EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WHEN THE WAR ENDS

HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, in the current debate over "date certain" and "complete withdrawal" the protagonists often lose some of their perspective on just what is involved in winding down the war and in bringing our troops home. The Cleveland, Tenn., Daily Banner has recently editorialized on "When the War Ends" to bring this complicated issue back into focus. In calling the editorial to the attention of my colleagues, I feel it is important to state that I understand some of the frustrations of the so-called antiwar element in and out of Congress as they see President Nixon bringing the war to a close after they have criticized him so bitterly. I am inclined to feel sometimes they do not want complete withdrawal as much as they want an issue. Be that as it may, we are getting out of Indochina under the President's plan which does disengage us without the abandonment of any of our responsibilities. The editorial, "When the War Ends," suggests some things we should keep in mind in this operation. I trust it will have the study it deserves:

WHEN THE WAR ENDS

In his nationally televised speech recently, President Nixon talked of ending "American involvement" in Vietnam 12 times. He did not define the term exactly. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird came close to a definition last week in outlining a military corollary to the Nixon Doctrine for Asia.

Laird confirmed that the American ground combat role would end this summer, but that some American troops would be used in security roles, to protect American logistic support troops, and air and naval units.

The American air and naval presence will remain in Southeast Asia during the 1970s to bolster Asian allied forces and maintain a policy of "realistic deterrence" after American ground troops have been withdrawn.

In formulating a strategy of realistic deterrence, the United States balances the fiscal and manpower realities that prevail at home against the strategic realities of the Soviet Union—and, in the 1980s, Communist China.

So that while the fighting should be over for American combat troops by midsummer, there will be an American naval and air presence in Southeast Asia indefinitely, not to provoke war, but to prevent war.

This is the same kind of American naval and air presence maintained in the Mediterranean, to bolster our allies there—Italy, Greece, Turkey and Israel. It warns would-be aggressors that they would have to deal with the United States should they attack one of our allies, and in that way an attack is prevented, whereas an aggressor would be tempted to attack if he thought one of our allies would be an easy mark alone.

Laird's definition of President Nixon's plan to end American involvement in Southeast Asia may be summarized, as he did, in this expression, "Military assistance, yes; manpower, no." The day of committing massive manpower to that part of the world apparently is over. The fighting, it seems, will be turned over to the South Vietnamese sometime this year.

ISSUES IN MANPOWER POLICY

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, the current debate over reform of our Federal manpower programs, the need for more public service employment, and the President's plan for revenue sharing make the excellent paper on these topics by Sar Levitan and Robert Taggart III of the Center for Manpower Policy Studies very timely. I recommend that all of my colleagues take the time to read this paper so that they may view these issues as a unit—as must be done in any rational discussion of Federal manpower policy. The paper, entitled "Revenue Sharing, Public Employment, and the Reform of Manpower Programs," follows:

REVENUE SHARING, PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, AND THE REFORM OF MANPOWER PROGRAMS

(By Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart III, Center for Manpower Policy Studies, the George Washington University)

(Paper prepared for the National Conference on State and Local Manpower Policy Planning, Salt Lake City, Utah, April 30, 1971.)

THE NEED FOR ACTION

The need to overhaul and reform our manpower efforts is generally recognized. The federal government now spends more than $3 billion to provide a wide range of labor market services to those who need help in finding or better preparing themselves for civilian work. These services are delivered through a number of separate categorical programs including the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Job Corps, New Careers, the Work Incentive program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, and others which were added in the 1960s to the older vocational education and rehabilitation programs and the federal-state Employment Service. These combined efforts provide needed assistance to millions of Americans, as manpower services have assumed an increasing place in the agenda of public responsibilities. Nevertheless, there is widespread agreement that the manpower effort falls far short of accomplishing what it could and should.

Those who are close to the programs are keenly aware of their administrative difficulties. Operated by a variety of agencies at the federal, state, and local level, the programs are aimed at differing clienteles and needs, varying in their eligibility standards, benefit levels, application procedures, and methods of delivery. There are some 10,000 separate contracts between federal officials and public or private delivery agencies. Because services are fragmented and frequently uncoordinated, clients are often unable to find the assistance they need. Some of these difficulties are the inevitable result of designing and implementing experimental social programs, but many problems result from the underlying philosophy of the manpower efforts—the centralization of authority at the federal level. While only part of one program, the Job Corps, is operated directly by the feds, the others are administered by state and local groups under detailed federal regulations and theoretically under close oversight. Funding comes with many strings attached, and the operating agencies have little flexibility. Centralized administration has too often resulted in the Procrustean solution of forcing all local efforts into rigid programmatic forms.

There is a more abstract but equally inimical aspect to this situation. The reins of power are gripped by federal officials and the bureaucracies which administer the programs at all levels with little political accountability for their decisions. At the national level, most manpower legislation has drawn bipartisan support. Congress has established overall priorities, but its committees have been able to devote only cursory attention to administrative oversight. At the state and local level, there has been almost no accountability because elected officials have not been drawn to participate actively in manpower programs, and they have relied upon the feds for the monitoring of projects. Most of the decisions left to local agencies have been highly technical and have usually been made by the employment service or the state vocational education department. These agencies are remarkably free from political control and they operate normally as self-sustaining bureaucracies. The experiment with "maximum feasible participation" by the disadvantaged was relatively short-lived, and concerted attempts were made to transfer power back to the functional bureaucracies. In other words, the public has had very little chance to participate in the decision-making process, with little control over priorities or program operations.

Complicating matters is the current economic slump. The manpower programs were designed for and implemented under favorable economic conditions. Labor markets were extremely tight in the final half of the 1960s generating a need for additional workers which made it easier to find employment for those who were helped. But the recession has made jobs scarce and new manpower approaches and priorities are needed under current conditions. Certainly a public employment program of some sort assumes prime importance when private sector jobs are not available. But other changes are also necessary if the manpower programs are to operate effectively in a slack economy.

If the above observations are valid, there are three major reasons for reassessing and overhauling the manpower effort that expanded during the past decade. First, administrative reforms are in order to reduce red tape, delay, wasteful overlap, and inflexibility. The goal is to improve program efficiency. Second, decisionmaking is too centralized at the federal level, and too concentrated in the hands of functional bureaucracies. Decentralization is needed to strengthen political accountability and when feasible to enhance grassroots participation. Third, the manpower efforts are geared for tight labor markets. The need is to adjust to a changing economic environment, with different approaches to provide jobs for the recession's victims.

THE DIVERGENT PATHS

Any one of these reasons is adequate justification for overhauling the manpower effort. But each suggests a different path of reform, and it is difficult to compromise the divergent interests.

For those who are most concerned with the technical and administrative problems of the manpower programs, the generally accepted goal is one-stop, individualized serv-

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ice. Ideally, the client should be able to get all the help he requires through a single, easily accessible local agency with the capability to assess his needs and to purchase or provide all the prescribed manpower services.

This ideal, however, remains elusive and proposed changes, to be acceptable, must balance competing interests. Cities are wary of state authority and demand automatic pass-throughs of funds, while local community groups that receive direct federal funding fear control by the mayors or governors. Vested interests at all levels, especially the bureaucracies who presently administer the programs and possess most of the needed expertise, can be expected to defend their turfs. Even if the separate manpower services could be coordinated for one-stop delivery, there is no assurance that any group would provide the sympathy, understanding, and knowledge required for individualized attention. Agencies that speak for and to the clients of manpower services are usually in opposition to those that represent the "establishment" and can deliver the goods. While the present administrative structure of the manpower programs only widens this dichotomy, the differences are fundamental and not easily resolved.

Of course, Congress could attempt to resolve the most obvious administrative deficiencies that beset the manpower efforts. But there is no great public pressure for reform, and few members of Congress care to invite a confrontation with the various vested groups that are "involved" in manpower programs. Any improvements must, therefore, come about from a compromise among the interested parties. Though voluntary agreements are welcome, they will not eliminate all, or even most, of the administrative problems of the manpower programs. Legislative reforms can and should be made; but by the time all safeguards, pass-throughs, and exceptions are introduced to make the legislation acceptable to a plurality of interests, the changes will have little political appeal and their substantive impact will be minimal. Reform cannot offer immediate or complete elimination of administrative problems; no group will be completely satisfied with any compromise; and the purposes are so complex that the public at large will not be moved. On the other hand, no bill for revenue sharing or public employment will be acceptable to the proponents of reform unless it promises improvement in the administration of the manpower programs and makes the necessary compromises between competing interests. Administrative reform is apparently a necessary but not sufficient condition for legislative action on the manpower front.

Those concerned with the increasing centralization of government and the inability of states and localities to meet their financial responsibilities find the sharing of federal revenue an appealing solution. The Nixon administration has proposed a general purpose distribution of federal funds, initially at the rate of $5 billion per year, plus six special revenue sharing programs totaling $11 billion for broadly earmarked social purposes. Funds allocated to manpower training (exclusive of appropriations for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation) would total $2 billion. These shared revenues would be distributed to state and local governments on a formula basis for their essentially discretionary use in the provision of manpower services.

Manpower revenue sharing promises administrative improvement over present efforts, but this is only one of its purposes. Likewise the revenue sharing approach is only one of the many possible paths to reform. Proponents argue that state and local governments can administer manpower programs more effectively than the feds because of their closer proximity to clients' needs and local conditions. But an even more important reason for this transfer of authority is to place power into the hands of those who are politically accountable, so that the "community" will have more control over its government. Political accountability, however, does not necessarily insure administrative effectiveness. For this reason manpower reformers may not necessarily agree with advocates of revenue sharing, and vice versa.

Concern with the continuing high levels of unemployment has led some to consider public employment a top-priority measure that should precede action aimed at improving administrative efficiency or arrangements that deal with political philosophy and the relative responsibilities of federal, state, and local officials. Although they may recognize the need for administrative reform, especially in light of the changed economic environment in which the manpower programs must operate, they tend to feel that this can wait until the current, more urgent needs of job creation are met. And though they may agree with the principle of decentralization, advocates of public employment will support reform or revenue sharing proposals only if they are assured large-scale public job creation.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that each of these divergent paths has numerous alleys, so that the political map is checkered with positions representing various views on revenue sharing, reform, and public employment. On the issue of comprehensive manpower reform, four major proposals were submitted in the 91st Congress, varying in the degree of decentralization and decategorization, as well as in their provisions for public employment. A Senate passed version stressing public employment and reorganization but little decategorization had to be compromised with a House bill putting stress on administrative reform and a greater degree of decentralization and decategorization. The Senate version won out, but the bill was vetoed by the President. He objected to the fact that the programs were not decategorized, that the states and localities were not given enough authority, and that the authorized public service jobs would become permanent "make-work" sinecures.

A raft of alternative manpower proposals were submitted for the 92nd Congress. Three separate public service employment proposals were introduced in the House and one in the Senate. Separately, the administration proposed the creation of 200,000 jobs for relief recipients under its welfare reform measures. These various proposals differ significantly in the size of the authorization and in the types of jobs that they would create. In addition, the administration's Manpower Revenue Sharing Act would permit transitional public employment programs to be initiated out of shared revenues, but is chiefly concerned with the decentralization of revenues and authority. The 92nd Congress is still young and more proposals are likely to be added.

A guidebook is needed to follow the complex legislative developments. The Manpower Revenue Sharing Act would sharply curtail the federal role in manpower efforts, passing authority to governors, mayors, and county court houses, with federal responsibility largely limited to supplying the funds. At the opposite extreme, Congressman James O'Hara and Senator Gaylord Nelson favor public employment, categorical programs, and federal control. Probably representing the majority in both the House and Senate, they insist that action on public employment should precede all other manpower legislation. A number of other Congressmen have staked out intermediate positions, while Senator Jacob Javits and Congressman William Steiger have labored diligently but fruitlessly to compromise these proliferating views and divergent interests.

A variety of lobbying groups are also involved. Generally, the mayors support both revenue sharing and public employment; their needs are so critical that they will accept money from anywhere. The governors have not mobilized very effectively, but the National Governor's Conference endorsed legislation which would have given them greater responsibility for manpower. The AFL–CIO strongly supports public employment and is opposed to reform measures that would weaken federal control. Representatives of various agencies, such as vocational educators in HEW, have pushed to retain their present role. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has spoken in favor of a comprehensive reform bill, but not surprisingly opposes the initiation of any new categorical public employment effort.

The intricate maze of conflicting interests must be balanced if any manpower legislation is to be forthcoming. While the interplay of personalities and lobbying groups will have much to do with the eventual developments on the manpower front, the issues themselves must be discussed and resolved if a compromise is to be reached.

THE CRITICAL ISSUES

There are many weighty issues hidden in the technical language of the manpower proposals. The most formidable obstacle to compromise centers on the nature of public employment. There is wide agreement that, with the currently high levels of unemployment, the government has an added responsibility to provide employment for those who are forced into idleness by adverse economic conditions. The controversy is over the types of public jobs which should be created. The administration's position is that increased public service employment should be transitional, leading to "real" jobs in the public or private sector. To this end, the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act would put a two-year limit on participation by any individual in the program. Most proponents of public employment, on the other hand, oppose such a restriction because they want to create "meaningful" positions which will absorb the structurally as well as cyclically unemployed, putting them to work in useful public service alongside other public employees.

Whichever view is taken, the two-year limit is arbitrary and has become a critical issue because of the rigid stance assumed by the administration in vetoing the Employment and Manpower Bill of 1970. The administration presumably seeks to insure that every reasonable effort is made to train and place those who have special difficulties, utilizing and developing their talents fully rather than letting them idle in "make-work." But if workers are to be placed in unproductive jobs, then the two-year limit is obviously excessive and every effort should be made to prevent the waste of manpower before it happens, instead of waiting for two years until the employee is discharged. On the other hand, there is wide agreement that employment must be found or created for public assistance recipients, as suggested by the administration's proposal for the creation of 200,000 work-relief positions. The two-year rule will not insure training, nor will it obviate the need to help those who cannot be trained. The administration's rigidity on this point is inconsistent with its position that states and localities can best decide the types of public employment which they need. Revenue sharing cannot start out with restrictions on local decisions. It might also be embarrassing to ask Congress to limit tenure on federal payrolls to two years.

Decategorization is a much more substantive issue. It is obvious that too much emphasis has been placed on programs rather than the services which they provide. Rules and reporting procedures have been formulated for each categorical effort, and there are gaps and overlaps in coverage. But despite the fact that decategorization could permit more individualized service and a

better coordinated delivery, proponents of categorical programs argue that the present system provides built-in controls by allowing comparison of performance among similarly funded projects. Such comparisons would not be feasible if categorical programs were eliminated and each locality's efforts assumed a distinct purpose and form. Suggestive is the fact that the knowledge and improvements generated by the federally-operated Job Corps probably exceed the insights gained from the much larger and older vocational education program, whose administration is decentralized to the local level. Oversight and control become more difficult once decategorization has occurred and guidelines and reporting procedures for specific programs are abandoned.

Most of the opposition to decategorization of programs has been generated by self-interest, real or imaginary. Clients, sponsors, and administrators of the various programs have a vested interest in their continuance. The potential, but unproven, benefits of decategorization do not carry a great deal of political weight when balanced against the rigid opposition of those involved in existing efforts. Thus, despite its promise, decategorization has practical and political drawbacks which militate against any sudden change in this direction.

Another crucial issue concerns the ability of state and local governments to plan and direct manpower efforts. While it is true that mayors and governors are closer than the Washington officialdom to the problems which must be met and that they have greater political accountability, there is no assurance that they have the expertise or the power to provide leadership on the manpower front. There is no monopoly on ability at the federal level, but it is generally true that state and local salaries lag far behind federal and private pay scales, tending to attract less qualified personnel. More significantly, though the mayors and governors have much power in theory, many of their policies are dictated by functional bureaucracies or else by pressure from local vested interests. Whether mayors and governors will assume greater leadership as more resources are channeled through their hands is debatable.

The fact remains, however, that up to now state and local governments have had only limited responsibility in designing and overseeing manpower programs. They cannot be expected to step in and administer such efforts without serious difficulties. It took most of the last decade to hone the federal manpower tools to their present level of effectiveness, and while county officials, mayors, and governors can learn from this example, they cannot entirely avoid repeating old mistakes and many communities will experiment with approaches that have little potential pay-off. It is legitimate to question the impact of any sudden transfer of authority into local hands.

A closely related issue is that of maintaining federal priorities. Decategorization will reduce the potential oversight of the feds, while decentralization will purposefully eliminate control from above. The explicit intent of revenue sharing is to move decision-making authority to the state and local level. But some control must be retained. There are cases where federal priorities are obviously contrary to those at the state and local level. There are certain functions, such as research and development, that are more effectively performed at the national level. There are some programs, such as Job Corps, which may require federal administration. And there must be some oversight to insure that shared revenues are used for their intended purposes—that manpower funds are used to provide manpower services rather than to build housing or stock ponds. The critical issue is the degree of control which will be retained. The Manpower Revenue Sharing Act would distribute 85 percent of all funds with no strings attached, retaining 15 percent for federal use. If 25 or 50 percent were retained or if more careful restrictions were placed on the use of shared funds, the implications would be far different. The need for decentralization must somehow be balanced against the need to maintain federal priorities.

Another thorny issue is the distribution of decentralized authority. States and city governments both want more control, while nongovernmental groups, such as community action agencies, are wary of any transfers of power to the elected officials. The legislative proposals that led to the manpower bill vetoed by the President last year contained markedly different conceptions of the proper distribution of authority. One stressed the role of the governors; another gave the U.S. Secretary of Labor authority to contract directly with any governmental or private organization; another attempted to divide control between governors and elected local officials by utilizing a complex system of pass-throughs, but retained considerable federal authority as an active partner in manpower programs. The vetoed measure designated counties or combinations of local governments with a population of more than 100,000, or cities over 75,000, as prime sponsors, eligible for automatic pass-throughs of funds allocated to the states. The governors did not express active interest in assuming greater manpower responsibility and states were given only the small piece of the pie that was left over after the counties, cities, and combinations of local governments took their slices. The Manpower Revenue Sharing bill accepted the 100,000 cut-off, providing some incentive funds for the establishment of metropolitan-wide sponsoring groups. Whether or not this provision will become a point of controversy remains to be seen; but it seems that the proposed distribution of manpower responsibilities between state and local levels is a reasonable compromise of the major alternatives.

A final and very essential issue is the amount of additional funds which will be provided under any new manpower legislation. The administration's revenue sharing proposal would authorize an additional $435 million of annual federal outlays above current outlays of $1,565 million, and an automatic 10 percent increase in funds whenever the unemployment rate exceeds 4.5 percent for three consecutive months. The Senate approved Emergency Employment bill (S. 31) authorizes $500 million for this purpose and an additional $100 million for each one-half percent rise in unemployment over 4.5 percent. Though there is general agreement that manpower funds should be increased when unemployment rises and though debate has centered on the purposes rather than the levels of increased funding, this matter will become critical if other differences can be resolved. Needless to say, pressure will be mounted by the states and localities against any future cutbacks, even when economic conditions improve. In determining the amount of countercyclical increase, therefore, provision must also be made to reduce outlays when economic conditions improve to enable state and local officials to plan their noncyclical manpower efforts.

In trying to compromise divergent interests—integrating manpower reform, public employment, and revenue sharing proposals—all of these issues must be faced and resolved. While it is a fact of political life that compromises are reached by balancing vested interests, any successful agreement will need to deal with all the major problems.

A WORKABLE COMPROMISE

The logjam on manpower legislation is the product of rapidly shifting interests and concerns. In turn, bills have been discussed on comprehensive manpower reform, public employment, and now revenue sharing. This process is akin to leveling a chair by sawing down one leg after another. There can be no satisfactory agreement unless the three basic issues are attacked together and unless, in the process, there is a true spirit of compromise. If this spirit can be attained, grounds for agreement can be easily hammered out. Until last year manpower legislation achieved a remarkable record of bipartisan support.

One path to compromise is the incremental introduction of revenue sharing. The administration's bill promises $4.6 for every $3.6 now available under the Labor Department administered manpower programs, along with an automatic 10 percent boost in funds when unemployment is above 4.5 percent. All of this, except for the 15 percent retained by the feds, will be turned over to state and local elected officials. Instead of distributing the entire amount, the revenue share could be limited to the added dollars plus the automatic boost. More funds could be added during a recession by extending the trigger mechanism and raising the automatic federal contribution when unemployment rises above 4.5 percent. Manpower funds could be boosted, for example, by 10 percent for each 0.2 percent increase in unemployment. This would mean that funds allocated to manpower efforts would double if unemployment rises to 6.3 percent for three consecutive months.

The most important point is that the present categorical manpower programs would be retained, while the mayors and governors would have glue money to fill gaps or to start entirely new efforts according to local needs. Gradually, the shared portion of manpower funds could be expanded. Revenue shares could be pegged as an increasing percentage of federal categorical allocations; for instance, one-third in fiscal 1972, one-half in fiscal 1973, and three-fourths in fiscal 1974. Alternatively, authorization levels for the shared revenue could be stated in dollar terms, say $500 million in fiscal 1972, $1.0 billion in fiscal 1973, and $1.5 billion in fiscal 1974. In this way, the portion of manpower funds administered by the state and local governments would be gradually increased. When the economy picks up, cutbacks in manpower outlays could come from the federal programs. Local efforts would not need to be reduced, and their continued funding could be assured.

The legislation could also provide for an automatic pass-through of funds to each city or combination of local governments with more than 100,000 population with the remainder of funds administered by the states. The formula for distributing the incremental shared funds among the states and localities could be based on criteria such as the number of persons in the labor force, the number of unemployed, and the number of low-income individuals 16 years of age or older, as in the administration's revenue sharing proposal. Neither of these arrangements should be controversial, since they are similar in the vetoed manpower reform and revenue sharing bills.

Much could be done at the national level to improve the performance of existing categorical programs. Availability of funds allocated directly to states and communities should ease federal reexamination of program effectiveness and the reallocation of funds among the categorical programs. For instance, changing economic conditions might favor the transfer of resources from private to public sector efforts; Operation Mainstream, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the Public Service Careers could be expanded using JOBS funds that are less effective in a slack economy.

One possibly useful change in the federal programs would be the initiation of variable

matching grant formulas, requiring contributions from participating state and local governments. With discretionary funds provided under revenue sharing, governors and mayors could "shop around" for the services and delivery systems best suited to their needs. At the same time, the feds could adjust the matching formulas among programs to influence acceptance of their desired priorities. To maximize their leverage, states and localities would use their shared revenues to match federal outlays, participating to the maximum feasible extent in these national programs. However, all or some portion of matching funds could be included as federal outlays in the calculation of the aggregate amount of revenue sharing. This would insure that states and localities would have money to operate their own programs in addition to participating in federal efforts.

With the revenue shares which are not used as matching funds under the categorical programs, a variety of manpower services could be provided. Under current conditions, the most appropriate and likely use of those funds would be for public employment. It is contrary to the intent of decentralization and eventual decategorization to create a new federal program or to put restrictions on the use of shared revenues. Instead, the governors, mayors, and county commissioners should be allowed to create public employment positions if they deem this to be their most critical need, and the nature of these jobs should depend on local circumstances. However, federal funds can be used as an incentive for the creation of "meaningful" opportunities and the provision of worthwhile training. Authorizations for the Public Service Careers (PSC) program could be expanded, with an attractive matching formula, so that there would be an inducement to combine local public employment programs with subsidized training. Since PSC provides subsidies for only a year and a half, states and localities would have an incentive to see the trainees become fully productive on the jobs or would move on to positions elsewhere. There would be no requirement that locally initiated public employment efforts tie in with PSC, but it is doubtful that additional federal dollars will be refused.

SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE

It is the essence of compromise that everyone gets a little less than desired, but enough to satisfy minimal anticipations. This briefly outlined proposal combines the most essential features of manpower reform, revenue sharing, and public employment.

The proposal features reform at the federal level, including needed adjustments to changing economic conditions, with a gradual decentralization of control to the state and local level. Gradualism is important to minimize outright and active oppositions of vested interest groups. More significantly, gradual decentralization will grant states and localities the time and resources to build up expertise in the design and administration of manpower programs. The retention of federally administered programs that are currently operating with a fair degree of success provides a foundation on which states and localities can build their own manpower structures.

Revenue sharing is an integral part of the proposal. An increasing portion of manpower funds are to go directly to the states and localities. Within broadly designated guidelines, the mayors and governors will have few restrictions on the use of these monies, particularly in reference to the public employment efforts they may undertake. National policies will be pursued through the continuing federal programs, and attractive matching grants can be formulated to induce states and localities into desired actions, using carrots rather than sticks to insure federal priorities. Funds will be assured for the operation of state and local programs as well as for the matching of federal outlays. By the gradual implementation of revenue sharing, the core of federal programs can be retained as insurance in case the anticipated benefits do not materialize. It is better to wade than to plunge into unknown waters.

Finally, the proposal provides substantial resources for the mounting of state and local efforts to meet current needs. In many areas, most of the shared funds will undoubtedly go for public employment. The mayors and the governors will be free to implement any type of program which will meet their needs. If they have critical shortages of public employees, they can fill their requirements by upgrading the underemployed. If the problem of hard core unemployment is more critical, they can create suitable positions that can be filled by the unskilled and deficiently educated. The availability of federal training assistance under Public Service Careers and the allegedly widespread shortage of productive public employees would suggest that most funds will be used to create "worthwhile" slots. The compromise should help smooth disagreements over the quality and transitional character of public employment positions; by permitting a more rapid passage of the needed legislation, it will hurry resources into the hands of mayors and governors where they are critically needed.

It is vital that a workable compromise be reached. This requires on the part of all parties a flexibility which has been conspicuous by its absence since the onslaught of the recession. It is vital that manpower reform, revenue sharing, and public employment legislation be considered together so that the necessary tradeoffs can be made explicitly. The victims of unemployment have suffered from present inaction and it is essential that all efforts turn to compromise.

A PATRIOTIC VETERAN VIEWS THE WAR

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, last week we saw Washington invaded by a small group of men who at least claimed to be veterans of the war in Vietnam. They got a great deal of press coverage for their opposition to that war, even though at best they represent only a very small percentage of the total number of men who have fought in Southeast Asia.

Yesterday, I received a letter from a man in my home town of Valparaiso, Ind., who happens to be an employee of my trucking company there. I know this man, Donald L. Beach, personally and know that he is a genuine Vietnam war veteran, who has seen actual combat. He was even wounded in that war.

He wrote this letter on his own—certainly not at my urging. It came from his heart and from his experience in that war. I believe his well-written letter expresses much more accurately the true beliefs of the overwhelming majority of those men and women who have served in the Vietnam war. I commend this letter to the attention of my colleagues.

The letter follows:

DEAR EARL: I hope you don't mind me writing you, not as an employee, but as a citizen. But I have a complaint and I want to be heard.

I, among others, have served in Vietnam. Also, I among others have been wounded there, but that's beside the point. I enjoyed my tour there and was glad to serve my country anywhere I could.

The question I want to ask is this: Where do these anti-war veterans get off protesting our stand in 'Nam? Sure, no one wants war, but do they have the right to give the "other side" fuel for their campaign?

Were there protests like this in World War I and World War II? If not, why can't we put a halt to this garbage? I've had good friends die in Vietnam and I know, as a person, as a veteran, that these men *did not* die in vain!

If I could only help to stop these little children from making fools of themselves, I would and I know you would, too.

It seems the small guy can't do anything about this, but we try. As members of the American Legion and VFW, we try.

If only you, as a Congressman, could somehow put my mind at ease on what our government can do to halt this trash.

Earl, maybe I am old fashioned, but I love my country and I salute my flag, and even get butterflies in my stomach when I hear the National Anthem. Maybe I am old fashioned to these kids today, or even square, but I am me. I am damn proud of it.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD BEACH.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MONTH

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join in cosponsoring legislation to designate the month of May as Human Development Month and the weekend of May 8 and 9 as "International Walk for Development Weekend." I am particularly proud because once again this May I will have the opportunity to participate in the Hike for Hunger—Walk for Development in the Eighth Pennsylvania Congressional District.

The overall sponsor of these events is the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation. In their own words, their goal is:

To create an awareness and find meaningful ways to involve the American people in the private sector in the cause of human hunger at home and abroad.

Last year this goal was translated into action when nearly 6,000 made the 26-mile walk and raised nearly $50,000; $21,000 going to a community service center in Warminster Heights, Bucks County, Pa., $21,000 to an agriculture improvement project in Mexico, and over $7,000 to the national education program of the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, Inc. This year more than twice that many marches are scheduled for May 9 alone. The young people organizing the local hikes have multiplied their efforts and once again are showing their concern and dedication to this project. Hikes will be held in both Bucks and Montgomery Counties. Proceeds from the Montgomery Hike for Hunger will go to a physical therapy project in

Vietnam and a reconstruction project in Nigeria, both sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Domestically, the Montgomery funds will be donated to the Four Holes Indian Organization in New York, programs in Warminster Heights and a rehabilitation program at the Bucks County prison. Proceeds from the Bucks County hike will go to relieve the hardships of poverty in Kingswood Park, Bucks County, and assist a tutoring service for deprived children in Yardley, Pa. Internationally, funds from the Bucks County Hike for Hunger will go to an eastern Nigerian regional community development program and a comprehensive education, agriculture, and health development program in Guatemala.

I hope my colleagues will join in supporting our resolution and also participate in this year's hikes for hunger.

WALK FOR MANKIND

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, at 9 a.m. this Saturday, May 1, I will begin my 22-mile walk as honorary cochairman of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Walk for Mankind. I am delighted to have the opportunity to participate in this most worthwhile cause.

As all of you know, Walk for Mankind is sponsored by Project Concern, the organization founded by Dr. Jim Turpin. The walk's purpose is to involve young people in the solution to today's problems.

Funds raised from this walk will help to bring medical and dental facilities to the impoverished areas of Appalachia, where such facilities are not available.

In Hong Kong where the fight against disease and poverty is endless, Project Concern has taken one small step toward stemming the problems by establishing a youth center and a TB clinic.

Project Concern also extends to the poverty stricken areas of Mexico, and the war-ravaged villages of South Vietnam.

Involving the youth of America in providing solutions to the problems of poverty, disease, juenile delinquency, and illiteracy has proven successful. As many of us are becoming increasingly aware, the young people of today are genuinely concerned for their less fortunate brothers and sisters, and they are anxious to find solutions to these problems.

