following:

First, a vitriolic article on "U.S. Anticommunism" in the Moscow periodical International Affairs for November 1970;

Second, an impressive report on the Tampa Captive Nations Week observance for 1970, conducted by the Kiwanis clubs;

Third, an article in the Christian Crusade Weekly on "America's Unused Weapon—The Captive Nations";

Fourth, an editorial on "Complete Victory of the Struggle for Freedom in the 1970's" in Asian Outlook, as well as the messages and addresses delivered at China's Captive Nations Week rally;

Fifth, an address on "The National Captive Nations Committee, U.S.A.," an Annual Action for World Freedom, given at the Fourth World Anticommunist League Conference in Japan; and

Sixth, a proclamation of Captive Nations Week by Mayor Frank A. Sedita of the city of Buffalo.

The material referred to, follows:

[From International Affairs, November 1970]

U.S. ANTICOMMUNISM

(By A. Borisov)

Stories in the American press, statements made by US politicians and other public figures and, finally, the actions of the US government in the international arena all point to the fact that the influence of the ultra-right reactionary forces on the shaping of Washington's foreign policy course has grown.

The American ultra reactionaries—behind whom stands the military-industrial complex—are alarmed by the development of the world revolutionary process and demand that every means of struggle against the socialist community and the workers' and national liberation movement be mobilised. The expansion of the American imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia met the approval of the reactionary circles of the USA; it was not without reason that George Wallace, the well known representative of these circles who ran for President a couple of years ago, said quite frankly that Richard Nixon's Administration "is taking some positions that we took in the campaign in '68".

With the American ultra exercising increasing influence on U.S. government policy, the more rabid anti-communist forces are once again making wide use of a provocative campaign which goes under the hypocritical name of Captive Nations Week. This year it was held for the twelfth time in the United States and use to kindle hatred against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Such annual anti-Soviet campaigns are conducted on the basis of US Senate Joint Resolution 111 of July 17, 1959, which later, as Public Law 86-90 made it incumbent on the President of the USA to designate annually, in a special proclamation, the third week of July as Captive Nations Week.

This law was passed by the Congress at a time which American imperialism was experiencing a serious crisis in its anti-communist policy. There were those in Washington who felt that the obvious bankruptcy of the so-called "doctrine of liberation" demanded new and more flexible forms of struggle with the countries of the socialist community. Realistically thinking bourgeois figures felt that the continued pursuance of the policy of "balancing on the brink of war" under conditions where the correlation of world forces was unfavorable to imperialism could present a danger to the future of capitalism. Those years saw the beginnings of a tendency among such realistic politicians not to brush aside the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different socio-economic systems.

It was with these tendencies that the ultra right forces of the USA undertook to give battle as they once again began advancing slanderous "arguments" about the enslavement by "Russian communism" of other peoples in the Soviet Union and the mythical export of revolution from the USSR Resolution 111 accused the Soviet Union of "enslaving" the East European countries and declared the socialist camp to be "dire threat" to the security of the United States.[1]

The direct instigators of the resolution were reactionary émigré organizations, such as the US based Assembly of Captive European Nations, the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent, and American Friends of Captive Nations. Each of these organisations represents the ardent foes of socialism—people who have suffered political and moral disaster in their own countries and have found asylum overseas.

The Congress of the USA became the chief propaganda tribune for reactionary émigré circles. It is characteristic that after a special organisational centre was established for conducting the Week—namely, the National Captive Nations Committee, with headquarters in Washington and 75 branches in other parts of the country—over one-third of the members of the House of Representatives and about a third of Senators became members, prompting *The Washington Post* to write that the "annual Captive Nations charade might better be called Captive Congressmen Week".[2]

Indeed, many American congressmen have really been caught by the itch of anti-communism. They use this measure not only to kindle hatred towards socialism, but also to advance their personal careers. Referring to this, a Chicago newspaper, *The Polish American,* noted that the propaganda campaign provides an "excellent opportunity for our Congressmen and Senators to make stirring addresses" to their own advantage without any risk to their political careers. Last year, 53 members of the House of Representatives and six senators made unbridled anti-communist speeches during July "week". With off-year congressional elections coming up this year, a number of congressmen again tried during the July campaign to attract the votes of the Americans of East European extraction. Not only is Congress involved in conducting this bitter anti-communist campaign; the governors of a number of states as well as the mayors of some large cities are adding fuel to the flames.

But all these are only the external attributes of July's anti-communist activities; the chief aim is to fight the very idea of socialism and to attempt to discredit the foreign and home policies of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The organisers of this campaign vigorously oppose any relaxation of international tension and support the aggressive actions of American imperialism.

The official programme for the 1970 National Captive Nations Committee calls for "total victory in Vietnam" and contains a protest against the development of equitable trade with socialist countries. The authors of this document have proposed to establish a Freedom Academy to train personnel for carrying out subversive activity against the socialist states. They demand that the government step up its psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and its allies, thus actually advocating a complete re-examination of American policy towards the USSR and a return to the more violent methods in the policy and practice of anti-communism of the 1950s.

In this Lenin anniversary year, the organisers of the Week have given special priority to the launching of an ideological campaign against Marxism-Leninism. A special resolution by the World Anti-Communist League adopted in connection with the Captive Nations Week has summoned its members to intensify the campaign against the ideology of Leninism, and has also demanded the disruption of any efforts by UNESCO and by democratic forces in the capitalist countries to honour the Lenin anniversary on a wide scale.

The campaign of the organisers and participants of Captive Nations Week against improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union manifested itself with particular bitterness when the Soviet-American consular convention was being ratified. The question of concluding this convention was debated for seven years. The National Captive Nations Committee was one of the main opponents of its ratification. Member of the House of Representatives Bray testified that this Committee and other emigrant organizations had launched an especially savage propaganda campaign against its ratification after the convention was signed in 1964. In their statements and anti-Soviet actions, the emigrant rabble and their patrons fell in line with such profascist organisations as the American Legion, the John Birch Society, and the like.

Anti-communist propaganda took on such a frantic nature that even the businessmen's mouthpiece, *The Wall Street Journal,* had to write that "the pact's foes have their heads in the clouds. It hardly serves the US interest to sabotage a deal in its own advantage".[3] Soon after this admission, the Senate ap-

Footnotes at end of article.

proved the Soviet-American consular treaty with a vote of 66 for, 28 against and 6 abstentions. Thus, its opponents lacked only 3 votes to block ratification.

Along with a demand for "total victory in Vietnam", the programme of Captive Nations Week also includes rejection of expanding trade with socialist countries if they show no readiness to make "political concessions".[4] The reactionary circles have even worked out a certain special "trade scale" of such concessions. Having lost all elementary sense of reality, the organisers of the Week state that socialism "will not last" without trade support from the capitalist world.

Using this kind of propaganda, many prominent members of the US ruling circles try to show that to trade with the countries of the socialist community is the same as giving them economic aid. In this connection, *The Washington Post* wrote of the "Neanderthalic view" of most of the members of Congress, according to which "ordinary commercial trade is equated with foreign aid".[5]

But it is precisely this view of the Congressmen that turns out to be decisive when the matter comes to considering foreign trade questions. Here is one example. As far back as May 1966, a bill was introduced in Congress on expanding trade between the West and the East, although *The New York Times* did warn at the time that American trade policy towards the socialist countries "still is little changed from the most frigid days of the cold war".[6] And, indeed, the bill was buried by the congressmen, just as were subsequent similar proposals introduced in Congress during Richard Nixon's Administration. It was a question of tariff reductions on goods from the socialist countries according to the most-favoured-nations principle, which has long become standard practice in international trade. But even this meagre measure was subjected to violent criticism in the Congress.

In February 1968, through the efforts of the placemen of the reactionary emigrant circles in Congress, the Export-Import Bank of the USA—created during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency for financing foreign trade—was deprived of the right to offer even short-term credits to socialist countries, because the latter are aiding the people of Vietnam in their struggle against American aggression. Member of Congress Fino, who played an active role in getting this decision adopted, stated: "If a Soviet bloc nation stops aiding North Vietnam, it becomes eligible for Export-Import Bank dealings."[7]

Of course, concentrated reactionary pressure has not always had complete success in political clashes within the US ruling circles, and there have been voices raised in Congress urging a more realistic appraisal of the international situation. After a sharp fight, the Senate in late 1969 approved a draft bill (with a vote of 49 to 24) reducing the number of categories of so-called strategic goods from 1,300 to 200. In doing this, the Congressmen undoubtedly took into account the difficulties of the American balance of payments and the fact that the volume of the Eastern European market is steadily expanding.

The facts show that the provocative activity of the organisers of Captive Nations Week increases sharply whenever the international situation is aggravated. For instance, in July 1968, the Week was held under slogans calling for support of the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia. The ringleaders of the reactionary emigration demanded that the Johnson Administration interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia in order to isolate it from the socialist community and facilitate the restoration of capitalism in that country. As *Look* magazine frankly wrote, the anti-communist development of events "would have ultimately made it possible . . . to sweep the communists out of power. If this had happened, Czechoslovakia would for all practical purposes have left the Communist camp".[8]

When five fraternal socialist countries came to the aid of the Czechoslovak people, the ultra-rightists in the USA increased their pressure on Washington. The programme of the extreme reactionary forces was soon concretised in a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk from the head of the National Captive Nations Committee, Dobriansky. The letter demanded that diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria be severed immediately, that trade agreements and cultural exchange pacts with these countries be suspended, that a NATO meeting be called to work out a more aggressive policy, and that full use should be made of the UN tribune to oppose the USSR and other socialist states. Dobriansky called on the American government to give "immediate and unstinted support of the Captive Nations".[9]

Meanwhile, a violent anti-Soviet campaign broke out with new vigour in Congress. Senator Hruska urged that the whole American policy towards the Soviet Union be re-examined, while his colleague Dodd called for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the UN and the use of economic sanctions against the five socialist countries.

As a result of the fierce pressure from the reactionary forces, implementation of the cultural exchange programme with the European socialist states was halted, inauguration of air service between Moscow and New York was postponed, and ratification by Congress of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was held up for more than six months.

Having lost touch with reality, the emigrant reactionaries clung to the hope that capitalism would be restored in the socialist states. In the autumn of 1967, Dobriansky's book, with the pretentious title of *The Vulnerable Russians*,[10] was published. In it a big build-up was given to bourgeois nationalists and all kinds of renegades who had taken up arms against the Soviet people. The author of this vindictive scrawl literally falls over himself, attempting to prove that the Soviet Union is "vulnerable in the national respect." This preacher of fascist ideology, repeating the hackneyed propaganda theses of Goebbels' ministry, openly advocates a preventive war against the USSR.

The American ultras wasted no time in latching on to Dobriansky's book. They sang its praises in their speeches in Congress and published enthusiastic reviews in many newspapers and magazines.

The designs of our political and ideological adversaries for weakening the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union in one way or another are, however, far from new. "It is, of course, no secret," said L. I. Brezhnev "that our class adversaries and the various reactionary forces outside our country still gamble on subverting the unity of the peoples of the USSR. It is well known how similar calculations by the Hitlerites ended in an inglorious fiasco; they were smashed to pieces when they came up against the monolithic unity of our people. But reactionaries are called reactionaries because they are unable to heed the lessons of history. However, their present insidious machinations are doomed to dismal failure. The unity of the Soviet peoples, who have learned the power of friendship, brotherhood and allround cooperation through their own historical experience, is unshakable."[11]

The present tactical plan of the leaders of the reactionary emigration in the USA and its influential patrons is obvious. They have taken stock of the fact that it was precisely when the Republicans occupied the White House that Captive Nations Week originated In 1964, the slogans of this campaign in essence became an inseparable part of Goldwater's platform. And it was none other than Dobriansky, as the Republican Party's adviser on nationalities, who succeeded in 1968 in getting a special point on "assistance to the Captive Nations" introduced into the Republican platform.

The organisers of the notorious Week and their patrons stand on the extreme right flank of American reaction. Indeed, this is the miserable rock bottom of anti-communism in the United States. The aims and methods of these groups even from the viewpoint of American politicians are so odious that representatives of the US ruling circles often have to restrain the ardour of the emigrant leaders.

While the American leaders feel it unwise under present conditions to comply with some of the more militant demands of the organisers of Captive Nations Week, they are not against using their anti-communist slogans, especially since the patrons of the reactionary emigration actively support the US governments' militaristic course. For example, in August 1969, of the six senators who gave traditional anti-Soviet speeches during the Week, five voted to continue the missile armaments race.

Recent years have seen a consolidation of the alliance between the reactionary emigration and a number of government, military and public figures in the United States who share the views of the ultras. Active participants of anti-communist campaigns conducted within the framework of the Week have been, for example, former Commander of US armed forces in Vietnam and present US Army Chief of Staff General Westmoreland; FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, and racist Senator Thurmond. The well known American reactionary trade-union leader, George Meany, has been Honourable President of Captive Nations Week since 1965. The traditional parade in Chicago in honour of the Week has been headed for a number of years by Chicago's Mayor Daley and Commander of the American Legion Murphy, both acting in close contact with the ringleader of emigrant organisations.

By supporting Captive Nations Week, official Washington contradicts its own declarations. Richard Nixon, who has often spoken in favour of moving from the "era of confrontation" to an "era of negotiations", admitted in his book *The Six Crises* that the Weeks have brought about a worsening in Soviet-American relations. According to columnist Drew Parson, Richard Nixon, during his visit to the Soviet Union in 1959, had to apologise for the action of the American Congress, saying that "Congress was foolish to pass the resolution".

The American communists have repeatedly exposed the inspirers of Captive Nations Week. They have emphasized that the reactionary emigration acts in close alliance with such ultra-Right organisations as the Minutemen, the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. The US Communist Party's *Political Affairs* magazine wrote that "in addition to neo-Nazi parties and the ultra-Right movement, there are a large number of war criminals in our country who, during World War II, helped the Nazis 'rid Europe of Communists and Jews' ".

Criticism of the activity of the organisers of the Week also comes from within the liberal bourgeoisie of the USA. A characteristic appraisal in this connection was given on the pages of *The Washington Post* by George Kennan. He wrote: "Needless irritations, such as the Captive Nations resolution and various antiquated trade restrictions, are still permitted to impede the development of Soviet-American relations".

Such a position unquestionably takes into account the attitude of ordinary Americans.

Footnotes at end of article.

As T. Sorensen, a former Adviser to John Kennedy, admitted, the American people would not be willing "to turn back the cold war clock to a point where we broke off diplomatic relations with Moscow . . . forbade trade relations of any kind with the USSR and refused to listen seriously to any of its disarmament proposals." [12]

It is obvious to the majority of Americans that the reactionary émigré group based in the US has long been a political corpse. It would be naive to suppose that its anti-communist provocation activities could represent any kind of threat to the socialist states. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the anti-Soviet commotion made by this reactionary émigré group is having some effect on US foreign policy.

There is no question that improvement in relations between the United States and the socialist states is possible only on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Only such a policy—and not the organisation of provocations and anti-Soviet slander—meets the interests of world peace.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Congressional Record,* Vol. 105, Pt. 11, pp. 14105–14106.
[2] *Washington Post,* July 10, 1967.
[3] *Wall Street Journal,* March 14, 1967.
[4] *Congressional Record,* Vol. 115, Pt. 20, p. 26629.
[5] *Washington Post,* June 10, 1968.
[6] *New York Times,* May 23, 1966.
[7] *Congressional Record,* Vol. 114, Pt. 2, p. 2304.
[8] *Look,* Oct. 1, 1968.
[9] Quoted from *Congressional Record,* Vol. 114, Pt. 24, p. 31209.
[10] Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians,* New York, 1967.
[11] *Pravda,* April 15, 1970.
[12] *Congressional Record,* Vol. 115, Pt. 9, p. 12060.

REPORT: "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCE"—JULY 19–26, 1970

REPORT: "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCE"—JULY 19–26, 1970

(International Relations Committee, Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Tampa, Fla., Michael J. Miklas, chairman)

INTRODUCTION

In accordance with Joint Congressional Resolution, Public Law 86–90, the President of the United States is directed to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week"—"until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world."

In view of the continuing conflict in Viet Nam, the uneasy truce in Korea, the expansion of Communist Russian imperialism into the Mediterranean and Mid East and the spread of organized violence in our colleges and Universities, it is most fitting that we remember those famous words, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Unfortunately, the twenty eight captive nations have all already lost their identities as free nations by either internal subversion or external communist military might. All Kiwanians pay tribute to the brave patriots who fought valiantly, and are still fighting to liberate their nations from the Communist terror.

God forbid that we should ever lose our freedom in the United States. However, in the mad rush of this turbulent world we are too apt to forget to thank God for our country, and our Constitution and its guarantees of freedom of religion, freedom of the press, right of public assembly and right to pursuit of happiness.

In memory of all of the captive nations with their millions of souls that yearn for freedom, and in order to remind our fellow Americans of their continued plight, the International Relations Committee of Kiwanis Division 8 planned a weeks program of activities in observance of "Captive Nations Week." The exhibits that follow present the entire weeks activities.

PRESS RELEASE

Michael Miklas, International Relations Committee Chairman for the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, announced that the Kiwanis Clubs will sponsor "Captive Nations Week" observances during July 19–25, in memory of those Captive Nations that have lost their freedom to Communist Imperalism. There are now over 25 Captive Nations among which are China, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Cuba, and many others. It is these and all other brave nations living under the complete tyranny of the Communist Imperialism that are being remembered, and especially this year, the bravery of the small captive Czechoslovak nation now trodden down again after taking a stand against the clenched Russian Communist fist and the army which invaded their land to keep them from realizing any form or demonstration of liberty. These people, although under Soviet Communist rule for many years, have maintained within themselves the love of liberty which throughout all of their history they have fought so valiantly to keep.

In accordance with a Joint Congressional Resolution, Public Law 86–90, the President of the United States designates the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week"—"Until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the Captive Nations of the World."

The President's Proclamation further states that "it remains a fundamental purpose and intention of the Government and peoples of the United States of America to recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and development of national independence and human freedom."

Within the turmoil of our own nation and the vocal anti-war demonstrations, one becomes increasingly aware that freedom cannot be attained for any nation until all nations are free. The South Vietnamese people who have fought valiantly and bitterly for many long years with tremendous loss of life, property, and their young men, continue to struggle so that they, too, may be free to govern themselves. It is not their wish to submit to Communist Imperialism any more than it was the wish of the Jews to be exterminated by Hitler. Every nation has the right of self-determination without which the world will know no peace but only terror and a return to the dark ages would become a reality.

In view of the present war in Vietnam and the spread of Russian Communist Imperialism to Cuba with its tentacles now reaching into the near East, Mr. Mikas stated that it is very apropos that we remember those famous words, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Unfortunately, these Captive Nations, by internal subversion and external Communist military might, have fallen and lost their identity as free nations. God forbid that this would happen to the United States. All Kiwanians pay tribute to the brave patriots who so valiantly fought, and are still fighting, to liberate their nations from the Communist terror.

Mr. Miklas observed that, in the mad rush of this changing, turbulent world, we are so apt to forget to thank God for our Country and our Constitution and its guarantees of freedom of religion, freedom of the press, right of public assembly and right to pursuit of happiness; rights that are denied to the people in the Captive Nations.

It is the hope of all Americans that those refugees from the devastated countries will some day be able to return to their native lands with their own families, their own customs and their own traditions and ways of life; that truly these Captive Nations may once again know the freedom they once enjoyed.

The activities of "Captive Nations Week" will be inaugurated at the City Hall at 10 A.M. on Thursday, July 16th, when Mayor Dick Greco will issue a Proclamation declaring the week of July 19–25 as "Captive Nations Week" for the City of Tampa. Representatives of the various Captive Nations will attend in colorful native costumes and an International Dance group will perform folk dances. All of the Kiwanis Clubs will feature "Captive Nations" speakers at their meetings during the week.

Judge Carswell will speak at the 7:15 A.M. "Ladies Day" breakfast meeting of the Palma Ceia Kiwanis Club at the International Inn on Wednesday, July 22nd.

PUBLIC LAW 86–90—PROVIDING FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE THIRD WEEK OF JULY AS "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK"

(Adopted by the 86th Congress of the United States of America in July 1959)

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

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

TAMPA CITY COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 16, 1970

Mayor Dick A. Greco presented the Proclamation designating the week of July 19th as "Captive Nations Week" to Michael Miklas, Committee Chairman.

German, and Hungarian folk dances were performed by dancers of each national origin in native costumes.

Groups of representatives from Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland in colorful native costumes were present to add their support to the objectives of "Captive Nations Week".

The City Council, unanimously passed a Resolution approving Mayor Greco's Proclamation of "Captive Nations Week" to be sent to President Richard Nixon and the Florida Congressional delegation with the recommendation that they propose the formation of a "Special House Committee on Captive Nations" for education in freedom by contrast to redirect the energies of our citizens and young people to the supreme goal of freedom for all people who have lost it.

The program was covered by TV Stations WFLA and WTVT who showed it on their 6 p.m. and 11 p.m. News programs.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 18, 1970]

TAMPA TO MARK "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK"

"Captive Nations Week" will be celebrated in Tampa and other cities July 19–25, Michael Miklas, chairman of the international relations committee of area Kiwanis Clubs, has announced.

The week serves to keep in memory "Those captive nations which have lost their freedom to Communist imperialism," said Miklas in a news release.

There are more than 25 "captive nations," he said, including China, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania and Cuba.

By joint Congressional resolution, the President has proclaimed the third week in July "Captive Nations Week."

The week will be featured in talks at local Kiwanis Club meetings.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CITY OF TAMPA

Whereas, the joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), authorizes the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation each year designating the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week," until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world; and

Whereas, all people yearn for freedom and justice; and

Whereas, these basic rights unfortunately are circumscribed or unrealized in many areas in the world; and

Whereas, the United States of America has an abiding commitment to the principles of independence, personal liberty, and human dignity; and

Whereas, it remains a fundamental purpose and intention of the Government and people of the United States of America to recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and development of national independence and human freedom.

Now, therefore, I, Dick A. Greco, Jr., by virtue of the authority vested in me as Mayor of the City of Tampa, Florida do hereby designate the week beginning July 19, 1970, as "Captive Nations Week" and I invite the people of this city to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities of all people for national independence and human liberty.

Dated at Tampa, Florida this the 19th day of July, 1970.

DICK A. GRECO, Jr., *Mayor.*

[From the Tampa Tribune-Times, July 19, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—A MEMORIUM FOR ALL CAPTIVE NATIONS

who lost their freedom thru the force and might or political intrigue of Communist Russian imperialism, including: Estonia, Lativa, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Hungary, East Germany, China, Tibet, North Vietnam, Cuba, the nation of the U.S.S.R. and others. Who will restore freedom to these nations under Communist tyranny?

Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklus, Chairman.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK PROGRAM OF THE KIWANIS CLUB OF MIDTOWN TAMPA, FLA.

Monday, July 13, 1970, 12:15 p.m. Sheraton-Tampa—Henry E. Madsen, Lt. Governor Division Eight, Robert W. Thal, Florida District Governor.

"Vision Is the Telescope in the Observatory of Opportunity." Arnold H. Glasou.

Program this week: (7/13/70)—Don Elliot, our stock market expert, will discuss the present market situation and will attempt to offer some insight on the future market trend.

Program last week: (7/6/70)—Mr. Murdock Beaton of the First Methodist Church repeated what has been said to this club by others—by personal contact and knowledge of other peoples habits, likes, dislikes, and tradition many problems of this world could be resolved. Mr Beaton is proving this each year at Christmas, with an International Music Festival, where people of the West Coast of Florida, that have a foreign background and heritage, gather together and share their food, song, dance and ideas. In short, Murdock believes that if people have a chance to share with others what they have made and love, a more harmonious relationship is bound to evolve.

Program next week: (7/20/70)—This week is Captive Nations Week: Mike Miklas will be in charge of the program.

Special report: President-Elect, Bill Cox, just back from Detroit and the International Convention, reported that most projects and community concerns over the nation are directed towards the young people. According to Bill, all liked our Kiwanis Chorale program.

Absent: Alderman, Alfonso, Anderson, Andrews, Barkin, Beach, Bogue, Edwards, Hodges, Jennewein, Jessee, Lehawald, Madsen, Meighan, Millsap, Myers C., Myers D., O'Neil, Scott, Shea, Sherman, Stewart, Van Middlesworth, Ware, Wiehrs—Is everyone on vacation???

Visiting Kiwanians: Lt. Governor Elect Tom Smith, Jr., Temple Terrace; Gray Wyman, Tampa; Ed Woodell, Tampa; Calvin Mitchell, Tampa.

Club Grading: Midtown had a score of 101 for the month of May, due to the fine work of Ken Jackson with the Tampa Catholic Key Club.

Family Reunion Day: This will be August 9th this year. Tell your friends about the idea, then have a reunion with your own clan.

Humor: Cricket Match—Compatible insects.

Scripture: Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird. Proverbs 1, 17.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 20, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

IN MEMORIAM

RUSSIA

Itself a captive nation—captured thru force and political intrigue by a small dedicated band of communist imperialists. No free elections permitted—its citizens never free to come and go as they please either within or outside the Iron Curtain. When will the people of Russia be free? Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklus, Chairman.

[Radio feature, WFLA Radio, July 20, 1970]

ASK THE EXPERT

Roger Courtney conducted this excellent radio talk show on "Captive Nations Week" with the following guests:

Pauline Robinson Miklas, State President, National League of American Pen Women; Mario Quevedo, Cuban Refugee; Michael Miklas, Committee Chairman.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 21, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK: A MEMORIUM FOR ALL CAPTIVE NATIONS—HUNGARY

Hungary, a valiant nation that lost its freedom by military takeover. The army that perpetuated this vicious deed was the army of the Imperialistic Soviet Union. Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklas, Chairman.

[TV feature, WTVT, July 21, 1970]

TAMPA BAY TOPICS

Michael Miklas, Committee Chairman, appeared as guest on this Civic Affairs Program to discuss, "Captive Nations Week."

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT KIWANIS CLUB, TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1970

Michael Miklas, Committee Chairman and Mario Quevedo, a Cuban refugee, presented a program on "Captive Nations Week."

NORTH TAMPA KIWANIS CLUB, TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1970

Pauline Robinson Miklas, State President, National League of American Pen Women presented the program at the dinner meeting of the Club on "Captive Nations Week".

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 22, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—IN MEMORIAM—POLAND

The homeland of Chopin, where music once sounded, tears and weeping fill the air. Invaded by the Communist Russia Imperialists—30,000 members of its finest officers' corps murdered at Katyn Forest—its honor and liberty strangled! Who will free Poland! Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklas, Chairman.

[From the Tampa Times, July 22, 1970]

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

A rather pitifully small advertisement is appearing in the paper this week reminding readers that this is Captive Nations Week. It reads: "A Memoriam for All Captive Nations."

The reference, of course, is to those East European states which fell behind the Iron Curtain following World War II. Some have retained their national identity while others, both in terms of population and boundaries, are hardly more than a memory to historians. For instance, the Baltic states

of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are now integral parts of the Soivet Union. And there are ugly hints that vast numbers of their former populations found cold graves in Siberia.

Poland exists as a national entity but its voice is the voice of the Kremlin. East Germany is the less fortunate part of what is now a hyphenated Germany. And Czechoslovakia tried vainly to lift its head above the clouds of oppression into the clear air of freedom—only to have it, clubbed down again by the Russian military machine.

Hungary is a living tragedy, its existence a monument to those valiant freedom-fighters who faced Soviet tanks with rocks and proved their courage, but lost their lives. Add to the list of slave states Romania and Bulgaria. Only Yugoslavia has managed to maintain some degree of independence from the Kremlin. Albania is a Peking satellite.

It is quite easy to forget all this in the turmoil over domestic policies, the war in Southeast Asia and our own petty pursuits at home. But the captive nations are there and so are the captive people, pawns manipulated by the men in the Kremlin to the advantage of the Soviet Union.

Each year that passes less and less is said about Russia's East European colonies and their quisling governments. The Communists shout, "Imperialist" at the United States as it fights to defend the free people of Southeast Asia. And the cry is echoed in some of our higher government circles and academic halls.

But we do not recall hearing a George McGovern or a William Fulbright or a Frank Church address himself to the proposition that the real imperialists in this world are the Communists. The Soviet Union maintains control over the lives of millions with no other license than its military might. Free elections, freedom of expression, freedom of thought is considered the highest form of treason.

Even within the Soviet Union, itself, critics of the Communist system are scorned by the government and the owners of some of Russia's best minds have been confined to insane asylums because they had the courage to see the stupidities of Red bureaucracy and speak their minds.

There is not much to be done at the moment about the captive nations, except to remember that in dealing with Moscow we are literally dealing with a slave trading government.

It exploits its people and the people under its thumb to the advantage of a new ruling class. Imprisoned in the vastness of this police state are millions who, if they could, would flee. But the Soviet Union's borders are closed. A harsh wall of concrete and barbed wire slashes through Berlin, separating the free city from the Communist sector. But the wall is still frequently challenged by those willing to risk their lives to escape the poverty, the depression and the controls imposed by the Red regime.

And those who care ask, how much longer will the captive nations remain captive?

PALMA CEIA KIWANIS CLUB,
WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1970

Judge G. Harrold Carswell of Tallahassee spoke on "Captive Nations Week" at the breakfast meeting.

The speaker was presented on the evening news programs by both WTVT and WFLA TV.

The Tampa Tribune and Wall Street Journal had reporters at the meeting and Clearwater Sun published the Judge's remarks.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 23, 1970]

CARSWELL ATTACKS LIBERALS, SAYS SENATE BALANCE NEEDED

(By David Watson)

There must be a balance in the U.S. Senate before there can be a balance on the U.S. Supreme Court, former federal Judge G. Harrold Carswell said in Tampa yesterday.

Carswell said this conclusion played a part in his decision to step down from the bench and toss his hat into the political ring as a candidate for the Republican nomination to the senate.

The candidate said his conservative philosophies are in tune with those of President Nixon, and Nixon's are in tune with those of Florida.

Carswell was nominated to the Supreme Court by the president but lost the confirmation in the senate. Vengeance is not his purpose in running, he said.

But, he asserted, the Democratic Party, in power, is completely dominated by extreme liberals who have succeeded in running out the south. They don't want it, he said.

Despite that, he said, he believes the president will get some conservative balance on the Supreme Court, although it will take time.

He said he believes he can work well with the senate which denied him his appointment, and added that he has learned that many who voted against his confirmation are not now happy that they did so.

Although his announcement as a candidate was made in an appearance with Gov. Claude R. Kirk, Carswell said he is running an independent campaign on his own merits.

As for quoted statements that his primary election opponent, Congressman William C. Cramer, was urged to run by President Nixon, Carswell said that he himself had the confidence of the President or he would not have been nominated for the high court.

All he hears of Cramer's record of service is in terms of years in office, he said. Carswell reminded that he served 17 years in office himself, as prosecutor and judge.

While Cramer's experience is in writing legislation, he said, his own dealt in daily application of legislation in every walk of life.

His campaign shows him that Floridians are especially concerned about crime, he said, and that includes drug traffic.

While legislation is needed to fight drug abuse, he said, a major need is a program to inform youth of the dangers of drugs. This can be done through the schools, he said, but also through every other media of communication.

As for law enforcement, Carswell said there has been too much "leaning over backward" to protect violators and it is time to consider the problems of enforcement agencies.

He said he finds that Floridians are generally in support of the president's policies on Vietnam, and said he believes the president has kept his commitments.

Carswell took exception to an observation by Democratic senatorial candidate Farris Bryant, who raised questions about a national fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Republican and who said Floridians should elect a senator on their own.

Carswell said he chose to believe it is a U.S. Senator from Florida who is about to be elected, not a Florida senator.

Looking over the party fences, Carswell said the Democratic nominee will have "a terrible burden" in that he would be committed on his first votes to keeping such "extreme liberals" as Sen. Birch Bayh and Edward Kennedy in power.

[From the Clearwater Sun, July 24, 1970]

CARSWELL RAPS TV NETWORKS, PRESS

TAMPA.—Judge Harrold Carswell charged that national television and the "Northern liberal press typically ignored the one billion enslaved human beings behind the Communist Curtain" and distracted Americans to their plight during Captive Nations Week by focusing attention on Vietnam and Florida's migrant problem.

Speaking to the Palma Ceia Kiwanis Club here, Carswell commemorated the 11th annual Captive Nations Week observation which was signed into law by President Eisenhower.

"There are one billion souls on earth who do not enjoy the freedom we take for granted," the former federal judge said. "That one-third of humanity appreciate freedom . . . know it with a pang in their hearts . . . because it has been taken from them."

"But, did you see anything about Captive Nations Week on television or in the newspapers?" the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate asked.

"Of course not. Highlights of last week's television programming were an all-star baseball game, an intimate account of a company of American boys suffering the hell of war in Vietnam, Birch Bayh discussing his campaign for direct election of the President and a so-called documentary, a swan song for that liberal Chet Huntley, on the migrants who work in Florida."

"Those flamboyant liberals—the limousine liberals—who permeate the U.S. Senate and the national news media are supposed to be concerned with minorities," Judge Carswell said. "They categorize Americans and capture the votes of the minorities. They try to build their power base by piecing together blocs of Americans by race, by economics, by region of residence.

"Why aren't the liberals concerned with the minority of mankind behind the Communist Curtain? One-third of the living population of the world, after all, is a minority," said Carswell.

The former federal judge said the liberal-dominated national news media "seems bent on distracting the American public from the fact the Captive Nations Week were enslaved by the ever-encroaching, ever-expanding Communism controlled by the imperio-colonialistic polices of Russia and Red China."

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 23, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—IN MEMORIAM—CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Twice invaded by the army of the Communist Russian Imperialists in full battle force. Tanks blasted even the most innocent—its former leader Jan Masaryk murdered—its newest leader Dubcek kicked out and headed for an uncertain fate. The toll rises. Who will return freedom to Czechoslovakia? Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklas, Chairman.

[TV Feature, WTVT, July 23, 1970]

TAMPA BAY TOPICS—CIVIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

Guests appearing to speak on "Captive Nations Week": Mario Queseda, Cuban Refugee and Michael Miklas, Committee Chairman.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 24, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—IN MEMORIAM—TIBET

Invaded by hordes of Communist Imperialists, their spiritual leader the Dalai Lama forced to flee to refuge in other lands. His people pray for his return. Who will restore freedom to Tibet? Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Miklas, Chairman.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 24, 1970]

U.S. IGNORED PLEAS FOR HELP

ZEPHYRHILLS.—Last week was Captive Nations Week and my heart was sickened when I saw the little notices in a black border reminding us of those countries in slavery all these years behind the Iron Curtain, and

our once great nation, which from her founding always stood for righteousness and justice, doing nothing toward their liberation; nothing except to pass a resolution and then turn her back upon their cry for help.

The Republican platform of 1952, calling for efforts toward liberation of these enslaved peoples, has been completely discarded. The text of this platform read, "The Government of the United States, under Republican leadership, will repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings such as those of Yalta which aided Communist enslavements. It will be made clear, on the highest authority of the President and the Congress, that United States policy, as one of its peaceful purposes, looks happily forward to the genuine independence of those captive peoples."

Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected President running on that platform, but he ignored that plank and refused aid to the Hungarian freedom fighters soon afterward and allowed them to be slaughtered and crushed, in spite of the fact that they were given hope to expect help by Radio America.

Franklin D. Roosevelt instituted this great betrayal and all of our Presidents and Congresses since have taken no steps to rectify this horrible injustice. Does not that put this nation of ours in a very hypocritical position?

F. B. A.

[From the Tampa Tribune, July 25, 1970]

THIS IS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—IN MEMORIAM

CUBA

This pearl of the Caribbean reduced to chaos by Communist Imperialism and now a base for exporting Communist revolution and terror throughout the Western Hemisphere. Who will restore freedom to Cuba? Published in the interest of Freedom by the Kiwanis Clubs of Division 8, Michael Mikas, Chairman.

FIDEL CASTRO ONCE SWORE HE WAS NOT A COMMUNIST

(By William Giandoni)

You can say what you like about Fidel Castro without fear of exaggeration.

The Cuban prime minister admits that he deliberately deceived the Cuban people by swearing that his revolution "was as Cuban as the palms," that it was not Communist-dominated or even far left leaning.

He even lied to the peasants who made up his guerrilla band by leading them to believe that they were fighting for the right to own a bit of land of their own.

But even with those things against him, and they are not the ugliest that Cubans know to be true of Castro, he is more firmly entrenched in power now than ever. He enjoys the firm support of the Soviet Union, and he is safe behind a U.S. pledge not to permit the invasion that it would take to dislodge his Communist dictatorship.

Considerable confusion exists in the United States over the point, one of the outcomes of the missile crisis.

But the State Department record shows that the late President John F. Kennedy did guarantee Cuba's inviolability in a letter to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev dated Oct. 27, 1962, in return for removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.

"We, on our part, would agree," Kennedy wrote Khrushchev, "to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba."

Although the United States later talked of on-the-spot checks of removal of the weapons systems, Kennedy at the time wrote only of "appropriate United Nations observation and supervision," without spelling it out.

There is no questioning the stranglehold that Castro and the Communists have on Cuba.

Recognition of that fact obviously plays a part in the campaign in favor of hemispheric resumption of relations with the Castro dictatorship. Mexico is the only Latin country with an ambassador in Cuba at present.

Castro seems here to stay, at least as long as the rarely mentioned Kennedy pledge is honored.

There is resistance within Cuba. Firing squads that the Cuban Communists popularized a decade ago are still to be heard, though less frequently than before. Early in the current sugar harvest, Castro felt it necessary to go on radio and TV to warn that anyone caught sabotaging the effort to produce 10 million tons would be sent to the "paredon" (wall) in front of a firing squad.

Outside of Cuba there is still hopeful talk among the half-million or more exiles of mounting some military action against the Castro regime.

But it sounds futile. Every few days you can hear the Cuban radio advise listeners in advance not to be concerned about the sonic booms that shake town and country when the fast-flying MIGs of the Cuban air force maneuver in the skies.

Even if the exiles had the rifles and munitions they would need, which they do not have and cannot get, or the troop transports and landing craft to move an invasion force of significant size, which they do not have and cannot get, they would still lack air superiority.

And, no matter how strongly they feel, they well know that it was Castro's control of the skies in April, 1961, that killed whatever chances the U.S.-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs may have had.

That was the last real opportunity that the United States had to rid the hemisphere of Castro. After 1961, the Soviets began the arms buildup that led to the missile crisis the following year.

The opinion may be widespread in the United States that President Kennedy won the showdown in the Caribbean in October, 1962. But the Communists never saw it that way. And the rest of the hemisphere began to have its doubts when the United States did not take advantage of the virtually unanimous support it then had from the Latin governments, and root Communism out of Cuba.

Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev stated the Communist view of things as soon as the furor over emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba died down.

"Socialist Cuba exists," the Soviet leader said. "Cuba remains a beacon of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the Western Hemisphere. The impact of her revolutionary example will grow.

"The government of the United States has given a pledge not to invade Cuba."

That was the situation years ago, and that is pretty much the way things are now.

Castro and the Communists defied the Cuban people. Castro and the Communists defied the rest of Latin America. Castro and the Communists defied the United States.

And they got away with it.

Even now, Khrushchev's estimate of the situation appears accurate. Only his prediction that Cuba's revolutionary example will grow might be subject to challenge.

[From the Tampa Times, July 27, 1970]

JUST PROPAGANDA

TAMPA.—In my opinion The Times' editorial, "Captive Nations Week," was another piece of artful propaganda on the part of right-wingers in this area to instill further fear into the hearts and minds of Americans so as to make it easier for this nation to be taken over by a military-industrial dictatorship.

Such is the ultimate aim of the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the Ku Klux Klan and a few other units of their kind.

Remember, too, a lot of Cuban escapees and refugees who still believe in dictatorship are pressuring these right-wingers to get rid of the Castro regime so they can get back their cushy jobs in Cuba under another dictator who will be as ruthless toward the mass of Cuban people as Castro ever was.

LARRY PICKUP.

PROGRAM OF THE KIWANIS CLUB OF MIDTOWN TAMPA, FLA.

Monday, July 27, 1970, 12:15 p.m., Sheraton-Tampa—Henry E. Madsen, Lt. Governor Division Eight; Robert W. Thal, Florida District Governor.

"We are what we accept ourselves as being. We can be what we convince ourselves we can be." Elmer G. Leterman.

Program this week: (7/27/70)—Our speaker this week shall be Joe Zolupasky of the Tampa Sports Authority. Mr. Zolupasky will inform the Club of coming events to the Stadium and the general operation of the Sports Authority.

Program last week: (7/27/70)—At the last minute Representative William Cramer was called back to Washington and unable to attend the luncheon. However, Mrs. Mike Miklas came forward and provided the club with a most informative talk along the theme of Captive Nations. Mrs. Miklas stated that their entire family has as their foremost project the opposition of all forms of Communism because there are over one billion people in twenty three nations under Red domination. According to Mrs. Miklas, the greatest imperialistic nation today is the USSR as she grasps control of countries as quickly as the English and French gave them freedom. Be Alert urges Mrs. Miklas—Be Alert.

Program next Week: (8/3/70)—The Foreign Affairs Committee brings Midtown member, Joe Connor with a look into China.

New father: Congratulations to Lenny Gilbert on the arrival of a new Gilbert to Tampa.

Absent: Alderman, Alfonso, Andrews, Barkin, Belt, Connor, Cox, C., Dell, Hodges, Jennewein, Knaus, Lehwald, Meighan, Myers, C., Myers D., O'Neil, Porter, Shea, Sherman, Wagner, Ware.

Guests: Bill Van Middlesworth had as his guest, P. J. Harvey, Jr. Warren Dawson was the guest of Marshall Jessee. Lloyd Anderson's guests were Mr. and Mrs. Bob Morris.

Ladies Day: It was a pleasure to have these lovely ladies with us for lunch—Mrs. Anderson, Beach, Bogue, Burns, Cochran, Miklas, Ossi, Scott and Van Middlesworth.

Visiting Kiwanians: Tampa, Mark Mooney; Brandon, Roy Hashell and O. Harrell; Temple Terrace, Lt. Governor Elect Tom Smith, Jr.; International Airport, Roger McIntosh, Shelton Thorne, Bus Turner, and Ted Melching.

Humor: Dating Machina—IBM finds our match unsuitable—Does that make us uncomputable?

RESOLUTION NO. 7231-E

A resolution approving, amending, and endorsing the action of the mayor in proclaiming the week of July 19, 1970, as "Captive Nations Week"

Whereas, the joint resolution of Congress approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), authorized the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation each year designating the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week" until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world, and

Whereas all peoples yearn for freedom and justice, and

Whereas, these basic rights unfortunately are circumscribed or unrealized in many areas in the world, and

Whereas, the United States of America has an abiding commitment to the principles of

independence, personal liberty, and human dignity, and

Whereas, it remains a fundamental purpose and intention of the Government and people of the United States of America to recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and development of national independence and human freedom, and

Whereas, Dick A. Greco, Jr., by virtue of the authority vested in him as Mayor of the City of Tampa, did designate the week beginning July 19, 1970, as "Captive Nations Week", and

Whereas, it is the consensus of this Council that such action of the Mayor should be approved, commended, and endorsed by this Council, now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the City Council of the City of Tampa, Florida:

SECTION. 1. That the City Council does hereby approve, commend, and endorse the action of the Mayor of the City of Tampa in proclaiming the week of July 19, 1970, as "Captive Nations Week".

SECTION 2. That the City Council further commends this action to our delegates in the Congress of the United States and recommend and urge that they sponsor, propose, and support the formation of a Special House Committee on Captive Education for Freedom by contrast to redirect the energies of our citizens and particularly our youth to the supreme goal of freedom for all who have lost it.

[From the Christian Crusade Weekly, Apr. 19, 1970]

AMERICA'S UNUSED WEAPON—THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

The reality of life under communism is difficult for the average uninformed American to understand. Those who have never tasted the bitter dregs of life under a Communist dictatorship cannot imagine the reality of such a horrible existence. The blindness to that reality is increased by reports from uninformed fellow citizens who have taken guided tours of the Soviet Union or other Communist-enslaved lands. It is easy for the Red conspirators to deceive people visiting their enslaved lands if such people have never experienced life under communism or have not learned the truth about it through reading and study. Such people have no idea of the extent to which the outer behavior of human beings can be controlled in a total dictatorship. The inhabitants of Communist-ruled lands had better act happy and speak favorably of their government when confronted by tourists. If they do not, they are in serious trouble, to say the least. Behind the Iron Curtain there is an extensive system of citizens spying on other citizens. They are even supposed to turn in the name of anyone who hears an adverse remark and fails to report it. People in Communist-enslaved lands are kept under control through terror and fear.

The delusion that conditions are normal or near-normal in Communist-ruled nations is aided by the unrealistic picture given Americans through much of our nation's press. The presentation of facts by those who know better apparently reach only a small proportion of our population. Actually, the mere fact of the existence of a so-called Iron or Bamboo Curtain should be sufficient proof that nations ruled by communism are terrible places in which to live, to put it mildly. If the contrary were true, why should the Communists have to resort to stringent means such as extensive networks of barbed wire fences, machine gun emplacements, vicious dogs and other insidious means to keep people from leaving these nations? The thousands who risk their lives to flee from Communist-enslaved lands should be ample proof of the true conditions of life under communism.

More Americans need to read information such as that put out in 1959 after the House Committee on Un-American Activities (now the House Internal Security Committee) held a series of hearings during which Ukrainian refugees told of the horrors inflicted upon them and their compatriots by international communism. Among those testifying was Mykola Lebed, who revealed the following methods of terror used by the Communists in the Ukraine:

"To those members of the Ukrainian movement who were caught, as well as their families, the NKVD and NKGB applied the following measures of terror: With hot irons they tortured those prisoners who were caught. They cut into the skin and tore the skin off from the living body. They also nailed people on the cross . . . They cut out eyes, broke bones in legs and arms and extracted nails . . . These methods of terror were applied not only to prisoners in interrogation rooms and cells, but also in public places, forcing people to get together to witness these atrocities . . . These methods were applied in order to terrorize the population of Ukraine and depress its will to resist the regime . . ." (*The Crimes of Khrushchev*, Part II, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, September 9–11, 1959, pages 3, 4)

Nicholas Prychodko, who lived in the Ukraine from 1918 until 1944, recounted his personal experiences to the Committee: "I got no explanation for the first two months while I was in prison. Later on, they accused me of being a member of the nationalist Ukrainian underground organization . . . At first, I was 21 months in a Kiev prison. During that time I was called several times for interrogation. I was severely beaten during those interrogations. My person was humiliated. The investigators spit in my mouth and hit me with the leg of a chair. To this date, I have pains in my back from those beatings.

"At other times I was beaten by a small plank from which protruded about 20 small nails . . . I was in slave labor camps in Ivdel, about 600 miles northeast of Sverdlov. At the end of my time in the concentration camp, I was on the edge of death because of the extremely hard work and scarce food. In the entire complex there were 350,000 slaves. In the particular camp in which I was interned, there were around 3,000 slave laborers. The rate of death was approximately 15 per day while I was there . . ." (*Ibid.*, page 38)

On many occasions, representatives of the captive peoples who have escaped tyranny have attempted to bring their plight to our nation and the entire Western world. One such attempt was made on September 6, 1964, by Horia Sima, former prime minister of Rumania. In this appeal, which was printed in pamphlet form, he said:

". . . The industrial development of Rumania leaves its people without any benefits. The factories built all over the land are places of torture, workshops of a huge prison. Men and women have to work day and night to make a reality of the four, five, and six-year plans of the regime, without ever being able to share in the products of their labors. Everything that is produced in Rumania is exported, in order to import new machineries, which will create new industries, while the working masses must make another effort, and go through another period of hunger, in order to pay for the industrial acquisitions. This demented system of industrialization, typical of all Communistic societies, continues like a vicious circle, the only hope of escape from it for the individual in death . . .

"Unscrupulous newspapermen, sometimes paid with Communist International funds, write in responsible newspapers of the West about the 'decent' life of the Rumanian people. Life in Rumania is not 'decent,' nor is it endurable, it is an infernal life. These unscrupulous newspapermen dishonor their noble profession . . . and thus become accomplices to the tyrants of the Rumanian people. Rumania, like all other enslaved nations, is governed today by a race of monsters who appear to enjoy human suffering, and whose historical vocation seems to be the usage of crime as a principle of government . . .

"Famine in Rumania is not a sporadic factor . . . starvation in Rumania is organized by its government, who by [its] methods of collectivism has completely ruined the agriculture of the country, and sells 90 per cent of the products of a starved nation to other countries . . . Of those of you who will go to Rumania as tourists, we ask that you bring with you some cans of milk, and that you give them to a child. This will be the best propaganda in favor of the Western world . . ."

The March-April, 1966, issue of *ACEN News*, a bimonthly review of the activities of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, contained an article by Dr. Bela Fabian, a former member of the Hungarian Parliament and chairman of the Federation of Hungarian Former Political Prisoners. In his article, Dr. Fabian mentioned the false reporting by some Western newsmen visiting Budapest. These newsmen, he said, wrote "lengthy dispatches about the difference between conditions in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Hungary" and they reported that there was "no more 'doorbell shock' " and that "there are no more nightly searches in Budapest." Dr. Fabian commented, "At the very same time that these dispatches were being filed, the secret police conducted night searches in some 500 homes."

VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

Throughout the years many people have fled from the captive nations in spite of all difficulties placed in their way. Many have lost their lives attempting to escape the tyranny. Those escaping come from all walks of life. A number of defectors from captive nations have been high government officials. One of the most recent of these was Jiri Mladek, number three man in Prague's United Nations delegation. Mladek, who managed to get his wife and 20-year-old son out to freedom and received asylum in the United States, had become disillusioned by the increasingly harsh realities of Czech communism. (*Human Events*, February 28, 1970)

Throughout the years millions have fled from Communist tyranny and the volume of those fleeing tell a very important story. They are actually voting with their feet. Never in history have so many people rejected the governments of their own nations by deserting them as has been the case since international communism came into power in a large part of the world.

In his syndicated column appearing in newspapers around the country on July 6, 1969, Henry J. Taylor wrote: "More than a million desperate Hungarians fled Hungary when the Reds took over and during the reconquest. A full 200,000 are to this day seeking safety in Switzerland alone . . . This million is equaled by people who fled Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria, where fear rises like a black gas.

"Four million Koreans fled South when the Reds seized North Korea. A million Vietnamese fled to South Vietnam when Ho Chi Minh took over North Vietnam. Thirteen million Chinese fled the mainland to Formosa when Red Mao Tse-tung took over. Hong Kong alone has absorbed more than a million escapees from Red China. . . . There are nearly seven million first-generation immigrants from Iron Curtain countries now in the United States. . . . "

THE CLOSEST CAPTIVE NATION

One of the captive nations from which many refugees have fled is only 90 miles from our shores. Unfortunately, many Americans

are unaware of the true conditions in this Communist fortress, Red Cuba.

Some recent information regarding the dissatisfaction of Cubans with Communist rule came from a Black Panther, Andrew Ferrell, who visited Red Cuba. Presumably he has since been kicked out of the Black Panther Party for his revelation of Communist tyranny. He was branded a "traitor" to the Panther cause in a pamphlet circulated in Europe.

The Tulsa Tribune of December 1, 1969, reported: "'We ran into all kinds of dissatisfied Cubans,' Ferrell said. 'You know, like people were saying, "Hey, man, you're crazy. What did you come down here for? Everybody's leaving here and going there (America)." This is insane.' He said he doubted these people at first but encountered more and more of them. . . ."

THE COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT

Naturally, the Communist conspirators take a dim view of anti-Communist refugees. They consider them to be "Fascists" and criminals. In a report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in New York City on January 20, 1961, Gus Hall, general secretary of the party, said: "A serious force for reaction and fascism in the country is the existence of innumerable Fascist refugee groups, who are used by reaction as shock troops for violent demonstrations against the Socialist world and against all people's movements. They are a center of counterrevolutionary activities . . ."

An article in the September, 1966, issue of *Political Affairs*, official Communist monthly, attacked these refugees as follows: ". . . there are a large number of war criminals in our country who during World War II helped the Nazis 'rid Europe of Communists and Jews.' They come from Lithuania, Latvia, the Ukraine, Russia, Yugoslavia, Estonia and other countries, and they are here by the hundreds . . . The Soviet government has in many cases requested our government to deliver these criminals so that they could be tried or so that the verdicts already decreed [against them] could be carried out . . .

"The above criminals . . . are active in the organizations of the so-called 'captive nations,' they have their own press and conduct war-inciting activities through demonstrations, picket lines, etc. These organizations are aided by governments. This is done by addressing their meetings, by supporting their parades, and by various other methods. Many of these war criminals came here after the war with the help of important people . . ."

The real problem bothering the Communists in regard to these refugees was revealed clearly further on in the *Political Affairs* article: *"The New York Times* states: 'According to unofficial estimates, there are about a hundred thousand members in several hundred active immigrant associations in America which are organized by exiles from countries which are now under Communist rule. Most of them are strongly nationalistic and anti-Communist and maintain informal connections with their countrymen who are still behind the Iron Curtain.' . . ."

THEY DESERVE OUR SUPPORT

Actually, the vast majority of the people in these captive nations and refugees who have escaped from them are our allies and therefore deserve our moral support. Rep. Michael A. Feighan (D-Ohio) tried to make this point on the floor of the House of Representatives on August 13, 1969: ". . . they are our allies. They seek our support to help them achieve freedom from the tyranny which has been imposed upon them by subversion, terror, and military force. Their goals are the same as our: liberty and national independence.

"For these captive peoples to remain our allies, it is essential that the citizens of the United States, along with those of the other free nations of the world, provide their moral support and encouragement. We must keep alive the aspirations of these people by showing our concern for their current plight and by strengthening our alliance with them. . . .

Sympathy and affection for people suffering under tyranny has long been a tradition of the American people and their leaders. However, in the case of the captive nations under communism, this American feeling has been held back because the facts of life under communism have been so blurred by propaganda picturing Red-enslaved nations as normal countries in which the people respect and love their governments. In the case of these captive nations, Americans should have even more interest than just that of sympathy for the oppressed people. The fact is that their enslavement imperils us. The United States of America is the ultimate goal of communism, and each nation added to the empire of Red-enslaved captive nations is another step toward complete encirclement of the United States. This is the basic issue in South Vietnam, Red Cuba and other nations. The matter is not as simple as our so-called "antiwar" Liberals attempt to make it. Nor is it as simple as the promulgators of a murderous no-win policy would have Americans believe.

WHY NOT OPPOSE THEIR PLOT AGAINST US?

In light of the above facts, the all-important question arises as to why our country does not follow a policy of active opposition to the Communist determination to enslave us. The captive nations should be our first line of defense.

The actual truth of the matter is that Red dictatorships fall relatively easy. This was pointed out by Brig. Gen. Frank L. Howley (U.S.A. retired), former American military governor of Berlin and vice chancellor of New York University. In testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on April 28, 1955, he warned that Americans "should not be fooled into thinking that the people of any country are behind the Communist government." He went on to explain:

"I say that because when I was in Guatemala before the revolution, if you judged by what was in the newspapers or what you heard over the radio, or what you saw on streamers all over the city, and what you heard these Communists say, and these Communist-led 'setups'—if you listened to them, all the people were in back of this wonderful thing, and they were speaking for the people. The fact was that when this government was challenged in the way in which it was challenged, by force—and it was a government which was maintained by force . . . there was practically nobody in back of the Communist government . . . At that time the President—he called himself President, though he had really seized that control—he called on the army to rally and repel this little force that was sitting down there in the jungle.

"The army said 'No.' Then he called on the trade unions. The trade unions were not really trade unions; they were set up by Communists and controlled by Communists. So he called on the trade unions, and I think that nobody but two or three Communist leaders responded. He called on the people to rise up and defend their government. But they knew that they weren't defending their government, and they weren't going to waste any time in defending these Communists. And so the President ran and hid in the cellar of an embassy where, according to South American custom, he was safe. He is now a citizen of Switzerland."

Later in his testimony, General Howley said: ". . . we must take positive steps and plan everything to see that these Communist governments fall, whether it is in Guatemala or somewhere else. And they fall with surprising ease." If our policy makers were to follow such advice and act accordingly, the international Communist conspiracy would be doomed.

However, it is most unfortunate that our policy makers are either ignorant of the true attitude of the people in captive nations or else they fear the Communist dictators and take an attitude that any step to help their subjects would cause "war."

In 1961 Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Army research and development chief, circulated a paper discussing this question:

"The Soviets apparently do not fear they will start general war when they assist Communist rebels in Laos . . . Why should we fear general war in providing assistance to freedom fighters in Eastern Europe? The people are on our side . . . We must find a way to overthrow a Communist regime in power short of general war and even short of limited war . . . I still see no reason why we should accept a tyrant government in Laos, Belgian Congo, or any Latin American country.

"If they (Communists) can afford a million dollars a year on propaganda alone in Latin America and support a Communist government in our backyard, we can support free governments in Eastern Europe or any other area dominated by Communists. . . We can provide military assistance to an anti-Communist revolution." (*The Tulsa Tribune*, April 7, 1961)

This document proposed that the United States attempt to subvert Communist armies. It recognized the fact that the majority of people from all walks of life in Communist-enslaved lands desire freedom for their nation, rather than the continuation of Red dictatorship. A forgotten fact pointed out was that the "Hungarian army joined the freedom fighters, not the Communist regime." According to the newspaper report, this document circulated by Gen. Trudeau was greeted "only by loud silence in the Defense Department's upper reaches."

During 1969 a Latvian citizen appealed to his compatriots behind the Iron Curtain and to nations not yet under Communist slavery to arise and oppose this satanic tyranny. Ivan A. Yakhimovitch was arrested after he joined other Soviet defenders of civil rights during 1968 in protesting the persecution of Liberal Soviet writers and other dissenters, as well as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. On March 24, 1969, the eve of his arrest, he managed to get out an open letter to the people which was also published in the West. In part the letter stated:

"The days of my liberty are numbered. On the eve of my imprisonment I appeal to the people who are sealed in my memory and heart. Listen to me! . . . The strong and mighty of this world are dominant only as long as we are on our knees. Let us arise!" (*Latvian Information Bulletin*, January, 1970)

The *Washington Post* of December 13, 1969, published a Moscow dispatch revealing that "Yakhimovitch was undergoing psychiatric examination in Moscow . . . Commitment to a mental institution is a common Soviet method of dealing with dissidents. It saves the domestic embarrassment of a secret, Stalin-like trial and the foreign embarrassment of a public trial whose transcript may leak. . . ."

THE KERSTEN AMENDMENT

Nineteen years ago, former Rep. Charles J. Kersten (R-Wis.) made an effort to bring about an American policy which would make use of our unused weapon, the captive nations and the enslaved people in them. In 1951, Mr. Kersten succeeded in getting an amendment attached to the Mutual Security Act, which could have meant the beginning of the end for the international Communist conspiracy. The Kersten Amendment provided $100 million to be used to help persons who had escaped from or who resided in

Communist-dominated countries, either to form them into military units of their own nationality or for other purposes. Several months later the amendment still had not been put into effect. Therefore, Mr. Kersten reiterated the main purposes of it on the floor of the House of Representatives on June 10, 1952:

"The principal measure to be taken under my amendment and which is spelled out therein is the creation of national military units of escapees from behind the Iron Curtain. These military units should have their own national flags and emblems, their own distinctive uniforms or identifying insignia. The units should be attached to NATO or to the American Army for command purposes. Free battalions of Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Chinese, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and Russians would be strong magnets of defection from Stalin's satellite armies and his own Soviet forces. They would weaken the will of the Communist forces to fight the West and might well be catalytic agents in the ultimate liberation of their native lands.

"As these units would grow and strengthen, the necessity for American troops in Europe would be greatly reduced. As one official in the Pentagon remarked to me, 'One Pole, Czech, Hungarian, or other battalions of Eastern European nationals is worth a division of American, British or French troops in opposing Stalin's satellite armies.' Such units would, according to a high American official just returned from Europe after spending three and a half years with Iron Curtain refugees, disintegrate the morale of Red-controlled armies.

"To put a hypothetical case: If America were taken over by the Reds and our armed forces were under the military control of the Soviets, what effect would the setting up of real American units with American uniforms and American battle flags on the Mexican or Canadian border have? What would be the effect on the will to fight for Stalin on the part of the average young American under this control? Would our sons fight for Stalin?

"The possibilities for defection exist not only among the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, but within the Soviet Union itself . . . if we create these free battalions of Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and the others, we let these people behind the Iron Curtain know in a most practical way that we are willing to assist them. Then, in the event of war, the 60 satellite divisions, which Stalin is now counting on to fight on his side, may well turn their guns around and fight with us instead of against us. These victimized soldiers would come over to join the West singly or in groups or by mass surrender, as they did in the early part of World War II before the Germans mistreated them. Or they may create armed insurrections within their own territory . . ."

Needless to say, this amendment brought violent reaction from the Kremlin, and, unfortunately, our policy makers refused to put it into effect. Rep. Kersten pointed out that over eight months had elapsed since the passage of his amendment and, as far as he could determine, not a dollar of the fund had been used. To our knowledge, none of it has ever been used effectively since that time for the all-important purpose for which it was established. In fact, it would appear that very few Americans have ever even heard of this important amendment which could have been used—*and still could*—to counteract the enormous peril posed by international communism.

In this 1952 House speech Mr. Kersten reminded his fellow Congressmen that in the early part of 1951 General MacArthur was removed from Korea because he was fighting to win. He said, "There is something horrible about fighting only to negotiate with criminals. In this case the horror involves the abandonment of the 800 million peoples of the Soviet Union and of the captive nations . . ." Of course, the policy situation described by Rep. Kersten almost 18 years ago has become much worse and the Red slave empire has expanded considerably since that time.

RESULTS OF LEAVING THEM ENSLAVED

There have been numerous incidents throughout the years of international communism's taking aggressive action against our nation from the base of a captive nation. A number of our airplanes have been shot down and nothing was ever done about it. From the base in North Korea the enemy captured our intelligence vessel, the *Pueblo*. From the base in Red Cuba, attacks have been expanded on freedom throughout Latin America.

WHAT WILL THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION DO?

The big question at present is what is the Nixon Administration going to do about it? Indications thus far are not encouraging. In his syndicated column appearing in newspapers around the country on July 10, 1969, Paul Scott reported the following regarding the President's Rumanian visit:

". . . In an intelligence warning that the President has disregarded, the Central Intelligence Agency has linked the Rumanian invitation to a new Russian campaign to try to get the Nixon Administration to repudiate a 10-year-old Congressional proclamation on the Captive Nations of Eastern Europe. . . . Since Eisenhower issued the first Captive Nations Proclamation in 1959, all Presidents have followed his lead although over the years their statements have been considerably watered down. All mention of Communist aggression or Soviet domination of the Eastern European nations was dropped from the most recent White House pronouncements because of pressure from Moscow. . . ."

Speaking on the floor of the House of Representatives on July 24, 1969, Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) said: "As a strong supporter of President Nixon, I hoped that we would see forceful and effective pronouncements in the field of foreign relations and a strategic shift in foreign policy. After waiting for six months, I must say that I have seen no basic change in either the State Department or our foreign policy. Possibly the best example of this 'business as usual' trend at the State Department is indicated by the President's 1969 Captive Nations declaration. It was frustratingly inane and perfunctory . . . no mention of the repressive Communist policies, no mention even of the word 'Communist' or the Soviet Union (was contained in the declaration)."