I am grateful for the opportunity to participate with the young people of the Minneapolis-St. Paul area in this project and I fully agree with Dr. Turpin's analysis that "anyone—everyone—excited about loving others in these meaningful and practical ways, will not need to seek solace in drug-induced stupor." On Saturday, more than 5,000 young Minnesotans are going to demonstrate loving concern in an especially effective way.

A CASE FOR RECONSIDERATION OF CURRENT SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the following article dealing with the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia appeared in the March–April 1971 edition of the League of Men Voters publication, Light.

The author of this article, Mr. Kenneth Towsey of the Rhodesian Information Office, outlines some of the implications of the present United Nations embargo against Rhodesia which react unfavorably upon the national interests of the United States and asks only that Rhodesia receive the same type of treatment accorded to nations such as the Soviet Union.

The article follows:

RHODESIAN SANCTIONS: A CASE FOR RECONSIDERATION

(By Kenneth H. Towsey)

"If everybody minded their own business the world would go round a deal faster than it does."—The Duchess in Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.)

Nearly two hundred years ago the American colonists told Britain that they were of an age and a mind to run their own affairs without interference. They had to fight a shooting war to establish their point, but only against the British. A little more than five years ago Rhodesia similarly asserted its independence from Britain. This time Britain carried her complaint, not to the battlefield but to the United Nations organization, with an appeal for sanctions against Rhodesia. To make her independence stick, Rhodesia is having to fight an economic war against most of the world, including the United States.

The imposition of economic sanctions against Rhodesia for her act of national self-determination reflects little credit on the United Nations, which is expressly prohibited by its charter from intervening in "matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state." Rhodesia's declaration of independence, whilst affecting her constitutional relationship with Britain, was not a matter of legitimate concern to the international community at large. To classify it as a threat to international peace, as the U.N. Security Council had to do in order to invoke sanctions, is a preposterous perversion of truth, logic and the purposes of the U.N. Charter. Mr. Dean Acheson, who is singularly well qualified to speak of these purposes, has described U.N. involvement in the affairs of Rhodesia, and U.S. support for it, as "an act of bare-faced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle".

Leaving aside the question of principle (since the crime has now been perpetrated), I believe that the application of sanctions against Rhodesia falls down as a policy for two other principal reasons. They are not working. They are damaging American national security interests.

Sanctions were supposed to undermine the authority of Prime Minister Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia by creating so much hardship and discomfort that popular support for the government would evaporate and the country would capitulate to British terms. British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, more sanguine than sagacious, prophesied early in 1969 that Rhodesia would be on her knees "in weeks rather than months."

Today, five years later, and despite some vicious turning of the sanctions screw, Rhodesia is politically stable and economically viable. Support for Mr. Smith's government is as impressive as if Rhodesia were a one-party state, which it is not. Communist-inspired terrorist raids over her northern border have been beaten back by security forces acting with the support of loyal tribesmen. The gross national product is rising. Foreign payments are in favourable balance. Industrial and mining production is rising steeply. Immigration and tourism are on the increase. Taxation is down, and inflation has been kept within the limit of a 2½ per cent increase per annum.

There is not the remotest possibility that Rhodesia will succumb to sanctions. The United Nations knows this. Rhodesia's ideological enemies there recognised it long ago. They have been pressing for military action against Rhodesia. They want the peace-keeping organisation to start a war in southern Africa. This would suit the communist powers very well. They could expect to pick up the pieces.

The major western powers, including the United States, have resisted these militant pressures, but their injudicious commitment to sanctions has created difficulties for them in their relationships with countries thirsting for more aggressive action. They are seen to be endorsing the objective of bringing down Mr. Smith's government without being willing to use the means necessary to accomplish it. They are arousing expectations without satisfying them. There are no diplomatic rewards in this policy.

There are other dangers in this situation, short of the risks of full-scale warfare but nonetheless disruptive of the political stability of the area. Since the aggressive anti-Rhodesian forces at the U.N. are at present frustrated in their bid for big power support of military action against Rhodesia, they are demanding instead that member states should commit themselves to supporting guerrilla movements operating against Rhodesia (also South Africa and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mocambique). These movements are already receiving subsidies from the World Council of Churches. Apart from representing a thorough corruption of the spirit and purpose of the U.N. Charter, international legitimisation of so-called "wars of national liberation", more properly regarded as wars of national subversion, would promote bloody conflict in southern Africa. This would be a very real threat to international peace and security, obligating all responsible members of the United Nations to resist it with all means at their disposal.

An important factor in American national security is the availability of high-grade metallurgical chrome, of which there are no deposits in the United States. It is essential to the stainless steel industry and a vital ingredient in many defense and industrial processes. A military jet aircraft, for example, requires 92 per cent of imported chrome for its manufacture. It is estimated by the Bureau of Mines that 67 per cent of the world's high-grade chrome reserves are in Rhodesia. (Another 22 per cent are in the Republic of South Africa.) The next biggest resource (5.6 per cent) is in Soviet Russia. Prior to the imposition of sanctions Rhodesia provided a large proportion of American requirements. There is now a total embargo on imports from Rhodesia. Russian chrome at highly inflated prices is running at more than 60 per cent of total imports. Leaving the high price factor aside, it does not require much strategic imagination to realise how much leverage this situation gives the U.S.S.R. in its

relations with the United States, or what a critical position the United States would face if Russian supplies were abruptly terminated. Availability of industrial raw materials is a matter of vital necessity to a highly developed country like the United States. The question at issue in regard to chrome is whether this country should put its dependence on Russia or on an ideological ally in the free world.

Many Americans are deeply disturbed about the implications of Rhodesian sanctions but there are no indications of any change in official policy. What appears to be needed for a reversal is a wider awareness of the issues by concerned citizens and a greater weight of pressure on the policy-makers to come to terms with reality. The critics of the present policy are not asking for anything very radical—only that Rhodesia should be treated at least as favourably as Russia, Poland, Hungary, Algeria, Chile, or any of the host of countries around the world with which the United States maintains diplomatic and trading relations, regardless of their ideology.

A FOREIGN AID PROGRAM TO ELIMINATE THE INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN NARCOTIC DRUGS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, narcotics addiction is not a new problem in America. We have been attempting to cope with some form of narcotic drug abuse at least since soldiers wounded in the Civil War became addicted to the painkiller, morphine.

However, the problem has recently increased in scope and magnitude until today it poses a real threat to the health of our Nation.

Each day, three New Yorkers die of drug abuse and more than 25 percent of these victims are below the age of 20.

Each year, narcotic addicts commit one-half of our street crime in attempts to obtain means of supporting their habits.

Each year in New York City more than 1,000 babies are born addicted to heroin as a result of the addiction of their mothers.

Each year one-quarter of a million arrests are made for drug-related offenses in New York City.

Although we have expanded our efforts to attack this problem in the past several years to include a very modest level of addict rehabilitation and drug abuse education programs, we still rely largely upon law enforcement at our borders to prevent the entry of illegal narcotics.

History proves that this method is doomed to failure. There are literally thousands of places on ships, on planes, and in cars to hide heroin and it is impossible to inspect all of these places given the 65,310,807 cars and trucks, 360,476 planes, and 156,994 ships which enter this country each year. Several hundred thousand dollars worth of pure heroin can be put in empty lipstick containers and hidden in the major body orifices of pleasant, respectable-looking men and women as they walk off a ship or plane through customs.

It simply is not possible to make a personal body search of every person who disembarks at our major ports of entry without outraged protest from citizens such as you and me. As long as there is a demand for heroin in this country, as long as poppies are cultivated for opium, the demand will be met. And it is being met steadily, constantly, and without major disruption of any kind. As the New York State Commission of Investigation has noted:

> Law enforcement's approach to this problem has been ineffective. The traffic in heroin has not been curbed. Indeed, it is flourishing.

We must stop the supply of drugs at its source—in the poppy fields of the Near and Far East. We should not delude ourselves into thinking that the present or any future conceivable law enforcement effort at our borders or within our country will stem the flow of drugs onto our college campuses, our elementary and high schools, and into our slums. We must stop the production of these drugs before they begin their journey. That is the only hope until we can effectively attack the root causes of drug abuse.

In order to understand the scope and magnitude of this task, it is necessary to understand the nature of narcotic drugs, how they are produced, where they are consumed, and how they travel from their source to the consuming countries.

The principal narcotic drug of abuse in this country is heroin, an addictive drug which produces euphoria and indifference to pain and distress. Heroin is generally regarded as having no unique medical value and is thus outlawed in most countries. It is produced by a relatively simple chemical process from morphine.

Morphine, produced by a distillation process from opium, is also addictive and has the same effects as heroin but to a lesser degree. The use of morphine as a painkiller—primarily for terminal cancer patient—has decreased since the development of synthetic substitutes during World War II, but, the further processing of morphine into codeine, the major cough preventative in modern medicine, has been increasing.

Opium is produced from several varieties of the poppy plant. This annual plant rises 3 to 4 feet on a thin main stalk and produces several blossoms and pod-like structures about the size of an egg. The plant requires a warm but not humid climate, soil which is not heavy, clayey or sandy, and only a moderate amount of water before or during the growth cycle.

Poppies are harvested for opium about 2 weeks after the blossoms fall off. The pods are lanced by hand, freeing the white latex-like raw opium to ooze out and coagulate into droplets. It is then laboriously collected by hand—drop by drop—by scraping the gum from the pod. Upon further exposure, the gum turns brown and hardens into a brick-like form. It is then ready for sale as opium.

The opium yield from a poppy crop varies greatly with soil conditions, temperature, rainfall, quality of seed, and farming techniques. Since poppies rapidly deplete the soil of nutrients, good yields can be obtained only with fertilization or by rotating land used for poppy with other crops, so that the same land is used for poppy only once in every 5 years.

Poppy culture requires an enormous amount of hand labor. The plant cannot thrive without irrigation, without thinning the young plants to allow proper spacing and without several hoeings and weedings during the growth cycle. The harvesting itself requires a great amount of effort—each of the five or six pods growing on a single plant must be lanced by hand and the gum collected by the same method.

Because of the labor-intensive nature of poppy culture—some authorities have estimated that from 175 to 250 hours of labor are required to produce one kilogram—about 2.2 pounds—of opium—poppy tends to be raised only where labor is abundant and very cheap. This fact, plus the climatic and soil requirements of the plant, means that most world poppy cultivation falls within a zone extending from the Turkish Anatolian Plain to Yunnan Province in China.

A number of countries within this zone produce opium both for legitimate medical usage—morphine and codeine—and to supply the needs of the world addict and user population.

Approximately 80 percent of the 1,200 tons of opium required for the production of the world-wide medical need for morphine and codeine is grown in India and the remaining 20 percent is grown in Turkey. This opium is produced in accordance with local law, and is legally exported as raw material to pharmaceutical firms, chiefly in Western Europe and North America, where it is refined into morphine and codeine for medical use.

The world's illicit production of opium, that is, illegal opium produced outside of domestic law, is an estimated 1,250 tons to 1,400 tons annually. Most of this is produced in the Far East, with other areas tending to rank in descending order of importance as one moves westward. Thus, Burma, Laos, and Thailand account for more than half of world illicit output, with Burma alone accounting for nearly 30 percent. The Afghanistan-Pakistan region is in second place as a producing area, with an output on the order of 300 tons. India is in fourth place, with an estimated production of 175 to 200 tons, and Turkey, which is responsible for 80 percent of the heroin consumed in this country and Western Europe, is fifth, with an estimated illicit production of 100 tons.

Approximately three-fifths of this production is consumed within the territories of the producing countries and handled through their domestic black markets. Burma is the largest single consumer among these countries and, combined with Laos, consumes approximately 350 tons of opium per year. Thailand's consumption approaches 175 tons. India absorbs between 175 and 200 tons and Afghanistan-Pakistan about half of that level.

The remainder of the world's consumers of illicit opium are supplied by imports smuggled from the major producing countries. Iran, which consumes approximately 250 tons annually, is the largest market for these illegal imports. Hong Kong, which has the highest per capita opium-base drug abuse rate in the world, consumes more than 15 tons per year. The other major markets are the United States, with estimated smuggled imports of 40 tons in opium equivalent, Singapore and Malaysia combined—30 tons—and Western Europe—30 tons. Lesser markets, including Japan, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, Macao, and parts of North Africa and the Near East, together account for another 70 tons.

The wholesale routes which illicit opium follows on its way to these markets are difficult to trace, particularly in the Far East. However, the general outlines of one major route can be discerned. Raw opium is collected in Burma by so-called Kuomingtang Irregulars, former members of the Nationalist Chinese Army who fled to Burma after the Chinese Government came to power and who remained there, and by guerrilla armies of Shan tribal insurgents. It is then moved through the Mekong River Valley in Laos and Thailand to such major cities as Luang Prabang, Vientiane and Bangkok.

These latter cities serve as both final markets and as transshipment points for opium from Burma as well as Thailand, and Laos—where both Communist and government armed forces are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large-scale smuggling operations.

From these cities, a major part of the exported opium and heroin is smuggled to Hong Kong, which is also both a final market and a transshipment point, while other parts proceed by other routes directly to markets in the Far East (such as South Vietnam and Cambodia), by land through Thailand to Malaysia and Singapore, and by boat or air to other countries. A small but growing portion of these drugs eventually find their way into the United States.

The route from the Turkish Anatolian Plain to the United States is much easily traced. Raw opium is gathered by small-scale Turkish entrepreneurs who may deal with several villages. The product, as raw material or in the form of morphine base, is sold to criminal syndicates in Istanbul who collect the supplies into relatively large amounts.

A portion of this morphine base is then smuggled westward to France either by land through Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and across northern Italy, or it may move directly to Marseilles by boat. From France, it is then smuggled into the United States directly, or, increasingly, by way of Latin America.

The remaining portion of illicit Turkish opium is smuggled eastward to Iran. Usually, the Turkish syndicates arrange for this movement to the border areas and then for its smuggling into Iran both by Kurdish tribesmen via Iraq and by individual Turks directly to Iran. Once in Iran, the opium is delivered to wholesalers who market it as opium, morphine base, or heroin to retailers.

A third major route involves transportation from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Iran. Usually, the opium is gathered by tribal chieftains near the producing areas. In the eastern border regions, the chieftains deliver it to groups which arrange transportation across Afghanistan to the Iranian border, usually by means of trucks using the northern cross-country highway. In the western border region, delivery is usually made to tribal chieftains who make the actual delivery into Iran in armed gangs for small commission fees.

Given this widespread production of illicit opium and the vast network of smuggling routes, we will not stop heroin from entering our country unless and until there is a complete international ban upon poppy culture.

American efforts, in the form of threats to end foreign aid to those countries which produce illicit opium, will not, and by their very nature, cannot be effective, standing alone.

Dealers in illicit drugs have demonstrated a continuous and remarkable flexibility in replacing sources of supply that have been eliminated, in responding to shifts in demand, and in devising new traffic routes. Thus, the cessation of opium production in Iran in 1955 coupled with the sharp reduction of illicit cultivation in South China upon the accession of the Communist government, actually led to the development of and steady increase in production in Afghanistan-Pakistan, India, Turkey, and the hill areas of Burma, Laos, and Thailand.

A termination of foreign aid to Turkey, for example, which led to a cessation of illicit opium production in that country, would only result in a shift to new sources of supply. In fact, in anticipation of the imposition of control in Turkey, organized criminal syndicates have already begun a shift to the Far East, and heroin traffic from that region to the United States, although small, has already increased severalfold.

Presumably, shifts of this type could continue until the major source of supply became located in a country which received no foreign aid or which did not view American aid as particularly important. Burma, for example, has not received a new commitment of American aid since 1959.

Threats to terminate or actual termination of foreign aid may also have little effect on those countries which do receive aid. For example, in Afghanistan, illicit opium production occurs in an area over which the government has little or no administrative control. The same is true in Laos. Cutting off foreign aid to these countries until opium production is eliminated might last for years and might even hinder the abolition of production, since without aid, it would be difficult for these countries to develop the administrative control which is an essential first step in eliminating poppy culture.

Thus, an American effort to stop the production of illicit opium, utilizing the leverage of American aid will not be successful standing alone. We must provide the illegal opium producing countries with a "carrot" as well as a "stick." As the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs noted, when it considered the problem of illicit opium production:

> In virtually every case, the countries where such production took place were developing countries, and the areas within their territory where there was such narcotics cultivation were usually the more underdeveloped and poorer parts of the whole national territory. It must be recognized that the governments concerned, with their limited financial resources and with many imperative claims of high national priority on their budget, required substantial outside assistance in order to create the conditions under which the population involved could adapt other means of livelihood than the cultivation of narcotic crops.

Any American effort to eliminate the illegal traffic in opium must be integrated into a comprehensive, integrated, worldwide program for the total elimination of poppy culture involving crop substitution and diversification, law enforcement, drug abuse prevention education, and treatment and rehabilitation. This is the only method of eliminating opium production which has any real chance of success.

I am today introducing legislation which will enable the United States to undertake a leadership role in an international effort to eliminate poppy culture.

The legislation is in the form of an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and would establish a special program of American assistance for the total elimination of poppy culture. The program would be initially funded, I would hope, at a level of $100 million and would involve American contributions to international efforts in this field as well as bilateral assistance.

As I have indicated, illegal opium production is a truly international problem affecting a great number of countries. Therefore, any American effort to aid in the solution of this problem will involve close cooperation with international institutions. Specifically, the United States will participate in and work closely with the programs and institutions established by the United Nations.

In October 1970, at the urging of our State Department, the United Nations established a Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control. This Fund, run by international civil servants under the direction of the Secretary General of the United Nations and financed by voluntary contributions from governmental and private sources, is designed to finance the development of an international program for the elimination of the international traffic in illegal opium and its derivatives. The Director of the Fund has been appointed and the Secretary General has begun soliciting voluntary contributions from the members of the United Nations.

The United States has pledged a $2 million contribution for the operation of the Fund during 1971 and, just last month, Ambassador Bush presented the Secretary General with a $1 million letter of credit as our initial payment. This development is encouraging but far from satisfactory.

As a general rule of thumb, the United States contributes 35 percent of the budgets of international organizations. Other governments utilize this rule of thumb in determining their own contributions to international organizations. The $2 million pledge of the United States will thus result in an initial funding of the Special Fund at a level of approximately $5 million.

While a funding level of $5 million may be sufficient for the first year's operation of the Special Fund, a much higher level of funding will be required almost immediately. A very cursory review of the type of international program that will be required to eliminate the international traffic in illegal opium clearly demonstrates this fact.

Crop diversification programs, involving the distribution of seeds, fertilizer, and technical expertise will be the most important element of an international effort to eliminate illegal opium production. Obviously, if farmers are to be prevented from growing poppy as a cash crop, a more profitable substitute crop will be necessary. Some countries, such as Yugoslavia, have already successfully substituted one crop, melons, for opium. Others can do the same. For example, in West Pakistan, much of the area where poppy is grown could be planted in high-yield Mexican wheat. The same might be done in Turkey. Since poppy culture is so labor intensive, this might be accomplished with relative ease.

The major obstacle is a program of crop substitution lies in the fact that, while there are many substitute crops that would earn more income than opium per unit of labor, there are relatively few crops that would earn more than illicit opium per unit of land. For example, given current yields in the area, a Pakistani farmer would earn approximately $50 per acre from Mexican wheat as compared to the $90 per acre he receives from opium. Therefore, a crop substitution program will necessarily involve some form of farm subsidy program.

In some areas, crop substitution will not be sufficient. Opium is grown in some regions because it is easily transported on the human back or by pack animals, the only modes of transportation available. Thus, it will be necessary in some areas to build railroads, roads, and distribution facilities, including small processing plants, in order to permit the farmers to get their new products to market.

In some areas, crop substitution will not be feasible. In these areas it will be necessary to stimulate economic development in order to provide alternative sources of employment. This will mean the development of manpower training programs, and in some instances, a careful change in the life-styles of seminomadic tribes to enable them to adapt to a more sedentary life.

Law enforcement technology will also play an extremely important role in an effort to eliminate illegal poppy culture. In some countries, the government lacks effective administrative control of its opium producing areas. This is particularly true of the mountainous districts of Burma, Laos, and Thailand, where the mountain tribesmen are reported to sleep—not with their wives but with their long rifles—and do not hestiate to draw a bead on any unwelcome central government agent when he appears on the horizon, much as our Kentucky mountaineers welcomed the "revenooers." These countries will need assistance in their necessary attempt to gain control of these remote rural areas.

Once a country has gained complete control over its producing areas, law enforcement officers will require training and equipment for surveillance and control of illicit poppy culture. It has been estimated that the demand of the entire American addict population could be met by the cultivation of no more than 5 to 10 square miles. This fact indicates the magnitude of the law enforcement effort that will be require if illicit opium production is to be eliminated.

American technology and aid will be of extreme utility in this effort. The high-altitude photographic and satellite surveillance techniques which we have developed would be invaluable in an attempt to locate illicit poppy fields, as would our developments in the area of electronics sensors and the use of chemical and low-grade radioactive tracer elements. Similarly, our development of different types of helicopters and our skills in utilizing them could be easily transferred and, in fact, we have already done so in aiding the Mexican government in its attempt to control the production of narcotic raw materials. Our Justice Department is in the process of developing mechanical detection devices which can literally sniff the air of airplanes and ships to locate illegal heroin and our Defense Department has developed defoliation techniques which could, perhaps, be utilized in eliminating illegal poppy fields. In short, the United States has tremendous technical resources at its command which could make a significant contribution to the effort to stamp out opium production.

The program I have outlined thus far has concentrated for the most part upon diminution of the supply of opium and its derivatives coming across our borders and into our neighborhoods. The effectiveness of this program would be greatly enhanced by efforts designed to reduce demand by our youth. Thus, an international program to end poppy culture must include programs for credible drug abuse prevention education in our schools, and addict treatment and rehabilitation centers in our neighborhood health clinics.

Development of drug abuse education programs will not be easy. Addiction to heroin is a relatively new urban phenomenon restricted mostly to people under 25 years of age who live in societies, such as the United States, which are undergoing rapid social change attended by conflicts between old and new values. Opium, in contrast, is generally eaten or smoked by users, rather than addicts, in societies with large numbers of poor people, low standards of public health, and, in many cases, a long tradition of opium use. Obviously, different programs will be required for each form of drug abuse in each of these different types of societies.

But even within the same society a number of different programs may be required. Here, at home, for example, we are only just beginning to devise programs which will reach the sophisticated college student as well as the knowledgeable ghetto youth who has lived in a drug culture for his entire life.

Construction of a variety of programs for the treatment and rehabilitation of addicts throughout the world will also be difficult. A thoroughly effective method of treatment has not been developed, as the debate in this country between advocates of drug-free treatment centers for heroin addicts and the proponents of methadone clinics demonstrates. Moreover, assuming that an effective method is developed, it will not be easy to induce addicts or users to accept treatment. This is true not only in those countries where heroin is the principal drug of abuse, but also in those societies where opium is traditionally used on a casual but regular basis. According to John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, "the relatively high proportion of the local population (in some of the producing countries) who use opium or its derivatives regularly see no compelling reasons for reform, and on the contrary tend to resist any change in their way of life." Obviously, research must be accelerated and different types of programs developed for different societies and different drugs of abuse.

Intensive research by the international medical community will be required to develop new programs and new drugs to treat addiction. We must, for example, develop an improved long lasting drug to block the effect of heroin, and a new and better drug to ease the withdrawal symptoms of those addicts who desire to break their habits. This type of research is already being conducted here and abroad and it must be intensified.

This brief review of the types of programs which must be involved in an international effort to eliminate illegal opium production indicates the magnitude of the resources which will be required.

The United States must take the lead, not only in bilateral aid programs, but also in making contributions to the Special Fund which will provide the Fund with the resources it will need to do an effective job. The legislation I am introducing today will enable the United States to make contributions to the Fund which will demonstrate the clear commitment of the United States to the elimination of this problem and, at the same time, provide the Fund with the resources it will require.

The Special Fund is designed, at least initially, to develop programs to eliminate the illegal production of opium. This will not be sufficient. Any effort to eliminate illicit poppy culture must also include the elimination of the production of opium for medicinal purposes and the cultivation of poppies for use as food. As long as licit production for these purposes continues, some opium will find its way into illegal channels.

Accordingly, my legislation would enable the United States to assist and develop programs of multilateral and bi-

lateral assistance to eliminate the lawful production of opium.

The elimination of the medicinal use of opium and its derivatives should not prove too difficult. In its January, 1971 report entitled "Heroin and Heroin Paraphenalia," the Select Committee on Crime of the House of Representatives states:

> Respected scientific and medical authorities support the conclusion that our domestic pain-killing needs can now be adequately fulfilled by synthetic substitutes which not only kill pain, but also provide the desired euphoric effect for patients suffering with painful terminal diseases.

Thus, the use of morphine for analgesic purposes would appear to be unnecessary.

In addition to its analgesic properties, morphine is also used to make codeine for cough syrups. In fact, about 95 percent of the licit morphine now produced is reserved for conversion to other substances, primarily codeine. However, synthetic substitutes for codeine also exist and again, we do not require opium for this purpose.

While some further research seems necessary in order to find a nonaddictive substitute for morphine and to reduce the price of synthetic substitutes for codeine, the major element in a program to eliminate the medicinal use of these drugs will be education.

In the United States, although most young doctors seem to be aware of the existence of the synthetic substitutes for morphine and codeine, many older doctors continue to prescribe the natural narcotic drugs. Moreover, in many developing countries, opium has a long tradition in folk medicine and is still used in some countries for medicinal purposes.

Thus, a major element in a program to eliminate poppy culture will involve an educational program, both here and abroad, utilizing the resources of such organizations as the American Medical Association and the World Health Organization, to acquaint and convince medical personnel of the existence of adequate synthetic substitutes for morphine and codeine and of the consequent lack of any justification for continued production for medicinal purposes of opium and its derivatives.

The elimination of legal opium production should prove feasible without causing any considerable financial loss to the producing countries. India, which produces 80 percent of the licit opium, earns only $6 to $7 million annually from oversea sales compared with total export earnings approaching $2 billion, and the income generated by licit production within India hardly exceeds $12 million annually.

In Turkey, which produces nearly all of the remaining world's exports of licit opium, income generated from licit poppy culture approaches only $3 million out of a national income of $9 billion and licit opium exports were valued at only $1.7 million, less than three-tenths of 1 percent of total export earnings. Given this negligible economic role that licit opium production plays in these two countries, the elimination of legal opium production, assuming the availability of adequately funded programs of crop substitution and preclusive buying, could be accomplished with little short-run harm, and considerable long-term economic benefit.

An educational effort will also be required to eliminate the use of poppy products in food. In many areas of the world, the poppy is valued because of the use of its seed and oil in food preparation. Indeed, last year, the United States alone imported nearly 20,000 pounds of poppy seed oil and 6.5 million pounds of sterilized poppy seeds for use in food. Given the importance of the elimination of narcotics abuse, not only in the United States, but all over the world, surely an educational campaign to promote a change in food habits should not prove too difficult.

The legislation I have introduced today, even if successfully implemented, will not end the problem of drug abuse. Drug abuse is essentially a symptom of an underlying alienation, bitterness, and despair which leads to a desire to escape to a world of unreality. Until we eliminate these root causes, drug abuse in some form will be with us.

The type of program I have outlined will, however, disrupt the criminal elements which are supplying the demand for narcotics, get the addict out of a life of full-time crime, and, most importantly, it will buy time. Time we can use to deal with the causes of drug abuse; time to develop new and effective methods of addict treatment and rehabilitation; time to develop effective means of prevention; in short, time in which to save our youth—indeed—save the next generation of leaders around the world.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the bill follows:

H.R. 7492

A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for international drug control assistance

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 2 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting immediately after title III the following new title:

"TITLE IIIA—INTERNATIONAL DRUG CONTROL ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 225. AUTHORITY.—(a) The President is authorized to furnish assistance to any friendly foreign country, on such terms and conditions he determines necessary, in order to encourage and enable that country to control or eliminate the production, processing, or distribution of narcotic and psychotropic drugs within its boundaries.

"(b) The President is authorized to furnish assistance to any international organization, such as the United Nations Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control, involved in efforts to control or eliminate the production, processing, or distribution of narcotic and psychotropic drugs.

"(c) Such assistance shall be used as follows:

"(1) To aid opium-producing nations in developing alternative crops and markets for such crops.

"(2) To provide new employment opportunities for those who become unemployed as the result of the limitation or eradication of opium production.

"(3) To strengthen the law enforcement and regulatory machinery of countries seeking to control the production, processing and distribution of dangerous drugs.

"(4) To develop treatment, rehabilitation, and preventive education programs suitable to diverse cultures.".

LET'S EXAMINE THE CHARGES AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, rumor has it that the President—and, perhaps, the Republican Party generally—is pretty ruthless: refusing to end the war in Vietnam; opposing a definite date for the withdrawal of our troops; being more interested in saving face than in saving lives. You have all heard the charges.

Basically, these charges add up to the proposition that this administration is insensitive to the longing of the American people for peace.

Let us examine that proposition.

At the outset, I plead for objectivity. Be fair. Be honest. At least to ourselves. Some of us will not be, of course. There are those, for example, who have a political stake in a particular point of view. But most Americans do not. I must believe at the threshold of this discussion that most Americans will look at the facts—as they really are—and will accept the simple truth.

Let us set the stage with a little history.

The Eisenhower years—8 years of relative peace in the world—ended in 1960. President John Kennedy was elected in 1960 and in his inaugural address spoke eloquently of the torch being passed to a new generation and of our continuing commitment to freedom.

We remember that he was soon put to the test.

Following the Bay of Pigs disaster, in which decisiveness and resolute leadership was evidently lacking, our will was soon challenged by the Soviet Union.

The Cuban missile crisis was no more nor less than a test of the guts of the new President, and he measured up to that challenge, although in doing so, we were drawn to the brink of war.

The new President was also engrossed with the growing crisis in Indochina. You may remember that he sent his trusted mentor, Averill Harriman, to Southeast Asia to negotiate the unfortunate division of Laos—thereby opening that famous highway to the South, the Ho Chi Minh trail. But as the Communist threat to Laos was blocked, temporarily, the young President acted with firm resolution to bolster the uncertain Government in South Vietnam. At his direction, American advisers in division strength poured into South Vietnam to aid in the local resistance to aggression from the North.

An assassin's bullet in Dallas cut short the career of our 35th President. We do not know for certain how he might have reacted to future developments in Vietnam. We do know what he did. Our troop commitments in Vietnam during his

Presidency increased from 4,100 to 31,700.