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

The vast majority of Americans have probably never even heard of Captive Nations Week, which was established by Congress in 1959. Public Law 86–90 designated the third week in July of each year as Captive Nations Week in order to remind the world of the plight of people living in nations enslaved by international communism. Informed Americans should urge their Senators and Representatives to prevail upon Mr. Nixon to make a stronger declaration this year which points the finger right at the heart of international communism's tyranny over millions of enslaved human beings.

Furthermore, efforts should begin right away to bring the light of publicity on Captive Nations Week of 1970. Governors, mayors and civic leaders should be urged to make public recognition of this observance and hold appropriate ceremonies and meetings. The fact that those millions of human beings enslaved by communism are potentially our most valuable friends and allies must be put across to uninformed citizens. An awakening to the shameful neglect of our forgotten allies in the captive nations could do much toward bringing about a change in our self-defeating, "no-win" foreign policy which will ultimately lead to Communist conquest of the United States of America.

Citizens must not forget that our nation is the prize captive nation of the future toward which all Communist efforts are ultimately aimed. Our leaders must be stirred to make use of America's powerful unused weapon—the captive nations under Communist tyranny.

COMPLETE VICTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN THE 1970'S

Mankind has already entered the brilliant decade of the 70's. The bold landing on the surface of the moon, the imposition of man's control over the vast reaches of outer space, and the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy all manifest the soaring progress of man. Man's happiness and his freedom have greatly increased as he has learned to subjugate Mother Nature and to overcome his material deficiencies. A lustrous new century of freedom is imminent.

Despite this era of soaring progress, however, there still exists on our globe the malevolent power of Communism, which as the unchanging and inalterable goal of conquering the whole world and enslaving mankind. Today one third of the population of this globe has fallen into the clutches of Communism, has seen its freedom and rights shattered and usurped, and has witnessed a grave threat to its very existence. Moreover, the malignancy of this malevolent power has continued to spread and expand unabated, with the result that still more have had their freedom and happiness placed in grave jeopardy. At this time when we are promoting observance of the 1970 "Captive Nations Week," we cannot but feel ashamed and alarmed that due to the failure to make the splendor of freedom known to all mankind, the terror of enslavement is continuing to spread into new regions. On the other hand, we can note with optimism that there is a trend, gaining strength day by day throughout the entire world, towards striving for freedom and struggling against slavery.

In the history of the world's anti-Communist movement, both the "Captive Nations Week" and the "January 23 Freedom Day" have been the manifest symbols of opposition to slavery and the struggle for freedom of all mankind. This movement, which has been directed at the goals of liberating those behind the iron curtain and assisting the people of the captive nations to struggle for freedom, has not only stressed the expansion of righteousness in the free world and supported the lofty ideal of the rights of man, but has also simultaneously encouraged the people behind the iron curtain to strive for freedom and to retain their will to survive and their self-confidence. Today, although the world is still "half slave and half free," it can be seen from the overall anti-Communist situation, from the splintering of the parties and the Communist movement behind the iron curtain, and from the increasing consolidation and unity of the forces within the free world that the anti-Communist revolution has embarked upon a propitious new course. In view of these circumstances, our present endeavor to promote "Captive Nations Week" and to issue a call to strive for the victory of freedom in the 70's is extremely significant.

During the past half-century, a total of more than a billion people has been subjugated behind the iron curtain. This tragic situation has, of course, been the direct result of the utilization by adherents of Communism of the techniques of infiltration, subversion armed might to realize their plot of communizing the world. Nonetheless, the

laxity of the free world in regard to alertness and the flourishing of appeasement have been strong contributing factors in the advent of the Communist catastrophe. Moreover, among all the nations and regions which have suffered the red disaster, it must be acknowledged that the Chinese people have been the most tragic as well as the most majestically heroic. As far back as 1921, after the Comintern's plan to expand into Western Europe had met with frustration. China became the primary objective of Communism's strategy of territorial aggrandizement. From that time on, the Communist Party obstructed the unification of China, hindered the reconstruction of China and endeavored to transform the China mainland into the Asian base of Communism's expansive aggression. The genuinely tragic thing was that prior to the fall of the mainland, other countries lacked a correct knowledge of the anti-Communist struggle. As a result of this, there was more passive onlooking than sympathy, and there was more obstruction than assistance, which ultimately led to the complete communization of the mainland.

The fall of the mainland to the Communists transformed countless Chinese citizens into the sacrificial lambs of the tyranical Maoist regime. During the last twenty years, the people of the entire world have clearly seen the blood yreality, they have borne witness to the deaths under the Maoist tyranny of thousands of Chinese, and they have observed the Communist-controlled mainland become a genuine hell on earth for the people. The ambitions of Mao are not confined only to enslaving the Chinese people, however. He has appropriated the theories of Marx, Lenin and others whose goal was to communize the world and has adopted the line of armed aggression in order to effect his plot of outward expansion and to realize his dream of controlling the entire world. Therefore, from the Korean War to the Vietnam War, from Asia to Africa, from the Middle East to South America, there is practically not a single catastrophe which has not been personally engendered by Mao himself, which has not been incited and fanned by the Maoists. All of this serves as evidence that the fall of the Chinese mainland not only brought about tthe erection of the most gigantic iron curtain in the world, but at the same time created the principal threat to world peace.

During the past twenty years, we in the Republic of China have proudly stood on the front line of the free world's struggle against the Communists. On the one hand we have been making preparations for the recovery of the mainland, and on the other we have continually been opening up a political struggle against the Communists. As a result of our more than forty years of anti-Communist experience, we have come to profoundly understand that the anti-Communist war is actually a war of ideology against ideology. If we want to achieve final victory in this war, we must first shatter the enemy on the political battlefield. After many years of continuous effort, we have reaped a harvest which on the one hand is characterized by tremendous human spiritual resources both at home and abroad. This has brought about the formation of a unifed force dedicated to the destruction af Mao and the salvation of our country. On the other hand, due to the effectiveness of our political program, we have not only brought about a surging tide of wrath against the Communist tyranny among our compatriots on the mainland, but we have also directly or indirectly hastened the disintegration of the Communist Party, the rise of extreme chaos among the ranks of the cadres, and the widespread disaffection among the Communist armed forces. As we confront this most propitious set of circumstances, we increasingly feel the necessity of intensifying our political warfare, of accelerating the pace of the collapse of the Communists, and above all of eradicating the source of the disaster which has befallen Asia and the entire world. At the same time, we are profoundly convinced that because we have taken the initiative on the political battlefield, we will be able to smash the iron curtain around the mainland and fulfill our responsibility of emanacipating our suffering compatriots.

Nevertheless at a time when we have progressed to the decisive stage in the anti-Communist struggle, we must continue to emphasize that this struggle is not the individual affair of one country or of one region. Even though we have never desired that any nation be dragged into our efforts to destroy Mao and save our country, we do harbor the hope that while we are carrying out our responsibility our allies will provide moral and material support. Even more important than this in our opinion, however, is that the allies endeavor to achieve a unified stand in the common struggle against the Communists. We would especially welcome such unity of attitude and action among the anti-Communist nations of Asia.

The spearhead of the Communist expansive activities is presently directed not only at Vietnam, but also at Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and various other countries. We must never allow the Maoists to achieve control of a communized Asia, and we must absolutely prevent them from ever again winning the advantage in any region. We especially must not commit the errors of allowing the Communist Party to strike and of agreeing to yield concessions to them. We must, on the basis of united strength and united action, struggle for our common victory. We firmly believe that the foundation of world freedom is the preservation of freedom in Asia. The Asian people have perceived that in the struggle against the Communist enslavers in Asia, they must develop their own strength and establish their collective security. At the same time, their friends in the free world must understand the needs of the Asian people, they must respect the ambitions of the Asian people, and on this basis they must support the efforts of the Asian people. We believe more firmly than ever that the Asian countries must rely on their own strength and their own struggle in order to achieve a genuine solution.

The establishment of an Asian collective security system is currently the most pressing need in the endeavor to preserve Asian freedom. Although SEATO still exists, it has for all intents and purposes become paralyzed, and is completely unable to respond to the demands of the current situation. In view of the pressure exerted by the appeasement elements within the United States and the new Asian policy of the Nixon administration, it is clear that Asians must now unite on the basis of self-salvation and world-salvation. They must cast off neutralism and the tenets of appeasement. Through a policy of unity they must counteract the obstacles placed in their path from without; they must decide the fate of the Asian people through their own spirit and initiative; they must preserve Asian security through the strength of Asian countries; and most importantly of all, they must share with the entire free world the burden of mutually safeguarding the freedom of mankind and of mutually protecting world peace. Speaking concretely, the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), which has already been founded, is a good beginning for an Asian and Pacific area regional security organization. We must continue to strengthen, consolidate and develop it, progressing from economic cooperation and cultural exchange to political cooperation and military alliance. Recently we were extremely gratified to note the call for strengthening the unity and cooperation among Asian nations made by Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand and other nations. We warmly and urgently await news of more concrete measures in this direction, which Asian security and freedom will rest. In this way we can strive for an all-out victory for freedom in the 70's.

PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE

To: Chairman Ku Cheng-kang and the Mass Rally of Civic Organizations of Republic of China in Support of the Struggle for Freedom by People in Captive Nations.

At the proposition of the U.S. Congress, the United States since 1959 has been observing the third week of each July as Captive Nations Week to express the determination to uphold justice, safeguard human rights, oppose slavery and support the oppressed Iron Curtain people's struggle for freedom and survival. At its outset, this movement very soon elicited a profound response from all the other free democratic nations of the world. It has since spurred vigorous rises of freedom forces in the free world and promoted surging tides against tyranny behind the Iron Curtain. We are firmly convinced that once the two groups of forces—the free world's supporting strength and the Iron Curtain people's anti-Communist power—are brought into contact and merged as one, an accelerated downfall of Communist tyranny will be a certainty.

Under the impacts of man's desire for freedom, many tyrannical regimes based on totalitarian slavery systems have been overthrown and extinguished one after another in the course of history. The Communist totalitarians today far exceed all the preceding tyrants in their atrocious and villainous disregard of human nature, destruction of human rights and persecution of people. Furthermore, they have driven more than 1,000 million people into a state of living death. But tyranny is destined to perish and slavery ultimately will fail. The harder the oppression, the stronger the opposition grows. With their acts in opposition to right principles, the Communists have created a dark reverse current never before known in history, but we believe that man ultimately will overcome and cross this channel of ruthless waves and reach the shore of happiness and freedom.

The Chinese Communists are resorting to all extremities in their oppression of our mainland compatriots. After their so-called great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Tse-tung and his cohorts are still treading their venturous leftist line. Internally, slogans of war preparation are used to strengthen military control and erase antagonistic elements. This has resulted in clashes of troops, fights among workers and peasants, sending of youths to remote rural areas and rectification of cadres. Externally, the regime is still attempting to bring scourges to the whole world by spreading the Indochinese disturbance. At this time as the entire Chinese mainland is filled with the wrath of heaven and the anger of the people, anti-Maoist and anti-Communist forces are growing constantly everywhere waging struggles of life or death against the regime and gradually shaping up an anti-Mao and national salvation united front, ready at any time to join forces with our great army of National Revolution. In his search for freedom, man can bring forth great strength that no form of tyranny can suppress. No matter what may come, we must hold fast to our stand as protectors of freedom and strive to launch a mainland counterattack at an early date, thereby freeing our compatriots from their indescribable plight. This is our solemn responsibility for the love of our compatriots and also is the way to wipe out the source of scourges in Asia root and all.

TEXT OF MADAME CHIANG'S ADDRESS AT SYMPOSIUM

(EDITORS NOTE.—Following is the official text of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's opening address to the International Symposium on Chinese Painting which was held at the Palace Museum on June 18.)

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me much pleasure to open this conference on Chinese painting and to bid all of you a warm welcome. Twice in the last thirty years a small selection from the Palace Museum has been shown abroad: once in England in 1936, and once in the United States of America in 1961. Today, with the new wings of the Museum recently completed, we are able at last to have more space to display the treasures in rotation and to invite such a distinguished group of scholars and lovers of Chinese art to participate in a symposium. It therefore gives me great pleasure to express our appreciation of the importance of the gathering here. We are not only assembled in this hall from the most widely separated places, we are also joined here as friends by an enduring and profoundly significant tradition spanning more than two millennia, a tradition by which we have been inspired and which we all humbly strive to understand intelligently.

In the history of Chinese painting one finds instances of men drawn together through a common love and understanding of the art and who became fast friends. It is fair to say that each of the remarkable transformations, which at intervals revitalized the enduring truths of Chinese art, had at its fulcrum, such associations of friends. This is true of literature no less than of painting. You are all familiar, I am sure, with such famous gatherings as the *lan-t'ing hsiu ch'i*, the "nine friends in painting", the *hsi-yuan ya-chi*, and others. What is today strikingly coincidental is that we are also on the threshold of such a transformation—a transformation in which we endeavor to re-capture our own best hours.

We are acutely conscious of the great value of a mature art which has been developed and re-vitalized through the centuries. Chinese painting can be said to represent an important part of China's long cultural heritage. Its esthetic, humanistic, and technical qualities are recognized achievements of a living civilization. Many of us are, however, struck by the revolutionary changes in structure which gave this art its enduring validity, and by the uncertainty of its future development. Younger artists today are chafing for a change. It is thus both symptomatic and timely that we find ourselves re-examining and re-evaluating our traditional past. Looking through the subjects to be discussed at this symposium, I am impressed by the prominence given to the different aspects of continuity and change.

As a student of Chinese painting, I venture to suggest that while each art form has its own sphere of activity and technical limits, a study of the changes in subject matter as well as in technique of the great masters might well point to new paths in Chinese painting. For instance there is no question that Shih-t'ao's paintings were a departure from the masters whom he had scrupulously followed in his younger days. But as we study his works more closely in relation to his times, his personal life and philosophy, we begin to better appreciate the new approach he succeeded in bringing to his works. I am not here defending experiment against tradition. I am merely stating the value of ever seeking for higher plateaus. However, it takes the spirit and genius of Shih-t'ao to do Shih-t'ao's work.

Chinese painting is unique in the world's art, for it is inseparably linked to poetry. Together they have contributed to the enrichment of our civilization. To those of us whose ears are attuned, Chinese painting communicates with a quiet voice and speaks with inexhaustible wisdom. And because Chinese painting is pre-eminently that of poetic moods and inspiration, it is highly literary, possesses a quality of profound harmony and has a gift of transcending tranquility which gives it singular appeal.

Some of you may have learned that we are here in the midst of a cultural renaissance movement. This movement is being promoted not as a form of neo-classicism, but as a fresh attempt to re-evaluate the past and to search for and preserve the more enduring qualities in our cultural heritage.

In a world riven by strife and discordant with invective, we have come together to exchange views and with such a galaxy of participants as assembled here we may justly look for spirited debate, but mark, it is argument in search of agreement. We should encourage the growth of new and fertile ideas, and nourish them on the spiritual harmony which is the essential glory of Chinese painting. Thus, drawing upon all the resources at our command and utilizing the knowledge available to us, we hope to progress towards a deeper understanding of China's cultural past and in some way to be of assistance to the development of her cultural future. These goals and just these goals alone would be worthy of this symposium.

Ladies and gentlemen, once again let me bid you all a warm welcome and wish this symposium every success.

SPEECHES: VICE PRESIDENT C. K. YEN'S ADDRESS AT THE MASS RALLY

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Freedom Fighters, Refugee Representatives, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is of very great significance that, for the promotion of justice and protection of human rights, we people from various circles of the Republic of China are gathered here today at this meeting in support of the Captive Nations Week and at the same time to unfold a campaign to win victory freedom in the 1970s.

The movement supporting captive nations was started 11 years ago by the U.S. Congress. Because of its just objectives and lofty ideals, the movement has continued to receive enthusiastic support from all the other free nations. Tied together with the January 23rd Freedom Day Movement, the Captive Nations Week Movement has aroused widespread free world sympathy and support for the enslaved people and, by piercing through the Iron Curtain, has strengthened the captive people's determination and courage to seek freedom and survival. Even though more than 1,000 million people are still shut behind the Iron Curtain today, the overall world situation indicates that the 1970s will provide a decisive turning point for the victory of freedom over slavery and of democracy over totalitarianism. For this reason, we people gathered here today must solemnly pledge ourselves as freedom fighters and tell the world of our firm stand, high spirit and determination as well as readiness to tear down the Iron Curtain and put an end to tyranny.

A year ago when we gathered to mark the 10th anniversary of Captive Nations Week, I pointed out that the world still remained only half free and that "while this tragedy was brought about as a result of Communist infiltration, subversion and armed aggression designed to communize the whole world, it was also attributable to the free world's failure to be on the alert and the rising tendency to appease Communism." Because of this bitter lesson, I urged the free world to start a global movement of self-purification. The year since then has recorded many farsighted free world leaders' endeavor to expose Communist intrigues and expand anti-Communist forces. Examples include the publication by the U.S. Congress of a study report on Amerasia papers, thereby telling the world of the true circumstances surrounding the fall of the Chinese mainland; the growth of the American public's anti-Communist strength and the awakening of the silent U.S. masses as evidenced in the establishment of the American Council for World Freedom; and the forceful accusations directed at the Communist bloc as a whole and the Peiping regime in particular by such well-known anti-Communist organizations as the World Anti-Communist League, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, the Asian and Pacific Council and the Asian Parliamentarians' Union. In the same past year, however, short-sighted appeasers have continued to air their flirtatious views on the international stage. Unless this situation is corrected in time, the free world's anti-Communist unity will be hampered, the Communist camp's expansionist ambition encouraged and all of mankind plagued by even more dreadful scourges. This is why I want at this time to reiterate our view of worldwide struggle against Communism.

First, we must emphasize again that this struggle is not to be confined to any one country or area. It must be an all-out global action because its consequences are bound to affect all the people without exception. Even though the Communist bloc is being plagued by internal strifes, its external move to communize the entire world and enslave the whole of mankind remains unchanged. Because peace cannot be had separately and freedom cannot be enjoyed alone, no nation can evade its share of anti-Communist responsibility. At this moment as the anti-Communist war in Southeast Asia is undergoing a crucial phase and appeasers are still active everywhere, it is imperative that all the free world governments and people clearly recognize the need of an all-out endeavor, calmly examine the situation and start shouldering a greater responsibility on the anti-Communist battlefront.

Next, we must tell the free world loud and clear that Mao Tse-tung and his followers are not just the Chinese people's public enemies, for they are the world's chief troublemakers bent on endangering all of mankind. If the free world were to ignore the Chinese Communists' aggressive and belligerent true faces and scheme of world conquest and seek compromise and peaceful coexistence with them, this act of treating enemies as friends would be tantamount to admitting wolves into our midst and raising tigers to harm ourselves. We would be endeavoring only to bring extreme dangers to our own security. Such foolish and ignorant actions would frustrate the free world's anti-Communist determination and promote the Peiping regime's atrocious expansionist attempts. The millions of people now behind the Iron Curtain would be left indefinitely and helplessly in their state of utter misery.

Ladies and Gentlemen: President Chiang Kai-shek has long pointed out that the source of all the evil in the world lies in Asia and with the fanatic Mao group on the Chinese mainland. The Peiping regime must be destroyed if we are to have peace and tranquility for Asia and all of the world. We Chinese are aware of our unimputable duty to destroy the Communist regime on the mainland, but we need for our historical struggle spiritual support from all the other free nations. We hope that all the freedom-loving people of the world will bring forth their moral courage, give full play to the power of justice and wipe out all the dark clouds of appeasement in the face of Communists. This will help us attain our goal of freedom for mankind and peace for the world.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BY DR. KU CHENG-KANG, GENERAL CHAIRMAN, AT THE MASS RALLY OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN SUPPORT OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK AND FOR EXPANDED EFFORTS TO WIN VICTORY FOR FREEDOM IN THE 1970'S

Vice President Yen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentleman:

This year starts the decade of the '70's in the 20th century. At this brilliant moment as man's history is making advances into the space age, it is truly a shame to mankind that tyranny continues to exist behind the Communist Iron Curtain where people are still being enslaved. Together with all the other freedom-loving people of the world, we must endeavor to provide assistance to all captive nations and enslaved peoples in their efforts to regain freedom. For this year's Captive Nations Week and this meeting today, therefore, we have advanced the slogan "Victory for Freedom in the 1970's" as a beacon for our constant march ahead. We must have the courage as well as determination to destroy the Communist powers of enslavement, free all the captive nations, give freedom back to the enslaved people, and usher in a happy era of freedom, democracy and peace in history, all within the decade of the 1970's.

Such an advocation of ours today may sound unrealistic to many people. It is true that under the present circumstances, with the evil flames of Communism still as outrageous as they are and with the airs of appeasement and compromises spread throughout the world, we may appear to lack grounds for a strong confidence about victory for freedom in the 1970's. But I have a different answer and I want to present a number of points to support my view.

First, love of freedom is part of human nature and been one motivating power in the development of history. Human rights are now well defined and men are probing deep into space. No one can now be content under shackles of slavery. This is why campaigns against slavery are spreading wide behind the Iron Curtain and may burst out as enormous flames of freedom at any time. This tendency is clearly shown by the resistance of intellectuals and working masses in the Soviet Union, by the anti-Russian struggles of peoples in Eastern Europe, and by the anti-Mao and national salvation campaigns of Chinese mainland people. Now heights are possible at any time in the struggle against slavery.

Second, no matter how ferocious the evil powers of Communism may appear, there is no denying that the entire Communist movement is on the decline and the whole Communist system is disintegrating at an increasingly faster pace. Both Soviet Russia and the Peiping regime have revealed irreparable internal controversies and crises. Their administrative systems are shaky at all levels. The irreconcilable rift between Moscow and Peiping has weakened the strength of the Communist camp and will lead at an accelerated pace to that camp's complete downfall.

Third, even though the reverse current of appeasement is still strong, the silent masses of various nations are awakening and rising. In the first half of this year, for example, public support in the United States for President Nixon's policies was heightened and many people at many places were fighting anti-war elements. The anti-Communist strength of Japan is increasing fast and evidences include the recent Plenary Session of the Committee for the Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation, which smashed Chou En-lai's scheme behind his so-called Four Principles of Trade, and the general conferences of the World Anti-Communist League and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League to be held soon in Japan. The anti-Communist coup in Cambodia was a result of the Cambodians' resolute rejection of Sihanouk's Communist-leaning false neutralist line. The people of the Philippines, with their recent bitter experience in fighting the Communists' atrocious subversive attempts, have urged President Marcos to adopt a very strong anti-Communist stand. At the recent general elections, the people of Britain demonstrated their hatred and denial of the Labor Party's leftist-leaning line. There are many other evidences but those that I have just mentioned are enough to make us see the true intention of the people of various nations who are rising in new surging waves of freedom.

Fourth, freedom forces everywhere are increasingly joining together for all-out anti-Communist moves. Since the change of situation in Cambodia, confrontation between the two world camps has become clearer and on an expanded scale. The Vietnamization of war has developed the conflict into one for the entire Indochinese peninsula. There is even the tendency that the war in Vietnam will become one for the whole of Asia. The Republic of Vietnam is now endeavoring to establish military alliance with Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. Even Britain has corrected its decision to withdraw troops from Asia and is moving toward a lineup of Commonwealth forces involving fighters from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore. The Republics of China, Korea and the Philippines are advocating the establishment of a regional security organization for Asia and the Pacific. Even though there still are certain difficulties to be overcome, the people in general are coming to realize that such a security organization is the only effective way toward Asian nations' self and mutual salvation. In the implementation of its new Asian policy, the United States will have no other alternative but to encourage and support the establishment of such a regional security organization. This direction toward common defense and united anti-Communist campaign is also one of worldwide nature. Once the trend assumes a concrete shape, the whole world situation will turn decisively in favor of the freedom camp.

So, at this opening stage of the new decade, there are evidences that man's struggle for freedom is beginning to shed new light of hope for victory. When all the developments of the four categories that I have mentioned are put together in an appropriate manner, we can very well create earth-shaking changes overnight and destroy all the Communist forces of enslavement. The more effort we exert, the sooner victory for freedom will come to us. For this reason and in view of the current situation and objective needs, I am presenting the following three points as our major guidelines in our drive toward freedom and victory against slavery.

First of all, we must not only arouse but also organize the silent masses of the various nations. Fight against the Communist should not be merely a matter of recognition. Action is what counts. Recognition without organization leads to no positive striking power against the enemy. The Communists and their fellow travelers in the United States, for instance, have been effective in exercising minority influences over the majority and in covering up their illegal activities with legal fronts. They can be effectively dealt with only through organizing the silent masses. Once in possession of organized power, the silent masses will be able to strike back as they wish and smash any Communist attempt at subversion. The Congress, mass media, campuses and all the public activities will no longer have to be controlled by leftists and appeasers.

Secondly, as we protect our own freedom, we must even more gallantly help the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain regain their freedom. This is because the freedom and security of free people can be truly protected only after all the enslaved people have regained their freedom. If we were to shun the responsibility of helping the more than 1,000 million people who are longing for freedom we would be committing not just a moral crime but a strategic blunder as well. If the free world can provide these enslaved people with spiritual and material assistance, the Iron Curtain can be smashed from within. There will be no direct combat engagements for outsiders nor any danger of a large-scale international war. If, for instance, the other free nations can positively support the Republic of China's political ventures on the Chinese mainland, strengthened activities behind the enemy lines can lead to wide-spread anti-Communist struggles and bring the mainland people's anti-Mao movement to a climax, thereby putting a complete end to Mao rule. Once the evil Chinese Communist regime is destroyed, a chain reaction certainly will be touched off among the Iron Curtain nations, causing them to fall apart one after another.

Thirdly, instead of making any concessions on any anti-Communist battlefront, we must make full use of the new anti-Communist situation that is now shaping up, unite all the available forces and start strong counter-attacks against the enemies. The anti-Communist combats on the battlefields of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia must be continued heroically. We must know that the enemies are now troubled by difficulties. We should never allow ourselves to be frightened by the false battle cries of such enemies. If the free world is strongly united in a spirit of mutual help and cooperation, we will have far more strength and a much better position than the Communists. We will then not only be able to check the international Communists' aggressive moves but also can make the captive nations and enslaved peoples free themselves and regain their freedom.

I am firmly convinced that if the free world correctly follows these guidelines and march gallantly ahead, we all can attain our goal of victory for freedom in the 1970's. The United States is the nation that started the Captive Nations Week Movement and is still providing the major driving force in mankind's struggle for freedom. Because of America's national spirit and glorious tradition in upholding international justice, we firmly believe that the Americans will be able to break through the heavy fog of appeasement, heist high the bright torch of freedom and march hand in hand with all the anti-slavery forces of the world in a joint effort to make the 1970's a decade of overall victory for freedom.

ADDRESS BY U.S. CONGRESSMAN DR. PHILIP M. CRANE AT THE MASS RALLY

Chairman Ku, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The great work that the China Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League has done to fight for freedom for your people reflects the outstanding leadership of Dr. Ku Cheng-kang and Mr. Huang Shao-chu, President and Secretary General of the China Chapter, respectively.

A word must be said regarding one man who is recognized as one of the truly great leaders of the world today. For nearly fifty years President Chiang Kai-shek has contributed much to the forces of freedom while standing as a bulwark against the aggressive forces of Communism. Through his effective leadership your people have been able to establish on this island an economically stable and militarily strong fortress which remains a beacon of light to the oppressed people of Mainland China. Apparently ageless, the indomitable Generalissimo continues to represent the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese people and all free men everywhere.

Before I was elected to the Congress last year, I was a professor of history and I have always been a student of history. Therefore, I have always appreciated the role that

China serves as an example to the rest of the world for endurance. Her people have suffered tyrannies that have lasted for decades, but the history of China is written not in these short periods of time but in centuries and millenia. Certainly, the longing of the Chinese people for freedom will outlive the tyranny of the present Communist regime on the mainland.

At the outset I want to stress the fact that President Nixon and his administration continue to value highly our close friend and staunch ally, the Republic of China. This is my first visit to Taiwan and, like most of your visitors, I have been greatly impressed by the remarkable economic progress made by your people in recent years. A short decade ago, the Republic of China was a recipient of U.S. foreign aid: now you have instituted your own foreign aid program for many other nations. You can be justly proud of your economic achievements.

Permit me now to give a brief resume of the speech I will make tomorrow.

As President Nixon announced when he outlined his Guam doctrine, the time has come for the responsibility of collective defense to be shared. The United States will continue to furnish military and economic assistance, but we look to the nation, or group of nations, directly threatened to provide the primary defense against military challenges. In the past under previous administrations, this was not the case: despite the fact that our allies in Asia sought to share the burden. Back in 1965, and again in 1966, The United States refused to allow the Free Chinese to provide troops in South Vietnam, although such troops were offered. However, the Nixon administration welcomes the several thousand of your fellow citizens who are presently helping in South Vietnam. The United States now encourages this sort of mutual assistance.

Permit me also to comment on the continuing progress of Vietnamization, began a year ago by President Nixon. The initial efforts to implement this policy have been highly successful, particularly since May of this year, when action was taken against the Communist invaders of Cambodia. However, Vietnamization can only be viewed as a part of a larger program of Asianization: an alliance of free Asian Nations. Such an alliance, recommended years ago by Philippine Congressman Ramon Bagatsing in the form of a free Asian force, has become a critical necessity because of the expanded activities of the Communists in Southeast Asia. Not only have the North Vietnamese threatened the very survival of Cambodia, but their activity has been renewed in Laos as well as in Thailand.

Communist uprisings have been crushed in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines and we fought a long war to maintain freedom in Korea. But the fact that such aggression has taken place is proof that the menace to free Asia is a very real one.

But I don't have to tell you that; it is obvious that you more than anyone else, realize the threat to the freedom-loving peoples of this area of the world. In order to successfully defeat this aggression the initiative must be seized and maintained by the forces of freedom. That initiative can only be seized if the allies are properly armed and permitted to take the offensive. I will have more to say on this subject tomorrow.

In closing, I would like to compliment the fine work being done by the World Anti-Communist League and in particular, its affiliate, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. Great contributions have been made to the Anti-Communist movement by these groups, much of whose leadership comes from people of the Republic of China. The Fourth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League scheduled for September is anticipated by many Americans who wish you success with this conference, and continued success in all of your endeavors.

Again, I am pleased to be your guest here, and I salute you on behalf of my countrymen and all freedom loving peoples everywhere.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY KU CHENG-KANG, PRESIDENT OF THE APU 5TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT THE APU 8TH COUNCIL MEETING

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Delegates and Observers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At this 8th Council Meeting of the APU, I have the honor to extend to the Honorable Delegates and Observers my heartiest welcome in my capacity as President of the APU 5th General Assembly. I wish in particular to pay my highest respects to the Honorable Delegates from Cambodia whose country is waging a heroic war against Communist aggression and for the preservation of its own independence and freedom. At the same time, I wish also to assure the Honorable Delegates from Cambodia of our deepest concern over the situation in Cambodia as well as our sympathy and support.

Over half a year has elapsed since the APU 5th General Assembly. In the interval, we have been mapping out measures for the implementation of the various resolutions adopted by the 5th General Assembly and have also written to the national groups concerned to take effective measures for their implementation. Regarding the resolution on economic assistance to Laos, we have written separately to the ECAFE, the International Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank asking them to render whatever assistance they can, and have received preliminary replies to my request. We have also written to the various APU National Groups to do their best for the relief of Laotian refugees. We have sent large quantities of relief materials to Laos through the Free China Relief Association. The Governing Board of the Asian Development Center, which held its second meeting in Manila in the middle of last month, has made a number of decisions relating to the fulfillment of its functions. Most important of all, as a result of the understanding reached between the Hon. Jose B. Laurel, Jr., Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, and the Hon. Dato C. M. Yusuf bin Sheikh Abdul Rahman, Speaker of the Malaysian House of Representatives, during the APU 5th General Assembly last November, the two great countries have now resumed normal diplomatic relations. This significant event will naturally have beneficial repercussions on the current situation in Asia. From a review of these facts, it is clear that the APU is making earnest endeavors to carry out the tasks it has taken upon itself.

In the last half a year serious developments have again occurred in the Asian situation. All in all, they tend to demonstrate the urgent need for the creation of an Asian and Pacific regional security organization which I have been advocating both at APU meetings and on other occasions.

All of us have seen that the series of events from the anti-Communist coup d'etat in Cambodia to President Nixon's decision to send American troops into that country to wipe out the Communist sanctuaries there has led to the emergence of an entirely new situation in Asia and in the world as a whole. It constitutes a historic turning point. Though it is still too early to predict the future course of events, far-reaching influences are already quite manifest. With your permission, I should like to point out a few features of the new situation and its possible future development.

First, the so-called neutralist but actually pro-Communist Cambodian government of the past has been replaced by a staunchly anti-Communist government. This fact not only shows the decline of neutralism as a political force, but also has led to vital and favorable changes in the strategic situation in Southeast Asia.

Secondly, the very dispatch of American troops into Cambodia is ample proof that the U.S. policy of disengagement is unrealistic and is ill-suited to the current situation in Asia. Though President Nixon's courageous decision did meet with strong opposition in the United States for a time, the necessity for such an action has not only been well understood by most people in other parts of the world, but also been gradually accepted by the broad masses of Americans themselves. President Nixon's June 30 report on the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Cambodia contained an outline of guidelines for future policy. He said, inter alia, "We will encourage and support the efforts of third countries who wish to furnish Cambodia with troops or material." This is a very wise and necessary step to take.

Thirdly, the overall struggle between the two rival camps is now clearer than ever before. On the one hand, there is the united front of Prince Sihanouk, North Vietnam, Viet Cong, Pathet Lao, and Cambodian Communists established under the aegis of the so-called Indochinese People's Supreme Council with the active support of the Peiping regime, which has been openly clamoring to fuse the wars in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia into one single war and calling upon all Communists in those countries to fight side by side against their common enemy. Opposed to them are the Republic of Vietnam and the anti-Communist alliance she is actively planning to set up among Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos with the possible vigorous support of the United States.

Fourthly, Thailand's decision to dispatch troops into Cambodia to come to her assistance is fraught with significance. This kind of direct participation in the war is tantamount to the concrete realization of the concept of collective security, and an action for common defense. This fact augurs well for the eventual creation of an anti-Communist military alliance among the countries on the Indochinese Peninsula. At the same time, it has also paved the way for the establishment of a system of mutual defense in Southeast Asia as well as the emergence of an Asian and Pacific regional system of security.

Therefore, it can be readily seen that recent developments in Cambodia have brought in their wake important changes in the general situation in Asia as a whole. They not only have turned the war in Vietnam into an Indochinese war, but also are continuing to turn it into an Asian and even an Asian-Pacific war. The ultimate outcome may well be the early realization of an Asian and Pacific regional security organization that I have been advocating in recent years.

Now that American forces have been withdrawn from Cambodia, the Lon Nol Government in Cambodia will certainly be confronted with an extremely difficult situation. Under such circumstances, it is our obligation to support Cambodia and, at the same time, to save Asia. For this purpose, the continued presence of Vietnamese forces in Cambodia is a correct and essential step the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has taken. The dispatch of Thai forces into Cambodia is also a courageous and wise action on the part of the Government of Thailand. I take advantage of this opportunity to pay my respects to the Honorable Delegates from Vietnam and Thailand for the actions their countries have taken.

Furthermore, we should like to see the early conclusion of a military alliance among Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, so that the forces of freedom may take concerted action to counter the concerted action of the Communist camp. The decision made

by the newly elected Conservative Government of Britain to reconsider the policy laid down by its Labor predecessor to withdraw all British forces from Asia is a wise and timely decision. The much discussed formation of a British Commonwealth defense setup among the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore is a positive measure designed to cope with the needs of the current situation, and we earnestly hope that it will soon materialize. But we must not be content with only that. Most important of all, we must continue to work for formation of an Asian and Pacific regional security organization. For it is only by means of such an organization that a strong enough force could be mustered to deter Communist aggression and meet the Communist challenge.

In view of the current situation which I have just briefly reviewed, it would seem to me that we of the APU should concert our actions and take the following measures:

First, we should urge all other governments to render all-out assistance to the Lon Nol Government in Cambodia and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam in their anti-Communist struggle.

Secondly, we should do our utmost to do away with such erroneous conceptions as appeasement, neutralism, and non-alignment so as to remove the obstacles that have been hindering the Asian countries from joining forces to oppose Communism.

Thirdly, we should take positive steps by both speech and action to hasten the early establishment of a system of collective defense in Southeast Asia and the formation of an Asian and Pacific regional system of collective security.

As President Chiang Kai-Shek has pointed out in his address before the APU 5th General Assembly, "Some Asian lands have huge populations and abundant resources. Some possess an immense industrial potential and have formidable military forces. If the strengths of these separate countries are combined, the result will be a massive cultural, political, economic and military force of justice sufficient to assure the peace and security of Asia and the world. An Asian epoch of freedom, security, prosperity and progress will be opened up." This, I believe, is the direction the course of history will take and is in perfect accord with the APU objectives. It is my fervent hope that we of the APU will do our level best to bring about the realization of its objectives so as to preserve the freedom and peace of Asia and the world as a whole and usher in a bright era in the 1970's.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT KU CHEN-KANG OF WACL/APACL CHINA CHAPTER AT DINNER HONORING DELEGATES AND GUESTS TO THE THIRD ASIAN WRITERS CONFERENCE

President Lin, Honorable Delegates, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the China Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League as well as the 10 other international organizations in the Republic of China that are jointly playing host to the special guests and delegates to the Third Asian Writers' Conference from Asia and other parts of the world, I have the honor to extend to every one of you, ladies and gentlemen, our hearty welcome.

All of you are writers of national and international renown. As such, you have made outstanding contributions to the promotion of better understanding among peoples of the world. Through your works you have given full expression to what is best in human nature and have contributed to the ennobling of the human spirit.

Throughout the history of human civilization, the power of the pen has been almighty. It has stood for goodness and justice and has pointed out the direction towards which the times are moving. Civilization not only has been preserved and transmitted through the pen, but also has been further developed by the same means. Of the various kinds of written works, those on philosophy embody human wisdom, those on science typify human reason, and those on literature reflect the human soul. For this reason, literature has exerted a greater influence on the human heart than any other kind of work and has been a driving force in history. The effects of literature are incalculable.

One of the threshold of the 1970s, man is now able to land on the moon and is making one conquest after another in space exploration. Such being the case, man should be free to enjoy all the benefits of science, his dignity should be respected, and he should lead a happy and contended life. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The wicked forces of Communism in all parts of the world are trying their best to fashion a slave society in which there is no freedom to speak of, and to create a reign of terror by which one billion people have been shut behind the Iron Curtain and tyrannized by their Communist task masters. Even the free peoples of the world are being threatened by the same wicked forces and are therefore compelled to wage a life-and-death struggle against them.

We are encouraged to note that in this titanic struggle so many eminent writers have taken their stand for the cause of freedom and justice and that, even in Soviet Russia, on the Chinese mainland, and in other Communist countries, not a few writers have disregarded persecution and made sacrifices of themselves as champions of freedom. We have the profoundest admiration for the indomitable spirit manifested by these courageous writers of our time, and we are fully confident that, through their efforts, freedom will ultimately triumph over Communist tyranny.

I am convinced that, in our future fight for the cause of freedom, every one of you in this distinguished gathering will give full expression to the Asian peoples and will, by the use of your pen, expose the true nature of Communism in order to wake up the silent majority and make it possible for the forces of freedom to reassert themselves to create a happier tomorrow. Please be assured that we in this country will emulate your example and do our best to work for the realization of a new era of freedom for the world as a whole.

My colleagues and I, who are co-hosting this dinner in honor of the special guests and delegates to the Third Asian Writers' Conference, will now drink to the health of our distinguished guests, to the successful conclusion of the Asian Writers' Conference, and to the coming victory of the forces of freedom all over the world!

SPECIAL ARTICLES: CURRENT DEVELOPMENT'S IN ASIA

I. AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM CAMBODIA

(By Huang Shao-tsu)

Recent developments in Cambodia have proved the soundness and necessity of President Nixon's decision to send Allied troops into that country. Early indications are that his objectives have been fulfilled: First the Communist sanctuaries along the Vietnamese-Cambodian border have been destroyed, thus seriously weakening and even temporarily paralyzing the strike capability of the Viet Cong against South Vietnam. Second, with the disruption of the Sihanouk Trail, it has become all the more difficult for the Maoists to provide supplies to the Viet Cong. Third, the Lon Nol Government has had a breathing spell. The survival of a pro-West regime in Cambodia will eventually benefit the whole of Indochina.

However, there are still questions: How long can the Allied forces enjoy these fruits? What will be the developments after the withdrawal of all American troops from Cambodia? Undoubtedly, the answers to these questions hinge on two factors: the decisions and actions of the enemy and the efforts of the free world. We will undertake below a brief analysis of these two factors.

The Communists in Asia naturally have realized the unfavorable conditions following the movement of the Allied forces into Cambodia. Therefore, they are bound to adopt countermeasures. They also know that the fighting in Cambodia is not only an extension and continuation of the Vietnam war but also will determine the outcome of all their war efforts. Consequently, the Peiping Communists who have pulled the strings from behind the scenes are seen taking the following actions as a means of counter-attack:

(1) Demonstrate their support for Sihanouk's exile government in Peiping through strong anti-U.S. statements.

(2) Prepare to erect a government under Sihanouk in the Vietnamese-Cambodian border areas or in the Communist-controlled areas inside Cambodia in order to counter the Lon Nol government in Phnom Penh.

(3) Provide large amounts of aid to North Vietnam through new military and economic agreements.

(4) Actively support the activities of the united front formed by Sihanouk and the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian Communists in accordance with the resolution of the Indochina Summit Conference.

The above measures exclude the possibility that the Maoists may get directly involved in the war. This is Peiping's basic strategy at the present stage. Furthermore, instability inside mainland China as well as the struggle between Peiping and Moscow has forced the Maoists to be cautious.

Then, what has been the reaction of the free world? Generally speaking, its efforts have brought about both military and political success. In view of Peiping's backing for Sihanouk's exile government, the Lon Nol regime has also been stepping up its diplomatic activities. It has already resumed diplomatic relations with Saigon and Bangkok. While Peiping is accelerating its aid to Hanoi, the free world has joined hands in giving military and non-military aid to Cambodia. Most significant of all is the discussion of the formation of an anti-Communist alliance by South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, to oppose the Communist united front in Indochina.

However, we believe that all the moves taken by the free world so far may still prove to be insufficient to cope with the situation following the American withdrawal from Cambodia. Effective measures, we believe, should include: (1) Establishment of a collective security system in the Asian-Pacific region toward which a military alliance of South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia is an encouraging first step. (2) Stepped-up military and economic aid from the United States to free countries in Indochina in order to strengthen their defense against Communism.

In his message to the American people on June 30 announcing the completion of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cambodia, President Nixon stressed the decision of his government to encourage and support a third country which is willing to send troops or materials to help Cambodia. This is an intelligent and necessary measure.

II. REGIONAL COOPERATION AND UNITY IN ASIA

The fifth ministerial meeting of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) was held in Wellington, New Zealand from June 17 through 19. The communique issued at the conclusion of the conference merely asserted the importance of economic, cultural and social cooperation. However, a rather positive attitude was reflected in the statement that after hearing the reports on the Cambodian

situation made by Japan and Malaysia, the delegates expressed concern over future developments in that country, indicating that their countries would take all possible steps to provide effective support to the Lon Nol government. Although the performance of ASPAC has lagged far behind what it should have done the organization has made steady progress. Economic cooperation and cultural exchanges, if properly carried out, can contribute much to the material and spiritual growth of the anti-Communist force. Nevertheless, current developments demand that the regional organization make faster and greater progress. Just as Dr. Wei Tao-ming, foreign minister of the Republic of China, pointed out in his speech to the ministerial meeting on June 17, "Communism depends on perpetual struggle to achieve its aim of world revolution. This concept is fundamental to it, and nothing can change it. Appeasement, therefore, will only whet the enemy's appetite, increase the difficulties and perplexities of the Free World and prolong the confusion, trouble and human misery. Today the only way to confront this challenging situation is for us to hold fast to our principles, to augment our own individual defense capability, and to increase our regional cooperation."

After the June 17 meeting, the Chinese foreign minister talked optimistically about the future of ASPAC. We share this optimism.

III. BRITAIN AND ASIAN SECURITY

Amid the victory of the Conservative Party in the British election there have been reports that the Conservative government is planning to initiate the formation of "defense troops of the British Commonwealth" involving Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia. This news, if accurate, is truly encouraging, it demonstrates that the new conservative government is indeed prepared to revise the Labor Party's plan of withdrawing British troops east of the Suez Canal. This will certainly have a far-reaching impact on the situation in Asia.

The Labor government's announcement that troops would be withdrawn from Asia in 1971 and President Nixon's "New Asian Policy" of non-involvement have undoubtedly effected the military balance in Asia and encouraged Communist aggression in this area. However, objective developments compelled the U.S. government, in the process of a phased reduction of ground forces in Vietnam, to decide to send troops into Cambodia. Before the election, the Conservative Party time and again affirmed its policy of keeping British armed forces in Asia. Early post-election reports indicated that the Conservatives will keep their promise. Even if, as some reports have noted, the British troops in Asia will only be a "token force," their presence will have the following effects: (1) A moral boost not only to Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand but also to other Southeast Asian countries. (2) Indirect support to the U.S. government, and (3) An obstacle to Communist expansion in Asia.

We have no knowledge yet of the details of the British defense plan. However, we should like to offer a few suggestions in this regard:

1. Even the establishment of the "defense troops of the British Commonwealth" will not be enough to meet the needs of the present situation. The British government should simultaneously help speed up the military construction of Singapore and Malaysia.

2. The defense plan should also aim at the protection of the security of neighboring countries which do not belong to the commonwealth. As a matter of fact, Australia and New Zealand have already sent troops to South Vietnam. Thailand and Malaysia have joined hands in their anti-Communist campaign in border areas for the past six years. Most important, the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization includes Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia in the same regional security system. So in forming a "commonwealth defense unit," the British government should take all these defense commitments into consideration.

3. Finally, the British should realize that a security system that involves the entire Asian region is the real answer to all problems in this area. We hope that creation of smaller regional security systems will lead to the realization of this goal.

THE CAMBODIAN POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

(By Tang Shao-chi)

Like spring thunder, a coup d'etat erupted in the little kingdom of Cambodia in the South China Peninsula on March 18 which overthrew its pro-Communist dictatorial Chief of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk. On the morning of March 19, Sihanouk flew from Moscow to Peiping with his mother-in-law, aunt, personal advisor, Cambodian ambassador to East Germany and technical advisor to seek help. Headed by Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fu-chih and Wu Fa-hsien, the Chinese Communist leaders met them and held a conference. Apparently, the situation was quite tense.

At last Sihanouk found his sanctuary in Peiping, and the Chinese Communists supported him. They collaborated readily as each was anxious to make use of the other. Knowing that the Chinese Communists have long wanted to communize Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, Sihanouk was willing to be their puppet. Similarly, the Chinese Communists knew only too well that Sihanouk wanted to retrieve his kingdom. They stepped up their subversion and sabotage in this area. Such a conspiracy cannot last long. If Cambodia's new government under Lon Nol can achieve stability or free nations can furnish timely support to Cambodia, Sihanouk's attempt to return will fail through and the Chinese Communists' clamoring will be of no avail.

CHINESE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO CAMBODIA

After seizure of the China mainland, the Chinese Communists drove Ho Chi Minh into dividing the Indo-China Communists into the Viet Cong, the Pathet Lao and the Cambodian Communists. They also supported the Cambodian Communists in the latter's armed struggles against the French and the Sihanouk kingdom in northeast and western Cambodia. Subsequently, the Cambodian Communists established guerrilla bases in Siemreap, Battambang, Phasat, Kompong Thom and Svay Rieng. In July 1954 the Geneva Conference decided to carve up Vietnam, neutralize Laos and passed a resolution on the Cambodian question. Briefly, the resolution on the Cambodian question called for Cambodia to become an independent, self-governing and neutral nation which would participate in no military alliance, cease hostile actions against the Cambodian Communists and hold a plebiscite including the Cambodian Communists. After the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, the Chinese Communist policy toward Cambodia underwent a drastic change, as they went from supporting the Cambodian Communists in the latter's armed rebellion to befriending the Cambodian government. After cessation of armed struggles, the Cambodian Communists infiltrated into various strata of the society and participated in various political activities in the name of the "People's Clique," labelling themselves supporters of the Sihanouk regime.

Between December 1957 and January 1958, the Chinese Communists made use of the "Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference" in Cairo to pass resolutions against imperialism, economic problems and cultural problems. A resolution was passed to establish chapters for Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity organizations in various countries. After the conference was concluded, the Chinese Communists stepped up international united front activities and strengthened their diplomatic relations with various nations in Asia and Africa. On July 24 of the same year, the Chinese Communists established diplomatic relations with Cambodia and extended their subversive influence into Cambodia. Later, the Chinese Communists extended economic assistance to Cambodia on four occasions and presented material support (economic assistance amounted to over U.S. $50 million.) In addition, the Chinese Communists signed an "Amity and Non-Aggression Treaty," "Aeronautical Cooperation Agreement," "Aeronautical Transportation Agreement," and "Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement" with Cambodia which enticed Cambodia to sever relations with Thailand and Vietnam. On the other hand, they forced Cambodia to establish diplomatic relations with North Vietnam and to permit the Viet Cong to establish a "permanent mission" in Phnom Penh. In 1961, as the Cambodian Communists revived, 14 Cambodian Communists were arrested in Phnom Penh for participating in underground activities. In 1962, Wang Yu-nien, the Chinese Communist "ambassador" to Cambodia was recalled when he was charged with engaging in subversive activities.

In 1964, together with expanded aggression in the South China Peninsula, the Chinese Communists drew closer to Cambodia in order to travel by way of Cambodia and supply the Viet Cong with weapons and ammunition and further control Cambodia's political, economic and military activities. Being subservient to the Chinese Communists, Sihanouk was willing to become the Chinese Communists' mouthpiece in international diplomacy. On June 2 of the same year, when Sihanouk visited Nice, he told the press that "the United States and Vietnam jointly invaded Cambodia" and that "the excuse that there are Viet Cong forces in Cambodia is absolutely wrong." He therefore asked France to permit Cambodia to buy military materiel against possible aggression of the enemy. On June 7, while in Grasse, France, Sihanouk attacked the U.S. proposal calling on United Nations forces to patrol the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, and condemned the U.S. hostility towards Cambodia. On September 4, the "Sino-Cambodian Friendship Association" was established in Phnom Penh. On September 5, the Sihanouk government issued a communique in which the United States was accused of actively supporting the "Free Cambodian" anti-government activities. On September 9, Sihanouk personally presided over the opening ceremony of a cement factory bearing the names of Queen Kossamak and Liu Shao-chi. On September 13, Sihanouk indefinitely postponed the date for the newly appointed U.S. ambassador to Cambodia to present his credentials. His reason was that "the United States and its servants are gradually becoming more and more hostile toward Cambodia." Meanwhile, Sihanouk's mouthpieces, the "Fatherland Daily" and the "Cultural Daily" published articles urging the Cambodian people "to guard against the double U.S. intrigues of assassinating Sihanouk and inciting the enemy to invade Cambodia." On Sept. 26, Sihanouk visited the China mainland for the fifth time to take part in the activities celebrating the 15th anniversary of the puppet "National Day" on October 1. On October 5, a joint communique signed by Liu Shao-chi and Sihanouk was published by the Chinese Communists and Cambodia in which they accused the "American imperialists" of breaching the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 and of engaging in aggression and interference in Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

Prior to his departure from Peiping, Sihanouk "decorated" Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-

lai, Soong Ching-ling, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Peng Chen, Chen Yi, and Chang Han-fu. He also issued a statement praising the Chinese Communists "for wanting no compensation in what they give us and for providing very important economic and military aid with no strings attached." At this time, Sihanouk had sided himself entirely with the Chinese Communists, becoming a dog on their leash.

In April, 1966, the Chinese Communist "Deputy Priemier" Li Hsien-nien visited Phnom Penh and signed the "Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement" and promised new economic aid including support for the expansion of a cement factory and a paper mill, and the building of a hospital, a medical college and a large-scale sports city. In the "conference minutes" between the Chinese Communists and the Cambodians, the Chinese Communists agreed to render assistance to Cambodia in building laboratories and experimental factories for the Kompong Chanang Royal University and to provide three sets of oralogical equipment and a number of surgical implements. Between October and November the Chinese Communists successfully urged Cambodia to hold the so-called "First Athletic Meet of Asia's Newly Emerging Forces" in Phnom Penh, boasting how the meet demonstrated the spirit of "promoting friendship, mutual progress, mutual development and solidarity against imperialism in Asia." During the year, the Chinese Communists sent athletic teams to Cambodia and invited Cambodian athletic teams to visit the mainland. Cambodia sent men and women's ping pong teams to take part in the International Ping Pong Tournament sponsored by the Chinese Communists. On August 25, the Cambodian football team went to Peiping for a visit. On June 18, the director of the Technical Bureau, Cambodian Sports Bureau, arrived in Peiping for a visit. On May 7, the Cambodian weight-lifting team visited Peiping.

The Chinese Communist groups which visited Phnom Penh included the visit of the "Sports Delegation" headed by Huang Chung. Vice Chairman of the "National Sports Committee" on January 8; the "Peiping Women's Basketball Team" led by Chang Ching-chi, "vice chairman of the Peiping Basketball Association" on April 17; the "men and women's badminton teams" led by Liu Wen-chou, "deputy director of the Cauton athletic association." In November, the 69-member Chinese Communist "Wuhan Acrobatic Troupe" visited Cambodia. Other exchanges of visits included the Chinese Communist "goodwill delegation" to Cambodia headed by Shang Chien (Chen Yi's wife) and a similar Cambodian "goodwill delegation" to Peiping. Chen Heng, who played a key role in the recent Cambodian coup, attended the "Afro-Asian Authors' Emergency Conference" in the capacity of chief of the Cambodian delegation and was active in Peiping. During this period, the relations between the Chinese Communists and Cambodia could not have been closer. At one time, the Chinese Communists favored the formation of a "five-nation axis" of Pyongyang, Peiping, Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Jakarta, attempting to draw Cambodia into the Chinese Communist-controlled sphere of influence and turn Sihanouk into an obedient tool.

SIHANOUK SOBERS UP FOR A TIME AFTER CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In September, 1965, after the rebellion of the Indonesian Communists engineered by the Chinese Communists failed. Sukarno the lunatic who took the same risky path as Sihanouk, escaped death as he nearly became the sacrificial lamb on the altar of the Chinese Communists' red revolution. This incident taught Sihanouk a bitter lesson. Facts told him that to realize their aims, the Chinese Communists are willing to take on their dearest comrades as targets in the revolution. However, Sihanouk got too deeply involved and could not extricate himself in time. As late as the first half of 1966, Cambodia still maintained close ties with the Chinese Communists.

As the Chinese Communists' Cultural Revolution continued its development, their external relations took the form of violent revolution instead of smiling offensive. Since August, 1966, the Chinese Communists began to export large quantities of "Mao's Works," "Mao's Selected Works" and "Mao's picture badges" and to incite the Cambodian Communists lying in hiding to resume military operations and secretly worked to overthrow Sihanouk's rule. These led to Sihanouk's resentment and a number of Cambodia's measures against Communism. In May 1967, Sihanouk sent the Secretary General of the Cambodian Foreign Ministry to Peiping. Apart from secretly discussing the so-called problems on mutual cooperation, the primary purpose of the visit was to seek the Chinese Communists' understanding on why Cambodia had to check the activities of the Cambodian Communist guerrillas. Feeling increasing Chinese Communist pressure, Sihanouk was compelled to take preventive measures on September 1. He disbanded the Sino-Cambodian Friendship Association, accusing it of subversive and sabotage activities and announced the formation of the new Sino-Cambodian Friendship Association by nationalizing the new organization. On September 11, Sihanouk again accused the Chinese Communists of interfering in Cambodia's internal affairs and pointed out that the Chinese Communists continued their subversive activities despite measures taken by the Cambodian government. On the same day, Cambodia's minister of economic affairs and minister of public health, two pro-Communist ministers, were relieved of their duties, and more than ten pro-Chinese Communist newspapers were ordered. On September 13, Sihanouk delivered an address to more than one thousand people who "took the neutral line." In the address, he indicated that he would recall Cambodian diplomatic personnel in Peiping in order to avoid their humiliation and frankly admitted past mistakes in policy toward the Chinese Communists.

On September 14, Sihanouk pointed out that Chou En-lai's demand that overseas Chinese in Cambodia be permitted to "support Mao" and "read Mao's Quotations" was ridiculous. In October of the same year, Cambodia discovered that the Phnom Penh office of the Hsin Hua News Agency was engaged in subversive and sabotage activities in Cambodia, distributing "Mao's Works" and articles published by the "People's Daily' urging the Cambodian people to stage open rebellion. The Cambodian government therefore announced the abrogation of an agreement between the Cambodian News Service and the Hsin Hua News Agency on the exchange of information.

In 1968, the Cambodian Communist started the anti-government civil war in the mountains of Battambang Province in Northwest Cambodia and attacked a number of sentry posts in Ratanakiri Province on the border of Laos. In February, when anti-Soviet demonstrations erupted in Phnom Penh, Cambodian authorities immediately charged the Chinese Comunists with instigation and denounced them. In March, the Cambodian Communist guerrillas spread from Battanbang Province to Kohkong Province, Rompong Speu Province and Kampot Province in the west and northwest, ambushing sentry posts of government forces, seizing weapons, disturbing villages, slaughtering village chiefs and threatening the villages into taking to the jungles with them. Sihanouk severely condemned the outside forces which incited the Cambodian Communists to stage rebellions. He ordered the government forces to step up mopping up operations and execute six Cambodian Communists. He even openly attacked the Red Guards, saying that they could not be permitted to rise in Cambodia. At one time, when the Cambodian military and police arrested a group in Phnom Penh which had plans for the assassination of Tito in Cambodia, the Cambodian government stated that the case was linked with the Chinese Communists as a number of Chinese were involved. Sihanouk said that the pro-Chinese Communist Chinese had become "bolder and more conceited." By this time, the Chinese Communist Cambodian relations had noticeably worsened.

Notwithstanding the above, from 1967 until Sihanouk was overthrown, Cambodia still persisted in its anti-American stand in foreign affairs and continued to permit the Viet Cong to use Cambodian territory as a supply base and sanctuary. In June, 1967, Sihanouk was pressured by the Chinese Communists and North Vietnam into permitting the puppet Vietnamese organization to set up a "permanent mission" in Phom Penh and to enjoy diplomatic privileges. In addition, Sihanouk spared no effort to draw the Chinese Communists into the United Nations. Apart from exporting violence, subversion and sabotage, the Chinese Communists dealt in bribery and personal relationships. They made use of all the cultural and economic organizations in their "embassy" in Cambodia to befriend and bribe Cambodia's military and political officials at the top levels. This was an open fact. Their increased military and economic assistance and reiteration of support for Cambodia's neutral, non-alliance policy had certain effects on Sihanouk. In January, 1958, the Chinese Communists, in accordance with their original schedule, provided military assistance to Cambodia which included eleven planes, forty guns, one coastal boat and some medical equipment. In March of the same year, the Chinese Communists and Cambodia exchanged notes on an agreement calling for Chinese Communist assistance in the construction of a textile mill in Battambang. In June, Sihanouk presided over the dedication ceremonies of a Chinese Communist-supported glass factory and the Siemreap Airport. In September, the Cambodian foreign minister visited Peiping and the main topic of his conference with Chem Yi was still the support to the Viet Cong in their southward invasion. What was most tragic was that while the Chinese Communists were providing military and economic assistance to Cambodia, the Cambodian Communists increased their activities. From May to August, 1968, the Cambodian Communists successively raided government officials and patrol units. In August, the Cambodian Communist terrorists threw hand grenades in Phnom Penh, attempting to force Sihanouk into abandoning his measures.

In November of the same year, Sihanouk admitted that expanded rebellions of the Cambodian Communists had threatened the security of Cambodia. For the first time, he conceded the presence of North Vietnamese forces and Viet Cong guerrillas in Cambodia. By 1969, the Cambodian Communists had stepped up their rebellious activities on the border of Cambodia and Vietnam in the east. In March, the Cambodian Communists attacked the sentry posts of government forces in the east, killing a number of troops and civilians. Later, a number of villages in Ratanakiri Province and vehicles travelling on highways on the border of Cambodia and Vietnam were attacked by the Cambodian Communists. By this time, the armed strength of the Chinese Communists was reported to be as high as over 3000 and their sympathizers and supporters were as many as 60,000–70,000. This fact proves that Sihanouk's two-sided practice of anti-Communism at home and pro-Communism abroad was no match for the Chinese Communists who struck and befriended him at the same time.

SIHANOUK A WILLING PUPPET AFTER THE COUP

What was even more unfortunate was that Sihanouk's alertness and awakening with respect to the Chinese Communists was just one of his erratic and opportunistic moves. Despite his admission that the Viet Cong forces were stationed in his country using force in burning and selling, and extorting the local people, and his subsequent announcement that he would go to Moscow and Peiping urging the Viet Cong forces to pull out from his country, a righteous struggle of anti-Communist forces led to breaking into the puppet North Vietnamese and Viet Cong "embassies' in Phnom Penh. Soon Sihanouk "was deeply saddened." By the time the coup broke out in Cambodia and he was deposed as the chief of state, he was willing to betray his country and people by selling out to the Chinese Communists for their assistance so that he could subvert his own country and restore his rule.

After Sihanouk's defection, the Chinese Communists issued a series of "statements" and "messages to the people" through the Hsin Hua News Agency and also three messages to the Viet Cong, the Pathet Lao and the Albanian Communists in appreciation of their support. In addition, Hsin Hua News Agency published comments from the Afro-Asian region accusing the United States of instigating the Cambodian coup. On March 20 and 21, it published Sihanouk's long statement in which he stated that the Cambodian National Assembly had no right to remove him as the chief of state and rebuked the attack made by the Lon Nol government on his corruption. The final portion of this statement sounded like the swearing of riff-raff. He stated: "I do not wish to regain the power that I have in reality lost, neither do I wish to retain the insignificant title of Cambodia's chief of state. I want to make it known to the world and swear in front of my people that the extreme rightist reactionary group, lackey of the American imperialists, will collapse in the near future. When that time comes, I shall tender my resignation to the regime which truly belongs to the Cambodian people—the farmers, the workers, and the students." He added: "I fully understand that I myself, my former collaborators, including those presently in the Phnom Penh government and the National Assembly will have no foothold and no influence. Once again, I solemnly swear before the Cambodian people that as soon as the regime formed by our people and youth is able to stand strongly in Phnom Penh, I shall give up the highest position."

Despite his swearing that he has no desire for power and that he regarded the position of chief of state as insignificant, Sihanouk did not mean what he said. In his two "Messages to the Cambodian People" on March 23 and April 4, he made the so-called five-point "solemn announcement" in the former as listed below:

(1) In the name of the "legal chief of state respected by all the Cambodian people," he dissolved the Lon Nol government and the two houses.

(2) He asked the Cambodian people and the foreign nationals living in Cambodia not to carry out the regulations, laws and orders and sentences and decisions made by the Lon Nol-Matak-Chen Heng government now or in the future.

(3) He claimed the establishment of a new people's solidarity government and a provisional consultative assembly.

(4) He called for the establishment of a people's liberation army.

(5) He called for the establishment of the "Cambodian People's United Front" uniting all the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, neutral, progressive, socialist, Buddhist and nationalist elements and stipulating anti-Lon Nol government and anti-U.S. struggles as the primary tasks of this organization.

Finally, he urged his followers to conduct guerrilla operations in the jungle, saying that he would be able to provide them with ammunition and weapons in time or send them to the remote military schools of the front to study military science. He also tried to lure Cambodians living in or near Europe to see him in Moscow or Peiping and take part in the so-called "People's United Front."

In his "Message to the Cambodian People" on April 4, apart from reiterating his call for his followers to go into the jungle and engage in rebellious activities, he openly said that he "would open struggles until my reputation is restored and a fair judgment on me is made and asked the so-called "progressive and socialist intelligentsia" to forgive him for his past, erroneous judgment "against the interests of the people and the nation" and to engage in armed revolution with him. The progressive, socialist intelligentsia" and the "progressive, socialist youth" named by Sihanouk are actually the Cambodian Communists. In his decadence as a puppet, Sihanouk has become shameless, begging the Cambodian Communists for mercy. His words became as bloodthirsty as those of the Chinese Communists.

Since the Cambodian coup, the Chinese Communists have looked upon themselves as the guardians of Sihanouk in exile. Although the Chinese Communist regime did not issue a formal statement on the coup until Chou En-lai visited North Korea when he made two statements upon arrival in Pyongyang on April 5, the Hsin Hua News Agency, in the form of a news report, accused in succession the United States of "all along engineering the coup in Cambodia" saying that the United States, Vietnam, Thailand and Loas worked together in fighting the Communists and that the Indonesian government "conspired" with Cambodia's new government by sending Indonesian advisors to Phnom Penh. Beginning on March 25, the Hsin Hua News Agency published the messages between Sihanouk and the Pathet Lao's Souphanouong, North Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong, "Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee, South Vietnam People's Liberation Front" Nguyen Thuc Huu, and the "Chairman of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the South Vietnamese Republic" as well as the support and clamoring of the mouthpieces of the Viet Cong, Pathet Lao and Albanian Communists. What is worthy of note is that in all messages between Sihanouk and the Viet Cong, no mention was made of the Viet Cong incursion into Cambodian territory. They made such remarks as "the policy of always maintaining brotherly and friendly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia" and "the willingness to maintain our relations of friendship and solidarity at any cost." Such remarks were undoubtedly the results of much coordination at the direction of the Chinese Communists.

There is a rumor that in the latter part of March Sihanouk visited Hanoi. Since his arrival in Peiping on March 19, all the enigmatic "political clown's" "statements," "talks," "letters," and "messages" were published by the Hsin Hua News Agency. Another speculation is that when North Vietnamese leader Pham Van Dong visited the China mainland at the invitation of the Chinese Communists, he gave assurances of support to Sihanouk. Regardless of the truth behind the above-mentioned, since the Chinese Communists have decided to support Sihanouk's restoration, they have to consult the North Vietnamese Labor Party, the primary Communist Party in the Indo-China peninsula. In his second "Message to the Cambodian People" on April 4, Sihanouk mentioned that "recently, Socialist Vietnam, through its highest leader and in the presence of the most important guarantor, solemnly assured me that in the future its people and youth will respect the independence, sovereignty and present territorial integrity of our country." Who is this "most important guarantor?" It goes without saying that it is the Chinese Communists.

Having achieved unanimity with North Vietnam, the Chinese Communists issued their first formal statement through Chou En-lai at the "state dinner" by Kim Il Sung in his honor in Pyongyang on April 5. The statement supported Sihanouk's restoration. Chou said: "Recently the American imperialists openly instigated the Cambodian rightist group to stage a coup d'etat against Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia. This marked new, outrageous provocation by the American imperialists against the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Asia. On March 23, Cambodian Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk issued a message to the Cambodian people and a five-point statement in which he severely denounced the crimes committed by the American imperialists and the rightist group. He called upon all patriotic Cambodians to unite and form the Cambodian People's United Front to undertake determined struggles against the American imperialists and their lackeys. The Chinese government and the Chinese people firmly support the correct position of Prince Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia, as well as his policy of independence, neutrality, democracy and maintenance of national sovereignty and territorial integrity." This statement and the facts stated above indicate that under Chinese Communist instigation, North Vietnam, the Viet Cong and Pathet Lao have become an entity ready to support Sihanouk in launching armed struggles inside the territory of Cambodia. Paying no heed to the interests of Cambodia and its people, Sihanouk has sided with the Chinese Communists, hoping to rely on the Cambodian Communists' armed rebellion to realize his design of restoration.

CHINESE COMMUNISTS DO NOT DARE ENTER CAMBODIAN WAR

After the entry of U.S. forces into Cambodia, the focal point of world opinion has been on the development and trend of the Cambodian situation. The trend of the situation in Cambodia and the South China peninsula is such that the possibility of the Chinese Communists' direct intervention in the war in Cambodia is most noteworthy. Judging from the Chinese Communists' recent indications, this problem requires careful study.

In recent months, the Chinese Communists have stepped up their activities in the South China Peninsula. After calling the summit conference of the Indo-China Communist Parties and the pro-Communist leaders, the Chinese Communists announced the recognition of Sihanouk's ghost "regime," promising firm support. In order to put up a front, Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chou En-lai received Sihanouk. A few days ago, after Mao met Le Duan, North Vietnamese leader, arrangement was made for Le Duan and Sihanouk to meet. All these activities indicate that a signal has been given to North Vietnam by the Chinese Communists to fan the war in the South China peninsula.

However, the Chinese Communists' attempt to expand the wor in the South China peninsula does not mean that the Chinese Communists will directly intervene in the wars in Vietnam and Cambodia. Having learned the bitter lesson of prohibitive casualties in the Korean War, the basic position of the Chinese Communists on this type of war is "to instigate the other people to fight the war as much as possible and avoid direct participation." For years, the Chinese Communists have adhered to this principle. For instance, the Chinese Communists participated in the Vietnam War in various ways, but have always avoided open and direct participation. Their policy is to let more Viet-

namese and Americans bleed and die, while they will wait for the opportune time to pick the "fruits of victory." This policy is known to the Communist leaders of North Vietnam. This also explains why the North Vietnamese stand between the Russians and the Chinese Communists and do not wish to be one-sided.

Since the Chinese Communists avoid direct participation in the Vietnam War, it is less likely that they will participate in a war in the more remote and more unfavorable Cambodia.

The above is the Chinese Communists' subjective situation. A further political analysis of the objective situation will reveal that the Chinese Communist lack the capital to fight a war.

In commenting on the ability of the Chinese Communists to fight a war, most westerners base their analysis on the purely military viewpoint. Little do they realize that "warfare is a continuation of politics." In the long run, military strength is governed by political factors. This is something that any observer must grasp firmly.

What kind of a situation then, is confronting the Chinese Communists?

Despite the fact that the Chinese Communists have sent a man-made satellite into orbit, they still face a widely-split political situation in which people resist fiercely.

At the Chinese Communist "Ninth National Congress," Mao hollered for "unity" and claimed that the Congress was one of "unity." A split situation still exists from the "central" government to the local level organizations within the Chinese Communist Party in the more than one year since then. The situation did not improve because of his hollering. The split of the Chinese Communist Party has its long historical background and has become deepened and more serious since the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese Communists now admit that the so-called factionalism, mountain-topism, little groupism and anarchism exist within the party, cadres and armed forces, greatly hampering the "full implementation" of the Chinese Communist policies. This is a frank admission of splits among the Chinese Communists.

As to people's resistance, one look at the clamoring of the Chinese Communist newspapers and broadcasting stations for "firm supression of the class enemies" will reveal the intensity of the people's resistance. The "class enemies" indicated by the Chinese Communists are the small number of "new class" enemies and the millions of anti-Mao and anti-Communist people on the mainland. For years the Chinese Communists have not softened in their slaughter of the "class enemies" who resist them. However, the number of such enemies rises as they keep killing them. After the massacre of the Cultural Revolution, the anti-Mao and anti-Communist "class enemies" included people of different levels in the society and even youth. Among the hundreds of millions of people on the mainland, the Maoists are completely and thoroughly isolated. Any sensible Chinese understands this, and only western appeasers shut their eyes and refuse to look this fact squarely in the eye.

Judging from the basic political situation, we can see that observations made purely from the military viewpoint are untenable. Thus, the view that the Chinese Communists are capable of sending military forces for operations outside of the China mainland is also untenable. Examining the political characteristics, we can see that the Chinese Communists are paper tigers. Internal splits, people's resistance and disenchantment of the armed forces have decided against the Chinese Communists' direct articipation in an external war. Economic chaos and regression, diplomatic isolation and especially the Russian threat in the north combine to show that the Chinese Communists have a difficult time defending themselves, not to speak of the strength and the audacity to take part in the South China peninsula.

The Chinese Communists regard the western appeasers and capitulators as their fellow-travellers and friends. The Chinese Communists respect only strength. In early 1965, when the United States adopted a firm attitude toward the aggression of North Vietnam, the Chinese Communists were frightened and nearly asked the Soviet "big brother" for help. When the American appeasers and capitulators were actively clamoring, the Chinese Communists were elated and responded enthusiastically. Such cruel facts are worthy of meditation by all appeasers and capitulators.

President Nixon made a wise decision to move American forces into Cambodia to strike the hornet's nest, for this move was outside the expectations of the Chinese Communists and North Vietnam. During the past two weeks, the Chinese Communists were caught unprepared and were trying to devise remedial measures. Their difficult position reflects the soundness of President Nixon's decision.

In helping Sihanouk's "regime," Mao seems to have wrested the initiative from Soviet Russia in the present struggles in the South China peninsula. In reality, this may turn out to be Mao's greatest strategic faux pas in the past decade. This strategic faux pas is that Mao is bogged down in the swamp left behind by Sihanouk and is unable to disengage himself or intervene directly. Mao has hastily placed his bets on Sihanouk. In the end, Mao the political gambler will lose his shirt.

EXPECTATIONS FOR THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTION OF SINO-JAPANESE COOPERATION

(By Pi Shu-chang)

The 15th Committee for Promotion of general meeting of the Sino-Japanese Cooperation is scheduled to open in Tokyo on July 6 and to last for three days. The Chinese committee members and various advisors, led by convenor Ku Cheng-kang, plan to arrive in Japan on July 5. Although the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation is essentially an organization comprised of private citizens, the participants on each side are highly influential within their respective countries' political and economic circles. Consequently, these meetings have consistently made profound and concrete contributions to the advancement of friendly cooperation between China and Japan, and have become an important bridge to strengthening the Sino-Japanese alliance.

The current meeting of the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation to be held in Japan has attracted special attention from various quarters. The left-wing press in Japan has adopted an attitude of denigrating and belittling the activities and achievements of this organization. This attitude of opposition was seen in the slanted coverage prior to the meeting, which included introductory and speculative reports and editorials, as well as downright fabrications. Since last April, when Yoshimi Furui signed the "Extension of Trade Memorandum Agreement" with the Maoist clique in Peiping, and then issued a joint communique highly insulting to the Sato government, industrial and commercial circles in Japan have had to confront the dilemma and the threat posed by Chou En-lai's so-called "four (trade) principles." Among these "principles" was the stipulation that the Communist regime would refuse to permit trade ties with any Japanese firm that maintained friendly business relations with the Republic of China. Following this announcement, the left-wing press in Japan added fuel to the fire, manifesting the fact that the entire opposition in Japan was seemingly ready to knuckle under to the Maoist pressure. The left-wing media further stressed that the meekest possible posture must be adopted at the forthcoming meeting of the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation in order to avoid antagonizing Mao. Because of all this, it is clear that the meeting called at this time is faced with a critical test which will increasingly attract the attention of numerous quarters.

The true situation is not, however, exactly the same as the exaggerated picture presented by the left-wing press. It is true that a certain number of Japanese firms have been unable to resist the threat and the seductiveness of Chou's "four principles" and have therefore prostrated themselves before Mao. But, through the leadership of such men as Shigeo Mazano, Teizo Horikoshi and Kogoro Vemura of the "Economic Group Joint Committee," there have been repeated declarations of a firm stand during the last month, which have strongly countered this most recent plot by Mao to split the two sides. Last June 5 the Japanese committee members of the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation met in Tokyo to discuss the Japanese stand to be taken at the 15th general meeting. Despite the proclamation at that time that the Japanese posture at the meeting from the standpoint of their political attitude would be comparatively softer, developments during the last month have been characterized by public announcements which have greatly clarified the true situation. To sum up, we have the hope that the Japanese side will adopt at the forthcoming talks an attitude which, from the standpoint of promoting Sino-Japanese unity and cooperation, will not be negative and retrogressive, but will rather be positive and progressive.

Among the indications that the Japanese will adopt a positive attitude is the fact that the size of their delegation—more than 70 representatives—exceeds that of past committees. Moreover, the most important Japanese firms such as Mitsubishi Shoji, Mitsui Bussan, Marubeni-Iida and Ito Chu will all send delegations to the meeting.

This action by Japanese industrial and commercial firms gives an eloquent and resolute answer to the "four principles" of Chou En-lai, and it is a clear choice as far as relations with either the Republic of China or the Maoist regime are concerned. Another point which provides rather clear evidence of Japanese intentions is that the Japanese have extended an invitation to the members of the "Japanese-Korean United Effort Committee" (or "Committe for Promotion of Japanese-Korean Cooperation") to participate as observers at the meeting. The unity and cooperation among these nations clearly indicates the future course of their political interrelationship, all of which will provoke the great envy of Mao. It can thus be seen that the political character of this meeting has not diminshed at all, but has rather increased enormously.

Of course, due to the limitations imposed by the present political situation in Japan, we cannot set our sights for this meeting too high. Japan has recently participated in several other international conferences in Asia. Her performance as far as conscientiously endeavoring to promote Asian mutual defense and a unified anti-Communist effort is concerned, however, has generally been very lackluster. In view of this, we cannot realistically hope for any breakthrough at the upcoming meeting. The focal point of this meeting must be the strengthening of economic cooperation. Prior to the convocation of the meeting, the Japanese agreed at a conclave of the Sino-Japanese Trade Promotion Association to increase by US $1,600,000 the amount of goods they would purchase during the present year from the Republic of China. On the basis of this decision in principle, we hope that the two sides, as equal nations, will discuss in greater detail the dis-

tance separating them in their trade at the forthcoming meeting of the Economic Subcommittee of the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation, and will thus be able to achieve more concrete results. At the same time, one of the major outcomes of this meeting is expected to be the granting of assistance to us in the form of the extension of a US $3,000,000 loan. In addition to the above, both sides have already brought forth a number of appropriate and timely proposals in the realm of cultural exchange. In our opinion, however, more important than any of the above is the genuine realization by both sides that friendship and unity between China and Japan are in the interests of both nations and are of the utmost significance to the future of all Asia. Only if this is perceived will we be able to establish honest and candid cooperation. In this way, the meeting will have enormous influence. Vice President Yen has already finalized plans to visit Japan during this meeting and to help direct the nation-wide China Day Celebration. It is our greatest hope that both sides will be able to seize this opportunity to jointly smash the enemy's plot to split and divide, that they will be able to promote friendly Sino-Japanese relations, and that they will be able to develop this relationship to a new stage more firm and complete than before.

Southeast Asia And The Middle East

(By Lai Ching-hu)

ANALYSIS AND REASSESSMENT OF CURRENT POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE ABOVE TWO REGIONS

In this world split into free nations and Communist bloc, the cold wars in Southeast Asia and the Middle East have escalated into hot wars.

It has been advocated for years that World War III, which is generally expected to bring an end to the existence of mankind, be avoided in every way possible. As a matter of fact, this world has never enjoyed any genuine peace since the Second World War. The so-called "cold war" might just as well be called a continuation of the second world war, as the beginning of World War III.

For more than twenty years, Washington and Moscow have confronted each other in many ways, though never on a battlefield. The ammunition and weapons employed by the belligerent nations in Southeast Asia and the Middle East are furnished by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, there is one thing that may serve to reassure the world: Washington and Moscow have not yet declared war against each other. And as yet, no nuclear weapons made by either nation have been found in the two hot war fields.

THE VIETNAMIZATION OF THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE CAMBODIAN INCURSION

In all honesty, the U.S. has always been reluctant to stage or get involved in any war. It is the Soviet Union which enjoys seeing the world in chaos. It is a fact that the U.S. was "forced" by the Communists to get involved in the Indochina war. Therefore the U.S. made it clear at the beginning that the U.S. troops would not invade North Vietnam, but that an independent, anti-Communist South Vietnam should continue to exist.

It was hoped that this kind of balance would be maintained for good. With the increasing pressure from the anti-war campaign in the U.S., Washington, has long planned to withdraw its troops from Vietnam and to carry out the Vietnamization project as early as possible.

However, the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong, under the guidance of Moscow and under the influence of the Peiping regime, are engaged in hit-and-run warfare to stalemate the U.S. troops; and, in Paris, they are taking time to talk nonsense. Apparently they intend to gain time to wear away the free world and in the long run to effect the Communist world revolution as the Communist bloc has long been dreaming.

With the fall of the plain of Jars in Laos into the hands of Pathet Lao forces and seeing the Lon Nol regime tottering after the overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia, the U.S. troops combined with South Vietnamese forces to invade Cambodia and destroy the once-inviolate Communist sanctuaries. The Cambodian operation improved the Vietnam situation but expanded the war scale, thus complicating the Indochinese situation.

The Communist Chinese have long contemplated putting Southeast Asia under their thumb. Racially and geographically, the Red Chinese are closer than the Russians to South Asia, and it is accordingly easier for them to propagandize, to infiltrate, and to launch military intervention in Indochina. Meanwhile, in vying for the leadership of the Communist campaign in Asia, the Communist Chinese have to try every means possible to rid Indochina of Soviet influence. Thus the ousted Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk was welcomed by the Maoist clique and Sihanouk's puppet regime in exile was established. A few days ago, Mao Tse-tung showed up at the demonstration held at Tien An Men to shout again his cliche of protesting American aggression in Indochina. Whether the Communist Chinese will send armed forces into Cambodia as they did in North Korea will remain anybody's guess. Nobody can be certain that they have no such intention.

THE INTERNAL STRIFE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS IMPACT

President Nixon, when taking his post, assured his countrymen that he would bring an end to the Vietnam war. Later, in order to soothe the country, he announced his Vietnamization program and his plan of scheduled withdrawal of GI's from Vietnam.

In the more than one year since his inauguration, President Nixon not only has told the enemy again and again his real intention of seeking peace, but has begun his plan of evacuation and at the same time strengthened the Vietnamese by training them intensively and supplying them with more arms.

Had nothing happened in Laos and Cambodia recently, it is believed that the GI's would have continued to withdraw from Vietnam according to the timetable, no matter what would have become of South Vietnam after the U.S. evacuation.

Because of the length of time the Vietnam war has lasted, and because of the rising anti-war atmosphere at home, Americans in general have become disgusted with the never-ending and nonvictory war.

Just when President Nixon was reiterating his plans to pull American armies from Vietnam, the Laotian and Cambodian incidents occurred. Those feckless, near-sighted, pro-Communist American politicians and intelligentsia held Nixon responsible for what had happened in Loas and Cambodia, without uttering a word of reproach about the enemy's hysterical, unreasonable and absurd speech and attitude at the Paris talks, or about the enemy troops which, hidden in their sanctuaries, had been endangering the safety of American soldiers. The campuses across the U.S. were plagued with student insurrections and demonstrations. Quite a few universities and colleges became havens for political extremists and fanatics, even with the blessing of the presidents and many faculty members. The leading doves on Capitol Hill have criticized President Nixon severely and threatened to retaliate against the 1964 "Gulf of Tonkin" resolution and to vote against all future foreign aid bills.

The most unfortunate situation for the Nixon Administration is that for more than a year, the U.S. has suffered economic inactivity, inflation, a plunging stock market, and an increase in unemployment. For all these, the leftists and liberals asserted, the Indochina operation was to blame. If we listen to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we cannot help wondering if those who spoke out at the committee meeting are the delegates of the international Communists. When we read the editorials in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, we are puzzled as to whether we are reading the editorials of Moscow's Pravda and the Chinese Communist "People's Daily."

At the same time that people annoyed with and troubled by the anti-Vietnam war noises, they are also concentrating upon and worrying about the clash taking place in the other hot war arena at the other end of the world—the Middle East. It is true that the conflict in this area, its casualties and level of hostilities are on a small scale compared with those of the Indochina war. Yet it is also true that the confrontation between the Israelis and the Arabs has been getting worse since the six-day war of 1967. With her population of two million pitted against about fifty million surrounding Arabs, we admire Israeli perseverance and courage. On the other hand, we should never ignore the stubbornness of the Arabs. The Middle East is therefore the powder keg which cannot stand a single spark produced by a clash between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Up to now, neither the agreement achieved by the U.N. Security Council, nor the conciliation offered by the U.S., the Soviet Union, the U.K. and France has done any good in the Israeli-Arab dispute. It is obvious that if the situation worsens, some day these powers will be pulled into the war. In fact, with Washington embroiled and preoccupied in Indochina, the Russians have slipped almost naturally into the Middle East vacuum, furnishing the Arab states with military supplies and equipment, and firmly establishing their position in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Recently Soviet pilots together with the Egyptian air force engaged in air combat against the Israelis over the Suez Canal.

President Nixon is well aware of the gravity of the situation in the Middle East. He knows well that the political and economic influence of the Jews in the U.S. cannot be neglected. And yet, with a view to maintaining the balance and peace among the Mideast nations, he warned Moscow to stop intervening in Mideast affairs on the one hand and on the other refrained strictly from selling to Israel the warplanes which Israel had requested. His Mideast policy is obviously invulnerable. Surprisingly enough, those doves who have constantly been insisting on the complete pullout of the U.S. troops from Vietnam to restore world peace have recommended that the U.S. should not only sell to Israel all the planes Israel asked, but also furnish Israel with large quantities of ammunition, weapons, and military supplies, even at the expense of irritating the Arab states and of risking a military clash with the Soviet Union. (More than two-thirds of of the Senators appealed to the State Department to sell warplanes to Israel.)

Their contradictory as well as unscrupulous attitudes toward the Indochina war and the Mideast war have manifested that they are near-sighted, two-faced hypocrites who view the U.S. foreign policy with two different sets of standards. It is natural for the American Jews to be loyal to their people. As for the non-Jewish American politicians, they are striving to win the votes from American Jews at the cost of their country's safety and interest. Can this be called loyalty to the country? From this, we may deduce what strong influence the Jewish lobby in America has on the U.S. Congress.

THE PROSPECTS OF THE TWO BATTLEFIELDS

So far the two frontlines still mean a confrontation between the East and the West blocs. It is clear that the North Vietnamese

and Viet Cong have suffered a great setback since the combined forces of South Vietnam and the U.S. launched their offensive into Cambodia. In the Middle East, however, where the Arabs have enjoyed an influx of Russian armaments, it is clear that the Israelis have not in the least been discouraged, nor have their fighting capacity and morale abated. The conspiracy of the international Communists evidenced in these two hot wars has failed, contrary to the Communists' expectations.

Despite criticism at home, President Nixon's Cambodian incursion to destroy the Communist sanctuaries and to shore up the newly established Lon Nol government is considered a successful operation, with countless caches destroyed, numerous weapons captured, tons of ammunition and weapons seized, and more than six thousand North Vietnamese and Viet Cong killed. Moscow's cold attitude toward ousted Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Peiping regime's failure to follow through on its commitment to Sihanouk proved that the U.S. and South Vietnam combined operation was a tremendous success from the strategic point of view.

In spite of the Soviet malignancy and the hostile Arab states around her, Israel, with her solid confidence and formidable morale, continues not only to command the air with her air force, but to take the military lead on the whole. She is going to remain irresistible in the foreseeable future as long as moral and material support from the U.S. keeps on.

Nixon set June 30 as the deadline for withdrawing the U.S. troops from Cambodia. He will also pull the U.S. troops out of Vietnam to meet his Vietnamization program. He will on the one hand consent to sell warplanes to Israel, and on the other warn the Soviet Union not to fuel the Mideast fire so as to avoid the direct conflict between the two blocs. These foreseeable prospects will have a decisive impact on the two hot wars as well as on world peace in following years.

The Communists will never give up their plot of world revolution, nor will they dare to start a nuclear war which may exterminate both sides. The U.S. combat troops will be pulled out of Cambodia by the end of June. The South Vietnamese and newly arriving Thai troops will stay on and fight with Cambodians against the Communists in Cambodia. Even if the day comes when all the U.S. soldiers are pulled out of Vietnam, the Indochinese issue will not be completely settled. Neither Washington nor Moscow is willing to see the Mideast war expand, but neither of them can make the Israelis or the Arabs bring an end to the stalemated war. In my opinion, the current Indochina and Mideast policies of the Nixon Administration are rather reasonable, correct, and worthy of praise.

The Spirit of the Seventies—United States and Free Asia

(By Mrs. Anna Chennault)

Both the Free Asians and the U.S. have many important decisions to make in the morning of the 70's. Is the U.S. determined to continue to be a strong nation, or is she willing to retreat into isolation? And the Asians, are they working toward a free Asia?

The West and the East are entering the new era of the 70's together. We must recognize the tremendous transitions of the Eastern world with understanding and sympathy, and at the same time prepare for its consequences.

America, as a free nation, cannot stand strong and free alone. A powerful nation remains powerful only as long as it maintains a strong foreign policy.

England and France after they retreated from a once strong position, suffered these consequences.

We recognize the fact that Asians make up almost two thirds of the human race. In the 70's the Asians are entering a new era, for they have come into their own—a new spirit—an Asian reality. That is to say, they want to plan and organize their own destiny. In the 70's the key decisions concerning the Asians should not be made in London, Paris, Moscow or Washington, D.C., without the participation of the Asian countries concerned. It is regrettable, and perhaps to a certain extent a misfortune, that in the Western World we have too many so-called Asian experts. In the areas of Asian affairs we are famous for our quantity rather than quality. Too many voices have outshouted the Asian voice, which is just the one which should be heard right now. We Americans must learn how to listen—to find new ways to express our trust—to promote the combined interests of the free people in the West and in the East in order to secure a better future for America and for Asia.

War and peace in the 70's has created confusion and conflict around the world and there is no easy solution. For the past three decades outstanding leaders around the world have been faced with these same problems, only in different forms. Their problem has been to do what is best for their people.

War has never been popular, but the formula to peace has never been easy. All leaders of the free people want a just and lasting peace.

President Nixon's decision on Cambodia is to bring a just peace to Southeast Asia. It may not be a popular decision, but it is the right one. Sometimes, as a leader of a nation, he has to do what is best for national security instead of finding the easy way out, which a minority prefers.

In this nuclear age, collective security has become a necessity. America must stop apologizing for her actions to bring justice and peace around the world. Americans should not be defensive about helping other people fight for their freedom.

Without question power is a lonely business. It is difficult to be popular and powerful. But, for our own survival, this country cannot afford to be isolated. Hitler of Germany, Tojo of Japan, and Stalin of Russia have taught us this lesson of history. Only until other powers, who are now feeling their muscles, want peace more than power of expansion, will this world be secure from conflicts and threats. The United State's position is to keep the "balance of power" in order to avoid conflict. All our spiritual aspirations will come to nothing if we weaken the physical assurance of our national security. For a strong national security in this nuclear age is the most effective foundation for freedom and peace.

At this late hour, it is important for people of good will and good intentions to maintain some practical common sense and to be realistic about international problems. We simply must realize that the aggressors with whom we deal only understand one kind of language—that is, active force and consistent determination.

President Nixon's decision to intervene with American forces in Cambodia is a courageous one. He has, with open eyes, taken an enormous domestic political risk in what he believes to be the greater national interest.

And he has had to consider more than the national interest of the United States. He has had to take into account what the effect would have been on Russian policy and strategy in the Middle East if America had refused to try to stop the Communist drive in Cambodia. There can be no doubt that such a refusal would have still further strengthened the Russian belief that no American intervention in the Middle East was to be feared and that it would therefore be quite safe for Soviet forces to become more directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Refusal to intervene in Cambodia would also have strengthened the powerful influences in West Germany which believe that America is an unreliable ally and that an accommodation with the Soviet Union must therefore be sought while there is time.

If the Cambodian operation is carried out with success, hopefully, this operation will be completed before the monsoon season arrives in June. Once the monsoon season comes, it will be difficult for the enemy to move. It will give the South Vietnamese troops time to build up their strength and for the United States to carry out our plans for withdrawal.

Now that the North Vietnamese are losing, they are using the weapon of assassination even more often. About 1,500 Americans are missing from flights over North Vietnam. Are they dead or alive? The presumption is that most of them are prisoners. Yet, the Hanoi regime refuses to deliver or forward mail. Hanoi has not listed the prisoners and has refused to check off the names of American lists. Several years ago, the Moscow propaganda masters decided that their main hope for winning in South Vietnam consisted in undermining the American will to fight. They launched an attack on American morale, playing on the theme that their Vietnam invasion was not an invasion but a civil war, that the issue was of no consequence to the American people.

I had an opportunity to visit and talk with some of the North Vietnamese prisoners. Some were young boys of 13 and 14 and they told me their government publicized the news of our demonstrations and protests against the Vietnam War. It was their impression that no one in the United States supports the President's policy on Vietnam. Our fighting men deserve our support.

It is ironical that the Communist propaganda offensive should be gaining effectiveness just when the Communists are in serious trouble. Today in Asia the appeal of Communism is at its lowest point since World War II. The economic failures in China and North Vietnam are well known in Asia in contrast to the economic succeses in free nations like Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Thailand and Singapore. Communism can now only be spread by force, infiltration, terror, murder and subversion.

Castro cries for "20 Vietnams in America." They are using a slogan, "War of National Liberation" in Asia, Latin America, Black Africa and the Middle East.

Russia wants the United States to suffer a crushing military and moral defeat in Vietnam and she is spending billions of rubles to make sure that happens.

For the past two years this country has had its share of disturbances and violence. The test of our time is to prove if man can manage the growth of wealth and power with the growth of spirit and character. We must not allow ourselves to be destroyed by the problems we have created. We must distinguish the difference between peaceful change through democratic process and destructive violence which brings disaster. We must distinguish the difference between protests and revolt, between demonstrations and destruction, between violence and nonviolence. We shall not condemn those who disagree with us but we must put an end to violence in all forms. We must decide whether we intend to have our decisions, our lives ruled by a violent minority. I am sure people in the East and the West realize the existence of such dangers. It is time for us to put a stop to all violence.

Every generation makes mistakes. We must have the patience to listen, but more important, the strength to explain. I don't agree the generations belong to the Second World War, the Korean War, and that those who have given their lives in Vietnam and those who have fought in Vietnam need to apologize to the demonstrators and the protestors. We can be proud of some of our achievements.

One of the most sensational achievements of the century has been our mission to the Moon. In the medical field, the heart transplant operation has shown we have come a long, long way.

We have succeeded in almost abolishing polio, and we have spent billions of dollars to improve health and welfare. We have publicly announced our war against poverty, racial discrimination. We have sent aid to over fifty nations around the world to improve their living conditions, we have helped other people to overcome poverty and above all, we can take pride in the fact that America has been one of the most generous nations in the world in helping the other less fortunate peoples.

In America a psychology of defeat has brought a new growth of isolationism to our people. This new kind of attitude deeply disturbs me. This is exactly what the Communists want. For their assumption is this—if the American public talks itself out of supporting freedom in Vietnam it most certainly will not support freedom anywhere in the Pacific and therefore not in Berlin or in the Middle East. They see Asia as a turning point in all our past policy toward supporting freedom.

The Communists in Asia fully realize they cannot compete with us in military strength but they know how to work on so-called "public opinion" in an attempt to out-last our patience. Hanoi and Haiphong realize they cannot capture Saigon by force. They have tried many times and failed. They know the only way to enter Saigon is to talk their way in. Unfortunately, for many years the Vietnam War effort has been frustrated by technical decisions based more on the political invention of limited war rather than military facts and reasoning. In Asia people still believe in decorating their heroes and shooting their enemies, while we in a more comforting position are having difficulty finding the definition of "hero" in our dictionaries. We are people in a hurry—we are so used to instant coffee, instant tea, we are inclined to look for "instant solutions" to the extent we sometimes make the mistake of trying to force our kind of system on others.

What did we do wrong in Vietnam? We can simplify it in one sentence. "We have fought a limited war for a limited objective." We have not only limited our weapons, we have even informed our enemies and to such an extent to assure them that certain areas would not be bombed, that we would not attack unless we were attacked. We have accepted our enemy's denials that North Vietnam had an army in Laos. Facts have proven that the Communists' army in Laos has attacked U.S. forces as well as the South Vietnam forces. For political reasons, in an effort to bring about negotiations, we have deprived our own troops of air protection. We do not like to talk about our casualties but American casualties have been appalling since the negotiations started. What have we accomplished in the negotiations except the shape of the table?

We are fighting a peculiar war. Our military leaders are frequently being called to testify before the Congress to reveal publicly our military tactics and strategy. On the other hand our enemy has accomplished its objective—they are fighting the war according to their own plan and they don't have to answer to any public criticism.

Since we have taken the weaker position the world crisis has increased, not eased.

Let's take a look at what is happening. The pressure on Laos has reached a critical point. The crisis in the Middle East has risen to the point of explosion. Small powers order us to get out of Vietnam—our allies forsake us.

We have the greatest military forces in the world's history. Its effectiveness is magnificent, its morale is high but we are doing everything possible to destroy what we have accomplished.

Our enemies in Vietnam have an objective but our armed forces from the beginning of their fight in Vietnam have not even been allowed their military objective.

In the past, our men were bitter over orders from Washington against pursuing North Vietnamese troops into the so-called "privileged sanctuaries" and destroying their bases. However the diplomatic situation outweighs the military advantages of untying the hands of allied troops. Now the situation has changed. Anyone who wishes to see us get out of South Vietnam should understand the Vietnamization will move more quickly with the Cambodian sanctuaries destroyed than if they were permitted to remain "privileged" as under Sihanouk.

I am not an expert on military tactics but I do think we all possess some common sense. The final military objective is to break the will of the enemy to fight. To accomplish this they must be defeated in battle—they must be cut off from their bases and the bases destroyed. But the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam have never been permitted by Washington to invade, or to destroy, or even to bomb the major bases of the enemy. We are not allowed to negotiate to obtain information from our prisoners of war. Today American public opinion is confused. The most popular issues at this time in America are law and order, pollution control, racial disturbances, the high cost of living and they seem to blame everything on Vietnam.

The current controversy on how fast America can pull out of Vietnam has become a political scuffle—not a great debate—because the people are not given all the facts and the consequences by the news media. However, there would be a great debate if the subject was Back to America or on to Hanoi or Save the Middle East from Turning Red. This actually is the basic issue and only the American people can help the President make that decision.

We are so deeply involved in the debate over Southeast Asia it might be helpful if we begin to recognize some of the hard facts on the Middle East.

If the Vietnam outcome proves unfavorable we can be certain Soviet Russia will put more pressure on the Middle East conflict; then the American people would have an even tougher decision to make.

What about our friends in Asia? How do they react on the issue of Southeast Asia, on the Middle East, or on fighting for their own freedom and their own future?

For the past few years, I have observed the new spirit of a new Asia. They have come a long way. The land reform project in Taiwan has been a shining example to underprivileged people who fight for their freedom. The Koreans after long years of hard work have brought their country back to normal after the Korean War. If we can encourage the Asians to fight for their own freedom, we will not have to take on the responsibility to act as policemen and relief agencies around the world.

One of the most outstanding achievements in Asia has been in economics. Two years ago the Asian Banking Corporation was formed with headquarters in Tokyo, Japan. Certainly, the progress in Japan has not only challenged the Western World but also encouraged the other free nations in Asia to make improvements in their own economic conditions. Singapore under the leadership of Prime Minister Lee has become the showcase of Southeast Asia and the economic boom in Thailand has attracted businessmen from not only the United States but Europe as well.

All this demonstrates that when people are free they are the best producers. The sharp contrasts of the standard of living between people in the free nations and those living under communist control is the best example of how free enterprise can help improve world conditions and how the totalitarian system hurts the economy of a nation. Surely the people of Asia have learned their lesson the hard way and no people in Asia want to live under Communism.

Exactly how much do the West and the East know about each other?

Let us make a comparison between the differences of American and Asian psychology. America is a young nation enjoying glory, strength and power in an unravaged land. The Asians are much older and homogeneous with much longer traditions and they have known life much longer. They have a more fatalistic acceptance of its tragedy which we have so far escaped. They know less about applied science although they invented much of our basic research. They talk less about individual liberty and political freedom but they are much more practical and thoughtful about the nature of man and they pay off in long-term family and group objectives. They still believe in the accumulation of the benefits of work and effort from generation to generation while we in the United States belive in quick fortunes and early retirement.

They don't have a New York *Times*, a Chicago *Tribune* or a Wall Street, a Hollywood, a Pentagon or a military-industrial complex, although I'm sure they wish they had. They are a hard-working people. Unfortunately their enterprises often have been interrupted by wars and conflicts such as we cannot visualize. In substance, the continent of Asia has been in a continuous war since the British for opium profit turned against the Chinese people by using the Chinese's own invention of gunpowder. As a result of such tragic experiences, the Oriental people are patient, they are used to long wars and rebuilding after destruction. I saw that happen in China during the Second World War when I was a little girl and later in Korea. More recently, I saw the rebuilding of Saigon's destruction after the Tet offensive. Their sense of history runs in deeper currents than ours. They have never substituted short-term solutions for long-term objectives. For that reason, as our enemies they are always willing to wait us out, and as our friends always despairing of our restless itch to cut and run with gains as well as losses.

After talking with leaders of Korea, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam, I realize it is difficult for all Asians to understand the confusion and the agony we are going through in the constant reappraisal of our central objective in terms of our mutual interest, namely, freedom and peace in Asia, Europe and in the Middle East.

Like all intelligent people, the free people of Asia, in particular, worn by tragedies unbelievable to us are anxious for peace, but they are not willing to settle in terms of "peace at any price," for they know that is not peace. They look at Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Korea, with a deeper sense of history that instinctively warns them. Specifically, they know the ultimate difference between a "good settlement" and a "bad settlement" of the Vietnam War. They understand better than we, that the expansionist Communist objective is to talk, negotiate a breathing spell with us now, and then take over Vietnam and Southeast Asia later, when it will be more difficult for us to go back. A "good settlement" in Vietnam would discourage further Communist aggression to stabilize a situation in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific, or in Europe. A "bad settlement" will not only invite Communist takeover in Southeast Asia in the next couple of years, but might tempt the North Koreans to reopen the Korean War.

People in Asia, as well as the United States, are now deeply concerned about the situation in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

People in the East, who have had long experience in dealing with the Communistic power which has been trying to take them over since the Russian Revolution in the 1920's, understand the "Name of The Game." To them, "Communism tastes the same—hot or cold—raw or cooked." They point out that peace and security are established by demonstrating to the aggressors that "aggression does not pay." There are certain things which are not negotiable—individual liberty, political freedom.

While we in the United States are concerned and worried about world problems, our friends in Asia are deeply troubled by our self-doubt and lack of confidence. They simply cannot understand why Americans have become so defensive and apologetic for their actions and demonstrations to preserve peace, security and justice around the world.

A friend pointed out that each day, the thousands of people from all over the world, who seek entry into the United States, should be an outstanding testimony for Americans, that we who believe in free enterprise surely have something better to offer, that our Democratic system is certainly better than that enforced behind the bamboo and iron curtains." And yet, Asians cannot comprehend why the United States, with the wealth and power is so full of self-doubt. Another friend jokingly remarked, "Every time the Communists sneeze the Americans catch cold."

I am fully convinced from my own realistic experience, that the forces of freedom are stronger than the forces of tyranny. The free people of Asia are making steady progress toward their own destiny. Rising young leaders from Singapore to Korea sincerely believe in promoting political stability and economic advancement. There is new confidence among these young leaders. They are better educated and so more aware of the forces of the future. As the era of colonialism and imperialism comes to an end in East Asia, they know there is a vacuum that cannot be replaced by the most dangerous aggressors, it must be filled by the free and independent people of Asia with the assistance of those whose help is welcome because they have no ambitions of territorial expansion. Our consistent, not self-doubting willingness to help is the message people of America must try to convey to our friends in Asia for our own security.

The leaders of a free people, whether in the West or the East, have to accept the burden that successful involvement is not through protest to satisfy that minority few, but by creative and progressive actions which benefit the majority many. Free Asians recognize their need for energetic maturity and the West must recognize that without strong friends in Asia there will be no peace anywhere.

As I can see it, the U.S. foreign policy has one basic premise. That is, we try to prevent any single power to mobilize the people and resources of any continent, whether it is in Europe or in Asia. Because that single power would have to be totalitarian, therefore, against our freedom in America. Foster their hope—help to protect their independence, for the freedom-loving people is our way to encourage other peoples not to make their land or their resources available to a single totalitarian master.

American politics is more or less run by poll readings and computers—with a flavor of Madison Avenue here and there.

Because of the complicated daily events, Americans really depend on TV and radio and newspapers for their information, and to a certain extent, to form the so-called public opinion. For that reason, it is extremely important to present the public with the facts, not opinion.

In the 70's "Decentralization" and "Power To The People" are the cries of the hour, and all leaders in the various nations are hearing these cries at every level. However, we must remember a Government is an organization comprised of human beings who provide administrative, military and diplomatic services. The conflicts between governments and its peoples are healthy only so long as the competition and cooperation continue, is healthy only so long as both sides expand the checks and balances. Each country, and its people, must find its own way of checks and balances. The days of Colonialism and Imperialism are over. The needs of those abroad must be accomplished by the natives of the nations concerned. Americans can help, can serve as a secure base area for those who fight for their freedom. Americans have eventually begun to learn that we must never undertake to export the American system to other foreign countries. The Philippines, China, Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia all the free nations in Asia must find the appropriate level of freedom for themselves.

As the world enters a new era, the United States' position is to emphasize peace through strength. We must try to prevent any single power to monopolize the peace of any continent, whether it is in Europe, Africa, Latin America or in Asia, because that single power will have to be totalitarian, therefore against our idea of freedom.

I am an optimist. I realize there is no easy way to peace, but I also realize peace will never be achieved by surrender to blackmail, or by compromise with the enemies of freedom and justice.

For the last two decades, many leaders of the Free World have wasted their efforts and abilities trying to reconcile the un-reconcilable, to compromise with the uncompromising, and to placate the implacable.

It is useless to seek peace through disarmament. Disarmament will one day come from peace but never peace from disarmament.

Nor is peace an end in itself. It is an attitude of spirit, and the challenge of all free men.

DRAFT OF SUPPORT FOR THE "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK" MOVEMENT AND THE "STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND VICTORY DURING SEVENTIES" MOVEMENT ON LARGER SCALE BY PEOPLE OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

A. EXPLANATION

Seeing that the end of the Korean war was a tremendous discouragement to the people behind the Iron Curtain who aspired to be liberated, and finding the fact that the free nations were losing confidence in the U.S. determination to lead the anti-Communist movement in the world, the U.S. Congress, in order to make known its support for President Eisenhower's policy of liberating the Iron Curtain, agreed in 1959 to decide on the third week of every year as "Captive Nations Week." The decision was ratified by President Eisenhower.

Later, the House of Representatives organized a "Captive Nations Week" Committee to help carry out the Congress resolution. In July of the same year, the House initiated various corresponding movements and called on the free world to respond to the "Captive Nations Week" movement.

The Committee of People of All Walks of Life in the Republic of China in Support of the People Behind the Iron Curtain to Struggle for Freedom" and the APACLROC decided that the "Captive Nations Week" movement and the "1, 2, 3 Freedom Day" initiated by the Republic of China were the same in theory. Therefore, immediately after they had got in touch with the American Committee of Supporting Captive Nations in 1961, they responded to the call with the purpose of intensifying the worldwide anti-Communist movement.

In every July during the past ten years, a mass rally was held to observe the movement. In addition, there have been various anti-Communist activities, propaganda and psy-war activities. Every year representatives from the U.S. Congress have taken part in our activities. They brought back with them information on our activities and made reports to the U.S. Congress. The reports were recorded in the Congressional Record.

Like the "Freedom Day" movement, the "Captive Nations Week" movement has been gaining in influence. It was unanimously resolved in the 1967 WACL APACL Congress that the "Freedom Day" movement and the "Captive Nations Week" movement should be the main task to be performed by the member countries. In the 1968 WACL and APACL Congress held in Saigon, an agreement was reached to expand "Freedom Day" into "World Freedom Day". In the WACL and APACL Congress held in Bangkok last year, a message calling for stressing "World Freedom Day" and "Captive Nations Week" was passed.

President Nixon has announced the phased withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam to meet the rising anti-war atmosphere at home. He has also varied his policy toward the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists under the pressure of the appeasement advocates in the U.S.

The change in the U.S. attitude will surely have an evil impact on the resolve of many anti-Communist nations. The anti-Communist determination of the captive people will also be undermined. Therefore in order to prevent this counter-current, it is necessary to work harder to carry out the WACL APACL resolutions in connection with the "World Freedom Day" and "Captive Nations Week" movements. The anti-Communist strength among the American people has become bigger and bigger. The "Silent Majority" is no longer silent. The *"American Association for Supporting World Freedom"* was thus organized. The demonstration for winning freedom and victory led by Rev. McIntyre, and the publication of the preface to the *Amerasia Papers* by Dr. Kubek, manifest the fact that anti-Communism needs more support. Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia clearly showed that the President has firm determination to uphold righteousness and safeguard freedom. The Republic of China has made every effort to lead the WACL and APACL movements. At the suggestion of APACLROC, we have decided to substitute "support" for "respond to" the "Captive Nations Week" to emphasize the significance of this movement. To keep in line with the present world situation, a political slogan: "Struggle for Freedom and Victory during the 70's" will be presented at the rally marking the "Captive Nations Week" this year. Through past experience, we made out the draft for observing "Captive Nations Week" this year.

B. SCHEME

(A) Domestic area (the period from July 16, Thursday, 1970, through July 22, Wednesday, 1970 is "Captive Nations Week")

(1) For the Whole Country

1. Ask the Department of Political Warfare of National Defense Ministry to instruct Kinmen and Matsu that various struggle-for-freedom and anti-enslavement activities should be held during the week. The psy-war against the mainland coast should be intensified.

2. Ask Taiwan Provincial Government and the Provincial Office of Kuomintang to instruct county or municipal governments and party offices to help local civic bodies to observe the "Captive Nations Week," according to the local conditions with reference to this draft.

3. Ask the Ministry of Education, the Department of Education of TPG, and the Education Bureau of the Taipei City Government

to instruct all the universities, colleges, middle schools, primary schools to stress to the faculties and students the significance of the "Captive Nations Week" movement.

4. Ask the Government Information Office of the Executive Yuan, *the Information Commission of TPG*, and *the Information Department* of the Taipei City Government and the Cultural Bureau of the Ministry of Education to instruct all the news agencies, newspapers, magazines, radio and T. V. stations in the country to stress the significance of the movement, to report in detail the news of various activities taking place, and to present a series of commentaries, editorials and articles in connection with the movement.

5. Ask the Taiwan Postal Administration to instruct all the post offices to affix on every piece of mail a postmark bearing the slogan, "Support Captive Nations Week Movement" during the week.

6. Ask the Political Welfare Department of the Taiwan Garrison Command to instruct all the cinemas to project slogan-slides on screens during the week.

7. Ask the U.S. Congress to send delegates to take part in the activities in China during the week.

8. At 12:30, noon, on July 15 (Wednesday), a news conference will be held to report the preparatory work and the working program.

9. At 9 A.M., on July 17 (Friday), a mass rally by people of all walks of life in the Republic of China will be held at the City Hall.

10. On July 16 ask the China Mainland Famine Relief Association to preside over an anti-Mao, anti-Communism symposium with anti-Communist freedom-seekers participating.

11. On July 18 (Friday) ask the Civic Organizations Activity Center to sponsor a symposium in support of the "Captive Nations Week" and "Struggle for Freedom and Victory During 70's" movements. Meanwhile ask the Islamic Federation of China to preside over a religious rite.

12. On July 19 (Saturday), ask the Overseas Chinese Association to sponsor a symposium on "Expansion of the United Front against Communism" and "Supporting the Struggle for Freedom and Victory During 70's Movement" by Overseas Chinese all over the world.

13. On July 20 (Sunday), ask the Chinese Youth Corps to hold an international young people's symposium in support of the "Captive Nations Week" and "Against Appeasement." Meanwhile ask Catholic and Protestant Churches to sponsor religious activities.

14. On July 21 (Monday), ask Chinese Women's Association to sponsor a symposium in support of the "Captive Nations Week" and the "Struggle for Freedom and Victory During 70's."

15. Ask Chen Shen Broadcasting Company to sponsor a symposium on the air in support of the "Captive Nations Week" and the "Struggle for Freedom and Victory During 70's."

16. Ask Buddhists, Taoists and other religious bodies to set a date respectively for themselves during the week to hold religious rites in connection with the movements.

17. Make a number of balloons during the week to help make the propaganda more effective.

(*B*) *Overseas areas*

18. Ask Section 3 of the Central Committee of Kuomintang, the Overseas Affairs Commission and the Overseas Chinese Association to help Overseas Chinese units and newspapers make use of every means possible to respond to the activities concerned.

19. Ask the Overseas Department of the Broadcasting Corporation of China to broadcast in various languages the activities in China in support of the "Captive Nations Week" and "Struggle for Freedom and Victory during the 70's" with a view to expanding international propaganda and political impact.

20. Send copies of the draft of the working program of marking the "Captive Nations Week" and the "Struggle for Freedom and Victory during the 70's Movement" in the Republic of China to the APACL and WACL Secretariats and ask them to forward the copies to member and observer countries with the intention of expanding the movements across the world.

(*C*) *For the areas behind the iron curtain*

21. Ask the radio stations in charge of psychological warfare to arrange on-the-spot broadcasts and special programs to transmit continuously to the Chinese mainland and the areas behind the Iron Curtain in Europe so as to arouse anti-Communist feelings of the captive people.

22. Ask Central, Kuan Hua, Military, Air Force, Fu Hsing, and Chen Yee Radio Stations to intensify psychological offensives against the Chinese mainland. Also ask the Department of Political Warfare of the Ministry of National Defence to launch psy-war propaganda against the mainland by means of air-drifting, sea-floating, broadcasting, and loudspeaking from the area of Kinmen and Matsu.

DOCUMENTS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT OF DR. KU CHENG-KANG AT THE KIMPO AIRPORT IN SEOUL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Ku led a 9-man parliamentarian good-will mission in South Korea (June 23–June 27) with the hope of strengthening the friendship and cooperation among parliamentarians of the two countries.)

It is my privilege and pleasure to visit the Republic of Korea with members of the Republic of China Parliamentarian Mission at the invitation of Speaker Lee of the Korean National Assembly.

Under the distinguished leadership of President Park and with the concerted efforts of the Korean National Assembly and the Korean Government, the Republic of Korea has scored great achievements in various domestic activities, especially economic reconstruction and has made immense contributions in external activities in safeguarding Asia's security and freedom. All these deserve our admiration. At present, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China, as brother nations and friends in adversity, are fighting together for their national freedom and the freedom of mankind. Members of the Republic of China Parliamentarian Mission and I have visited your country on many occasions. At this time we wish to avail ourselves of the opportunity to express our admiration for President Park and extend our greetings to members of the Korean National Assembly and our Korean friends.

At a time when the world is filled with tension and the situation in Southeast Asia is most serious, it is meaningful that the Parliamentarians of our two Nations deepen understanding, increase cooperation, develop common wisdom and unite all anti-Communist forces for the realization of victories in our anti-Communist endeavors.

RESPONSE BY DR. KU CHENG-KANG AT DINNER GIVEN BY THE KOREAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Honorable Speaker Rhee, Distinguished Parliamentarians, Ladies and Gentlemen: My fellow parliamentarians and I from the Republic of China feel deeply honored to have this opportunity to visit the Republic of Korea at the invitation of Speaker Rhee. Your hospitality at this dinner tonight is truly memorable. On behalf of my mission, I want to extend to all of you our sincere gratitude.

On this visit of ours, we have brought with us the friendship of the people of the Republic of China toward the poeple of the Republic of Korea. Most members of our mission have visited this country many times. But this visit is especially significant because we are here at the beginning of a new decade when the anti-Communist situation in Asia and the world is starting a new phase of development and because we are here to exchange views about the world with all of you distinguished parliamentarians of this great nation. We feel closer to you and, for that reason, we are truly excited.

Under the able leadership of your great President Park, all of you people of the Republic of Korea have worked together strenuously and constructively. You have made great endeavors to build up the nation as you continue your fight against the enemies. Over the last few years you have made especially fast progress and noteworthy achievements in your military, political, economic, cultural and other fields. We understand very well that among the key factors behind this rapid progress are the great efficiency and effectiveness with which the Korean National Assembly has been carrying out its lawmaking assignments. This deserves our heartfelt admiration.

The Republics of China and Korea have built up the strongest anti-Communist bastions in Asia today. The two nations also have provided outstanding models of democratic government and free society. The peoples of the two nations should work harder hereafter in awakening the other free Asian Nations and in promoting the free Asians' unity and struggle. We firmly believe that the close cooperation and joint efforts of the Republics of China and Korea will continue to contribute positively to the protection of security, freedom and peace in Asia and the entire world.

We are truly grateful for the Korean National Assembly's strenuous preparations for our visit. We thank you very much for your great hospitality. My colleagues and I will now drink to the well-being of your President Park, to the growth and prosperity of your great nation, and to the health and happiness of Speaker Rhee and all of you ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much.

ADDRESS BY WACL HONORARY PRESIDENT KU CHENG-KANG AT THE WACL/APACL KOREA CHAPTER

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On this visit to the Republic of Korea with a Parliamentarians' Mission from the Republic of China at the invitation of the Honorable Rhee Hyo Sang, Speaker of your National Assembly, I feel very happy and excited to see all of you colleagues of the WACL/APACL Korea Chapter again. I have been to Seoul many times, each time seeing new signs of rapid progress not noted on previous visits. As a faithful friend of the Republic of Korea, I am privileged to share your honor and pride. I extend to all of you my heartfelt respect for you and your fellow countrymen's nation-building efforts and achievements under the able leadership of President Park.

The growth of your national strength has had positive effects on the entire Asian and world situation. Important contributions have been made. One notable example of your endeavor along the direction of time is your promotion of the anti-Communist movement. You have made the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League grow up as the World Anti-Communist League.

As you are well aware, APACL held its inaugural conference in this country. The proposal to establish WACL was also made in this country. Regarding both APACL and WACL, Korea and the Republic of China have from the very beginning cooperated and endeavored closely together. The two nations have provided the main motivating power for the APACL and WACL movements. We have sown the seeds together. We have watered the field together. And now our ef-

forts have borne fruit. Our seedlings have grown into strong trees.

Needless to say, it is not easy to promote our WACL and APACL movements against the reverse current of appeasement. We are rowing our boat against the stream. This is a very difficult task. But the Korean government is providing the WACL Secretariat with strong material and spiritual assistance. The Korea Chapter is positively working for the growth of WACL. As WACL's honorary president and concurrently president of the WACL/APACL China Chapter, I have felt duty-bound to exert myself to the utmost. All these have combined to serve as the core of strength for the continuation and development of the WACL movement. Our efforts are not just for the Republic of China or the Republic of Korea. We are working for the freedom and security of the whole of Asia. We are striving for the freedom and peace of mankind. This responsibility entrusted to us by our time is a very heavy one. But we have been gallantly shouldering this responsibility.

In the three years since the establishment of WACL, we have seen notable developments and achievements. The organization is much stronger now. The Thai, Philippine and Japan Chapters have been reorganized and strengthened. We can now bring forth a much greater joint strength. As regards our external relations, we can say that through our close cooperation with all the other international anti-Communist organizations, WACL is now the true center of all the freedom forces in the world. We have worked for the establishment of the World Youth Anti-Communist League. We also have helped the establishment of the American Council for World Freedom. Torches of anti-Communism are now in the hands of the younger generation as well. We also are positively and effectively arousing the silent masses of various nations and promoting the rise of freedom forces throughout the world. We can say that we are truly representing the correct reasoning and highest conscience of our time and that we are marching precisely in the direction of history.

For the Executive Board meetings of WACL and APACL in Tokyo in mid-May, General Lee Eung-joon, chairman of this chapter, was present. The meetings made suitable preparations for this year's WACL and APACL Conferences. At this opening stage of the 1970s, the proposed WACL Conference in Japan will have very important political significance and will certainly enable the league to take big forward strides.

The overall goal of the WACL movement is now victory for freedom in the 1970s. I want therefore to lay before you three basic guidelines for the joint efforts of all the WACL people.

First, our major task for the present stage should be to expand the international anti-Communist united front, develop the anti-Communist unity of the people into anti-Communist cooperation among the governments, and establish a regional security system for Asia and the Pacific.

Second, we must arouse the silent masses, stimulate their anti-Communist fighting spirit, strongly oppose and hit back at the appeasers, middle-of-the-roaders and non-alignment factions that are adding fuel to the flames of Communism.

Third, we should positively cultivate the younger generation's anti-Communist knowledge and strength and make the young people become the main force in our allout fight to protect freedom in the 1970.

I will be always with you in our joint endeavor to attain the goals I have just mentioned. Lastly, I want to thank you once again for giving me this opportunity to talk with you and share with you my views about the APACL and WACL movements. With our experience of constant struggle for more than a decade, we are now looking forward to a surging tide in the 1970s. I will always stand by your side and put forth every ounce of my energy for our joint victorious attainment of the World Anti-Communist League's lofty goals.

China Today—Taiwan Freeway to Cost $468 Million

The Chinese government created a special agency early June in preparation for the launching of the largest engineering project in Taiwan.

The new agency, officially called Taiwan Area Freeway Construction Bureau (TAFCB) takes care of the planning, financing, designing and supervision of a 375-kilometer (234 miles) freeway linking Keelung in north Taiwan and Kaohsiung in south Taiwan.

The freeway will cost some US$468 million, the most expensive project ever launched by the Chinese government in Taiwan.

Construction will start in March, 1971 and will be completed in December, 1975 in three stages according to priority designated by experts.

An international tender will be held in October under the supervision of the World Bank to select the contractor. So for many world renowned construction companies have decided to take part in the bidding.

At least three months are needed for the winning bidder to make preparations for the construction. About US$87 million worth of road construction equipment has to be procured, either locally or abroad, before construction begins.

Once the work starts, at least 5,000 operators are needed to man the various pieces of mechanical equipment. To recruit and train such operators is an immense job.

Some 90 million cubic meters of land have to be removed. The volume is ten times larger than the Cross-Island Highway which is so far a milestone of Taiwan's highway construction.

The land removed is enough to build a wall of two meters high and one meter wide around the equator.

Because of the rugged terrain in western Taiwan, 61 "three dimensional interchanges" will be built to ensure free motor traffic, in addition to more than, 1,000 crossings.

According to the priority designated by experts and approved by the Central Government, the Keelung-Yangmei section will be constructed in the first stage. This section, totaling 70 kilometers, calls for a total outlay of US$121 million.

The second stage includes the construction of Yangmei-Hsinchu section (22-km), Chiayi-Tainan section 55-km) and Tainan Fengsha section (55-km). It needs a total of US $146.4 million.

The last stage is for the construction of the Hsinchu-Taichung section (86-km), Taichung-Tounan section (65-km) and Tounan-Chiayi section (22-km), totalling 173 kilometers. The construction cost is US$206,950,000.

Construction of the first stage will start in March, 1971 and will be completed in December, 1973. The second stage will be started in January, 1972 and completed in June, 1974. The last stage will begin in July, 1972 and end in December, 1977.

The foundation of the freeway will be 43 meters wide for eight-lane traffic and 27 meters wide for four-lane traffic. The designated speed is 120 kph (76 mph) on plain area and 100 kph (62.5 mph) on hilly area.

According to a feasibility report worked out by De Leuw Cather and International, a consultant engineering company in Chicago, the investment-return rate of the highway is as high as 22.3 per cent calculating from the tangible benefits envisaged.

It is estimated that in 1990, 15 years after the opening of the freeway, the aggregate benefits will reach US$2,045 million, including US$1,155 million in terms of time value saving and the reduction of operation cost; and 570 million saved from investment in the improvement of the existing highways.

The bureau is headed by M. H. Hu, deputy director of Taiwan Highway Bureau, who has taken part in the project from the very beginning. The new bureau has a staff of 200, all veteran highway engineers and experts.

New Port To Accelerate Infrastructure Buildup

Taiwan will have its fourth international seaport before this decade is out. The port, located at Wuchi near Taichung, central Taiwan, represents another giant stride taken by the government in its allout infrastructural buildup.

The construction of Taichung port calls for a total outlay of NT$8,318 million, according to the final study report prepared by Japanese harbor experts. And the port will be completed in December 1980.

By July, 1974, he added, the port will be partially operational. The port will then be able to handle two million tons of cargo annually.

Construction will start at the end of this year or early next year. It will take a decade to complete the whole project.

The capacity of the port will reach four million tons of cargo a year in 1976.

After 1980, the overall capacity of the port will reach eight million tons a year.

The project includes the construction of 2,500 meters of breakwaters, 1,000 tons of sand prevention dikes, 6,290 meters of dikes, 7,550 meters of deepwater wharves, 5,090 meters of shallow-water piers, 35.85 kilometers of railway, 47.77 kilometers of highway, and 290 meters of embankments.

About 60 million cubic meters of mud will be dredged. Thirty-five godowns, three silos and three wharves for hazardous cargo will be built. The port will also have a container terminal 279,860 square meters in area, a cargo yard of 549,020 square meters and an oil pier.

The area of the port is encompassed by Tachia river to the north. Tatu river to the south, and the harbor highway to the east. It totals 990 hectares in area.

The port, after completion, will accelerate the economic and social development in central Taiwan, create more job opportunities and prevent the exodus of rural population to north Taiwan.

The ever-increasing volume of Taiwan's foreign trade led to the government decision to build more international seaports.

Consideration of building new seaports in Taiwan started six years ago when harbor congestion began to become serious as a result of the island's fast expanding trade. Ships have to wait for days and even weeks to unload their cargoes.

The three existing seaports, Keelung, Kaohsiung and Hualien, cannot cope with the fast growing volume of exports and imports. Efforts were made to expand the cargo handling capacity of Kaohsiung and Keelung, but the situation has not been improved very much.

In 1967, according to statistics of Ministry of Communications, the total loading volume of the three seaports totalled 11,269,000 metric tons, 11 per cent over the set goal. Seeing that the volume will increase to 25 million metric tons in five years as a result of the economic development, the Ministry of Communications stepped up its effort to open new seaports.

Experts of the Ministry of Communications estimated that if the foreign trade grows at a rate of 12 per cent a year, Taiwan will have to handle 17 million metric tons of cargo by 1972.

A special committee was set up in August, 1968 to make a detailed study and concrete plans on the matter. Foreign harbor experts and economists were invited to help in the survey and research work.

MAINLAND TODAY: MAO'S OSTRICH POLICY ABOUT OPEN KILLING

The new wave of mass trials and executions on the Chinese mainland in January this year has an intriguing side that, to most people, is as inexplicable as the fresh outburst of outright killing.

That other side is the silence of mainland mouthpieces about the excessive measures now being taken. One is left to wonder why after all the fuss surrounding each open trial and shooting, the press is not allowed to report about the event.

Some three months ago, we reported in this column that Mao Tse-tung was suddenly trigger-happy again. Killing as a way to suppress people was halted after the massacre of the early 1950's had gone too far.

But Mao is now resorting to his old murder tactics in a frantic move toward domestic peace and unity. He is different this time in that he apparently is avoiding publicity beyond the immediate circles concerned.

NO PRESS REPORTS

Trials as usual are taking place publicly. Sentences are handed down summarily. Death convicts are often paraded. Then comes noisy shooting. But this is followed by a press blackout. People in the areas concerned may talk about the executions but the news is not to spread to the other parts of the mainland.