And we know what action his Vice President took as his successor. President Johnson escalated our commitment to more than a half million men. He was advised during this period of more troops, more bombing and more casualties, by Secretary of State Rusk, who had also served President Kennedy, and Secretary of Defense McNamara, also the Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy Cabinet. To make the picture complete, I should add that the then Vice President HUMPHREY and Senators FULBRIGHT, MCGOVERN, MUSKIE, and many other Johnny-come-lately peace advocates applauded President Johnson's every move.

Am I being unfair, Mr. Speaker? I do not mean to be. I mean to tell it exactly as it happened.

And so President Nixon was elected in 1968. He told the American people that he had a plan to end the war. You remember that candidate HUMPHREY did not have a plan of his own and challenged candidate Nixon to let him in on the secret.

The American people evidently believed Richard Nixon, for he was elected. Their trust was not misplaced.

Shortly after his election, he flew to the Pacific to meet with Vietnamese leaders. Out of this conference came the basic strategy—a game plan, as it were—which has guided our actions ever since: the Nixon doctrine, of which Vietnamization is a part. The strategy, simply stated, is that America as a free world leader will maintain her commitments to those free nations challenged by aggression, but our responsibility is secondary. The primary responsibility for self-defense rests with the people of the Nation whose security is threatened.

This was the plan—a plan for disengagement and the defense of liberty—a plan which had eluded the two previous Democratic administrations.

The plan is working. Troop strength is at the lowest level in nearly 5 years, and is declining. Casualties have dropped to one-tenth of their former level.

And yet those who supported an administration which sent our boys to Vietnam are wildly critical of an administration which is bringing them home.

But these newly hatched doves now claim to have a better plan—total withdrawal now or at some symbolic date in the near future.

One might speculate on the simple commonsense of turning for a solution in Vietnam to the very ones who willingly participated in the creation of that problem. It is tempting to do so, but instead, let me examine the Democrat strategy for peace. Its keystone is withdrawal from Vietnam. There may be some variations as to timing or details, but all the Democrat leaders seeking high office seem to agree on this one central point—withdrawal from Vietnam.

As a strategy for peace, it is pathetic. As a strategy for democratic political advantage, it may have some temporary merit.

Is anyone so naive as to believe that peace will come to Indochina if we should effect a prompt and total withdrawal? Does even Senator MCGOVERN really believe that the North and South Vietnamese will forget their differences and will live in peace ever after if we should pack up and go home?

To speak of "peace" and "withdrawal" in the same breath is nothing less than a fraud.

The only—and I repeat, only—consequence of our withdrawal from Vietnam will be to enhance the chances of success of the North Vietnamese in their war of aggression against the South.

I cannot believe that those Democratic leaders—and in fairness, a few young Republicans, as well—seek a Communist takeover in South Vietnam, or believe that such a consequence is in America's interest. But they are consciously advocating a policy that may have that result.

Every American unites behind a policy of peace—not just peace in Indochina—but everywhere. Peace in the world is, and always has been, America's fundamental foreign policy.

Let us look at the strategy of withdrawal as an instrument of that foreign policy. If withdrawal is not productive of world peace, it should not seriously be entertained.

If we should remove our military presence from Southeast Asia and the South China Sea, have we enhanced the posabilities of peaceful coexistence, or have we merely offered a new temptation to China? If we withdraw from Korea, is the irrational Government of North Korea more likely, or less likely, to launch its long-promised war of reunification?

Is the American commitment to NATO wise? Or should we trust the good intentions of the Soviet Union and follow the counsel of those who advocate withdrawal?

Is the presence of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean a stabilizing force for peace, or an unnecessary provocation that should be withdrawn?

More fundamentally, has a policy of withdrawal and isolation from the world around us ever been productive of peace? Or has it led to war?

The Nation cannot follow those blinded by presidential ambitions to history and to simple commonsense. The answer to withdrawal as a national strategy is "no." In the name of peace, "no."

SHORTAGE AND HIGH PRICE OF CHROMIUM ORE

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, at a meeting of its house of delegates on April 17, passed a resolution concerning the shortage and high price of chromium ore.

The resolution rightly points out that the United States has become dependent on the Soviet Union for this vital commodity and expresses support for my legislation to remove the ban on importing chrome ore from Rhodesia.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

CHROMIUM ORE MONOPOLY

Whereas, as a direct result of sanctions imposed upon Rhodesia by the United Nations and supported by the United States, the United States has been forced to purchase chromium ore, at an exorbitant price, from Russia which insists that the purchase include 50% of a very low grade ore, and

Whereas, chromium is an essential ingredient of armor-plate, projectiles, stainless steel, the wearing parts of ore-crushing mills, and in electrical heating devices, and

Whereas, since domestic production of chromium ore is very scanty in this country, the United States formerly has obtained its supplies from Cuba and Rhodesia, consequently Russia now remains as the only source for this vital substance, and

Whereas, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., of Virginia and Congressman James Collins of Texas have introduced bills (S–1404 and HR–5445) to allow importation of chromium ore from Rhodesia;

Therefore, be it resolved that the House of Delegates of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., in regular session assembled in Chicago, Illinois, this 17th day of April, 1971, congratulates these gentlemen for their patriotism and concern for our survival and urges all members of the Association to work for passage of these bills in the interest of our country.

FUNDING FOR VARIOUS FOREST SERVICE ACTIVITIES

HON. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I want to speak in strong support of adequate funding for various Forest Service activities, all of which are so significant to the State of Oregon. Most of the points I will make were included in my statement to the Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies; but I believe that the growing and caring for our Nation's trees are of tremendous importance to every American for the many benefits derived therefrom—such as wilderness, recreation, timber supplies for our housing needs, and so on.

In recent months we have seen the Forest Service take certain specific actions to improve their image in the minds of an environmentally alert public. These have not been easy to take; and while they may not meet the criteria which many of our very fine conservation and environmental groups feel necessary at this time, I believe those actions the Forest Service has taken should be recognized and credited.

A good deal of my remarks pertain to our environmental needs, and I will begin with research. The budget submitted contains no increase for forestry research. The Forest Service has tried

to accommodate the critical need for research in nonchemical control of forest pests, and current and future environmental impact of pesticides by redirecting its present level of research. This effort is commendable under budgetary restraints, but it simply will not do the job if we are to keep pace with public interest and demand growing out of increased public education and awareness.

We are in the midst of a period of thoughtful concern by most Americans about how much of an impact certain Federal activities will have upon their whole environment; how well their needs for recreation, health, housing, etc., will be met. And in this atmosphere the question about the use and control of pesticides rises to the surface and demands our serious attention. In the State of Oregon any decision on this subject will have considerable impact. Long thought of as a "lumber State" where the use of pesticides and herbicides was taken for granted as a necessity in good forestry practices, we find Oregonians are turning their attention more and more toward environmental concerns. They are not only willing but desirous of finding out more about the environmental impact of certain pest control activities, and to discover better ones.

This research is a priority item at the Corvallis Laboratory, one of the Forest Service's most important research centers, which works hand in hand with the Forestry Department at Oregon State University.

If we are to meet the demands being made on forestry research in biological and silvicultural control of destructive forest insects and diseases, in tree genetics, and in forest watershed quality control and management, then an increase of some $600,000 to $650,000 must be made in the budget. Mr. President, I believe that correspondence I have received from the Northwest Forest Pest Action Council, Seattle, Wash.; from Mr. J. E. Schroeder, Oregon State forester, Salem, Oreg.; Mr. Hugh Allen, executive secretary, Western Council Lumber & Sawmill Workers, Portland, Oreg.; Dean Carl H. Stoltenberg, School of Forestry, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oreg.; and Mr. L. James Bagley, president, Oregon Logging Conference, set out explicitly the reasons why this increase in funding is so drastically needed. Mr. President, I ask that those letters be printed at this time in the RECORD.

I also might call your attention to the fact that at the National Wildlife Federation's 35th annual meeting in Portland, from March 4–7, 1971, a resolution was adopted calling for some $5.8 million for insect research, and $3.8 million for disease research in Federal allocations.

As you know, I have introduced the administration's pesticide legislation, S. 745, calling for stricter control and registration of pesticides. In view of the high public concern about pesticides, I am convinced that regulation and registration as proposed by the administration is reasonable and necessary. I also believe that this must be coupled with adequate funding for research in this area to provide alternatives.

Mr. President, there has been considerable interest expressed to me about the need for a genetic research at the U.S. Forest Service Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station at Corvallis. I ask that letters I received from two of my constituents, Mr. Virgil Ellett, president, Northwest Christmas Tree Association, McMinnville, Oreg., and Mr. Robert E. Snow, of Portland, Oreg., discussing the need for such a researcher, be printed in the RECORD at this time.

Now I discussed this need with the Forest Service and on January 18, 1971, received a response from Dr. Keith Arnold, in which he estimates a cost of $75,000 a year to maintain a fulltime scientist on this work with supporting help he would need. Mr. President, I ask also that Dr. Arnold's letter be included in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I turn now to the subject of reforestation, which I believe is the single most important item we have to consider. The K–V balances are insufficient in places to accomplish the reforestation work needed as a result of timber harvesting activities. In the State of Oregon alone, it is estimated there was a $7.5 million deficit as of July 1, 1970, to complete the necessary 90,000 acres of planting, replanting, and seeding. This deficit is the gradual accumulation of many problems such as underestimating future costs, national cash limitations, timber market fluctuations which cause postponement of harvest and thus reforestation, Federal manpower limitations—Forest Service may have the money for the work in certain instances, but lacks the personnel—and so forth. In general, any delay in the start of a project is going to result in an imbalance between K–V receipts and costs. The disparity becomes particularly severe during periods of rapidly rising costs, such as we are now facing.

Mr. President, in Oregon 120,000 acres of national forest land, in some degree of need for reforestation or afforestation, are not eligible for K–V funds. The 136,000 acres in the 10-year estimate of needs by Forest Service picks up some of the K–V slack plus additional losses, mostly fire, by 1980. The 1970 cost estimate of the work to be done in Oregon is roughly $24 million.

In an era when we have competing forces for our timbered lands—wilderness and recreation on one side and housing on the other—then we simply cannot afford to turn our backs on this critical need. For instance, in Oregon, if the 120,000 acres were satisfactorily reforested, I am told it would increase the annual timber growth by 60 million board feet. Think how far that would go in meeting the needs I have just outlined. There are studies which predict that by 1980 demands for wood will have increased by 20 billion board feet. I dare say that the demand for true wilderness areas, and forested recreation lands, will increase in a like manner. Reforesting the Oregon lands would make a substantial contribution to the Nation's needs in both of these areas.

Mr. President, Oregon was fortunate last year in that it was not hit with the same disastrous fires that struck so hard at our neighboring State of Washington. But this is an area that cannot be overlooked or ignored. To provide adequate fire protection for the timber, range, water, and recreation resources in Oregon, it will require approximately $95 million over the next 10 years. A vital need is a hard hitting, mobile initial attack force to drastically reduce the chances of forest fires developing into the huge conflagrations of the 1970 summer. Along with the present force, the attack forces need an additional 20 helitack units if fires are to be kept to a size where minimal damage is done. In addition, a strong prevention program must be maintained to reduce man-caused fires.

Then we come to the rehabilitation following fire damage. Top priority must be given to those emergency measures which are necessary to prevent the immediate deterioration of site or abate the immediate threat to health, life, or property. This would include such measures as revegetation with quick-growing ground cover, sediment traps, stream channel clearing, and so forth.

Mr. President, in rehabilitation, time is of the essence. The work must be done prior to high runoff and before the winter snows begin if it is to be effective. In Oregon and Washington, this normally means that immediate rehabilitation should be completed at least prior to mid-November. This often leaves little time even when rehabilitation funds are currently on hand. A delay in funding often makes the timing more critical. A readily available source of funds is needed for such work.

Other measures are needed which may not have an immediate benefit, but which are necessary now to eventually restore the area to its original condition. This includes measures to reestablish tree cover—planting, seeding, baiting—fencing to protect revegetation measures, seed collection, and so forth. Mr. President, funds to do this emergency work just have not always been available; and if we are to meet the environmental demands upon us, we must fairly assess this program and come forth with the money to do the job.

Let us turn our attention now to cooperative fire control. Oregon participates in section 2 of the Clarke-McNary Act which provides for Federal financial and other assistance to protect State and privately owned forest and nonforest watershed lands from wildfire. As many of you recall, Federal sharing is authorized up to 50 percent of total program expenditures. In fiscal 1970 total expenditures for Oregon amounted to $4,020,724, which included Federal contributions of $590,955, or 14.7 percent of the total. I do not believe I need to recall for you the significance of fire damage—perhaps those of you who saw the magnificent film, "Wildfire!" had the costly message engraved in your thinking. Significant progress in coping with the situation could be made by a more rapid expansion into inadequately protected areas. This could be most effectively done through cooperative efforts with rural and volunteer fire departments by providing training and equipment. I believe Senator DOLE has introduced legislation in this area.

The present CM2 program Federal authorization stands at $20,000,000 and the appropriation for fiscal 1971 is $16,516,000. Preliminary estimates indicate total national expenditures well in excess of $100 million on State and private lands during this fiscal year. The immediate need is to raise this program to its full authorization, followed by an increased authorization. And I might say here that I have introduced legislation to do just that—to increase the authorization to $40,000,000. This is modest, when we consider the need to be $100 million. But we must at least begin in the direction that will allow Oregon and the other States to better cope with the fire crisis.

Mr. President, while we have left Federal lands for the moment to discuss State and private lands, let me say that Oregon's 11 million acres—42 percent of the State's total commercial forest—of non-Federal commercial forest offer a major opportunity for increasing our timber supply. Five million acres of this in nonindustry ownerships provide a good opportunity and present a challenge that can be met only with increased technical assistance. The owners of these lands simply do not have the technical expertise and skills for bringing about management improvement needed. In order to increase timber harvest from the State and private forest lands in Oregon by 260 million board feet, it would require an average annual level of $175,000 in federally appropriated funds.

In addition, there are in excess of 2.5 million acres of non-Federal commercial forest land in Oregon in need of tree planting for establishment or reinforcement purposes. At present, total non-Federal planting and seeding work is carried out on about 86,000 acres annually. Probably no more than 25 percent, or about 22,000 acres of this is "backlog" planting, that is, planting on lands in the above category of lands needing tree planting. If any marked reduction in the acreage needing tree planting is to be realized, double or tripling of the present rate of planting and seeding must occur.

Mr. President, if I may return a moment to the whole question of reforestation, this is the most critical phase of timber management. Research in this field has produced improved nursery stock, provided practical techniques and timing for lifting, storage, and planting of seedlings, and a choice of regeneration methods. However, we simply are not keeping pace with the demands of the expanding reforestation programs in the Pacific Northwest. In Oregon and Washington, nearly a quarter of a million acres were reforested in fiscal year 1969, or 1 acre of every 6 reforested in the entire Nation. This effort represents an annual investment of $15 million. To safeguard this heavy investment by assuring successful tree survival and vigorous growth, plantation failures must be reduced, and the lag period for regeneration establishment, which affects both timber production and environmental quality, must be shortened.

Accelerated research is urgently needed in cone and seed handling and storage, container planting for severe sites, improved means of preventing desiccation of planting stock and drought-kill of seedlings, and guidelines for choosing the best seeding or planting method on areas requiring reforestation.

Mr. President, as you can see this whole question of research is upon us—research in pesticides, research in reforestation, research in recreational needs, research in watershed protection; fish habitat research. Research is urgently needed to identify essential characteristics of a good fish-producing stream and then to determine how best to create and protect such characteristics.

Forest economics research is another area of opportunity. Opportunities to improve forest lands as an investment greatly exceed the funding available to capitalize on them, even though about $90 million is spent annually in managing forest lands in Oregon and Washington. Oregonians are increasingly demanding nontimber products in the forest. Economic analysis can be an important tool in deciding the "which" and "how much" of water yield and quality, nonconsumptive wildlife programs, and the many kinds of forest recreation as well as timber.

Then there is research in timber marketing, in log export questions, reclamation.

Forest Service recreation research in the Northwest has concentrated on the behavior and preferences of recreation users of the out-of-doors. Cooperators in this program are the departments of sociology, community service and public affairs, and the center for leisure research at the University of Oregon and the College of Forestry at Oregon State University, as well as the University of Washington. Strengthened research is much needed for all types of outdoor recreation, such as car camping, wilderness, water recreation, hunting, fishing, hiking, lowland trails, skiing, and so forth. Two additional research problems are: First, human behavior aspects of wildlife management, and second, litter control systems.

Mr. President, on the subject of recreational needs in Oregon, I ask that letters I have received from Mrs. J. Roe Heller of Portland, Oreg.; Carlton Whitehead of Portland; Larry Williams, executive director, Oregon Environmental Council; and Max Gardner, secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Yachats, Oreg., be included in the RECORD. These constituents have pointed out specific areas that recreational needs are not being met, and where additional attention needs to be directed.

I would like to turn now to two specific areas of need, the proposed lava lands visitor and information center to be established at Lava Butte, south of Bend, Oreg.; and continuing needs at Timberline Lodge.

Mr. President, I ask that correspondence I have received from Frederick H. Boyle, president, Central Oregon Community College, Bend, Oreg.; Hon. Sam Johnson, Oregon House of Representatives; Mr. Vince Genna, director, City of Bend Parks and Recreation Department; and Frank H. Loggan of Bend, Oreg., be included in the RECORD. All of these constituents have dwelled on the need for the lava lands visitor center, which would serve both the educational and recreation requirements of the area. In addition, I have a letter from the regional forester, Chas. A. Connaughton, verifying the desirability of such a center, indicating that the major item is for roads which should be part of the regular road appropriations to the Forest Service. I ask that Mr. Connaughton's letter be printed in the RECORD, for further on in his letter, he states the real urgency is the visitor center building.

The Forest Service began planning this center in 1964, to accommodate the continuing increase in visitations to Lava Butte. All development plans and designs for the proposed center have been completed, including parking and other necessary facilities. The water source and sewer system to serve the center have been developed. The Forest Service had budgeted for fiscal 1971 to complete this project and a portion of the Benham Falls Road, including the Benham Falls Bridge; however, this item was not funded. It is my hope this can be made a part of the 1972 appropriations.

Timberline Lodge has continuing needs in its development, and if we are to keep pace with the growing demands placed upon it, then funding of $951,000 should be provided in fiscal 1972 for construction of the convention wing. Timberline Lodge is one of the most outstanding tourist attractions in the State of Oregon.

On one last specific item, Mr. President, let me emphasize the importance of the work at the La Grande Range and Wildlife Habitat Laboratory. Currently needed are $100,000 for onsite greenhouse, shop, and garage; and at Starkey Experimental Range, $75,000 is needed for the field lab-office, shop, garage, and pumphouse.

Mr. President, there are many items and programs that have not been discussed in this statement, which are extremely valuable to Oregon; but let me conclude with this: When a State is known to grow one out of every five trees in the Nation, Forest Service activities are not taken lightly—adequately funded and wisely carried out, they can be in many instances the breath of the State.

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

NORTHWEST FOREST PEST
ACTION COUNCIL,
Seattle, Wash., March 1, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: On behalf of the Northwest Forest Pest Action Council, I'm sending you a copy of a recent letter I sent to Congresswoman Julia Butler Hansen and to Senator Alan Bible, Chairman of Appropriation Committees for Federal forest research. In view of your long interest and support of this work I believe you will find it of interest.

As mentioned in the letter, our Council is much concerned that the President's budget contains no increase in funding to equip and operate the new additions to the Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory, which you supported so strongly. We hope

you will do whatever you can to correct this situation.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. LARSON,
Chairman.

Enclosures.

NORTHWEST FOREST PEST ACTION COUNCIL,
Seattle, Wash., March 1, 1971.

Hon. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
Chairman, House Subcommittee on Appropriations for Department of Interior and Related Agencies, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN HANSEN: As Chairman of the Northwest Forest Pest Action Council, I am writing again this year to ask your renewed support for strengthening research on protection of our forests against destructive insects and diseases. You are well aware of today's critically important goals of (1) increasing production of softwood lumber for more and better housing of the American people, and (2) protecting and improving our forest and related environments. Forest pests are making it extremely difficult to achieve these goals.

Forest pests cause tremendous losses throughout the Nation, but nowhere are they more destructive than in the Pacific Northwest. U.S. Forest Service surveys show that in an average year, insects and diseases kill or prevent growth of almost 7 billion board feet of sawtimber—almost 50 percent of that harvested—in Oregon and Washington. This amount of timber would build more than a half million average-size homes.

The Pest Action Council firmly believes that only through an expanded and aggressive program of research can effective pest control methods be developed. The Council represents all sectors of the public and is made up of a number of committees which study individual insect and disease problems. At our annual meeting in the fall of 1970, the committees identified a number of specific problems needing research attention, particularly by the U.S. Forest Service. A number of resolutions were passed, urging increased research, and copies of these—Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 12—are attached for your reference. I bring them to your attention here and strongly urge that you support their implementation or strengthening at the hearings related to Forest Service appropriations for Fiscal Year 1972.

FORESTRY CHEMICALS

If the forest industry is to meet production goals demanded by our rapidly growing population, we must use insecticides to reduce losses from insects, herbicides to reduce competition from brush, fertilizers to increase tree growth, fire retardants to suppress forest fires. We must learn from research how to use these materials efficiently and with full environmental safety.

The Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station at its research facilities in Corvallis, Oregon, and Olympia, Washington, has outstanding scientists working on these problems. They have produced some very useful information but progress is minimal because of shortage of manpower and operating funds. The Council urges that the Experiment Station's funds be increased to adequately pursue this extremely important research.

ROOT DISEASE RESEARCH

Root rots of our major timber species such as Douglas-fir and ponderosa pine, cause an annual loss in productivity of Pacific Northwest forests estimated at 650 million board feet per year. If such losses were caused by fire it would be considered a holocaust; if by insects, a massive epidemic. The root rots, however, are more difficult to detect and control than either fire or insects, and thus have largely been ignored. Some new and promising possibilities for biological control of root rots are emerging from the modestly funded research program at the Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station. The control system involves no pesticides or disturbance of the environment. Rather, it entails growing native plants such as alder along with the highly rot-susceptible tree species. Such plants appear capable of eradicating or greatly reducing disease-causing organisms from soils. Before such biological control can be implemented, however, the basic laboratory-tested theories must be verified under field conditions, and pilot-scale projects must be designed. The Council strongly recommends the Congress strengthen this research in Fiscal Year 1972.

DWARF MISTLETOE RESEARCH

Dwarf mistletoes are parasitic plants which reduce forest tree growth in Oregon and Washington by over 900 million board feet annually; they also cause hazardous and unsightly damage to trees in recreational forests and campgrounds. Research now in progress suggests promising alternative control measures such as selective cutting, chemical control, and biological control by manipulating natural fungi and insects which attack the mistletoe plants.

A westwide analysis of mistletoe problems has been made by the Forest Service. A resulting recommendation is that the Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory be headquarters for a major part of the research effort. A base funding increase at Corvallis in Fiscal Year 1972 is nedeed in order that this important work can be stepped up as soon as possible. There is particular urgency to this problem because of the thousands of acres of mistletoe-infected young forests that are now being thinned each year. Unless adequate mistletoe protection is developed, this huge investment to increase forest production could be largely wasted.

FOREST INSECT RESEARCH

Forest insects continue to have tremendously damaging impacts on Pacific Northwest Forest. Over 3 billion board feet of mature timber is killed outright annually, and additional damage is caused to seeds, cones, seedlings, and young forests—our investment in the future. Damage is caused to recreation and timber-growing forests alike. Further, the catastrophic forest fires in north central Washington this past summer were fueled in strong part by millions of trees killed in a previous bark beetle outbreak.

A wide variety of insects is causing problems to forest managers throughout the region. Bark beetles, such as the mountain pine beetle, are the most important tree killers; 1970 surveys show that more than a billion board feet were killed in Oregon and Washington during the year. Defoliators such as spruce budworm, and the larch casebearer, an introduced pest from Europe, cause more gradual damage than bark beetles but also kill and deform trees, and reduce their growth. The balsam woolly aphid is a sucking insect, also accidentally imported from Europe, that is rapidly killing true fir forests along the crest of the Cascades from Crater Lake Park in Oregon to north of Mount Rainier in Washington. It is now infesting Olympic Peninsula forests, near the Olympic National Park, and it appears to be only a matter of time until the insect spreads to the huge new North Cascades Park near the Canadian border in Washington.

Research by the Forest Service and others shows promise of developing new or improved insect control measures—by growing trees and forests that are less susceptible to insect attack; by creating conditions that increase the abundance of biological control factors such as native parasites and predators, by learning how to manipulate insect-controlling diseases; and by developing safe, nonpersistent insecticides that can be applied in a manner that is not damaging to the environment.

These research programs are inadequately financed. The Forest Service effort at the Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory, which conducts field research in both Oregon and Washington, is the U.S. Forest Service insect and disease research center in the two States. The Council is aware that there has been no new funding of either insect or disease research at this facility for several years—a period when the cost of operations has been increasing at about 7 to 10 percent annually. The net result is that significantly less research is being done now than 5 years ago. An increase of funds is needed to bring insect research back to its previous level and to move ahead vigorously on the many promising new leads for developing safe and effective control measures.

CORVALLIS FORESTRY SCIENCES LABORATORY

The Northwest Forest Pest Action Council has worked for more than a decade with the Oregon and Washington Delegation and many others to (1) build the first stage of the Corvallis Laboratory in 1962, (2) strengthen its scientific staff, and, (3) in the past two fiscal years, to add two new facilities. We are fully aware and particularly appreciative of your support and efforts in obtaining Federal funding for the two new additions, one of which will be completed this coming spring, the other about a year from now.

These new additions provide the physical facilities for moving ahead on high-priority forest insect and disease research, as well as other important programs on timber management, genetics, watershed management, and the effects of pesticides on the environment. The Council strongly recommends that operating funds be made available to fully realize the new research potential. Strengthening of research for the disease and insect items described above is critically needed if the forests of the Pacific Northwest are to produce the essential products and livable environment so badly needed.

Again, on behalf of the Council, I wish to express our appreciation for your long-standing interest and strong support. We hope you will arrange to have this statement and the enclosed resolutions entered in the record of the appropriation hearings, and to have the budget for the U.S. Forest Service amended to provide adequate funding for this high priority research.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. LARSON,
Chairman.

FOREST DEPARTMENT,
Salem, Oreg., March 5, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: With Congressional appropriation hearings underway, I write to re-emphasize the need to strengthen research of the U. S. Forest Service here in the State of Oregon.

I was disappointed to find that the President's budget contains no items at all for increasing forestry research. As you appreciate so well, we must have continuing new knowledge and technology for managing and protecting our forests if we are to meet the ever-increasing demands upon them.

I was particularly disappointed that no funds were provided for equipping and operating the two new additions to the Forest Service's Forestry Science Laboratory at Corvallis, for which you worked so hard and successfully. As you know, the first of these additions will be completed about June, 1971; the second about January, 1972. These

are extremely important additions to the forestry research capability of the Pacific Northwest.

Now that these new facilities will soon be ready, it is urgent that adequate funds be available for their prompt activation and use. The highly trained and experienced senior scientific staff, now scattered in several locations, can be brought together and speed up progress, if funding is provided.

The Corvallis Laboratory is the Northwest center for forest insect and disease research. These agents cause by far the most destruction to Oregon and Washington forests—killing annually about a third as much mature timber as is harvested in the two states. The pathologists and entomologists at the laboratory are doing extremely valuable work in developing control measures, emphasizing biological rather than chemical controls. Their laboratory findings now should be intensified and then tested as soon as possible under field conditions and in pilot-scale projects, but such activities are beyond present financial resources.

Watershed research at Corvallis needs to be greatly strengthened. Scientists have just recently provided preliminary but extremely valuable information on changes in water yield, temperature, and sediment resulting from road building and timber harvest practices. This information needs to be refined into prescriptions that managers can use to produce the needed timber products from the forest, without damage to soils and water.

The Corvallis watershed researchers are also studying the impacts of forest fertilizers, herbicides, and other chemicals on forest soils and water. All of these materials are important to forest managers trying to increase tree growth. But the researchers must first determine how such aids to forest growth can be used safely and without harm to the forest environment.

Genetics research at Corvallis has made outstanding progress in improving Douglas-fir. The scientists there have developed practical methods that may increase timber yields by as much as one-tenth to one-fifth of the unimproved average. These new research-based techniques are already being applied over some 2,000,000 acres in the Northwest. The Oregon State Department of Forestry is an active participant in this program. But the research on which the program is based should be greatly intensified to develop faster growing, pest resistant trees with superior wood qualities—not only of Douglas-fir but also of our other important tree species such as western hemlock, noble fir, and the western spruces.

Other research units at the Corvallis Laboratory need strengthening now, including that developing information for managing the mixed conifer forests at high elevations in western Oregon and Washington and that working to increase the efficiency of seeding and planting methods to speed the regeneration of our forests.

I know you are familiar with the Forest Service Research Program for the 70's, a nationwide projection of forestry research needs. According to this analysis, the desirable first-year increase in funding for the Corvallis Laboratory is $650,000.

So, I hope it will be possible for the Congress to amend the Forest Service budget to speed up work at the Corvallis Laboratory next fiscal year. We should move ahead as rapidly as possible on this research.

Your vigorous support of forestry programs for Oregon and for the Nation is deeply appreciated. Would you please arrange to have my letter included in the record of the appropriation hearings.

Sincerely,

J. E. SCHROEDER,
State Forester.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA,
Portland, Oreg., March 16, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
Old Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: I am writing for the Western Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers to ask your help in strengthening Federal Forest Service research to meet the urgent needs in the Northwest for sound basic information about the alternatives for action in our timber and related forestry programs.

Pressures on our forests are greater every year. New projections of requirements for wood in the next and following years call for more intensive timber growing measures to insure adequate continuing supplies.

Our forests are also under increasing pressure to provide more jobs, particularly here in the Northwest, where unemployment is far above the national average. At the same time, people are increasingly concerned and vocal about environmental problems of logging and timber management practices.

All of these changes point out the necessity for increasing the efficiency and improving the environmental effects of forestry practices through research.

In reviewing the Administration's budget for the U.S. Forest Service in fiscal year 1972, I find no increases for forestry research. If the proposed budget prevails, it will not be possible to sustain even the present level of research, and certainly not possible to expand this program of work as is so much needed.

Last year I wrote you about the extremely important and unique forestry research under way at the U.S. Forest Service Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory. Members of the Western Council were greatly encouraged last year when the President's office finally released $500,000 appropriated by the Congress the previous year to get under way on the completion of the Corvallis laboratory on a stage-construction basis. We were further encouraged when the Congress last year appropriated a second $500,000 for Stage II of the Corvallis expansion, even though this was not included in the President's Budget.