The Communists are still as merciless as they can be. Victims are tortured, spiritually and then physically. People are killed without being told why. Charges are often invented. Executions take place in the name of the people, regardless of whether the masses approve of such killing. Whoever dares to openly object to the killing stands a good chance of facing the firing squad himself.

People on the Chinese mainland have learned well that things done for them and in their name are invariably of Peiping's own invention. The word "people" is used whenever the small number of top rulers want to do something against the people.

LISTING

These public trials and executions have taken place over the past few months:

A mass trial at the Workers' Stadium in Peiping January 27 was followed immediately and on the spot by the execution of 19 young students. It was ironic that the youthful blood had to be shed in a sports stadium for youths and workers.

More than 190 persons were arrested from January through April in Ying-chiang County of Yunnan, then taken to an open place for public trial and execution under anti-revolutionary charges. About 60 per cent of them were formerly in the military. Others used to be landlords or rich farmers.

One public trial at Puehhsiu-shan of Canton March 7 ended with the execution of 27 anti-Mao Red Guards and corrupt elements.

Four groups were executed in Canton on March 28 and 29. The first group had 23 persons, the second had 19 and the last two had a total of 38. All the shooting took place near Liuhua Bridge. Some of the victims were from Hongkong, visiting relatives in Canton.

Twelve persons lost their lives after a March 1 public trial on the playground of the Yun-fu County Middle School in Kwangtung.

Early in March, 17 persons were executed in the Swatow Special District. Twelve others from Lu-hai-feng were also killed.

In Hsing-ning County of Kwangtung, 25 persons were executed on March 28. About a dozen of them had attempted to sneak out of the mainland. Three were overseas Chinese returnees. Five were former servicemen who had taken up various jobs.

In the province of Fukien, a public trial at Foochow on February 24 led to the execution of 26 persons all at a time. This was witnessed by an estimated crowd of 100,000. An execution in Amoy involved 16 victims. They had been paraded through Red Guard Road and Tatung Road.

The 16 persons shot after a mass trial in Huiyang County included a former district mayor, a steamship company executive and hospital superintendents.

All these above-mentioned atrocities have been made known to the outside world by intelligence sources and visitors returning to Hongkong.

But, as mentioned already, the Communists are not permitting the mainland radio stations and newspapers to report about these trials and executions. This is quite unlike the past practice of giving maximum publicity to anti-revolutionary crimes.

HEAD IN SAND

These are most probably the reasons behind the odd silence of the mainland press about the recent trials and executions:

1. Mao Tse-tung is finding it increasingly harder to deceive the people. High-handed measures are not bringing the results he wants. Killing has to be done when his enemies have to be dealt with. But Mao does not want too much publicity for fear that the people in general may turn more resolutely against him. Now the people being executed are Red Guard leaders, military officers, economic officials, overseas Chinese and workers. These anti-Maoists already have widespread support on the mainland. Punishment as a lesson is all right but cannot be allowed to start unnecessary commotion.

2. Many economic officials are being punished because of their sympathy for the suffering masses. Actions to protect the people's interests are not what the Peiping regime wants. Anti-revoluntionary crimes are not taken literally by the people. The regime cannot let offenders go but dares not relate too much about their offenses.

3. Many strong anti-Maoists are soldiers and students. Many of those sent down to the countryside for reform through labor have had to be executed. The names and backgrounds of mass trial victims cannot be publicized lest the press reports should affect the millions of other persecuted persons in any way that may prove harmful to the regime.

This is an ostrich policy. Ostriches are known to bury heads in the sand when they perceive danger. The Communists will sooner or later choke themselves that way.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM MANILA: THE SUPPRESSING OF STUDENT DISTURBANCE IN THE PHILIPPINES—WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE WACL AND APACL PHILIPPINES CHAPTER

(By Lai Jei-yuang)

The surge of student disturbance which took place on June 26, 1970 in the Philippines has rapidly diminished within a few months. Although this was achieved partly because of President Marcos' strong will and determination in opposition to Communism, the WACL and APACL Philippines Chapter's assistance were also worthy of note.

The Philippines was one of the founders of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League and the World Anti-Communist League. The government of the Republic has given full support to the past WACL and APACL Conferences. Since the establishment of the APACL, Manila has been the site of the general conference three times, and the incumbent WACL Secretary-general, Dr. Jose Ma Hernandez, is also Filipino.

In order to positively expand the Chapter's activities and to prepare for participating in the 4th WACL and 16th APACL Conferences to be held in Kyoto, Japan this coming September the WACL and APACL Philippines Chapter was reorganized last June 30 with the election of 15 directors and 4 executive members. Former Speaker of the Congress, Congressman Cornelio F. Villareal, was elected Chairman of the Board and Congressman Ramon D. Bagatsing was elected President.

Other members of the newly elected Board of Directors were Col. Ernesto P. Golez, the *Examiner of Asia News Weekly* Atty. Leon O. Ty, Congresman Fermin Z. Caram, Jr., Congressman Frisco F. San Juan, President of Chiang Kai-shek College, Dr. Pao Shih-tien, leader of Filipino overseas Chinese Don Antonio Roxas Chua and Atty. Antonio M. Meer. Among them, Mr. Meer was elected first Vice President of the Executive Board and Mr. Chua, the second Vice President. The post of Secretary-general was given Col. Golez.

Coincidentally, on the night of last June 30, while members of the WACL and APACL Philippines Chapter were meeting in the Manila Hotel for their reorganizing, thousands of students were congregating in front of the Presidential Office launching demonstrations and violence in which five men died and hundreds were wounded. It was truly a "night of terror."

One of the Chapter directors later told the reporter that the reorganizing, carried on simultaneously with the student disturbance, was very significant and that they felt more responsible for suppressing it and bringing peace to the society again.

Right after the officers took their oath of office, the WACL and APACL Philippines Chapter, according to the demands of the domestic situation, unceasingly extended their work throughout the country. First of all they secretly held a symposium with leading officers of military intelligence, listening to their report on the Communist organization, power and background in the Philippines. The report indicated that several radical student organizations such as the Patriotic Youth Party and Philippines Democracy Promotion Association were all Communist branch organizations existing in the Philippines. It further indicated that most of those who joined the demonstration were good students. They were only hoping to instigate the government to offer some appropriate changes and reforms but were not in agreement on utilizing violence to overthrow the existing system.

On the contrary, those who advocated overthrowing the government and caused a lot of trouble in every demonstration were only a rebel minority.

The Chapter then exchanged views with leaders of education, journalism and youth on the youth problem and, by means of education and tools of mass communications, they widely revealed to their people the Communist conspiracy of infiltrating into the Philippines.

After the demonstration took place in Manila, newspapers, radios and television, made every effort to make their reports as detailed as they could. Some reporters only listened to the demonstrators, thus making their reports exaggerated and unreal.

Perceiving this fact, the WACL and APACL Philippines Chapter, at its first public symposium with newspapermen, magazine producers, chief editors and writers of special articles, asked the officers of military intelligence to report on the background of student disturbances and the current situation of Communist infiltration and, on the other hand, listened to the participants' opinion about the effect of student disturbances on the social order. They unanimously concluded that, in order to safeguard peace and democracy in the Philippines, all news media should avoid the danger of being utilized by the Communists.

Later on, they held another symposium with sponsors and editors of every radio station and TV corporation. The same conclusion was drawn.

The third symposium invited all the presidents of universities and colleges to attend. They unanimously adopted a resolution urging their students to shun the demonstrations so that they would not be used by the Communists.

In addition, fruitful results had also resulted from the two symposiums held with the sponsors of every advertising company as well as the leaders of youth and women's organizations.

The Filipino student disturbance erupted on June 26, reached its climax in February and March, diminished in April and vanished in May. As to whether there will be a recurrence it is too early to speculate.

ECHO—FROM OUR FRIENDS ABROAD

DEAR DR. KU CHENG-KANG: The Australian political scene is becoming worse. We are facing a Vietnam moratorium on May 8, 9 and 10th. There are about 75 politicians from the Australian Labour Party taking part in the moratorium. Straight after the moratorium I will speak in Melbourne and Adelaide analyzing the political happenings in Australia.

I must also mention to you that the Australian representation at the conference in Bangkok was not the best. It seems that there are people who are prepared to use the conference as an outlet for a holiday. This is most unfortunate. There are seriously minded anti-Communist politicians in Australia and in the nearest future I will submit their names to you for consideration of eventually inviting them to attend the Tokyo conference. I have also discussed this matter with the Australian minister for foreign affairs Mr. William MeMahon. I do think he realizes that Australia must take a more serious attitude towards the conference.

Yours sincerely,

ELGA RODZE.

DEAR DR. KU CHENG-KANG: Recently I had the pleasure of sending you reports of our anti-Communist activities here in Australia, and now I am enclosing 3 additional photopictures of the anti-Communist public meeting on the 19th April and also our demonstration in Sydney, on April 22nd.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to publish them, so as to let the people everywhere know that we are continuing our dedicated fight against the Communist criminals, regardless of serious obstacles and difficulties.

I was hoping that we might be able to organize a demonstration against the Communists at the same time as the Communists and their hirelings staged the so-called "Anti-Vietnam Moratorium," which is in progress now here in Australia, but I deeply regret to say that Australian organizations, which we have approached, have declined to take part for fear that our activity might lead to violence. Personally I think that it is the attitude of the *defeatists,* and a very poor excuse for refusing to counter the pressure and blatant lies of the Communists.

As it is quite evident to us that the Australian organizations will not participate in anti-Communist activities, we will continue to rely on our own forces in the future, and we are now planning to make a big anti-Communist march through Sydney during the Captive Nations Week on Sunday, 12th July.

We don't seem to hear of any activity by the Australian Chapter of WACL, which is a tragedy, because the Communist disease must not be left unchallenged. It must be fought and it must be defeated!!!

Yours faithfully,

A. OLECHNIK.

OUR ACTIVITIES: FORMER CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER VISITING WACL/APACL CHINA CHAPTER

Former Canadian prime minister John G. Diefenbaker called on Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, president of WACL/APACL, June 6 at the latter's chapter. Regarded as one of the strongest anti-Communist leaders in Canada opposing the recognition of the Peiping regime, John G. Diefenbaker, member of the Canadian Parliament, extensively exchanged views with the renowned Chinese anti-Communist fighter, with emphasis placed on the importance of no recognition of the Peiping regime by his government. With several decades of anti-Communist experience, Dr. Ku told the distinguished visitor from afar that the final goal for the government of the Republic of China as well as its people is to destroy Mao's regime, to recover the Chinese mainland and to deliver the enslaved people from under the Chinese Communists.

Parliamentarian Diefenbaker was the guest of honor at a dinner party hosted by Dr. Ku. Also invited to the dinner party were President Huang Kuo-shu of the Legislative Yuan, Secretary-General Huang Shao-kuo of the National Security Council, Cardinal Paul Yu-pin, President Chien Shihliang of the Academia Sinica, President Huang Chi-lu of the Academia Historica and Deputy Secretary-General Hsieh Jantzu of the Central Committee, Kuomintang.

WELCOMING INDIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

Smt Sucheta Kripalani, member of the Indian Parliament, called on Dr. Ku Chengkang June 9. In their meeting, Smt Sucheta Kripalani expressed the wish of the majority of Indian people to maintain close ties with the Republic of China. After being briefed on the development of WACL and APACL, the Indian parliamentarian highly praised the remarkable achievements made by WACL and APACL as well as the China Chapter under the excellent leadership of Dr. Ku and promised to devote herself to the course of promoting Sino-Indian relationship.

Dr. Ku received Behari Vajpayee, member of Indian Parliament and leader of the Bharatiya Jana Sang June 12. In the meeting, both of them agreed that the organization of the Asian Parliamentarians' Union should be expanded by inclusion of the Indian Parliamentarians belonging to the opposition party.

CABLE FROM PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA

President Jose Figueres of the Republic of Costa Rica cabled Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, president of WACL/APACL China Chapter June 9 stating "AGRADEZCO AMABLE MEMSAJE OCASION INAUGURACION PRESIDENCIAL PUNTO COMPLACEME REITERAR SENTIMIENTOS RESPALDO MOVIMIENTO WACL." President Jose Figueres was the vice chairman of the First WACL Conference held in Taipei in September of 1967. Since then Dr. Ku has been maintaining contact with President Jose Figureres.

JOINT MEETING OF COMMITTEES OF WACL/APACL CHINA CHAPTER

A joint meeting of the three Committees (International Publicity, Psychological Warfare, and Research and Publication) of WACL/APACL China Chapter was held June 16 at the Chapters' conference room. It was understood that, at the meeting, resolutions to prepare a "General Program of Action for World Freedom in 1970's" to be referred to the forthcoming WACL Conference for adoption, and to call on leaders of Asian free nations participating in the following APACL Conference for convocation of a conference on Asian security were adopted.

In addition, extensive exchanges of views on the major proposals to be referred to the 4th WACL Conference and the 16th APACL Conference to be held in Japan this fall as well as on the contents of a series of publications on "Fundamental Principles Against Appeasement" and "Formation of Asian-Pacific Regional Security Organization" were made at the meeting.

Dr. Ku presided over the joint meeting in which more than 90 dignitaries and authoritative experts of the Republic of China participated.

DINNER PARTY IN HONOR OF DELEGATES TO THE THIRD ASIAN WRITERS CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL P.E.N.

In order to extend the warmest welcome to special guests and delegates of the 3rd Asian Writers' Conference of the International P.E.N., the WACL/APACL Chapter, in conjunction with its ten international organization member units such as the Committee for Promotion of Sino-Japanese Cooperation, the Sino-American Cultural & Economic Association, the Sino-Australian-New Zealand Cultural & Economic Association, the Sino-Indian-Burmese Cultural Association, the Sino-Japanese Cultural & Economic Association, the Sino-Korean Cultural Association, the Sino-Malaysian-Singapore Cultural & Economic Association, the Sino-Philippine Cultural & Economic Association, the Sino-Thai Association, and the Sino-Vietnamese Cultural & Economic Association, hosted a dinner party June 9 at the International Hall of the Ambassador Hotel, Taipei in their honor.

At the dinner party, Dr. Ku representing the host units delivered a speech stressing free expression and for all mankind which was responded to by Arved Viirlaid, a writer of Estonia in exile.

The Third Asian Writer's Conference of the International P.E.N. was held in Taipei June 16 thru 19 of this year with about 150 special guests and delegates from 20 countries.

HOLDING SYMPOSIUM FOR PHILIPPINE EDUCATORS' GOODWILL MISSION TO THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dr. Ku received a ten-member Philippine Educator's Goodwill Mission to the Republic of China headed by Dr. Benito F. Reyes, president of the City University of Manila, June 20 at his Chapter. In addition to a briefing on the development of WACL and APACL, Dr. Ku arranged a symposium between the distinguished visitors and Chinese authoritative experts on Chinese Communist affairs. At the symposium, counter measures against Communism and prevention of Communist aggression in Southeast Asia were touched. The conclusion was reached that the most important task in the course of anti-Communism is to have the younger generation rise up against the evil thought of Communism and organize themselves more actively as a strong anti-Communist mass organization.

The goodwill mission which was organized by presidents and directors of various Philippine universities flew in to Taipei June 17 at the invitation of the Chinese government for a 10-day visit.

STEPPING UP PREPARATIONS FOR WACL/APACL CONFERENCES

Osami Kuboki, president of the International Federation for Victory over Communism and vice president of the WACL/APACL Japan Chapter, called on Dr. Ku June 15. It was understood that Kuboki exchanged views with Dr. Ku and his key personnel twice on June 15 and 16 respectively. All problems in connection with the forthcoming WACL/APACL Conferences including letters of invitation, chairmen of the Conferences, fund raising, hotel accommodations, publicity program, convocation of WYACL conference, proposed list of participants site for WACL Secretariat, and theme for WACL/APACL Conferences were discussed. Kuboki's trip to Taipei is considered beneficial to the step-up of preparations for the forthcoming WACL/APACL Conferences.

DR. KU'S VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

At the invitation of Speaker Lee Hyu Sang of the Korean National Assembly, Dr. Ku heading an eight-member Chinese Congressmen's Goodwill Mission to Republic of Korea, left Taipei for Seoul June 23. Members of the Mission included Dr. Ku and Secretary-General Kuo Cheng from the National As-

sembly, members of the Legislative Yuan Wang Jen-yan and Shen Lin-yun, members of the Control Yuan Ma Jui-ching and Chou Pai-lien and two secretaries Tan Ying, deputy secretary-general of WACL/APACL China Chapter and Hsu Fu-teh, secretary of the National Assembly and concurrently director of the Public Relations Department, China Chapter.

During their stay in Korea, Dr. Ku and his mission members have called on high ranking officials of the government of the Republic of Korea, leaders of the Korean National Assembly, and met with presidents of international anti-Communist organizations and overseas Chinese leaders for exchange of views on Asia and world situation, and promoting democratic reconstruction and anti-Communist cooperation between the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China.

The Mission was reportedly making visits to Korean military installations. Dr. Ku wound up his visit and returned to Taipei June 28 by way of Japan.

THE NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE, USA IN ANNUAL ACTION FOR WORLD FREEDOM

(By Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky)

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Delegates to the Fourth Conference of the World Anti-Communist League, it is my privilege again to report concisely and essentially on the concrete annual action taken by the U.S. National Captive Nations Committee for world freedom—in Asia, Eastern Europe and Cuba. As in the many years past, it is our policy here not to dwell on ideological rhetoric and theoretic abstractions, but rather to highlight in an essentialist operational framework the major and specific deeds of NCNC and its affiliate members toward the grand and consummate objective of world freedom, eternally rid of the cancer of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and so-called Communist imperialism.

Also as in the past, words in themselves are inadequate to express fully and completely our profoundest gratitude to the Japanese Chapter of WACL for making this historic conference in Japan possible. It is assuredly no note of societal flattery in one case or slight in other cases to state that Japan and its dedicated people is conferred by sheer economic power and industry to assume the critical responsibility of insuring freedom in Asia as these requisites have imposed a similar politico-moral responsibility on my country to insure freedom in other parts of our world. The remarkable work of the Japanese Chapter is a solid step toward this politico-moral responsibility, and we pay overwhelmingly tribute to its historic performance.

Despite the over-publicized troubles we have in the United States, NCNC has maintained a steady course in pointing to the most basic realities of the world situation that substantially have not changed these past three decades. Many see ever-present change of a Heraclitean form in transient superficialities and have shown themselves to be blind to the conditional, permanent structure of the Red Empire, with its some 27 captive nations. The prime objective of NCNC in this period has been, and is, to maintain the level of sobriety and realism concerning this structure, and we have no doubt that the time will come when from this current objective we shall move to one of operational goals directed at the liberation and freedom of the captive nations. On this score, the spiritual and moral resources of my country are boundless, and only require the emergence of a situation of critical confrontation with the main enemy to be tapped into an explosive force. At that time, the superficial problems of the present will be viewed as so many societal winds.

It has been in this interpretative context that this past year NCNC has realized the following accomplishments and activities:

(1) The vertiable privilege of having addressed the Third WACL Conference in Bangkok, Thailand on the subject of "Enslaved Peoples Under Communism" was quickly capitalized in its publication by a number of widely circulating periodicals and organs. The address and major documents of the Conference were published in the U.S. *Congressional Record* of February 5. In the following months, the address was also published in the *WACL Bulletin*, the *ABN Correspondence*, the *Ukrainian Bulletin* and other publications. This diverse publication led to numerous inquiries about WACL and several engagements for lectures and addresses.

(2) Prior to the Third WACL Conference we managed to have another Congressional resolution passed, calling for the printing of 10,000 copies of the official book which we compiled and edited under the title of *The Captive Nations Week Movement*. At the beginning of this year the widest distribution was given to this informative book in the United States, the U.N., and the world capitals. Through the auspices of NCNC many of you present here received a copy of this work. The reaction to this background work was most salutary and interesting.

(3) As in all previous years, NCNC supported the celebration of Freedom Day by the Republic of China. The important January 23 event was observed by inspired messages, American representation in Taipei, and publication of the event's activities and addresses in the U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang received most deserving tribute for his leadership in this vital political observance.

(4) Concurrent with these operations, NCNC propagated immediately after the Third WACL Conference the strategic concept of Asianization, Not Vietnamization, of the Indo-China war. Long before the Cambodian development, we advanced this concept on December 10, 1969 in a lecture to the U.S. Army Mobilization Group at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The head of this group is the Honorable Bryce Harlow, a close aide to President Nixon. In Miami, Florida, this was further discussed over the Alan Courtney show over NBC's WIOD on December 23 and 30. Following Cambodia, it was refreshingly re-discussed over the same show on May 27. It was also argued on a panel consisting of the Honorable John R. Rarick and two Department of State representatives on March 12 over the Georgetown University TV-Radio Forum. In addition, lectures were delivered on the subject during the spring before Republican Women's clubs, Lions International and others. And the February 15 issue of the Miami periodical *Insight Into The News* carried an article on the subject by me, which the Honorable E. Ross Adair of Indiana and high-ranking Member of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee introduced into the *Congressional Record* on August 14, with remarks as its foresight and perspective.

(5) Conveying the spirit and sentiments of WACL, NCNC was a main participant in the formation of the American Council for World Freedom. The week-end formative conference on February 27–March 1 was a milestone in the direction of a WACL chapter in the U.S. At this conference and a subsequent executive board meeting on June 1, NCNC consistently upheld this necessary direction and shall persistently work for its consummation in cooperation with all other responsible American anti-communist groups.

(6) In the course of these many months, NCNC has steadfastly upheld the actions of President Nixon in Vietnam, Cambodia, and against the myopic isolationist elements in the U.S. By direct messages, releases and consultations NCNC's record on this score is clear and unequivocally supporting. At a State dinner in the White House on August 4, honoring President Mobutu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it was my privilege to reassure President Nixon of our complete support of his policy in Asia and our hopes for a developed Asianization program designed to secure all of non-communist Asia and liberate its communist portions.

(7) Throughout the year and to the very present, NCNC has gained the support of numerous American legislators for the objectives and actions of WACL. As a measure of this, material bearing on WACL's Freedom Academy in Korea, the Third Conference in Bangkok, the observance of Captive Nations Week in Asia and other activities have been prominently featured in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is truly remarkable the responses, both favorable and hostile, that are precipitated in the U.S. and even beyond through this official publication.

(8) With President Nixon's urging the ratification of the Genocide Convention by the U.S. Senate, NCNC participated on April 27 in hearings on this issue before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On May 14, the Honorable Edward J. Derwinski introduced NCNC's testimony in favor of the convention into the *Congressional Record*. Here, as in many other spheres, the U.S. has lagged behind other countries in politically and morally preventing the most heinous of crimes that Mao Tse-tung, the Russian imperio-colonialists and other Red totalitarians have callously indulged in. The importance of this U.N. convention for all of our countries cannot be too strongly emphasized.

(9) In mid-spring of this year NCNC embarked on another educational and informational project with a world-wide distribution of the Congressional reprint "Captive Nations in the 70's." With the material support of one of its member organizations, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, NCNC had this piece reprinted from the April 20th *Congressional Record* and over 5,000 copies were sent to opinion-makers in the U.S. and abroad. Here, too, many of you received this reprint which spells out clearly the strategic importance of the captive nations in Eastern Europe, the USSR, Asia and Cuba to the world struggle against the Red regimes.

(10) Following this, and as in all previous years since July, 1959, NCNC launched upon preparations for the usual nation-wide observance of the 1970 Captive Nations Week. These preparations, extending from requests to the White House down to guidance of local committees and groups throughout our broad country, are time-consuming and costly. In the long run of our struggle, they are crucially important. Despite the changing political climates in the U.S., every President since the Eisenhower Administration eleven years ago has issued a Presidential Proclamation of the Week. And when Dr. Henry A. Kissinger stated in a letter to NCNC on July 2 that "I can assure you . . . of the President's personal interest in the Proclamation and that it will be issued shortly," we in NCNC were reassured of the prudent and fundamental course being pursued by our Government.

(11) Under the guidance of NCNC the 1970 Captive Nations Week Observance in the U.S. realized reasonable success. The President issued a well-worded Proclamation, and as always the response in Congress was enthusiastic. On July 15, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack paid special tribute NCNC in these words:

"A special tribute is in order, I feel, to the National Captive Nations Committee of Washington, D.C, who for 12 years have spearheaded this annual observance of Captive Nations Week."

In New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans and many other cities the observance was well conducted. The NCNC Chairman was with Mayor Sam Yorty in the Los Angeles observance. In Washington, D.C. a special lecture was delivered on the captive nations by the Honorable Edward J. Derwinski at Georgetown University. The *Congressional Record* for July and August is replete with published material on the 1970 Week. Also, Congressman Philip Crane of Illinois represented NCNC at the Week's observance in the Republic of China, which on record is the finest anywhere.

(12) Strongly relevant to critical problems in the Sino-Russian rift, the democratic reconstitution of Asia, the Middle East and Central/Eastern Europe, the issue of the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR has been of concentrated interest to NCNC. It is supporting, among many interrelated matters, H. Res. 979 in the U.S. Congress dealing with Ukraine, the largest captive non-Russian nation in the USSR as well as in Eastern Europe. Similar efforts are being directed at the U.S. Senate. The strategic importance of these captive nations in the USSR cannot be overly stressed, for they bear on the power of Moscow and its world-wide exercise, as seen, for example, in the Russian rape of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

(13) The educational undertaking of NCNC for the creation of a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations in the U.S. Congress continues unabated. This objective was widely expressed during the 1970 Captive Nations Week observances. It has also been repeatedly written about and broadly circulated. Starting with the 1970 Captive Nations Week, a signature campaign has been under way for the establishment of this crucial committee. With the Congressional races in November, the issue will be pressed in districts about the country and should be of considerable importance come the next Congress in 1971. NCNC keeps abreast of every aspect and development of this.

(14) Albeit of indirect significance, a measure in the U.S. Congress which should be of considerable interest to both the peoples in the Free World as well as those in the Red Empire is the Ethnic Studies Centers bill. NCNC has also concentrated its efforts on the passage of this bill so that Americans generally will become more sympathetically familiar with the traditions, customs and aspirations of the peoples of the world. In the United States every national and racial strain is representative—this is the uniqueness and historical experiment of mankind in America—and these contemplated ethnic studies centers, starting from the secondary schools upward, would bring a greater and more appreciative understanding and feeling of the cultures and wants of the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere on our common globe. Because of its foreign policy implications as well as purely cultural purposes that incidentally would lighten the burden of every Ambassador in Washington, NCNC submitted testimony on March 25 to the U.S. House Subcommittee on Education in full favor of this vital measure. It has also used its facilities to educate popular favor of the bill. This is a continuing action aimed at fruitful success in the period ahead.

(15) And, with the invaluable assistance of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, an organizational member of NCNC, we are preparing for wide distribution of the new book written by the chairman under the title of *USA and the Soviet Myth*. The introduction to the work is provided by the Honorable William G. Bray of Indiana, who is a high-ranking Member of the U.S. House Armed Services Committee. The book presents an unusual structure of world power politics that affects the interests of every country represented here. Due for publication this fall, NCNC is presently preparing for its world-wide distribution far beyond what it set for the chairman's earlier publication on *The Vulnerable Russians* in 1967.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, these are the highlights of NCNC's performance in the struggle against Red totalitarian imperialism throughout the world. Moscow's strategic psycho-political policy of "peaceful coexistence" is reaping the benefits of time, military-technologic catch-up, and subversive incursions on all continents for the Red Empire. Those in official or private circles who are not aware of this subtle development are really, one must regretfully admit, playing into Moscow's hands. We in NCNC are certain without an iota of doubt that this deceptive policy by the Russians will exceed itself at some point when the full importance of the captive nations for the survival of the Free World will be thoroughly and completely realized. Our fervent prayer is that this realization will prevail before an otherwise inevitable confrontation emerges between the Free World and the Red Empire. In short, to prevent this otherwise inevitable outcome, with its unpredictable results, NCNC will continue to advance a concept and operational scheme designed both to deepen the insecurity of the Red Empire and to advance the borders of world freedom both in Asia and Eastern Europe. It will do so in concrete deed, not just by rhetoric. By concentrating on the captive nations in toto—in Asia, in the USSR, in Eastern Europe, in Latin America—we sincerely feel that the greatest catalyst for mobilizing the forces of world freedom is in the freedom of the captive nations. What so-called revolutionary, in the Free World bearded or otherwise, could possibly profess a higher idealism than this!

CITY OF BUFFALO, OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the aggressive and overtly hostile policies of Russian and Chinese Communists have led to subjugation and enslavement of a large number of once free and independent nations; and

Whereas, ample proof exists that these unwilling captives are desiring liberty and independence from their captors and have proven, time and time again, their dissatisfaction with their fate; and

Whereas, the powerful deterrent these nations constitute with their passive as well as active resistance by checking and hampering the grandiose ambitions of the Communist imperialists has been recognized by many experts; and

Whereas, the United States is committed to defend freedom and peace with justice all over the world because by such stand the preservation of our own hard-won freedom is being guaranteed; and

Whereas, the freedom aspiring peoples of the Captive Nations know that the United States is the stronghold of human decency with a deep dedication toward helping others to achieve a sovereign life and is willing to aid others at a great cost to her as shown in Vietnam; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86–90 establishing the third week of July of each year as Captive Nations Week, urging the citizens of our great country to observe said week with appropriate prayers, activities and rallies and expressing their moral support for the just aspirations of captive peoples to attain a full measure of freedom and independence.

Now, therefore, I, Frank A. Sedita, Mayor of the City of Buffalo, do hereby proclaim July 12–18, 1970 as "Captive Nations Week" and call upon the citizens of Buffalo to join with their fellow citizens in observing this week with appropriate prayers for the deliverance of the oppressed and subjugated nations the world over.

FRANK A. SEDITA,
Mayor of Buffalo.

CONGRESS EXTENDS THE LIFE OF THE "DELTA QUEEN"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the Congress has realized the special circumstances pertaining to the historic riverboat *Delta Queen* and that it has decided to extend the operating life of this vessel by 3 years, until November 1973. The legislation that passed December 17, 1970, will permit it to operate while a replacement is being built, and will give Congress time to decide how to assist in saving one of the last symbols of the bygone era.

The victory of the *Delta Queen* has been a victory for the people, for sentiment, and for history. Whenever I talk with the residents of the river communities I am impressed by the intensity of their desire to preserve the majestic *Queen*. It symbolizes for them a colorful and proud history of stirring achievement and obstacles overcome, and a good life in a fertile and plentiful land. They identify with the *Delta Queen*, and it gives to them a sense of continuity with things past.

We cannot, and should not, escape history. And this country needs every symbol it can muster of the rich heritage of our past. Often when we think of history, we think of the history of the Nation, its heroes, its grand documents, sweeping principles, its wars. But, in a less grand and yet deeper sense, there is the history which focuses on things closer to us. The *Delta Queen* reminds those of us from the river communities of the roots of our experience. It contributes in an enjoyable and pleasant way to our better understanding of the early days, and it enriches us by emphasizing our connections with the past.

The law that retired this vessel on November 2 of this year was enacted in 1966 following a pair of disastrous ship fires in the Atlantic Ocean. The legislation, perhaps inadvertently, was broad enough to encompass passenger vessels carrying overnight passengers on our inland rivers. For the purpose of safety standards, the *Queen* was placed in the same category as deep-draft vessels traveling on the high seas. These standards forbid any ship to operate which carries more than 50 overnight passengers if it is not built entirely out of steel. The *Delta Queen*, with its steel hull, but wooden superstructure, has received two exemptions from this prohibition, the last one of which expired in November.

The plight of the *Queen* became a national issue months before the expiration date of her exemption. The "save the *Queen*" movement was centered in the States along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers that have been served by this vessel. In my own congressional district, six

counties of which border the Ohio River in Indiana, scores of residents had expressed to me their desire that the *Queen* be allowed to continue to operate. I recall one letter that was typical of the people's sentiment. The writer said:

> You're not old enough to have enjoyed the old stern wheel boats but to us older folks there's nothing like them.

This sentiment has been echoed by over 196 editorials appearing in 147 newspapers across the country. This represents 134 cities in 31 States, many of which are not along the rivers the *Queen* plies. Moreover, there have been over 20 separate bills introduced in the House that would totally exempt the *Queen* from the applicable safety restrictions.

These indications of support for the *Delta Queen* are completely warranted. As one well-known devotee of the Mississippi River commented: "When the last steamboat, the *Delta Queen*, is gone America will never be quite the same."

The *Queen* wins friends wherever she goes. Children, adults, boaters, fishermen, and even motorists turn from whatever they are doing to watch the huge, red paddlewheel churn the river, pushing the boat at a leisurely 10 miles an hour. "Leisurely," along with "historic," are the two adjectives that befit the *Queen*. She reminds us of days when journeys were not so swift, when there was no desire just to get from one place to another by the fastest means possible, and when there was time for contemplation and reflection.

In the words of a contemporary poet of the river:

> Slow? Sure, I guess she's slow;
> (Like a white swan all apreen.)
> If you must be always on the go
> Don't ride the *Delta Queen*.
> No, not the *Delta Queen*.

The *Queen* conjures up visions of Mark Twain, of the delightful comic opera "Showboat" and tunes like "Old Man River." She has a calliope, standard equipment for a paddlewheeler, that squeaks out such tunes as "Camptown Races" and "Alexander's Ragtime Band." She has become so famous that a picture of her appears at each State roadside park in Ohio and she is the No. 1 tourist attraction in her home port, Cincinnati, and has been for nearly half a century.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to see this Congress vote for history and sentiment and a bit of drama, and vote to permit the *Queen* to operate. I am confident she will preserve her untarnished safety record of 44 years of operation without a loss of a single life. The Coast Guard has year after year granted her a license to operate. The *Queen* this year alone has had one general inspection and three quarterly inspections of safety equipment by the Coast Guard, passing all four.

Safety requirements are needed for oceangoing vessels that are not essential for boats that are navigated on inland waters. The dangers that the two face are vastly different, the speeds at which they travel are not the same, and the distance they operate from shore is not the same. The *Delta Queen* travels only on rivers. The waters in which she travels are no deeper at their deepest point than her middle deck. She is never more than a few hundred yards from shore, and, should an emergency arise, all the captain need to do would be to hit the rudder and she could be beached probably before the lifeboats reached the water. Unlike ocean liners, her staterooms open directly onto outside decks and there are no long enclosed corridors where passengers or crewmembers could be trapped.

Mr. Speaker, the *Delta Queen* is the most luxurious paddlewheel passenger boat ever built, and also the safest. Every compartment and public room is equipped with automatic sprinklers and other safety devices such as fire extinguishers, fire hydrants, fire alarms, and emergency tools that are strategically located throughout the vessel.

To have forbidden the *Delta Queen* to continue to operate because of her failure to adhere to safety restrictions designed for ocean liners would have been most unfortunate. The Congress, in its wisdom, has permitted future passengers on this historic vessel to make the words of poet John Dyer, written two and a half centuries ago, come to life:

> And see the rivers how they run
> Through wood and mead, in shade and sun,
> Sometimes swift, sometimes slow,
> Wave succeding wave, they go
> A various journey to the deep. . . .

FAREWELL TO THE 91ST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS) is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, the Greeks had a word for it. So did the Romans. Senator Cicero, worn out by baffling problems of his day, the strike on the Alpine Rapid Transit, the hold-up of the old Etruscan National Bank & Trust Co., the muggings in broad daylight on the Appian Way, the hijacking on the Aegean Sea, and the like, stood up in the Senate and cried out: "O Tempora! O Mores'." Which, being interpreted roughly, means: "Why does not Congress quit and go home, and give the country a rest?"

It would not be quite true that the people blamed the Roman legislative assembly for the disorders that plagued the country in the fading days of the Republic. Nor would it be true that the American people charge the Congress with the evils of our time. It is only that there is an ardent search for some governmental force or policy which would bring back the peace and prosperity we all desire. It is a search for a scapegoat. And Congress, being a large and therefore amorphous body, easily wins the nomination! "There ought to be a law."

Unfortunately, laws are words. Unfortunately also, the troubles of our time do not yield to words, just as they did not yield to words in the Roman times. Nor is it certain that they would yield to deeds. Deeds indeed are passionately urged on one hand in our times. On the other hand, they are as passionately opposed as being likely to aggravate our troubles rather than dissolve them.

Caught in the whirling winds of uncertainty, our Government as a whole has tended to follow a middle course, satisfying neither those who espouse strong action nor those who would do nothing. And the Congress has given its sanction in the legislation it has passed. A beginning has been made on the colossal job of controlling the evils which hang so ominously over us. The brakes have been applied, but not so suddenly as to wreck the social machinery.

The question that concerns us today is: Are we really getting our social and political problems under control?

The evidence exists more in the form of trends than in strong movements in one direction or the other. Such as: Active fighting in Southeast Asia slackens somewhat; tension in the Middle East takes the form of talking rather than shooting; violence in our colleges and universities meets with increasing public condemnation; enforcement of criminal law is bolstered; industrial conflict in two major instances has been avoided or brought to a settlement clothed with some degree of reason; welfare and housing programs move forward along logical lines.

These trends follow the general character of the legislation the 91st Congress has been able to pass. It is unnecessary to itemize that legislation here. The public is tired of hearing about it. Some criticism can be made of every bill that has been passed. It is not perfect. It is only a beginning. It is possibly experimental. But it can hardly be questioned that it works, at least temporarily. Talking is better than violent action.

Referring again to Cicero and his times, we are reminded that the Romans took a different course. The extremists on both sides resorted to direct action. Dictator Julius Caesar gave way to Emperor Caesar Augustus, to Nero, to the long line of tyrants. Then darkness settled over all of Europe and the night of civilization reigned for half a thousand years.

With us, the light still shines. Changing the metaphor, the house of our society has been shaken, but not moved from its foundations. It is habitable, and capable of being restored to its earlier peace and tranquility.

In effect, the Nation endorsed this view of the situation at the November elections. The 92d Congress that will convene in January 1971 will be made up largely by those who served in the 91st. There will be 55 new Members of the House, or about 13 percent, and 11 new Senators, or 11 percent. But the replacements do not necessarily indicate dissatisfaction with the old Members. Some of these did not seek reelection for various reasons. Some were candidates for other offices. The Nation seemed to say, as a general rule: "It is better to stick to experience." The incumbents are entitled to take some pride in the result.

In a few days the constitutional life of the 91st will expire. It is time to look forward, rather than backward. The record of the 91st is written. Those of us who struggled to find a way through the perplexities and frustrations in which we have been entangled look back on it with a measure of satisfaction. The only ones who designate the 91st as a "do

nothing" Congress or as an irresponsible one are those who were not faced with the task of reconciling widely divergent opinions and interests. Nevertheless, in lieu of examining the work of the 91st in detail, it seems more profitable to consider what will probably face us in the 92d.

One holdover from the 91st says: "The 92d Congress will have as its major business the unfinished business of the 91st Congress." Another points more definitely to our objective: "We are coming to a time for a reordering of our priorities, when the needs of security must be balanced with the needs of the people."

Using the latter statement as a guide, we can foresee the questions that the Nation will be asking, and for which we must find an answer. Here are some of them:

How much money are we going to spend—can we afford to spend? What new taxes, if any, must we levy? Shall we turn some of our national tax receipts over to the States to spend as they see fit, or shall we keep a firm grip on the use of all appropriations? What shall we do about the big subject we call "foreign aid?" Can we control inflation by methods presently in use, or do we need more stringent measures? What reshaping of our programs for welfare and for health insurance is practicable? Can we control pollution without strangling our industries? What is the proper Federal role in the attack on crime and violence? What can the Federal Government do to provide better housing? How can we restore confidence in government reports of its operations and in industry claims about its products?

The public must be involved in the decisions that are made, in the decisions that will take the form of laws. All of us, the people for whom laws are made as well as the lawmakers, should be prepared to consider problems with reason rather than with prejudice or bias. Neither the lawmakers nor the public should work in the dark. Both should know what the other is thinking before thought is crystallized in law, and while there is still time to choose the best and most promising course.

Hopefully, this is the way we shall take up our task when the new Congress begins. We need your wisdom. We solicit it. There will still be differences of opinion to iron out. Hence there must be tolerance to add to wisdom. When another new year begins to roll in, may we all find ourselves far along the way to a solution of our major problems of state.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ENFORCE POLLUTION CONTROL LAWS: WEAK AND INADEQUATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on December 9, 1970, Mr. William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the new Environmental Protection Agency notified the mayors of Detroit, Cleveland, and Atlanta that their municipal operations were discharging effluent into interstate waterways in "violation of the established State and Federal water quality standards," and that hearings would be held next month "to outline the pollution problem and to ascertain what appropriate remedial action may be taken on a voluntary basis."

On December 18, 1970, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, at a press briefing, commended Mr. Ruckelshaus for "the aggressive manner" in which he "has taken hold of this new agency." The Attorney General then announced two suits against the Armco Steel Corp. and the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. for discharging cyanides into our waterways. Both suits were brought under the 1899 Refuse Act. He also announced the establishment of a Pollution Control Section in the Justice Department, staffed with nine lawyers, to handle these and similar cases.

Where water quality standards, including implementation plans and schedules, are violated, EPA should act swiftly to enforce them, whether the violator be an industrial or municipal polluter. Similarly, where a polluter has failed to obtain a Corps of Engineers permit under the 1899 Refuse Act, the corps and the Justice Department should act to enforce the law.

I am concerned that the administration, in its pollution control effort, has not developed a meaningful program of full enforcement of our pollution control laws. Let us examine the situation.

Mr. Ruckelshauss' announcement that he had just issued 180-day notices under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act was certainly dramatic. He spoke before the mayors of our cities, including the mayors of these three cities.

Nearly a month earlier the Regional Director of the Federal Water Quality Administration wired Washington, in the case of Atlanta:

> Atlanta has consistently and continually dragged its feet in providing adequate treatment. Its lack of basic commitment was manifest last week when aldermanic board refused to take action needed rate increases. Alderman quotes such as "Let them sue us." "Will they put us all in jail?" And we've had deadlines before." All attest to this lack and the basic attitude of Atlanta officials.
>
> If Atlanta is not challenged now we may expect delays by all other governmental and industrial bodies under jurisdiction of the Upper Chattahoochee enforcement conference. This will effectively halt cleanup of this important river. Further delay now is unconscionable.

Interestingly, there have already been two hearings or conferences to enforce the law in regard to the Chattahoochee River and its tributaries. The first was held in July 1966.

Section 10(e) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act states:

> (e) If the Secretary believes, upon the conclusion of the conference or thereafter, that effective progress toward abatement of such pollution is not being made and that the health or welfare of any person is being endangered, he shall recommend to the appropriate State water pollution control agency that it take necessary remedial action. The Secretary shall allow at least six months from the date he makes such recommendations for the taking of such recommended action.

Upon conclusion of the 1966 conference, the conferees and the Secretary of the Interior adopted the following conclusions and recommendations:

> 1. The Chattahoochee River is an interstate stream forming part of the border between Alabama and Georgia.
>
> 2. The Chattahoochee River between Atlanta, Georgia, and Fort Gaines, Georgia, is polluted due to discharges of wastes from municipalities, industries, and the discharge of oxygen-deficient waters from impoundments including hydro-electric and navigation operations.
>
> 3. Water of high quality is required for many present and future uses of the Chattahoochee River, including public water supply; the propagation of fish, aquatic and wild life; and recreation, including swimming, boating, fishing and other water-contact activities.
>
> 4. For the most part, action taken to date by municipalities and industries has not been sufficient to control pollution of the Chattahoochee River.
>
> 5. The installation of adequate remedial facilities has been delayed because of the complex nature of the municipal and industrial waste treatment problems.
>
> 6. All municipalities and others discharging domestic wastes shall provide treatment sufficient to protect the above enumerated water uses. This will mean the minimum installation of secondary treatment with adequate disinfection of the effluent where indicated. Industries shall install comparable remedial facilities for industrial waste discharges.
>
> 7. All necessary remedial facilities to control pollution of that portion of the Chattahoochee River covered by this conference shall be completed and in operation on or before July 1, 1971. The State water pollution control agencies of Alabama and Georgia shall require all those responsible for water pollution within the area covered by the conference to submit, within the area covered by the conference to submit, within 12 months, a time schedule including completion of plans and specifications, arranging of financing and awarding of contracts; to insure that the July 1, 1971, deadline is met.

Section 10(f) of the FWPC Act provides that if, at the end of the 6-month period established for remedial action, "such remedial action has not been taken or action, which in the judgment of the Secretary is reasonably calculated to secure abatement of such pollution has not been taken, the Secretary shall call a public hearing, to be held in or near one or more of the places where the discharge or discharges causing or contributing to such pollution originated, before a hearing board of five or more persons appointed by the Secretary."

If the board finds "pollution is occurring and effective progress toward abatement thereof is not being made it shall make recommendations" and the Secretary shall give the polluters at least 6 months to abate the pollution. If action is not taken in that time, he may request the Attorney General to sue on behalf of the United States to abate the pollution.

To date no such public hearing has been called by the Secretary, despite the mandate of the law.

Instead, on February 17, 1970, nearly 3 years later, the first conference was reconvened. At this conference, the conferees and the Secretary concluded and recommended:

1. Within thirty days after notification by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration or appropriate State water pollution control agency to the municipalities and industries concerned, such municipalities and industries shall notify their appropriate State water pollution control agency giving assurances that they will meet the requirements of the conference and indicating the date such requirements will be met.

It is understood that this means all municipalities and others discharging domestic waste provide a minimum of secondary treatment with adequate disinfection of the effluent where appropriate. Industries shall install comparable remedial facilities for industrial waste discharges. All necessary remedial facilities to cover pollution of that portion of the Chattahoochee River covered by this conference shall be completed and in operation on or before July 1, 1971.

2. As soon as possible after this thirty-day date has expired, representatives of the State water pollution control agencies of Alabama and Georgia and the U.S. Department of the Interior shall meet to determine acceptability of compliance and, where appropriate, recommend further action be taken to assure abatement of pollution.

If nearly 3 years had not elapsed between these conferences, we might by now have achieved the desired pollution control. At the very least, the Government might have long ago instituted an abatement suit. This would have been the second suit in the history of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. The first involved the city of St. Joseph, Mo., 14 years ago.

Instead of enforcing the law, the Federal Water Quality Administration has simply traded time for persuasion. FWQA has been reluctant to go beyond the conference stage, despite repeated failures by the polluters to comply with the conference recommendations.

Now FWQA, through EPA, has begun a new procedure of enforcement of the Water Quality Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–234), which provides for the establishment and enforcement of water quality standards. Atlanta has been given notice that at the end of 180 days and after an informal hearing EPA might bring a suit to enforce these standards.

But I am skeptical. EPA will use this hearing to persuade, as was done by FWQA several months ago in the case of Toledo. EPA will gain a new agreement, probably with new deadlines, and then will wait. Atlanta will continue to pollute.

Meanwhile, what about the industrial polluters of the Chattahoochee conference area? According to data supplied to the House Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources last June, not one of them has a Corps of Engineers permit under the 1899 act. Yet, Mr. Ruckelhaus did not announce to the mayors, and the Attorney General did not announce to the press, that EPA, the corps, or the Justice Department was instituting suits against these industrial polluters.

As a matter of fact, the history of enforcement of the 1899 act by those agencies is spotty. No plan exists that we know of which would lead us to conclude that the law will be fully enforced.

The corps wants to enforce the act. It announced, last July 30, 1970, a policy of full enforcement of the 1899 law. But only 3 days before, the Justice Department's Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Shiro Kashiwa, who will supervise the new Pollution Control Section, wrote to the Conservation Foundation that such a permit program would not "be an effective way to abate pollution." Since then, the administration, through the Council on Environmental Quality, has been debating the merits of the corps' program and trying to reconcile the two views. The delay has meant that EPA will enforce the law against Atlanta, but not against the industrial polluters along the Chattahoochee.

The administration has used the 1899 law against the continuing dischargers who pour mercury or cyanide into our waterways, but not against those who pollute our waterways continuously with other wastes. The horrendous discharges which are in the public limelight do not escape prosecution under the 1899 law within the framework of the negative policy of the Justice Department, but the less public dischargers which daily violate the law are given new life under Justice's policy.

It is time for the administration to develop and utilize an evenhanded policy of enforcement. It is not enough to enforce the law against the cities which pollute our waters, and to ignore the industrial polluters of these same waters.

Further, even as to the cities, the administration must do more to meet Federal commitments to help them construct the waste treatment facilities which they desperately need to comply with the law. We all know the story. In 1966, we told the States and municipalities to go ahead and accelerate their waste treatment works, and the Federal Government would provide $3.45 billion over the next 5 years. Some States and cities acted on this promise and others waited to see if the funds would, in fact, come. Not until fiscal year 1970 did funds come in meaningful amounts, over administration objections. In that year, the Congress appropriated $800 million for this program.

For this fiscal year—1971—the Congress has authorized $1,250,000,000. The administration did not ask for this sum. Rather, it sought to abandon the grant program altogether, at a time when significant funds were finally being appropriated as a start toward redeeming past pledges, and to substitute a contract program. The Congress, however, refused to fling aside the grant program, and continued it with a $1 billion appropriation.

The seriousness of our past failures to fund this program is amply demonstrated by EPA's recent action against Cleveland, Detroit, and Atlanta. Each of these cities has undertaken substantial financial commitments to improve and expand waste treatment facilities to comply with Federal and State water quality standards. But the Federal contribution toward this effort by these three cities represent a little more than 10 percent of the total cost of this endeavor.

Since May 1968, projects costing about $200 million have been initiated by these three cities. Each is eligible to receive up to 50 percent of this cost in Federal grants. According to EPA's own figures, they received grants totaling slightly more than $18 million for these projects or less than 10 percent of the total project costs.

Detroit and Atlanta are seeking to build more waste treatment facilities at an estimated cost, according to EPA, of about $80 million, of which the Federal Government will provide less than 10 percent, or $9 million.

How many municipalities have a similar problem? Mr. Ruckelshaus has said he is looking at 100 more such cases. Faced with the requirements of Federal and State water quality standards, each city, like industry, must act promptly to comply with those standards if we are to improve our environment measurably in this decade. They could meet these standards if the Federal Government delivered on its promises. But the Federal Government has failed.

In 1966, we hailed the passage of the Clean Water Restoration Act (Public Law 89–753), which unshackled the Federal water pollution control program from the unrealistically low dollar limitations on grants to cities, and offered an opportunity for larger cities, like Detroit, Cleveland, and Atlanta, to participate in 30, 40, or 50 percent grants, depending on certain conditions. But few, if any, large cities, or even small ones, have received in even the 30 percent category. This is because the Federal funding of this program has been inadequate, and the backlog of needed projects in each State has been great.

The time is long overdue for the administration to develop an overall pollution control program that is effective.

FATE OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include a letter from the President of the United States.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned about the fate of social security legislation in view of the impasse in the Senate. In response to my query, the President has informed me by letter that if the social security bill is not enacted in this session of the Congress, he will resubmit the legislation to the 92d Congress with a request that it be made retroactive to January 1, 1971. The President has not given up hope that the Senate will act on social security before adjournment, but he wanted us to have this reassurance. The President's letter follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., December 22, 1970.

HON. GERALD R. FORD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JERRY: In response to your question about my attitude toward the Social Security legislation now stalled in the Senate, be assured that I favor quick enactment.

Some Senators contend that Social Security legislation cannot be salvaged in this Senate unless welfare reform, appropriations bills and other vital measures are sacrificed. I am not yet willing to concede the Senate's

indifference or impotence. I have urged the Senate to bring to vote all of this important work that lies before it. There is still plenty of time to do what is necessary before January 3.

Should the Senate be unable or unwilling to adopt these vital measures by then, I will resubmit the Social Security benefit increases and welfare reform along with the other key bills that remain unenacted. And I will propose that the Social Security increases be retroactive in their effect to January 1, 1971, so that no Social Security recipient is harmed by the Senate's failure to act.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

AMERICAN PRISONERS VERSUS THIEU AND KY

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on this 22d day of December 1970, it is clear to all that the President's Indochina policies are bankrupt. They point not to peace, but to an endless, and perhaps wider, war.

The Vietnamization program is more and more evidently a method of keeping the war going, rather than a device for ending it. The President threatens to resume the bombing of North Vietnam, thus heightening east-west tensions and giving to Uncle Sam once again a brutal face, and there is no talk of a scheduled and complete American withdrawal.

What this means is that the American prisoners will continue indefinitely their existence of death in life behind the bars of North Vietnamese jails. For so long as the fighting goes on, and so long as there is no commitment for a total American troop withdrawal, there is no way that the administration can secure the release of these unfortunate men.

The administration apparently acted in recognition of that fact when it launched the desperate November 21 raid, risking the lives of brave men in a fruitless attempt to rescue some of the prisoners. Quite obviously now, any further raids will be bound to fail, because Hanoi will keep their American prisoner-hostages on the move and in small groups. And a large-scale invasion is out of the question for many reasons—and would probably result in the death of the prisoners anyway.

Yet it is clear that President Nixon could secure the release of the prisoners if he were determined to do so. It might be enough for him to set a date for total American withdrawal—as recent statements from Hanoi have suggested. At most he would have to agree also to an interim government in South Vietnam, pending internationally supervised elections, that would include representatives of all groups, but not General Thieu and Ky.

These are essentially the terms the other side has set for a negotiated settlement, and they are far milder than the impossible demands of Hanoi and the NLF a few years ago.

But the administration refuses to agree to either step and mulishly repeats and repeats—contrary to fact—that the other side has been intransigent and has shown no interest in negotiating.

The ugly conclusion is inescapable: the Nixon administration considers it more important to go on propping up Generals Thieu and Ky, so that they can stay in power, than it does to end the killing and free our long-suffering American prisoners.

DeGaulle is remembered and honored for his statesmanlike acceptance of the inevitable in Algeria, undertaken in spite of long-standing commitments to thousands of "colons." President Nixon could make a similar place for himself in the history books, by demonstrating the same kind of courage.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON VOTING

(Mr. MIZELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to comment on yesterday's decision by the Supreme Court, upholding the right of Congress to enfranchise 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds to vote in Federal elections.

On April 24 of this year, I made public my belief that the voting age should in fact be lowered to 18. At that time, I said:

> I personally have all the confidence in the world in the ability of our young people to pass judgment on themselves and on the world that surrounds them.

I stated that the 18-year-olds of Georgia and Kentucky, the 19-year-olds of Alaska, and the 20-year-olds of Hawaii were no better and no worse equipped to assume the responsibility of participating in the democratic process than their counterparts in North Carolina.

I still hold firmly to that belief, and in that respect I was gratified by the Supreme Court's decision of yesterday.

But I hold as firmly the belief that this was not the best nor the correct means of enfranchising 11 million young people.

I have stated on several occasions that the way to see this reform enacted is by the constitutional amendment process. The Supreme Court has upheld, by the slimmest of margins, the right of the Congress to give the vote to 18-year-olds in Federal elections only.

By that same margin, the Court denied Congress the right to enfranchise these young people in State and local elections.

As a result, administrative chaos has been visited on hundreds of local election commissions, which are now faced with the task of compiling dual registration roles and perhaps even setting up two separate kinds of voting apparatus, one to accommodate voters over 21 years of age and another to serve those under 21.

Had the issue been resolved by constitutional amendment, requiring the concurrence of three-fourths of the States, there would not have been this towering inconsistency. Instead, there would have been a uniform resolution of the matter, arrived at with the participation of both Federal and State Governments, as the Constitution explicitly directs.

The matter is not closed yet, and it will probably still be alive in the election year beginning less than 13 months from now.

But for now, I am pleased that the 18-year-olds of North Carolina will have the right and the responsibility to have a voice in selecting their government. I am sure my confidence in them will be borne out as they exercise their new right.

TRADE BILL OF 1970

(Mr. MIZELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call my colleagues' attention to a deplorable condition which has developed in the U.S. Senate.

The textile bill, for whose passage so many of us labored for so long a time, lies paralyzed in that body with no apparent hope for relief during the lifetime of this Congress.

While the Members of the Senate have argued semantics for the better part of 2 years, on a wide variety of inconsequential issues, thousands upon thousands of textile jobs have been lost throughout this Nation.

The House has taken appropriate remedial action at long last, but it now appears all our efforts were in vain. The legislation which would have assured a large measure of relief from the blight of textile unemployment languishes hopelessly under a mountain of unfinished business which has all but buried our colleagues in the Senate.

During the Senate's debate on the recently vetoed manpower bill, the hue and cry went up about doing something constructive about the unemployment problem in this country. The Senate at first decided the way to solve that problem was to create thousands of public jobs, at a cost of billions of tax dollars. Yesterday, they reversed that decision by upholding the President's veto, and still the problem of unemployment begs for an answer.

The essence of the trade bill of 1970 was to provide a constructive means of providing, through the private sector, protection for thousands of jobs, at much less cost to the American taxpayer.

The Senate has apparently decided to abandon that proposal, and debate instead the relative merits of whether or not $210 million should be spent on a supersonic transport, whose construction will involve another 150,000 jobs. More than $800 million has already been spent on that project, and now that the light can be seen at the end of the tunnel, some Senators are strongly in favor of aborting the whole project, letting those thousands of jobs go to foreign manufacturers and relinquishing our leadership role in aviation.

It appears extremely paradoxical to me that the Senate claims to be up in arms over the unemployment problem, when they consistently refuse to enact, or even consider, realistic solutions to the problem.

Apparently this is the case, however,

and the Senate must bear full responsibility for the rising tide of unemployment if it refuses to comply with the will of this House, the request of the administration, and the desire of the people.

I urge that body to weigh the gravity and the inconsistency of this situation, and set upon a course of action that will lead to resolution of the unemployment crisis in the textile industry and a relief to the unemployment problem of the Nation at large. Time is not on the side of the Senate, nor is the electorate.

NEWSPAPER REPORTER'S INVESTIGATION MERITS A PULITZER PRIZE

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, a crusading newspaperwoman, Mary Perot Nichols deserves a Pulitzer Prize for a series of articles authored by her which appeared in the Village Voice. Those articles describe corruption on the waterfront of the city of New York. As a result of those articles the waterfront commission recently determined that a conflict of interest existed on the part of Anthony Scotto, a union leader who was found to have—in violation of the law—an undisclosed business interest with one of the companies licensed to do business on the waterfront.

I have written to the Honorable James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, on a number of occasions inquiring as to what action would be taken by the Department of Labor. My most recent letter to him of December 8 remains unanswered. I have ascertained from the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor that a copy of its findings in this matter was delivered to the U.S. Department of Labor.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD the articles of Mary Perot Nichols as well as the correspondence which I have had with the U.S. Department of Labor:

[From the Village Voice, Sept. 11, 1969]

THE MAYOR FACES LIFE: STUDY IN SOPHISTICATION

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

I'm tired of double-standard liberals. And I'm especially tired of double-standard liberals and radicals who piously proclaim that they don't believe in guilt by association in assessing public figures when, in fact, they do. In last week's Voice Nat Hentoff wrote a letter to the editor which brought this fit of acute ennui upon me.

Hentoff attacked Congressman Edward Koch for referring "blithely to the 'Scotto involvement'" with Mayor Lindsay. "On the basis of what acts (as contrasted with FBI charts' and John Mitchell releases)?" Hentoff asks and then adds, "That's some civil libertarian example our Congressman sets for the 17th C.D."

It's too bad that Hentoff didn't check the facts on Scotto himself before he made this attack, because if he did, he would have found that Koch was rightly concerned about the matter. On August 21 the New York Times published the FBI list of New York Mafia families. The list included the name of Anthony Scotto, president of the powerful Brooklyn Local 1814 of the International Longshoremen's Association as a "capodecima" (captain of 10) in the Carlo Gambino Mafia family.

Scotto is not only a founder of the Independent Party—created July 31 to give Mayor Lindsay an independent line on the voting machine—but he is listed on the nominating petition of that party as a member of the Committee on Vacancies.

Now what Nat Hentoff attempts to do is pooh-pooh the FBI Mafia family list by attacking its origin, which was from the office of Attorney General John Mitchell. (Guilt by association, Nat?) But what he doesn't do is make any independent check on whether the FBI list might have some truth to it. This is what Hentoff should have done, and this is what Mayor Lindsay should have had done for him before he got mixed up with Scotto. Granted the FBI list was released after the Mayor became politically identified with Scotto—but there was ample material on the record before the list was made public.

Hentoff could have found out what it was, as I did, in a few hours of telephoning. There was, for example, an article by Milton Lewis in the World-Journal-Tribune of October 10, 1966. (Lewis is an extremely reputable reporter, now with Channel 7's "Eyewitness News.") Lewis reported that on July 29 of that year, Anthony Scotto, in the company of Anthony Anastasio, president of Local 1716 of the ILA, paid a visit "to the Utica home of Joe Falcone, who was a delegate to the infamous underworld 1957 meeting of about 60 Dons at Apalachia, New York." The purpose of the visit to Falcone, the Mafia boss of Utica, was so that "Anastasio could enlist the aid of Falcone in a Supreme Court family suit."

Why, even Scotto believes in "guilt by association," Nat. In denying to Lewis that he went to visit Falcone, he said, "I wouldn't know Joe Falcone if I fell over him. I feel I'm sophisticated enough not to be with the wrong people."

Add to what's on the record the fact that Scotto's rise to head of the Brooklyn waterfront was somewhat meteoric for such a young man. Scotto was the son-in-law of Anthony ("Tough Tony") Anastasio, brother of the infamous head of Murder, Inc., who was murdered in a barbershop in 1957. Could it be that Scotto's connections had something to do with his career opportunities, Nat? And when you are taken care of in such a significant way, don't you have a certain debt to those who have helped you?

Now, the thing that bothers me about Hentoff's position is that if Mario Procaccino had put Tony Scotto on *his* ballot, and Koch had said he was concerned with Procaccino's "Scotto involvement," Hentoff would not have said one word. In fact, Hentoff would probably have just said to himself, 'Aha! I knew all along that guy was in with the Mafia." If I'm being unfair to you, Nat, don't hesitate to speak up.

One reason I know Hentoff has a double standard for those who annoy him politically and those who are his political heroes is that when John Lindsay committed the extraordinary civil-liberties gaffe of denying George Wallace the right to rent Shea Stadium during last year's election, Hentoff didn't carry on at all. If you said anything in any publication I missed, Nat, please send it to me and I will apologize.

There is more that Lindsay's people could have found out about Scotto before getting the Mayor involved with him, and if you insist, Nat, I will publish one item a week about it from now to election day.

But let's get down to the real issue. The real issue is not one of civil liberties. A man with Scotto's connections has no civil liberties claim to being made a political associate of the Mayor of the City of New York. Quite the contrary, the Mayor—or *any* public official, for that matter—has the obligation to stay away from anyone about whom there is good evidence of a tie-up with the Mafia. The Mayor should be just as "sophisticated" as Scotto claims he is. If you disagree, Nat, let our readers know.

What worries you, Nat, also worries me: that is that Mario Procaccino might become the mayor of New York City. But it should also worry you, as it does me, that the Lindsay forces are too goddam stupid to win this election. If the Mayor wants to retrieve this situation, he should publicly tell Scotto to get out of his campaign and out of his life and he should fire whoever was responsible for clearing Scotto in the first place. Otherwise, one can only conclude that he learned nothing from the Marcus scandal.

Secondly, the Mayor should get some people around him who have some brains and political savvy. A Brooklyn politician I know (who is violently anti-Lindsay) told me he believed that "Scotto was planted on Lindsay by the Procaccino people so Lindsay couldn't make Procaccino out to be the Mafia candidate." It certainly does make it difficult for those who would like to fight Procaccino to comment on the people around him when the answer could be, "Well; what about the people around Lindsay?"

All of us, liberal or non-liberal, judge political candidates by the baggage they are likely to bring with them into office. We all want to know, before we cast our votes, who is likely to influence our candidates' decisions when they get into office. I am repelled by Procaccino's early association in this campaign with the big real estate crowd. (Abraham Lindenbaum and William Zeckendorf) that is trying to kill middle- and low-income housing for the West Village and substitute luxury skyscrapers. Anybody would be who has followed "Bunny" Lindenbaum's career over the years—he left the City Planning Commission rapidly after a fund-raising scandal in the Wagner 1961 election campaign. I also find it significant that Congressman John Rarick of Louisiana—who split from the Democrats and endorsed George Wallace last fall—is enthusiastic about Procaccino.

You aren't saying that I shouldn't be concerned, are you, Nat? By the way, what are you saying?

[From the Village Voice, Sept. 26, 1969]

RIPOSTE TO HENTOFF: THE MAFIA! WHAT'S THAT?

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

Nat Hentoff sees no "proof" that Anthony Scotto, boss of the most powerful local of the International Longshoremen's Union, "is connected with the Mafia" (Voice, September 18). Apparently Scotto's visit to the mob boss of Utica a couple of years ago was insufficient to demonstrate his connections (Voice, September 11). Well what "proof" did we have that Carlo Gambino or Frank Costello were members of the Mafia? Yet I don't believe even "the last Puritan" (Hentoff's description), John Vliet Lindsay, would have put either of these two men on the Committee on Vacancies of his Independent Party, do you, Nat?

But first, let's get back to the one thing you and Congressman Ed Koch agree on. You both are disturbed by the Mayor's continued involvement with Manhattan Republican County Leader Vincent Albano. There is no question that Albano was the political fixer who pressured former Water Commissioner James Marcus on behalf of a Mafia-connected firm. Yet, had you, Nat, seen the Mayor on television this Sunday (CBS "Newsmakers") you would have been even more disturbed.

New York Times reporter Marty Tolchin asked Lindsay: "Mr. Mayor: the Federal Court of Appeals decision upholding the conviction of Jim Marcus called Vince Albano, the Manhattan Republican leader, the sinister figure who weaved the web which screens government officials and the underworld and the man who introduced Fried to

Marcus. This man has always been a political supporter of yours and, I understand, is a campaign aide now. How do you explain that? I'm speaking of Albano."

And the Mayor replied: "I had not received the impression that there was language that was that strong by any means at all." Then the Mayor went on to obfuscate about an earlier report on Albano and the Marcus case by Judge Bruce Bromley.

Now, for God's sake! The close paraphrase of what Judge Harold Medina had said about Albano and the other shady figures in the Marcus case appeared on the front page of the New York Times on July 9, 1969. Even if the Mayor didn't take the time to read the Medina decision, he doesn't ordinarily exhibit such a bad memory of information printed in the Times. But apparently Mayor Lindsay thinks he can get away with the Big Cover-Up on TV since so few people follow news stories with attention.

The Big Cover-Up is a harsh phrase, which I wouldn't have used had not Mayor Lindsay also attempted to cover up the earlier Bromley semi-whitewash of Albano by claiming it "confirmed the personal and political integrity of" Albano. As the Times then commented (November 30, 1968), "The Mayor may have been proving his loyalty to an old friend but, as a man of impeccable ethics himself, he wasn't doing much to promote a higher sense of ethics in the public service."

I was slightly unfair to you in my last article in one respect, Nat. I charged that you had not been critical of the Mayor for his "extraordinary civil liberties gaffe" in denying George Wallace the use of Shea Stadium. You cite your compaign biography of Mayor Lindsay in your defense. Yes, on page 343 you write "Congressman Lindsay would have immediately and repeatedly attacked Mayor Lindsay for having refused Shea Stadium to George Wallace." But did *you* "immediately and repeatedly" attack the Mayor in your newspaper column when it might have done more good, or did you wait almost a year to bury it between hard covers? Still, I apologize for saying you'd never criticized the Mayor in this issue.

But to get back to Scotto, the man Mayor Lindsay referred to as one of "New York's most distinguished citizens" when he announced his Independent Party on July 31. Less than a month later, the New York Times published a headline on its front page: "Scotto Is Called Captain in Mafia." The subhead read "ILA Officer Denies Charge—Lindsay Praises Him."

I had been informed that Scotto was proposed to the Mayor for the Independent Party by Victor Gotbaum, a most respectable labor leader, so that the Mayor could, unwittingly, have made a mistake.

Gotbaum admitted to me the other day that had he known the FBI list naming Scotto as a capodecima in the Carlo Gambino family was coming out the following month, he certainly wouldn't have proposed him. Gotbaum says he is a good friend of Scotto and that Scotto is a progressive labor leader. But Gotbaum has his own fish to fry in New York City's labor power struggles and admits he didn't really probe deeply into Scotto's past and present before the Times published the Mafia list—or after either.

But for the Mayor to come out with an endorsement of Scotto in the Times on the very day the list was published is certainly folly. He could have said, "I was shocked at what I read in the Times and I am checking into it," period. Instead, he permitted his spokesman to say, "The Mayor has had no information about the allegations reported in the Congressional Record, but it has been the city's experience over the past three and a half years that, under the leadership of Mr. Scotto, his union has engaged in numerous projects for the benefit of the working people of the city and especially the dramatic revitalization of the Brooklyn waterfront." Revitalized, indeed! By the Mafia! (See later references to a Life magazine article on the Mafia's waterfront activities.)

That was August 21, and presumably in the ensuing weeks, the Mayor could have informed himself on whether there was anything to the report that Scotto was, indeed, involved with the Mafia. Yet last Thursday, I asked the Mayor's press secretary, Tom Morgan, whether the Mayor had anything further to say on the subject since that Times story and Morgan replied: "The Mayor stands on his previous statement." Asked whether the Mayor had checked any further on Scotto with law enforcement agencies, Morgan said firmly, "No comment."

So let's review what the Mayor could have found if he'd done a little checking around.

For example, he could have checked with the Waterfront Commission, where it has been a subject of comment at the staff level that the Mayor has not sent his Commissioner of Investigation hotfooting over to see them.

Let's start with Scotto's suspicious beginnings. He married Marion Anastasio, daughter of "Tough Tony" Anastasio (brother of Albert of the barbership and Murder, Inc.), a member of the Carlo Gambino Mafia family which controlled the Brooklyn ILA union. Now let's assume Scotto was a nice clean young college guy who wanted to build a new kind of union and not become a hood like his father-in-law. So he had a wedding reception at the Hotel Plaza on Saturday, June 1, 1957, that was a little Appalachian convention! Scotto, his father-in-law-to-be, and a third person believed to be Albert Anastasio (soon to be murdered in a barbershop) made the arrangements themselves with Mr. Clyde Harris, sales director of the Plaza. Scotto, however, picked up the tab for the wedding, and, one assumes, could have had a strong say on the guest list.

Among the more notorious of the underworld characters on the guest list were: Carlo Gambino, Joe Colozzo, and Joe Pitts. We already know who Gambino is, but who are Colozzo and Pitts? To quote Life magazine's comprehensive article on "The Mob" (September 8, 1967). "Until now, Joe Colozzo had been just another of Tony Anastasio's gangsters in the Brooklyn longshoremen's union. Now he was Gambino's strongman—and Tony was suddenly nothing. That was the way it was in the Brooklyn ILA in 1957. That, according to the experts, is still the way it is today—regardless of recurrent publicity about a 'new look' on the seamy waterfront."

And who is Joe Pitts? His real name is Dominick Petito. A Daily News story by Joseph Martin, Lee Silver, and Kermit Jaediker on the "Cosa Nostra Over the Waterfront" (April 6, 1964) describes Pitts as "a heavy-lidded, barrel-chested hood with a penchant for expensive silk shirts . . . Pitts was described in McClellan Committee evidence as a member, somewhat lesser in importance than Colozzo, of the Gambino gang."

The Daily News notes that "at the McClellan hearings the New York police listed the suspected extra-curricular activities of those two ILA officers as follows: "Colozzo—labor racketeering, shylocking and bookmaking. Pitts—labor racketeering and shylocking."

Fortunately for later historians, the Scotto wedding reception was attended also by members of the Central Investigation Bureau and detectives from the Manhattan West Detective Bureau and the United States Treasury Department.

After "Tough Tony's" death in 1963 (of natural causes), young Scotto, who married into the family (with a small and a large F) was jumped over other top ILA officials, to his father-in-law's position in the union. Obviously someone had already indicated to the Mafia that Scotto wouldn't interfere with their control of the powerful Brooklyn local. Thereafter, Scotto went to work creating a great liberal p. r. image for himself while Mafia business went on as usual on the docks. He sucked up to a lot of public officials, even got himself to the White House with a group of Brooklyn elected officials, and was introduced to Senator Robert Kennedy.

It's interesting to note that one of those who sold Scotto to Robert Kennedy as an okay guy was Dom Peluso, a former Daily News reporter and now the $30,000 executive assistant to City Council President Francis X. Smith. Peluso has been on Scotto's payroll for years at $9000 or more per annum, ostensibly for legal assistance, but close observers think that what Peluso was really doing for Scotto was p. r. and Peluso is one of the best p. r. men in the business. He practically created the image of Frank Smith when Smith succeeded Frank O'Connor as Council president this year.

It's interesting to note too that Peluso hates Lindsay like poison and used to complain to his friends that O'Connor had no instinct for the jugular and refused to aim some of the barbs at Lindsay that Peluso penned for him. My questions about Peluso being on Scotto's payroll have caused a certain amount of consternation in Smith's office. The Council President denies any knowledge that Peluso was being paid by Scotto's union, even though I ran this information in "Runnin' Scared" earlier this summer (Voice, June 12). And Jim O'Donnell, Smith's press secretary, informed me last week that according to Peluso, the last check he got from Scotto's local was in 1967. If Peluso said that, he's lying. He's been on Scotto's payroll right through this year.

Peluso had another interesting occupation. He was, and may still be, the public relations director of the American Italian Anti-Defamation League, Inc., a group which has some unrespectable backers. Scotto was an officer of that charming group which was so odoriferous that Frank Sinatra, a guy with Mafia friends himself, couldn't wait to get out of it. In fact, when Sinatra came out for Lindsay this year, the American Italian Anti-Defamation League attacked him. Of the American Italian Anti-Defamation League, one Italian legislator said to me, "I took one look in the newspapers at who was at their first affair and boy, was I glad I didn't go." He noted that a number of his friends, innocently, had been roped in until they found out about it also. At that first event, a Madison Square Garden rally, the chief speaker was one Mario Procaccino. (The organization also had an anti-Semitic twist which is too complicated to go into here.) One final note about Peluso: he's still a close adviser of Procaccino. And to wind up that whole connection, Anthony Scotto, a founder of the Anti-Defamation group, also sweetened the primary pot of Procaccino's strongest organizational backer, Moe Weinstein of Queens, this spring.

What is the significance of the Scotto-Peluso connection? Well, while Scotto openly plays the reform game and cons people into thinking he's a great liberal, which puts him into the company of such respectables as Professor Dan Collins of New York University and Eleanor Clark French, both leaders of the New Democratic Coalition and founders of the Mayor's Independent Party, he is secretly playing the same old game under the table.

A Sicilian I know, who grew up in the Village and who has fought the Mafia all his adult life, said the following to me last week: "I never liked Ed Koch but he had the courage to say what he did about the Mayor and Scotto and I'm going to send him $50 in his next campaign."

The Sicilian is not the only anti-Mafia Italian around, Nat. There are thousands of them and they are going to support the mayoralty candidacy of State Senator John

Marchi. Marchi is the only candidate to date who has challenged his opponents to debate on the subject of organized crime, a challenge to which the media and press have paid very little attention.

On September 5, Marchi proposed a debate "devoted solely to the issue: what do the candidates propose to do about organized crime and Mafia operations in our city." Marchi further proposed "as a format to the debate on organized crime, that representatives of the media familiar with this issue serve as moderators and questioners of the three candidates in order that the problem be thoroughly discussed and explored." Marchi stepped up his request for a debate this Sunday on the Citizens Union "Searchlight" program and I would suspect he will continue to press on it.

What do you bet, Nat, that Lindsay and Procaccino keep on ducking this debate? One would have thought, after the Times dropped that bombshell on Scotto, and reidentified him as a member of the Committee on Vacancies in Lindsay's Independent Party, that they would have assigned the very able Mafia expert Charles Grutzner to follow through on the story.

How Lindsay's association with Scotto has apparently saved Scotto from this should be worrisome to a watchdog or the press.

In conclusion, I just want to point out what it is that is so bad about what Lindsay has done. He has given his respectability to the unrespectable (Albano and Scotto). By doing this, he encourages other public officials in his administration to think, without further checking, that Scotto and Albano are respectable and thus provides the kindling for a dozen more Marcus cases.

What does it matter how progressive or liberal Scotto is, if there is good reason to believe he still is close to the Mafia? The Mafia represent a perverted form of capitalism. It exacts its tribute from us all in the form of higher prices and shoddy goods forced on supermarket shelves by strong-arm methods (see the Life issue referred to above). But the highest tribute of all is that which the Mafia exacts from the ghettos. Mafia-distributed heroin destroys ghetto children and the Mafia-controlled numbers racket siphons millions of dollars out of the slums.

In the past week, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm has been trying to tell the Mayor something about organized crime and police corruption in her area—Bedford-Stuyvesant—but he doesn't seem to want to listen.

If Mayor Lindsay wants to play Billy Budd, he should go on the stage. But if he wants to be a friend of the underclasses in this city, he should be careful not to give responsibility to their oppressors. We should expect that the Mayor have at least the care in selecting his associates that we demand a mere football player.

If you want to go another round, Nat, I'm ready to outline the relationships of Scotto and the ILA with Vincent Albano and some of Scotto's other business enterprises that clearly show he is not a labor leader in the Walter Reuther tradition. But if you are a real friend of the Mayor, Nat, I would think you would prefer me to concentrate on Mario Procaccino for the next few weeks.

[From the Village Voice, Jan. 14, 1970]

MAFIA ON THE WATERFRONT: WHO'S KEEPING THE LID ON?

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

Various assorted "new politics" liberals were quite shocked when the New York Times reported in August that the name of Anthony Scotto appeared on the FBI list of Mafia families as a member of Carlo Gambino's tribe. They were shocked because Scotto has enjoyed a liberal public image as president of the powerful Brooklyn Local 1814 of the International Longshoremen's Association, and because Mayor Lindsay had only a few weeks earlier announced Scotto as a founder of his new Independent Party for re-election and as a member of his Committee on Vacancies in that party.

Scotto's reputation had already been sullied by articles in Life magazine about the power of organized crime on the Brooklyn waterfront in 1967 and by a story by Milton Lewis (now on Channel 7's "Eyewitness News") in the World-Journal-Tribune in 1966. The Lewis story reported that Scotto, in the company of Anthony Anastasio, president of Local 1716 of the ILA, had paid a visit for help in a personal matter to the Mafia chief of Utica, Joe Falcone. At the time, Scotto denied to Lewis that he had made the trip, and said, "I wouldn't know Joe Falcone if I fell over him. I feel I'm sophisticated enough not to be with the wrong people." (See The Voice articles of September 11 and 25, 1969, on this subject.)

At any rate, the naming of Scotto as an alleged capodecima in the Gambino family did not come as a surprise to a number of Mafia-watching newspaper reporters or to law enforcement officials. In September, when I was writing those Voice articles about Scotto, I learned of an unusual secret hearing before the Port of New York Waterfront Commission the previous fall in which a waterfront carpenter had sworn that Scotto had tried to recruit him into the Gambino family. The Waterfront Commission case, which goes by the innocuous name of the Romano-Crivello hearing, also established that Scotto did indeed make the visit to Falcone.

Along with others watching the situation, I had expected the Waterfront Commission to have concluded its determination on the Romano-Crivello hearing by now. But a determination in the case would make the minutes of the hearing, which are politically hot stuff, available to the press. The foot-dragging on the case is coming, according to reliable sources, not from the New Jersey commissioner, Stephen Bercik, but from the New York one, Joseph Kaitz. Bercik is a tough anti-Mafia lawyer who has received the Mafia seal of disapproval. In the De Cavalcante tapes, a labor union "biggie" in New Jersey assured "Sam the Plumber" De Cavalcante that Bercik, who had been defeated for re-election as mayor of Elizabeth, would never get to be prosecutor of Union County. And he didn't. But, unfortunately for the Mafia, Bercik did get appointed later, by Governor Richard Hughes, to the Waterfront Commission.

Kaitz is a Republican Party wheelhorse who was appointed to the Commission in 1962 by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. He was known as "Walter Mahoney's boy" (Mahoney was the former majority leader of the State Senate) and was for some years in the insurance business with Mahoney. If the Crivello-Romano case remains suppressed, it may come to haunt Governor Rockefeller in the upcoming gubernatorial campaign where the subject of organized crime is expected to be a big issue.

What is it that the Waterfront Commission has been sitting on for well over a year? First, there is the detailed, sworn testimony of one Salvatore Passalacqua, formerly head cooper at Pier 1 at the Brooklyn Port Authority. Passalacqua says that Gasparo Romano, a union hiring agent, not only pressured him to join the Gambino family, but, on a Sunday in July of 1965, actually invited him to a meeting at the union office with Carlo Gambino, Anthony Scotto, Joe Colozzo (one of Gambino's strong men, according to Life magazine), and various Scotto or Gambino relatives and others.

Passalacqua testified that there, in a large room, across a table loaded with food and drink, he was issued a formal invitation by Colozzo, and seconded by Scotto, to join Gambino's family. In September, after Passalacqua made it clear he wasn't joining the family, he claims he was fired on a trumped-up charge that he left his post at the pier without permission. Passalacqua claims he had permission to leave to sharpen a saw.

Now the Passalacqua testimony was only the word of one man over others, but the fact that two defense witnesses, including one New York City official, tripped all over their stories in trying to discredit Passalacqua's, gives his story considerable credibility. The New York City official's testimony should be read carefully by the city's Department of Investigation because it was to him that Passalacqua originally went for help when he lost his job. In fact, this official did get Passalacqua a job for a time through Scotto at the Brooklyn Army Terminal. One might speculate that if Passalacqua had been such a bum on his original job, he would not have been given another one on the waterfront, unless it was hoped to silence him.

The second important revelation in the Crivello-Romano hearings was testimony by former State Police Sergeant Edgar D. Croswell, presently the city's Deputy Commissioner of Sanitation. (Croswell, then an upstate police sergeant, unveiled the famous 1957 underworld convention at Apalachin.) Croswell testified to the Waterfront Commission that Scotto and Anastasio had visited Falcone, who had been a delegate to the Apalachin convention. There was other testimony to the same effect which I would think was irrefutable but which will have to come out when and if the hearing minutes are made public.

Oddly enough, late Friday afternoon while I was still checking into all the above, I received an unsolicited phone call from one Anthony Scotto. He called me ostensibly because I had mentioned him in a Voice story the week before, but he seemed remarkably unsurprised about what I was working on. (Could there be a leak to him at the Waterfront Commission?) He even speculated as to my source, whom he claimed was a Villager who "had an obsession about him." The fact is there has been a lot of chattering about this case not only among law enforcement officials but among legislators because Passalacqua also testified a few months later at the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime headed by Senator John H. Hughes of Syracuse. The Waterfront Commission hearings, although closed to the press, were attended by other law enforcement officials.

Scotto then made a comment, which The Voice lawyer says may be libelous, on the state of Passalacqua's mental health. What could Passalacqua's motives have been? Scotto answered, "This is about the third story he concocted about me. . . . I got his job back for him three or four times. . . . He got fired. He's a disgruntled worker."

Scotto said Passalacqua's story had been discredited by a packet of information he had presented to the Hughes Committee. I promised to see Scotto's lawyer and inspect the information this week. The Hughes Committee took its testimony in executive session and it is not yet open to the press.

The ILA leader also claimed that the Waterfront Commission hearing officer had refused to take testimony from a witness who would have pledged that Passalacqua had tried to shake him down.

I asked Scotto why, if it weren't true, a man like Passalacqua would want to make a career out of testifying about something that he might get killed for saying. Said Scotto, "I think he really believes it. That's why he makes such a good witness."

Then Scotto proffered the thought that if he were the Mafia chieftain Passalacqua was claiming he was, what Passalacqua was doing "wasn't exactly normal" in that he was risking his life and limb. There are people, I suggested, who simply have to tell the truth no matter what kind of trouble it gets them

into. I asked him if he'd seen the movie "Z" where there was another carpenter who just might be like Passalacqua. Scotto said he hadn't but promised that he would go see the movie.

There still remains the second problem—whether or not Scotto went to see Falcone. I told Scotto of Croswell's testimony, Scotto's answer: "I've testified before the grand jury in the Eastern District on that." Well, I said, if your testimony before the Eastern District grand jury exonerates you on that charge, would you sign a letter to the United States Attorney there requesting that I be allowed to see your testimony? Scotto's answer: "No."

The talk turned to Scotto's listing as a Mafia capodecima on the FBI list. I asked why he didn't make efforts to get his name off. "I know it's not true," said Scotto, "I'm not going to run around for the rest of my life being psyched by that. There are plenty of articles around saying I'm a knight in shining armor but I'm not that either." He also said, "If my name was O'Malley, I wouldn't be on there." I couldn't resist saying that a man named O'Malley would hardly have been named a capodecima by any Mafia family.

The Waterfront Commission was set up in 1953 to try to shake the hold of organized crime on the waterfront of the New York port. The exceptional delay in the Crivello-Romano case raises serious questions. Perhaps it's time for some superior law enforcement agency—or a Congressional committee—to look into just how effective the Commission has been against organized crime.

[From the Village Voice, Jan. 29, 1970]

CAN THE MAFIA WORK MIRACLES?

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

When you can hire Mafiosi and your labor troubles end, when you can't win a court suit over your children's custody but a Mafia chieftain can intervene and you get them back anyway—"how do all these miracles happen?" That was the disingenuous question put by Ralph Salerno, one of the country's leading consultants on the Mafia.

We were discussing the fact, now established on the record, that Brooklyn ILA leaders Anthony Scotto and Anthony "Toto" Anastasio did pay a visit in 1967 to Joe Falcone, the Mafia Chief of Utica, to get his help in a children's custody case. What the judicial system could not do for Anastasio, Falcone was miraculously able to accomplish.

Last week, I wrote about the Romano-Crivello case which the Waterfront Commission had been acting on for more than a year because (I believe) of implications in the case for one of the Northeast's most powerful Labor leaders, Anthony Scotto. Lo and behold, a few days after I began questioning the Commission on the case, and the day after the Voice appeared on the newsstands, the Waterfront Commission made its decision. For the first time in its 16-year history, the New York and New Jersey commissioners split in their opinions. One commissioner, Joseph Kaitz of New York, felt that a waterfront carpenter, Salvatore Passalacqua, was lying when he said he was invited to join the Carlo Gambino family by Gambino, Gaspar Romano (one of the defendants in the Waterfront Commission case), and Anthony Scotto at a meeting in the ILA union hall in 1965. The New Jersey Commissioner, Stephen A. Bercik, was just as convinced that Passalacqua was telling the truth.

I will not attempt to analyze the way the two commissioners arrived at their differing opinions. There are 2000 pages of testimony to read before I can do that. But one of the important links to the Mafia revealed in the testimony tends to make Passalacqua's story more believable. That is the Scotto-Anastasio trip to Utica, which both of them, heretofore, have publicly denied.

Anastasio was the nephew of the late "Tough Tony" Anastasio, Scotto's father-in-law, and the nephew as well of Albert Anastasio, of barbershop fame, who headed the infamous Murder Incorporated. His late wife's mother in Utica was trying to hang on to "Toto's" children, claiming that "Toto" was not a fit father. In spite of some splendid character references by former Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron Koota and from Criminal Court Judge Ross J. Di Lorenzo, "Toto" still failed to get the court to give him custody. It was after he reached this impasse that "Toto" and Scotto went to a higher authority.

Under questioning by the Waterfront Commission's assistant counsel, Anthony Piazza, here's what Anastasio said.

Anastasio: "Your Honor, I had a custody case. My children were in Utica. They were taken care of there by a grandmother through my first wife. Being I was living in New York—when I asked this woman that I am ready to take my children back to New York, she said, 'I am trying to get my children to stay with me.' And we had to go to court. I lived in Utica for five or six years. When I heard this, I said I'd do everything in my power to get them back. If the devil lived in Utica, I would go to see him. This is the reason I went to Mr. Falcone. He was not a friend of mine. He was a friend of my in-laws, Your Honor. That is why, if the devil lived in Utica and he could help, I would go to see him."

Piazza: "Who did you go with when you went to Utica, Mr. Anastasio?"

Anastasio: "Anthony Scotto, to see if he could talk some sense into the woman. Not to go to court and create a scene. This is the reason I went to Anthony Scotto. Anthony Scotto went to see my ex-mother-in-law."

Piazza: "Mr. Anthony Scotto went with you to this woman?"

Anastasio: "I went to see Mrs. Moletta. But I didn't go there with the idea to see Mr. Falcone."

Piazza: "Did you and Anthony Scotto go to see Mr. Falcone?"

Anastasio: "When I went to see——"

Piazza: "Did you go with Mr. Scotto when you went to see Mr. Falcone?"

Anastasio: "I was forced to see Mr. Falcone."

There is some more back and forth and finally Anastasio admits, "Yes, I went to see Mr. Falcone with Mr. Scotto."

Unfortunately for Scotto and Anastasio, Falcone was under surveillance (perhaps Scotto and Anastasio were also) because he had been an attendee of the Apalachin Mafia convention. Anastasio probably knew this, which is why he didn't dare lie under oath before the Waterfront Commission.

Apparently the devil did live in Utica, because "Toto" did get the kids back. The court papers in Utica on this case are sealed, because the old lady is said to have said some very nasty things about Anastasio in her fight to keep the kids away from him.

Why is this important? Because it established Scotto's relationship to the Mafia in sworn testimony for the first time. The FBI list of Mafia chieftains in New York published last August on the front page of the New York Times, lists Scotto as a capodecima in the Carlo Gambino family. But a lot of people don't trust the FBI.

Now, those who don't accept the FBI list will have to ask themselves: could they, could any of us, not connected to the Mafia, run up to pay the Mafia chief a visit and get him to do such a favor?

This is only the beginning of the can of worms the Romano-Crivello case has opened up. As this story develops it will become clear that New Jersey is not the only place where the Mafia owns public officials.

[From the Village Voice, Feb. 12, 1970]

TELL THE TRUTH AND PAY THE PRICE

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

Salvatore Passalacqua is a stubborn, proud, brave old man who believes in truth *and* justice. He is the waterfront carpenter who had the guts to open his mouth about a meeting he attended with Cosa Nostra boss Carlo Gambino and Brooklyn International Longshoremen's Association leader Anthony Scotto.

But Salvatore Passalasqua has learned, the hard way, that the voice of truth is not justice. The voice of truth is the turning away from him of law enforcement officials, the government, the Cosa Nostra, and his union, and a marked disinterest in his story by the city's press. And the loss of a $12,000 steady job as a foreman proper on the piers. An object lesson to all those who might want to talk in the future to law enforcement officials about the Cosa Nostra;

I have met Passalacqua and interviewed him for hours on several occasions. I have read the nearly 2,000 pages of testimony and exhibits in hearings before the Waterfront Commission on this story. I have also seen the results of a lie detector test which Passalacqua took voluntarily on March 30, 1967, from one of the best polygraphists in the business, Richard O. Arthur. And I believe Passalacqua's story.

I am not the only one who believes Passalacqua. There are law enforcement officials who believe him as well. One believer is Anthony Piazza, the former assistant counsel to the Waterfront Commission who tried the case in which he was involved, known formally as the Crivello-Romano case. Ralph Salerno, who has interviewed him and seen him testify before the Hughes Committee, believes his story of the Gambino meeting. Stephen A. Bercik, the waterfront commissioner from New Jersey, who was listed in the De Cavalcante tapes as someone the Cosa Nostra did not want to see become prosecutor of Hudson County, New Jersey, also believes Passalacqua.

In the recently, absolutely unprecedented split decision of the Waterfront Commission in the Crivello-Romano case, Bercik, an attorney, wrote in his opinion, "Commission's witness, Salvatore Passalacqua, has been a witness in a truly adversary proceeding where all of the rights, due process demands, and more, have been afforded the respondents. He withstood intensive and exhaustive cross-examination by able counsel and his testimony, in my opinion, is unimpeached."

Bercik went on to say: "It is my opinion that Gaspar Romano"—one of the defendants in the case and a union hiring agent—"by his association with the criminal Cosa Nostra family of the infamous Carlo Gambino has here attempted to thwart the legislature's intent by his deliberate acts in maintaining and fostering gangster control. But for the courage of a single witness, Salvatore Passalacqua, this web of criminal domination might have gone undetected."

Salvatore Passalacqua lives in a modest two-family house in Brooklyn. He used to live closer to the piers, but after he opened his mouth about Gambino, the waterfront neighborhood he lived in didn't seem exactly healthy. In fact, his life is still in danger, if the Cosa Nostra wants revenge. But it is too late to stop him from saying his piece. He has already done that.

It is interesting to note that both waterfront commissioners, Bercik, and Joseph Kaitz * * * testimony correct. He testified that Gaspar Romano, the hiring agent on Pier 1 where he worked in Brooklyn, and Thomas J. Crivello, a longshoreman, forced a middle-aged cooper named Francesco Pinto, a man with a sick wife and family to support, out of his job to give preference to Crivello's 19-year-old son, Peter. The Waterfront Commission unanimously found that

Crivello, acting in concert with ILA delegates Michael Porta and Anthony Pimpinella, persuaded Romano to fire Pinto for the benefit of Crivello, junior.

But to believe the other part of Passalacqua's story, and to stand up and say it, is politically hot stuff. Because, except for the testimony of Joseph Valachi, this is the most important eye-witness account extant of the involvement of one of the most important labor leaders in the Northeastern United States, Anthony Scotto.

According to Passalacqua, Gaspar Romano arranged for him to meet with Carlo Gambino, Anthony Scotto, John Scotto (Anthony's father), Paul Gambino, Joseph Colozzo (a known Mafioso as are the Gambinos), Anthony Pimpinella, Micheal Porta, Tito Balsamo, Joe Gambino, and Thomas Masotto at the Local 1814 union hall on a Sunday in July, 1965. Passalacqua arrived at the union hall and was sent upstairs to a room with about 15 persons in it and a table loaded with food and drinks. The above-mentioned were among those Passalcqua said he was introduced to and afterwards named under oath in the Waterfront Commission hearing.

Passalacqua said he demurred when asked to join, left the meeting, and was later approached several times on the pier where he worked by Romano, who urged him to join.

Later in the summer, Passalacqua went to the union hall to complain about not being given enough coopers to do the work on the pier. There he met Joe Colozzo (listed by the FBI as a capodecima in Gambino's family). Colozzo asked if he had assented to join the Gambino family and Passalcqua said he would not. Then Colozzo replied, "I don't have anything to do with you."

Shortly after that, on September 23, 1965, Passalacqua was fired on the flimsy excuse that he had left the pier without permission to sharpen a saw.

On September 27 of that year, Passalacqua went for help to Peter E. Zito, of the Mayor's Committee on Exploitation of Workers, and asked help in getting his job back. At the behest of Zito, Passalacqua submitted himself to an arbitration hearing before the New Joint Labor Relations Committee. But one look around the room at that hearing convinced Passalacqua that it was a kangaroo court. Sitting as one of the judges was Anthony Pimpinella, who Passalacqua said was at the Gambino meeting. On November 9, 1965, Passalacqua testified later, he told Zito about the Gambino meeting. Zito told Passalacqua to write down everything about the meeting, and Passalacqua did. Submitting a letter to Zito written in Italian on or around November 19. Oddly enough, Zito's own handwritten notes do not describe the Gambino meeting although they do reveal something else. Zito, in his own handwriting, describes Thomas Masotto as "Gambino's aide."

In his letter in Italian to Zito, Passalacqua describes Masotto as the "Protector of the American Stevedores" when he lists the people at the Gambino meeting. American Stevedores was the company that controlled Pier 1 where Passalacqua worked. What emerges clearly from the Waterfront Commission testimony, Zito's notes, and Passalacqua's testimony is that Pier 1 was indeed dominated by the Cosa Nostra. From the fact, it is not a very big jump to believing that the Cosa Nostra had their reasons for wanting everyone in a supervisory capacity to be under the "family" discipline.

Passalacqua told me that the owners of American Stevedores "were enamored of the Mafia" and they "kept Masotto around because he could push workers around and not have to worry about the wages he had to pay under collective bargaining." Passalacqua also noted that American Stevedores (now out of business) also kept in their employ "the son of 'Jimmy the Blond.' " "Jimmy the Blond" is another "labor consultant" like Masotto.

But the question arises, why would an old Italian carpenter from Sicily, where the Mafia mythology must have been strong, have dared to speak out? Why wasn't he in fear of his life? Passalacqua says in Sicily the Mafia did not affect his life. We knew the Mafioso there, said Passalacqua, as "malendrino" (a tough man), but he said he never heard of the Cosa Nostra until he came to this country. "When I was asked to join," said Passalacqua, "they said, "These are all our friends.' "

It was not that Passalacqua was not afraid. He was. He got threatening phone calls, but the worst moment came in July, 1966, when he heard from his relatives in Sicily that a strange woman had stopped in front of his aunt's house and said, in effect, "Isn't it terrible, the accident that happened to your nephew in America?" The aunt said "What happened?" and the woman answered, "He was decapitated in an automobile accident and his wife lost an arm."

Passalacqua took the letter at once to Peter Zito, who was scared enough then to call in the Police Department's Central Intelligence Bureau.

After the CIB interviewed Passalacqua, they called in the Waterfront Commission.

A year later, on July 17, 1967, Salvatore Passalacqua wrote Governor Nelson Rockefeller for help. "I am writing you this letter because I have been placed in extreme danger by an investigation conducted by the Waterfront Commission. The testimony I have given places Anthony Scotto of the ILA and others "under the domination of Carlo Gambino."

"Since the investigation began about a year ago," Passalacqua writes, "the persons I have named have all been called in and questioned by the commission and Scotto and Gambino now know that I have spoken."

Passalacqua urged the Governor to see that the Waterfront Commisson got on with its case because "as the main witness I am now in great danger—it would have been much better if I had never spoken. They even tested me under a lie detector," said Passalacqua, "and I passed 100 per cent."

He concludes his letter to Rockefeller with this: "Please help me get my job back—I write to you in the hope that your office will seek justice." Three years ago, Salvatore Passalacqua still believed in justice. Did his letter cause a great flurry of activity in Albany? Did the Waterfront Commission hurry to conclude its case? No, indeed. Waterfront Commission hearings were concluded in October, 1968.

But on August 5, 1969, Passalacqua was still trying to get relief. He writes to Waterfront Commissioners Kaitz and Bercik:

"My name is Salvatore Passalacqua. Maybe you heard about me. I was the foreman cooper who was fired from Pier 1 by Gaspar Romano for not joining the Mafia or as he says for not getting permission to sharpen a saw. For four (4) years I have been put out of my rightful spot. I have testified before the police, Senator Hughes (the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime), the FBI, the commission. Everybody believes me but the commission does not act.

"I am 62. I can only work an average two or three days a week. Mike Parta,"—correct spelling: Porta—"the delegate, has the foreman release me after one or two days. Is this your justice? If it is, go home. It's injustice.

"I told the truth. I received only threats and abuse. If I had joined the Mafia, I would be earning $15,000 a year instead of the pittance I now earn.

"One of the callers had said that Carlo Gambino and the Union had enough money to buy the commission and that I was a fool to testify. Too late I realize the terrible truth. It is true that the Mafia is stronger than the law?"

Passalacqua continues: "More than six months has passed since the hearing was finished. I think you should decide. When I spoke to Mr. Sirignano once he said he would help me." (William Sirignano is executive director of the Waterfront Commission.) "Where is the help? Did I commit a crime? Did I steal even one bottle of whiskey? What did I do? I refused to join the Mafia. For this I am hated. I am punished. I can't get a steady job. Is this justice? But I think I appeal in vain or the commission would have helped me by now.

"In the name of God you should decide for me.

"In the name of the Devil you can decide for Gaspar Romano."

It was not until last month that the Waterfront Commission made its decision—the split one. Before that they were fighting among themselves to bring Stephen Bercik into line so there would be no split. At one point, a law enforcement official who knew about the case said to me, "I think they are more afraid of a split decision than they are of Tony Scotto."

Why didn't Passalacqua join the Cosa Nostra? "Because I want to sleep tranquil at night. Because I have read in the newspapers what the Cosa Nostra does and I want no part of it." At first he wasn't afraid for a very naive reason: "I don't believe they have the courage to hurt me because they know I have done nothing wrong." Again, another time in the interview, Passalacqua said, "For my life, I have no fear for I have not merited a punishment."

But his own knowledge of his just position is clearly not sufficient. Passalacqua keeps a very large and very vicious dog. A law enforcement official I know won't enter Passalacqua's house without a gun because the dog once attacked him by mistake.

Asked now whether he would repudiate his story of the Gambino meeting to get his regular job back, Passalacqua simply asks, "To whom would I deny it . . . isn't justice the truth? With respect to this truth I married justice."

He is disillusioned with this country. "I believe that in this country there is but little justice. Many people for money or for fear sell their consciences."

"Why doesn't this story get to Rockefeller," Passalacqua asks. I want him to fire the men at the Commission because they have fooled me for five years." Everywhere Passalacqua works, he says, he is fired "when certain calls come in." He has seniority but can get no steady work. Evidence of this blacklisting is the fact that Passalacqua fought and won in one instance before the NYSA–ILA Seniority Board on September 11, 1968. The board ruled that Passalacqua's senority rights were violated by the Universal Terminal and Stevedoring Corporation at Pier 7 on July 1, 2, and 3, 1968, and the company was ordered to pay him for the days they wouldn't let him work.

But Passalacqua is getting weary. He can't fight every case of hiring discrimination. And all the forces of society seem to have closed ranks against him. Unless some higher authority begins to investigate what happened at the Waterfront Commission, not only will Passalacqua never get justice, but New York State will come to look more and more like the State of New Jersey.

[From the Village Voice, Feb. 19, 1970]

A Bad Week in Mafia-Land

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

Congressman Edward I. Koch attacked the Waterfront Commission last Thursday for being soft on organized crime—the very function it was set up to specialize in—and the wheels of bureaucracy began to grind exceedingly fast. Koch's charges, leveled in

a press conference, were that the Waterfront Commission had failed "to use its licensing powers" to keep the firm of the late Mafia leader Vito Genovese off the waterfront and that it had failed to move to get rid of a marine carpentry firm that had "maintained illegal business relationships with labor leader Anthony Scotto."

On Thursday, after the Koch press conference, the lights burned late in the Waterfront Commission office at 15 Park Row just below City Hall—even though it was Lincoln's Birthday Holiday. By late Friday afternoon, the Commission had pushed out a notice of a hearing requiring officials of C. C. Lumber Company, a firm dominated by Scotto's wife's relatives, to come to a hearing on February 25 and explain whether or not they had helped Scotto and his wife to violate sections of the state's Labor Management Improper Practices act.

Without getting technical, the question to be decided in the Lumber case is whether Scotto was playing both sides of the street; i.e., is the International Longshoremen's Association leader at the same time part of a corporation which hired longshoremen. The charge, if proven, will be a greater blow to Scotto's liberal image than revelations of his Mafia connections—which many liberals seem to find it easy to rationalize on the basis that he can't help falling in love with the daughter of a Mafioso, or taking the Mafioso's job when the old man dies. The latter is called "guilt by blood attainer" (See Murray Kempton, Voice, February 5). But to be a corporate executive who hires the men he represents as a labor leader? I want to hear how Scotto's liberal-left friends rationalize that!

The case the Waterfront Commission is now suddenly pursuing has been kicking around for some time. In March, 1968, testimony before the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime, headed by Senator John Hughes of Syracuse, revealed that Scotto had helped swing a $250,000 unsecured loan from the Kings County Lafayette Trust Company for Newbrook Enterprises, a firm related to two family enterprises, C. C. Lumber and Court Carpentry. The loan was for the purposes of buying the Englewood Golf and Pool Club, which curiously enough turned out to be a club frequented by the elite of Mafiadom. And the loan came from the same bank in which Scotto's ILA Local 1814 had deposited gobs of non-interest-bearing funds. Guarantors for the loan were Leo Lacqua (Scotto's wife's uncle), Joseph Lacqua (her cousin), and C. C. Lumber and Court Carpentry, which the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime in 1968 claimed were controlled by Scotto interests.

The Lacquas, by the way, were simple chicken pluckers (literally) who branched out into the liquor business. Then, through marriage into the Anastasia family (Marion Scotto's mother was a Lacqua), the Lacquas made the big time into Court Carpentry, the biggest marine carpentry firm on the waterfront. And they made even bigger time with old Tony Scotto, who could easily run to the bank for $250,000 loan.

At any rate, all these capitalists are now under scrutiny, and C. C. Lumber, which absorbed Court Carpentry, now stands in danger of losing its license on the waterfront.

The other part of Koch's attack on the Waterfront Commission was that although it secured legislation last year to get rid of Mafia-dominated firms like the Erb Strapping Company, the Greenwich Village fiefdom of the late Vito Genovese, it never used its new powers against that firm. Reportedly, the Waterfront Commission is now scurrying around to do something about that, and some action may be announced by the end of the week

William Sirignano, executive director of the Waterfront Commission, told The Voice that the Commission had been handicapped in the prosecution of these two cases because of the resignation last summer of its assistant counsel, Anthony Piazza. He also replied to rumors that he had been stalling on the Scotto and Genovese cases in order to give the firms a chance to change their ownership: Marion Scotto, he noted, was not out of the carpentry firm yet, and, he stoutly maintained, Erb Strapping "would not get absolution just because Vito Genovese died."

All in all, it was a bad week in Mafia land.

[From the Village Voice, Feb. 29, 1970]

THE CURIOUS CASE OF COMMISSIONER KAITZ

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

"My position hasn't changed in this case since the first day I heard of it." The speaker was so pleased with this exhibition of firmness that he repeated the statement. Thus Joseph Kaitz, the New York commissioner of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor revealed something a quasi-judicial officer should never reveal. Kaitz's remarks were made in an interview with me in late January in the presence of William Sirigano, executive director of the Commission; Stephen Bercik, the New Jersey commissioner; and Charles McGee, the Commission's secretary.

Kaitz was addressing himself to the Commission's extraordinary split decision last month over whether or not Salvatore Passalacqua, a waterfront carpenter, was telling the truth when he claimed he was invited to join the Carlo Cambino family by Brooklyn International Longshoreman's Association boss Anthony Scotto and others (Voice, January 29 and February 12).

Having read several thousand pages of testimony and exhibits in this case, I believe it is a case where reasonable men can differ—but not so widely as that the New Jersey commissioner, Stephen Bercik, believed Passalacqua was telling the truth when he said he was ushered into the Gambino presence in July, 1965, asked to join by Scotto, and later fired because he wouldn't. To this day, Passalacqua, a former foreman cooper, remains virtually blacklisted on the waterfront because he opened his mouth, and because a split decision by the Waterfront Commission legally means no decision. Where reasonable men could differ in his case is that one could say, "I don't know. I'm not sure. There is no corroborating eye witness to the Gambino meeting." And another could reasonably do what Bercik did—believe Passalacqua—because every witness brought in to impeach him by the defenses either made no points against him or ended up by impeaching himself. But Kaitz didn't take either of the two reasonable positions. He went after Passalacqua with all the fury of a cop who hates informers.

In his interview with me, Kaitz emphasized that never in his 33-year career in law enforcement had he heard such an incredible story as Passalacqua's. Well, I wondered about that, so I took a look at Kaitz's 33 years in law enforcement—and discovered that Kaitz figured in an event which is at least as incredible. Although it has lacked the attention Mafia historians have given to the famous case of Abe "Kid Twist" Reles, who plunged out the Half Moon Hotel in Brooklyn in 1941 as he was "singing" about who killed the gangster Arthur "Dutch Schultz" Flegenheimer, it has one interesting parallel. In 1939, at the height of the trial of Jimmy Hines (late Tammany leader) for taking protection pay-offs from Dutch Schultz in his $20 million policy racket, another prisoner died under mysterious circumstances. This prisoner was also expected, in another case, to testify about who killed Schultz.

The prisoner was George Weinberg, the man who carried the money between Schultz and Hines and who was quite an imaginative policy operator himself. To drum up trade in poor neighborhoods, Weinberg would rent flashy cars and hire men in fancy suits to drive around and say they had made a "hit" in the Schultz-Weinberg bank. According to a sober statement in the New York Times on January 30, 1939, "The * * * was sure-fire in Harlem, * * * Weinberg used a yellow automobile for the purpose."

Actually, I got so fascinated by the old-time gangster lore in the 1939 newspapers that I almost forgot about Kaitz. But I couldn't really, because Weinberg's alleged suicide in a mansion in White Plains where he was guarded by one Joseph Kaitz and other members of then District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey's staff kept intruding.

On Sunday, January 29, 1939, Weinberg allegedly got hold of Kaitz's gun and shot himself in the head.

On Monday, there were screaming headlines in all the newspapers about one of the three key witnesses in the Hines trial dying by his own hand. Was it a blow to Dewey's case? Would it be a fatal one? The stories went on and on. Then it appeared that Lloyd Paul Stryker, Hine's attorney, was at least as miffed as Dewey, if not more so, at Weinberg's death. This was to be the second trial of Hines, the first having ended in a mistrial, and Stryker was looking forward to tearing Weinberg apart on the witness stand.

Weinberg's testimony, in one form or another, was essential to Dewey's case because he was the only state's witness who testified that mob payments to Hines continued until late in 1936, or within the statute of limitations.

Well, there was some uproar for the next few weeks. It seems that the investigation of the Weinberg "suicide" (while he was "guarded" by Kaitz) was one of the most bungled in the history of criminology. Daily the press reported new non-findings by the clodhopping cops at the Westchester mansion. Governor Herbert Lehman demanded to know why no fingerprints were taken. Dewey retorted that fingerprints rarely show up on homicide weapons. A Daily News expert—and ex-G Man—scores the police for not using the science of poroscopy in getting prints from other parts of the hand.

Lehman attacks again and says no powder stains had been found on Weinberg's hands. It develops that the White Plains police department didn't know how to take a simple paraffin test on the hands, and Dewey's men didn't demand one. But to top it all, no ballistics test was made to see if the bullet that went through Weinberg's skull actually came from Kaitz's gun. This was another goof of the Westchester police, but apparently Dewey's men didn't demand this test to be made either.

All we finally have is Dewey's ringing assertion that "it is incontrovertibly established that George Weinberg committed suicide."

The New York and Westchester cops took to fighting over details of the case and who was to blame for all the bungling. In the meantime Kaitz was suspended by Dewey pending an investigation of whether he was guilty of neglect in leaving the weapon where Weinberg had access to it. And Dewey wins the right in the courtroom to introduce Weinberg's sworn testimony from the previous trial, which, of course, obviates any cross-examination by Stryker. Dead men can't be cross-examined.

When the story broke on Monday, the day after the shooting, Dewey announced that Weinberg had been depressed because he didn't know what would happen to his wife and two children and because of a stomach ailment. Amos O. Squire, the Westchester

medical examiner, contradicts Dewey the next day and says no evidence of a stomach ailment was found. Squire, however, concurs that it was a suicide.

On the day of Weinberg's burial, Prosecutor William Wachenfeld of Essex County, New Jersey, expressed some unhappiness about the way prisoners were guarded in New York. He said he had planned to question Weinberg in the Dutch Schultz murder, "but I held off at the request of District Attorney Dewey, and now it is too late."

The stink was so great that on February 3, Dewey held a trial of Kaitz with the press invited in to ask questions on how the "suicide" happened. The hearing officer was Frank S. Hogan, then Dewey's administrative assistant. Kaitz testified that he had gone off duty at 10:30 a.m. but had then agreed to do some errands for Weinberg and pick up some detectives. Then he returned in the afternoon and, having learned that some prospective tenants were coming to the mansion, he went upstairs, put his gun in an inner pocket of his overcoat and hung it in his closet. The prisoners and the other detectives were downstairs finishing a meal. They were to go out for a drive while the visitors were there and Kaitz was to stay behind to see if they really were prospective tenants or folks from an outside mob. If the latter was suspected, it is hard to understand why Kaitz removed his gun, but at any rate he said he took it off so as not to frighten the prospective visitors.

At some point, Weinberg and another guard came upstairs, and Weinberg went to the bathroom next to Kaitz's room. According to the story, he then seized the opportunity to take the gun out of the inside pocket of the overcoat hanging in the closet and, in a split second, shoot himself. Hogan speculated at the Kaitz hearing that Weinberg must have noticed that Kaitz had left his gun in his room. There was no speculation as to how Weinberg found it so quickly or even how he noticed it was put there since he was downstairs. Then Kaitz first came up and removed it. Possibly he noticed Kaitz was not wearing it.

The charges lodged against Kaitz were "misconduct and incompetency in that you failed to keep George Weinberg under proper surveillance and your gun in your possession." The Hines trial ran on until almost the end of February and Hogan has been promising a report on the Kaitz matter to Dewey on all accounts but nothing came out.

In his trial summation, Stryker got some pretty nasty digs in at Dewey, virtually laying the "suicide" at his door. The next day, in his summation, Dewey fought back by making what the Daily News called "a startling suggestion: that the late George Weinberg had made a statement before he committed suicide last January 29. It was the first intimation," the News goes on, "that Weinberg had said anything before climbing upstairs in the witnesses' hideaway in White Plains and firing a bullet into his head from the gun of one of his guards."

Claimed Dewey, "Mr. Stryker said there must have been something to cause him to commit suicide. But if instructions had not been given by Judge Nott forbidding it, I would have called police who were with Weinberg (hardly disinterested parties) to tell what statement he made before he committed suicide." Dewey, of course, didn't have to produce this statement and apparently didn't because it never appeared in the press. His claim also completely contradicted another statement in the Times the day after Weinberg died. "Dixie" Davis, another prisoner, and the guards of the prisoners maintained that Weinberg never once mentioned suicide, reported the Times.

On February 26, 1939, Hines is found guilty on all counts of protecting the Dutch Schultz racket and Dewey is the hero of the hour. Weinberg's live testimony was clearly not essential to the conviction.

Amos Squire of Westchester's promised inquest is suddenly abandoned, and the Journal American reports that Frank Hogan is still preparing a report on the Weinberg "suicide."

The Weinberg story, and news of Kaitz's fate, drop out of the news except for one strange little item on March 22 in the Journal American which reports that no entry of Weinberg's "suicide" has ever been made in Supreme Court. "Thus," said the J.A., "it will devolve upon Dewey officially to notify the court today that 'the defendant Weinberg has since died'."

Not until May 17, 1939, do we get the news of Kaitz's fate. On page two in the New York Times is a little item: "Fined in Weinberg Case—Dewey aide loses 15 Days Pay Because of Suicide." Kaitz was fined for negligence in allowing Weinberg to get possession of the pistol but Hogan had recommended that he be cleared of the charge of negligence because he was not on guard duty at the time.

The Weinberg incident didn't blight Kaitz's career a bit. Curiously, he moved steadily upward in Republican law enforcement circles and in 1946 became a deputy commissioner of the State Liquor Authority with Dewey's blessing. From there he went to chief investigator of the State Crime Commission, to civil defense, to investigations director of the waterfront, and then to confidential assistant to State Senate Majority Leader Walter Mahoney. As confidential investigator to Mahoney he was one of the highest paid employees in Albany in 1959. Somewhere along the line, he and Mahoney formed the Gow-Kaitz insurance agency, among whose clients were some of the major liquor importers. Kaitz allowed, in the interview last month, that he had been in the insurance business with Mahoney but Mahoney just joined it as a friend—he never took any money out of it. The agency has recently been re-organized as Capitol Affiliates. Inc. with Kaitz as chairman of the board.

Kaitz admitted in the interview that he handled the insurance of liquor importers but added that "I had them before I came here." On the other hand, he noted somewhat inconsistently that he had had a steamship operator as a client when he came to the Waterfront Commission and " gave him up." It seems to me that an insurer of liquor coming in through the New York waterfront might have something to fear from incurring the disfavor of Anthony Scotto. Interestingly enough, the report on Kaitz's insurance firm by a prominent business information firm, which indicated $1.5 million gross a year, emphasized the international aspects of the insurance brokerage and advertises that Kaitz is "presently commissioner of the Waterfront of the state of New York."

Well, it is clear that curiouser things have happened in Mr. Kaitz's 33-year-law enforcement career than the Passalacqua case. What happened, I keep wondering, to the cops who were guarding "Kid Twist" Reles? Did they become commissioners, too? There is no statute of limitation on a homicide. Perhaps the Westchester D.A. should take a look at the Weinberg case.

[From the Village Voice, July 16, 1970]

SCOTTO AND THE LAW: THE CASE HARDENS

(By Mary Perot Nichols)

Is Anthony Scotto, Brooklyn ILA boss and alleged Mafia capodecina, above the law? The next few months should tell the story. Last week, the Waterfront Commission issued a report indicating that Scotto had not only betrayed his trust as a labor leader but had in fact, violated various sections of the State Labor Management Act. The report, by a Waterfront Commission hearing officer, Manuel L. Robbins, further held that the family firm with which labor leader Scotto had been improperly connected had over-billed its, ship-owner customers to the tune of $74,000 in one year. "Overbilling," stated Robbins in the report, "is larcenous in nature and immoral in its entirety."

The material turned up on Scotto about the games he played on the capitalist side of the fence at the Waterfront Commission hearings late last winter is not particularly new. Most of it was aired in executive session before the Joint Legislature Committee on Crime several years ago and was available to the Brooklyn District Attorney, the State Attorney General, and other law enforcement officials then. But they took no action. Because of Scotto's political clout, it is likely that the Waterfront Commission would never have followed up on this case had it not been prodded last winter by this newspaper and by Congressman Edward I. Koch (Voice, February 19, 1970). In fact, during the hearings the defense referred to Koch's pressure on the Waterfront Commission several times, which leads one to think that Koch's speaking out broke up a nice little deal the Commission had with the Scotto family firm.

But now the Commission has taken evidence and it does have a report in its hands recommending that the firm, known as C. C. Lumber Company, Inc., have its temporary stevedore permit revoked and that its application for permanent stevedore registration be denied. It will be hard for the two Waterfront Commissioners, in spite of their foot-dragging on this case, to do otherwise than accept the hearing officer's recommendation. But whether or not the evidence spread on the record in this case will now be used by Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold or State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz to prosecute Scotto and his allies is another question. Scotto has very powerful political connections. He makes large contributions to both political parties and to the election campaigns of various district attorneys. He also has a powerful friend in Mayor J. V. Lindsay. Undaunted by the fact that Scotto took the Fifth Amendment in this Waterfront Commission case and earlier in the year took the Fifth before the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime when he was asked if he was a member of the Carlo Gambino Mafia family (hardly a character reference for a mayoral appointment even though he was within his rights to do so), Lindsay appointed Scotto to the Maritime Port Council this May.

But then the Mayor wasn't visibly upset last August, shortly after he had named Scotto to his Independent Party Committee on Vacancies, when the New York Times published the list of New Yorkers that the FBI alleged to be in the hierarchy of local Mafia families and Scotto's name appeared as a capo in the Gambino family.

Scotto's chief sponsor among labor-leaders and persons close to the Mayor has been District 37 President Victor Gotbaum. Gotbaum is fairly puritanical as regards his own possible conflicts of interest. He resigned from the Mayor's Fusion Advisory Council last fall after the election because it could pose a conflict of interest for a man representing city employes. I wonder what Gotbaum is going to say about friend Scotto when he reads the Waterfront Commission report.

To understand what the Waterfront Commission report is all about, you have to know that there were three companies involved. C. C. Lumber, now the largest marine carpentry company on the waterfront, Court Carpentry, later absorbed by C. C. Lumber, and Newbrook Enterprises, which owned the premises out of which C. C. Lumber and Court operated. Court Carpentry was founded by Leo Lacqua, uncle of Marian

Anastasia Scotto (Anthony's wife), some years ago. The firm prospered, especially after it brought in Albert Anastasio (head of "Murder Inc." and brother of then Brooklyn ILA leader Anthony "Tough Tony" Anastasia) as a stockholder. Anthony Scotto married "Tough Tony's" daughter Marion in 1957 and, when Anastasia died, succeeded him as Brooklyn ILA chief. (The differing vowel endings in the two brothers' names were their choice.)

In 1959, Newbrook was organized and its stock was split into three equal shares between Leo Lacqua, Marion Scotto, and Leo's nephew, Joseph Lacqua, a former assistant district attorney in Brooklyn. Newbrook collected rent from Court Carpentry and C. C. Lumber. This rent was Newbrook's chief source of income. According to the Waterfront Commission report, "Marion Scotto in the beginning, managed the affairs of the corporation, but before or around 1961, Joseph Lacqua took over the management, though he was never reimbursed. . . . Nevertheless, Marion Scotto's salary continued all the way through to the 1968–69 fiscal year, although she performed little or no service since 1961. Several of her salary checks were deposited by her in a bank account which she held jointly with her husband Anthony Scotto."

Although Marion Scotto didn't earn her salary after 1961, her husband certainly lent a helping hand. According to the report, Scotto "executed and filed certain building department and mortgage loan applications for that corporation. On other occasions he held himself out as an officer of Newbrook and on one occasion he purchased property at an auction from the City of New York which he transferred to Newbrook."

One of Scotto's biggest contributions to Newbrook was, jointly with Joseph Lacqua, to negotiate a $250,000 unsecured loan from the Kings County Lafayette Trust Company. The Waterfront Commission hearing officer's report notes that "when the bank officers recommended its approval, he had before him the fact that Anthony Scotto was an officer of ILA and the fact that that labor organization had substantial sums on deposit in the bank. Line sheets of bank representatives did report this extraneous circumstance." The loan was used to buy the Englewood Golf and Pool Club in New Jersey, which, just coincidentally, turned out to be the playground of a number of prominent Mafia hoodlums.

According to the New York State Labor and Management Improper Practices Act, an officer or agent of a labor organization is prohibited from *directly* or *indirectly* having or acquiring any pecuniary interest which would conflict with his fiduciary obligation to the labor organization. He is also prohibited from having any direct or indirect financial interest in any business or transaction of an employer whose employes the labor organization represents. Willful and knowing violation of any of the various provisions of this state labor law is a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment of not more than one year or by a fine of not more than $1000 or by both.

Robbins, the hearing officer, found that Leo Lacqua and Joseph Lacqua "knowingly participated in Scotto's violation of his fiduciary obligations"; that Leo Lacqua "committed a deceitful misrepresentation in the sworn interview at the Waterfront Commission on June 2, 1967, because he testified that Anthony Scotto had never acted on behalf of Newbrook and that Scotto had nothing to do with the company."

As for Joseph Lacqua, the former assistant district attorney, Robbins says, "Casting aside the special obligation of an attorney to know the law, Joseph Lacqua knew, as the record reveals, that Scotto was a high official of a labor union that represented employers of the two companies he and his uncle owned and operated. . . . Hence, it is abundantly clear that Joseph Lacqua, who acted jointly with Scotto at these points, could not blindly ignore the manifest conflicts in Scotto's dual position, conflicts which overtly infringed the latter's primary obligation to his union. Even a layman could sense the moral impropriety of this situation."

As for the damage Scotto might have done to the longshoremen he represented, Robbins comments: "The defense argument that Court and Lumber obtained no preferred union contract treatment because the New York Shipping Association negotiated on an industry-wide basis is not quite realistic. Where conflict exists, there are many subtle avenues for unjustifiable preferences. One such might well be the permission to hire non-union help when labor shortages existed. According to Lumber's witness [a Thomas Genovese] . . . Court had that sanction from the ILA. It must also be noted," Robbins observes, "that Leo Lacqua freely admitted in his interview that Scotto introduced him to potential customers. In any event, Lumber was not a member of that [labor] Association until 1969."

The ball is now in the court of Brooklyn District Attorney Gold Lefkowitz. There is also a possible violation on the part of Scotto of the federal Landrum-Griffin law. Keep tuned in to see what happens next.

[From the Village Voice, Nov. 19, 1970]

RUNNIN' SCARED

(By Mary Perot Nichols and the Voice staff)

The Waterfront Commission threw the largest marine carpentry firm in the New York port off the waterfront last week because of its alleged illicit relationship with Brooklyn ILA leader Anthony Scotto and his wife. However, it appears that Scotto's playing on the management side of the fence, in violation of various sections of the Labor and Management Improper Practices Act of New York State, is not going to evoke any prosecutorial fervor from Brooklyn D. A. Eugene Gold. Gold told us he had no plans to prosecute Scotto because the waterfront hearing officer's own report stated, according to Gold, that "there was no proof beyond a reasonable doubt," which, in fact, is not true. Gold said criminal prosecutions require different standards of proof than administrative tribunals like the Waterfront Commission. One wonders why he doesn't leave this decision to a grand jury rather than make it himself. Governor Nelson Rockefeller now has a supercop, Robert Fisher, who can supersede any D. A. in matters relating to organized crime (the FBI has alleged that Scotto is a capodecina in the Carlo Gambino family). But will Fisher intervene?

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1970.

Hon. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary, Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY SHULTZ: I recently made a statement on the subject of the New York/New Jersey Waterfront Commission. A copy of that statement is enclosed for your information.

I was asked by the press whether the Department of Labor under the Landrum-Griffin Act was holding or had held an investigation into the alleged improprieties concerning Anthony Scotto's involvement with a firm doing business on the waterfront. I would appreciate being advised as to whether such an investigation has been undertaken by your Department and the present status of the same.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

MARCH 9, 1970.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KOCH: This is in reply to your inquiry of February 17, 1970, relative to Anthony Scotto's reported involvement with a firm doing business on the New York waterfront.

This Department is interested in all information with respect to illegal activities in the labor-management field and consequently cooperates with Federal, State, and municipal law enforcement agencies in order to gather intelligence related to such activities. In those instances wherein possible violations of Federal statutes administered and enforced by this Department come to its attention, appropriate investigative, administrative, or legal action is taken.

We try not, however, to interfere with an investigation of another agency which would involve duplicative investigative attention. On the other hand, we enjoy an excellent liaison with the Waterfront Commission and upon the completion of their investigation of the matter to which you refer, I am sure that we will look into any matters indicating possible violations of Federal laws administered and enforced by this Department.

Sincerely,

GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 16, 1970.

Hon. JAMES D. HODGSON,
Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I refer to my earlier correspondence with Secretary Schultz of February 17 and March 9 on the subject of Anthony Scotto and his alleged involvement with a firm doing business on the New York waterfront.

The Waterfront Commission has issued a hearing officer's report on the subject of CC Lumber Co., Inc. involving Anthony Scotto. A copy of that report is enclosed for your information. I would appreciate your advising me, after you have read that report, as to whether Anthony Scotto was required by law or regulation to file with your Department a statement setting forth his interest in Newbrook Enterprises, Inc. And in the event the federal regulations and laws governing union officers required such a filing, then I would appreciate knowing whether in fact any such filing was made by Mr. Scotto.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
Washington, D.C., August 6, 1970.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KOCH: Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1970 and the enclosed Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor report on the subject of CC Lumber Co., Inc., involving Anthony Scotto.

Section 202(a) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (29 U.S.C. 432) requires that every officer of a labor organization and every employee of a labor organization, other than an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial services, shall file a signed report with the Secretary of Labor listing certain conflict of interest transactions. A copy of the Act is enclosed.

Section 209(a) of the Act (29 U.S.C. 439) imposes a penalty of imprisonment for not more than one year, or a fine of not more than $10,000, or both, for willful violation of Section 202(a).