Thanks to your very effective help in these matters, the Corvallis Stage I expansion laboratory will be completed and ready to use in June 1971; the Stage II expansion north wing will be completed early in 1972. This progress makes it possible to expand the high-priority research at the Corvallis Laboratory—if the necessary funds are now made available.

As you know, Corvallis is a major center for forestry research in the Northwest, and for some fields of investigation it serves the entire West and beyond.

Corvallis scientists are developing safer and more efficient methods to control the highly destructive forest insects and diseases that combined cause some 5 billion board feet of timber loss each year in Oregon and Washington. This research is our greatest hope for preventing these heavy losses and thereby increasing the sustainable level of useful timber harvest, and the supply of wood products for housing and other essential needs.

Corvallis is also the center for Forest Genetics Research which is developing faster growing and higher quality trees for a more abundant and more valuable future timber supply. If strengthened as needed, this work has the potential of increasing timber yields in the Northwest by 15 to 20 percent with full safety and benefit to the forest environment.

Our members are also greatly interested in the Watershed Management Research headquartered at the Corvallis Laboratory. The pressures for more timber could bring intolerable damage to our invaluable forested watershed lands. We greatly need more timber, but the need to protect our vital water supplies is even greater. So the watershed research at Corvallis must be speeded up to make sure we do protect our watersheds successfully while pushing to increase the timber supply.

These vital and closely related research programs at the Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory should be strengthened with additional funding of $650,000 next fiscal year.

We in the Western Council should greatly appreciate your help in determining what can be done to fund adequately this top-priority work. Will you please arrange to include a copy of my letter in the record of the appropriations hearings.

Yours very truly,

HUGH ALLEN,
Executive Secretary,
Lumber and Sawmill Workers.

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF FORESTRY,
Corvallis, Ore., February 25, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: I was indeed disappointed to find no provision in the President's budget to accelerate U.S. Forest Service research in timber growing, environmental protection, and forest insect and disease control here at the Corvallis Forestry Sciences Laboratory.

Thanks to your assistance, construction on Stage I of the addition to the Corvallis Laboratory will be completed and ready to use by next June. In addition, the contract has just been signed for Stage II, the north laboratory wing, which is scheduled to be completed early in 1972.

As you know, Forest Service research here is conducted in cooperation with our own research, so I am familiar with its accomplishments, potentials and needs. Last year I wrote you about the urgent need to strengthen research in biological and silvicultural control of destructive forest insects and diseases, in tree genetics, and in forest watershed quality control and management. With the new Corvallis Laboratory facilities soon to be available, there is an excellent opportunity to effectively strengthen this top priority work immediately. An increase of some $600,000 at this time would efficiently speed up these programs and help meet our future timber and other forest resource needs.

If you find it possible during the forthcoming budget considerations to strengthen this program in Corvallis, I am sure the people of the Northwest would benefit greatly.

Sincerely,

CARL H. STOLTENBERG,
Dean.

OREGON LOGGING CONFERENCE,
February 25, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PACKWOOD: On behalf of the Oregon Logging Conference, representing 1700 loggers in the State of Oregon, we wish to express our concern regarding Forestry Research in the Pacific Northwest.

At our 33rd Annual Oregon Logging Conference, held February 25–27, 1971, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Oregon Logging Conference commends the Congress for its support of progressive construction of the U.S. Forest Service Sciences Laboratory at Corvallis. The Conference recommends that Congress make provisions for effective operation and use of these facilities as soon as they are completed so that high priority research on pest control, timber growing and environmental protection can proceed without delay.

"The Conference further recommends that

funding be provided for the orderly completion of the construction phases of the Forestry Laboratory."

More specifically, it is imperative that the Laboratory, once construction is complete, be staffed with personnel to accomplish the assigned task.

Research and Development is a vital link in assuring vital, progressive forestry programs on public and private lands.

We appreciate the opportunity to comment.

Sincerely,

L. JAMES BAGLEY,
President.

NORTHWEST CHRISTMAS TREE ASSOCIATION,
McMinnville, Oreg., November 19, 1970.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: As President of the Northwest Christmas Tree Association, I have been asked by my Association to solicit your interest and support for a genetics research in Christmas trees. We have been so encouraged with results of several small genetic studies in our Association area that we urge the funding for a full-time scientist in this field at the USFS Forestry Sciences Laboratory, Corvallis, Oregon.

Our Association members have been rapidly converting to plantation-grown rather than forest-grown trees. To document this conversion, since the early 1960's when plantation trees were rare, we now have about 24,000 acres in plantations, divided almost equally between Oregon and Washington. The change-over will be virtually complete in another decade. In order for the Northwest to hold and expand its competitive position in outside markets, we must keep well ahead in the race for a high quality tree.

Fortunately, this trend to plantation-grown trees has given the two States an expanding new industry, which can employ large numbers of unskilled rural labor. Also, Christmas trees will grow on lower quality agricultural land that would be borderline for other crops. Few people realize that this trend has upped the quality and value of the trees into an industry presently bringing in approximately $10,000,000 annually to Northwest growers, and is still rapidly expanding. The impacts on the environment are all good as trees protect the land we use from degradation, and we are lessening the impact of cutting on the natural forests.

At the Forestry Sciences Laboratory in Corvallis, we have a collection of grafted trees growing from 22 of the best Christmas tree types ever found in the Northwest forests for future breeding. In addition, we have a study started in 1964 conducted by the Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Corvallis and the Department of Natural Resources in Olympia; these test trees are growing on the lands of eight of our members. Several parent trees from each State have produced seedlings that are superior to the average tree. Within the next year, we hope to have small quantities of this superior seed available. This is a practical and much needed program.

What is needed now is an aggressive program to promote the quality of Christmas trees on a scientific level. The scientists who have helped us in Christmas tree breeding have done so in addition to their normal workloads. Our Association feels that our most logical next advancement would come from an increased genetics research effort in Corvallis. Can you help us by asking for the staffing of a full-time geneticist in Christmas tree research at the USFS Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Corvallis beginning this year?

I would be delighted to show you, personally, the results of the genetic studies to date, and what we are striving to obtain in quality Christmas trees.

Sincerely,

VIRGIL ELLETT,
President.

SNOW-L TREE FARM,
Portland, Oreg., January 27, 1971.

Senator ROBERT PACKWOOD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: Recently Virgil Ellett, President of the Northwest Christmas Tree Association, wrote to you outlining the needs of the Christmas tree industry for a Genetic Researcher to be assigned to the U. S. Forest Service Pacific Northwest Forest and Range Experiment Station at Corvallis, Oregon.

As a medium size grower, 80 acres of trees near Forest Grove, the results of this kind of research would be of great benefit to me as well as the many other growers in the Northwest.

I strongly urge you to recommend to the Forest Service that a Geneticist be assigned to this project and that funds be made available for his work.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT E. SNOW.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., January 18, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: This is in reply to your January 8 letter asking what resources would be needed to get a full-time man on Christmas tree research at our Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Corvallis.

We estimate that it would cost $75,000 a year to maintain a full-time scientist on this work with the supporting help he would need. We agree with the Northwest Christmas Tree Association that this is high priority research, and we plan to request funds for it as soon as the budgetary situation permits.

We appreciate the interest that you and your friends in the Northwest have shown in our research.

Sincerely,

R. KEITH ARNOLD,
Deputy Chief.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
February 12, 1971.

Senator ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: The Forest Service Budget, Action on estimates for fiscal year 1971, showed the following:

Recreation—public use:	
1970 Appropriation Act	$37,549,000
1970 increased pay costs	1,544,000
1970 adjusted (base for 1971)	39,093,000
1971 increase or decrease:	
Budget estimate	+3,132,000
House action	+1,837,700
Senate action	−6,980,000
Conferee action	−6,980,000
Total appropriation bill, 1971	35,245,000

Many of us would like to know—*Why* did the Senate take action to reduce so drastically the appropriation for Recreation—public use?

You and Senator Packwood must be well aware of the campground situation in our nearby National Forests. With funding like the above it would take 20 years just to meet State Board of Health standards for water and sanitation in existing campgrounds. Partially constructed and much needed new campgrounds cannot be completed and put to use for lack of funds. Areas where more campgrounds are especially needed include the upper Clackamas drainage in the Mt. Hood Forest, where new road construction is way ahead of campground completion, and along the Medford-Crater Lake Highway in the Rogue River National Forest, where tourists on the way to Crater Lake National Park seek camping space.

Very truly yours,

ELEANOR T. HELLER.

REED COLLEGE,
Portland, Oreg., February 24 1971.

Hon. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: I am writing to you in my capacity as a member of the advisory committee to the United States Forest Service's Northwest Experiment and Research Station. The stimulus to write comes from my just learning that their attempt to provide better balance in recreational research has been frustrated by the Bureau of the Budget in preparing this element of the Forest Service's budget for presentation to Congress. The amount requested has been cut back to the very small amount they received last year.

At the annual meeting of the advisory committee, all members agreed strongly that recreational research was grossly neglected in the research budget. This year's budget request included an attempt to give recreational research better recognition in their program.

We readily identified a number of areas which needed attention, recognizing that the flood of people who are moving onto our Forest Service lands for recreational reasons are creating some major problems. They have only one staff member concerned with this area at this time, but he has done a superb job in identifying problems of mass use and suggesting some approaches to discourage destructive use and behavior. I know I don't need to elaborate on this with you, for you are well aware of the problems which are developing.

Anything you can do to increase the recreational budget for the U.S. Forest Service Experiment Station would be greatly appreciated. I wish I could tell you what the original request was, and what was finally submitted to Congress. Unfortunately, this is restricted information. However, I understand a member of Congress can request and obtain these two figures.

Needless to say, if you would like any more information or if I can be of special assistance in any way, please let me know. Incidentally, I believe you would be very interested in the research which has already been undertaken, if you are not already aware of it.

Sincerely,

CARLETON WHITEHEAD.

OREGON ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL,
Salem, Oreg., March 15, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: We understand that on January 14, 1971, U.S. Forest Service Chief, Edward Cliff, sent to your office material relating to the Forest Service's proposed budget for the next fiscal year. On page 17 of that report, the Forest Service requests continued funding for their recreation research program

We wish to stress to you the importance of supporting the Forest Service program for recreation research. Under the guidance of Dr. John C. Hendee, Project Leader, Recreation Research, University of Washington, the findings of the recreation research program have been extremely valuable to the conservation movement. One research paper in particular comes to mind which we have made extensive use of. Its title is "Wilder-

ness Users in the Pacific Northwest—Their Characteristics, Values and Management Preferences." A great deal more research is desperately needed into how our recreation areas are used and the needs of the American people for recreation lands.

We urge you to actively support the full funding of this extremely important research program.

Sincerely,

LARRY WILLIAMS,
Executive Director.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Yachats, Oreg., February 25, 1971.

Senator ROBERT PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: The Yachats Chamber of Commerce is seeking your help in a matter involving the United States Forest Service. Our problem has to do with the lack of overnight camping facilities in the Yachats area, and perhaps all along the coast. We have asked both the Oregon State Parks Department and the Forest Service to make more of their overnight camping facilities available during the winter months.

We are also asking the Forest Service to complete and open its Cape Perpetua Camp. This site has been under construction now for several years. We think it is poor management to leave this Park in its present uncompleted condition, especially since so much money has already been spent and so little more is needed to complete it.

We understand there is a budget problem involved and we are asking that you look into this matter with the view of getting enough money budgeted to complete the job.

Respectfully yours,

MAX GARDNER,
Secretary.

CENTRAL OREGON COMMUNITY COLLEGE,
Bend, Oreg., September 9, 1970.

Hon. ROBERT PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: I have been following with great interest the plans being formulated by staff members of the Deschutes National Forest regarding the construction of the Lava Lands Visitor and Information Center to be established at Lava Butte south of Bend, Oregon.

As you know, summer and winter traffic to Central Oregon has shown a steady and remarkable increase during the last five years. The concept of the Lava Lands Visitor and Information Center makes very good sense as a point of unique interest and as a center for information which might route visitors to other points of interest in Central Oregon.

I am sure the Center will make an important contribution to the economic health of Central Oregon. This is important to those of us who live in Central Oregon. To us at Central Oregon Community College it is equally important that the Lava Lands Center will tend to add to the scientific and educational potential of this area of Oregon.

Staff members of the Deschutes National Forest have been most helpful in relating plans for utilization of the forest to the goals of the College and to the citizens at large. We feel that they deserve every assistance in bringing their plans for the Lava Lands Center to completion.

May I, as an interested citizen, and as President of Central Oregon Community College request your assistance in informing other members of Congress of the high priority which we place on this facility. Any assistance you can give us will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

FREDERICK H. BOYLE,
President.

OREGON HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Salem, Oreg., September 10, 1970.

Senator ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: I have had the privilege and pleasure to be a member of Charles Connaughton's Regional Foresters Advisory Committee. This has been a most rewarding experience. I hope that my participation as well as that of the others has been helpful to the Forest Service in disseminating to the general public information on their programs and plans.

Among the numerous matters that we have discussed is the project of the proposed Lava Lands Visitor Information Center. I am enclosing a preliminary fact sheet. I want to emphasize that this proposed center is to be located just south of Lava Butte with parking facilities for 100 or so cars. The Information Center will be the starting point of two or three interpretive trails located close by, such as the Phil Brogan trail. The Information Center also would have dioramas and illustrative artifacts concerning history of the Lava lands.

The real service of the Information Center is to publicize the unique opportunity a visitor has in Central Oregon to see the Lava lands and other points of interest in what appears to be an area of almost 200 square miles from the crest of the Cascades to the High Desert, from the Warm Springs Reservation and the Reservoirs on the north, Crater Lake and the Klamath Reservation on the south. Examples of this are the Crane Prairie Osprey Management Area, the rockhound areas near Prineville, the Metolius River, the Jefferson wilderness area, the University of Oregon observatory on Pine Mountain, and many other varied natural attractions.

The important point that I want to make is that in this period of environmental concern, it is absolutely imperative that the general public be aware of the tremendous effort that is being made by the Federal Agencies, primarily Agricultural and Interior, in preserving and displaying these natural phenomena.

The Forest Service is concerned about budgetary problems as is every other agency. I think that this particular project is worthy of careful consideration and, I sincerely hope, favorable action.

Sincerely,

SAM JOHNSON.

CITY OF BEND,
PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT,
September 24, 1969.

Senator ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PACKWOOD: As director of parks and recreation in Bend, I come in contact with many people. I have found that the origin of Central Oregon, particularly this immediate area, is of great interest to the majority of them.

I also work with a large number of young people and feel it is an important part of their education to know about this land where they live.

As an interested citizen, I am very much in favor of the *Lava Lands Visitor Center* being built as proposed by the Deschutes National Forest. It would be an invaluable tool for informing visitors and residents alike of the wonders of this area. It would also provide an excellent opportunity to remind them of the necessity to protect the forests, streams, and land from litter and pollution in order that their country may remain wholesome.

Therefore, I respectfully request that Congress seriously consider including the allocation of necessary funds in the 1972 budget for the construction of Lava Lands Visitor Center.

Sincerely,

VINCE GENNA,
Director.

BEND, OREG., *October 12, 1970.*

Hon. BOB PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Thank you for your letter expressing your support for the Lava Lands Visitor Center. This would provide for an outstanding educational center as well as one for recreation.

I believe that you will be glad to know that at our meeting held October 9, in Salem, the Governor's Livability Committee gave the project its unanimous endorsement and referred our action to Governor McCall.

If we can furnish you with any desired information from here, please advise us.

Best personal regards.

Respectfully,

FRANK H. LOGGAN.

REGION 6,
Portland, Oreg., November 5, 1970.

Hon. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PACKWOOD: On December 2 I wrote you advising that a report on a proposed Visitor Center on the Deschutes National Forest would be sent soon. The report is now available and a copy is enclosed.

This proposed visitor center is to accommodate and assist the many tourist visitors to the National Forests of eastern Oregon. The need has been recognized for some time and basic work such as roads to the building site and water systems are installed. From this point on, however, the project can move forward only if recognized by the Congress as a special need of the National Forest system.

You will find in the report estimates of costs and a suggested schedule of need. The major item is for roads which should be part of the regular road appropriations to the Forest Service. The main item of urgency, however, is the visitor center building which will require special action by the Congress.

Sincerely,

CHARLES A. CONNAUGHTON,
Regional Forester.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST SUPPORT FOR THE SPRING OFFENSIVE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, three of my colleagues—Mr. SCHMITZ of California, Mr. ZION of Indiana, and Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia—performed a valuable service by placing into this RECORD detailed and irrefutable proof of the large-scale Communist manipulation of the American peace movement, particularly as it relates to those Communist-led groups that are involved in the demonstrations scheduled for the period beginning this Saturday, April 24—the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice and the National Peace Action Coalition.

My colleagues' presentation demonstrated, for all who will take heed, that the role of the disciplined Communist movement in organizing and directing

these protests is a substantial one, and that these Communist elements are actually operating in coordination with international Communist forces, including representatives of the Government of Communist North Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, especially illustrative of this international Communist coordination and support is the following message from Xuan Thuy, chief North Vietnamese negotiator at the Paris peace talks, as printed in the April 17, 1971, issue of "Movin' Together," official newsletter of the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice—emphasis added:

DEAR FRIENDS: The Vietnamese people welcome your forthcoming spring activities in the United States with the confidence that they will once again voice the strong desire of the American people to see the war ended and all American troops withdrawn from Vietnam and Indochina.

The Nixon administration has never told the truth to the American people. They say they are shortening the war in Vietnam while actually prolonging it. They say they are limiting the war while actually expanding it throughout Indochina. During the first months of this year, both American and Saigon-puppet troops suffered heavy losses on all battlefields, especially in Southern Laos, but they keep saying they won victories.

They have to lie because the American people want peace whereas the Nixon administration wants war.

However, if they persist in finding one excuse after another to pursue their war of aggression, they will but further waste American manpower and resources and create more difficulties for the U.S. while the "Nixon doctrine" will fail all the same and the failing policy of "Vietnamization" will inevitably meet with complete failure.

The problem is not for the United States to withdraw now some troops and then some others without indicating when the troop withdrawal will be completed. Moreover, it is the intention of the Nixon administration to maintain residual forces for long-term occupation of South Vietnam. The problem is neither to organize elections in South Vietnam under the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime and, as a result, to bring about another Thieu-Ky-Khiem administration obeying the U.S. Government's orders. The main problem is that the Nixon administration fix a reasonable deadline, acceptable to the other side, for the total withdrawal of U.S. and other foreign troops from South Vietnam, if for some reason it cannot agree to the deadline June 30, 1971 proposed by the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. The problem is that it renounce the Thieu-Ky-Khiem administration so that the South Vietnamese people may set up another administration of their own choice. Such is the key to the end of the war, to the honourable extrication of the United States from Vietnam, to the early return of all participants in the war to their families, and to better conditions for the Vietnamese and the American peoples to develop friendly relations.

With our heartfelt greetings of solidarity and success.

XUAN THUY.

THE PRICE OF POLLUTION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "The Price of Pollution" appearing in Detroit, Mich., Free Press of Monday, March 22, 1971, pointing out the perils to our society from the pollution of Lake Superior and the failure of the Federal Government and States to move more rapidly to protect the last undefiled Great Lake.

The article follows:

THE PRICE OF POLLUTION

Even if one were to use only economics as the standard by which the Lake Superior operations of the Reserve Mining Corp. are to be judged, it is difficult to rationalize the mercy being shown to Reserve over its dumping.

To continue to permit the Minnesota plant to foul the waters of Lake Superior is not merely bad ecology and bad aesthetics. In the most fundamental sense, it is bad economics. This, oddly enough, is the way it often is with ecology: The hardnosed entrepreneur types are the most impractical of all for the long run, and the "nuts" are the ones who have economics on their side.

If we may digress for a moment, consider how much earlier, short-sighted commercial exploitation of land in Detroit did to insure economic decay today. In our rush to maximize short-term profit, we destroy the basis for long-term gains.

So it is with the ruination of splendid Lake Superior. We ought to revere the waters of the lake because it is so beautiful, because it has inspired men to poetry, because of a reverence for the world as it was bequeathed to us.

We ought, yes; but even if our souls are so dead that they cannot stir in anger over what is being done to the shining Big-Sea water, we cannot tolerate it on the most mundane level.

The fact is that we are piling up bills for ourselves that we cannot pay. How will we finance the claning up of the mess we are making? There was a time in America when we could assume that our profligacy would not catch up with us in our own lifetimes and probably not in our children's lifetimes.

No more can we be so charitable about the implications of our wastefulness. The bills are coming in. The bonds to pay the debts accumulated over the last two or three generations are being issued. The most efficient and productive society on earth has achieved its ultimate efficiency in the corruption of the earth.

Well, the clear implication is that we will have to pay, and we cannot—even in our most cynical, profit-oriented perspective—justify what Reserve is doing to Lake Superior and what others are carrying even further in the immediate Detroit vicinity. The bureaucratic doubletalk is not good enough. For our money's sake as well as our souls', we must end the destruction of the lakes.

IMPROVEMENT NEEDED IN AIR SERVICE IN ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, presently the Civil Aeronautics Board of Examiners is reviewing recommendations for new service to Alaska. Because Alaska depends so heavily on air transportation, it is imperative that service to all parts of Alaska be frequent and efficient.

In the southeastern part of Alaska I believe it is imperative that we have not only more service but more efficient service. In order to provide the type of service that Ketchikan and southeastern Alaska needs, it is obvious that an improvement in service be the prime consideration of the final decision by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

I have made my position known to the chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Chairman Secor Brown, and I am anxiously awaiting the Board's decision.

Recently, the Ketchikan Daily News and the Fairbanks News Miner, two of Alaska's outstanding newspapers, wrote editorials pertinent to this issue. I include them for the RECORD:

KETCHIKAN IGNORED

Civil Aeronautics Board Examiner Merritt Ruhlen, in his decision on the Alaska air routes, ignored a portion of the Ketchikan recommendations on service. One section of his decision, which is a recommendation to the board, lists the contentions of the various parties in the case—the airlines, the communities, other government agencies and a labor union.

Ruhlen says that Ketchikan requested only that Western Airlines be allowed to continue service in Southeastern Alaska and that Pan Am's suspension not be permanent.

What he failed to report to the CAB is that Ketchikan asked for competitive service between Seattle and Ketchikan. It asked that one of the companies serving be Western which goes north via Juneau and that a second company be an airline that would connect from Ketchikan directly to Sitka and north.

But when Ruhlen made his decision on service into Southeastern Alaska he reported to the board only one-half of Ketchikan's contentions and he granted Ketchikan half its request—service from Seattle and north via Sitka (Alaska Airlines). Or is it even one half?

He states in his brief, "It is impossible to determine from Alaska Airlines' exhibits exactly what schedule will be operated if one competitor (Wien) is authorized between Juneau and Seattle. It is assumed that it will operate three round-trips daily, one Juneau-Seattle, one Juneau-Ketchikan-Seattle, and one Juneau-Sitka-Seattle . . ."

If the examiner cannot determine the probable routing of the single air carrier to serve Ketchikan, we think he is pretty careless with the public interest in providing Ketchikan with only that one carrier—and a replacement for a proven carrier at that.

If Alaska is subsituted for Western on the Seattle-Ketchikan route and does not go north via Sitka as well as Juneau, Ketchikan travelers have gained nothing. In fact, they have lost available seating capacity on the route because Alaska Air will be using 96-passenger 727s. Western has been providing service from Seattle to Ketchikan, Juneau and return with 120-passenger 720s. The cargo capacity of the two types of aircraft are correspondingly different.

Therefore, Ketchikan will have less passenger seating and cargo space available between Seattle and Ketchikan. This is strange action for CAB to take while at the same time it provides figures to indicate the volume of traffic is growing on that segment of Alaska air routes.

It is even stranger action for the examiner to recommend when he openly acknowledges he does not know what traffic pattern Alaska Airlines will employ. And from his report, there is no indication he has determined whether the financially troubled airline has the ability to provide the equipment to give adequate service.

Is there a precedent for the examiner to base his decision on the type of aircraft to

be used on the route or whether the company selected has the equipment and finances to perform the job?

There must be because the examiner goes to great length further in the brief to disqualify Alaska Airlines and Kodiak Airways from service between Kodiak and Anchorage and selects Wien because the Wien equipment is more economical. He also rules Pan American out of Fairbanks or returning to service on suspended routes because, in his opinion, Pan Am has had to retrench financially and would not have additional equipment to provide the promised service.

From this it appears that the CAB examiner gave service to Ketchikan darn little consideraiton when making his recommendations and by his actions has promised only inferior service.

Protests to the board itself are in order.

[From the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner, Apr. 27, 1971]

SEATTLE-FAIRBANKS WIEN SERVICE MAKES SENSE

In Washington, D.C. this week the Civil Aeronautics Board will consider service to and from Alaska and within Alaska.

The position of the City of Fairbanks and of Interior Alaska is contained in Resolution 753, the essence of which is, "a resolution supporting the position that Pan American World Airways retain the Fairbanks-Seattle service route, and to further support the recommendation for additional air service routes by Wien Consolidated Airlines are recommended by the examiner."

This same position is reiterated by the Fairbanks Chamber of Commerce and by the North Star Borough.

We feel strongly that this position is sound, that it is based upon good reasoning, and sincerely hope that the CAB will give our arguments full and fair consideration.

CAB hearing examiner Merritt Ruhlen has recommended that Wien Consolidated Airlines be given traffic rights between Fairbanks and Seattle. We agree that this recommendation is sound, and when granted will prove to be in the best interest of Fairbanks, of Alaska, of air freight shippers and the traveling public.

Mr. Ruhlen also suggests Pan American Seattle-Fairbanks service be eliminated. We disagree. Pan American should be allowed to maintain the route and provide the competitive service, which Interior Alaska deserves. In our opinion, the Interior will shortly be generating sufficient traffic to more than justify competitive service.

To reiterate: we feel the recommendation to allow Wien Consolidated Fairbanks-Seattle operating rights is appropriate, sensible and practical.

Wien Consolidated has proven its capability over the more than three decades since Noel and Sig Wien pioneered Alaska's first scheduled airline service. Of all the airlines being considered in this case to provide service between Seattle and Alaska, only Wien Consolidated is entirely an Alaska company, based and wholly operated within Alaska. All other carriers have their headquarters and principle service centers located outside the state.

Wien Consolidated is one of the few airlines in the United States operating on the black side of the ledger during the recent and current hectic economic conditions for airlines incident to the nation-wide recession.

It is particularly noteworthy that Wien Consolidated has continued operating at a profit while the company has made the costly transition to pure jet aircraft during the past two years. Such change-overs in major equipment usually throw airline profits into costly tail-spins.

Wien Consolidated has equipment to provide fully competitive service to and from Seattle. The company is currently operating four Boeing 737 jet aircraft.

When Consolidated demonstrated its capability when awarded Anchorage-Fairbanks competitive air service rights, and for some time has been carrying the majority of passengers traveling between Alaska's two largest cities.

As in the case of Fairbanks-Anchorage service, Wien Consolidated's operating the Fairbanks-Seattle run will not be dependent on aircraft subject to weather or other delays at cities beyond the Seattle terminus. As already demonstrated on the Anchorage route, more efficient, on-time flights would result. Finally, it is particularly fitting that a truly Alaskan air carrier such as Wien Consolidated be awarded traffic rights to the smaller states in recognition of proven capabilities operating under some of the most adverse weather conditions in the world.

Noel and Sig Wien, two of Alaska's and aviation's outstanding pioneers of the airways, will receive long-deserved recognition justifying both their foresight and their capabilities with approval of the Seattle run for "Alaska's first airline."

Such approval will result in that ideal situation where "everybody wins." In this case, the winners will include Alaska and Alaskans, as well as all shippers and travelers to and from Alaska.

ANTIWAR POLLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, like so many other people, I have been wondering what was the real purpose behind the recent demonstrations here in our Nation's Capital; and now, I think I understand it. For whatever else might be accomplished by the "peacemakers" during their sojourn here in Washington, one thing is certain: they are polluting our environment and the American taxpayer is paying for the damages. Theirs is not to wage peace but to wage ecological war.

The National Park Service has just advised that the price tag for a portion of the pollution campaign being conducted here will run in the neighborhood of $75,000. This price includes the cost of sandblasting to remove anti-American slogans and obscenities from public monuments and buildings and of replacing destroyed American flags.

Having witnessed firsthand the handiwork of the peace polluters here in Washington, I can better appreciate what the anti-pollution people are trying to do to make our country a more beautiful place in which to live.

I insert an editorial from the Chicago Tribune for April 29, 1971, to follow my remarks:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Apr. 29, 1971]

THE COST OF VANDALISM

Once again, the taxpayers are paying to repair the damage—much of it in deliberate vandalism—done by assorted marchers in Washington. The National Park Service says it will cost $75,000 to repair the vandalism alone at last weekend's antiwar demonstration. And the costs will mount as long as the demonstrations continue.

The $75,000 includes the cost of sandblasting to remove slogans and obscenities from the base of the Washington Monument; $17,000 to replace a mobile comfort station destroyed by arson; $1,500 to repair the monument's electrical system; and $600 to repair a park service truck. In addition, scores of park benches, a flagpole, 10 United States flags, and a number of wooden trash containers were burned in bonfires.

This is not the isolated, hit-and-run sort of vandalism which is increasingly prevalent among youngsters and is hard enough to track down, let alone prevent. This is vandalism directly resulting from the organized demonstrations of identifiable [if often transitory] groups who must apply for and receive permits for their marches and their use of park land for overnight camping.

Most of them object to the spending of money in Viet Nam which could be used for social and ecological purposes here at home. This is all the more reason to see that public money does not have to be spent to erase their own graffiti and to replace park benches which they themselves have used for kindling. They should be held responsible for the cost of damage resulting from their performance, whether or not the actual vandals can be identified or are members of their organization. If their cause is such as to attract a swarm of migratory or professional vandals, then they must be forced to bear some responsibility for maintaining order and for any damage that results.

In 1968, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was required to post a $5,000 bond for the cost of restoring Resurrection City. When the "poor people's campaign" was over, it had cost the government $244,000 in direct expenses [including $85,000 for restoring the Mall], and probably $1 million overall, including the cost of troops and police.