As of July 23, 1970, there was no record of any report filed with this Department by Mr. Scotto pursuant to Section 202(a) of the Act.

This matter is under investigation at the present time. Therefore, discussion on any aspect of this case would be inappropriate at this time.

Sincerely,

J. D. HODGSON,
Secretary of Labor.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 8, 1970.

WILLIAM P. SIRIGNANO,
Executive Director, Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor, New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. SIRIGNANO: I would appreciate knowing whether the Waterfront Commission notified the Secretary of Labor of its report finding a conflict of interest in the matter of the CC Lumber Co., Inc. and Anthony Scotto. If it has, I would appreciate knowing the date the Secretary of Labor was notified and if no notification has been sent I would like to know whether the Commission intends to notify the Secretary.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 8, 1970.

Hon. JAMES D. HODGSON,
Secretary of Labor,
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I should like to refer to our earlier correspondence and your most recent letter of August 6. I should like to call to your attention if you are not already aware of the fact that the Waterfront Commission issued its final report confirming the examiners earlier report on the subject of CC Lumber Company, Inc. and Anthony Scotto. I would appreciate your advising me as to what action you intend to take in this matter now that that report has been issued.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

WATERFRONT COMMISSION OF NEW YORK HARBOR,
New York, N.Y., December 10, 1970.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KOCH: In reply to your letter of December 8, this is to advise you that the United States Department of Labor had a representative, Compliance Officer Thomas Broadnax, attend several of the sessions of the Administrative Hearing concerning CC Lumber Co., Inc. In addition, a a transcript of the Hearing as well as the Memorandum of Decision and Order of the Waterfront Commission were delivered to Mr. Broadnax for the United States Department of Labor.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM P. SIRIGNANO,
Executive Director and General Counsel.

WELFARE FAMILIES AND TAXPAYERS, BOTH VICTIMS IN NEW YORK CITY

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the city of New York is now experiencing a welfare housing crisis that is embittering and victimizing both those who are on welfare and those who are supporting the city's heavy tax burden.

Several hundred welfare families have been placed in hotels by the department of social services at a cost to the city of some $260 to $400 a week—up to $1,600 a month—per family. These are not luxury hotels, they are New York City's worst, providing wretched living conditions in tiny rooms that are decorated with rat holes, peeling paint, and broken plumbing.

This situation has arisen as a result of the city's limit on rents for permanent housing for welfare families, often making it impossible to find places for them to live. At the same time, however, the city classifies hotel accommodations as temporary "emergency housing" and places no limit on the rates that can be paid.

Recently, I visited the Broadway Central Hotel where some 75 families have been placed. One woman living there with her three children told me that she had just been denied the opportunity of renting a $200 a month 5-room apartment because her size family was limited to a monthly rental of $165. And so she and her family were being kept in the hotel, in two rooms on separate floors, at a weekly rent of $400—$1,600 a month.

When I questioned this practice, the city of New York said that Federal and State regulations prevented them from authorizing higher rents for permanent apartments, and yet quixotically authorized enormous rentals for temporary housing, such as hotels. This just did not make sense to me and so I checked it; and I learned that there is no such law, and the limitations are the product of only city policy.

As a result of my making this public, the mother and her children have been relocated into an apartment at a $200 monthly rental with a savings to the city of $1,400 a month. And I have been informed by representatives of the city that their procedures are being changed and reasonable monthly rents are being authorized.

The tragedy of this situation is that both the welfare families and the taxpayers are being victimized. What does one say to the woman who has to turn over a $400 check each week to the hotelkeeper while her children go without clothing, and she is left to worry nightly that they will be bitten by rats or harmed by the thrice weekly fires? And then too, how does one answer the man who works hard, sometimes holding down two jobs, and sees his tax dollars being handed over in huge sums to the proprietors of fleabag hotels? Both taxpayers and welfare recipients alike have become embittered and are filled with hate, fear, and recriminations against one another. In my judgment, it is those who administer the welfare program in such a wasteful manner that are in great part responsible.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Federal Government should take over the entire welfare burden, but until it does, the city of New York has a responsiblity to administer it in an intelligent way.

LEGAL SERVICES PRAISED

(Mr. MEEDS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, the OEO legal service program has received its share of criticism. More often than not that criticism emanates from established institutions or special interest groups.

I recently received a copy of a letter from a number of assistant attorneys generals of Washington State expressing strong support for an independent legal services program. They said, in part:

While Legal Service attorneys are generally our courtroom adversaries, we oppose actions which have the effect of lessening their independence and right to represent their clients free from any political or financial pressures. . . . Governments, both federal and state, are not immune from making errors which may be correctable only in a court of law.

There is no more credible endorsement than this. The author's day-to-day contact with the program is that of adversary, yet they praise legal services.

These Washington assistant attorneys general are to be commended, as is the Attorney General himself for allowing the letter to be sent. I say this even though the Attorney General is of a different political party.

The full text of the letter follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Seattle, Wash., December 9, 1970.

Mr. DONALD RUMSFELD,
Director,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RUMSFELD: We are Assistant Attorneys General for the State of Washington. We provide legal services for the Department of Social and Health Services which includes the Division of Public Assistance. This letter is not written on behalf of the Attorney General, but is written with his knowledge. We do write, however, as Assistant Attorneys General and from the background and experience gained in such capacity.

We have become quite concerned by the recent action of the Senate Finance Committee recommending certain legal changes that would impose restrictions upon the types of lawsuits in which OEO Legal Services attorneys could become involved. This concern is superimposed on other recent developments involving the Legal Services program, which also appear to endanger its effectiveness and independence

It is our view that such actions seriously threaten to undermine the necessary role of the office of Legal Services as an effective tool in the war against poverty. These actions have the appearance of directly affecting the integrity and the political independence of the program, which qualities, it seems to us, are necessary if Legal Services is to continue to enjoy the support of both the legal community and the people it serves.

While Legal Services attorneys are generally our courtroom adversaries, we oppose actions which have the effect of lessening their independence and right to represent their clients free from any political or financial pressures. We share the same basic goals as Legal Services, that being justice for all citizens regardless of income. We are likewise interested in effective governmental programs for the poor. We have enjoyed some recent success in negotiating, rather than litigating differences with Legal Services attorneys and their clients—clearly the best way of resolving problems both from the point of view of the government as well as the poor. To continue to be effective 'n a negotiating capacity, Legal Services attorneys must be able to bargain from strong independent positions. Knowing that Legal Services attorneys are able to operate without being impaired by political restrictions provides a desirable impetus to fully inform and advise our clients and in turn have our clients heed our advice as to the legality of certain policies and actions. It is im-

portant, in formulating and implementing policy, to know that such policy may well have to stand up in a court of law.

We see Legal Services and other federally supported poverty law programs as virtually the sole means of access by the poor to the courts of our land. Governments, both federal and state, are not immune from making errors which may be correctable only in a court of law. It is a matter of record that administrative agencies, including welfare departments, have occasionally been found by the courts to have acted arbitrarily or unconstitutionally. Welfare law and policy, which is a combination of state and federal action, affects great numbers of our nation's poor and we believe that this segment of our population deserves to have undiluted legal services available to them. If Legal Services attorneys are barred from fully and effectively representing the poor in these matters, then we deny justice to a large segment of our population and return to a system where only the affluent members of society can look to the courts for relief from governmental activities which are believed to be arbitrary or unconstitutional.

We urge that both Congress and the Office of Economic Opportunity act positively to protect the independence and integrity of the Legal Services program. We further urge that the program be continued, at least at its present level of funding and operation, and that the attorneys in the program be allowed complete freedom in the representation of their clients.

Very truly yours,

Robert W. Dickey, William C. Collins, Donald J. Horowitz, Walter E. White, Robert M. McDonald, Stephen C. Way, David W. Schiffrin, John H. Bright, Daniel C. Rooney, Jane Dowdle Smith.

SGT. PAUL E. FABIAN, OF ROTTERDAM, N.Y., POLICE DEPARTMENT, DESIGNATED AS POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR

(Mr. STRATTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House, even though somewhat belatedly because of the interruptions of our October recess, an outstanding honor that has come to one of my constituents in my new 29th Congressional District, in recent weeks.

Sgt. Paul E. Fabian of the Rotterdam, N.Y., Police Department was honored by a cover story in early October in Parade magazine and was presented with a special award as "Policeman of the Year" by the International Association of Police Chiefs at their 77th annual convention in Atlantic City, N.J., on October 6, 1970.

Sergeant Fabian was given this unique award because he has made a remarkable and unique contribution to our common fight against the deadly menace of drug abuse. His approach to this problem, which is faced in communities across the length and breadth of this land, not only sets a very useful example for other communities to emulate, but his obvious and sincere interest in young people should go far to restore the confidence and trust of these young people in the working policeman in their own community.

I am proud to join in saluting Sergeant Fabian for this achievement and this high honor. America needs more police officers like him.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I am happy to include not only an official release from Parade magazine on Sergeant Fabian, but also news articles from the Knickerbocker News and Union Star of Schenectady, N.Y., for October 5, 1970, and an editorial from the Tampa, Fla., Tribune of October 9, 1970—both relating to Sergeant Fabian's accomplishments.

The articles follow:

SGT. PAUL E. FABIAN, OF ROTTERDAM, N.Y., NAMED POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR IN FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL POLICE SERVICE AWARDS PROGRAM

NEW YORK.—Sergeant Paul E. Fabian of the town of Rotterdam, New York was today named Policeman of the Year in the Fifth Annual Police Service Awards Program conducted by Parade Magazine and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The 44-year old Police Sergeant, whose unique approach to the controlling of narcotics among the young, earned him this honor will be presented with a bronze plaque on October 6 at the 77th Annual Association Conference in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The Sergeant is believed to be the only police officer in the nation using the weapon of immunity, admittedly illegal, as a means of straightening youngsters out.

Ten other police officers were cited for a wide variety of accomplishments ranging from the solution of murders to a bachelor officer who has taken in 13 homeless teen age boys over the past five years. All will receive Honorable Mention Plaques in recognition of their achievements in the diverse field of law enforcement.

They are: Patrolman Frank J. Albrecht, Riverdale, Ill.; Patrolman Anselmo M. Arredondo, Dallas, Texas; Patrolman David Biederman, Cincinnati, Ohio; Trooper Lloyd J. Bourg, Baton Rouge, La.; Patrolman George Howell, New York, N.Y.; Sergeant Robert B. Ingram, Miami, Fla.; Specialist Armand Lareau, Menlo Park, Calif.; Detective George Olsen, Tucson, Ariz.; Detective James P. Riddel, Fairfax County, Va.; and Detective James W. Stovall, Salem, Oreg.

Sergeant Fabian's technique has shown impressive results in Rotterdam with its population of 32,000 people. "By special arrangement with the District Attorney's office, I make a 'deal' with the kid," the Sergeant said, "I tell him he has immunity from punishment for anything he's done in the past. I tell him the slate is wiped clean up to the moment."

The result has been a willingness of youngsters to talk about their problems with the Sergeant and their families, to inform on pushers and other users, and to seek proper medical care to resolve their own problems.

"What I do," says Fabian, "is go right into the home of a drug-using kid and sit down with the youngster and his parents. I tell the boy or girl that we believe he's on drugs and we want to talk it over. Now, ordinarily, the kid would clam right up and the parents would refuse to believe anything bad about son or daughter.

"Almost invariably, once the youngster knows he won't be punished, he opens up and talks a flood. His suppressed guilt feelings pour out. In a healthy way his problem is surfaced right there in the home. And the communication with his parents that got lost somewhere along the line is suddenly renewed."

District Attorney Howard A. Levine, who agreed to go along with Sergeant Fabian's plan, although normally a police officer has no such authority to grant immunity, said the Sergeant's approach "is certainly paying off and should be widely imitated." Levine calls the immunity scheme "the most original idea in the drug field in a long time."

ROTTERDAM'S SGT. FABIAN NAMED PARADE "POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR"

Rotterdam Police Sgt. Paul E. Fabian said today he was surprised, pleased and honored to be named Policeman of the Year in the fifth annual Police Service Awards Program conducted by Parade magazine and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

"I sure never expected it," said Sergeant Fabian, who said he knew his name had been entered in the competition by Rotterdam Police Chief Joseph S. Dominelli. "The best I expected was an honorable mention."

Sergeant Fabian, 44, earned the honor for his unique approach to the controlling of narcotics among the young. He will be presented a bronze plaque tomorrow at the 77th annual chiefs' association conference in Atlantic City.

The Rotterdam officer is believed to be the only police officer in the nation using the weapon of immunity, admittedly illegal, as a means of dealing with youngsters caught in the narcotics web.

"By special arrangement with the district attorney's office, I make a 'deal' with the kid," Sergeant Fabian explained.

"I tell him he has immunity from punishment for anything he's done in the past. I tell him the slate is wiped clean up to the moment."

The result has been a willingness by youngsters to talk about their problems with Sergeant Fabian and their families to inform on pushers and other users and to seek proper medical care to resolve their own problems.

"What I do," Sergeant Fabian said, "is go right into the home of a drug-using kid and sit down with the youngster and his parents. Almost invariably, once the youngster knows he won't be punished be opens up and talks a flood. His suppressed guilt feeling pours out. The communication with his parents that got lost somewhere along the line is suddenly renewed."

Schenectady Council District Attorney Howard A. Levine said Sergeant Fabian's approach "is certainly paying off and should be widely imitated. Mr. Levine termed the immunity scheme the most original idea in the drug field in a long time. He said he is going along with Sergeant Fabian's plan.

ILLEGAL BUT EFFECTIVE

Perhaps the single crime problem worrying law enforcement officials the most is the drug menace. A completely new technique developed by a New York policeman offers encouragement to all drug fighters.

His approach is legally questionable, but results were what Detective Sgt. Paul E. Fabian of Rotterdam was after and he got them. The International Association of Police Chiefs was so impressed that it named him national Policeman of the Year.

Sgt. Fabian literally took the law into his own hands by offering suspected drug users immunity from prosecution if they would discuss truthfully with him their drug problem.

In one year's time in Rotterdam, a community of 32,000, the Fabian plan has produced the names of 40 pushers and innumerable leads to places where narcotics were being used. Many young addicts have admitted to their parents for the first time they were in trouble with drugs.

Sgt. Fabian reasoned that if grand juries and prosecutors could offer immunity to criminal suspects in return for information so could he. His chief and the district attorney agree Fabian's informal administration of immunity is illegal but it has helped prevent the spread of the drug evil in Rotterdam.

This immunity approach is especially effective with young people who have gotten hooked on drugs. We commend it to the consideration of Florida authorities.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION OF MAINLAND CHINA

(Mr. DERWINSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, many keen observers of the international scene anticipate strong propaganda and diplomatic pressures in the year ahead for the recognition and admission of Red China in the United Nations. What we witnessed this past fall is just a foretaste of maneuvers planned for 1971. In this appeasement drive the same old arguments of Red China being a reality, of the need for understanding, of accommodation to insure global peace, and of the prospects for profitable trade will be revived with force and fervor. It will be as though we have never gone through this before, as though politico-moral principles enunciated clearly in the Charter of the United Nations now count for naught, as though our formidable ally, Free China, is not to be respected for its solid achievements in upholding the goals of freedom for the 750 million captive, mainland Chinese, in deterring the aggressions of Peiping in Southeast Asia and elsewhere and, by virtue of its remarkable economic progress, in realizing a solid model of growth and prosperity for the eventually liberated mainland Chinese.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to draw the attention of our Members to what may be properly regarded as an historic event in Free Chinese-American relations. On the basic level of academic and scholarship, the first Sino-American Conference on Mainland China was held just last week, December 14–19, under the auspices of the Institute of International Relations in the Republic of China. The second conference is already set for June 1972, in the United States and under the auspices of the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. Under the dual leadership of Prof. Wu Chentsai, president of the Institute in China, and Prof. W. Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, this first conference proved to be an outstanding success.

One of the papers delivered at this conference carries the intriguing title "The Geographical Expression of Mainland China." Submitted by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, the study offers a most interesting and comprehensive account of the so-called reality of Red China. I commend this paper to the studied reading of our Members and to all Americans concerned about the present pressures for recognition of this geographical expression. Also, I append the address given by Dr. Dobriansky in tribute to Dr. Ku Cheng-kang at a luncheon of the conference, held at the China Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League:

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION OF MAINLAND CHINA

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

At a time when there is an evident, calculated political onrush to extend diplomatic recognition to the totalitarian Red regime on mainland China and to pressure its admission into the United Nations, the need for a holistic, institutionalist analysis of mainland China becomes more urgent than ever before. This type of analysis concentrates on the organic, the integrative forces in a given object, the overall movements in total process, going beyond the walter of particulars and even interrelated aggregates of socio-economic character. Its objective is a rational and dispassionate endeavor to understand the object as a whole, in its diverse but dominant totality, so as to perceive its meaning, prime directions, and significance for good or ill in varying contexts of systematic investigation. In short, the mode of analysis pursued here is that developed and furthered by the peculiarly American school of institutional economics.

With this introductory statement on the nature and objective of this paper, it should be evident at the start that the discourse is not one of an informational and data-gathering activity in any particularist sphere of mainland China. Such an empirical activity is, of course, indispensable to all scientific inquiries, and any exposition of worth necessarily presupposes and is based on the disclosures of this primary activity, but it, in and by itself, can never enable us to attain to the level of holistic analysis and meaningful interpretation, even with its results of empirical generalizations. Nor is the discourse here founded on a sole treatment of aggregate data, whether they be GNP's, total employment, investment totalities, Communist Party, armed services and other aggregates. Naturally, here, too such aggregate data, in so far as they are attachable are also indispensable for our knowledge of a societal object, but, whether interrelated or not, they, too, do not exhaust the precincts or possibilities of social scientific analysis. There still remains the most difficult level of social scientific thinking where, guided by both particularist and aggregate data and generalization, the painstaking endeavor is to penetrate the object under analysis in terms of its integrative being, process of becoming, predominant characteristics and features, and its superaggregative possibilities.

Succinctly, these outlines of the methodology that had to be defined at the outset are basically conformable with Aristotle's perceptive understanding of a "political economy," inhabited and worked in by humans who by nature are political animals. The holistic scientific analysis is thoroughly and fully attuned to this true and oft-substantiated conception of man, and without doubt events and developments on mainland China, in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere in the Red domain of the world are best comprehended through this mode of analysis. Even in the United States, where, ironically enough, this type of analysis was first initiated and developed, but least understood and applied, there is a growing recognition of the necessary politico-economic fabric of any society, including an advanced one with proliferative, mechanical patterns of market intercourse and organization. Thus, in the mould of our technologico-economic civilization, this analysis may properly be called "cultural economic," unavoidably concerned with both particularist and aggregate social scientific data, but also necessarily stressing the genetical, the historical, the politico-economic, the irrational and illusory, as well as the accidental, in a movement of unfolding process rather than just one of higher degrees of scale and equilibrium in a non-existent statical context.

In applying all this to mainland China, striking similarities in developmental experience can be drawn from the longer history of the USSR, and no adequate analysis of this type can ignore experiential precedents in the order of totalitarian rule and imperialist ambition. Theorizing on the basis of additional experience and growing evidence for a different scene has its productive role, but it is scarcely sufficient unless it is subjected to qualification and correction by cumulative human experience, as in the case of the USSR. For example, if reference can be made again to the issue of recognizing Peiping in whatever form, it is striking, indeed, how old illusions on "reality," "prospective trade" and "peace" nurtured forty years ago with regard to the USSR are muddling minds today in relation to mainland China.[1] Then, the horrible fact of five to fifteen million humans decimated in a costly man-made famine and social experimentation moved few of these minds. As a former correspondent in China and the editor of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung has put it with only some quantitative inaccuracy, "Mao Tse-tung, in his betrayal of the Chinese people, has already slaughtered, exiled and imprisoned more than the total number of people killed and mutilated by Stalin and Hitler combined."[2] If the force of perennial power struggle is borne in mind, his additional observation is portentous: "And under Mao's chosen successor, Lin Piao, by Lin's own testimony, the worst is yet to come." Needless to say, for those in the field of action and decision-making it hardly speaks well to shun such prominent facts even if politico-moral principles are not unheld.[3] A full institutionalist analysis insures the permanence of such critical and reflective data.

A GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSION

Doubtlessly, those who currently employ supportive "reality" in their argumentation for extended recognition will be astounded by my characterization of mainland China as basically a geographical expression. In the obvious sense, mainland China is of course a geographical expression, with demarcated borders, typography, rivers, populational densities and the normal like. However, in the real sense of a broad politico-economic entity, under the guise of the People's Republic of China, it still remains largely a geographical expression, buttressed by the force of armed rule and virtual, self-imposed isolation. The political symbolism of the PRC is by all evidence defied by the absence of any people's democratic will and the hollowness of any republic. Worse still, the periodic successions of turmoil, chaos and confusion on the mainland—far exceeding in comparable spans of time anything seen in the evolution of the Soviet Union—indicate the brutal fact that there is no politico-economic entity and all the attributes of societal stability, normal operations and relative cohesion that this fundamental concept suggests.

Supporting this apt characterization of mainland China as "a geographical expression" is a special and appropriate concept of capital. What mainland China suffers from most is a deficiency and lack of this basic type of capital. Capital not in the standard economics meaning of the term, as real investment or fluid savings, but rather in the peculiar, and in this case most appropriate, Lassallean meaning. It has frequently been reported that Mao is by far more attracted to what Marx dubbed as the utopian socialists than to Marx himself. This one can readily believe since the origins, development and nature of what is euphemistically called Chinese Communism bear as much relevance to Marxism as they do to Thomism. Were Mao a careful student of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864), the Louis Blanc of German socialism, and acquainted with his theory of Konjunctur, he would come to comprehend the significance of mainland China as a persistent negation of capital in the useful Lassallean sense. Capital, in this fundamental sense, means a necessary long-run convergence of political, economic, social and juristic conditions and circumstances providing an environmental state of relative tranquil-

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lity and order for socio-economic progress and balanced development, whatever may be the scale of priorities.

This socio-economic concept of capital has more determinative meaning for our times than does the standard textbook one. Without its pervasive presence and accumulation, area investment, fluid savings and other forms of generated, subsidiary capital would be prevented, impeded or destroyed. Capital in this broad but fundamental sense is as important to the Soviet Union or the United States as it is to mainland China. As reflected in much higher degrees of societal institutionalization, the former enjoy it—and indirectly show it—by far more than does mainland China, where it is grossly deficient. Indeed, there is a direct ratio and thus escalating sensitivity between socio-economic capital and the subsidiary forms of capital in the more advanced countries and states than in the less advanced ones that aspire to realize goals of technico-economic progress—again, whatever may be the priorities. Obviously, as a case in point, enforced romantic notions of social organization, human nature and the like serve to undermine the expansion of socio-economic capital and thus restrict and detour the accumulation of the necessary subsidiary forms.

Briefly, then, this guiding concept of capital enables us to furnish a synthetic, essentialist picture of mainland China these past two decades and to justify its basic character as a geographical expression. Contrary to the current arguments of recognitionists, more than adequate information exists as to this grave capital deficiency. The prudent use of this concept affords insights into the disentitative fabric of the PRC and its convulsive properties, sustained in the last analysis by rigid totalitarian methods, military control in the diverse regions of the mainland, and its fragmented expansiveness and engendered immobilities. Any ensuing analysis under the guidance of this concept cannot but point to several real possibilities severely altering the human situation of Asia and beyond. It is fraught with immense danger as well as promise, depending on the actions taken and ultimately on the underlying interpretations and judgments assigned to the available evidence.

THE UNCULTURAL REVOLUTION

The excessive and incredible upheavals caused by the Great Leap Forward and the anti-intellectualist, so-called Cultural Revolution may seem sufficient to determine the grave lack of societal capital on the mainland. But the bases of analysis extend beyond these two spectacular and, from the viewpoint of cumulative human experience, irrational phenomena. They necessarily involve human nature, the Chinese character and tradition, inevitable social differentiation, and the romantic inanities of forced, egalitarian proletarianism. A complete social scientific investigation of the mainland must necessarily deal with these and other ultimate factors in order to explicate the phenomenal imbalances, discontinuities, wild fluctuations and truly chaotic conditions that have featured the brief socio-economic history of the so-called People's Republic of China.

Within the span of this paper, these salient points will be covered under (1) the uncultural revolution (2) the great leap backward (3) protracted backwardness and (4) the military and imperialist drives. As mentioned, our guiding, overall concept is capital in the Lassallean sense. Our theme is the striking deficiency of this fundamental capital in mainland China, thereby justifying the apt characterization of this area as a "geographical expression." The disbalancing phenomena, as seen in agriculture, industry, transportation, foreign trade, the whole sphere of social relations, and the political apparatus, not to overlook the treatment of other national entities on the mainland, both underwrite and measure the acute shortage of societal capital in this vital and explosive area of our world. From this compact analysis, then, one can draw the logical conclusions of decision-making import and policy action as to whether the geographical expression is fit for admission into the U.N. is worthy of direct diplomatic recognition, is a prospective market for prosperous trade, is a contributor toward world peace, and a host of other important considerations.

Concentrating on the dominant forces contributing to and sustaining the geographical expression, it is convenient for us to begin with the most recent convulsive episode of the mainland's tortuous development. The so-called Cultural Revolution, spanning from late '65 through '68 and being in essence an uncultural revolution, if standards of civilized existence and growth are observed, crystallized several of these forces. They can be efficiently categorized as follows: romantic utopianism, Mao cultism, power consolidation, and psychological revolutionism. With some prominent similarities to past experiences in the evolution of the USSR, these forces often are intermixed and operate concurrently and interrelatedly. Though heavy documentation can be offered for each, a concise pattern can be presented here, based on several salient points of evidence.

Clearly, it would not be too great an oversimplification to identify Maoism as Red Chinese Stalinism, with its cultism, spurious hero worship, extreme totalitarianism, and power consciousness. The spirit, words and deeds of Maoism conform thoroughly with this overriding Stalinist animus: "We must destroy and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make, the class struggle of necessity will die down more and more . . . On the contrary, the further we advance . . . the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the broken exploiting classes.[4] Time and time again, in different words but with identical meaning, the same animus is expressed by Mao, who has a peculiar bent for putting it in terms of "enemies with guns" and even those without guns: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there still will be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly."[5] Ironically enough, the former head of the PRC, Lin Shao-chi, who was eliminated by this doctrine of permanent revolution, in 1959 advanced a refined expression of it in his theory of undulating struggle whereby the struggle will persist at varying levels of intensity and will finally disappear "only when . . . burgeois political and ideological influences are finally wiped out."[6] Throughout the 60's, this same animus is given vent to in connection with a variety of pretexts. Thus, for example, Lenin's warnings are invoked as to the overthrown enemies of socialism that would "multiply their efforts tenfold and their hatred a hundred times in the obstinate fight to restore capitalism."[7]

This revolutionary animus, which reached a high point in the so-called Cultural Revolution, cannot but remind one of its identical use by Stalin in the 30's, tied in with his forced collectivization program, extensive purges in the Party and the armed forces, and established acts of genocide and mass deportations. Similarly, the manipulation of the animus served multiple purposes for Stalin as it has for Mao, among them being the purge of feared opponents in the ever-present power struggle, the constant fear of a freedom revolutionary outbreak, interminable manifestations of resistance to totalitarian planning, and the residual product of "revolutionary consciousness" for export on the part of a presumed wave of the future. Powerfully mixed with the animus was the personality cult under Stalin as it has been with Mao. If, as Khrushchev says, "it was during the war that Stalin started to be not quite right in the head," there are grounds to believe that Mao began to lose his bearings with the Great Leap Forward, only to be accentuated in the uncultural revolution."[8]

To be sure, in many respects the mainland situation differs from that in the Soviet Union, involving culture, traditional bonds, the democratic and moral magnetism of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, individualist farming, the very existence of a Free China and others. But when one soberly considers these differences, the magnitude of the unstabilizing impact of Maoist revolutionary proletarianism becomes all the more evident and, in the light of USSR's experience, all the more destined to failure and disaster. "Revisionist" though it has been, in the Soviet Union a reconciliation had to be pragmatically made with certain traits of human nature, such as self-interest, the better life, national and professional identity, increased mobility, apathy toward permanent revolutionary fervor, and adjustments to technological determinants. This in no way has lessened its posture as the prime enemy of the Free World; on the contrary, with enhanced productivity and channeled investments, it has magnified it. In the case of the mainland, as exemplified by the multi-faceted commune, the revolutionary animus went far beyond the Stalinist mould with its philosophical socialist utopianism, feeding on theories pre-dating Marx.[9]

Aside from its practical political uses, primarily purgative, it is this suffusive animus, put in terms of a proletarian cultural revolution, that dominates the scene of the mainland and in varying degrees influences, shapes, distorts, disbalances, rocks and shocks almost all spheres of so-called Chinese mainland society. Red guards were used by Stalin in the man-made famine of the early 30's, in Ukraine, northern Caucasus and southern Russia, but by no means were they unleashed with the reckless and tragi-comical abandon witnessed on the mainland, disrupting parts of the economy, decimating scarce professional resources, closing down the universities and schools and, of all things, virtually wrecking the structure and operational apparatus of the Communist Party. The last outcome demonstrates in itself the proximate, heavy dependence of Mao on the armed forces and security network, not to mention the significance of his heir-designate Lin Piao. Utopian, un-Marxist exhibitions in Soviet Russia during the short teens, in the form of communes, abolished money system, labor-time cards, free "love," sartorial as well as occupational egalitarianism, cultural divorce from the past and a host of other heralded but specious changes in human nature were left far and long behind when Stalin massively applied the permanent struggle doctrine. In Mao's case, an unbridled utopianism is combined with the doctrine for periodic cleansing of broad sections of the mainland populace.

Thus, far more in line with utopian socialists and associationists of the early 19th century than with Marxism, Maoism with its totalitarian power seeks to remake human nature through enforced proletarianization, entailing the elimination of social stratification, an economic levelization, and a developing egalitarianism that would abolish motives of profit, incentive, and individual material gain. Not unlike Tito who initially sought to out-collectivize the USSR in a shorter time period and with superior socialist results, Mao gives all evidence of attempting to out-communize the USSR and the rest of the Red Empire through this un-Marxism utopianism executed in a predominantly agrarian environment. This is no Red Chinese mystery; it is an oasis of ideologic madness, for even substantial technologic development alone, which the mainland conspicuously lacks for its size and needs, will predetermine differentiations, rewards and other

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inevitable socio-economic distinctions. If this is the bourgeoisification that Mao fears, such as has occurred long ago in the Soviet Union and later in other parts of Eastern Europe, the machine in its more sophisticated and advanced form predetermines it, regardless of all the verbal romanticism stacked against it.

What therefore has been propagandized as something new is plainly old and at that reactionary. In substance, for a brief period the Russians, too, had their propaganda against the "four olds": old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. They soon learned about human nature. Theoretically, the "new ideas" are at the least over 100 years old. In parts of the Free World, those who have declared themselves Maoist-oriented, invariably furnish the finest tribute to the "profundities of Mao's thoughts" by their overt philosophical illiteracy. However, taking all this into account, we cannot overlook the practical consequences of Mao's philosophical aberrations, over and above those mentioned.

The first Stalinesque consequence is the strengthening of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which is de-Aesopianized language means eliminating all who refused to accept Mao's leadership without qualification. An Aeosopian version puts it as such: "Support should be given to those in power who are proletarians, precisely for the purpose of overthrowing those in power who are taking the capitalist road."[10] Like Stalin's purges, the list is long with numerous outstanding leaders in the party, government, and the military, such as Lo Jui-ching, Army Chief of Staff; Sun Yeh-fang, China's Liberman and former director of the Economic Research Institute in the Academy of Sciences; P'eng chen, head of the Peking Party Committee and Politburo member and, of course, Liu Shoa-chi, former head of state.

A second consequence is the perpetuation of "revolutionary consciousness" to appease further the regime's ever-present fear of bourgeoisification and democratic anti-communist resistance, to surpass propagandistically the Moscow regime in the phantasmal drive toward undefined communism, and thus leadership in the international communist movement, and to inspire various breeds in the Free World as instruments for the operations of Peiping's global political warfare. "People of the world," blurted Mao on May 20, 1970, "unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" In the meantime, within the confines of his menagerie arrests of anti-communists are being made periodically, as in the area of the Maoist Army Garrison in Canton, apprehending leaders of an organization called the International Freedom party.[11] A third consequence is that with the Communist Party virtually in the vest pocket of the People's Liberation Army grounds have been formed for a protracted internal struggle.

This unending internal struggle, which will validate further the geographical expression, depress the basic capital to still lowerlevels, produce additional socio-economic dislocations, cause the mainland Chinese to fall further behind those in other underdeveloped areas, and will make plain mockery of the naive push for Peiping's recognition, is well in evidence. Concerning the so-called Cultural Revolution, as one source put it in 1967, "There will inevitably be many more in the future."[12] On this theme, as a joint editorial phrased it in 1969, "criticize all erroneous tendencies and erroneous ideologies within the Party and among the revolutionary ranks which violate Mao Tse-tung's proletarian line and policy."[13] Plainly put, too, are these words: "The brilliant course of the Chinese revolution shows that the Chinese people won political power through fighting with guns under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, and it is likewise with guns that they defend political power."[14] So now, in this gigantic tragi-comedy, the new struggle is propagandistically graced with a transfer from the Little Red Book to a booklet of five philosophical articles by Mao to improve the thinking of everyone on this higher plane, and if Mao's instructions cannot be understood, Vice Chairman Lin will explain them—"then they are easy to understand, and one understands them more deeply," according to a navy party committee.

THE GREAT LEAP BACKWARD

The basic and determinative process of internal struggle extends back, of course, well beyond the uncultural revolution episode, in fact back to 1949 and in potentiality for totalitarian rule back to the early 20's. Within the context of mainland China and its multifarious peculiarities, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that it is this process of permanent and unpredictable revolution, generated and accelerated by the ideologic and political forces mentioned, that has created and dominates this geographical expression. Not to see this is not to see the situation as a whole, despite the multiplicity of its diverse parts. Thus the so-called Great Leap Forward, a prime case for economic psychiatry, is in the light of our analysis a Great Leap Backward and only buttresses further the general thesis of this paper. For in the entire evolution of the Red Empire since 1917, no case can be compared with Mao's dominance as concerns the crude mangling of economics in a totalitarian mould by philosophical romanticism and callous power politics, enforced strongly within but being patently weak without.

If one wades through the mass of fragmented but nevertheless meaningful information and data regarding the mainland since 1949 and maintains the holistic bent underscored here, he cannot but logically arrive at the same ruling generalizations. Within the limits of this presentation, it is, of course, not my intention to recite these socio-economic data accumulated since 1949, for the organized sources are available for such scrutiny.[15] Instead, those essentials are selected to gain further insights into the convulsive properties of the geographical expression.

After seizing power in October 1949, the Mao regime typically embarked on a program of land collectivization and rapid industrialization, executed in stages and, despite certain quantitative gains down to 1958, performed at incalculable real costs of lives, time and resources. In all of the Red economies, physical aggregate figures for industrial and agricultural outputs can never measure the real and opportunity costs incurred for such advances—and these costs run incalculably and disproportionately high—nor can these figures, taken alone, ever be impressive from the viewpoint of total social efficiency, including those of presumably the most advanced Red economy, the USSR. Where, as in the case of the mainland, figures of physical magnitudes have decreased or spell virtual standstills, the condition of excessive costs becomes even more compounded.

In the primary agricultural sector of the land ostensibly liberated by "agrarian reformers," the reforms to 1952 involved far more than land redistribution. They were aimed at the elimination of so-called "ruling, rural classes" (so to speak, the Chinese kulaks) and subordinating the vast agricultural area as an instrument of economic totalitarianism at the disposal of the regime. In the process, over 10 million households were initially liquidated, and eventually about 116 million acres were confiscated and, in the standard initial Red stratagem, redistributed among 300 million peasants. It wasn't long that the stratagem became evident to the most ignorant peasant with the collectivization phase from '52 on, executed in three consecutive moves: mutual aid teams of 6 to 8 households each with common equipment; from '53, elementary cooperatives with land pools under single management; and from '55 on, the Chinese kolkhoz with collective ownership of land and means of production, except for the proverbial escape valve, the peasant's plot. In essence, the Soviet experience was repeated here, and by the end of '57, 120 million households were forcibly organized into 752,000 kolkhozi. Then the fantastic and tragi-comical Great Leap Forward in the predominant agricultural realm, which the Russians themselves viewed with horror.

Launched in April 1958, this mad institutional leap was accomplished with such romantic and harsh fervor that by October, 90 per cent of peasant households were merged into 24,000 huge, unmanageable communes, with the small plots now non-existent, tight central control, and peasants eating in public mess halls while the children played in communal nurseries. By the summer of '59, the grand retreat ensued and, by virtue of the incredible damage done, continued well into 1963; in short, reverting the whole system back to ante-'58. Great Leap Forward figures were admitted to be fabrications, and from 1960 to the present official statistics have been scarce, with the old Russian technique of percentage data being used. However, reasonable estimates point to a slow agricultural improvement from '61 to '64, with grain output rising from a low of 155 million tons in '60 to 165 million in '61 and 182 million in '62, but still behind the ante-'58 level. By '64 some restoration to this level seemed to be achieved, though the situation was marked by heavy imports of wheat from Canada and Australia, 6 million tons in '61, 4.5 million in '62, and 5 million in '63.

On the eve of the uncultural revolution plots were again forced into collective cultivation and state control was extended over the limited free agricultural markets. A stubborn problem seen in the USSR and elsewhere in the Red Empire, the promotion of peasant's incentives was lost upon the regime. Also, with the prospect of a population of 1 billion in 1980, the necessity of agricultural progress seemed to be overshadowed by Mao's utopianism. The salient point of all of this is the marked irrationality of the Great Leap Forward as measured without doubt in concrete performance. Totalitarian imposition of romantic notions do not guarantee efficient performance and maximum output, as the experiences of the USSR and other sectors in the Red Empire have well demonstrated. In sharp contrast to the United States, the Republic of China and many other areas in the Free World, it is a striking phenomenon that virtually all Red economies are beset by a persistent problem of adequately feeding their populations in bulk terms, not to speak in qualitative veins. Comparisons of adequacy and per capita output between the Republic of China and the mainland make the latter look dismally sick.

Substantially, the industrial picture during this period also shows up the clash between totalitarian romanticism and the stubborn requirements of technologic progress, which I maintain is the crowning mark of any civilized community today. From '49 on, as in agriculture, socialization of indus-

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try on the mainland advanced rapidly, with private enterprise in any way connected with the Nationlist Government being immediately confiscated and by 1952 almost all foreign enterprises were seized. By '58, some 70,000 private industrial enterprsies were reorganized under joint state-private management, nearly 2 million commercial estabments were converted into state-private or cooperative stores, and the banking system was basically socialized. All this was standard Red "socialist" procedure and, as a matter of fact, executed at a slower tempo than one finds in comparable periods in the so-called communist states of Eastern Europe, which includes the USSR.

Significantly, the first two 5 year Plans followed the USSR model. As expected, the first plan of 1953–57 placed emphasis on rapid, heavy industrialization, aiming to double gross industrial production by the end of the Second Five Year Plan in '62, whereas, typically, agricultural production was to rise about 1/4 in the first plan and 1/3 in the second, with the investment ratio between industry and agriculture maintained at 7.5 to 1. As it turned out, during the first planned period and on the low scale of mainland industry the results were somewhat impressive. The average annual growth of industrial output was about 19 per ccnt and, typically, in agriculture reportedly only 4.5 per cent; in some physical terms, pig iron production tripled to 5.9 million tons, steel quadrupled to 5.4 million tons, and coal doubled to 130 million tons. Again, I emphasize, as in the cases of all the Red economies, such physical terms, perhaps impressive in themselves, are not really meaningful in the holistic framework of total social efficiency, balanced development, and viable strength.

Also according to standard Red patterns, light industry lagged behind the heavy and agriculture lagged behind both, with food grain increasing in the five year period actually by only 14 per cent to over 175 million tons at an annual growth rate of food production as low as 2.6 per cent, barely more than the natural increase in rate of population, reported at 2.2 per cent per annum. By mid-'56 the socialization of the low-scaled mainland economy was almost completed, and its industrialization was based on the development of heavy industry. For what it is worth, the mainland GNP is estimated for 1950 at about 55 billion yuan, valued at constant '52 market prices, and by '57 it rose to 102 billion, or an increase of 86 per cent at an average yearly increment of about 9 per cent.[16] Then the Great Leap Forward in '58—a further conclusive indication of the economic immaturity of Mao's romantic madness with a method.

In this real Great Leap Backward production targets for '58 were raised to double those of '57. The leap proved to be catastrophic. The regime first confirmed its success and then admitted falsifying published figures. It had a disastrous effect on agricultural production as some 60 million rural workers were transferred to participate in a backyard furnace campaign producing low-grade steel. The agricultural setback in turn slowed down industrial production and also offset the economic gains of the ante-'58 period. Aggravating the situation, Moscow sensibly suspended its economic assistance in the summer of '60, which constituted a most important support of the first Five Year Plan. Its 156 major projects provided the backbone of the plan. In the '50–59 period, Moscow supplied more than 10,000 technicians and specialists, more than 21,000 sets of scientific and technical documents, including over 1400 blueprints for large enterprises, and trade between the two imperialist areas increased noticeably, reaching a turnover of $2 billion in '59. By '62, the turnover was 1/3 of '59, the lowest since '50. One can be sure that Moscow won't have its fingers burnt again in this fiery geographical expression without full guarantees in applying the Brezhnev Doctrine.

As in agriculture, the industrial retreat was on in '60. The industrial tempo decelerated markedly to afford a concentration of resources on agricultural recovery. In the finest tradition of primitive economics, a "whole country support agriculture" program was pushed as 20 million laborers, city dwellers, bureaucrats and students were mobilized for work on the agricultural front. Resembling the USSR's New Economic Policy forty years before, peasants' initiative was appealed to, private land plots were returned, choice of sowing was allowed, and produce was marketed freely. In the '61–'64 period, on the eve of another upheaval, industry was virtually stagnant, foreign trade decreased sharply, annual plans, not to speak of five year plans, failed to materialize (the Third Five Year Plan was to have begun in '63 and then was scheduled to run '66–70) and an acute capital shortage ensued. Steel output, for example, declined from 13.3 million tons in '59 to 10 million in '62. Foreign trade in '58 was at $5.5 billion and by '62 at $2.3 billion. To meet the investment level of the Second Five Year Plan, some $7 billion was necessary annually, but what was available was diverted into the heavy costs of nuclear development, which led to the first atomic explosion in October, 1964 and the third by '66, a 2.6 million army and a huge militia of men and women which guard the geographical expression.

PROTRACTED BACKWARDNESS

For those who would dignify the regime on the mainland with recognition in the U.N. or directly, and for whatever specious reason, this incredible record of protracted backwardness should be played over and over again. Bearing in mind some of the apparent parallels and similarities with the development of Soviet Russia and then the Soviet Union, we cannot but note the patent irregularities, distortions and inadequacy of statistical data that form one among many indicators of the general condition of the mainland. Punctuated by overall confusion, administrative vagaries, ideological obtuseness, recurring shortages and spasms of starvation, agricultural performance is another powerful indicator of pervasive deficiency in societal capital. In the sphere of largely underdeveloped industry, where integration is at a premium and mismanagement the general rule, similar conditions and characteristics prevail. Innovation, modernization, and stable progress are attriubtes in virtual nonexistence. Major resultant disruptions can be seen in cognate economic sectors, such as transportation, foreign trade and final consumption, through the uncultural revolution to the present.

The prominent aspects of this amorphous reality in its dismal state of protracted backwardness are numerous and startling, so much so that doubtlessly few people are aware of them, whether on official or private levels. Transferred to the field of political action, in the course of '71 these and other facts should be publicly discussed before this geographical expression is again pressured into the U.N. One need only ask himself "How far have we insured peace in the world with Moscow in the League of Nations and then the United Nations?" The internal Russian record in the imperial state of the USSR is bad enough; the unbelievable Maoist record in this geographical expression is plainly monstrous.

With the paroxysms of the Great Leap Backward and the Uncultural Revolution, what planning organization there was, has been severely impaired as officials such as the Minister of Finance Li Hsien-nien, Minister of Agriculture Liao Lu-yen, and chairman Po Yi-po were pilloried with abuses in this vein: "We don't need brains! Our heads are armed with the ideas of Mao Tse-tung." Hardly a pitch for long-term development with millions of anti-intellectualist drop-outs or to satisfy the desperate need for modernization in an expression of 18th century environment with early 19th century ruling utopian thoughts. The statistical dearth itself reflects the reality of this expression. Occasional references are made to the Third Five Year Plan, yet no general growth rate for industry is published. In the First Five Year Plan the average national income yearly increase was 8.81 per cent; it is perhaps safe to estimate for '58–'68 one of only 0.34 per cent, giving on an unreliable fixed exchange rate an average per capita income of about $76. Even the population figure of 750 million mainland Chinese is suspect and, as one source puts it, "all efforts to estimate the size and rate of growth of China's population are fraught with considerable uncertainty."[17] Since the 1953 census there is no evidence that basic population statistics have been kept, and in this numbers game, so reminiscent of most of the Russian experience, your guess is good between 700 and the U.N. estimate of 759.6 million for 1970.

However, despite the guesstimal variances in all these figures, whatever the pick still furnishes a pointed indication of the dismal character of this fragmented "reality." In '69 its gross product was in the range of $70–$80 billion, or about 2/5 of Japan's GNP, and its per capita output ranged from $90–$100, about only ⅓ of the Republic of China. Those who suffer nightmares over the gigantism and threat of Mao's domain on the world scale should reflect on these and other estimates. Over 700 million people, with 90 per cent jammed on 12 per cent of land which is arable, and deep division existing among the 21 provinces, 5 autonomous regions and 3 centrally governed municipalities, make the mainland more of a cinderbox to the regime than any serious threat to our Free Asian allies.

The food-population problem is undoubtedly one of the major long-term problems. In '69 grain production totaled 188 million tons and in '70 this will be exceeded. With the 4.5 million tons purchased from Canada and Australia, a level of adequacy in food consumption is attainable. The output, however, is still below the 200 million tons of '65. In '67, there was an extensive slaughtering of cattle, pigs and poultry by the peasants. The forced migration of some 25 million city dwellers into the countryside during '68–'69, while not exactly a means of enhancing agricultural productivity, contributed to output recovery. Generally, farm life continues to be one of hard toil from dawn to dusk, with wooden plows and hand sickles much in evidence, and the entire family involved. Modernization is the basic need, and this calls for heavy investments in land reclamation, mechanization, irrigation projects, rural electrification, and fertilizer plants (fertilizers are still only 40 per cent of minimum requirements). In this predominantly agrarian economy, it also calls for an institutionalization of private plots, freer markets, peasant incentives, and a surcease of romantic actions against economism. On record, it is doubtful that the last would be allowed.

Industrially, both the Leap and the Cul-Rev cost the mainland a full decade of industrial growth. In '66, crude steel output was only 12.2 million tons, coal at 250, crude

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oil at 10, electric power at 40 billion kw hours. Fighting and sabotage during the Cul-Rev led to declines, as witness the admission of Peiping's Maoist chief Hsieh Fu-chih as to a 7 per cent decrease in the capital's industrial production.[18] With agriculture concentrating on food products, consumer goods industries will still lag behind the '58 peak; and the heavy goods industry continues to be hampered in growth capacity by the regimes intensive weaponry program. With only about 3 per cent of the labor force employed in modern industry and a steel output of about 12.5 million a year, as compared to the 130 million of the U.S., the mainland's industrial economy can be viewed as an expression of scale.

The overall picture is not any brighter or too promising in transport, foreign trade, final consumption, education, and even in economic planning. The travel mania of hundreds of thousands of Red Guards during the Cul-Rev to exchange "revolutionary experiences" was not without effect on the transport system, leading to goods' pileups, bottlenecks, and wasted resources. In mid-'67 the Central Committee had to call for a restoration of order.[19] Heavy amounts of capital investment are required for any modern transport system, and it will be some time before the mainland could begin to develop one in an area now featured by immobility, where 8 out of every 10 Chinese who can get anywhere is on foot. Most have no access at all to telephones, radios or newspapers. A striking underdevelopment is punctuated by 23,000 miles of railways, mostly single track, only 350,000 miles of highways, largely soft surfaced, and an acute shortage of buses and trucks. Such poor infrastructure accounts in large measure for the geographical expression of the mainland.

For those naive recognitionists who advance the argument of unlimited trade with the mainland—incidentally, an experience repeated over and over again with the Russians—the record and content of the mainland's foreign trade is sufficient to underscore the spaciousness of their argument. After all, in the lost fashion of elementary economics, foreign trade is a coefficient of given domestic economies, and from what we see of the mainland's, its prospects are bleak, indeed. To be even more elementary, trade is a two-way street, and the geographical expression within the fantastic Maoist mould has little to offer in return. So, on with the statistics and basic essentials. Similar to any Red foreign trade, the mainland's foreign trade functions are imports of the latest Free World technology, shoring up the pitfalls of domestic production and planning, and pretending in a Chinese Potemkin-like mode to exert through this medium an influence, usually among pygmy states, of the great "reality," in geography only. Peaked in '59 at $4.3 billion, the mainland's foreign trade declined to $2.7 billion in '63, recovered to about $3.7 billion in '65 and an estimated $4.7 billion in '69 for hardly any progress in ten years.

Even more important are these salient facts: (1) prior to '60, about ⅔'s of its trade was intra-Red Empire; since, about 70 per cent is with Free World countries which, in a way, contributed to Mao's socio-economic fantasia (2) the commodity composition has changed from imported machineries to imported foodstuffs and (3) short on hard foreign currency, it is exchanging high-value food products, such as rice, meats, vegetables, for cheaper items like wheat. Alongside this "sophisticated" foreign trade, the Peiping Potemkinists offer wheat to Egypt and Sudan, developmental aid to Iraq and Jordan, with generous interest-free terms over a 10 year repayment period—and with a 10 year grace period to boot!—far exceeding their Russian competitors, but all for conversion purposes to Mao's thoughts and even votes for U.N. admission. Recently, Mao has called for a crash program in the construction of large naval and merchant fleets to exceed the "several 10,000 ton ocean-going freighters, a few 15,000 ton oil tankers, and an icebreaker" and by the verbal theme "Let the great Red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought wave high on the shipbuilding front forever." [20]

Great Leap propaganda formed the illusion that three years of hard work and suffering would gain the Chinese worker 1,000 years of happiness. The gross fatuity of such typical propaganda is belied by the squalorous and desperate conditions of the exploited Chinese worker. A per capita income of less than $100 a year place him as one of the lowest in the world. Earnings by some are less than $15 a month. A diet of rice is what all but few Chinese have; meat, fish and even tea are luxury items. Food and clothing are strictly rationed. In the early '50's and also '60's industrial pay was mostly by piecework, and this encouraged maximum production. The Leap and Cul-Rev substituted Maoist "incentives" of the "common good" and togetherness, and production lapsed. Now the stress is on utilizing machines to the maximum, leading to an epidemic of industrial accidents. Soviet-type unions were virtually eliminated by the Cul-Rev. and the worker finds himself completely defenseless today. Refrigerator, TV sets, of which there are only a few thousand on the mainland, sewing machines, cars and other mechanical conveniences are restricted to the minority elite. Public health care remains primitive as "native medicine" with its herbs and locally made ointments still prevails. Movies are drenched in propaganda and Maoist "messages," and coerced attendance at political meetings, revived after the Cul-Rev, is obligatory for one member of every household. In short, omnipresent drabness punctuates the daily existence of the exploited mainland Chinese worker and peasant.

Considering the dominant, overall trends and developments depicted here, what other effects and outcomes could one logically expect? But for long-term, secular development the worst damage caused by Mao's methodical madness has been in education. Practically every government in the less developed areas of the world understands and values the basic capital represented by time-consuming education for the long-term growth and progress of its country and people. But in this geographical expression, where skilled human resources have chronically been in short supply, this unalterable truth has been recklessly negated by the Cul-Rev and Mao's "proletarian educational system," which the Russians played with over 40 years ago. Education was set back by at least 10 years by Mao's uncultural carnival, during which most universities were closed down. Today's political theatrics of dispatching worker and army propaganda teams to campuses to conduct "revolutionary mass criticism," "re-educate the intellectuals," purge non-leftists, and groom classroom platforms with farmers, workers and soldiers will undoubtedly accentuate the mainland's educational incapacity to meet the needs of the Chinese people by the civilized standards of our century. If the experiences of others, particularly the Russians and their "proletarian education," nursing schools molding the "socialist" or "Soviet" man, etc., don't serve as a constructive lesson, hard objective determinants of technology and economics will inevitably underwrite the painful cost of these political theatrics.

Finally, to speak of economic organization as a going, integrated concern in this massive expression is to speak of an illusion. Prior to '58, economic planning was attempted on a Soviet model, a single-track system of centralized planning for the benefit of centrally controlled state enterprises. In the Great Leap a shift was made to a double-track system, where local authorities in a planning unit of a geographical and hopefully self-sufficient area attempted to coordinate enterprises in their area, paralleling somewhat Khrushchev's sovnarkozi in the USSR.[21] This resulted in mass disruption of supplies between areas and regions. The debacle of the Third Five Year Plan is evidence enough of the extensive disorganization that has prevailed these past five years. Under the semblance of a Fourth Five Year Plan, ostensibly begun in January '70, it appears that "decentralization," a euphemism at best, is stressed, encouraging the construction of small factories, irrigation projects and other enterprises in so-called "people's communes." Motives behind it seem to be a reduced vulnerability of cities to attack, an improved capability of local sectors to defend themselves, relief of population congestion in cities, elimination of undisciplined Red Guards from the cities, and a reduction in urban unemployment. Priorities are directed at agriculture and light industry with the aim of accumulating in a self-reliant spirit surpluses for investment in heavy industry, supplemented in some degree by foreign loans and assistance. In short, the basic question of what type of economic organization is being sought remains moot, as the forces of Maoist utopianism, bureaucratic pragmatism, revived "capitalism," black marketeering and corruption vie with each other.

THE MILITARY AND IMPERIALIST DRIVES

In the light of this totalistic socio-economic pattern of expression on the mainland, it is submitted that concentrated nuclear development in this maze proves in itself the dominance of a militarized configuration that, with a more or less enforced isolation, permits the continuation of a semblance in politico-economic organization known as the People's Republic of China. So long as extensive military control in conjunction with Communist Party totalitarianism persists, this concentrated development will continue unabated and relatively unaffected by sectoral convulsions. Moreover, external forces, such as Moscow's play for influence and power on the mainland, the threat of the Brezhnev doctrine, and ambivalent American interest, will fortify further this top-priority development for emphasized security.

By all evidence, the essence sustaining the geographical expression with a semblance of organized effort and pulsation is military. As in the cast of all Red states, and the USSR in particular, an excessive, disproportionate amount of the annual gross product is allocated to the military, which in the last, ideal analysis is by nature a form of economic parasitism. Aside from the heavy costs of military nuclear development, about 20 per cent of the mainland's gross product is absorbed by the armed forces—the 2.5 million in the PLA and 7 million in militia and security forces. The military nuclear program has been undertaken with significant continuity and, as a sharp contrast to all other spheres of the expression, is somewhat of a vehicle for Red Chinese potemkinism, a badge of Peiping's ostensible super-power status concealing vast impoverishment and underdevelopment. Despite reported anti-Maoist incidents in '67 in Sinkiang province, a site of Peiping's nuclear industry, the program was pushed ahead, with a hydrogen bomb tested in June of that year and all indications that top-priority sectors of the economy connected with the military escaped the ravages of

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the Cul-Rev. It is expected that by 1975 a modest force of strategic nuclear missiles will be deployed.

This development, as well as the launching of a 381 pound satellite in '70, has more meaning for Peiping's potemkinist tactics and imagery, not to mention potentialities for blackmail, than it has for military capability on a global scale. It is greatly outpowered by the USSR and even more so by the U.S. With the largest armed force in Asia, it nevertheless poses a continuing threat to free Asian nations. However, American presence in Asia, in one form or another, reduces this threat considerably.

If the advance reports are correct, it would be in complete conformity with the thesis developed here that the new draft constitution, supplanting the present one promulgated in 1954, will make Mao supreme commander of the armed forces and Lin Pioa deputy commander; and also that instead of "a people's democratic state" reference will be made to "a proletarian dictatorship," in which "Mao Tse-tung thought is the guiding principle for all work of the people of the whole country." The prime sustaining forces of the geographical expression—the military, the political totalitarian, and the cultist—find constitutional accommodation, to be stamped by the National People's Congress. More, despite ambassadorial exchanges and the like, the new constitution looms as a new propaganda issue between Peiping and Moscow. For example, Moscow's Radio Peace and Progess beamed to Inner Mongolia stressed on September 27 that the "Peking leaders intend to strengthen their aggressive extermination policy of force against the non-Han people by legal means—the new national Constitution".[22] All of which points to another dominant feature of the expression, namely its imperial character and the imperialist drive of the Peiping regime.

The subjects of Peiping's "nationalities problem," similar to that of Moscow, and its political warfare aspirations on a global scale, also similar to Moscow's, can be described at length. It is sufficient here to mention certain essentials that would complete the dimensions of our thesis and also point to aspects of the two subjects which are deserving of far more attention in Free World scholarship than they have been receiving. For years now Peiping has been condemning Moscow for what it calls "social" or "socialist imperialism" and has directed its political warfare efforts toward the numerous non-Russian nations in the USSR. It has viewed the "new Tsars" as being even more covetous than the "old Tsars" who occupied more than 1.5 million square kilometers of land now claimed by Peiping.

Now, the fact is that we are dealing with the two last remaining and important imperial complexes in the modern world. Although with obvious differences of scale (e.g. more distinctive nations in the USSR than in the PRC, greater non-Russian population in the former than non-Chinese in the latter, etc.) in substance the PRC is as imperial in character and possessed with imperialist drives as is the R.S.F.S.R. in the USSR. Emphasized by both sides in the Sino-Russian rift, this mutual character has been portrayed at length by both these past few years. Referring to the Chuangs (over 8.5 million) Uighurs (5 m.) Dungans (4.5 m.) Yis (3.5 m.) Tibetans (3 m.) Miao (2.5 m.) Manchurians (2.5 m.) and others, totaling over 45 million, one typical source stresses that "the national regions of the PRC have a colonial nature."[23] Another states, "the national culture of the less populous nationalities of China has been subjected to forced Sinization."[24] As so eloquently exposed by both sides to mutual discredit, a range of exploitation by Peiping extends beyond the mainland Chinese per se, and this parallel problem built into the imperial complexes of both, with critical potentialities for the future, must be honestly and objectively faced and discussed in the Free World.

Finally, under a colossal pretense, supported superficially by the huge population, area expanse, a large but largely unmodernized army, and space and nuclear badges of super-power status, in this awesome imagery Peiping has sought to influence, and perhaps even to dominate by remote control, in many regions of the less developed world, "the countryside of the globe." It is unnecessary here to recount in detail the scope and depth of this essentially political warfare operation, greased by arms shipments, diplomatic intrigue, financial support, low-grade aid, and Maoist revolutionary emotionalism. Here, too, substantially Peiping is following the path that Moscow has pursued since 1917, but the resources now at the former's disposal can scarcely be compared with those of the latter. Yet, support involvement in Indo-China, penetrations in the Mid-East,[25] railroad building in Tanzania, and political warfare activities on all continents, measure a disposal of resources that incurs a far greater marginal cost of sacrifice and deprivation to the peoples of the mainland than is the case of Moscow and its underlying populaces.

To conclude, the ideological fantasies of Maoism will protract the deficiency of societal capital on the mainland. Current gestures of pragmatism, "peaceful coexistence," diplomatic concourse, reduced self-isolation, Chou En-lai visitations, international air service and the like are only part of the play for the next act in out-competing Moscow in global revolutionary activity. With the death of Mao, a whole new range of possibilities will emerge, including that of Soviet Russian penetration, surcease of ideologic fanaticism, and the growth of societal capital. Whether this possibility may be realized to the distinct disadvantage of the Free World, will depend on the analytical outlook of Free World powers toward what has been depicted here as a geographical expression and also on the course of action they choose to pursue. The ultimate question is "Should societal capital be encouraged to grow in the realm of this geographical expression?" Applied to the mainland, as Mao has written, "a single spark can start a prairie fire." But also applied to the geographical expression, "We cannot comprehend a whole without seeing its parts, but we can see the parts without comprehending the whole." It is in terms of the whole that the ever-present possibility of the spark exists.

FOOTNOTES

[1] E.g. Hon. Stephen M. Young, "Canada Leads The Way," *Congressional Record*, November 18, 9170, p. 37906.

[2] Bruno Shaw, "A Warning Against Mao," *The New York Times*, November 13, 1970.

[3] David Lawrence, "Why U.S. Silence on Seating Peking," Syndicated Column, November 23, 1970.

[4] Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, New York, 1946, pp. 21–22.

[5] Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. 5, New York, p. 364.

[6] *Current Background* (Hong Kong), U.S. Consulate General, No. 595, October 5, 1959, p. 11.

[7] *Hung Chi*, No. 21, 1963, Joint Publication Research Service, Washington, D.C., December 6, 1963, p. 6.

[8] "Khrushchev Remembers," *Life*, New York, November 27, 1970, p. 64.

[9] See George Lichtheim, *The Origins of Socialism*, New York, 1969.

[10] *Hung Chi* Editorial, No. 12, 1966.

[11] *Tin Tin Yat Po*, Hong Kong, September 17, 1970.

[12] *Peking Review*, May 26, 1967, p. 47.

[13] "Firmly Grasping Revolutionary Great Criticism," *People's Daily, Liberation Army Daily, Red Flag*, August 25, 1969.

[14] Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of General Staff, *PLA 43rd Anniversary*, August 1, 1970.

[15] E.g. *An Economic Profile of Mainland China*, Vol. 1–2, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C., 1967.

[16] William W. Hollister, *China's Gross National Product and Social Accounts, 1950–1957*, Illinois, 1958, pp. 1–7.

[17] *An Economic Profile of Mainland China*, Washington, D.C.. Vol. 2, p. 343.

[18] *Quarterly Economic Review*, London, July 1967, p. 6.

[19] "The Economic Cost," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong, July 27, 1967.

[20] *Peking Radio*, Summary of People's Daily, June 4, 1970.

[21] Andray Donnithorne, *China's Economic System*, New York, 1967, pp. 457–470.

[22] Christian Duevel, "Towards Early Adoption of New Soviet Constitution?", *Radio Liberty*, New York, October 28, 1970.

[23] T. Rakhimov, "The National Tragedy of the Peoples of China," *Radyanska Ukraina*, Kiev, April 12, 1970.

[24] "National Oppression of the Peoples of China," *Soviet Turkmenistany*, Ashkabad, April 29, 1970.

[25] E.g. Joseph S. Roucek, "Communist China's Penetration of the Middle East," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, Summer, 1970.

ADDRESS BY DR. DOBRIANSKY

Dr. Ku, Distinguished Guests and Illustrious Colleagues, this is veritably a profound privilege and pleasure for me to respond to the always sound and inspirational message delivered by our generous host. In all the years that I have known him, his messages have consistently and invariably been cast in the unrelenting spirit of freedom. As the spearhead of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and a founder of the World Anti-Communist League, of which he is now the honorary chairman for life, Dr. Ku has been guided not by emotionalism but rather by certain basic principles underlying his anti-Communism, which I, and I'm sure, most in this audience share. Along with countless others, I praise him highly for this, since the propaganda factor in the incessant Cold War against Red imperialism, of whatever brand, is ultimately more decisive than arms, whether conventional or nuclear.