The bond was totally inadequate, and this may be why no bond was required of the groups sponsoring the current demonstrations: the veterans last week, the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee over the weekend, and now the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. If these groups aren't willing to guarantee the public against loss, and can't agree among themselves on how to divide the responsibility, then they shouldn't be given permission to demonstrate and camp on public property. This is one expense the taxpayers deserve to be spared.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION ACT: 1 YEAR AFTER EARTH DAY

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in recent years all Americans, and particularly students and the young, have shared an awakening concern about the dangers to our environment and the implications of those dangers for the future of human life on earth. Especially since Earth Day, just 1 year ago, we have realized that the protection of our land, air, and water and the wise and lasting use of our resources must depend upon changes in our collective treatment of our environment.

Even more important, many of us have felt that the foundation for such changes must be an informed citizenry educated about the array of issues that concern the various facets of ecology: pollution control, resource management, wildlife preservation, land-use planning, solid

waste disposal and resource recycling, as well as the complex interaction in the environment among chemicals, plants, animals, and human beings themselves.

Because of the importance of education in broadening the base of knowledge of these issues, Congress in 1970 passed the Environmental Education Act, and those of us who sponsored this measure looked forward to substantial progress in increasing understanding of these vital issues.

The Environmental Education Act was passed in the House on August 3, 1970, by a vote of 228 to 28, and in the Senate on September 9 by a vote of 68 to 0. Despite earlier administration opposition to the bill, the President signed it into law October 30, 1970, and Congress subsequently appropriated $2 million for action under the Environmental Education Act during fiscal year 1971.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the act authorized Federal funds for support of elementary and secondary school courses in environmental studies, adult education, and community conferences on ecology and curriculum development and teacher training in environmental studies. Minigrants of up to $10,000 were to be made available for local community work to promote understanding of these complex and interlinked social and scientific issues among community and business leaders, government officials at all levels, members of the labor movement, and citizens in general. We foresaw in our hearings and in the legislation, too, that environmental education should take place in new forms to match the new content, and the law therefore authorized grants for preparing materials suitable for use by mass media, for dealing with the environment and ecology.

In creating the Advisory Council to assist the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in administering the act, we specified that three of the members of the advisory committee should be students, and that qualified ecologists and other scientists were to be prominent on the committee. Thus we demonstrated our understanding of the contributions of students for much of our awareness of the environmental issue and of the fact that to cope with the issues of ecology require application of the disciplines of modern science.

But Mr. Speaker, what has been the progress of environmental education a year after Earth Day?

On April 16, 1971, regulations for implementation of Environmental Education Act appeared in the Federal Register, and applications for grants under the act are now being received by the Office of Priority Management, designated by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the act during the startup period. Consideration of proposals is now going forward under the able administrative leadership of John F. Hughes, director of the Office of Priority Management. Guidelines are now available, and HEW expects to make about 40 grants totaling $1,750,000 this year. The cutoff date for applications is May 26.

HEW priorities for these grants, I am told, are to be community-based centers of environmental education and State-level evaluation and dissemination efforts to widen the ambit of those environmental curricula which have been developed by private industry, school systems and other bodies.

In my judgment these are sound priorities, yet, Mr. Speaker, this paltry progress leaves much to be desired.

Consider, Mr. Speaker, these shortcomings of administration of the Environmental Education Act to date:

No Advisory Council has been named, as is mandated in the Environmental Education Act, nor has an office of environmental education yet been created.

No permanent director of environmental education programs has been named.

The Public Broadcasting Environmental Center intended to develop our mass media aspects of environmental education, has been killed by the administration.

Finally, and perhaps most alarming of all, the administration has given no evidence of a long-term commitment to measured and responsible increases in the funding of environmental education.

I must here note, Mr. Speaker, that Nixon administration witnesses originally testified in opposition to passage of the Environmental Education Act and, after Congress overwhelmingly passed the measure and the President signed it into law, opposed any appropirations for it. This lack of commitment can only sap the morale of dedicated scientists and professionals in the field and cast doubt upon the administration's willingness to act constructively for the future of our environment.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, to weigh America's progress in environmental education is to find it lacking. Though both Houses of Congress have expressed a firm commitment to the proposition that effective environmental action presupposes an educated and informed citizenry, the action of the present administration has not matched this congressional dedication.

This is a conclusion one must reach more in sadness than in anger, Mr. Speaker, so let me express the hope that those scientists, students, and citizens who a year ago jolted America from our complacency about the state of our environment will not despair.

We will need many more Earth Days, Mr. Speaker, to move administrations like this one to appropriate action in support of environmental education.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM: A PELLY QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I insert my most recent questionnaire in the RECORD in order that it may be made available to all the Members who receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and are not on my mailing list:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 1, 1971.

DEAR CONSTITUENT: As your Representative in Congress, I ask for your advice on legislative and world matters of interest and importance. Presently, demonstrations are being conducted in the Nation's Capital, and I would like to have your views on the basic issue that is being debated: the war in Vietnam.

The results of this questionnaire will be released through the press as soon as it is tabulated.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

THOMAS M. PELLY
Representative in Congress.

(1) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President? Approve ( ) Disapprove ( ) No Opinion ( )

(2) Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling the Vietnam situation? Approve ( ) Disapprove ( ) No Opinion ( )

(3) A proposal has been made in Congress to require the U.S. Government to bring home all U.S. troops before the end of this year. Would you favor the withdrawal of all U.S. troops by the end of 1971 instead of backing the President's withdrawal schedule? Yes ( ) No ( ) No Opinion ( )

Please place in an envelope and return to: Honorable Thomas M. Pelly, 2211 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Please mark the front of your envelope "Poll."

BUSINESS NEEDS NEW DEPRECIATION PLAN

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am completely in agreement with Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois on the need for adoption of the asset depreciation range system. As Treasury Secretary Connally explained in his recent address before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce the benefits of depreciation liberalization will be a stimulus to investment in new equipment, an increase in efficiency, an enlargement of our productive capacity, the addition of new jobs, and a dampening effect on inflation.

I would like to clarify how this new system would bring those benefits about. But at the outset let me make plain a point that Secretary Connally has already stated—we are giving business nothing. All this plan does is change an accounting system to encourage business to spend now. There is no increase in the total amount of deductions with respect to any individual asset. The only change is in the timing of the deductions. Shorter depreciation periods are more realistic. They allow a recognition of rapid technological changes. They are responsive to the need for modernization to meet foreign competition. They allow for extensive revision in production processes to meet new environmental protection standards.

Although this new system is primarily an expansion tool, it is likewise a very sound reform in terms of efficient administration of the tax laws. Elimination of the complicated "reserve-ratio" test and

using in its place the simpler rule of established industry experience will result not only in simplification of accounting procedures but will allow the businessman more certainty in his future investment planning. The reserve-ratio test forced the businessman to make a trade-off between early retirement of older assets in exchange for higher depreciation rates for new assets.

The depreciation allowances for currently acquired assets were thus to a large degree dependent on the allowances for his older equipment. This factor of uncertainty in the amount of depreciation allowance a taxpayer could count on for new equipment was a strong deterrent to new investment.

New investment in our basic capital industries is sorely needed; 1971 marks the smallest percentage increase in investment in U.S. manufacturing facilities since 1953. The fact that more liberal depreciation allowances encourage significant investment in productive machinery and equipment has been borne out by our own experience and that of most European countries in the post-World War II period. The Asset Depreciation Range System can provide this incentive to new investment. Shorter depreciation lives mean larger cash flow, less dependence on borrowing, reduction of risk due to quicker tax-free recovery of capital, increased after tax profitability, and greater investment value computed on the standard present discounted value basis due to the advanced timing of cost recovery for tax purposes.

New investment in the equipment and machinery industry will have an immediate and significant impact on unemployment. Expansion of old facilities and the opening of new plants to meet increased demand will lead to the creation of more new jobs. Wages will be derived from the production and sale of useful goods and not from the taxpayer.

Wage earners will benefit from this program right along with business. It is an economic fact that the wage earner benefits from a wage increase only when his wage increase is greater than price increases. It is also true that a higher rate of productivity is the only means of insuring that wage increases will exceed price increases. A worker can increase his productivity on his own only to a limited degree. However, if given better tools he can raise his productivity. Modernization and improvement of productive equipment through heightened capital investment under this program can provide the American worker with those better tools. It will stimulate an increase in productivity that is essential for any real wage increase.

Increased productivity of American workers will have the effect of countering the advantage now being enjoyed by foreign competitors who rely extensively on cheap labor. In addition, liberalization of American depreciation allowances will bring us more in line with the generous depreciation allowance systems now in operation in other industrial nations. These factors will greatly improve our competitive position in world markets. It will also provide encouragement to manufacturers in basic industries to keep their operations in the United States.

This Treasury plan is planting seeds for this year's crop and a good crop of production for next year. The farmer plants seeds to produce tall cotton. Industry needs this incentive seed to stimulate their investment and expansion. It does no good to maintain the present system with its delay depreciation that keeps industry capital stored in an inactive way. This Asset Depreciation Range System is a dynamic concept that gives business the impetus to build for a strong seventies.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the positive benefits of the Asset Depreciation Range System for both labor and industry are immensely important to the economic health of this country. I recommend that we act favorably on this right now.

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today the State of Israel celebrates the 23d anniversary of its independence. Last night I had the good fortune to participate in a city-wide celebration at Chicago's Orchestra Hall. At this point in the RECORD I would like to include the full text of the remarks I made on that occasion. The remarks follow:

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY, REMARKS OF HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON, ORCHESTRA HALL, CITY-WIDE CELEBRATION, CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 28, 1971

I am greatly honored to be a participant in this city-wide celebration commemorating the twenty-third anniversary of the State of Israel. Today we gather to celebrate the twenty-third year of what can only be described as a modern miracle—the realization of an age-old dream, the redemption of Israel. I took the occasion to reread the declaration issued in Tel Aviv back in May of 1948, and I was profoundly struck by the eloquent manner in which it articulated the history and dream of the Jewish people, but beyond that, the great promise of the modern state of Israel.

Quoting from that declaration: "After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their dispersion, and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom."

The declaration goes on to recall the history of more recent decades when the Jewish people began to return in masses to settle their homeland, and again I quote:

. . . they made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community, controlling its own economy and culture, loving peace but knowing how to defend itself, bringing the blessings of progress to all the country's inhabitants, and aspiring toward independent nationhood.

In reading that passage, I could not help but recall the words of the prophets. It was Isaiah who said:

"They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations."

And it was Ezekel who said:

"This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited."

And it was Amos who prophesied:

"I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them."

In my recent visits to Israel I saw with my own eyes the fulfillment of those ancient biblical prophesies. The cities had been rebuilt, the desert had been made to bloom, and 2.9 million people from one-hundred different nations had been replanted upon their land, and as a young and struggling nation were determined, in the words of Amos, that "they shall no more be pulled up out of their land." Israel today truly is a modern miracle which has been forged over centuries by the spirit of a courageous and determined people.

That spirit is perhaps best reflected in the words of Theodor Herzl, the spiritual father of the Jewish state, who wrote back in 1896:

"If you have the will, it need not be a legend."

The birth of modern Israel is a testimony to that will; and the survival and growth of modern Israel over the last 23 years is a monument to that will. Israel was born in war 23 years ago, and has known no real peace since then. Yet despite such adverse conditions, Israel has managed to grow and prosper, and is today is a bastion of democracy and showplace of progress in the free world.

Israel has asked only one thing of the world, and that is to be allowed to live in peace. And yet on three major occasions over the last 23 years, Israel's natural, historical and legal right to sovereignty has been challenged, and on all three occasions the people of Israel have rallied to master that challenge, only to be left facing a still uncertain fate. The continuing threat to Israel poses a threat to world peace as well, and we all therefore have a stake in achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East. That is why we have lent our diplomatic offices in bringing the disputants together, and that is why in the interim the United States has assumed the responsibility of maintaining the balance of power in the area by supplying Israel with the materiel required to keep her strong and secure. We must continue to maintain that balance while seeking peace, and we must continue to recognize the very legitimate concern and right of the Israelis to negotiate their own peace—a peace based not just on the paper recognition of sovereignty, but a peace wrapped in the iron cloak of security as well. That is why imposed settlement and lasting peace are inherently contridictory terms—there can be no lasting peace if Israel does not have the ironclad guarantees of sovereignty and security, and those guarantees must be forged in direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israelis. We must continue to stand by Israel's justifiable demand that certain conditions be met to enable her to remain secure within her borders.

But a lasting peace in the Middle East must be viewed not only in the context of a sovereign and secure Israel, but in the larger context of how it will benefit all peoples in that area. I refer here to the promise and potential of modern Israel as articulated in the 1948 declaration. Quoting from that declaration:

"We extend our hand to all neighboring States and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East."

It is that spirit of peace and partnership which will, in years to come, contribute to

the stability and development of all countries in the area. The Israeli people have already borne witness to the sincerity of that commitment by lending technical assistance to the developing countries of Subsaharan Africa—and they have done all this despite the fact that at the same time they were grappling with their own development problems and with threats and acts of external aggression. Just think of what a major regional contribution Israel could make to Middle East development if peace were given a chance.

I am proud that the United States was the first to recognize Israel as an independent State 23 years ago, and I am proud that today we continue to be firm and fast friends with this small and courageous democratic republic. I join with you in celebrating the twenty-third year of the modern miracle that is Israel, and I join with you in your prayers for a lasting peace.

SHALOM ULEHITRAOT.

"THE TRASH TO SPEND—ONE MAN'S OPINION ABOUT SOLVING THE POLLUTION PROBLEM"

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, Bob Schulman is familiar to the residents of Louisville and Jefferson County, Ky., for his astute commentaries and pointed humor which gets quickly to the heart of whatever subject he discusses.

In one of his recent contributions entited, "The Trash to Spend," he examines from an entirely new perspective the painful situation we confront in regard to pollution and related travesties upon the environment.

Although I am not certain that the recommendations Mr. Schulman makes would prove effective in the long run I will concede that his approach is a novel one and as yet, untried. Maybe it is worth a try.

Among the more sobering facts revealed in his April 23 telecast of One Man's Opinion on WHAS–TV in Louisville, is that each of us discards about 600 pounds of refuse annually. Perhaps this revelation will encourage each of us to do something about this serious problem.

I ask that the full text of Mr. Schulman's broadcast be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The text follows:

SOLVING THE POLLUTION PROBLEM

Observance of another "Save the Earth Week" has reminded us that if sufficient people pressure is kept on, the smokestacks and the truck exhausts and the sewer outfalls of government and industry may just possibly be brought into ecological line soon enough to keep the place liveable for man and beast.

But the nasty question's got to be asked. To use a favored speech device of Louisville Police Chief C. J. Hyde's which is that when we point a finger at somebody else, we're also pointing fingers at ourselves: what about us?

The answer remains depressing. Each American still is throwing away 600 pounds a year of containers—bottles, cans, sacks, boxes—and *loving* the convenience of it all. So much so that the wastebasket was the fate of a bill in Congress, to slap a tax on companies not selling their products in recyclable packaging, and use the resulting money to help committees dispose of mountainous wastes. So much so that an effort in Oregon, to require a nickel deposit on every can and pop bottle, was drowned by an industry campaign that insisted upon anti-litter "education" as the only cure.

Well, cheer up. Several months ago, Mrs. Sunny Dull of Jeffersonville, Indiana, shared with me her special idea for a solution, not only to this ecological problem but to economic worries as well—and I think the idea is ripe enough to pop.

If the United States could change our monetary system, says Mrs. Dull, decreeing that henceforth we use tin cans and throw-away bottles for hard cash, then all people in this mighty nation of ours would be equal, and have a chance to pursue happiness.

At the same time, within 24 hours, our beaches and picnic areas and garbage dumps would practically be free of debris. Few people would care to hide tin cans and throw-away bottles under their mattresses. And it would take years for state and federal revenue agents to discover a discrepancy in the yearly tax-return Quiz Kid game we all play. And just think, Mrs. Dull continues, if things got out of hand, we could do what some big business tycoons do; we could send shiploads of garbage to Swiss banks, and let Switzerland worry about ecology for a change!

The Indiana lady concludes: sir, just how many bottle caps will you wager that my plan is not foolproof? My answer is: not one, but I'll give her big odds that too many of us will continue to foul our nests for the sake of convenience until the mess, or the cost forces us to quit.

ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, on May 15, 1948, David Ben Gurion stood before a small group of people in Tel Aviv and read a short statement which is one of the most earth-shaking documents in history. There were tears in the eyes of his listeners, and gladness in their hearts as they heard the words of the Proclamation of Statehood for the nation of Israel. For 2,000 years, there had been no state for the world's Jews. Ben Gurion's words and the determination of the people to whom he read them were the new beginnings of the Jewish state.

Bu not all those present and the other thousands scattered around Israel were happy. They knew that the trial had just begun. Waiting at the borders of the new state were the armies of the Arab Nations bound on the destruction of the Jews. The people of Israel realized that their dream would vanish if they were not strong and were not dedicated to the task facing them—the protection of the dream that turned to reality of an Israeli nation.

After the successful completion of the war, there was other work to be done. Swamps were drained, fields were irrigated, deserts were cleared of the rocks and brush to be turned into productive orchards, pastures, and fields. Homes and cities grew out of the wilderness to house the wasted refugees from a war devastated Europe. New industries grew where skills long buried by the persecutions of a hostile world found new hope and new energy. Ports, railroads, highways, farms, and factories rose up from the dust of a homeland left 20 centuries before. Israel, rising like the Phoenix, sprang from the soil and from the hearts of its people.

In an age when so many in the world seem bent on the destruction of civilization and the ruination of their fellow man, it is inspiring to witness the rebirth of the oldest nation. On this occasion of the anniversary of the Proclamation of Statehood of the State of Israel, we send our best wishes for its continued progress, and we send a pledge that this nation of Israel shall live.

Mr. Speaker, today the Jewish world will celebrate the 23d anniversary of the State of Israel. This day corresponds to the date of the Hebrew calendar on which Israel was proclaimed as a nation.

It is, therefore, appropriate that we acknowledge the progress of Israel as a land devoted to freedom and justice and as one of the marvels of contemporary history.

JUST THE JOB FOR RALPH NADER

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the April 3 issue of the publication, the Ohio Farmer, carried a worthwhile recommendation by columnist Earl W. McMunn concerning a possibly highly fertile field for Ralph Nader in his future explorations. In the past business and industry have come under close scrutiny by Nader and his associates and where legitimate corrective action has resulted his efforts are beneficial. But, as Mr. McMunn points out, Mr. Nader "needs guidance in choosing his targets." Somehow and for some reason Mr. Nader has overlooked abuses in a major segment of the American system, the field of labor. The case of Cesar Chavez and his United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is cited as one example in which workers gain union protection at the expense of their constitutional rights. Mr. Nader, if he is sincere, might well start off with the Chavez case. I am quite sure other labor abuses could keep him occupied for many months into the future.

I ask at this point that the above-mentioned item by Mr. Earl W. McMunn be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

LET'S REASON TOGETHER: JUST THE JOB FOR RALPH NADER

(By Earl W. McMunn)

Ralph Nader has been painted as the defender of the little people against the evils of "bigness." He is the knight in shining armor who rides out to challenge giants of industry for their alleged sins and shortcomings. He has made a career of denouncing the "immoral" and "unethical."

Nader has moved in on corporations and governmental agencies to "investigate and expose." He has appeared on nationwide tele-

vision programs to denounce corporations for a product or method of doing business. He has testified before committees of Congress. Always he has appeared as the dedicated champion who is interested only in defending little people against overpowering forces. He is the self-proclaimed protector of the people!

This is good, so far as it goes. But if Mr. Nader is really interested in helping the people, he's not going far enough. He needs guidance in choosing his targets.

Talk about giants and unbridled power. What about the large labor unions? No one questions their power to bring the economy of the nation to a grinding halt. They have demonstrated it time after time. And, they do this without regard to how many "little people" are hurt.

Labor unions were granted their power in an effort to cope with earlier monopolies and abuses by big business. But industrial bigness has been regulated to a great extent by anti-trust and other legislation. The Wagner Act and similar legislation gave labor unions power which was refused to others. They have continued to use this "muscle" with full effect, as most people know full well.

There is little question but what inflation is one of the gravest threats to our future welfare. This is true for all the people. It is most cruel to the retired who must live on fixed incomes and young people who will surely suffer most from the consequences. But it does harm everyone.

Economists are generally agreed that wage increases which are greater than productivity increases produce inflation. Of late this has been happening more and more rapidly.

Strikers can even demand and get wage increases from companies that have gone broke. The recent railroad strike was an example. As a nation, we couldn't afford to have the nation's railroads shut down. So Congress, not the owners of the railroads, voted a wage increase which was mandatory on the rail lines as the price of getting workers back on the job. This applied even to such lines as the Penn-Central which was already bankrupt and in the hands of receivers. So we have a built-in force to create more inflation, no matter what the state of the economy.

Why doesn't Congress do something to curb such abuses? The answer is simple. They keep hands off labor monopolies because unions move quickly to defeat lawmakers who oppose their wishes. And, they have had a high record of success in doing this. Union coffers are opened to help elect lawmakers who will be "favorable."

So who challenges labor unions when they overstep the bounds of what's good for the rest of the people? Ralph Nader, of course! He is against "unethical" and "immoral" conduct, no matter where he finds it! He's fighting monopolies. And who can deny that labor union monopolies are the most absolute of any in this country? Not even the most rabid labor leader. He knows. He has helped make them that way.

Strikes which force prices up hurt all of us. But the trouble doesn't stop here. It hampers our ability to compete in foreign markets. We have been losing our markets for some manufactured products to overseas companies. The reason is simple. We have been pricing ourselves out of the field.

This was the reason for the recent big pressure in Congress to bar foreign products by quotas and other means. But, if we barred their manufactured products, they could only wind up by taking less of our farm products. So American agriculture would suffer. This threat is still a very real one. And the higher and faster our labor costs are pushed up, the more likely we are to lose our foreign markets for American farm products.

But monopolistic labor power isn't confined to strikes. There are hiring hall practices in some unions which give the union almost absolute power over what happens on a job. The number and quality of workers can be controlled so that one contractor will be more successful than another.

And don't think that labor abuses are confined to industry. They are spreading fast into the farm economy. Cesar Chavez and his United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been working for the past several years to totally control farm labor in California. He is already moving into a number of other states as part of his strategy to control the rights and freedom of all farm workers in the country.

On this point the record is clear. Chavez has been forcing a lot of people into unions who don't want to join. If this isn't "immoral" and "unethical," what is? Don't these people need a champion? Why not Ralph Nader?

After five years of organizing and spending some $10 million, Chavez had attracted only about 2,150 dues-paying members. This was according to his own figures, supplied to the Department of Labor.

Workers wouldn't join the union, because they didn't choose to do so. Then Chavez turned to boycotting the product to make farmers force their workers into his union. The workers were ignored. They were just pawns in the Chavez plan to build power for himself and his union. This was the device which finally broke the spirit of many California grape growers and forced them into signing contracts to employ only union workers.

Compulsory unionism is legal in California and some 30 other states. This is the reason Chavez and the growers could make contracts which would compel workers to join the union or be fired. But, as California Governor Reagan stated: "It is tragic that the workers who are most affected by this have no choice in determining whether or not they want to join the union.

Chavez even has a clause in his contract which blacklists workers with courage to speak out against his union. It says in part: "It is agreed between the Company and the Union that there are certain employees employed by the Company or whom may be employed by the Company, the names of which are to be agreed upon by the Company and the Union, whom the Union claims have substantially impaired the Union's organizing efforts in the grape industry and who might disrupt the contractual relationship between the Company and the Union if their anti-union activities are allowed to continue. Therefore, Company agrees to carefully explain to said employees that they can no longer engage in such activities and that, if they continue to do so, they will be immediately fired."

The right to free speech and dissent is violently defended by all liberal crusaders. And yet here is a case of a worker who is forced into union membership in order to get a job. Then the union can force the employer to fire him if the union concludes he has said anything of a critical nature. This is the kind of "morality" which is supported by some students and church activists, including the National Council of Churches.

Yes, someone needs to take a searching look at monopolies and other abuses by large labor unions. Their power has become so absolute that most politicians fear to speak out—much less to start effective action. But it's different with Ralph Nader. He is the champion of the "little people." He thrives on attacking abuse and immorality wherever he finds them. The bigger the giant the more his stature grows for having exposed the truth. And finally, Nader wouldn't suffer politically, because he isn't running for anything. Or, is he?

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SUPPORTS ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL TO REMOVE ALL PRISONERS OF THE VIETNAM WAR TO A NEUTRAL COUNTRY

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, the distinguished Secretary of Defense, yesterday expressed the support of the Nixon administration for a proposal to remove all prisoners of war from Vietnam and intern them in a neutral country. While the United States would still prefer the immediate release of all prisoners of war by both sides, the stubborn refusal of the North Vietnamese even to consider this humanitarian proposal leaves the internment of our men in some civilized neutral nation as a desirable interim step to improve their situation. I include the full text of Secretary Laird's remarks before the Nation's Capital Chapter of the Air Force Association at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE MELVIN R. LAIRD, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, UPON RECEIPT OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN AWARD FROM THE NATION'S CAPITAL CHAPTER OF THE AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION

It is an honor to receive the award that you have conferred on me. I accept it with gratitude deepened by my knowledge of your dedicated support for the cause of adequate national defense and your unflagging concern for American servicemen and women.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the Air Force Association for its dedicated efforts on behalf of our prisoners of war and missing in Southeast Asia, and I want to share with you today what to me is a hopeful development on this important issue.

This year the Air Force Association celebrates its silver anniversary. In 1946, when your Association was established by Jimmie Doolittle and other far-sighted citizens, our country was dismantling the military forces that had defeated aggression in Europe and in Asia.

The Air Force Association began its existence to combat the dangers of reckless reduction in the nation's armed strength. This is still a vital purpose of your Association. Today, the need to be on guard against allowing our power to deter war to wither is even greater than it was in 1946.

The great issue for debate and decision today is not whether to end U.S. involvement in the fighting in Indochina. On that, the decision has been made. Now the issue is what kind of military posture we shall have beyond Vietnam and whether, in partnership with other nations, that posture will give adequate support to the objective of President Nixon's foreign policy—achieving a generation of peace.

Our plans, as the President has said, call for total withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. This withdrawal will be achieved just as each of the President's prior promises about troop reduction in Vietnam has been fulfilled. It will be achieved as rapidly as possible without forgetting the Americans who are prisoners of war and missing in action, without failing to provide for the safety of the steadily decreasing number of Americans who remain in Vietnam at any given time, and without leaving in a way that will increase the chances of war in the future.

Because the basic decision on Vietnam has been made and because we are successfully pursuing the course that leads to total withdrawal, it is time now to turn our attention to the problems of national security that lie beyond Vietnam. We must give our attention to preventing other Vietnams and achieving a generation of peace.

Let me return now to the heart of my brief comments as the Associaton accords me a high honor. I refer, of course, to the fact that not one of us in this room will rest until our prisoners of war have been returned to their homes and families. Until now, the appeals to Hanoi from all over the civilized world have not brought from the captors of these men any promise that they will be returned at any time. All that the representatives of North Vietnam have said is that return of the prisoners will be "discussed" after the United States announces a date for total withdrawal of its forces. To those who negotiate for the enemy, discussion carries with it no implication of agreement and no promise of action beyond endless talk.

No American should be deceived on this point: the North Vietnamese have so far refused in public and in private discourse to commit themselves to return American prisoners. No American should permit himself to be duped into believing that a promise only to discuss the release of prisoners of war has any value at all.

However, a new proposal relating to the prisoners was offered by the Republic of Vietnam and enthusiastically endorsed by President Nixon. This proposal calls for internment of prisoners in a neutral country. It would mean for them an end to the cruel and unjust treatment to which they are now subjected.

I can tell you that I have been personally assured that ships flying the flags of neutral nations would be made available for the immediate release of POW's on all sides or for their internment in a neutral country.

Such sea transportation could be provided to and from Haiphong, Saigon or any other appropriate part. I know that the Air Force Association and all Americans concerned about the welfare of our prisoners and their families will lend their moral support and whatever additional support may be necessary to carry out this proposal. The next step to begin the movement of the prisoners to a neutral country is the concurrence of the other side.

The United States, of course, continues to seek the immediate release of all war captives. Failing any acceptance of this humanitarian proposal by the North Vietnamese, the Pathet Lao and the Viet Cong, we urge the immediate internment of the POW's in a third country.

I accept your award today on behalf of the men and women in all our Services who have given their lives in the defense of their country and for our prisoners of war and missing in action and their families. What these men and women say to us, and what I say to you, is that we must, in the challenging year ahead, assure that our country always maintains adequate strength to prevent war and maintain peace.

JUSTICE BURGER AND THE WORLD LAW MOVEMENT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the one-world crowd which feel that they can achieve peace by lumping all peoples and countries under a unitarian system of courts and law have now scheduled a world conference to be held in Yugoslavia July 21–25, 1971.

The holding of a world peace conference behind the iron curtain in the domain of General Tito must come as quite an insult to the exiles of the captive nations who know firsthand what peace and law mean to the Communists. Perhaps this is why the international conclave is sought to be comprised by the attendance and participation of U.S. jurists including U.S. Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger.

Two moot court sessions, usually associated with education in law school, are scheduled for the "students" of the peace-through-law conference. One is to be presided over by the Soviet Russian Chief Justice Gorkin and the second, to be chaired by Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger of the United States who day by day is waddling in the international footprints of his predecessor, Earl Warren.

It may be fortunate for the participating chiefs that the moot court docket is prefiled rather than moot. Otherwise, attorneys who are dedicated to world freedom through law might be able to use this impressive sounding podium to examine the Soviet Chief Justice about the peace - through - law - without-freedom suffered by the enslaved minorities of Russia, including the many denials of basic human rights which are not only violative of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights but also of the letter of the law of the Soviet constitution itself.

As for Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger, his newly sought international image will be secure from any interrogation on his denials of peace and freedom through usurpation as a result of his decision denying equal protection under the U.S. Constitution to sections of the country by application of the conquered provinces doctrine. How would an international-minded Chief Justice rule on the Connally amendment?

Most certainly all civilized men aspire for world peace as well as law and order and most understand that neither can be obtained without the other.—See my remarks the World Judicial Threat to the United States, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 19, page 25365. However, the image of a world-peace-through-law conference offers little confidence when headed by two leading international promoters suffering from a controversial record for justice or peace in their own nations and where the training camp is to bivouac on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

I insert a newsclipping at this point:

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 28, 1971]

JUSTICE BURGER AND THE WORLD LAW MOVEMENT

President Nixon is seriously considering going to London for the American Bar Association meeting July 14–20, and taking Mrs. Nixon with him.