In the United States anti-Communism has become a dirty word, curiously enough ever among anti-communists. Little has it been realized that this in the main has been the result of a persistent and sustained anti-anti-communist campaign being waged by both Moscow and Peiping. Not economic power nor nuclear weapons is the forte of either Moscow or Peiping, but rather psycho-political warfare in which propaganda figures most. The chief antidote to Red propaganda is the systematic and methodical propagation of truth drenched in the spirit of freedom—freedom of inquiry, freedom of mobility, and freedom of political choice, to mention only a few. These are some of the freedoms APACL and WACL, under Dr. Ku's direction and dedication, have been advancing.

No matter where or when, science and scholarship in a genuine sense thrive and develop on the sole basis of conviction in these freedoms. A scientist or scholar, worth his salt, cannot be neutral or indifferent when these freedoms are endangered, for the simple reason that his very being, his existence, is in fatal danger. Any politicalization of the campus or research center signals such danger, as many a German professor during Nazism, many an intellectual in the Soviet Union or in Red China or anywhere in the Red Empire can attest to, given the free opportunity. A scholar, like nations, should always strive to be impartial, but he can never be impartial—and hope to honestly exist—

when the very basis of such necessary impartiality is threatened for extinction. Then, of necessity, he must be partial toward freedom of thought and activity in order to remain impartial toward fact and reality. In short, he can never be impartial, by sheer assumptive conviction, toward the very negations of his free impartiality. In mini-short, he has to take his stand for general freedom to insure the freedom of his fundamental right to be impartial.

My friends and colleagues, today in Asia as well as elsewhere, including the United States, it seems to me that the indivisibility of freedom demands a three-tiered and interwoven activity—one, the free activity of the scientist and scholar to pursue the truth of whatever object impartially; two, the free activity of the civic leader to translate and convey the truth to the people; and three, the free activity of the people to determine the actions of officials in the implementation of the truth. As concerns the so-called China problem, there is really no fear of pursuing the truth if the truth about Red China is pursued relentlessly in the United Nations and throughout the world. As concerns the Russian problem, here, too, there can be no fear if the truth about Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism is laid bare before world opinion and represented peoples. All of this mans propaganda in the true sense of the word, the propagation of truth as the common denominator for scholar, people and government.

Regrettably, we in the United States, or our counterparts in Latin America, Africa or the Mid-East, haven't any facility comparable to the second tier that our Asian compatriots for freedom have, namely, a powerful free activity of the civic leader, whether in Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam, Thailand or the Philippines, to translate and convey the truth to the people, as fundamentally revealed and refined by the scientist and the scholar. APACL and WACL, the formidable transmitters of popularized truth for national freedoms and therefore against mythical communism and actual Red Totalitarianism and imperialism, are in greatest part the work and efforts of our dedicated host. By what I witnessed in Japan this past September, I have no doubt in my mind that these are the determinative agencies, the catalysts if you will, for an Asianization, not just a Vietnamization, program that will insure the peace of Asia and the security of the Pacific for us.

Our host, whose stamina and dedication to genuine truths would easily out-distance those of any youth we can offer for contest, is a prime mover in this vineyard of the three-tiered activity—the scholar, the civic leader and his people, and the representative government—in the continuing struggle for indivisible freedom and the consequent lasting peace with universal freedom. I humbly propose our toast to the continuance of his good works, to the considered emergence of the 3-tiered activity in other parts of the Free World, and to the firm and honest presentation of facts about the so-called "colossal reality" of mainland China in the trying period ahead.

DENIAL OF HUMAN LIBERTIES

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union has a peculiar knack for picking a scapegoat to draw attention away from the real issues before the world and this is particularly true with regard to the so-called show trials that are now underway in Leningrad.

Frankly, we must recognize the diabolical mind of the Soviets in their ability to seize upon a current topic of public interest, such as aircraft hijacking, and use that issue to draw public attention away from a far more serious matter such as the absolute denial of human liberties. This latter issue is truly what is behind the great display being made of the trials of nine persons for an alleged hijacking attempt. Certainly, all of us these days deplore hijacking and we support efforts throughout the world aimed at eradicating this evil that threatens the safety of all air travelers. So the Soviet Union has jumped on that issue to hide what it is doing to Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union.

Those of us in this body who have previously condemned Russia's cruel treatment of her Jewish citizens and most particularly the refusal to allow Jews to emigrate to Israel, can see through the attempt being made now in these trials to mask the denial of human liberty. It is interesting to note that immediately after the alleged hijacking attempt which is the subject of these trials, the homes of Jews throughout Russia were entered and searched. How could that have occurred unless there was a planned attempt to use this issue to draw world opinion away from the oppression of Soviet Jews? Obviously, they found the scapegoat they needed to cover up the real issue from world opinion. This Congress should declare now that it will not be fooled by this transparent act.

Freedom-loving people throughout the world should condemn and abhor the use of Soviet Jews by Communist leaders as pawns in a gigantic game of world opinion and public image-making.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. JOHNSON of California (at the request of Mr. MCFALL), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. WINN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today and the balance of the week, on account of offical 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:

Mr. ANNUNZIO for 60 minutes, on December 28.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HOGAN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MILLER of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TAFT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DERWINSKI, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GETTYS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. CONYERS, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. HAMILTON, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. STAGGERS, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. REUSS, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. MCMILLAN, for 60 minutes, December 30.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. FRIEDEL (at the request of Mr. ADAMS) immediately following the remarks of Mr. ADAMS during general debate in the Committee of the Whole today on the Emergency Rail Services Act of 1970.

Mr. RANDALL to revise and extend his remarks prior to the vote on the Penn Central bill just passed.

Mr. POFF (at the request of Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin) during the consideration of H.R. 322 today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HOGAN) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BURKE of Florida in two instances.
Mr. GUBSER in three instances.
Mr. CONTE.
Mr. ERLENBORN.
Mr. HOSMER in three instances.
Mr. GERALD R. FORD in five instances.
Mr. SCHWENGEL in three instances.
Mr. TEAGUE of California.
Mr. SCHMITZ in three instances.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. TALCOTT in three instances.
Mr. TAFT.
Mr. DERWINSKI.
Mr. CUNNINGHAM in five instances.
Mr. GOODLING.
Mr. PRICE of Texas in two instances.
Mr. SPRINGER.
Mr. SEBELIUS.
Mr. DELLENBACK in two instances.
Mr. HANSEN of Idaho.
Mr. WEICKER.
Mr. NELSEN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GETTYS) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. MCMILLAN.
Mr. PICKLE in five instances.
Mr. KARTH in two instances.
Mr. MARSH in two instances.
Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey in three instances.
Mr. DELANEY.
Mr. JONES of Tennessee.
Mr. DINGELL.
Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania in two instances.
Mr. FEIGHAN in five instances.
Mr. EILBERG in two instances.
Mr. FARBSTEIN in two instances.
Mr. EDMONDSON in three instances.
Mr. MEEDS.
Mr. LOWENSTEIN in eight instances.
Mr. CULVER in six instances.

Mr. GRAY in two instances.
Mr. SCHEUER in four instances.
Mr. BOLLING in two instances.
Mr. FOUNTAIN in two instances.
Mr. KLUCZYNSKI in two instances.
Mr. STEED.
Mr. KOCH in two instances.
Mr. FUQUA.
Mr. NICHOLS in three instances.
Mr. BIAGGI in two instances.
Mr. LONG of Maryland in two instances.
Mr. OLSEN in four instances.
Mr. ROYBAL in eight instances.
Mr. RYAN in three instances.
Mr. HAGAN in two instances.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1681. An act for the relief of Dennis Yiantos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 4481. An act granting and ceding to the city of Alexandria, in the State of Virginia, certain waterfront land along the Virginia shoreline of the Potomac River, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 212. An act to clarify the status and benefits of commissioned officers of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8933. An act to provide that the lock and dam referred to as the "Jackson lock and dam" on the Tombigbee River, Alabama, shall hereafter be known as the Coffeeville lock and dam;

H.R. 1367. An act for the relief of certain retired officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 13806. An act for the relief of Irwin Katz;

H.R. 13862. An act to authorize the naming of the reservoir to be created by the Little Goose lock and dam, Snake River, Wash., in honor of the late Dr. Enoch A. Bryan;

H.R. 17255. An act to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for a more effective program to improve the quality of the Nation's air;

H.R. 17825. An act to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17853. An act for the relief of Carlo Bianchi & Co., Inc.;

H.R. 19436. An act to provide for the establishment of a national urban growth policy, to encourage and support the proper growth and development of our States, metropolitan areas, cities, counties, and towns with emphasis upon new community and inner city development, to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development, and for other purposes;

H.R. 19877. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1162. Joint resolution to amend Public Law 403, 80th Congress, of January 28, 1948, providing for membership and participation by the United States in the South Pacific Commission.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill and joint resolutions of the following titles:

S. 4571. An act to amend the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement Act of 1964 for Certain Employees, as amended, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 173. Joint resolution authorizing a grant to defray a portion of the cost of expanding the United Nations headquarters in the United States; and

S.J. Res. 249. Joint resolution to extend the time for the proclamation of marketing quotas for burley tobacco for the 3 marketing years beginning October 1, 1971.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. In accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution 87, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 12 o'clock noon on December 29 next.

Thereupon (at 8 o'clock and 52 minutes p.m.), pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 87, the House adjourned until Tuesday, December 29, 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:

2630. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior transmitting a report on matters contained in the Helium Act, for fiscal year 1970, pursuant to section 16 of the act (Public Law 86–777); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

RECEIVED FROM THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

2631. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report that U.S. participation in the International Labor Organization is not effectively managed, Department of State, Department of Labor, Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2632. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the examination of financial statements of the Disabled Veterans national headquarters for the year ended December 31, 1969, the life membership fund for the year ended June 30, 1970, and the Service Foundation for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1969, pursuant to the act of June 17, 1932, as amended by Public Law 90–208; to the Committee on Veteran's Affairs.

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. POAGE: Committee of conference. Conference report on H.R. 18582. (Rept. No. 91–1793). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. MAHON: Committee of conference. Conference report on H.R. 19928; with amendment (Rept. No. 91–1794). 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. DELLENBACK (for himself, Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, and Mr. MICHEL):

H.R. 20004. A bill to provide assistance to community colleges through a program of statewide planning for community colleges, financial assistance for career education, technical assistance, and amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 20005. A bill to provide an additional period of time for review of the basic national rail passenger system; to postpone for 6 months the date on which the National Railroad Passenger Corporation is authorized to contract for provision of intercity rail passenger service; to postpone for 6 months the date on which the Corporation is required to begin providing intercity rail passenger service; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 20006. A bill to enable professional individuals and firms in the District of Columbia to obtain the benefits of corporate organization, and to make corresponding changes in the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 20007. A bill to establish a National Cancer Authority, in order to conquer cancer at the earliest possible date; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PICKLE:

H.R. 20008. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a program to enable individuals to enter into, and engage in, the production and marketing of farm-raised fish through the extension of credit, technical assistance, marketing assistance and research, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WATTS:

H.R. 20009. A bill to impose an additional duty on the importation of articles of any foreign country if such country nationalizes or otherwise seizes property owned by citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COHELAN (for himself and Mr. MILLER of California):

H.R. 20010. A bill to provide that certain expenses incurred in the construction of a rapid transit station in Oakland, Calif., shall be eligible as local grants-in-aid for purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 20011. A bill to amend the act of September 11, 1964, establishing the Fire Island National Seashore; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H. Con. Res. 796. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to U.S. policy toward political refugees; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 20012. A bill for the relief of Christine R. Anderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

In compliance with Public Law 601, 79th Congress, title III, Regulation of Lobbying Act, section 308(b), which provides as follows:

(b) All information required to be filed under the provisions of this section with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall be compiled by said Clerk and Secretary, acting jointly, as soon as practicable after the close of the calendar quarter with respect to which such information is filed and shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate jointly submit their report of the compilation required by said law and have included all registrations and quarterly reports received.

REGISTRATIONS*

*All alphanumeric characters and monetary amounts refer to receipts and expenditures on page 2, paragraphs D and E of the Quarterly Report Form.

The following registrations were submitted for the second calendar quarter 1970:

(NOTE.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19_____

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (a) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (b) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(a) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(b) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(c) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports. ☐

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (a) Short titles of statutes and bills; (b) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (c) citations of statutes, where known; (d) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (a) Description, (b) quantity distributed; (c) date of distribution, (d) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1

A. Sothoron Kirby Able, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Thomas G. Ahern, vice president, Wallach Associates, Inc., 136 E. 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Sangamo Electric Co., Springfield, Ill.

A. Arcadia Research, Inc., Casco, Maine.

A. Arnold & Proctor, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc., Nutley, N.J.

A. The Bank of New York Co., Inc., 48 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert E. Bauman, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

A. Bekins Van & Storage Co., 1955 South Valley Highway, Denver, Colo.

A. Jeffrey Bell, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

A. Betty Benford, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Berkeley V. Bennett, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Health Care Services, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wayne A. Bonney, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Right To Work Committee, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Michael F. Brewer, % Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Brickle & Baker, 1835 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Laundering, et al., Joliet, Ill.

A. Joe B. Browder, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends of the Earth, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. C. Willman Brown, executive vice president, National Association of Marine Services, Inc., 11501 Georgia Avenue, Wheaton, Md.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Northwest Power Co., Public Service Building, Portland, Oreg.

A. W. Warren Buck, Jr., 1835 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Paper Institute, 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Buffalo City Cemetery, 1411 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y.

A. George Bursach, executive director, National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Bank Directors, National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

A. S. D. Cadwallader, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Right To Work Committee, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. M. Chambers & Co., Inc., 2300 Calvert Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cordage Institute, 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Walter S. Clement, vice president, 915 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.

A. College of American Pathologists, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Committee to Except Assembled U.S. Textile Articles from Quotas, 608 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Elizabeth J. Connell, 240 M Street SW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Health Care Services, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Continuing Presence in Washington, Inc., 815 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Raymond L. Courage, Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Gregory B. Craig, 3525 Woodley Road NW, Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dawson, Nagel, Sherman & Howard, 1900 First National Bank Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Bekins Van & Storage Co., 1955 South Valley Highway, Denver, Colo.

A. Thomas Devine, Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edison W. Dick, 618 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Hallett D. Edison, National Association for Uniformed Services, 956 North Monroe Street, Arlington, Va.
B. National Association for Uniformed Services, 956 North Monroe Street, Arlington, Va.

A. Harmon Elder, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Right to Work Committee, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward J. Fahy, 312 Severn Avenue, Annapolis, Md.
B. Vallejo Chamber of Commerce, 2 Florida Street, Vallejo, Calif.

A. Federation of American Scientists, 203 C Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Fred Fejes, Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $20.

A. J. Vaughan Gary, 10 S. 10th Street, Richmond, Va.
B. U.S. Coast Guard Selected Reserve Association, Washington, D.C.

A. José A. Gemeil, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Walter Gerson, Director of Government Relations, 3714 Washington Street, Kensington, Md.

B. National Association of Plumbing Heating Cooling Contractors, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Howard Gillette, Jr., 2503 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. National Council of Health Care Services, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. G. & W. H. Corson, Inc., Plymouth Meeting, Pa.

A. Jay W. Glasmann, attorney, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pepsico, Inc., 500 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Don A. Goodall, 416 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Cyanamid Co., Wayne, N.J.

A. Richard I. Hersh, public relations, Box 1333, Syracuse, N.Y.
B. Agway, Inc., Box 1333, Syracuse, N.Y.

A. Frederic W. Hickman, 1 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Trans Union Corp., 111 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A. E. Joseph Hillings, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Airlines, Inc., Post Office Box 2055, AMF, Miami, Fla.

A. Lee B. Holmes, acting director of Government relations, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Hydeman & Mason, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. J. C. Penney Co., Inc., 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Ronald J. James, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. James A. Johnson, 1818 R Street NW., Washington, D.C.
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B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

A. Cornelius B. Kennedy, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 1632 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles L. King, assistant general counsel, American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. James D. Kittelton, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Kominers, Fort, Schlefer, Farmer & Boyer, 5th Floor, Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $148.39.

A. Howard R. Koven and Abe Fortas, 208 So. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill., and Canal Square, 1054 31st Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Loeb Rhoades & Co., 42 Wall Street, New York.

A. Krooth & Altman, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John P. Lagomarcino, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

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B. Buffalo City Cemetery, 1411 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y.

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B. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, 520 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Byron-Eric K. Martinez, 5600 Lakewood Drive, La Mesa, Calif.
B. Continuing Presence in Washington, Inc., 815 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. American Courier Corp., 2 Nevada Drive, Lake Success, N.Y.

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B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington Mutual Investors Fund, Inc., Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph J. Minarik, 605 Harper Avenue, Jenkintown, Pa.
B. Americans for Democratic Action, 1424 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing, 3–M Center, St. Paul, Minn.
B. Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing, 3–M Center, St. Paul, Minn.

A. Morison, Murphy, Abrams & Haddock, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ethyl Corp., 330 South Fourth Street, Richmond, Va.

A. D. Michael Murray, 915 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.

A. National Committee To Save American Business From Conglomerate One-Bank Holding Companies, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Council of Health Care Services, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Multi-facility nursing homes, et al.

A. National Taxpayers Union, 415 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.

A. Leo W. O'Brien, 160 South Mawring Boulevard, Albany, N.Y.
B. Virgin Islands Legislature.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Baldwin Piano Co., 1801 Gilbert Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A. Joseph G. W. Parry-Hill, AAAA Associates & Crews Inc., 3803 Military Road NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automatic Data Processing, Inc., 405 Route 3, Clifton, N.J.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., 280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Elver T. Pearson, American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John J. Pecoraro, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades, AFL–CIO, 217–219 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.

A. Bruce E. Phillips, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John K. Pickens, 201 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Va.
B. American Nursing Home Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Bruce Pike, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 417 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

A. Political Action Team, Inc., 714 21st Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Project Pursestrings, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arthur Lee Quinn, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Hambro American Bank & Trust Co., 25 Broad Street, New York, N.Y.

A. G. J. Rauschenbach, Director, Congressional Relations and Corporate Development, Communications Satellite Corp., 950 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Satellite Corp., 950 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dwight C. Reed, National Soft Drink Association, Inc., 1128 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Soft Drink Association, Inc., 1128 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Proprietary Association, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Stanley H. Ruttenberg & Associates, Inc., 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard M. Schmidt, Jr., 1920 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.,
B. Washington Office, American Book Publishers Council and American Educational Publishers Institute, 1826 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Scribner, Hall, Casey, Thornburg & Thompson, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Jefferson Pilot Corp., Post Office Box 21008, Greensboro, N.C.

A. Sharon, Pierson & Semmes, 1054 31st Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Milton Hershey School Trust, Hershey, Pa.

A. James R. Sharp, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Fur Merchants' Association, 224 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. S. Richard Shostak, Esq., Stein & Shostack, Esqs., 608 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. Committee to Except Assembled U.S. Textile Articles From Quotas, 608 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Leonard L. Silverstein, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Nations Development Corp., 322 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pan-American Coffee Bureau, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Carlyle V. Stewart, Jr., Stewart Management & Research Team, Inc., 627 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Firearms Lobby of America, 415 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Carlyle V. Stewart, Jr., Stewart Management & Research Team, Inc., 627 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United Republicans of America, 415 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. John D. Stringer, 666 11th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Sutton Shull & O'Rourke, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Farmers & Manufacturers Beet Sugar Association, Second National Bank Building, Saginaw, Mich., and American Crystal Sugar Co., Boston Building, Denver, Colo.

A. Maurice B. Tobin, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John M. Vansant, Jr., 127 Court Avenue, Albany, Ga.
B. Chattem Drug & Chemical Co., 1715 West 38th Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.

A. Virginia Students for Legislative Coordination, 2115 S Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Philip C. Wallach, Wallach Associates, Inc., 136 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Sangamo Electric Co., Springfield, Ill.

A. Mr. Alan M. Warren, Suite 1008, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

A. Vaughn Waters, 1900 L Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Right To Work Committee, 1900 L Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wheeler, Van Sickle, Day & Anderson, 25 West Main Street, Madison, Wis.
B. Marshall & Ilsley Bank, 770 North Water Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barber, 1616 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of Data Processing Service Organizations, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Taos Pueblo, Taos, N. Mex.

A. Harry D. Williams, 1660 L Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ashland Oil, Inc., 1409 Winchester Avenue, Ashland, Ky.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $1,000.01.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. J. P. Morgan & Co., Inc., 23 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, 1133 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

QUARTERLY REPORTS*

*All alphanumeric characters and monetary amounts refer to receipts and expenditures on page 2, paragraphs D and E of the Quarterly Report Form.

The following quarterly reports were submitted for the second calendar quarter 1970:

(NOTE.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19_____ ◄

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:
(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)
(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".
(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:
(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.
(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:
1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).
(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).
(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.◄

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1◄

NOTE ON ITEM "D."—(a) *In General.* The term "contribution" includes *anything of value.* When an organization or individual uses printed or duplicated matter in a campaign attempting to influence legislation, money received by such organization or individual—for such printed or duplicated matter—is a "contribution." "The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution"—Section 302(a) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYER.—(i) *In General.* Item "D" is designed for the reporting of all receipts from which expenditures are made, or will be made, in accordance with legislative interests.

(ii) *Receipts of Business Firms and Individuals.*—A business firm (or individual) which is subject to the Lobbying Act by reason of expenditures which it makes in attempting to influence legislation—but which has no funds to expend except those which are available in the ordinary course of operating a business not connected in any way with the influencing of legislation—will have no receipts to report, even though it does have expenditures to report.

(iii) *Receipts of Multipurpose Organizations.*—Some organizations do not receive any funds which are to be expended solely for the purpose of attempting to influence legislation. Such organizations make such expenditures out of a general fund raised by dues, assessments, or other contributions. The percentage of the general fund which is used for such expenditures indicates the percentage of dues, assessments, or other contributions which may be considered to have been paid for that purpose. Therefore, in reporting receipts, such organizations may specify what that percentage is, and report their dues, assessments, and other contributions on that basis. However, each contributor of $500 or more is to be listed, regardless of whether the contribution was made solely for legislative purposes.

(c) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE.—(i) *In General.* In the case of many employees, all receipts will come under Items "D 5" (received for services) and "D 12" (expense money and reimbursements). In the absence of a clear statement to the contrary, it will be presumed that your employer is to reimburse you for all expenditures which you make in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) *Employer as Contributor of $500 or More.*—When your contribution from your employer (in the form of salary, fee, etc.) amounts to $500 or more, it is not necessary to report such contribution under "D 13" and "D 14," since the amount has already been reported under "D 5," and the name of the "employer" has been given under Item "B" on page 1 of this report.

D. RECEIPTS (INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS):

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the space following the number.

Receipts (other than loans)

1. $_____Dues and assessments
2. $_____Gifts of money or anything of value
3. $_____Printed or duplicated matter received as a gift
4. $_____Receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter
5. $_____Received for services (e.g., salary, fee, etc.)
6. $_____TOTAL for this Quarter (Add items "1" through "5")
7. $_____Received during previous Quarters of calendar year
8. $_____TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "6" and "7")

Loans Received

"The term 'contribution' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(a).

9. $_____TOTAL now owed to others on account of loans
10. $_____Borrowed from others during this Quarter
11. $_____Repaid to others during this Quarter
12. $_____"Expense money" and Reimbursements received this Quarter

Contributors of $500 or more (from Jan. 1 through this Quarter)

13. Have there been such contributors?

Please answer "yes" or "no": _____

14. In the case of each contributor whose contributions (including loans) during the "period" from January 1 through the last days of this Quarter total $500 or more:

Attach hereto plain sheets of paper, approximately the size of this page, tabulate data under the headings "Amount" and "Name and Address of Contributor"; and indicate whether the last day of the period is March 31, June 30, September 30, or December 31. Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Name and Address of Contributor*
	(*"Period"* from Jan. 1 through _____, 19____)
$1,500.00	John Doe, 1621 Blank Bldg., New York, N.Y.
$1,785.00	The Roe Corporation, 2511 Doe Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
$3,285.00	TOTAL

NOTE ON ITEM "E".—(a) *In General.* "The term 'expenditure' includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure"—Section 302(b) of the Lobbying Act.

(b) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE. In the case of many employees, all expenditures will come under telephone and telegraph (Item "E 6") and travel, food, lodging, and entertainment (Item "E 7").

E. EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING LOANS) in connection with legislative interests:

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the spaces following the number.

Expenditures (other than loans)

1. $_____Public relations and advertising services
2. $_____Wages, salaries, fees, commissions (other than item "1")
3. $_____Gifts or contributions made during Quarter
4. $_____Printed or duplicated matter, including distribution cost
5. $_____Office overhead (rent, supplies, utilities, etc.)
6. $_____Telephone and telegraph
7. $_____Travel, food, lodging, and entertainment
8. $_____All other expenditures
9. $_____TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "8")
10. $_____Expended during previous Quarters of calendar year
11. $_____TOTAL from January 1 through this Quarter (Add "9" and "10")

Loans Made to Others

"The term 'expenditure' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(b).

12. $_____TOTAL now owed to person filing
13. $_____Lent to others during this Quarter
14. $_____Repayment received during this Quarter

15. Recipients of Expenditures of $10 or More

In the case of expenditures made during this Quarter by, or on behalf of the person filing: Attach plain sheets of paper approximately the size of this page and tabulate data as to expenditures under the following heading: "Amount," "Date or Dates," "Name and Address of Recipient," "Purpose." Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Date or Dates—Name and Address of Recipient—Purpose*
$1,750.00	7–11: Roe Printing Co., 3214 Blank Ave., St. Louis, Mo.—Printing and mailing circulars on the "Marshbanks Bill."
$2,400.00	7–15, 8–15, 9–15: Britten & Blaten, 3127 Gremlin Bldg., Washington, D.C.—Public relations service at $800.00 per month.
$4,150.00	TOTAL

A. Kirby Able, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Academic & Professional Alliance for a Responsible Congress, 11 West 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $9,069. E. (9) $3,594.20.

A. John J. Adams, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ethyl Corp., 330 South Fourth Street, Richmond, Va.
D. (6) $160.

A. Clarence G. Adamy, National Association of Food Chains, 1725 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. S. Allan Adelman, American Gas Association, Inc., 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $975. E. (9) $325.

A. Ad Hoc Committee of the Construction Industry Advancement Funds, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. None.

A. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,702.06. E. (9) $6,702.06.

A. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6). $5,449.93. E. (9). $7,450.27.

A. Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, Post Office Box 5800, Washington, D.C.
B. As above.

A. Air Traffic Control Association, Inc., ARBA Building, 525 School Street SW., Washington, D.C.

A. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Same as above.
D. (6) $9,356.33. E. (9) $9,356.33.

A. John R. Ale, American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $730. E. (9) $10.25.

A. Willis W. Alexander, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $12,788.17.

A. Herbert F. Alfrey, President, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $496.

A. Mrs. Donna Allen, 3306 Ross Place NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,040. E. (9) $1,455.32.

A. Kenneth D. Allen, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5.18. E. (9) $8.71.

A. Nicholas E. Allen and Merrill Armour, 444 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Music Operators of America, Inc., 228 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,687.50. E. (9) $74.78.

A. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Amalgamated Transit Union, National Capital Division 689, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. American Cancer Society, 219 East 42d Street, New York City.
E. (9) $8,591.81.

A. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,655.75. E. (9) $2,655.75.

A. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $200.

A. American Dental Association, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $4,418.81. E. (9) $4,418.81.

A. American Education Lobby, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $294.16. E. (9) $387.86.

A. American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $40,756. E. (9) $40,756.

A. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $52,082.07.

A. American Frozen Food Institute, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $81,732.01. E. (9) $1,849.69.

A. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $62,541.12. E. (9) $62,541.12.

A. American Hotel & Motel Association, 888 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $261,444.67. E. (9) $2,759.20.

A. American Humane Association, 5351 Roslyn Street, Englewood, Colo.
E. (9) $1,500.

A. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,150. E. (9) $2,150.

A. American Justice Association, Inc., Defense Highway, Gambrills, Md.
D. (6) $2. E. (9) $2.

A. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $8,564.96. E. (9) $39,361.99.

A. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,025. E. (9) $280.58.

A. American Lobby, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $847.50. E. (9) $2,330.25.

A. American Maritime Association, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $168.06.

A. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $24,404.87.

A. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $1,540.

A. American National Cattlemen's Association, 1540 Emerson Street, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $83,549.11. E. (9) $1,654.88.

A. American Nurses' Association Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $9,641.66. E. (9) $9,641.66.

A. American Optometric Association, c/o J. C. Tumblin, O.D., Post Office Box 5147, Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $3,069.25. E. (9) $3,069.25.

A. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,449.02. E. (9) $1,350.13.

A. American Podiatry Association, 20 Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,925.56.

A. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,141.71. E. (9) $1,141.71.

A. American Society of Consulting Planners, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,250.

A. American Stock Yards Association, 1712 I. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $1,000.

A. American Surveys, 2000 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Customs Brokers & Forwarders Association of America, Inc., 80 Wall St., New York City, N.Y.
D. (6) $137.50. E. (9) $14.53.

A. American Taxpayers Association, 326 Pennsylvania Bldg., Washington, D.C.

A. American Textile Machinery Association, 1730 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. American Veterinary Medical Association, 1522 K Street NW., Suite 828, Washintgon, D.C.
B. American Veterinary Medical Association, 1522 K Street NW., Suite 828, Washington, D.C
E. (9) $310.

A. Edward T. Anderson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2d Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,207.

A. Walter M. Anderson, Jr., Alabama Railroad Association, Montgomery, Ala.
B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Bldg., Montgomery, Ala.
D. (6) $267. E. (9) $169.25.

A. William C. Anderson, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,937. E. (9) $81.80.

A. Erma Angevine, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Consumer Federation of America, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $800.

A. George W. Apperson, Amalgamated Transit Union, Local Division 689, 100 Indiana Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, National Capital Division 689, 100 Indiana Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $3,545. E. (9) $70.35

A. Arkansas Railroads, 1100 Boyle Building, Little Rock, Ark.

A. Carl F. Arnold, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,937.50. E. (9) $1,986.13.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp., 464 Ellis Street, Mountain View, Calif.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $50.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Floor Covering Committee Affiliated with the National Council of American Importers, 295 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hoffman-La Roche Inc., Nutley, N.J.
D. (6) $8,750. E. (9) $471.10.

A. Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., 6767 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Tex.
B. Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., 6767 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $1,324.11.

A. Associated Dairymen, Inc., 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $516.

A. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Raymond Plaza, Newark, N.J.
B. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $207.05.

A. Associated Third Class Mail Users, Suite 607, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Third Class Mail Users.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $300.

A. Association of American Physicians & Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $500.

A. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, 1920 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,478.18. E. (9) $9,478.18.

A. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,286.60. E. (9) $5,750.

A. Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $210.

A. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,000.

A. Robert L. Augenblick, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $2.50.

A. Richard W. Averill, Director, Washington, Office, American Optometric Association, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, c/o J. C. Tumblin, O.D., Post Office Box 5147, Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $301.

A. Michael H. Bader, 1730 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association for Broadcast Engineering Standards, Inc., 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mr. Harry S. Baer, 1725 De Sales Street NW., Suite 400, Washington, D.C.
B. National Aerospace Services Association, 1725 De Sales Street NW., suite 400, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,420.

A. John C. Bagwell, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 723 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

A. Ernest L. Barcella, General Motors Corp., Washington, D.C.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. Arthur R. Barnett, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $149.50.

A. David S. Barrows, 214 Century Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Association of Oregon and California Land Grant Counties, Douglas County Courthouse, Roseburg, Oreg.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $519.02.

A. A. Wesley Barthelmes, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. (6) $121. E. (9) $71.

A. Ross Bass Associates, 4000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6250.

A. Davis M. Batson, Director of Government Relations and Services, Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $450.

A. A. David Baumhart, Box 553, Lorain, Ohio.
B. Green Olive Trade Association, 80 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $600. E. (9) $53.75.

A. Mrs. Dita Davis Beard, ITT Building, 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., ITT Building, 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,450. E. (9) $3,395.

A. Lowell R. Beck, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $173.04.

A. Daniel S. Bedell, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $2,168.25. E. (9) $392.07.

A. James F. Bell, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,187.50. E. (9) $238.68.

A. Betty Benford, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Association, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $225.

A. Reed A. Benson, John Birch Society, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The John Birch Society, Inc., 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Mass.

A. Robert L. Bevan, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $20.41.

A. Walter J. Bierwagen, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert J. Bird, Esq., 918–16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Transamerica Corp., Occidental Center, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $79.91.

A. Mr. Sidney W. Bishop, American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
B. American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,656.25. E. (9) $65.10.

A. William Rhea Blake, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $2,530.06. E. (9) $310.57.

A. Bluejay Oil Co., 1108 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $50.

A. Blumberg, Singer, Ross, Gottesman & Gordon, 245 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,875. E. (9) $100.30.

A. Eugent F. Bogan, Bogan & Freeland, 1000 16th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John Borbridge, Jr., Tlingit Haida Indians of Alaska, Box 529, Juneau, Alaska.
B. Central Council of the Tlingit & Haida Indians, Box 529, Juneau, Alaska.
D. (6) $3,125[1] E. (9) $230.42.

A. G. Stewart Boswell, American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.
D. (6). $1,728.20. (9) $143.41.

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[1] This sum represents allocation of 50 percent of total salary received from Central Council of Tlingit & Haida Indians of Alaska during second quarter of 1970, based on estimate of time spent on matters pertaining to legislative settlement of Alaska Native land claims.

A. J. Wiley Bowers, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.
B. Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.

A. Wayne W. Bradley, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,062.50. E. (9) $355.03.

A. Charles N. Brady, Highway Department, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Brady, Sheraton Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
B. National Coordinating Committee of the Beverage Industry.

A. Ophalandus Brasfield, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Solidarity House, 80000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $833.94. E. (9) $272.70.

A. William C. Brashares, Esq., Peabody, Rivlin, Kelly, Cladouhos & Lambert, 1730 M Street, Washington, D.C.
B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $124.69.

A. Brickle & Baker, 1835 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Laundering, Joliet, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Parke C. Brinkley, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association.

A. Wally Briscoe.
B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $135. E. (9) $16.50.

A. Florence I. Broadwell, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,512.80. E. (9) $931.

A. David A. Brody, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $350.

A. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemont, Ill.
D. (6) $15,604.43. E. (9) $15,604.43.

A. E. Fontaine Broun, president, Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.,
B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $75.

A. J. D. Brown, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. Brown Lund & Levin, 1625 Eye Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cominco American Inc., West 818 Riverside, Spokane, Wash.

A. Brown Lund & Levin, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ebasco Industries.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Brown Lund & Levin, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $312.50. E. (9) $8.90.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Northwest Power Co., Public Service Building, Portland, Oreg.
E. (9) $15.31.

A. Lyman L. Bryan, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of CPA's, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. George S. Buck, Jr., Post Office Box 12285, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Bulgarian Claims Committee, c/o Moore & Schley, Cameron & Co., 2 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $15.43.

A. David A. Bunn, Consultant, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Hearst Corp., 959 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,200.

A. David A. Bunn, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Parcel Post Association, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $700.

A. George J. Burger, retained by Burger Tire Consultant Service, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Burger Tire Consultant Service, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. George J. Burger, vice president Washington office, National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Retained by National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,250. E. (9) $2,152.20.

A. Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Post Office Box 860, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $15,117.09. E. (9) $589.35.

A. George Burnham IV, United States Steel Corp., 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States Steel Corp., 525 William Penn Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $380. E. (9) $288.

A. George B. Burnham, 120 C Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Numerous stockholders of the Burnham Chemical Co., 120 C Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $310. E. (9) $310.

A. Charles S. Burns, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $825.

A. David Burpee, Seed Grower, Foodhook Farms, Doylestown, Pa.
B. W. Atlee Burpee Co., 18th and Hunting Park Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. (9) $114.96.

A. George Bursach, National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Bank Directors, National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Herbert H. Butler, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Independent Telephone Association, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $125. E. (9) $270.

A. Robert B. Byrnes, 1514 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Railroad Pension Forum, Inc., 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $340.39.

A. John H. Callahan, IUE Legislative Representative, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers AFL–CIO–CLC, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $875. E. (9) $240.

A. Gordon L. Calvert, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E (9) $946.70.

A. Donald L. Calvin, New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000.

A. Carl C. Campbell, Room 610, Ring Building, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $92.30.

A. Charles Argyll Campbell, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ronald A. Capone, Kirlin, Campbell & Keating, Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Axe, London, E.C. 3, England.
D. (6) $5,625. E. (9) $758.08.

A. Michael H. Cardozo, 1 Dupont Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Law Schools, 1 Dupont Circle NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Norval E. Carey, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $375.

A. Philip Carlip, National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, District 2, 650 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
B. National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, District 2.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $135.

A. Philip Carlip, Seafarers International Union, 675 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
B. Seafarers International Union.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,465.

A. Carolinas Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, Inc., 501 Raleigh Building, Raleigh, N.C.
E. (9) $409.

A. Robert S. Carr, Washington representative, Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., 1220 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., 8232 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. Albert A. Carretta, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Work Glove Manufacturers Association, 1604 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
D. (6) $462.50.

A. John R. Carson, 20 Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D.C.
B. American Podiatry Association, 20 Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875.

A. Blue A. Carstenson.
B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America, Post Office Box 2251, Denver, Colo.

A. Eugene C. Carusi, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100.

A. Casey, Lane & Mittendorf, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. South African Sugar Association, Post Office Box 507, Durban, South Africa.
E. (9) $3,136.40.

A. James B. Cash, Jr., Suite 1002, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $104.80.

A. E. Michael Cassady, Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Suite 500, Washington, D.C.
B. Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Suite 500, Washingon, D.C.

A. Francis R. Cawley, Agricultural Publishers Association, Wilson Plaza Building, 2425 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Va.
B. Agricultural Publishers Association, Wilson Plaza Building, 2425 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Va.
D. (6) $135. E. (9) $125.27.

A. Francis R. Cawley, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $140. E. (9) $111.84.

A. Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indians, Box 529, Juneau, Alaska.
E. (9) $3,355.42.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 1012 South Robertson Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $721.86.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, Secretary's Office, 5727 Blake Road, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $57.

A. James W. Chapman, Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000.

A. William C. Chapman, Industry-Government Relations, GMC, 1660 L. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $2,040.02.

A. Neil L. Chayet, 15 Court Square, Boston, Mass.
B. Committee for Effective Drug Abuse Legislation, Box 572, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $4,440.05.

A. Leslie Cheek III, American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $250.

A. Frank Chelf, Suite 303, Congressional Plaza Building, 220 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $1,800.

A. Mr. A. H. Chesser, 400 First Street NW., Suite 704, Washington, D.C.
B. United Transportation Union, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,500. E. (9) $400.

A. Edwin Christianson.
B. The Farmers' Educational & Cooperative Union of America, Post Office Box 2251, Denver, Colo.

A. Lowell T. Christison, Special Assistant for Communications, American Optometric Association, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, J. C. Tumblin, O.D., Post Office Box 5147, Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $136. E. (9) $79.90.

A. Citizens Committee for Postal Reform, Inc., 206 Premier Building, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,105. E. (9) $53,976.54.

A. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., 712 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $317. E. (9) $2,890.38.

A. Allen C. K. Clark, Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Earl W. Clark.
B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. (9) $76.22.

A. Robert M. Clark, The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., 80 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $300.

A. Clay Pipe Industry Depletion Committee, Post Office Box 13125, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Brands, Inc., 245 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $110.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., Louisville, Ky.
E. (9) $110.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1176 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Philip Morris Inc., 100 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $110.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Liggett & Myers Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $110.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. R. J. Reynolds Industries, Winston-Salem, N.C.
E. (9) $110.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW, Washington, D.C.

A. Walter S. Clement, 915 L'Enfant Plaza, SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.
D. (6) $625. E. (9) $145.

A. Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Avco Corp., 750 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $271.

A. Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General American Transportation Corp., 120 South Riverside Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $4.

A. Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Owens-Illinois, Inc., Madison Avenue and St. Clair Street, Toledo, Ohio.

A. Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Realty Committee on Taxation, 299 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. College of American Pathologists, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $4,875. E. (9) $4,456.30.

A. William J. Colley, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,062.50 E. (9) $770.07.

A. Collier, Shannon, Rill & Edwards, 1625 I Street NW., Washington. D.C.
B. American Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $475.

A. Collier, Shannon, Rill & Edwards, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Boston Herald Traveler Corp., 300 Harrison Avenue, Boston Mass.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $400.

A. Collier, Shannon, Rill & Edwards, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Collier, Shannon, Rill & Edwards, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Tool & Stainless Steel Industry Committee, c/o Carpenter Technology Corp., Reading, Pa.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $525.

A. James F. Collins, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $125.

A. Paul G. Collins, The Industrial National Bank of Rhode Island, 111 Westminster Street, Providence, R.I.
B. The Industrial National Bank of Rhode Island, 111 Westminster Street, Providence, R.I.
D. (6) $68.75.

A. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $1,325. E. (9) $3,025.

A. Harrison Combs, Jr., 1437 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,931.98.

A. Committee for Automobile Excise Tax Repeal, Farragut Building, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $211.07.

A. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing, 50 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $250.

A. Congress of Railway Unions, 400 First Street NW., Room 800, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,482.40.

A. Raymond F. Conkling, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Texaco Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $160. E. (9) $274.62.

A. Howard M. Conner, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $960. E. (9) $530.24.

A. James T. Conner, the Madison Building, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association.
D. (6) $780. E. (9) $97.50.

A. John A. Connor. 2139 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. National Machine Tool Builders Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,998. E. (9) $176.

A. Robert J. Conner, Jr., 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $425. E. (9) $245.

A. Bernard J. Conway, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Dental Association, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,254.80.

A. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn.
E. (9) $5,415.35.

A. Harry N. Cook, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B The National Waterways Conference.

A. Howard Lee Cook, Jr., 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. $2,062.50. E. (9) $883.58.

A. Eileen D. Cooke, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $80.16.

A. Edward Cooper.
B. Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 1600 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joshua W. Cooper, 626 South Lee Street, Alexandria, Va.
B. Portsmouth-Kittery Armed Services Committee, Inc., Portsmouth, N.H.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $1,125.75.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.
B. Council of Forest Industries, 1055 West Hastings Street, Vancouver, Canada.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.
B. Footwear Division, Rubber Manufacturers Association, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,000. E. (9) $36.50.

A. Cooperative League of U.S.A., 1012 14th Street NW., Washington.
B. Cooperative League of U.S.A., 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,750. E. $2,275.

A. Darrell Coover, 215 Watergate Building, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Independent Insurers, 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $538.

A. Corcoran, Foley, Youngman & Rowe, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing, 50 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

A. Corcoran, Foley, Youngman & Rowe, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Lilly Endowment, Inc., 914 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

A. Allan D. Cors, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.
D. (6) $175. E. (9) $126.70.

A. Robert M. Coultas, Suite 508, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Institute for Rapid Transit, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250.

A. Council for a Livable World, 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $91,554.18. E. (9) $64,458.33.

A. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Council of State Chambers of Commerce, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $626.25. E. (9) $626.25.

A. Counihan, Casey & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Adhesive & Sealant Council, 1410 Higgens Road, Park Ridge, Ill.

A. Counihan, Casey & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. American Corn Millers Federation, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Counihan, Casey & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Classroom Periodical Publishers Association, 38 West Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio.

A. Counihan, Casey, & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Industrial Diamond Association of America, Inc., 2017 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Counihan, Casey, & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Jewelers Vigilance Committee, Inc., 156 East 52d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Counihan, Casey, & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Kohler Co., Kohler, Wis.

A. Counihan, Casey, & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Linen Supply Association of America, 975 Arthur Godfrey Road, Miami Beach, Fla.

A. Counihan, Casey, & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Casualty and Surety Agents, 83 Maiden Lane, New York, N.Y.

A. Raymond L. Courage, 1660 L Street, NW., Suite 601, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Suite 601, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Paul L. Courtney, 1125 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (4) $300 or less. (6) $300 or less (7) $300. (8) $600.

A. Covington & Burling, 888 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors Association, 1500 Masschusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 888 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (5) $1,000. (6) $1,000. (8) $1,000. (12) $14.57.
E. (4) $2.30. (6) $12.27. (9) $14.57. (11) $14.57.

A. Covington & Burling, 888 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. A. P. Moller, 8 Kongens Nytorv, Copenhagen, Denmark.

A. Covington & Burling, 888 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Machine Tool Builders Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Cox, Langford & Brown, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Research Libraries, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. Cox, Langford & Brown, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Collegiate Athletic Association, Midland Building, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Gregory B. Craig, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $881.49. E. (9) $1,377.27.

A. W. J. Crawford, P.O. Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

A. Jay Creswell, Sr., Trustee the Universal exchange, Box 8701, Orlando. Fla.

A. Francis D. Cronin, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. Mr. H. C. Crotty, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. J. A. Crowder, 1015 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Wool Manufacturers, 1015 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. F. Bosley Crowther 3d, American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Culbertson, Pendleton, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Canned Meat Importers' Association, % North American Foods, Division of Deltec International, Ltd., 401 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $830. E. (9) $314.57.

A. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $3,102.69. E. (9) $1,408.07.

A. John T. Curran, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,999.99. E. (9) $3,291.21.

A. John R. Dalton, 420 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. Associated Railways of Indiana, 420 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $2,083.33. E. (9) $117.55.

A. John Jay Daly, Direct Mail Advertising Association, Inc., 921 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $1,150.

A. John C. Datt, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 100 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,219. E. (9) $32.85.

A. John Davenport, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 200 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $190.

A. Aled P. Davies, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Meat Institute, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $110.60.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Corporate Fiduciaries Association of Chicago.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Inland Steel Co., 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Northwest Industries, Inc., 400 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $57.15.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Trans Union Corp., 111 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $48.05.

A. Fred Davis, National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $150.

A. Davis, Wright, Todd, Riese, & Jones, 4200 Seattle-First National Bank Building, Seattle, Wash.
B. Arctic Slope Native Association, Post Office Box 486, Barrow, Alaska.
E. (9) $2,398.10.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Transit System, Inc., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Guild of Prescription Opticians, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor, & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor, & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. C.I.T. Financial Corp., 650 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor, & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Indian Sugar Mills Association, Export Agency Division, New Delhi, India.
D. (6) $20,000.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor, & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., Dallas, Tex.

A. Charles W. Day, Washington Staff, Ford Motor Co., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $128. E. (9) $109.

A. Tony T. Dechant.
B. Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America, Post Office Box 2251, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $134.61.

A. DeHart, Broide and McCrory, Inc., Public Affairs Counsel, 1150 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Recording Industry Association of America, Inc., New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,237.50. E. (9) $204.61.

A. Richard A. Dell, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Vincent A. Demo, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Committee of International Committee of Passenger Lines, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,250.

A. Max A. Denney, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $900.

A. Leslie E. Dennis, Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemont, Ill.
D. (6) $618.36. E. (9) $96.40.

A. C. H. DeVaney, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,937. E. (9) $64.95.

A. R. Daniel Devlin, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trans World Airlines, Inc., 10 Richards Road, Kansas City, Mo.

A. George S. Dietrich, Association For Broadcast Engineering Standards, Inc., 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association For Broadcast Engineering, Standards, Inc., 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Department of Water Resources, State of California, Post Office Box 388, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $2,453.61. E. (9) $293.61.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sacramento Municipal Utility District, Post Office Box 15830, Sacramento, Calif.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Yuba County Water Agency, Marysville, Calif.
D. (6) $1,225.28. E. (9) $25.28.

A. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Springs, Ky.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Springs, Ky.
D. (6) $16,375. E. (9) $4,696.16.

A. Discover America Travel Organizations, 1100 Conn. Ave., NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $63,083.33. E. (9) $682.50.

A. William H. Dodds, UAW, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, 8000 East Jefferson, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $1,237. E. (9) $215.95.

A. C. L. Dorson, Room 1128, Warner Building, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees of the U.S. Government, Warner Building, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,457.66. E. (9) $250.

A. Dow, Lohnes and Albertson, Suite 500, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Newspaper Committee for Cablevision, David R. Bradley, Agent, News Press & Gazette Co., Ninth and Edmond Streets, St. Joseph, Mo.

A. F. Raymond Downs, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Procter & Gamble Manufacturing Co., 301 East Sixth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $1.70. E. (9) $1.70.

A. Robert H. Doyle, National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,281.

A. Franklin B. Dryden.

B. Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $150.

A. Evelyn Dubrow.
B. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,120. E. (9) $1,963.32.

A. M. L. DuMars.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $60.

A. J. D. Durand, General Counsel, Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $210.

A. Henry I. Dworshak, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $975.

A. Roy W. Easly, Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc., 1735 De Salles Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $68.03.

A. Macon T. Edwards, 1918 N. Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
National Cotton Council of America.

A. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Association of American Railroads, Suite 212, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $51.63. E. (9) $169.39.

A. Harmon L. Elder, 1900 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Wilson E. Hamilton & Associates, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $$250. E. (9) $43.06.

A. John Doyle Elliott, 550 Quincy Street, Hyattsville, Md.
D. (6) $2,845.70. E. (9) $3,552.81.

A. John M. Elliott, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. D. A. Ellsworth, Brotherhood of Railway, Airlines & Steamship Clerks, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemont, Ill.
D. (6) $4,219.74. E. (9) $793.60.

A. Richard W. Emory, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Maryland State Fair and Agricultural Society, Inc., Timonium State Fair, Timonium, Md.
E. (9) $63.78.

A. David G. Erskine, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Assn., 1629 K St., NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street, NW. No. 611, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $450.

A. John D. Fagan, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, 200 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C.
B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.
D. (6) $2,575. E. (9) $35.

A. Richard E. Faggioli, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 1014, Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY.

A. Clinton M. Fair, 815–16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,720.50.

A. Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America, Post Office Box 2251, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $73,623.71. E. (9) $20,567.84.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Council of Forest Industries of British Columbia, 1500 Guiness Tower, 1055 West Hastings Street, Vancouver 1, B.C.
D. (6) $7,749.99. E. (9) $230.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Joint Committee of Printing & Publishing Industries of Canada, 117 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto 12, Canada.
D. (6) $999.99. E. (9) $30.

A. Francis S. Filbey, United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,739.77.

A. Thomas W. Fink, Room 610 Ring Building, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, P.O. Box 12285, Memphis Tenn.
D. (6) $33. E. (9) $15.

A. Firearms Lobby of America, 415 2d Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $19,155.85. E. (9) $20,897.14.

A. Mello G. Fish, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $775.75. E. (9) $141.94.

A. William J. Flaherty, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 2725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Springs, Ky.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Roger Fleming, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,675. E. (9) $23.15.

A. Frank U. Fletcher, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 400, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 420 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Law Firm of Fletcher, Heald, Rowell, Kenehan & Hildreth, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 420 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Gene N. Fondren, Box 192, Taylor, Tex.
B. Texas Railroads.
D. (6) $4,000. E. (9) $787.16.

A. Gordon Forbes, 207 Union Depot Building, St. Paul, Minn.
B. Burlington Northern, Inc., et al.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $485.02.

A. James W. Foristel, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $339.82.

A. Ronald J. Foulis, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Independent Telephone Association, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. John G. Fox, 2000 L Street NW., Washigton, D.C.
B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $133.32.

A. Walter L. Frankland, Jr., 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Silver Users Association, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $624.90. E. (9) $225.74.

A. Robert M. Frederick, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Grange, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,125.

A. James O. Freeman, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $62.

A. Philip P. Friedlander, Jr., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $10.

A. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $63,569. E. (9) $15,028.

A. Frank W. Frisk, Jr., 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $200. Allocation to lobbying is an estimate of the pro-rate share of time spent on this activity.

A. Paula Frohman, 2301 41st NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Zero Population Growth, 367 State Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $420. E. (9) $35.

A. Bernard Fuchs, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. National Association of Residents & Interns Inc., 292 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $607.50.

A. David C. Fullarton, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $396.

A. Garrett Fuller, 1307 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United Medical Laboratories, Inc., 6060 NE 112th Avenue, Portland, Oreg.
D. (6) $320. E. (9) $14.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Royal Crown Cola Co., Columbus, Ga.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Anchor Corp., et al.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $79.90.

A. James E. Gaffigan, American Hotel & Motel Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100.

A. Henry E. Gardiner, Anaconda Co., 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Anaconda Co., 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $15.

A. William B. Gardiner, Assistant Director of Legislation, Disabled American Veterans, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.
D. (6) $4,500.

A. Marion R. Garstang, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $200.

A. Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association, 1901 North Fort Myer Drive, Arlington, Va.

A. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. José A. Gemeil, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 540, Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.02. E. (9) $325.

A. Arthur P. Gildea, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
B. International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Distillery Workers of America, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
E. (9) $58.91.

A. Joseph S. Gill, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
B. Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
E. (9) $232.73.

A. Howard F. Gillette, Jr., 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $623.50. E. (9) $661.86.

A. Dave Givens, Tennessee Railroad Association, 916 Nashville Trust Building, Nashville, Tenn.
B. Class I Railroads in Tennessee.
D. (6) $4,375. E. (9) $1,528.31.

A. James M. Goldberg, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. Don A. Goodall, 416 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Cyanamid Co., Wayne, N.J.
D. (6) $220. E. (9) $66.17.

A. Vance V. Goodfellow, 828 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
B. Crop Quality Council, 828 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $4,825.50. E. (9) $417.07.

A. W. S. Gookin, 403 North Brown Avenue, Scottsdale, Ariz.
A. Frederick D. Goss, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Wahington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $218.

A. Government Employes Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12,215.88. E. (9) $5,636.68.

A. Donald E. Graham, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,437.76. E. (9) $69.27.

A. Cornelius R. Gray, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. James A. Gray, 2130 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Machine Tool Builders Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) 9,375. E. (9) $402.30.

A. Robert K. Gray, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,300. E. (9) $185.

A. Mrs. Virginia M. Gray, 3501 Williamsburg Lane NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $175. E. (9) $65.67.

A. Samuel A. Grayson, Union Pacific Railroad, 611 Idaho Building, Boise, Idaho.
B. Union Pacific Railroad, 1416 Dodge Street, Omaha, Neb.
E. (9) $707.34.

A. Clifford P. Greck, American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.
B. American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $250.

A. William G. Greif, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bristol-Myers Co., 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Fred J. Greiner, Evaporated Milk Association, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Evaporated Milk Association, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $11,596.90. E. (9) $38,714.57.

A. James J. Gudinas, Highway Department, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dr. Harry P. Guenther, National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $950.

A. Jerome R. Gulan, National Federation of Independent Business.
B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, 15th Street and New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $120.

A. Robert J. Habenicht, 1400 South Joyce Street, Arlington, Va.
B. A. H. Robins Co., Inc., 1407 Cummings Drive, Richmond, Va.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $250.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $134.22.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock.
B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $72.49.

A. John F. Hall, National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $24.09.

A. J. G. Hall Industry-Government Relations, General Motors Corp., Detroit, Mich.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $2,227.42.

A. Keith Halliday, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Third-Class Mail Users, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Norman S. Halliday, Magazine Publishers Association, Inc., 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Magazine Publishers Association, Inc., 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,016.61.

A. Thomas A. Halsted, 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Council for a Livable World.
D. (6) $5,749.98.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Courier Corp., 2 Nevada Drive, Lake Success (NHP–PO), N.Y.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Labor Law Study Committee, 888 17th Street NW., Washington. D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $50.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National School Supply & Equipment Association, 79 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $25.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Student Aid Funds, Inc., 845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $15.

A. Robert N. Hampton, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,463.74. E. (9) $41.97.

A. Edward F. Harding, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.
B. Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D (6) $374. E. (9) $679.07.

A. Franklin Hardinge, Jr., 144 Wentworth Ave., Pasadena, Calif.
B. California Savings & Loan League, 1444 Wentworth Ave. (Post Office Box R), Pasadena, Calif.
D. (6) $1,800.

A. William E. Hardman, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,109.63.

A. Eugene J. Hardy, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $113.41.

A. Andrew E. Hare, 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $8.25.

A. Mrs. Mildred B. Harman, Representative Bureau of Legislation, National WCTU, Suite 640, Warner Building, 13th and E NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
D. (6) $825. E. (9) $409.18.

A. William B. Harman, Jr., American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $440. E. (9) $261.78.

A. L. James Harmanson, Jr., National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dennis E. Hart, Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $996. E. (9) $15.74.

A. F. Donald Hart, American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. David Hartsough, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $954.

A. Clifford J. Harvison, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Lewis B. Hastings, Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $500.

A. Michael D. Hathaway, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Paul M. Hawkins, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $144.38. E. (9) $20.06.

A. Kit H. Haynes, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $86.48.

A. Hays & Hays, Warner Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.

A. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $498.87. E. (9) $498.87.

A. Patrick B. Healy, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $157.10.

A. George J. Hecht, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth G. Heisler, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Ross E. Heller, 100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $579.

A. Phil D. Helmig, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Atlantic Richfield Co., 717 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $150.

A. H. W. Henderson, 908 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky.
B. Kentucky Railroad Association, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.
E. (9) $130.52.

A. Edmund P. Hennelly, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $534.55.

A. Clinton M. Hester, attorney, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Football League, 410 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Clinton M. Hester, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Savage Arms, Westfield, Mass., et al.
E. (9) $33.05.

A. Law offices, Hester & Stone, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Brewers Association, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $214.60.

A. Andrew I. Hickey, Jr., 1133 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Federal National Mortgage Association, 1133 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $283.87.

A. M. F. Hicklin, 507 Bankers Trust Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
B. Iowa Railway Association, 507 Bankers Trust Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
E. (9) $222.57.

A. George T. Higgins, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $375. E. (9) $125.

A. John W. Hight, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $100.

A. James J. Hill, Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harry R. Hinton, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,100. E. (9) $761.07.

A. Mrs. Mae Hipsley, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $787.50. E. (9) $85.94.

A. Lawrence S. Hobart, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $350.[1]

A. Claude E. Hobbs, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Westinghouse Electric Corp., Westinghouse Building, Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $195.

A. Irvin A. Hoff, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Hogan & Hartson, 815 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Hughes Tool Co., Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $29,311.25. E. (9) $257.85.

A. Lee B. Holmes, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $5,797.

A. John M. Holt, 307 East McCarty Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. Eli Lilly & Co., 307 East McCarty Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $151.50. E. (9) $300.

A. John W. Holton, American Bankers Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,750. E. (9) $34.50.

A. Edwin M. Hood, Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Thomas B. House.

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[1] Allocation to lobbying is an estimate of the pro-rate share of time spent on this activity.

B. American Frozen Food Institute, 919 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $100.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Allstate Enterprises, Inc., Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Allstate Insurance Cos., Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Charles L. Huber, Disabled American Veterans, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Springs, Ky.
D. (6) $6,875. E. (9) $955.70.

A. Edward W. Hummers, Jr., Fletcher, Heald, Rowell, Kenehan & Hildreth, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 420 Madison Aevnue, New York, N.Y.

A. David J. Humphreys, Paulson, Humphreys & Leach, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobile Housing Association of America, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $365.24.

A. Robert R. Humphreys, Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $320. E. (9) $94.75.

A. James L. Huntley, Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Clerks International Association, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,200. E. (9) $1,310.10.

A. Philip A. Hutchinson, Jr., the American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $3,454.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Professional Advocacy Before Government Officials and Law-making Bodies, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.
B. Norman E. Watkins, Washington, D.C., Secretary, et al.
E. (9) $253.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.
B. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5.

A. Gerald Hyland, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $775.38. E. (9) $47.35.

A. Frank N. Ikard, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Illinois Railroad Association, Room 808, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.
B. Illinois Railroad Association, Room 808, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,185.50. E. (9) $2,558.86.

A. Bernard J. Imming, United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $312.50.

A. Independent Broker Dealers' Trade Association, 1570 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.
E. (9) $450.

A. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,430.28. E. (9) $6,430.28.

A. Harry A. Inman, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The New York Botanical Garden, Bronx Park, New York, N.Y.

A. Institute for Rapid Transit, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bi-State Transit System, et al.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $43.

A. International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades, 217 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.
D. (6) $43,952. E. (9) $16,711.91.

A. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $14,907.76.

A. Investment Company Institute, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,512.90.

A. Iron Ore Lessors Association, Inc., 1500 First National Bank Building, St. Paul, Minn.
D. (6) $4,458.41. E. (9) $13,868.

A. William E. Isaeff, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert C. Jackson, American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., Suite 840, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.
D. (6) $2,750. E. (9) $220.73.

A. Raymond M. Jacobson, 1819 H Street NW., Suite 800, Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Consulting Planners, 1819 H Street NW., Suite 800, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250.

A. Walter K. Jaenicke, Legislative Relations, National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) $215.

A. Robert L. James, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bank of America N.T. and S.A., Bank of America Center, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $45. E. (9) $60.

A. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.
E. (9) $200.

A. Daniel Jaspan, National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,687.99. E. (9) $73.10.

A. Chas. B. Jennings, 1712 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Stock Yards Association, 1712 I Street NW., Washington.
D. (6) $400.

A. H. Bradley Johnson, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $725.

A. Hugo E. Johnson, 600 Bulkley Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
B. American Iron Ore Association, 600 Bulkley Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

A. James A. Johnson, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $623.50. E. (9) $335.30.

A. Reuben L. Johnson.
B. Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America, Post Office Box 2251, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $4.566.02. E. (9) $107.39.

A. Spencer A. Johnson, National Home Furnishings Association, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Home Furnishings Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $300.

A. Ned Johnston, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Herbert Jolovitz.
B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $130. E. (9) $16.

A. Albert Jones, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $735. E. (9) $277.59.

A. Charlie W. Jones, The Signal Cos, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Signal Cos., Inc., 1010 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. George Bliss Jones, Alabama Railroad Association, Montgomery, Ala.
B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Building, Montgomery, Ala.

A. L. Dan Jones, 110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $22.50.

A. Dr. Oliver H. Jones, Mortgage Bankers Association, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $1,916.

A. Ardon B. Judd, Jr., 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Dresser Industries, Inc., 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Francis M. Judge, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Thomas P. Kerester, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $150.

A. Frank M. Karsten, 810 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Affiliated Government Organizations, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $31.65.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Maryland State Fair and Agricultural Society, Inc., Timonium State Fair Grounds, Timonium, Md.
E. (9) $63.78.

A. Carleton R. Kear, Jr., Retired Officers Association, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Howard B. Keck, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. $300.

A. W. M. Keck, Jr., 1801 Avenue of the Stars—Suite 1110, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $275.

A. Charles C. Keeble, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $19.60.

A. Eugene A. Keeney, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. James C. Kelley, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John T. Kelly, Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

A. Edward F. Kenehan, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 420 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Harold L. Kennedy, Marathon Oil Co., 420 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Marathon Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.
E. (9) $115.40.

A. James J. Kennedy, Jr., Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemont, Ill.
D. (6) $4,119.98. E. (9) $506.23.

A. Robert F. Kennon, 356 St. Charles Street, Baton Rouge, La.
B. Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $363.36.

A. Franklin E. Kepner, The Berwick Bank Building, Berwick, Pa.
B. Associated Railroads of Pennsylvania, Room 1022 Transportation Center, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. (6) $1,800. E. (9) $307.03.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 1108 Stuart Road, Herndon, Va.
B. Time, Inc., Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $425. E. (9) $450.

A. Charles L. King, Munsey Building, 1329 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Line Pilots Association, International, 1329 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $71.

A. Charles L. King, American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $90. E. (9) $5.

A. Joseph T. King, 3600 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Counsel for Associated Equipment Distributors.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $1,065.93.

A. Mr. William S. Kingman, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Suite I–340, Washington, D.C.
B. Continental Telephone Corp., 222 South Central, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chaffetz, Masters & Rowe, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 1133 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Herbert C. Kirsten, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,560. E. (9) $260.54.

A. Ernest A. Kistler, 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
B. Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
D. (6) $770. E. (9) $615.79.

A. James D. Kittelton, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $575.

A. Ralph W. Kittle, International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 409 LaSalle Building, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bowling Proprietors Association of America, Inc., West Higgins Road, Hoffman Estates, Ill.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $65.19.

A. James F. Kmetz, 1437 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,904.

A. Keith R. Knoblock, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. Robert M. Koch, 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $31.60.

A. Kominers, Fort, Schlefer, Farmer & Boyer, 5th Floor, Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of American Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $81.06.

A. Horace R. Kornegay, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $175.

A. Kenneth S. Kovack, United Steelworkers of America, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $3,877.50. E. (9) $1,294.50.

A. June Kysilko Kraeft, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $170.

A. Germaine Krettek, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $637.80.

A. Lloyd R. Kuhn, Aerospace Industries Association, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,784. E. (9) $909.16.

A. Labor Bureau of Middle West, 1155 15th St. NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Labor-Management Committee.
D. (6) $9,873. E. (9) $8,512.28.

A. John P. Lagomarcino, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $312.11.

A. Mr A. M. Lampley, 400 First Street NW., Suite 704. Washington, D.C.
B. United Transportation Union, Railroad Labor Union 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,000. E. (9) $200.

A. Ronald A. Lang, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Asger F. Langlykke, 1913 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Society for Microbiology, 1913 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Albert Lannon, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $3,610.65. E. (9) $329.80.

A. James J. LaPenta, Jr., 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $470.63.

A. Glenn T. Lashley, Public Relations and Civic Activities, District of Columbia Division, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. District of Columbia Division, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald F. Lavanty, American Optometric Association, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Optometric Association, % J. C. Tumblin, O.D., Post Office Box 5147, Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $384.50. E. (9) $363.50.

A. Law Students Against The War, Inc., 815 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,276.22. E. (9) $3,003.53.

A. George H. Lawrence, American Gas Association, Inc., 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $425. E. (9) $110.

A. William Lazarus, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. Paul Leach, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $559.01. E. (9) $2,138.

A. League for Economic Assistance and Development, Inc., 390 Plandome Road, Manhasset, N.Y.
D. (6) $656.84. E. (9) $656.84.

A. Robert F. Lederer, 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Association of Nurserymen, Inc., 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $20. E. (9) $267.84.

A. Charles W. Lee, Suite 302, Congressional Hotel, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs, 300 New Jersey Avenue S.E., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.00. E. (9) $50.00.

A. Legislation for Animal Welfare, Inc., 3045 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $91.52.

A. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,148. E. (9) $1,446.19.

A. Robert J. Leigh, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nils A. Lennartson, Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,999.98.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $18.95.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of Producers of Ferroalloys and Related Products, c/o Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Arden Publishing Co., Tucson, Ariz.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. J. Stanly Lewis, National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,103.50.

A. Liberty Lobby, Inc., 130 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $13,608.57. E. (9) $14,962.29.

A. Herbert Liebenson, National Small Business Association, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Small Business Association, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $1,200.

A. John Lindow, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. Lester W. Lindow, Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc., 1735 De Sales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $217.17. E. (9) $3.

A. Lindsay, Nahstoll, Hart, Duncan, Dafoe & Krause, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Master Contracting Stevedore Association of the Pacific Coast, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,700. E. (9) $941.87.

A. Lindsay, Nahstoll, Hart, Duncan, Dafoe & Krause, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. National Maritime Compensation Committee, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.

A. Edward Lippert, 1816 South Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Americans for Democratic Action, 1424 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,625.09. E. (9) $543.96.

A. Charles B. Lipsen, Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,077. E. (9) $894.53.

A. Robert G. Litschert, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $535.50. E. (9) $331.38.

A. Livestock Producers Committee, 2000 NBC Building, San Antonio, Tex.
B. Livestock Producers Committee, 2000 NBC Building, San Antonio, Tex.
D. (6) $59,000. E. (9) $93,000.

A. Paul H. Long, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 1014, Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $19.50.

A. James F. Lovett, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Westinghouse Electric Corp., 3 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) $200.

A. Wilbur C. Lowrey, Shell Oil Co., 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Milton F. Lunch, National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Clarence T. Lundquist, 4822 Tilden Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Menswear Retailers of America, National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8.

A. H. E. Mahlman, American Optometric Association, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, c/o J. C. Tumblin, O.D., Post Office Box 5147, Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) $23.85.

A. Robert L. Maier, 900 – 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 – 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Andre Maisonpierre, 666 11th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $1,070.

A. William J. Malatesta, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Ben J. Man, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $529.40.

A. Carter Manasco, 5032 Chesterbrook Road, McLean, Va.
B. National Coal Association, Coal Building, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,625. E. (9) $120.40.

A. Mike Manatos, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Procter & Gamble Manufacturing Co., 301 East Sixth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $133. E. (9) $184.70.

A. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $875.

A. Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $3,000.

A. Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West 47th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,250. E. (9) $184.76.

A. Rodney W. Markley, Jr., Ford Motor Co., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

A. Edwin E. Marsh, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
B. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $3,855.10. E. (9) $342.09.

A. Winston W. Marsh, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Paul Marshall, Association of American Railroads, Suite 212, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $155.21. E. (9) $155.15.

A. Thomas A. Martin, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, 300 Tulsa Building, Tulsa, Okla.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $110.

A. Maryland State Fair and Agricultural Society, Inc.-State Fair, Timonium Fair Grounds, Timonium, Md.
E. (9) $63.78.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 2021 L Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, Japanese American Citizens League, 2021 L Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $200.

A. Mike A. Masaoka, Masaoka-Ishikawa And Association, Inc., 2021 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. West Mexico Vegetable Distributors Association, Post Office Box 848, Nogales, Ariz.
D. (6) $500.

A. Alfred Maskin, American Maritime Association, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Maritime Association, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $125. E. (9) $15.

A. Walter J. Mason, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Room 603, Washington, D.C.
B. Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street, NW., Room 603, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,499.91. (E) (9) $2,084.77.

A. P. H. Mathews, Association of American Railroads, Suite 212, 300 New Jersey Avenue, SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Buildings, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $489.90. (E) (9) $403.93.

A. Charles D. Matthews, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $530. E. (9) $545.27.

A. Charles E. Mattingly, National Legislative Commission, The American Legion, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $3,612. E. (9) $110.69.

A. C. V. & R. V. Maudlin, 1111 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Georgia Power Co., 270 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.

A. Arnold Mayer, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., room 410, Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, 2800 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $4,745. E. (9) $700.

A. Shane MacCarthy, 5223 River Road, Washington, D.C.
B. Printing Industries of America, 5223 River Road, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $1,200.

A. John R. MacKenzie, Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Martha McCahill, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Project Pursestrings, 428 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,215.43. E. (9) $1,921.17.

A. William C. McCamant, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300 or less.

A. John A. McCart, Government Employee Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Government Employes Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,577.27.

A. W. W. McClanahan, Jr., National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $437.50.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cities Service Co., 60 Wall Tower, New York, N.Y.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Resources & Chemical Corp., 2125 Tenneco Building, Houston, Tex.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf & Western Industries, Inc., 1 Gulf & Western Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 52d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. E. L. McCulloch, National Legislative Representative and Assistant Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Room 814, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
D. (6) $284.60. E. (9) $81.50.

A. Albert L. McDermott, American Hotel & Motel Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $200.

A. Joseph J. McDonald, United Steelworkers of America, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $3,877.50. E. (9) $616.20.

A. Joseph A. McElwain, 40 East Broadway, Butte, Mont.
B. The Montana Power Co., Butte, Mont.
E. (9) $38.58.

A. William G. McFadzean, Apostle Islands Residents Committee, 505 Foshay Tower, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $9,461.97. E. (9) $6,041.65.

A. Mrs. Barbara D. McGarry, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Parents Committee Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Raymond McGlaughlin, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $6,000.

A. Marshall C. McGrath, International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $560. E. (9) $66.48.

A. Peter E. McGuire, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemount, Ill.
D. (6) $2,492.34. E. (9) $1,662.97.

A. Clifford G. McIntire, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $6.02.

A. Clarence M. McIntosh, Jr., 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,749.99.

A. William F. McKenna, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $145.

A. Marvin L. McLain, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,850. E. (9) $60.78.

A. Mrs. Teresa D. McLaughlin, Mortgage Bankers Association, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $2,449.

A. John S. McLees, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $330.41.

A. William F. McManus, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $925. E. (9) $360.

A. C. W. McMillan, National Press Building, 14th and F Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American National Cattlemen's Association, 1540 Emerson Street, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Charles R. McNeill, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $803.26.

A. McNutt, Dudley & Easterwood, Attorneys at Law, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Dredging Co., 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., et al.
D. (6) $3,150. E. (9) $173.56.

A. George G. Mead, Government Relations, 128 C Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Society of Radiologic Technologists, 645 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $4,000. E. (9) $794.65.

A. Medical-Surgical Manufacturers Association, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Medical-Surgical Manufacturers Association, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,037.50. E. (9) $1,364.23.

A. Mr. Carl J. Megel, American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $12,100.

A. R. Otto Meletzke, Life Insurance Association of America, 1710 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $183.15. E. (9) $3.77.

A. Mr. Ellis E. Meredith, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Apparel Manufacturers Association, Inc., 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) Approximately $400. E. (9) Approximately $360.

A. Lawrence C. Merthan, Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $250.

A. Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Same.
E. (9) $5,000.

A. George F. Meyer, Jr., Retired Officers Association, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $812.50.

A. Larry L. Meyer, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washintgon, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. James G. Michaux, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Federated Department Stores, Inc., 222 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $500.

A. Midland Cooperative Dairy Association, Box 128, Cazenovia, N.Y.

A. Capt. A. Stanley Miller, 1629 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $150.

A. Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Battelle Memorial Institute, 505 King Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
D. (6) $20,000. E. (9) $12.22.

A. Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington Mutual Investors Fund, Inc., Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Litton Industries, Inc., 9370 Santa Monica Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.
D. (6) $25,000.

A. Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Burbank, Calif.
D. (6) $20,000.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Dallas, Tex, Chamber of Commerce.
D. (6) $1,950.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Intracoastal Canal Association, 2211 1st National Life Building, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $2625.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., Newgulf, Tex., and New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2250.

A. Edwin Reid Miller, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Neb.
B. Nebraska Railroads Legislative Committee, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $4,999.98. E. (9) $2,327.40.

A. Hermon I. Miller, 5116 Moorland Lane, Bethesda, Md.
B. National Turkey Federal, Mount Morris, Ill.

A. Joseph L. Miller, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Northern Textile Association, et al.
D. (6) $4,800. E.(9) $1,000.

A. Lester F. Miller, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $496. E. (9) $26.

A. Luman G. Miller, Portland, Oreg.
B. Oregon Railroad Association, Portland, Oreg.
E. (9) $694.

A. Robert H. Miller, Tenneco Inc., 402 Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Tenneco Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $68.75.

A. Jack Mills, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc.
D. (6) $1,000. E.(9) $250.

A. Daniel Minchew, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $249.99.

A. Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., 3–M Center, St. Paul, Minn.
B. Same.
E. (9) $25.

A. Clarence Mitchell, 422 First Street, SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,000.

A. Joseph E. Moody, 918 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Bituminous Coal Operators Association, 918 16th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. O. William Moody, Jr., 815 16th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Maritime Trades Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th St., NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,375.

A. Susan Moon, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Nurses Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,566.99. E. (9) $4,361.82.

A. Carlos Moore, 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,249.

A. Albert P. Morano, 7 Mallard Drive, Greenwich, Conn.
B. Cheney Bros., Manchester, Conn.
D. $1,500.

A. Jo V. Morgan, Jr., 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Humane Association, Post Office Box 1266, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Morison, Murphy, Abrams & Haddock, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ethyl Corp., 330 South Fourth Street, Richmond, Va.
E. (9) $2.

A. Morison, Murphy, Abrams & Haddock, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. James M. Morris, 1660 L Street NW., Room 804, Washington, D.C.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $853.11.

A. James G. Morton, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) Under $50.

A. Jack Moskowitz, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $496.88.

A. Lynn E. Mote, Northern Natural Gas Co., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Northern Natural Gas Co., 2223 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $2,000.

A. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $77.

A. John J. Murphy, National Customs Service Association, 517 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Customs Service Association, 517 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

A. D. Michael Murray, 915 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $70.

A. William E. Murray, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $185.

A. Kenneth D. Naden, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,062.51. E. (9) $113.69.

A. John J. Nagle, 215 Watergate Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Independent Insurers, 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $586.

A. Augustus Nasmith, Pennsylvania Station, Raymond Plaza, Newark, N.J.
B. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Raymond Plaza, Newark, N.J.
D. (6) $7,875. E. (9) $94.55.

A. National Agricultural Chemicals Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $877.50. E. (9) $877.50.

A. National Associated Businessmen, 1000 Conn. Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $757.34. E. (9) $1,084.11.

A. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $15,169.04. E. (9) $13,228.92.

A. National Association of Credit Management, 44 East 23d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $112.90.

A. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,916.70. E. (9) $9,665.03.

A. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $500.

A. National Association of Insurance Agents, Inc., 96 Fulton St., New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $12,727.83.

A. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $663,992.48. E. (9) $78,552.50.

A. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, 545 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $487.12. E. (9) $487.12.

A. National Association of Mutual Insurance Cos., 2511 East 46th Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

A. National Association of Mutual Insurance Cos., 2511 East 46th Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. National Association of Mutual Insurance Cos., 2511 East 46th Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

A. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $35,000. E. (9) $24,976.37.

A. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 417 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12,413.50. E. (9) $11,667.13.

A. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior St., Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $16,023.23.

A. National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $1,500.

A. National Audio-Visual Association, Inc., 3150 Spring Street, Fairfax, Va.
D. (6) $23,953.77. E. (9) $3,555.95.

A. National Automobile Dealers Association, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,799.56. E. (9) $1,799.56.

A. National Boiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. $500.

A. National Coal Association, Coal Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $438,666.80. E. (9) $9,682.95.

A. National Coal Policy Conferences, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,260.50. E. (9) $4,157.22.

A. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 10000 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $11,825. E. (9) $11,724.31.

A. National Committee for Research in Neurological Disorders, % 251 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $11,616.77. E. (9) $11,616.77.

A. National Congress of Parents & Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $223,639.17. E. (9) $171.71.

A. National Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, 3027 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.
D. (6) $600. E. (9) $530.42.

A. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Technical Service Industries (NCTSI), 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $811.20. E. (9) $688.81.

A. National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation, 202 East 44th Street, New York City.
E. (9) $1,500.

A. National Electrical Contractors Association, Inc., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $132,405.50. E. (9) $3,546.69.

A. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $272,819.73. E. (9) $16,953.33.

A. National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., 920–922 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $16,886.14. E. (9) $16,886.14.

A. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,058.50. E. (9) $1,279.93.

A. National Grain & Feed Association 500 Folger Building, 725 15th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $85.

A. The National Grange, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $122,520.66. E. (9) $10,375.

A. National Home Furnishing Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $395.55.

A. National Housing Conference, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 632, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,006.40. E. (9) $28,954.64.

A. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $484.20.

A. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,990.68. E. (9) $1,389.23.

A. National Limestone Institue, Inc., 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,536.50. E. (9) $1,536.50.

A. National Livestock Feeders Association, Inc., 309 Livestock Exchange Building, Omaha, Nebra.
D. (6) $6,616.09. E. (9) $6,616.09.

A. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,537.04. E. (9) $7,537.04.

A. National Multiple Sclerosis Society, 257 Park Avenue South, New York City.
E. (9) $944.47.

A. National Patent Council, 1225 19th Street NW., Suite 409, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,361. E. (9) $780.

A. National Realty Trust, 60 Hickory Drive, Waltham, Mass.

A. National Rehabilitation Association, 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,809.06. E. (9) $1,290.02.

A. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,050. E. (9) $8,520.

A. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12,500. E. (9) $11,540.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $763.63. E. (9) $840.89.

A. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,193.

A. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $160. E. (9) $160.

A. National Turkey Federation, Mount Morris, Ill.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $12,679. E. (9) $5,764.06.

A. The Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,650. E. (9) $10,511.93.

A. Alexander W. Neale, Jr., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,875. E. (9) $140.84.

A. Alan M. Nedry, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Southern California Edison Co., Post Office Box 351, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $809.55.

A. Robert B. Neville, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Restaurant Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,687.50. E. (9) $100.

A. Allen Neece, Jr., 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Small Business Investment Cos., 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Mr. Samuel E. Neel, 1707 H Street NW., Mortgage Bankers Association of America, Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Frances E. Neely, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,394.

A. Ivan A. Nestingen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $252.

A. Louis H. Nevins, Realtors' Washington Committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 E. Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,833. E. (9) $128.35.

A. John A. Nevius, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,750. E. (9) $607.75.

A. E. J. Newbould, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Clay Pipe Institute, 350 West Terra Cotta Avenue, Crystal Lake, Ill.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $10.

A. Sarah H. Newman, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Consumers League, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,650.

A. F. Clayton Nicholson, Box 15, Route 1, Henryville, Pa.
B. Northern Helex Co., 2223 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $2,100. E. (9) $583.47.

A. Patrick J. Nilan, United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,753.40. E. (9) $1,316.01.

A. James W. Nisbet, Western Railroad Association, 280 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

B. Western Railroad Association, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

A. Stanley D. Noble, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
B. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles M. Noone, 1125 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Small Business Investment Cos., 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $181.92.

A. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., 8 North Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Va.
E. (9) $1,090.

A. Robert H. North, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $45.77.

A. Ira H. Nunn, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Restaurant Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,375. E. (9) $250.

A. Seward P. Nyman, D.P.M., 20 Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D.C.
B. American Podiatry Association, 20 Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $650.

A. Richard T. O'Connell, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,463.74. E. (9) $55.20.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $515.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Suite 1303, Washington, D.C.
B. American Transit Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $114.50.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Suite 1303, Washington, D.C.
B. Baldwin Piano Co., 1801 Gilbert Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
E. (9) $343.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Suite 1303, Washington, D.C.
B. Upper Mississippi Towing Corp., 7703 Normandale Road, Room 110, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $111.

A. John A. O'Donnell, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW. No. 716, Washington, D.C .
B. Philippine Sugar Institute, Post Office Box 978, Manila, Philippines.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $250.

A. Jane O'Grady, Committee for Community Affairs, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee for Community Affairs, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $297.84.

A. Richard C. O'Hare, 1120 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Harness Tracks of America, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
E. (9) $614.93.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Suite 706, Washington, D.C.
B. The Sperry and Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Claude E. Olmstead, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $496. E. (9) $26.

A. Samuel Omasta, 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 1315 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $13.90.

A. Charles T. O'Neill, Jr., The American Bankers Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $165.70.

A. Jerry H. Opack, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Kermit Overby, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $185.

A. J. Allen Overton, Jr., American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Raymond S. Page, Jr., Mill Creek Terrace, Gladwyne, Pa.
B. Campbell Soup Co., 375 Memorial Avenue, Camden, N.J.

A. Walter Page, Box 128, Cazenovia, NY.

A. Norman Paige, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lew M. Paramore, Water Resources Associated, Post Office Box 1310, Kansas City, Kans.
B. Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Don Parel, Association of American Railroads, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $64.04.

A. Michael L. Parker, 3300 Crocker Plaza, San Francisco, Calif.
B. Kaiser Foundation Health Plan: Prepaid Group Medical Care, 300 Lakeside Drive, Oakland, Calif.
D. (6) $1,833.33. E. (9) $1,251.85.

A. George F. Parrish, West Virginia Railroad Association, Post Office Box 7, Charleston, W. Va.
B. West Virginia Railroad Association.
D. (6) $6,000. E. (9) $196.65.

A. Parsons, Tennent & Zeidman, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Franchise Association, 1 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $125.

A. Parsons, Tennent & Zeidman, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Council of Housing Producers, 1901 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Robert D. Partridge, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $123.83.

A. Perry S. Patterson, Suite 1100, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automatic Phonograph Manufacturers, et al.

A. Patton, Blow, Verrill, Brand & Boggs, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. New Process Co., Warren, Pa.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Patton, Blow, Verrill, Brand & Boggs, Suite 700, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Boating Industry Association, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) Under $500.

A. Patton, Blow, Verrill, Brand & Boggs, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc., 140 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $300.

A. Patton, Blow, Verrill, Brand & Boggs, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., Pleasantville, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Alaska Federation of Natives, Anchorage, Alaska.
E. (9) $1,390.03.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Computer Lessors Association, Inc., 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Denver Post, Inc., 650 15th Street, Denver, Colo.
E. (9) $2.50.

A. Peabody, Rivlin, Kelly, Cladouhos & Lambert, 1730 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mass Retailing Institute, 570 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $173.46.

A. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $2,641.81.

A. Mr. D. V. Pensabene, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50. E. (9) $25.

A. J. Carter Perkins, Manager, Washington Office, Shell Oil Co., 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. J. Pessel, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $245.

A. A. Harold Peterson, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
B. National REA Telephone Association, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,881.60.

A. Michael Petresky, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit Mich.
D. (6) $2,550.

A. Walter T. Phair, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $425. E. (9) $350.

A. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John P. Philbin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $451.10.

A. Bruce E. Phillips, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

B. Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 1000 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,333.33. E. (9) $223.22.

A James H. Pipkin, Texaco Inc., 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. D.C.
B. Texaco Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $760.

A. Plains Cotton Growers, Inc., 1720 Avenue M, Lubbock, Tex.
D. (6) $21,173.91. E. (9) $1,350.

A. J. Francis Pohlhaus, Washington Bureau, NAACP, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Political Action Team, Inc., 714 21st Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,585. E. (9) $587.92.

A. Frederick T. Poole, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $418.

A. Carl Pope, 1340 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Zero Population Growth, 367 State Street, Los Altos, Calif.
D. (6) $420. E. (9) $35.

A. Robert R. Poston, 908 Colorado Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $262.37.

A. George G. Potts, 520 Investment Building NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mutual Agents, 520 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,947.05.

A. Ramsay D. Potts, Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbrige & Madden, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $29.40.

A. William J. Potts, Jr., 1730 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association for Broadcast Engineering Standards, Inc., 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard M. Powell, National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.

A. William I. Powell, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $15.60.

A. Carlton H. Power, 1918 North Parkway, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $540.

A. William C. Prather, 221 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. U.S. Savings & Loan League, 221 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $475.

A. William H. Press, Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,500. E. (9) $612.31.

A. Forrest J. Prettyman, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $15.10.

A. Mrs. Pearl B. Price, 406 Mayrant Drive, Dallas, Tex.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Jerry C. Pritchett, 59 Ivy Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Mechanical Contractors Association of America, 5530 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $500.

A. Project Pursestrings, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $48,887.48. E. (9) $45,592.05.

A. Earle W. Putnam, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Quin, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Grange, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. William A. Quinlan, Route 1, Box 199, Annapolis, Md.
D. (6) $486.41. E. (9) $136.98.

A. Arthur Lee Quinn, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Hambro American Bank & Trust Co., 25 Broad Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Luke C. Quinn, Jr., 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Cancer Society, New York City, et al.
D. (6) $10,749.98. E. (9) $10,649.34.

A. Thomas H. Quinn, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., suite 1303, Washington, D.C.
B. Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,974.19. E. (9) $227.52.

A. Alex Radin, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $341.40.

A. Edward F. Ragland, 6917 Marbury Road, Bethesda, Md.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Room 804, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,752. E. (9) $10,752.

A. Alan T. Rains, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $40.63.

A. Carl R. Ramsey, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.
B. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.

A. G. J. Rauschenbach, Director, Congressional Relations and Corporate Development, Communications Satellite Corp.
B. Communications Satellites Corp., 950 1 L'Enfant Plaza SW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $875.

A. Sydney C. Reagan, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.
B. Southwestern Peanut Shellers Association, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.
D. (6) $150.

A. Recording Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $65,799.60. E. (9) $40,627.83.

A. John T. Reggitts, Jr., 95 Boonton Avenue, R.D. No. 2, Boonton, N.J.

A. W. W. Renfroe, Kentucky Railroad Association, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.
B. Kentucky Railroad Association, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.
E. (9) $717.06.

A. Research to Prevent Blindness, Inc., 598 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,900.

A. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Reserve Officers Association of United States.
D. (6) $126,881. E. (9) $494.17.

A. Ronald E. Resh, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Wyatt and Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Retired Officers Association, 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,562.50.

A. John A. Reusing, 1707 H Street NW., Mortgage Bankers Association of America, Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $875. E. (9) $1,086.

A. Theron J. Rice, Continental Oil Co., 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Continental Oil Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Harry H. Richardson, 335 Austin Street, Bogalusa, La.
B. Louisiana Railroads, 335 Austin Street, Bogalusa, La.
D. (6) $33.75. E. (9) $79.03.

A. Lloyd C. Richardson, Jr., South Dakota Railroads Association, Post Office Box 489, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
B. Burlington Northern, et al.
D. (6) $87.50. E. (9) $477.02.

A. James W. Riddell, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Kellogg Co., Battle Creek, Mich.

A. James W. Riddell, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Volume Footwear Retailers of America, 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Siert F. Riepma, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, 545 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, 545 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $435.

A. Mr. Richard N. Rigby, Jr., 1900 L Street NW., suite 301, Washington, D.C.
B. National Oceanography Association, 1900 L Street NW., suite 301, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $59.50.

A. John Riley, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $628.12. E. (9) $70.64.

A. John S. Rippey, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Consumer Bankers Association, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $400.

A. Paul H. Robbins, National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Proprietary Association, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. $500.

A. William S. Roberts, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Corporative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $75.

A. Charles A. Robinson, Jr., 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Corporative Association, 200 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $185.

A. James A. Rock, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $178. E. (9) $7.22.

A. C. Richard Rogers, 1600 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rifle Association of America, 1600 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald L. Rogers, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies, 730 15th Street NW., Washigton, D.C.
D. (6) $656.25.

A. Walter E. Rogers, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Nathaniel H. Rogg, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $83.46.

A. William E. Rollow, Esq., National Capital Area Council of Sportsmen, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Attorney for National Capital Area Council of Sportsmen, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William E. Rollow, Esq., 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Skeet Shooting Association.

A. Michael J. Romig, American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Association, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $250.

A. Michael P. Roudnev, 1825 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Del Monte Corp., 215 Fremont Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $50.

A. Robert J. Routier, American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. John Forney Rudy, 902 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.

A. Albert R. Russell, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $461.55. E. (9) $85.37.

A. Joseph C. Russo, Jr., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $55. E. (9) $38.18.

A. J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc., 1555 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $1,155.75.

A. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Stanley H. Ruttenberg & Associates, Inc., 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $25.

A. Stanley H. Ruttenberg & Associates, Inc., 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $1,925.

A. William H. Ryan, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,137.50. E. (9) $480.

A. Sachs, Greenebaum, Frohlich & Tayler, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ontario Corp., 1200 West Jackson Street, Muncie, Ind.
D. (6) $2,110. E. (9) $15.90.

A. Carl K. Sadler, American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Same.
D. (6) $5,722.50. E. (9) $8,157.57.

A. Robert A. Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Business Press, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,562.50. E. (9) $3,980.73.

A. Miss Patricia A. Samuel, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $61,827.11. E. (9) $10,306.66.

A. Eric P. Schellin, 1225 19th Street NW., Suite 409, Washington, D.C.
B. National Patent Council, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Maryland State Fair and Agricultural Society, Inc., Timonium State Fair Grounds, Timonium, Md.
E. (9) $63.78.

A. Edwin R. Schneider, Jr., Esquire, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mail Advertisers Educational Committee of the Major Mailers and Producers and Producers of the Mail Advertising Service Association International, Inc., 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,500. E. (9) $1,844.05.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, Suite 304, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., Suite 304, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $555. E. (9) $227.50.

A. Scribner, Hall, Casey, Thornburg & Thompson, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Jefferson Pilot Corp., Post Office Box 21008, Greensboro, N.C.
E. (9) $3.

A. Scribner, Hall, Casey, Thornburg & Thompson, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Realty Committee on Taxation, 299 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,650.

A. Durward Seals, United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $212.50.

A. Ronald C. Seeley, 1357 Nicolet Place, Detroit, Mich.
B. Estate of Bert N. Adams, et al.
E. (9) $242.80.

A. Stanton Sender, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. W. O. Senter, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Leo Seybold, Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $309.20.

A. Robert L. Shafer, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pfizer Inc., 235 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $300.

A. Joseph H. Sharlitt, Esquire, 1129 20th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mail Advertisers Educational Committee of the Major Mailers and Producers of the Mail Advertising Service Association International, Inc., 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,500. E. (9) $1,844.05.

A. James R. Sharp, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Fur Merchants' Association, 224 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $445.46.

A. Arnold F. Shaw, Esq., 503 D Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Committee for the Recording Arts, 9300 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.

A. Kenneth D. Shaw, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 6300 River Road, Rosemont, Ill.
D. (6) $750.

A. Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbridge & Madden, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee on Foreign Owned Banks, 52 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,000. E. (9) $75.25.

A. Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbridge & Madden, Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. John J. Sheehan, United Steelworkers of America, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $5,212.50. E. (9) $2,185.67.

A. Laurence P. Sherfy, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,075.

A. Dale Sherwin, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1750. E. (9) $25.33.

A. Ira Shesser, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Max Shine, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $992.50. E. (9) $20.

A. Shipley, Akerman, Pickett, Stein, & Kaps, 1108 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Broker Dealers, 1570 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.
E. (9) $250.

A. Robert L. Shortle, Water Resources Associated, 1147 International Trade Mart Tower, New Orleans, La.
B. Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mr. Grant S. Shotwell, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Associated General Contractors of America, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $100.

A. Charles B. Shuman, American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. David Silver, 1775 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 1775 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $31.

A. Silver Users Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $335. E. (9) $1,578.68.

A. Lana H. Sims, South Carolina Railroad Association, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.
B. South Carolina Railroad Association, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.
D. (6) $97.62. E. (9) $144.11.

A. Mr. Hall H. Sisson, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Aerospace Services Association, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $220.

A. Six Agency Committee, room 302, 217 West First Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $10,160. E. (9) $3,000.

A. Carstens Slack, Phillips Petroleum Co., 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, Okla.

A. William L. Slayton, the American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Stephen Slipher, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. U.S. Savings & Loan League, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $10.80.

A. Smathers, Merrigan & O'Keefe, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Horse Council, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,250. E. (9) $552.59.

A. Donald E. Smiley, Suite 1008, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., P.O. Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $211.97.

A. T. W. Smiley, Room 808, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.
B. Illinois Railroad Association, Room 808, 135 E. 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $3,185.50. E. (9) $2,558.86.

A. Wayne H. Smithey, Ford Motor Co., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $2,296.20. E. (9) $1,098.20.

A. Mrs. Irvin A. Smith, North Dakota Railway Lines, 418 East Rosser Avenue, Box 938, Bismarck, N. Dak.
E. (9) $11.75.

A. Robert Wm. Smith, Washington Staff, Ford Motor Co., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $1,201. E. (9) $287.

A. Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Jr., 1709 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Va.
B. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $543.31. E. (9) $1,932.62.

A. Wallace M. Smith, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Unsubsidized Lines, 1054 31st Street, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,300. E. (9) $64.40.

A. Association of American Railroads, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $386.32. E. (9) $208.

A. Frank B. Snodgrass, 1726 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Inc., Box 860, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $487.50. E. (9) $101.85.

A. Edward F. Snyder, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,659.

A. Society for Animal Protective Legislation, Post Office Box 3719, Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,428.21. E. (9) $3,894.39.

A. Carl A. Soderblom, Nevada Railroad Association, 1 East First Street, Room 803, Reno, Nev.
B. Nevada Railroad Association, 1 East First Street, Room 803, Reno, Nev.
D. (6) $75. E. (9) $435.87.

A. J. Taylor Soop, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,999.80.

A. Gary A. Soucie, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Friends of the Earth, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100.

A. Southwestern Peanut Shellers Association, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. William W. Spear, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,176.92. E. (9) $5.18.

A. Frank J. Specht, Schenley Industries, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Schenley Industries, Inc., 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Mr. John F. Speer, Jr., 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lawrence Speiser, care of American Civil Liberties Union, 1424 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Nicholas J. Spiezio, Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $1,916.

A. Joseph L. Spilman, Jr., 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, 300 Tulsa Building, Tulsa, Okla.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $90.

A. Louis P. Spitz, 1828 L Street NW., Suite 500, Washington, D.C.
B. American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, 1828 L Street NW., Suite 500, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Lynn Stalbaum, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Dairymen, Inc., Room 713, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $450.

A. Melvin L. Stark, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Assocation, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 515, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $350.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 540, Washington, D.C.
B. Pan-American Coffee Bureau, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,600.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $550.

A. Steinhart, Goldberg, Feigenbaum & Ladar, Crocker Plaza 3400, Montgomery at Post, San Francisco, Calif.
B. Valley Center Municipal Water District, Valley Center, Calif.
D. (6) $3,900. E (9) $728.05.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Green Olive Trade Association, Inc., 82 Beaver Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mallinckrodt Chemical Works, Post Office Box 5439, St. Louis, Mo.
D. (6) $500.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Teachers Insurance & Annuity Association of America, 730 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,610. E. (9) $1,180.96.

A. B. H. Steuerwald, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, 400 First Street, Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, 2247 West Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $50.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $50.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $50.

A. Travis B. Stewart, Hoffman-La Roche, Inc., 340 Kingsland Street, Nutley, N.J.
B. Hoffman-La Roche, Inc., 340 Kingsland Street, Nutley, N.J.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $400.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Kennedy, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Imported Footwear Group, American Importers Association, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $450.

A. Sterling F. Stoudenmire, Jr., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.
B. Waterman Steamship Corp., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.

A. Francis W. Stover, National Legislative Service, VFW, 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S., 200 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,350. E. (9) $449.28.

A. Walter B. Stults, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. G. Don Sullivan, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. William M. Stover, Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $852.27. E. (9) $100.

A. Strasser, Speigelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Federation of American Scientists, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) None.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Hualapai Tribe of the Hualapai Reservation, Box 168, Peach Springs, Ariz.
D. (6) $469.50. E. (9) None.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community, Box 120, Route 1, Scottsdale, Ariz.

D. (6) $875.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. San Carlos Apache Tribe, San Carlos, Ariz.
D. (6) $469.50.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Seneca Nation of Indians, Box 231, Haley Community Building, Salamanca, N.Y.
D. (6). $7,500 E. None.

A. Herald E. Stringer, The American Legion, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $5,304. E. (9) $718.88.

A. John D. Stringer, 666 11th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $470.

A. Norman Strunk, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill
B. U.S. Savings & Loan League, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) None.

A. Barry Sullivan, 536 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of River & Harbor Contractors, 536 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $73.71.

A. Frank L. Sundstrom, 1776 K Street NW., Suite 1200 Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW., Suite 1200, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,225. E. (9) $650.

A. John T Sun, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. C. Austin Sutherland, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW. Washington, D.C.

A. Sutton Shull & O'Rourke, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,952.09

A. Irving W. Swanson, Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Noble J. Swearingen, 128 C Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, 1740 Broadway, New York, N.Y
D. (6) $950. E (9) None.

A. John R Sweeney, Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $267.40.

A. Russell A. Swindell, Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.
B. North Carolina Railroad Association, Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.
D. (6) $143.76. E. (9) $258.53.

A. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $608.41. E. (9) $608.41.

A. Russell D. Tall, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1129 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Rev. Charles C. Talley, 100 Angus Court, Charlottesville, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. H. William Tanaka, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ajinomoto Co. of New York, Inc., Squibb Building, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $66.

A. H. William Tanaka, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Toshiba America, Inc., 477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $93.

A. Roy W. Terwilliger, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. L. D. Tharp, Jr., 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Evert S. Thomas, Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $1,292.31. E. (9) $831.13.

A. Clark W. Thompson, Tenneco, Inc., 402 Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Tenneco Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.

A. Julia C. Thompson, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,372.90.

A. William B. Thompson, Jr., Association of American Railroads, suite 212, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, American Railroads Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $47.98 E. (9) $117.

A. Eugene M. Thore, 1701 K Street NW., suite 503, Washington, D.C.
B. Medical Information Bureau, 35 Mason Street, Greenwich, Conn.
D. (6) $1,800. E. (9) $465.75.

A. E. Linwood Tipton, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Tobacco Associates, Inc., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,470.

A. Maurice B. Tobin, suite 809, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. H. Willis Tobler, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,800. E. (9) $259.10.

A. David R. Toll, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $804. E. (9) $744.82.

A. F. Gerald Toye, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $34.30.[1]

A. John P. Tracey, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $50.

A. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $400.

A. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $429.18.

A. Richard S. Tribbe, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trans World Airlines, Inc., 10 Richards Road, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Matt Triggs, American Farm Bureau Federation, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,312. E. (9) 79.67.

A. Bernard H. Trimble, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Electrical Contractors Association, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Glenwood S. Troop, Jr., 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. U.S. Savings & Loan League, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $80.25.

A. Joel B. True, 918, 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $625. E. (9) $250.

A. Galen Douglas Trussel, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. $792. E. (9) $155.69.

A. Dick Tullis, 607 Maple Terrace, Dallas, Tex.
B. Superior Oil Co., Houston, Tex. and Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. W. Lloyd Tupling, Washington representatives, Trustees for Conservation, 235 Massachusetts Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Trustees for Conservation, 251 Kearny Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) none. E. (9) 461.

A. Richard F. Turney, 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Association of Nurserymen, 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $20. E. (9) $287.84.

A. John D. Tyson, assistant director, Government Relations.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $456. E. (9) $103.76.

A. United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc. 66 East 34th Street, New York City.
E. (9) $1,602.81.

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[1] Does not include any allocation of overhead, clerical, etc., services provided by employes.

A. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $651,024.78. E. (9) $59,998.95.

A. U.S. Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. U.S. Cane Sugar Refiners Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $246.04.

A. U.S. Savings Association & Loan League, 111 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $37,339.66.

A. The Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $44,000. E. (9) $2,540.04.

A. John A. Vance, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $2,565. E. (9) $1,831.89.

A. Theodore A. Vanderzyde, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,137.50. E. (9) $480.

A. Mrs. Lois W. Van Valkenburgh, 1673 Preston, Road, Alexandria, Va.
B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Venable, Baetjer, & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Maryland State Fair & Agricultural Society, Inc., Timonium State Fair Grounds. Timonium, Md.
E. (9) $63.78.

A. Richard E. Vernor, American Life Convention, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $765. E. (9) $3.55.

A. Mr. L. T. Vice, Suite 1204, 1700 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Company of California, Suite 1204, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $65.

A. Volume Footwear Retailers of America, 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $20.86.

A. E. R. Wagner, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $215.38. E. (9) $25.07.

A. Paul A. Wagner, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $742.50. E. (9) $218.06.

A. Harold S. Walker, Jr., American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Jack A. Waller, International Association of Fire Fighters, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Fire Fighters, International Union, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,500.

A. Franklin Wallick, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Solidarity House, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $4,493.44. E. (9) $990.73.

A. William A. Walton, 800 Merchants National Bank Building, Eighth and Jackson Streets, Topeka, Kans.
B. Kansas Railroad Committee, 800 Merchants National Bank Building, Eighth and Jackson Streets, Topeka, Kans.
E. (9) $1,050.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $285.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago, 401 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $800.

A. E. Jerome Webster, Jr.
B. American Frozen Food Institute, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $100.

A. Dr. Frank J. Welch, 3724 Manor Road, Chevy Chase, Md.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Welch, 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
B. Wellington Management Co., 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Wenchel, Schulman & Manning, 1625 K. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Heckscher Foundation for Children, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,850.21.

A. Wenchel, Schulman & Manning, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Public Welfare Foundation, Inc., 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Terrell M. Wertz, National Legislative Commission, The American Legion, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $3,210. E. (9) $20.

A. West Mexico Vegetable Distributors Association, Post Office Box 848, Nogales, Ariz.
E. (9) $500.

A. Western Railroad Association, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clyde A. Wheeler, Jr., Federal Bar Building, West Suite 620, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sun Oil Co., 1608 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. (9) $1,550.

A. John L. Wheeler, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 802, Washington, D.C.
B. Sears, Roebuck and Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Donald F. White, American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. John C. White, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Private Truck Council of America, Inc., 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John S. White, Marathon Oil Co., 420 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Marathon Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.
E. (9) $148.48.

A. Robert L. White, Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Electrical Contractors Association, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Douglas Whitlock II, 910 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Montgomery Ward & Co., Inc., 910 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $150.

A. William E. Wickert, Jr., Solar Building, 1000 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $238.10.

A. Claude C. Wild, Jr., 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $250.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Congress of American Indians, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hoopa Valley Tribe.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Estate of Albert W. Small, care of Mrs. Albert W. Small, 5803 Green Tree Road, Bethesda, Md.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities, care of John Howard, President, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Computer Time Sharing Service Section of the Association of Data Processing Organizations, Inc., 551 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1.50.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $629.46.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. College Placement Council, Inc., 65 East Elizabeth Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
E. (9) $3.70.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker., 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Quinaielt Tribe of Indians, Taholah, Wash.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.
E. (9) $48.15.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, New Town, N. Dak.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Taos Pueblo, Tatos, N. Mex.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun, & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Data Processing Service Organizations, Inc., 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $659.43.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun, & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Araphoe Indian Tribe, Fort Washakie, Wyo.
E. (9) $24.37.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun, & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 47 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
E. (9) $1.75.

A. Francis G. Williams.
B. American Frozen Food Institute, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $100.

A. Harding deC. Williams, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.
D .(6) $175. E. (9) $75.

A. J. D. Williams, Williams & Jensen, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pinkerton Holding Corp., 100 Church Street, New York, N.Y.

A. John C. Williamson, Realtors' Washington Committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 E. Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $261.40.

A. Kenneth Williamson, American Hospital Association, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $10,000. E. (9) $6,053.22.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Jonathan Development Corp., Post Office Box 68, Chaska, Minn.
E. (9) $27.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Stret NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chronicle Publishing Co., Fifth and Mission Streets, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $686. E. (9) $9.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street, Washington, D.C.
B. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
D. (6) $997.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, 1133 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $10.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
D. (6) $735.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
D. (6) $800.

A. E. Raymond Wilson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $345.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Oakley Drive, Shreveport, La.
B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $42.63.

A. R. J. Winchester, 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $499.18.

A. Richard F. Witherall, Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Bldg., Denver, Colo.
B. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Bldg., Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $1,325. E. (9) $3,025.

A. Peter L. Wolff, 1 Dupont Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Law Schools, 1 Dupont Circle NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nathan T. Wolkomir, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,160. E. (9) $1,128.03.

A. William E. Woods, 440 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The National Association of Retail Druggists, One East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $150.

A. James Woodside, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $240. E. (9) $20.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Flying Tiger Line, Inc., Los Angeles International Airport, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Signal Companies, Inc., 1010 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Perry W. Woofter, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,719. E. (9) $392.29.

A. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $800.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchel, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associacion Nacional De Cultivadores De Cana De Azucar, Post Box 4448, Cali, Colombia.
E. (9) $1.50.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchel, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. City of Palm Springs, Calif., Municipal Building, Palm Springs, Calif.
E. (9) $1.50.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchel, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchell, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Unionamerica, Inc., 435 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $1.50.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchel, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Motion Picture & Television Producers, 8480 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif., et al.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $1.50.

A. Wyman, Bautzer, Finell, Rothman & Kuchel, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Copyright Owners Negotiating Committee, care of Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim & Ballon, 477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1.50.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Corporate Owners of One Bank, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $73.33.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. First National City Bank, 399 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $85.05.

A. J. Banks Young, Room 610, Ring Building, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, P.O. Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $1,575.

A. Zero Population Growth, 367 State Street, Los Altus, Calif.
B. None.
D. (6) $1,032. E. (9) $1,032.

A. Albert H. Zinkand, Getty Oil Co., 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Getty Oil Co., 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John L. Zorack, Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transportation Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $464.60.

A. Charles O. Zuver, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $850. E. (9) $135.

QUARTERLY REPORTS*

*All alphanumeric characters and monetary amounts refer to receipts and expenditures on page 2, paragraphs D and E of the Quarterly Report Form.

The following reports for the first calendar quarter of 1970 were received too late to be included in the published reports for that quarter:

A. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7.100. E. (9) $5,918.88.

A. Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, Post Office Box 5800 Washington, D.C.
B. As above.

A. Herbert F. Alfrey, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington D.C.
D. (6) $477 E. (9) $24.

A. Nichols E. Allen & Merrill Armour, 444 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Music Operators of America, Inc., 228 North LaSalle Street Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $900 E. (9) $336.02.

A. American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,378.97. E. (9) $1,378.97.

A. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $22.291.79. E. (9) $6,881.93.

A. American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D C.
E. (9) $2,358.45.

A. American Short Line RR Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. As above.
D. (6) $1,016.21. E. (9) $1,016.21.

A. Robert E Ansheles, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C
B. CITC Industries, Inc., 180 Madison Avenue, New York. N.Y.
D. (6) $412 E. (9) $81.

A. Arent Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $3,005. E. (9) $114.54.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Commissioner of Baseball, 680 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) 10.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Recording Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,166.67. E. (9) $294.67.

A. Associated General Contractors of America, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.
D. (6) $25,000.

A. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. V. Atkinson, Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America.
E. (9) $4,483.98.

A. Atlanta Committee for Democratic Republican Independent Voter Education, 2540 Lakewood Avenue SW., Atlanta, Ga.
D. (6) $620. E. (9) $3,212.65.

A. John F. Banzhaf III, 530 N Street SW., Washington, D.C.
B. Legislative Action on Smoking & Health, 2000 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $187.86.

A. Ernest L. Barcella, General Motors Corp., Washington, D.C.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 W. Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. Robert W. Barrie, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ross Bass Associates, 4000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,250.

A. Davis M. Batson, Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $450.

A. Robert E. Bauman, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,666.

A. Bekins Van & Storage Co., 1955 South Valley Highway, Denver, Colo.
E. (9) $4,546.

A. Jeffrey Bell, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $325. E. (9) $38.

A. C. B. Blankenship, Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America.
E. (9) $4,584.

A. John F. Bonner, Room 100, Philip Murray Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $225.

A. Lyman L. Bryan, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of CPA's, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Buchanan, Ingersoll, Rodewald, Kyle & Buerger, 1800 Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
B. Estate of Roy A. Hunt.
D. (6) $12,500.

A. David A. Bunn, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Parcel Post Association, 1211 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $700.

A. Charles S. Burns, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress.
D. (6) $825. E. (9) $239.32.

A. David Burpee, Seed Grower, Fordhook Farms, Doylestown, Pa.
E. (9) $88.93.

A. Robert B. Byrnes, 1514 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Railroad Pension Forum, Inc., 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $211.85.

A. Canal Zone Central Labor Union-Metal Trades Council, AFL–CIO, Post Office Box 471, Balboa Heights, C. Z.
D. (6) $1,159.01. E. (9) $2,993.66.

A. Robert S. Carr, Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., 1220 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Hiram Walker and Sons, Inc., 8232 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. E. Michael Cassady, Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Water Resources Associated.

A. Donald E. Channell, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) 100.

A. Frank Chelf, Congressional Plaza Building, 220 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $1,800. E. (9) 182.50.

A. Hal M. Christensen, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. American Dental Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250.

A. Albert T. Church, Jr., American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Merchant Shipping.
D. (6) $45. E. (9) $3.46.

A. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., 712 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $15,071.98. E. (9) $5,168.67.

A. William F. Claire, World Federalists, USA, Inc., 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. World Federalists, USA, Inc.
D. (6) $6,250.02. E (9) $500.99.

A. Joseph S. Clark, World Federalists, USA, Inc., 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. World Federalists, USA, Inc.
E. (9) $1,833.07.

A. Carl A. S. Coan, Jr., 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,874.99. E. (9) $272.94.

A. James F. Collins, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington,D.C.
B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, N.Y., N.Y.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $125

A. Committee of Foreign-Owned Banks, 52 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,450.87.

A. Committee of Friends of the Museum of Modern Art, 21 West 53d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,413.05. E. (9) $8,413.50.

A. Paul B. Conrad, National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Newspaper Association.
E. (9) $123.09.

A. Conwood Corp., 701 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn.
E. (9) $5,102.04.

A. Allan D. Cors, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.
D. (6) $125.

A. Raymond L. Courage, Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America.
D. (6) $300.

A. Francis D. Cronin, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress.
D (6) $475.

A. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $2,813.08 E. (9) $1,018.07.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Importers Association, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $235.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Chemical Fibres Association, Tokyo, Japna.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Lumber Importers' Association, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Woolen & Linen Textiles Exporters Association, Osaka, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Vorort des Schwiezerischen Handels-und Industrie-Vereins, Zurich, Switzerland.

A. F. Gibson Darrison, Jr., Penn Central Transportation Co., 2000 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Penn Central Transportation Co., 6 Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. (6) $156.98. E. (9) $1,372.43.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Transit System, Inc., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Guild of Prescription Opticians, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dawson, Nagel, Sherman & Howard, 1900 First National Bank Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Bekins Van & Storage Co., 1955 South Valley Highway, Denver, Colo.
E. (9) $522.75.

A. Dawson, Nagel, Sherman & Howard, 1900 First National Bank Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Boettcher & Co., 828 17th Street, Denver, Colo.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. C.I.T. Financial Corp., 650 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,000.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Indian Sugar Mills Association, Export Agency Division, New Delhi, India.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., Dallas, Tex.

A. DeHart, Broide, Spitzer & McCrory, Inc., 1150 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Recording Industry Association of America, Inc., New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $149.40.

A. DeHart, Broide, Spitzer & McCrory, Inc., 1150 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Wisconsin Corp., 1309 Hoge Building, Seattle, Wash.
D. (6) $225. E. (9) $37.30.

A. Vincent A. Demo, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Committee of International Committee of Passenger Lines, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,250.

A. Alan DiSeuillo, Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Youth Franchise Coalition.
E. (9) $20.

A. William DuChessi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, 99 University Place, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,937.61. E. (9) $100.

A. William E. Dunn, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Associated General Contractors of America, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $400.

A. Henry I. Dworshak, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $975.

A. Hallett D. Edson, 3930 North Upland Street, Arlington, Va.
B. National Association for Uniformed Services, 956 N. Monroe Street, Arlington Va.
D. (6) $1,800.

A. Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street NW. Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $450.

A. Mello G. Fish, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $665.02. E. (9) $84.30.

A. Frank U. Fletcher, Fletcher, Heald, Rowell, Kenehan & Hildreth, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 420 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Gordon Forbes, 207 Union Depot Building, St. Paul, Minn.
B. Minnesota Railroads Association.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $518.81.

A. Forest Farmers Association Cooperative, 1375 Peachtree Street NE., Atlanta, Ga.
D. (6) $14,886.19.

A. Morley E. Fox, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.
D. (6) $51.40. E. (9) $36.

A. Bernice Friedlander, 950 25th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Legislative Action on Smoking and Health, 2000 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $187.86.

A. Fuller, Seney, Henry & Hodge, Owens-Illinois Building, Toledo, Ohio.
B. Owens-Illinois, Inc., Madison Avenue and St. Clair Street, Box 1035, Toledo, Ohio.
D. (6) $726.50.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Anchor Corp., et al.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Royal Crown Cola Co., Columbus, Ga.

A. The Glenmede Trust Co., 1608 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. James M. Goldberg, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $145.23.

A. John F. Hall, National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $204.83.

A. John Hugh Henry, 440 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Retail Druggists. 440 National Press Building.

A. Rosalyn Hester, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, Washington, D.C.

A. Frederic W. Hickman, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Corporate Fiduciaries Association of Chicago.
D. (6) $45,132.41. E. (9) $3,514.16.

A. Frederic W. Hickman, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

B. Northwest Industries, Inc., 400 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $13,417.84. E. (9) $386.96.

A. Frederic W. Hickman, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. Trans Union Corp., 111 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,625. E. (9) $132.99.

A. John M. Holt, Eli Lilly & Co., 307 East McCarty Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. Eli Lily & Co., 307 East McCarty Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $235. E. (9) $483.83.

A. William J. Hull, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ashland Oil, Inc., 1409 Winchester Avenue, Ashland, Ky.

A. William J. Hull, 1660 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Improvement Association, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.

A. Philip A. Hutchinson, Jr., The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $4,100.

A. Gerald Hyland, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $775.38. E. (9) $55.08.

A. Independent Brokers Dealers' Trade Association, 1570 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.
E. (9) $550.

A. International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, 217 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.

A. Ronald J. James, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $190.68.

A. H. Bradley Johnson, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $725.

A. Hugo E. Johnson, 600 Bulkley Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
B. American Iron Ore Association, 600 Bulkley Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

A. Albert Jones, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $630. E. (9) $75.45.

A. Elmer A. Jones, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $331.51.

A. John L. Jones, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,400.

A. Edwin L. Kahn, 1000 Federal Bar Building, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. B'nai B'rith, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,280.41.

A. Eugene A. Keeney, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Kingman, 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif.
D. (6) $1,725. E. (9) $1,725.

A. James D. Kittelton, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $191.66.

A. James F. Kmetz, 1437 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,668.

A. George J. Knaly, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 1200 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO and CLC, 1200 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,000.06.

A. Keith R. Knoblock, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. John P. Lagomarcino, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Urban Coalition Action Council, 2100 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $264.43.

A. Legislative Action on Smoking and Health, 2000 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $187.86.

A. William Lazarus, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. League for Economic Assistance and Development, 390 Plandome Road, Manhasset, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,010. E. (9) $1,047.48.

A. Steven H. Lesnik, Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co., 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co., 4750 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $675.

A. Liberty Lobby, Inc., 130 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $17,836.13. E. (9) $16,628.21.

A. Edward Lippert, 1816 S Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Americans for Democratic Action, 1424 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,413.58.

A. Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company, 4750 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
B. None.
E. (9) $1,335.

A. Jack F. McCarthy, 1700 K Street NW., Suite 601, Washington, D.C.
B. United Utilities, Inc., Utilities, 2330 Johnson Drive, Shawnee Mission, Kans.

A. Joseph B. McGrath, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,312.50. E. (9) $1,247.32.

A. William K. McGrath, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Clarence M. McMillan, National Candy Wholesalers Association, Inc., 1430 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Candy Wholesalers Association, Inc., 1430 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $10.

A. Ian R. MacGowan, Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $568.80. E. (9) $343.

A. Walter D. Malcolm, Esq., Bingham, Dana & Gould, 1 Federal Street, Boston, Mass.
B. New England Bankcard Association, Inc., 150 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
D. (6) $750.

A. Ben J. Man, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. $394.38.

A. Edwin E. Marsh, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
B. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $3,949.68 E. (9) $473.23.

A. Albert E. May, American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $80. E. (9) $3.99.

A. Anthony Mazzocchi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union, 1840 California Street, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $227.50.

A. Larry L. Meyer, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. James G. Michaux, 777 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Federated Department Stores, Inc., 222 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $500.

A. Lester F. Miller, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $477. E. (9) $17.

A. Jack Mills, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $2,000.

A. Lynn E. Mote, Northern Natural Gas Co., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Northern Natural Gas Co., 2223 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebr.

A. Henry T. Mudd, 523 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $5,011.39.

A. J. Walter Myers, Jr., Forest Farmers Association, 1375 Peachtree Street NE., Atlanta, Ga.
B. Forest Farmers Association Cooperative, 1375 Peachtree Street NE., Atlanta, Ga.

A. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,024.26.

A. National Association of Margarine Manufacturing, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $25. E. (9) $25.

A. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 417 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $35,121. E. (9) $19,490.

A. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $17,724.81.

A. National Committee for Research in Neurological Disorders, 251 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $6,000.

A. National Housing Conference, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 632, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $62,352.19. E. (9) $29,527.35.

A. National Livestock Feeders Association, Inc., 309 Livestock Exchange Building, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $6,616.10. E. (9) $6,616.10.

A. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,026.80.

A. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,968. E. (9) $8.772.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $745.11. E. (9) $862.23.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $19,034. E. (9) $6,448.29.

A. Ivan A. Nestingen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $236.55.

A. Robert D. Nordstrom, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $100.

A. Leo W. O'Brien, 1605 Manning Boulevard, Albany, N.Y.
B. Virgin Islands Legislature.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $650.

A. Claude E. Olmstead, National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $477. E. (9) $18.

A. Roy W. Olson, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Organization of Professional Employees of USDA, 1341 G NW, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $625.

A. Organization of Professional Employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,198. E. (9) $1,565.08.

A. James H. Orr, 75 Federal Street, Boston, Mass.
D. (6) $2,523.32. E. (9) $5,059.91.

A. J. Allen Overton, Jr., 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Raymond S. Page, Jr., Mill Creek Terrace, Gladwyne, Pa.
B. Campbell Soup Co., 375 Memorial Avenue, Camden, N.J.

A. Lew M. Paramore, Water Resources Associated, Post Office Box 1310, Kansas City, Kans.
B. Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Suite 500, Washington, D.C.

A. Perry S. Patterson, Suite 1100, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automatic Phonograph Manufacturers.

A. Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Alaska Federation of Natives, Anchorage, Alaska.
E. (9) $1,963.22.

A. Esther Peterson, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,499.99. E. (9) $229.77.

A. Mr. Bruce E. Phillips, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Richard M. Powell, National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Bldg., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Bldg., Washington, D.C.

A. Recording Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $22,660.51.

A. John A. Reilly, Esq., 59 Maiden Lane, New York, N.Y.
B. Estate of Bert N. Adams and others.
E. (9) $25 est.

A. Research to Prevent Blindness, Inc., 598 Madison Avenue, New York City.

A. Retired Officers Tax Credit Committee, Post Office Box 1965, Annapolis, Md.
D. (6) $52.50. E. (9) $162.57.

A. James J. Reynolds, American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 930, Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Suite 930, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $351.

A. Harry H. Richardson, 335 Austin Street, Bogalusa, La.
B. Louisiana Railroads.
D. (6) $25.35. E. (9) $73.78.

A. Lloyd C. Richardson, Jr., South Dakota Railroads Association, Post Office Box 489, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
B. South Dakota Railroads Association.
D. (6) $3,500. E. (9) $432.85.

A. James W. Riddell, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Kellogg Co., Battle Creek, Mich.
D. (6) $10,000.

A. James W. Riddell, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Volume Footwear Retailers of America, 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Siert F. Riepma, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers.
D. (6) $25. E. (9) $25.

A. John P. Roche, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. American Iron and Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $210.

A. Anthony Z. Roisman, 1910 N Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Berlin, Roisman & Kessler, 1910 N Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $317.30.

A. John F. Rolph, III, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Miss Patricia A. Samuel, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50,480.66. E. (9) $10,123.73.

A. Stanley A. Schroeder, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. Ronald C. Seeley, 1357 Nicolet Place, Detroit, Mich.
B. Estate of Bert N. Adams, et al.
E. (9) $228.31.

A. Theodore A. Serrill, National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $111.49.

A. Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbridge & Madden, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of Foreign Owned Banks, 52 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,399.32. E. (9) $51.55.

A. Laurence P. Sherfy, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,075.

A. Robert L. Shortle, Water Resources Associated, 1147 International Trade Mart Tower, New Orleans, La.
B. Water Resources Associated, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Grant S. Shotwell, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Associated General Contractors of America, 1957 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $400.

A. Lana H. Sims, South Carolina Railroad Association, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.
B. South Carolina Railroad Association, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.
D. (6) $19.22. E. (9) $50.81.

A. William L. Slayton, the American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Smathers, Merrigan & O'Keefe, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Horse Council, 1776 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,250. E. (9) $140.30.

A. Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Jr., 1709 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Va.
B. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $2,118.60.

A. Gary A. Soucie, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Friends of the Earth, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $75.

A. Southwestern Peanut Shellers Association, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. Mrs. Annalee Stewart, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $2,507.06.

A. Philip F. Stroupe, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. G. Don Sullivan, American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475.

A. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Carnegie Corporation of New York, 437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,259.

A. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. John M. Olin, Box B, Alton, Ill.
D. (6) $750.

A. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Credit Co., Post Office Box 4081, Atlanta, Ga.
D. (6) $7,500. E. (9) $481.62.

A. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Travelers Corp., One Tower Square, Hartford, Conn.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Evert S. Thomas, Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $1,107.70. E. (9) $650.99.

A. John P. Tracey, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $50.

A. United Cerebral Palsy Assns., Inc., 66 East 34th St., New York City.
E. (9) $1,182.70.

A. Charles R. Van Horn, C&O–B&O Railroads, 17th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., and Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co., Charles & Baltimore Streets, Baltimore, Md.
D. (6) $2,292. E. (9) $575.

A. John M. Vansant, Jr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Veterans of World War I, USA, Inc., 916 Prince Street, Alexandria, Va.
E. (9) $1,949.92.

A. Volume Footwear Retailers of America, 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $348.19.

A. Thomas G. Walters, National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Que Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2884.80. E. (9) $2954.07.

A. James A. Warren, 5500 Prospect Place, Chevy Chase, Md.
B. Rea Express, 219 E. 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $150.

A. Terrell M. Wertz, The American Legion, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $3,210. E. (9) $98.75.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Computer Time Sharing Services Section of the Association of Data Processing Service Organizations, Inc., 551 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Taos Pueblo, Taos, N. Mex.
E. (9) $3.70.

A. Burton C. Wood, 1625 L Street NW., No. 400, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,218.75. E. (9) $40.08.

A. Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Youth Franchise Coalition, 1525 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $343.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SEVEN PILLARS OF WISDOM—FOR COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 21, 1970

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, Prof. George D. Brabson of the law school at Ohio Northern University, Ohio, recently gave an address on the subject of the responsibilities of college presidents. I think it is a very thought-provoking statement and worthy of consideration by every Member of Congress. It is entitled "Seven Pillars of Wisdom for College Presidents" and the text of the speech is as follows:

SEVEN PILLARS OF WISDOM—FOR COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

(By George D. Brabson)

Somehow or other a lot of my fellow college Presidents seem to have the idea that the running of a college or university is a matter of their personal prerogative; that they have been put into office by a Board of Regents to take charge of a "Student Family", which they can handle more or less as indulgent Fathers; that their principal responsibilities are to keep the lid on, smooth out ruffled feathers and patch up the family quarrels in any old fashion just so they can report back to their Boards and Alumni that "all is well at dear old Siwash"—thanks to the Presidential diligence and to their skillful qualifications as "peacemakers."

I have a different concept of a college president. I don't think of him as a "Pater Familias" at all. I think of him first of all as a Public Trustee. To him has been committed a Public Institution—a place of learning which the State has placed in trust, and without which the State, or the Public if you choose, can neither make progress nor prosper. As such Trustee his first and primary obligation is to maintain that Institution in the interest of the Public—not in the interest of any particular body of students that happens to be there at any one time. His duty transcends that, and inheres to the benefit and interest of all the Public—the welfare of the people as a whole . . .

In the second place, as a Public Trustee the duties of a college President cannot be carried out by reference to his personal feelings and desires. He has no right to set up rules that reflect his personal tastes and judgments. These should be determined by reference to the welfare, the safety and the benefits to be derived by the Public, which establishes, pays for, and maintains such institutions directly or indirectly. The college President should have no axes to grind in such matters, and should refrain from allowing his personal views to dominate his judgments and his actions.

Lest it be contended that many of our colleges are privately owned or endowed and hence not public "public institutions"—it must be noted at once that any educational institution which opens its doors to the public for patronage; which is granted immunity from property taxation; and which receives donations and contributions free of income tax liability, must of necessity take on the characteristics of a public institution. Why? Because it exists by reason of the benefaction and consent of the State, directly or indirectly conferred on it.

In the third place, the college president should not allow the whims and demands of a "passing body" of students to establish the policies and rules by which the students are to be governed over the long period of the institution's lifetime. What one passing body of students may want in 1969 may become anathema to the body of students passing through in 1975. The wants of any passing body of students should always be subservient to the wishes and needs of the people as a whole, for whom the process of educa-