Chief Justice Warren Burger, Secretary of State Rogers, and Atty. Gen. Mitchell are going (and taking their wives), along with 8,000 other lawyers.

Since there will be 17,000 altogether, the Buckingham Palace party for practicing ABA members will be limited to 200 this time. In 1957 the Queen invited all 8,000 who were there.

If the President should go that far he would be sorely tempted and already has been urged to continue on to the World Peace Through Law Conference in Belgrade, July 21–25.

He was in Yugoslavia only last year, but things seem to be getting cozier between our country and Tito's. Tito is coming here some time after that conference to visit Nixon.

Most fascinating about the Belgrade conference will be two moot courts. One, presided over by Chief Justice Burger, will concern the hijacking of an airplane.

The other, which may be presided over by the USSR's Chief Justice Gorkin, will be on the falling of a space ship on the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow.

How's that for a provocative case.

The President also is scheduled to take a brief trip on June 5 (that may have had something to do with the change in Tricia's wedding from that original date to June 12). He will fly to Tulsa, Okla., to dedicate the opening of the Arkansas River to navigation.

AMVETS ANNUAL AWARDS BANQUET

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the AMVETS 14th Annual Silver Helmet Awards Banquet, held on March 27, 1971, at the Mayflower Hotel here in Washington.

The Silver Helmet award is given to distinguished recipients in recognition of their outstanding efforts in the fields of Americanism, defense, rehabilitation, world peace, Congress, and special areas of endeavor.

It is a pleasure to report that this year two New Yorkers were presented this award: Frank J. Scarane was selected as AMVET of the Year; and Frank Blair was chosen for the National Commander's Special Achievement Award for Public Relations.

I am taking the liberty of including in these remarks the citations issued in connection with these awards.

The citations follow:

AMVET OF THE YEAR AWARD

The 26th Annual National Convention of AMVETS, assembled in New York City, New York, on August 26, 1970, did unanimously resolve that its AMVET of the Year Award be presented to Frank J. Scarane whose integrity, keen understanding and dedication to the cause and needs of his fellow veterans have brought credit to himself and to AMVETS.

From his early beginning as a Charter Member of AMVETS in 1946, it had always been Frank Scarane's belief that New York needed the advantage of an AMVET representative to help obtain for the returning ex-World War II serviceman and his dependents the benefits provided by our grateful nation. Through his efforts, AMVET Service Officers were soon operating in the New York City and Buffalo V.A. Offices.

Following a very successful term as Commander of the Department of New York, Frank later was instrumental in forming and is still a member of the New York State Service Foundation, whose funds support most of the Department's hospital and volunteer programs.

As an outstanding organization man, Frank has always believed in the value of having

our AMVET representatives appear before other organizations.

Frank is a Past President of the Maspeth, New York Kiwanis Club, an established Real Estate Insurance Broker and Tax Consultant.

As a servant of those who have served, Frank's activity with AMVETS has been an instrument of goodwill and outstanding achievement, thus winning for him and AMVETS the respect of his fellow Americans everywhere.

AMVETS is proud at this time to present its coveted Silver Helmet AMVET of the Year Award to a very deserving AMVET—the distinguished Mr. Frank J. Scarane.

FRANK BLAIR

The National Commander's Special Achievement Award for Public Relations was presented to Frank Blair in recognition of your twenty years of service to our generation by the impact on our daily lives of your in-depth reporting of the news of the world on the NBC "Today" Show. AMVETS Wish You a Continual Bright and Happy "Today."

Frank Blair's news, sports and weather reports are telecast on the full Today station line-up of over 200 stations. He presents the national and international news four times each morning, five days a week. In his twenty years as Today news reporter, Frank Blair has delivered more than 20,000 reports.

My congratulations and best wishes to both of these gentlemen who have brought distinction and honor to the State of New York.

FASCELL CONGRATULATES ISRAEL ON 23D ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I join with many of our colleagues today in congratulating the State of Israel on its 23d anniversary of independence.

The progress which has been made in this tiny country in the short space of 23 years is reminiscent of the miracles which took place in this same land thousands of years ago. Entire cities now grow and thrive where once only the sturdy Bedouin dared to venture. The agricultural feats which have created flourishing gardens in the desert are world-renowned. The great strides which have been made in the fields of science, medicine, and education are admired and studied by nations around the globe.

All of this has been accomplished in spite of three savage wars and nearly constant attacks of terrorism which continue to threaten Israel's very existence.

Further cause for congratulations on this occasion is the fact that Israel remains the only democratic government in the Middle East. For this reason, among many others, we must reaffirm our policy and reassure Israel that the United States looks forward to offering congratulations again on many more Independence Days. The United States recognizes Israel's importance to our own vital interests and the necessity that she continue to survive and prosper as a free and independent nation. We must continue to let the world know that this is our intent.

H.R. 45—A BILL TO ESTABLISH AN INSTITUTE FOR CONTINUING STUDIES OF JUVENILE JUSTICE

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, teenagers—those under 18—account for 50 percent of the offenses committed nationally. The rate of increase in juvenile crime is four times that of the increase in the juvenile population itself. Just as shocking is the number of repeat offenders—almost three quarters of these youths are rearrested within 5 years. Juvenile crime and delinquency are not under control.

These are some of the facts presented before my subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which is currently considering legislation to establish an Institute for Continuing Studies of Juvenile Justice. The witnesses maintain that juvenile justice has been treated to the leftovers after adult justice.

Practicing judges of juvenile courts appearing before us deplore the lack of proper rehabilitative facilities—the lack of confinement institutions designed for children—and the quality of post-commitment supervision to reduce recidivism. A witness representing the American Parents Committee testified that one out of four juvenile offenders are incarcerated with adult offenders. Mrs. Barbara D. McGarry, executive director of the American Parents Committee, Inc., testified:

The warehousing of youthful offenders, as a simplistic response to the problem, is strikingly parallel to the increased rate of recidivism: and, incidentally, more than twice as expensive per year as student costs for a year at any Ivy League College.

The dimension of the problems, and the waste in terms of human lives, cries out for attention.

The measure to establish the Institute of Continuing Studies of Juvenile Justice which I have cosponsored, offers fundamentally a two-pronged approach. The Institute would constitute a clearinghouse for information presently fragmented among 50 States. Innovative experiences of juvenile courts and legislative recommendations would be collected and disseminated.

Secondly, the institute would train individuals for state and local juvenile justice positions such as probation officers, law enforcement and welfare workers.

Judge James Gullotta, president of the 1,500-member National Council of Juvenile Court Judges in his testimony praised the new and major focus which the Institute would bring on the problems of youthful offenders and the continuing efforts to reduce youthful offenses. Judges testifying supported the training of court personnel at one central location as not only providing an available pool of trained personnel but for relieving the courts of the 50 States of the burden of this specialized individual training. When one contemplates once a youth is adjudicated a juvenile delinquent that the parole officer supervises his life, the need for specially qualified judicial personnel becomes clear. Proper training of such personnel is an essential step towards halting the alarming increase in juvenile crimes.

Mr. Speaker, the proposed bill to establish a federally organized and operated Institute for Continuing Studies of Juvenile Justice would provide such training.

CHILDREN

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, according to its own statement, the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children is "Committed to the revolutionary dream of freedom and opportunity which swept this Nation in the 1770's."

It says:

It suggests that the weakest link in the chain toward fulfillment of that dream is the educationally deprived, and consequently economically impotent community of the 1970's. Title I ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) is designed to serve this segment of our country, to strengthen it, and to foster self-reliance. The frustration of that service is contrary to the national interest and requires political responsiveness.

The council has recently reported that the objectives of title I ESEA have not been attained because insufficient funds have been allocated. Studies have also indicated that in some cases the administration of title I has been wasteful and incompetent. Furthermore, there have been instances of clear violation of the law.

Mr. Speaker, the cycle of educational and economic deprivation which characterizes the lives of the poor in this country gravely limits the chance of the poor to realize the American dream of freedom and opportunity. The purpose of title I is to break the cycle of educational and economic deprivation. We must see that sufficient funds are allocated in order to develop programs for the educationally deprived. The council found that compensatory reading programs constitute the greatest academic need among educationally deprived children. Indeed, two and a half million childen in title I elementary schools during 1968–69 needed special reading programs. The administration of the provisions of the law must be improved. The law must be enforced.

With the bicentennial celebration of the founding of our country fast approaching us in the 1970's, I would urge Federal, State, and local officials to rededicate themselves to an adherence to the prescription and intent of title I ESEA. This would be an appropriate and meaningful way to prepare for the 1976 celebration.

THE ATTACKS ON THE FBI

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, this careless talk of how the United States is becoming a "police state" is getting tiring and also insulting. To judge from the measure of hysteria in editorials, cartoons, and public statements of certain individuals, we are right on the edge of becoming ruled by a crew of jackbooted thugs, complete with midnight knocks on the door, concentration camps, torture cells, and the staccato bark of machine pistols in a prison courtyard at dawn.

I want to make one quick observation concerning the role of Members of Congress. We are granted two forms of immunity by the Constitution. Article I, section 6:

> Senators and Representatives . . . shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

We are not exempt, nor should we be, from anything else, any more than any of our fellow citizens should be. The above I have found to be quite sufficient for me, in over 20 years' service. I do not ask for more; I believe the majority of my colleagues in the Congress would agree.

The smear campaign we are seeing now against the FBI is almost an exact repetition of what took place in this country just before World War II. With some very interesting variations, I must add—and I intend to point these out.

What we are seeing today is an incredibly accurate replay of exactly what went on 30 years ago. It really began 3 days after Hitler marched into Poland, on September 6, 1939. President Roosevelt gave the FBI added responsibility for our national security, and on the following January 5, 1940, J. Edgar Hoover explained the duties to a House Appropriations Subcommittee:

> When this work was assigned to us we organized . . . the General Intelligence Division, which will have supervision of espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities, and violations of the neutrality regulations. . . . We have also initiated special investigations of persons reported upon as being active in any subversive activity or in movements detrimental to the internal security. In that connection, we have a general index, arranged alphabetically and geographically, available at the Bureau, so that in the event of any greater emergency coming to our country we will be able to locate immediately these various persons who may need to be the subject of further investigation. . . .

Reaction to this came on January 11, 1940, on the House floor, when the appropriations bill was being considered. From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date; the Member speaking was Mr. Marcantonio of New York. He was referring to Mr. Hoover's testimony:

> When the activities of the FBI are extended to what to me smacks very much like the activities of a Gestapo or any of the so-called intelligence bureaus that exist in the dictator countries, I submit the Members of Congress should pause and examine this situation very closely. . . .

Mr. Marcantonio referred to Hoover's testimony on the general index mentioned above:

> This language is very wide and most dangerous . . . This language indicates to me the beginning of a disease which will make our democratic body very, very sick. The creation of a super secret service body in a democracy is injecting our democratic institutions with the virulent toxine of an antidemocratic activity under the guise of so-called protection of so-called national defense. Himmler's super secret service in Germany has kept Hitler alive and German democrats dead or dying in concentration camps. . . .

Mr. Marcantonio then quoted further from Hoover's testimony:

> Mr. Hoover states further:
> "The indexes have been arranged not only alphabetically but also geographically, so that at any time, should we enter into the conflict abroad, we would be able to go into any of these communities and identify individuals or groups who might be a source of grave danger to the security of this country. Their backgrounds and activities are known to the Bureau. These indexes will be extremely important and valuable in grave emergency."

And went on to comment:

> I submit the preparation of these indices is most dangerous to the constitutional rights of the American people. They constitute a real and serious menace to civil liberties in the United States . . . This innovation in the Federal Bureau of Investigation can be correctly described as the index-card menace to American liberty.
>
> Furthermore, this type of language creates the very kind of hysteria that leads a country into war. . . . By this type of testimony given by an important member of the Department of Justice two facts become obvious: First, we are preparing a general raid against civil rights, a black-out against the civil liberties of the American people, a system of terror by index cards such as you have in the Gestapo countries of the world; second, we are engendering a war hysteria which is a menace to the peace of the United States.

It is noted in the RECORD that applause followed these remarks.

A few days later, on February 6, Communist leaders met in Washington to determine what to do. From the report on the meeting by an undercover agent:

> It was proposed at this meeting that the campaign should have two principal phases, one an attack upon the Bureau as violating civil liberties and secondly a personal attack upon the Director . . . Communist writers were assigned to this second phase of the campaign. It was also planned at the meeting that the services of certain Congressmen would be enlisted in endeavoring to obtain Congressional restrictions upon the Bureau's activities.

On the same day FBI agents arrested 10 men and one woman in Detroit and one man in Milwaukee who were all admitted Communists, members of front organizations or openly Communist sympathizers. They had been indicted on charges of conspiring to recruit volunteers for the Spanish Loyalist Army, a direct violation of the United States Code.

The defendants were turned over to four U.S. marshals who handcuffed them to a chain. Pictures of this brought the charge that the FBI had made the impression "of a Gestapo that can haul citizens off to prison and court in ignominy, imposing any kind of conditions the captors wish without accountability."

The New Republic said:

> In foreign countries people are forced by their governments to submit to their Gestapos. In this country, Hoover has the voluntary support of all who delight in gangster movies and ten-cent detective magazines . . .

In March, the National Committee of the Communist Party met in New York and agreed "the time is ripe" to make the case a national issue. They decided to "canvass trade unions and all kinds of progressive organizations throughout the country asking them to demand an investigation of the FBI."

Around the same time an unsigned memo of 76 pages was sent confidentially to certain people in Washington. It had the title "The Investigative Work of the FBI With Reference to Activities Based Upon Economic or Political Views or Opinions." It was a memo aimed at proving the FBI was a threat to civil liberties.

Then came an attack on the FBI concerning wiretapping. But the FBI was defended by none other than genuinely "liberal" columnist Ralph McGil:

> The disgruntled politicians and the Communists joined in opposition (to Hoover and the FBI) will not go very far.

The present distinguished chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER), defended Hoover who was charged with having taken part in the admittedly notorious and questionably legal "Palmer raids" in 1919. Mr. CELLER told a radio audience that Hoover had no responsibility:

> At that time Hoover was a special Assistant Attorney General, and he handled the prosecution of many cases. He had nothing to do with the arrest or so-called persecution of individuals. He simply handled the cases in the courts as they were presented to him.

On June 13, 1940, Mr. CELLER introduced House Joint Resolution 571 "to authorize the FBI of the Department of Justice to conduct investigations in the interest of national defense, and for that purpose to permit wiretapping in certain cases."

The bill passed the House by voice vote on August 6, 1940. With less than 2 months from introduction to final passage, there was obviously no significant opposition to this measure.

During debate on that bill—August 6, 1940—Mr. CELLER said:

> Assuredly, criminals and other persons inimical to the existence of our democratic government must be tracked down, and every reasonable means at the command of the Government should be exercised to that end.
>
> Our democracy must be implemented with the means to protect itself against those who would overthrow it by force and violence, or by cooperation with a totalitarian government. To enable the chief Federal law enforcement agency to maintain surveillance by means of communications for that purpose, under the safeguards contained in the

bill, is a proper precaution and at the same time would not unduly infringe on individual liberty.

The RECORD notes that applause followed these words.

The attack on Hoover subsided noticeably following the White House correspondent's dinner on March 16, 1940. President Roosevelt, guest of honor, called to J. Edgar Hoover from the head table:

Edgar, what are they trying to do to you on the Hill?

I don't know, Mr. President.

Hoover responded.

That's for them.

Responded F. D. R., and he made a thumbs-down gesture.

Two days after that, on March 18, 1940, Mr. CELLER inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix remarks entitled "J. Edgar Hoover—an Able, Fearless, and Honest Public Servant." He ended his remarks with a Washington Star editorial entitled "Attack by Innuendo."

I do not for a moment imply that congressional criticism of the FBI today is Communist inspired, directed, or financed. I have no doubt that some of the outside criticism is, though. What is so striking in the parallel I point out today is the similarity of the words used in 1940 and the words used in 1971. What is also striking is how thoughtful, honest, perceptive liberals, like Mr. John Roche, set things straight today as they did then.

Refer for a moment back to Congressman Marcantonio's frenzied denunciation of the FBI as a "real and serious menace to civil liberties in the United States." Read, then, the Washington Post of April 28, 1971. Their lead editorial in its first sentence mentions "the grave threat which the Bureau presents to American liberty."

For myself, I much prefer the calm and balanced observation of the Columist John P. Roche, in the Washington Post on the same day, just across the page:

Keeping an eye on dangerous characters is hardly an outrage to American freedom. Indeed, in the light of events over the last decade, one could wish that somebody had been watching Lee Harvey Oswald, Sirhan Sirhan and James Earl Ray.

I wish to end my remarks today by inserting the full text of Mr. CELLER's fine tribute to Mr. Hoover, and the Washington Star editorial, both of which were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 18, 1940:

J. EDGAR HOOVER—AN ABLE, FEARLESS, AND HONEST PUBLIC SERVANT

(Extension of remarks of Hon. EMANUEL CELLER, of New York—in the House of Representatives, Monday, March 18, 1940)

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it will be a sad day in the history of this country when the Representatives of the American people in Congress fail to resent injustice. I feel very strongly that a grave injustice has been done upon the floor of Congress and elsewhere. This is reflected in the criticisms which have been directed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Director of that organization, J. Edgar Hoover.

I have watched the development of this organization during the years. I have admired the administrative skill, the probity, the idealism, the boundless energy of Mr. Hoover. There has not been a breath of scandal connected with the work of this organization. In law-enforcement work where enemies must be made, this is saying much. The attention of the chronic enemies of the Federal Bureau of Investigation seems to have been recently centered upon a certain case originating at Detroit covering the arrest of a number of individuals charged with violating the statute prohibiting the recruiting of persons for military service abroad. I am utterly unable to understand how any unbiased person could possibly hold that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is guilty of any wrongdoing in connection with this case.

In the first place, the record clearly shows that the investigation was originally ordered by Mr. Hoover's superiors in the Department of Justice. The presentment of the evidence in the case to the grand jury at Detroit in the middle of January 1940, was specifically ordered by former Attorney General Murphy. The indictments were returned by the grand jury. The indictments were dismissed by Attorney General Jackson. Certainly no responsibility for any action in connection with these matters can be charged to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, of course, must carry out orders.

There have been charges made that the representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were overzealous in the performance of their duties. These charges are always made in these cases. I have been advised by high officials of the Department of Justice who know the facts concerning this case, that representatives of Mr. Hoover's Bureau acted throughout this matter in pursuance of specific instructions and that they functioned in an entirely lawful manner in all respects. It has been charged that the defendants at Detroit were subjected to third-degree methods; that they were intimidated; that their constitutional rights were violated. These charges I know to be absolutely untrue. The defendants were treated with every possible consideration while they were in the custody of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There is not one scintilla of evidence indicating that any one of them has any just cause for complaint.

A photograph has appeared in the press showing the Detroit defendants chained together. I desire to advise my colleagues that the chaining of these defendants was not done by special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The chaining occurred after the defendants had been arraigned in court and after they had left the custody of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

It seems ungrateful for any of us to forget the outstanding service which has been rendered to this country by J. Edgar Hoover and his associates. Let us not forget the situation which existed several years ago when the country was faced with a terrible kidnaping menace. Never in the history of this or any other country has a similar menace been so successfully combated. Since June 1932, 178 kidnaping cases have been investigated by this Bureau and all but 2 of these cases, those involving the little Mattson boy in Tacoma, Wash., and the Levine boy at New Rochelle, N.Y., have been solved. During 1939, 20 kidnaping cases were reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all of them were solved.

Success in combating kidnaping is not the only accomplishment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Bank robberies, a few years ago, were committed with some degree of safety by these criminals addicted in this pastime. This is no longer true. Since Congress gave the Federal Bureau of Investigation jurisdiction to investigate bank-robbery cases, there has been a reduction in this type of crime approximately 75 percent. The decrease in this type of crime has been accompanied by a monetary benefit since the surety companies, as a result of the work of the F. B. I. have reduced bank-robbery insurance rates from between 30 and 40 percent throughout the various States, which has resulted in a great saving in these insurance costs. Businessmen are not guided by sentiment. You all know of the efforts of various groups of businessmen to secure various types of legislation to protect their interests and of their demands upon Members of Congress to pass legislation which will enable the Federal Bureau of Investigation to extend the scope of its activities into their fields of operation in order that they may receive the protection which this Bureau obviously affords.

The records show that each year the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation results in more than 5,000 convictions. Over 96 out of every 100 persons taken into court for trial by Mr. Hoover and his men are convicted. Is it not strange that since so many thousands of persons have been convicted through the efforts of this Bureau without there being the slightest criticism that suddenly there should arise innuendoes and insinuations that this organization is developing into an Ogpu or Gestapo? As in the Detroit cases, the Federal Bureau of Investigation operates under specific authority. It collects evidence which is presented to the various United States attorneys and to the assistants to the Attorney General at Washington.

All of the operations of the F. B. I. are publicly known. The results of their investigative work are presented to prosecuting officers. Each year their appropriations are submitted first to the Attorney General, then to the Budget Bureau, then to the President, and the Appropriation Committees of Congress. It would not be possible for this organization to develop any secret modes of operation in violation of the fundamental civil rights of our citizens.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made a notable contribution to the application of scientific methods to the solution of criminal cases and the detention and apprehension of criminals. Its laboratory is a center whose services are available not only to Federal prosecutors, but to State and local police and prosecuting officials as well.

Perhaps even a greater contribution made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the intrepid leadership of John Edgar Hoover, than the direct suppression of crime is the effect that its work has had on the psychology of the Nation toward crime and criminals. Up to a few years ago it was the practice for motion pictures and magazines to glorify the criminal as a brave and adventuresome hero and to depict police officers as hirelings who, by fair means or foul, endeavor to persecute the heroic law violator. As a result of the work of the G-men all this is changed. Today the criminal is portrayed as what he is, an enemy of society, and the law-enforcement officer is properly delineated as a peacetime soldier who risks his life in the service of his country. But a few years ago little boys in their games used to play gangsters. Today they play G-men. This change of attitude on the part of the entire Nation toward the criminal and crime is a vital factor not only in helping to suppress crime but in preventing crime in the future and in training the coming generation to become law abiding.

It would seem to be the part of wisdom to encourage the retention in the Government service of those whose talents would bring them much larger rewards in the business world. Criticism is justified in some cases; we should be ready to praise, however, where praise and praise alone is due. Along these lines, let me narrate an incident which came to my attention several years ago when Mr. Hoover was offered a radio contract which called for his appearance on a radio program

for a period of 3 minutes' time each week for 26 weeks and for which he would receive a very substantial sum for his services. Mr. Hoover declined this offer because the radio program was one which advertised a commercial product. I do not believe there would have been any criticism of Mr. Hoover if he had accepted such an offer. It would have enabled him to acquaint the general public with various aspects of law-enforcement problems. However, these were the ideals which guided him then; a similar idealism has guided him through his entire career, since he entered the Government service in 1917. I am happy to pay this tribute to a devoted, self-sacrificing, and patriotic Government official.

I take pleasure in including herewith an editorial which recently appeared in the Evening Star.

[From the Washington Evening Star]

ATTACK BY INNUENDO

Recent days have witnessed the development of what appears to be a widespread and coordinated effort to undermine public confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the waxing fury of this attack, conducted principally by innuendo, the splendid record of the F.B.I. in smashing the major criminal gangs which infested the country has been conveniently forgotten. By some mysterious alchemy this agency, once hailed as the nemesis of the gangster, has been transmuted into a vague but sinister threat to the American way of life.

For the most part, the criticisms have not been directed specifically to the F.B.I. as such, nor to its record. The critics, on the whole, have preferred to deal in suggestive generalities, possibly realizing that, in the absence of supporting evidence, they are more difficult to answer, and, therefore, more damaging than direct charges. There has been much talk, for example, of wire-tapping and eavesdropping by "Government police." To guide public suspicion more directly to the target without actually making a specific charge, this has been followed by assertions that "if" the F.B.I. has been tapping any wires it should be investigated. Other thinly veiled charges have been aimed at the Bureau's recently created General Intelligence Division, the implication being that this is a sort of American Ogpu set up by Director J. Edgar Hoover to pry into the personal affairs of law-abiding citizens as well as those who are beyond the law. But the complaints neglect to mention the fact that this division was established under an order issued by President Roosevelt last September designating the F.B.I. as a central clearing agency for the investigation of espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities. Nor do they state that there is not the slightest evidence of any abuse of power by this agency.

Senator Norris, of Nebraska, has made a specific complaint concerning the manner in which F.B.I. agents arrested certain persons who were under indictment in Detroit for a technical offense. These men were seized at 5 a.m. and taken to court at 3 p.m. on the same day. The manner of this arrest, Senator Norris has said, was designed to "frighten" the men and "to fill their hearts with fear and trepidation." This complaint was referred to Attorney General Jackson, who is certainly no enemy of liberalism, and, after an investigation, he fully exonerated the F.B.I.

The Star believes that the F.B.I. has performed, and is still performing, an important and difficult task in an efficient manner, and with appropriate restraint. If that is not the case, if it has abused it powers or if it is menancing traditional liberties, it is entitled to specific charges and a day in court. In the meantime, it should not be made the victim of a movement which has all the earmarks of a "smear" campaign.

CASEY'S LAST RIDE

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, 71 years ago tonight, Casey Jones began his fateful ride as the engineer in the cab of the Cannonball. It ended early the next morning when the world's most remembered railroad accident occurred.

The heroism of Casey Jones is known to most literate Americans through the beautiful ballad describing his ride to glory.

The historic events of April 28–30, 1900, are described in a brief article appearing in the current edition of Roadways, published by the Mississippi State Highway Commission. It follows:

CASEY'S LAST RIDE

Like a captain who must stay with his sinking ship, Casey Jones, famed railroad engineer stayed with the Cannonball, the railroad's fastest Chicago to New Orleans passenger train in 1900, until its last minutes and then he bravely took his place among other American folk heroes.

This month will mark the 71st anniversary of Casey Jones' death in the drowsy little town of Vaughan, Mississippi. His death came on the early morning of April 30 when he threw on the brakes to bring the No. 382 to a screeching halt before it rammed into two other trains. But Casey wasn't quick enough. The flagmen were waving their lanterns frantically and Casey saw that he wasn't going to make it and yelled out to Sim Webb, his Negro fireman, to jump—jump for his life. And like all heroes that go down in American folklore, Casey stayed with the train, saving every life but his own.

Today that little town of Vaughan seems gloomy in contrast to the 1900's when businesses were thriving and hotels were filled to capacity. One would almost think Vaughan were a ghost town now. Buildings are discolored with age and leaning on their sides. Many are deserted.

The nights in Vaughan are just as gloomy with only the sound of crickets chirping and an occasional bark from a stray dog. The few people who remain in Vaughan sit on their front porches and fan away the mosquitoes in the summer while their thoughts carry them far away. Sometimes as they look out toward the railroad tracks or hear the whistle of a train that speeds by, they think about the famed railroad engineer who met his death in their town. And if they think about it hard enough, they can almost hear the torpedoes going up to warn Casey of the approaching danger and the screeching of the brakes and then the fatal crash.

THE FATAL NIGHT

Casey had just finished a run in Memphis on the night of April 29, and when he stepped from his train he learned that an engine crew wasn't available to run the Cannonball from Memphis to Canton that night. Casey immediately volunteered although he was dead tired. His love for the railroad seemed to overcome any fatigue he felt.

April 29 was a damp and foggy night and most trains weren't making any time below Memphis on the line Casey was to follow. The No. 382 was no exception. When Casey left Memphis he was 95 minutes behind schedule but he was determined to get her to Canton on time, but by the time he reached Grenada, 100 miles from Memphis, he had made up 60 minutes and another 15 when he reached Winona. He learned in Durant that there was a tangle of trains in Vaughan and that they would have to saw him by there. Although Vaughan was only a small town it was the hub of railroad activity. There were two side tracks and trains frequently sided so that faster trains could pass.

There were two trains going south, ahead of Casey's, while four trains were heading north toward him.

Southbound No. 83 was the first train to reach Vaughan and she pulled on the siding while No. 72, a northbound train was too long to fit on the siding because of the combined length of it and No. 83.

So at Vaughan they had to saw north and south to let the No. 25 southbound pass. No. 382, Casey's train, would receive the same treatment and No. 83 was sent north 3,000 feet with torpedoes to clip on the track.

No. 2 arrived at Vaughan going north and Nos. 85 and 72 sawed north and south to let her pass. Then No. 26, a passenger train, arrived in Vaughan. No. 83 and 72 again sawed by to let her get onto the other siding across the main line from the two freights.

Now trouble began. An air hose snapped on No. 72 and it was impossible for it to move into a south saw position so that No. 83 could clear the north switch. This left four cars of No. 83 protruding out on the main line at the north switch because No. 72 could not move.

Meanwhile, outside of Goodman, Casey had opened up to 70 miles per hour, believing that when he reached Vaughan he could roar right on through to the south switch.

It was Sim Webb who saw the caboose of No. 83 sticking out on the main line first. He yelled to Casey that they were going to hit something. Casey saw it also and jumped up and kicked the seat out from under Sim Webb and yelled for him to jump. The Negro fireman jumped from the 70-mile-per-hour train and later woke up in the hospital. But Casey frantically began applying brakes and throwing the gears in reverse, only slowing the train to 50 miles per hour. But time had run out. No. 382 had rammed into the caboose and overturned on its side. Several cars of the freight train were derailed and freight was scattered. No lives were lost except Casey's.

Today many argue that the gloom that casts its shadow over Vaughan is a result of that fatal crash in 1900 while other more practical ones say that its passiveness stems from the lack of activity which disappeared with the importance of the railroad. But although Vaughan is not the hub of railroad activity anymore, it will always be remembered as the town in which Casey Jones "rode to the promised land."

RODINO COMMENDS EARTH WEEK ACTIVITIES

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, since the first Earth Day observance on April 22, 1970, we have come to recognize the challenge of preserving the earth and have taken action to rid our environment of the manmade causes of pollution. It is unfortunate that we have not until recently become aware of the problem that exists. Pollution and the decaying of the environment have crept slowly and silently while the machines of technology and production have increased significantly. The problems of our environ-

ment have silently worsened, yet only now are we hearing the gasping of the people of the country. We are choking ourselves in our desire for status living.

To reveal to the public, to make individuals aware, and to discuss the plight of our ravaged environment is beneficial and necessary. But, we must now take action.

This week I joined in sponsoring legislation to authorize a $25 billion program of clean water grants for the construction of waste water treatment facilities. The bill, which revises the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, provides for the extension of water quality standards to all navigable waters and would assure that these standards are appro- privately reviewed, upgraded, and enforced.

This year groups throughout the country will be involved in efforts to aid in alleviating the crisis condition which exists within the country today. In Bloomfield, N.J., a cleanup effort is being directed at two of the city's most polluted bodies of water. The project is being sponsored by the chamber of commerce of the city together with the Bloomfield High School Ecology Club.

By the proper use of the means at our disposal and by a wholesale cooperative effort by all sectors of the population we can clean up our environment and bring nature back to its rightful role. We must urge more action by industry, as well as by the public sector, to join together to fight for our own interests.

INTERNATIONAL WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the weekend of May 8–9, thousands of young people in this country will be walking millions of miles to demonstrate their concern for national and international development. At the same time, young people from 40 countries around the world will be joining in similar walks to fight poverty. I am proud to be a member of the committee sponsoring the Hunger Foundation's Young World Development program, and it will also be my great honor to participate in the Rockford, Ill., International Walk Day on May 8.

The Illinois Walks for Development have been among the most active and successful in this country. Over the past 2 years more than 65,000 young people have raised well over $665,000 for their selected domestic and overseas self-help projects. A walk in my hometown of Rockford contributed $14,650 of that sum, and this year promises to be bigger and more successful than ever. This year there will be walks in over 20 Illinois communities.

I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues in a special order on Tuesday of this week in support of a resolution to designate May as Human Development Month, and the weekend of May 8 and 9 as International Walk for Development Weekend. I think it is proper that we should give special recognition and sanction to this most constructive demonstration of concern for the underprivileged both at home and abroad.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I wish to include the full text of a paper written by Mr. Joe Kimmins, education director for the International Walk for Development. His paper, entitled "International Walk for Development Weekend: A Different Kind of Demonstration," explains in a lucid manner the background and objectives of these walks.

The paper follows:

INTERNATIONAL WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT WEEKEND: A DIFFERENT KIND OF DEMONSTRATION

(By Joe Kimmins)

In the Spring of 1971, one million or more concerned young Americans will come together under the leadership of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation and their adult sponsors, in order to stage a kind of public demonstration very different from those which our nation has recently experienced. This time, the youth will not be demonstrating against the War, nor against the Establishment nor in fact against anything. Instead, they will be demonstrating *for* development—calling upon the people of the United States for a new and vigorous attack on the causes of domestic and international poverty. They hope to inspire one of the greatest manifestations of grass-roots concern and involvement the nation has ever seen.

These youth anticipate the active participation of citizens in more than 300 towns and cities nationwide on International Walk for Development Weekend, May 8–9, 1971. Already, a quiet, effective organizational effort has initiated local planning for Walks in all major U.S. cities coast to coast. And this national effort represents only the U.S. participation in an international event that will see similar demonstrations take place in forty or more nations around the world.

WHAT IS A WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT?

The Walk for Development is a proven technique for raising funds and for focusing local community attention on the facts of world poverty and on the need for economic and social development. The idea originated among European students in the early 'sixties. Hundreds of organizations in Europe and England have since successfully encouraged their governments to increase their commitment to international development projects to unprecedented levels.

In 1967, when European development efforts were on the rise while the U.S. commitment was declining, a group of young people in Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorehead, Minnesota, imported the Walk idea in order to sponsor the first such project in the United States. They were assisted by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, which organized the youth as a grassroots youth action arm in support of the Foundation's anti-poverty work, calling the new organization Young World Development (YWD).

The Fargo-Moorehead Walk was successful, and the idea quickly spread to other young people who have organized local YWD groups across the nation. More than 190 Walks have since been held nationwide. In 1970 alone, 135 Walks took place, raising over $2.5 million entirely through locally sponsored efforts of young people, with coordination and support from the Foundation's Washington headquarters.

A Walk works like this: a local group organizes itself to conduct a public information campaign—giving speeches, printing posters, distributing brochures—and to recruit Walkers. The local committee also maps out a Walk route—usually 20 to 30 miles long—that winds through the city or countryside. Each Walker is responsible for soliciting his own sponsors, each of whom pledges to contribute an amount of money—from a few cents up to a dollar or more—for every mile successfully completed by the Walker. On the day of the Walk, the crowd of Walkers begins early in the morning on its trek, hiking throughout the day; then they collect from their sponsors according to a certified record of the miles they walked.

The money collected is divided three ways: 42½% to a domestic poverty project, 42½% to an international poverty project, and 15% to the Foundation and Young World Development for administrative and educational expenses, including conferences, newsletters, curriculum development, and publications. Local community organizers have complete responsibility for choosing suitable projects to receive the funds they raise, typically such projects as supporting a child nutrition center in Florida or building a rural youth center in Dahomey.

THE 1971 WALK WEEKEND

The major difference in plans for 1971 is that scores of YWD groups across the nation have agreed to hold their Walks on the same weekend in May, rather than scattering them throughout the year. As a result, at least one million young people and adults will walk for development at the same time. Preparations for similar activities are underway in at least forty countries of Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia, including all the poor nations which have received funds from U.S. Walks in the pasts. This will be a genuine demonstration on the part of young people in developing countries of their support of their national development, and of willingness to join with the youth of wealthy countries in support of such self-help development efforts.

The Freedom from Hunger Foundation intends for the 1971 Walk to be planned and executed by the young people of YWD, as a direct manifestation of their concern for domestic and international poverty and their desire to do something positive about it. An eighteen-year-old senior on leave from Marshall-University High School in Minneapolis, Michael D. McCoy, has been named U.S. youth chairman for the 1971 Walk. He was a delegate to the Second World Food Congress in The Hague, June 16–30, 1970, where international plans for the Walk Weekend were first proposed. (The Food Congress was called by the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization, which is providing international coordination for the Walk Weekend from its headquarters in Rome.)

In the U.S., a six-member National Board of youth, drawn from the leadership of YWD, has listed three objectives for their 1971 Walk Weekend plans: (1) to raise funds for the support of domestic and international poverty projects, (2) to give the American people an opportunity to demonstrate their concern for the world's poor in a direct, people-to-people way, and (3) to make a public issue of the need for a sustained national effort to combat hunger and poverty around the world.

According to Mike McCoy, this last goal is the most important. "Contributing to poverty projects is certainly a good and necessary thing for people to have relief from intolerable living conditions," he says, "but charity does little to eliminate the causes of poverty."

"What is really needed is a continuing, long term program to inform the American people that it is in their direct and immediate national interest for social and economic justice to be more widespread around the world—and that the United States, as

the world's richest and in some ways its most self-centered nation, must take the lead in this effort. This message must be communicated to the American people. No one is really doing this, which is one reason that U.S. support for development projects, at home as well as overseas, has fallen so low. Our nation is now last among all the rich nations in terms of the percentage of our wealth devoted to the international development effort. We are going to try to change this. That is what the international Walk for Development Weekend is all about: to urge new values and priorities for our country, and to teach people that steadfast support of global development is absolutely fundamental to our national interest."

FUNDRAISING VERSUS PUBLIC EDUCATION

Since the first Walk for Development, the primary goal of the various national Freedom from Hunger Campaign committees has been to contribute money to projects such as those approved by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation. But as the Walks grew in number, as their organizers gained experience in conducting them, and as they were repeatedly exposed to the extent of hunger throughout the world, a feeling grew within the ranks of Young World Development that something more should be done in addition to repeating Walks year after year. The young leadership began to question the value of the Walks insofar as eliminating hunger was concerned. They learned that hunger is a problem closely interrelated with unemployment, illiteracy, ill health, and other manifestations of the underlying condition of poverty that characterizes the lifestyle of hundreds of millions of marginal men and women around the world. Hunger is a symptom, but poverty is the cause.

In June 1970, twenty-five young organizers of YWD attended the World Food Congress, where they were exposed to the staggering dimensions of global poverty, the frustrations of the United Nations "First Development Decade" (1960–1970), and the parallel causes of poverty both in developing countries and in the U.S.

At the Congress, they heard time and again the growing frustrations expressed by so many representatives of the world's poor nations, and perceived the implications of these emotions for international political and economic relationships between the U.S. and the rest of the world in the 1970's and beyond.

The American youth returned home vowing to do something about this, and convinced that public education was the best thing they could do to help generate the sense of awareness necessary for the American public to support a vigorous development effort. They decided to continue their Walk program, but also to require that each Walk project include an organized public education component.

To the young people, "public education" encompasses a variety of education techniques. Some of the more experienced YWD organizers have already achieved formal curriculum reform in local high schools and universities, obtaining the agreement of administrators to add formal courses in international development to curriculum lists.

Others have initiated informal community education programs, offering seminars, reading lists, and church and club discussions to local citizens. Many have created "development libraries" in their local headquarters.

This year, each sponsor of a Walker will receive pamphlets and other materials which discuss the rationale for attacking poverty worldwide, comparing the U.S. effort to other nations and defining this effort in terms of our national interest. There will be "community teach-outs", posters, flyers, displays, and a movie created by the YWD young people.

Plans for the International Walk Weekend in the United States indicate that these youth maintain faith in the existence of a reserve of fundamental good will in the American community. Their activity implies their belief that if this good will can be informed regarding the extent of global property and the implications it has for all of human society in the future, then the people of the U.S. will accept the elimination of the *causes* of poverty—development—as a priority objective for our nation's domestic and foreign policies. They intend to dramatize this objective during the weekend of May 8–9, 1971. They intend to make development an issue in the United States.

DEFORESTATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Deforestation" appearing in the Washington, D.C. Evening Star, Friday, April 16, 1971, highly critical of clear-cutting practices by the U.S. Forest Service.

Of late, I have come to the sad conclusion that the Forest Service is less concerned with preservation of a previous resource and wise management of the public lands than it is with maximizing timber cutting to the disadvantage and jeopardy of other values of equal, and perhaps greater, importance.

Conservationists are becoming thoroughly fed up with the practices of the Forest Service in disregarding proper management of the national forests and the clear mandate of Congress in the Multiple Use Act.

The article merits careful reading:

DEFORESTATION

In 1950, this country's 154 national forests were set apart by law as "multiple purpose" areas, to be used for recreation, watershed protection, wildlife preservation, range development and timbering. Today, the U.S. Forest Service, with the firm backing of the Nixon administration, appears determined to scrap that policy. If the administration view prevails, the 187 million acres of national forest land will become a vast tree farm, operated for the welfare and the profit of the lumber industry.

There is nothing wrong, in principle, with private logging on public lands. It has been done, on a selective basis, since the forests were first set aside in 1905 "for the greatest good of the greatest number." But there is something very wrong with a rate of cutting that far exceeds the rate of forest growth. And that is what is happening today.

Since 1950, receipts from timber cutting in the national forest have increased 1,000 percent, from $29 million to $284 million. The administration proposes to increase the timber crop over the next few years by 60 percent.

This rate of cutting has led to the practice of "clear-cutting"—the harvesting of all trees in a given area instead of the selective cutting of mature, diseased or unwanted trees. It is an efficient method, employing machines of total destruction. It is economical; the denuded areas can be replanted with orderly rows of saleable trees. But there is one drawback: It is an environmental atrocity.

Clear-cutting destroys the forest. Replanting may restore the trees, but centuries of natural growth are required to replace a forest. The denuding of woodlands speeds soil erosion, increases the siltation of rivers, threatens wildlife and destroys recreational potential.

The administration and the timber cutters argue that the lumber is needed to meet the increasing demands of a growing population and the government's housing goal of 2.6 million new and rebuilt houses a year. The conservationists counter by suggesting that wood is not the ideal building material for the central cities, where much federal housing will be located. They argue that owners of private forests, who normally supply 75 percent of the country's lumber, should be encouraged to convert to tree farming. They believe that the additional cost of selective cutting should be passed on to the consumer as part payment for environmental improvement.

The conservationists have the better of the argument.

Certainly the practice of clear-cutting should be halted at least until the Forest Service catches up on the 5-million-acre reforesting gap that, by the service's own figuring, already exists. It should be reinstituted only in those areas—if any such exist—that are of no potential recreational value, and where it can be shown that the ecological trauma produced by the mowing down of a forest will have no adverse impact on the wildlife, the soil or on any watershed.

It seems incredible that in this era of environmental enlightenment the administration should be pushing to abandon the concept of multiple use of the national forests. Somehow, the message must be conveyed that the first consideration of any use to which these public lands are put must be their preservation for the generations to come, when natural forest land will be a commodity beyond price. Congress will have the means to get that message across when the President's request for more money for Forest Service timber operations comes up.

First, Congress should declare a moratorium on clear-cutting. Second, it should pare the President's budget request. Third, the law establishing the multiple-use concept of the national forests should be re-examined with the aim of eliminating those loopholes through which the administration and the timber cutters are now trying to crawl.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, every year since 1952, the last full week of April has been set aside for the observance of Secretaries Week, in recognition of the invaluable role played by able and loyal secretaries in business, industry, education, government, and the professions. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to pay well-deserved tribute to my staff of congressional secretaries as well as all other secretaries who are the unsung heroines of our system, and none of us could get along without them.

They make our job much easier. They prepare good letters from our scrambled dictation; they tell us where our appointments are and when to be there; they answer questions for us and for our constituents; they handle our casework; they know where everything is filed. They bring us our coffee in the morning; they greet our visitors—and do so in a way to make that first good impression. And

sometimes they run interference for us when things get rough.

To quote another grateful boss who wrote this terse verse in 1922:

There's many a weary businessman, renowned from sea to sea,
Whose burdens have been lightened by a faithful employee,
Whose woman's instinct, highly trained, and quicker than his thought,
Foresees the thing that should be done, then does it as she ought.

Amen to that. Small wonder that the secretary is honored as the "first lady of American business," and that her immeasurable contribution to business, industry, government, and education is now more clearly recognized than ever before. She continues to maintain the highest professional and personal ethics, and her resolve is directed to increased learning and efficiency, which combined with her profound loyalty, makes her invaluable to the office in which she is employed.

In today's era of the pushbutton and computer, the secretary need not fear for her job. There is no mechanical substitute for her judgment, her ability to take and delegate responsibility, her initiative. I could not agree more heartily with Mrs. Margaret Lawson, the international secretary of the National Secretaries Association in 1965, who said:

While tomorrow there will be a tremendous increase in machinery and gadgetry, there is one constant that will not change. Today's and tomorrow's secretary will still be a principal humanizing influence in the office. Our profession tomorrow, as it is today, will be carried on by wonderful human beings. Machines will supplement, but they will never supplant people.

It is with deep appreciation that I salute the loyalty, efficiency, and hard work of the secretaries throughout our Nation who keep the office gears turning so smoothly. I tender my best wishes for their continued success and achievement.

AFRICAN ART FAVORED OVER NATIONAL SECURITY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, today the House became economy minded and by parliamentary finesse rather than the will of the Members voted to cut the appropriation for the Committee on Internal Security by $100,000 to a reduced $570,000.

It is often felt that people give preference in the spending of their money to the necessities which have top priority in their way of thinking. This being so, while the House approved $570,000 for the House Internal Security Committee to continue its efforts to inform the American people of communism, subversion, and enemies of constitutional government, the local paper announced that the Museum of African Art was given a $500,000 Federal grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

In fact, a second $500,000 grant was raised from tax-free foundations and wealthy individuals who were able to avoid their fair share of taxes to the Government.

Comparing the $570,000 to Internal Security with $500,000 to African art it could appear that the Federal establishment is as concerned with dispelling so-called racial myths as with protecting the American people and our system of government from the scourge of international communism, its domestic dupes and fellow travelers.

I ask that a newsclipping be inserted at this point:

MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART GETTING $500,000 GRANT

(By Gus Constantine)

The Museum of African Art here has announced it will receive a $500,000 matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of the largest single grants ever made by the federal agency.

The grant was announced yesterday by Warren Robbins, director of the museum, and its sister institution, the Frederick Douglass Institute for Negro Arts and History.

Robbins reported completion of a year-long fund drive to raise another $500,000 from private sources, including a $40,000 contribution from Mr. and Mrs. David Lloyd Kreeger. The bulk of the private funding was a $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

"I'm delighted," Robbins said. "The funds will enable the museum to carry out its program of becoming a protoype of artistic and educational development of African art in the United States."

The federal share, $500,000, came from the humanities agency instead of its sister institution, the National Endowment for the Arts, and reflects the stress the museum has placed on educational programs in African art.

Since the museum opened in 1964, more than 4,000 D.C. groups, including many from D.C. schools, have participated in study tours at the museum, Robbins said.

The museum also has lent works for an artmobile to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond.

"What we intend to foster is a public awareness of the richness of African culture, drawing from the research achievements of art historians, anthropologists and educators," Robbins said.

He expressed hope that such an exposure by the public to African culture would "dispel the racial myths, notably in such things as Tarzan films, that Africa is a cultural backwater."

Other private contributors were: Samuel H. Kress Foundation, $60,000; Rockefeller Brothers, Albert List and J. M. Kaplan foundations, $25,000 each, and the Agnes and Eugene Meyer Foundation, $10,000. The remaining $15,000 came from smaller grants.

GREEN THUMB PROJECT

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, our youth are often spoken of as our most important national resource. While we cannot overestimate the need for development of our future citizens, we need to consider another resource of great potential and usefulness which, I am proud to say, we are now beginning to tap—our senior citizens. In several counties in my district, as in many other parts of the country, our Senior citizens are again playing a significant role in the community through public works projects of beautification, maintenance, et cetera. The program is called Green Thumb and, in addition to benefiting the local area, the program primarily is designed to aid participants, elderly people under the poverty line in rural areas. I commend the Green Thumb program as another successful illustration of the services which older people can provide for the community while improving their pensions, their community status, their self-confidence, and their country's welfare. Mr. Speaker, for a more intimate description of the meaningfulness of the program to its participants, I would like to submit the following article from the March 21, Sunday issue of the Austin American Statesman:

GREEN THUMB GIVES OLDTIMERS NEW LIFE

(By Margaret Thomas)

When Matthew Hodges retired as a porter at age 65 two years ago, he was expected to do as millions of elderly Americans must do after retirement—resign himself to a life of inactivity and boredom, besides trying to keep body and soul together on nothing more than a Social Security check.

Now, three days a week Hodges goes to work at 8 a.m., does his day's labor and leaves for home at 4 p.m. He says he loves being on the job again—doing an honest day's work and getting an honest day's pay.

Hodges got his new, late-in-life job through a program called Green Thumb, which is funded by the federal government, administered by the National Farmers Union and run on the local level by the Austin Parks and Recreation Department. The program got underway nationally in 1966 and was begun in Austin in December 1970.

Austin has 17 Green Thumb workers who do their jobs in crews of seven and 10 men. They work eight hours a day three days a week, making $1.60, an hour with the foreman making $1.85.

The men's job assignment is to beautify Austin, and they've accomplished a lot toward that goal since they began in December.

Strollers on Zilker Park's Safari Trail now have rough-hewn log steps to aid them up the steep slopes, and they can cross a bridge built across a creek in the area to look into a pond made clearer and deeper because the men dredged silt from the bottom.

At Barton Springs one crew is excavating earth and constructing drainage channels to keep the play area from becoming glutinous mire after a rain.

An island formed in the shape of a ship was left in the middle of a drainage ditch at Barton Springs. A pecan tree will be planted in the middle of the island to represent the mast of the "ship," which will become a glorious place for young sea captains to play.

One of the first projects undertaken by the city's Green Thumb crews will show best in the spring when the red bud trees they planted along Hemphill Parkway and University Avenue begin to bloom.

For Matthew Hodges and his wife, who live in Littig, life has begun to show blooms of hope again.

He said, "before Green Thumb, Social Security was all my wife and me lived on, and the goin' was pretty tough sometime."

Hodges, who is the crew foreman, said he enjoys the physical labor involved in the work projects. He supervises the work of his men but said, "I wouldn't tell them to do nothin' I wouldn't do myself. We work together.

"Green Thumb is one of the best things

I know of for poor people," he commented. "It gives you a chance to work regular and make your pay, and we do jobs that need to be done."

He added with a laugh, "Now I'm able to keep up with my bills and won't have no bad credit."

Most of the local men on Green Thumb are retired farmers, and one of them still grows a little corn and maize with the help of a son.

They all have four things in common. Each of them is below the poverty level financially, and each agrees that Green Thumb has benefited him moneywise. They all plan to keep on the job as long as they're allowed to work, and they all feel satisfaction in working regularly. Another thing—they have found a camaraderie in the work group, a sense of belonging to something.

Richard D. Sterling is a 79-year-old retired farmer who lives on a little piece of land in Littig.

He used to do part-time construction work, but he quit several years ago because no one was hiring him. He said, "You know, they won't let you work after you get a certain age, and I love to work."

Smith Hunter of Littig, 79 years old, also used to work on construction jobs, but when he could no longer find employment because of his age, he went to work for a golf course, watering the greens, trimming shrubs.

"I could only work at the golf course in the spring and summertime, and the rest of the time we got on the best way we knew how."

Era J. Piper, 74, perhaps the most enthusiastic of the crew, said emphatically, "I don't like Green Thumb—I love it!"

Piper, who is a retired farmer of Manor, said, "I don't raise nothin' on the farm no more, I'm getting too old to fool with cattle. All that's there is me, my wife, two grandchildren and my dogs."

Before the Green Thumb opportunity came up for him, he was managing "catch-as-catch-can," as he put it.

"The income that I had just wasn't enough. My wife was in the hospital, and I was jus' workin' here and yonder tryin' to make it. When I came to Green Thumb, it looked like God had opened up the way for me."

Before he went to work for Green Thumb Piper did odd jobs to help supplement his Social Security income. He made $2 or $3 a job.

"Maybe people been knowin' me all my life, they would give me little yard jobs—maybe workin' up the flower beds—that's about all," he said shaking his head.

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, on the 23d anniversary of Israel Independence Day I salute the nation and people of Israel for their heritage and spirit of learning.

As individuals the Israelis and Jewish peoples everywhere pursue knowledge, as if that pursuit were a destiny and a unique national character. And as a nation Israel represents a concentrated world resource of learners, of students of life, of the arts and the sciences.

Israel as a nation has learned other lessons, though, in the harsh realities of world politics. Israel has learned about survival in a political desert that must at times seem to have no oasis of allies, and because Israel has learned those lessons, has faced that desert, it has much to teach America.

We would do little justice to Israel Independence Day, therefore, in focusing only on the many admirable but noncontroversial aspects of Israeli life. We should, instead, in the spirit of Jewish learning and study, continue our assessment of American Middle East policy and see what lessons the past year has taught.

We have learned for example, that 23 years have not diminished Arab hostility toward the existence of the Israeli State, and that such deeply seated hostility does not disappear with changes of Arab leadership. We have also learned, or should have learned that in diplomacy capitulation is not strength, that "even-handedness" may eventually tie America's hands, and that to deserve trust allies must avoid the substitution of convenient marriages for lasting relationships.

This country's strong commitment to the survival of Israel, although not formalized in treaty, has been notably weakened by administration policy in the past year.

We have not learned that forced Israeli concessions prior to negotiation with the Arabs and their Russian backers will weaken, not strengthen, the possibility for Middle East peace.

We have not learned that even-handedness in American Middle East policy will be interpreted not as balance but as two-faced vacillation, and may commit us to ineffective action or, if and when we finally "get tough," an unnecessary war.

And we have not learned that our recognition of and commitment to Israel 23 years ago, and subsequent administration and congressional expressions of support and provision of arms, cannot be allowed to fall by the wayside of convenience diplomacy.

The achievements of the people of Israel are great, Mr. Speaker, and the challenges they have faced and met would have overwhelmed people of lesser determination. But the challenges Israel faces, not the least of which is current American foreign policy, are equally imposing.

The Jewish peoples have learned well, in world politics as in other fields, and can teach America if we will only learn.

A celebration of the 23d anniversary of Israel Independence Day would not be meaningful without a commitment that there will be a 24th such anniversary, and a 50th and a 100th as well. Among its many ancient meanings "Shalom" also means "peace," and our commitment must be that the peace be lasting.

GLEN J. KOEPENICK DIES

SPEECH OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 27, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, Glen J. Koepenick of Rockville, Md., was a man generous with his time and abilities who gave much to the improvement of institutions and individuals throughout his entire adult life. It was my honor to count him as a personal friend who had a deep interest and dedication in improving life for his community and his fellow man. With deep regret at his early death I wish to submit the following article from the Washington Evening Star of April 21, 1971, describing the life of this Maryland community leader.

The article follows:

GLEN J. KOEPENICK DIES; EXECUTIVE, CIVIC LEADER

Glen J. Koepenick, 48, a Montgomery County real estate executive and business and civic leader, died in Surburban Hospital yesterday after a stroke. He lived at 7712 Savannah Drive, Bethesda.

Mr. Koepenick was president of the Rockville firm bearing his name that he founded in 1961. Before that he had been in the retail hardware business in Rockville.

He was a founder and director of County Federal Savings and Loan Association and a member of Suburban Trust Co.'s advisory board.

He served one term on the Rockville City Council in the early 1960s.

Mr. Koepenick had been president of the Rockville and Montgomery County chambers of commerce and was a former chairman of the Montgomery County United Givers Fund. In March he was appointed campaign chairman for the Easter Seal Treatment Center of Montgomery County.

He was secretary of the Montgomery County Board of Realtors and a member of the National and Maryland associations of real estate boards. He was named Realtor of the Year by the county board in 1969.

In 1962 he received the "Citizen of the Year" award from the Rockville Chamber of Commerce.

Born in Chicago, he moved here with his family in 1932. He was a graduate of St. John's College and Georgetown University.

He leaves his wife, the former Betty Moreland; a son, Glen Jr., of Silver Spring; two daughters, Mrs. William Rickman Jr., of Silver Spring, and Judy Koepenick of Arlington; two brothers, Edward, of Potomac, and Ward, of Menlo Park, Calif., and a grandson.

Mass will be said at 10 a.m. Saturday at Our Lady of Mercy Catholic Church, 9200 Kentsdale Drive, Potomac, with burial in Gate of Heaven Cemetery.

POPULATION COMMISSION HEARINGS

HON. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, on April 14 and 15, the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future held hearings here in Washington, D.C., and some excellent testimony was presented by a variety of witnesses. The hearings covered a range of subjects related to population growth, including statements on family planning, the ecology and environment, economic development, and women's rights.

Testimony during the 2 days of hearings was too voluminous to include in the RECORD in toto, but I would like to submit a few statements so that my colleagues may have the flavor of the hearings.

I ask unanimous consent that these statements be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE DONALD RUMSFELD, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT, BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE

In his Population Message of July 18, 1969, the President said:

"One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of the population. Whether man's response to that challenge will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today. If we now begin our work in an appropriate manner, and if we continue to devote a considerable amount of attention and energy to this problem then mankind will be able to surmount this challenge as it has surmounted so many during the long march of civilization."

In that message, the President outlined ways in which the United States could improve its efforts to assist in the solution of world population problems.

The President also directed attention to the need for careful examination of the problems associated with population growth in the United States. He asked the Congress to establish the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, and in March 1970, he signed the Act establishing the Commission and charging it to examine the probable course of population growth and internal migration in the United States between now and the year 2000; to assess the problems this will pose for our government, our economy, and our resources and environment; and to make recommendations on how the Nation can best deal with these problems.

AN EDUCATIONAL TASK

The members of this Commission have an opportunity that is given to very few people. It is to help the Nation prepare for its future. The nature of government is such that few men have the opportunity to do more than hope they can get one fire out before being called to the next one. The result is that long-term considerations tend to be subordinated to the emergencies of the moment.

This means that this Commission is faced with a major educational task. It is difficult to get people concerned about the implications of today's decisions for events that could take place thirty years hence. But I am convinced that thoughtful people will respond once the gravity of the issues are explained and understood.

The task of this Commission is made the more challenging because issues of population growth are more likely to be neglected than most. This particular subject matter tends to be neglected because its effects are subtle and pervasive, not obvious and focused and because population growth cannot be changed fast. As a result, we tend to turn our attention to those things which we think can be affected more immediately.

One of the most useful things this Commission can do is to lay the facts and issues before the American people and to advise on the development of decisions on the course of population growth. You have already made a significant step in this direction in your Interim Report.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ISSUE

The point this Commission must make that 300 or 400 million Americans is a development not to be taken lightly; is a most important one.

We doubled our population in the United States in the last half-century. As President Nixon noted in his Population Message of July 19, 1969:

"I believe that many of our present social problems may be related to the fact that we have had only fifty years in which to accommodate the second hundred million Americans."

A key question on which this Commission must provide guidance is: Should the Nation double its population again in the next one-half century? That would give us over 400 million people 50 years from now. Furthermore, that level will be achieved if Americans average only three children per family during the intervening years.

The issue at this point is not coercion versus voluntarism. The issue is not specific measures that the government might take. Such issues ultimately must be dealt with. But all of them rest on a far more important issue. That is whether the American people agree that population growth in the United States is of serious enough consequence to require a collective decision.

The Commission has, in its Interim Report called for the development of an explicit population policy, although it has wisely postponed specific recommendations pending the results of its research and deliberations on specific issues. It seems to me that the fundamental point running through what you have said is this: How rapidly the U.S. adds its third hundred million people, and whether it should then add a fourth hundred million, are questions requiring forethought and decision. Are these events to be allowed to develop willy-nilly, or are they of sufficient importance so that the question of doubling our population to a level of 400 million in less than one-half a century should be approached deliberately as a matter of public discussion, public decision and with an awareness of the effects.

WHY NOW?

The Commission has indicated why the Nation cannot realistically expect to stabilize its population immediately. One of the tasks facing the Commission is to make clear to the American people why our past reproductive performance commits the Nation to substantial additional population growth in the future.

There is another and more subtle task—to make clear that even though substantial additional population growth will eventually occur, this does not by any means say that nothing can be done now. For the fact is that the lead-time involved in altering the course of population growth is so long that, if the Commission wishes to make any impact for the long-term future, the time to make that impact is now.

Why now? Because if we do not make a decision now we simply pass on a larger problem to the generations which follow. That speaks to the issue of responsibility.

Because right now the people of our country are reproducing at a level closer to stabilization than we have seen in many years. It speaks to the question of opportunity.

Why now? Four Presidents have given their support to America's efforts to assist foreign nations who wish to limit population growth. The credibility of this support hinges in part upon the degree of responsibility we in the United States display in population affairs here at home.

A PROBLEM FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

I hope that the Commission will approach its work seeing population problems as problems of all Americans, not of any limited segment of our society.

The family planning programs for the poor, which were administered under my supervision by the Office of Economic Opportunity, represented one among many types of programs designed to improve the ability of the poor in our country to shape their own destiny. These family planning programs were developed in recognition of the fact that the ability to make choices concerning family size relates to the family's ability to escape poverty as do the educational level and occupational skills of its chief breadwinners. These programs were designed to help poor families solve their own problems, and they are contributing to the achievement of this objective.

But population growth is not primarily a problem of the poor. Most of the people in our country are not poor and most children are born to parents who are not poor. If population growth is a problem then it is a problem that will not be solved by the poor, but by all Americans. Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity are designed to help the poor individually solve their individual problems. But, the work of this Commission must deal with the ability of the Nation to solve its national problems.

This means that the Commission must focus on a new range of considerations which do not present themselves when a family is confronting a decision on the number of children it should have. The Commission's special focus must be on such national issues as the impact of population on environment, the use of resources, the state of the economy, individual industries, and government services. These many other issues present themselves when we ask not only how we can enable a family to better itself, but how we can better enable the Nation to manage itself.

THE AMERICAN FUTURE

I hope this Commission will look at the "population problem" in the U.S. from the point of view of our ability to provide a decent quality of life for the people we already have.

The Commission could well suggest ways in which the Nation could do a better job investing in its people. To what extent do the problems we face result from our failure to adequately prepare many of our people for life in a highly technical, mobile, urban society?

I hope the Commission will not be satisfied with projecting current standards of living into the future, but that it will show us the ways in which a de-emphasis on quantity might permit us to devote more of our efforts to improving the quality of life in the United States.

Put another way, I hope this Commission will take seriously the second part of its title. It is, after all, the Commission on Population Growth *and the American Future*. Its interest in population should be derivative. Not the numbers themselves, but their impact on the feature of America that our people wish to preserve and develop, is the emphasis I look for from this distinguished group.

TESTIMONY OF ALAN F. GUTTMACHER, M.D., PRESIDENT, PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION, BEFORE THE U.S. COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 14, 1971

I need not remind the Commission that Planned Parenthood-World Population, the organization I have the honor to represent, has had family planning as its primary concern and activity since it was founded by Margaret Sanger in 1914, 57 years ago. The reason for its formation was the fact that effective contraception was then unavailable to disadvantaged Americans. This discriminatory omission had been highlighted in 1912, two years earlier, by 82 year old Dr. Abraham Jacobi, America's first great pediatrician, in his Presidential address before the American Medical Association. Dr. Jacobi's words were spoken at a time when Anthony Comstock, the arbiter of American morals, and Comstockism were at their height. In his address, Dr. Jacobi courageously said, "As long as the well-to-do limit their offspring, the advice to the poor to limit their children is perhaps more than merely excusable". Sixty years ago this was an iconoclastic utterance.

Our organization from its very inception

viewed ability to control conception as a basic human right for it grants couples freedom of choice in the most important human endeavor, creation of children. Inability to control conception leads to unwanted conceptions, unwanted births and often to families of excessive size, which in turn is often associated with poverty, an association Aristotle noted 2,400 years ago in his book on "Politics". He wrote, "Neglect of an effective policy of conception control is a never failing source of poverty which is in turn the parent of revolution and crime".

No vital organization intimately concerned with the social scene can remain static; policies must change to advance and direct social progress. In the early years of the American birth control movement only married women with a letter from a physician referring them for an ailment which contra-indicated pregnancy were served in our clinics. In the midthirties married women could be self-referred simply because they wished to avoid pregnancy. The next step which came late in the fifties admitted unmarried women over twenty-one to our clinics. I might add this departure created a lot of flak, some directed at me. With the changing sexual patterns of youth resulting from earlier sexual maturity, emancipation from adult authority and other factors, Planned Parenthood several years ago deemed it necessary to offer contraception to unmarried minors in order to implement the goal of only wanted children born to responsible parents.

Planned Parenthood in the last few decades has come to view sexual sterilization as a highly relevant form of voluntary birth control. We feel it should be regarded as a method of contraception, permanent contraception, in contrast to temporary methods such as the pill or IUD. Sterilization has a useful role in terminating reproduction when a couple has achieved the size of family they desire.

The attitude of the Planned Parenthood Federation toward liberalization of abortion has undergone significant change during its history. Unrealistically it was felt for many years that wider distribution and availability of contraception would materially reduce the incidence of illegal abortion. Unfortunately there is no evidence that this was the case. Furthermore, analysis of legal and illegal abortion lead to the conclusion that the static situation in regard to abortion which existed before 1967 was intolerable. On the basis of the study by Gold, *et al* on abortion in New York City, it was clear that legal abortion was practiced in a discriminatory fashion, the incidence being 35 times higher in proprietary than in municipal hospitals, and five times higher on the private services of voluntary hospitals than on the ward services of the very same institution. Gold also showed that illegal abortion was decidely less lethal among whites than among Negroes and Puerto Ricans. These discriminatory findings in those granted legal abortion and mortality risk in illegal abortion are confirmed by other investigators.

Planned Parenthood at first favored partial liberalization of archaic State abortion statutes, but in October 1969 on the basis of early results from the ALI bills in Colorado and California went on record in favor of the removal of abortion from the criminal code. This places the performance of abortion in the same category as other surgical procedures, a decision between doctor and patient.

Although there is little imminent danger in the United States of starvation or other disasters from overpopulation, the time has come for this country to adopt a national policy leading to prompt population stabilization. Both Planned Parenthood and I believe that it can be achieved by allowing people to control their fertility through voluntary means.

The first requirement for population stabilization is a broad national program of voluntary fertility control, making full use of all effective and medically safe means. As I said earlier, it is my belief and the belief of the organization I represent that control over the number and spacing of children is a basic human right. Fertility is owned by the individual, not by the State, Church or Society. In the past, these three forces used their authority to compel childbearing. Until the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1965 in the Griswold case many states prohibited partially or even totally the sale or use of contraceptives. Only three months ago the Federal Comstock provision prohibiting importation, sale or advertising of contraceptive articles was finally repealed by Congress. Even in 1971 some Federal and state policies remain which continue to limit the ability of couples to control their fertility. Failure to make basic health services, including family planning available to all Americans and refusal to pursue vigorously research in the field of contraceptive development have further limited exercise of this basic right.

The significant study by Drs. Westoff and Bumpass indicates that elimination of unwanted fertility would, if present desires concerning family size remain the same, virtually stabilize population growth. No one can intelligently deny that both personal and societal ends will be best served by the elimination of unwanted fertility. The Commission should recommend a course of forthright action to achieve this. Such a program must include the rapid development of safer, more effective contraceptives, provision of family planning services to all who want them, complete eradication of policy restrictions on fertility control—including those based on age and marital status, repeal of abortion laws and increased availability of voluntary sterilization.

Because our health system is based on private care, medical services, including family planning have been denied to low-income women who do not have access to private physicians. In the past public authorities began to make efforts to provide at public expense maternity and infant care, innoculation and other health services to the poor. As a result of legislation in the past few years family planning is beginning to join that list of available services. Each legislative authority for family planning services specifies that it must be received voluntarily and may not be made a condition for receipt of other services. We have in the past fought to enforce this and we will continue to do so in the future.

Although legislative authority now exists to provide family planning services to low-income women who need and want them, the present Administration has failed to seek adequate funds for the programs. In FY 1971 less than 50 percent of available funds were requested and in FY 1972 only 80 percent of available funds are being sought.

If the Commission believes the reduction of unwanted fertility is important, the Commission must seek a more realistic commitment to this program.

Although Drs. Westoff and Bumpass note that unwanted fertility is highest among the poor and uneducated it is also prevalent in all social and economic groups. This is largely due to the imperfection of existing methods of contraception. The most effective method, the oral contraceptive, is used by eight million American women but causes side effects and is therefore contraindicated for millions of others. The IUD, foam, condoms and rhythm are less effective and have other drawbacks. Since studies show that virtually all American couples will use some form of contraception at some time during their reproductive years it seems inconceivable that so little is being done to improve methods. After doing nothing for many years the Federal Government in now only slowly developing a contraceptive development program. The Family Planning Services and Population Research Act authorized greatly increased activity in population research but the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is ignoring this new authority. They rejected the $30 million authorized in FY 1971 and are seeking only one-fifth of the funds authorized for FY 1972. If the Commission believes unwanted fertility is important the Commission must urge the prompt utilization of all funds available for this program.

Non-poor Americans are hindered in their attempts to determine the number of children they will bear by other factors as well. The oral contraceptives, intrauterine devices and diaphragm all require professional medical prescription. Most insurance policies do not cover the cost of routine family planning care. And this care, when oral contraceptives are used, may run as high as $65.00 per year. Nor do many insurance policies cover the cost of voluntary sterilization or abortion unless the procedure is medically indicated.

The Commission should recommend that insurance companies cover the cost of all contraceptive care, including abortion and sterilization and most importantly, the Commission should strongly urge the Congress to specifically include coverage for these procedures in any national health insurance program that is developed.

ABORTION

If control of fertility is a basic right then safe, legal, free abortion must be made available. Abortion as a means of eliminating unwanted fertility is essential in two instances—as a backup mechanism where pregnancy has results frm contraceptive failure or where there is failure to use contraception. It does not seem logical to condone the use of contraceptives to prevent unwanted pregnancy but demand that a pregnancy caused by contraceptive failure be continued, and while I find abortion an impractical and expensive form of birth control, I do not believe that a woman should be punished by enforced childbirth just because she failed to use contraception.

Recently the President of the United States presented to the Nation his personal views on the subject of abortion. I regret that he did this at a time when this subject is at issue before over 20 state legislatures and the Supreme Court. Personal views of the President always carry some of the prestige of the great office he holds and I would hope that these decisions, especially the Court decision, would be made without weighing the personal views of any one man. The President stated that he does not find abortion an acceptable means of population control. If the President means by this, that he does not believe the government or any individual should urge acceptance of abortion by any woman for the purpose of limiting our numbers, I not only agree with that statement, I applaud the sentiment and I am certain that most others who have pursued abortion law reform agree.

In fact present abortion laws impose the moral judgments of others on individual women and force them either to bear unwanted children or to seek an illegal abortion. A century of restrictive abortion laws have not eliminated the practice. Clean, safe therapeutic hospital abortions have usually been available to those who have money and know how to manipulate the system. Illegal, backroom abortions have usually been secured and suffered by many others.

The action of the Department of Defense in promulgating a uniform, liberal abortion policy for personnel and dependents on the basis of advice from their medical consultants was a most welcome step forward. The new policy took into consideration the fact that military personnel have no control over where they are stationed and no voice in

making or altering state laws. I regret that the President rescinded that excellent and eminently fair order.

The arguments both against and in favor of liberalized abortion are emotional, in many instances the reactions of the viscera not the mind. To me life is a continum. Potential life bgeins before the process of fertilization. There is a living sperm and a living egg, for otherwise there could be no fertilization. The physical-chemical union simply continues the potential of creating a new life which does not become an actual life until the birth of a viable fetus, one capable of survival when separated from its intrauterine environment. Until this occasion occurs, for me, elimination at any time of a potential life is not murder. Nor will I accept the argument that abortion must lead to euthanasia and genocide. This certainly has not occurred in Japan after 23 years of abortion on demand, nor in Russia or her satellites after 16 years. As a matter of record Hitler's Germany, which practiced genocide, had very restrictive abortion laws.

Finally, I can think of nothing more immoral than forcing an unwilling mother to bear an unwanted, unloved child. A great deal of emotional and unscientific literature has been written about the mental anguish of women who undergo abortion. I suggest that the suffering endured by both mother and child as a result of compulsory childbirth is far better documented.

The issue of abortion is presently before the United States Supreme Court. Regardless of the Court's decision the Commission should make recommendations concerning abortion policy. If the Court rules that laws limiting abortion violate a woman's right to control her body, abortion for eliminating unwanted pregnancy will still not be universally available. In this case I would hope the Commission will recommend a series of steps to make abortion available. These should include:

A program of Federal grants to make abortion available to low-income women;

Withdrawal of all Federal funds from public and private hospitals that discriminate against this procedure.

If the Court should rule that states have sole legal jurisdiction over abortion, the Commission should sponsor research in and recommend to the States provisions that will make this procedure available to the largest number of women under the safest and least expensive conditions.

BIRTH CONTROL FOR MINORS

Birth control methods must also be provided to sexually active teenagers. A recent study shows that at least one-third of all first births are premaritally conceived. Dr. Phillips Cutright, in a recent publication on illegitimacy,writes, "Sixty-seven percent of all unwed mothers experiencing a first birth were under 20 years of age . . . Prevention of illegitimate first births is thus primarily a problem for teenagers."

A report by Dr. Lawrence Podell on Families on Welfare in New York City states that 25% of mothers on welfare became pregnant when they were sixteen years of age or less and half were pregnant before the age of nineteen. Two recent studies of unwed adolescent mothers (Frank Furstenberg, Jr., Leon Gordis and Milton Markowitz, "Birth Control Knowledge and Attitudes Among Unmarried Pregnant Adolescents: A Preliminary Report"; Clyde V. Von Der Ahe, "The Unwed Teen-Age Mother," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, May 15, 1969), one conducted among a predominantly white group and the other predominantly black, found that they had been given inadequate knowledge of birth control by parents, schools and the mass media.

The problem is complicated by the fact that most doctors are unwilling to give contraception to teenagers. One study sponsored by the Ortho Pharmaceutical Corporation showed that even with parental consent only 40% of general practitioners and 54% of gynecologists will give contraceptive information to 15–17 year olds.

In most states the laws and regulations governing medical treatment of minors have been construed to prohibit the provision of family planning services without prior parental consent, which in most instances can not be sought for obvious reasons. The result is that many young women receive contraceptives only after having borne their first child. Ladies and gentlemen it is about time we faced reality; reality is the fact that a large proportion of American teenagers are sexually active. Denying them the availability of contraceptives is unlikely to make them sexually less active—it only creates a tangible result of the activity in the form of an unwanted conception.

And the consequences of conception may vary radically according to income. The middle class young woman has greater access to abortion to end the unwanted pregnancy. If she decides to have the child she will have little trouble in placing it for adoption. The poor young woman is much more likely not to have access to abortion or adoption and to be faced with the burden of raising the unwanted child.

The Commission should recommend that all states follow the lead of the few which have amended laws concerning the provision of medical services to minors so as to allow the prescription of family planning and therapy for venereal disease without parental consent.

I believe the foregoing program would substantially control unwanted fertility and substantially reduce population growth, if family size preferences remain as they are now. However, the number of children desired and born per family has varied considerably in the past and there is no guarantee that they will not vary again. Therefore, if this Nation is to establish a policy of population stabilization the Commission must consider the means available to influence desired family size. Since experience has demonstrated that women who are gainfully employed have fewer children and because the Commission acknowledges in its Interim Report that increased opportunities for women are desirable in their own right, I hope your recommendations will include endorsement of at least the following measures:

Federal support of comprehensive child care centers.

Tax deductions for working mothers to cover the cost of child care.

Elimination of inequities in Social Security benefits.

Strengthened policies against discrimination by sex in employment, promotion and pay.

POPULATION EDUCATION

I note with interest that the Commission is sponsoring studies on the subject of population education. I sincerely hope that these studies will lead to recommendations for courses in this field. This was one of the recommendations of President Johnson's Committee that has not been translated into meaningful public policy. The environmental Education Act of 1970 specifies that population dynamics shall be considered a component of courses in environmental education and the Tydings Act contains a section, authored by one of your members, Senator Cranston, to provide funds for informational and educational materials in population dynamics. However, funds appropriated for the Environmental Education Act are generally miniscule and sufficient sums cannot be found under present legislation for the development of adequate materials and courses on population dynamics. The educational money requested for FY 1972 under the Tydings Act is less than $1 million and it appears that this sum will be directed solely toward materials on educating people to use contraception.

For many years the Federal government spurned a role in education. Then, with the shock of sputnik and under the guise of national defense, Federal funds were made available for science education. This concern with science went so far as to provide Federal funds to encourage the establishment of "science clubs". In 1965 the model of the National Defense Education Act was used in making Federal funds available for strengthening instruction in the humanities and arts. In the past two years, legislation has been approved to provide Federal funds for Drug Abuse Education and Environmental Education.

It is time that we designate Federal funds for the development of educational programs in population. These funds should be used for research into appropriate program functions, development of course materials, training of teachers and introduction of suitable courses at the primary, secondary and college levels and in adult and in special education courses.

The range of course material should include at a minimum human sexuality, family life, birth control, population dynamics and relationship of population size to problems of the environment.

I am aware that sex education has aroused strong feelings in some areas across the country but let me observe that unpopularity of any idea among small but vociferous groups does not provide an acceptable excuse for avoiding this subject. One can hardly expect to educate anyone on the subject of population without including the subject of sex.

The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future has a formidable task, but one which could have great impact on history's course. I trust you will have the strength and courage to face the sensitive issues unafraid and to recommend forthright solutions based on merit and not on compromise and expediency.

ALAN F. GUTTMACHER, M.D.

Alan Guttmacher, President of Planned Parenthood-World Population (Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.), is a diplomate in Obstetrics and Gynecology, a member of the faculty of the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, Emeritus Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine. Until 1966 he was a clinical professor at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons and lecturer at the Harvard School of Public Health. He is the author of many scientific and popular books and articles on contraception, infertility, pregnancies, twining and the history of medicine. His most recent books are *Birth Control and Love* (1969) and *Understanding Sex; A Young Person's Guide* (1970). The former highlights the past and present in contraception and offers a glimpse into the future. In the latter, Dr. Guttmacher, who has been teaching sex education in schools for over 20 years, discusses the physiology of human reproduction and attitudes and behavior related to sexuality.

A native of Baltimore and a graduate of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, he taught anatomy at his alma mater and at the University of Rochester. After residency-training he rose to the rank of Associate Professor of Obstetrics at the Johns Hopkins University. Later he became Director of the combined Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at New York Mount Sinai Hospital, a post held until 1962, when he assumed leadership of Planned Parenthood-World Population, the United States national voluntary birth control organization. He is past President of the New York Obstetrical Society and formerly Chairman of the Central Medical Committee of International Planned Parenthood Federation in

London. He holds honorary degrees from Dartmouth College and Brandeis University.

STATEMENT OF CARL POPE, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF ZERO POPULATION GROWTH, APRIL 15, 1971

Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission. I am Carl Pope, the Washington Representative and Political Director of Zero Population Growth, Inc. ZPG was founded two years ago, to fill the need for a political, grass roots organization concerned about the problems posed by population growth for the quality of life in the United States. ZPG now has over 32,000 members organized in over 350 local chapters all over the nation. It is ZPG's goal to work through political action and public education to achieve population stabilization in the United States, and eventually, through a world wide network of similar but independent organizations, to end global population growth as well. As a first step in that direction concerned citizens in Canada have recently formed ZPG Canada.

The lack, as late as 1969, of a single mass membership population organization is evidence of a long standing failure in this country to take seriously the idea that a finite land mass with finite resources could and should support only a limited and stable population. With due respect to all those who worked to bring this Commission into existence, and to you who have served on it for the past nine months, I am afraid this Commission is still further evidence that our past complacency has not yet been shaken. This Commission has been assigned an immense, an impossible task, and given a very short period of time and very limited resources with which to work. This Commission has been asked to work on problems which effect nearly every sector of American society, and to provide guidance of those sectors as to the *facts* concerning the impact of population growth on their work. This should not be necessary. The Department of Transportation has available to it, through the census data and its own research capacity, the ability to build into its planning processes the relationships between population growth and its mission. If it has been left up to this Commission to do this job, it is only because DOT is still not willing to take population seriously.

So ZPG had hoped that the interim report of this Commission might make a major contribution towards forcing this country to take population seriously. The Commission clearly takes it seriously; the rhetoric is all there, and the call for a National Population Policy represents a major step forward. But we are concerned that statements by the Commission that population is important, and scientific data illustrating that point, are not adequate to this task. The Commission will not be able to place population where it belongs, as one of the major items on the national agenda, until it recognizes and deals with the fact that the major obstacle towards population policy has been not the absence of scientific information or evidence, but rather the existence of a set of established traditions and folk beliefs incompatible with the scientific evidence.

The interim report touches on this issue; it tells us "these are new times, and we have to question old assumptions and make new choices based on what population growth means for the Nation today." It goes on to question some of those old assumptions. But nowhere does it provide a framework of new ideas which should be substituted for the old, a new set of working assumptions to guide us in the future. ZPG strongly urges the Commission to remedy this deficiency in the final report. However valuable the scientific knowledge you gather and organize, if the Commission does not confront directly and challenge the growth ethic, it will have failed.

Let us look, one by one, at some of the key assumptions in the growth ethic and their treatment in the interim report.

The first is the belief that infinite growth is possible, that manifest destiny for the United States has a quantitative dimension without bound. The interim report even fails to include the simple statement that eventually, at some future date and level, population growth must cease. Various scientists have addressed themselves to the dismal question of just how crowded an ant heap it might be possible to support on this planet. But no reputable authority has questioned the existence of some limit. Even those who confidently and unscientifically point to space travel as the answer are admitting some limit to the growth of population on this planet. The Commission, in its final report, will have to deal with the question, "When should growth stop?" It is unfortunate that it did not make clear to the public that this, indeed, is the question, not "Will it stop?" For the failure to make clear to the public which are real choices and which are simply facts of life will weaken the impact of your recommendations.

The second fallacy of the growth ethic is that we need not apply to the human species the concept of "carrying capacity" because man's technology somehow makes him immune to normal ecological limits. In line with this fallacy, the Commission repeats the misleading allegation that "rapidly rising levels of per capita consumption and technological mismanagement appear to contribute more to environmental pollution than does a gradual increase in total population." I call this statement misleading, because it rests on a scientifically unjustified belief that in an interacting system certain elements may be defined as "root causes" and certain as "intensifiers." This is equivalent to the assertion that when we multiply two by three to get six the two is the root cause of six, the three merely an intensifier—or vice-versa.

The United States is in serious environmental trouble. Ecological systems are not coping with the stresses imposed on them by the present human population, and as a result we are witnessing progressive deterioration of air, water, land and our own internal biological and genetic environments. There are three elements in this system. The first is the number of people; the second is the impact which each person has on the ecosystem; the third is the system itself, with its other species, feedback mechanisms, and natural stabilizers.

Overpopulation is not a new phenomenon. We have a great deal of historical data on the response of societies which began to exceed their carrying capacities, through increased population, increased consumption, or a combination. And the evidence is overwhelming; human societies which begin to exceed their carrying capacity do not voluntarily reduce consumption. They try to increase the carrying capacity by simplifying the ecosystem, by eliminating competing species, by replacing diversity with monoculture. We are doing this today when we justify DDT, the substitution of new varieties of seeds for traditional ones with higher resistance to disease, or the replacement of forest with cropland, in terms of the need to provide for growing populations without cutting back on our standard of living.

The long range results of such simplification are disastrous; monoculture is unstable, as the Irish found.

So that while it is true that the concept of "optimum population" is incomplete, in that we need to define what we are optimizing for, we know more than is outlined in the Commission's interim report. The Commission has been charged with considering the American future. The overwhelming bulk of historical evidence indicates that when nations face the choice between curtailing consumption to preserve the environment or letting rip, they let rip. Today when we make our decisions we build in a social discount rate of about 10% to indicate just how much we will ignore the interests of the future when they conflict with our own economic well being.

So it seems that a minimum definition for optimum population is one which permits the long range maintenance of high standards of living. In environmental terms this means a population small enough that high levels of per capita consumption do not jeopardize the environment of the future.

And I think the Commission should tell the American people, clearly and in no uncertain terms, that many reputable scientists believe that our population has already exceeded this optimum, that we must either accept a lower level of consumption in this generation, or seriously damage the hopes of future generations for even decent standards of living.

And in order to convince the public of this, the Commission will have to deal forthrightly with the basic biological facts and with the concept of carrying capacity.

There is one other element in the growth ethic. That is the isolation of population as an element of society, the treatment of growth as something which occurs outside the normal social matrix. The crucial result of this isolation is to distort the class composition of population growth. Social power rests largely with the middle and upper classes, yet these groups have for a long time shirked their responsibility towards population by asserting that population growth was largely due to the poor. Statistics simply do not bear this out. The poor and the near poor, who are twenty percent of the population, have thirty-two percent of the births. And for many of these families it is not poverty which has led to large families, but large families which have led to poverty. Even if the poor had only the average number of children, total births would drop by about one-eighth. A much smaller change in the fertility patterns of the middle and upper classes would have a larger effect.

Yet it has become clear to ZPG, through the work of our chapters, that very few Americans understand that fact. A population policy launched without making this fact clear will be a population policy based on false premises, and doomed to fail. Worse, it will be a population policy tailor made for abuse. We hear talk of genocide. It is not accurate to equate population stabilization, or ZPG, with genocide. But it is facile and immoral to discuss population policy, as the interim report does, with no discussion of basic demographic data bearing on these fears and problems. Ignorance or silence will only serve the interest of those opposed to stabilization, or who hope to use population policy against the poor or a minority group. We plead with the Commission to remedy this ommission in the final report.

I would like to digress for a moment to comment on the treatment given in the interim report to the idea of zero population growth. The report takes issue with those calling for immediate zpg, by pointing out the demographic costs involved in any policy intended to balance annual births and annual deaths at once. It is true in this sense that "while there are a variety of paths to ultimate zero, none of the feasible paths would achieve it immediately." But it is not true that the choice is between the accordion of annual birth-death balancing and the model in which we wait seventy years after we achieve an NRR of 1 before we reach our final population. There are many other models which could give us population stabilization at lower than the 300 million postulated as inevitable by the Commission. One which interests many members of our organization would be to work towards an NRR slightly less than 1, and to maintain that level long enough to compensate for

the residual growth that will result over the next twenty years from our age structure. In this model the U.S. might reach its maximum population of about 250 million in, say, the year 2000, but then might gradually decline in the next century to our present level of about 200 million.

The costs and consequences of such a route need to be explored; but we do not feel the public interest is served by presenting the public with an oversimplified view of the choices it faces. Very little is really inevitable, and the third hundred million is certainly not.

These deficiencies are mostly of a type endemic to interim reports. There seems to be a rather general unwillingness to foreclose options, to make choices, to present the public with conclusions in such a report. But the task of shaking the country lose from the growth ethic is difficult enough that the Commission should miss no opportunity to inform the public of the full scope of its findings and views. The growth ethic will not succumb easily or all at once. It will never succumb to half hearted attack. Old myths do not die simply because we label them so. The public needs a comprehensive, incisive, integrated view of population growth, one which probes to the farthest extent of our knowledge instead of hanging back on safe and proven ground. The members of Zero Population Growth will be looking to the final report of this Commission for such a presentation.

On their behalf I would like to thank you for this opportunity to appear.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID O. POINDEXTER, BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 15, 1971

Chairman Rockefeller and members of the Commission: My name is David Poindexter. I am appearing as a representative of the Population Department of the United Methodist Church. This Protestant denomination, composed of nearly 11 million members, is clearly on record on the population issue by vote of its delegated representative body, the General Conference, meeting in session in St. Louis, Missouri, April 25, 1970. I have provided an adequate quantity of copies of the United Methodist Population Crisis Resolution for distribution to Commission members and staff.

UNITED METHODIST POPULATION RESOLUTION

The following summation of the resolution details a few of its salient points. The resolution recognizes the population problem as a religious and moral concern and calls for action by church, government and individuals. It underscores the small family norm as a means for arriving at population stability and thus protecting the quality of life. The resolution further notes that, in planning their family, a couple should recognize that families with more than two children contribute to the population explosion. The need to remove the regulation of abortion from the criminal code, placing it instead under regulations relating to other procedures of standard medical practice is indicated. Abortion would be available only upon request of the person most directly concerned. Further, the resolution asks that remaining legal and administrative restrictions on voluntary sterilization be removed and that the individual, after counseling, be given the right to decide concerning his or her own sterilization. The Methodist Population Crisis Resolution underlines the importance of research both on methodology and motivation.

OTHER PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS

A considerable number of other American Protestant denominational bodies have adopted resolutions relating to population and family planning. These denominations represent additional millions of U.S. citizens. Without detailing these other resolutions, which I understand will be supplied to the Commission, suffice it to say here that a substantial part of the American religious community, through delegated representatives, has called for positive action on the population/family planning issue.

THEOLOGICAL PREMISE

It should be understood that, when the church addresses itself to the problems of overpopulation, it does so from a theological perspective. The following is indicative of the theological wellsprings of our concern.

The biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply has been widely observed. This is perhaps the only commandment man has ever fulfilled! However, it is imperative that we understand what "fruitful" means. The following homely analogy may be helpful: An orchard with 100 well-spaced trees loaded with large luscious fruit may said to be fruitful. The same plot of ground crowded with 1,000 malnourished, parched, spindly trees with little fruit production, by no stretch of the imagination can be said to be a fruitful orchard.

The Judeo-Christian tradition has emphasized the doctrine of creation. But increasingly we understand the Creator to be one who is concerned with the quality of life for each baby born, not mere quantity.

DOCTRINE OF DOMINATION

Another major religious doctrine relevant to the question of population is the doctrine of domination. This is nowhere more clearly noted than in the eighth Psalm with the words, "O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth. . . . When I look at thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast established, what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou dost care for him? Yet thou has made him little less than god, and dost crown him with glory and honor. Thou has given him dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field, the birds of the air and the fish of the sea, whatever passes along the paths of the sea. O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!"

In commenting upon the matter of dominion in this Psalm, the standard reference book the *Interpreter's Bible,* notes: "Man's power over the lower creation is not only a fact but gives him a high moral responsibility."

The religious concept of stewardship is fully involved in this matter of dominion. Man is clearly accountable for the manner in which he exercises responsibility over all creation. This means man's numbers must not swell to the point of destroying other creatures and resources—and even meaningful life for man himself.

MORE THAN TWO CHILDREN AGAINST THE WILL OF GOD

Overpopulation with its consequences of hunger, disease, crowding, resource exhaustion, environmental degradation, unemployment, etc., to say nothing of the deleterious effects on the pool of human germ plasm, is a monstrous thing. *Given the threat that overpopulation poses to the planet as well as to the well-being of all men, to go beyond two children per family is a sin against man and a violation of the will of God for our society.*

The increasing body of data regarding population forecasts and their implications for the quality of human life, in our opinion, underlines the rightness of the United Methodist Population Resolution which in its conclusion calls on us all to act now "that children may not be born to suffer and to experience despair, but rather may be the blessed fruit of love and the hope of a good tomorrow."

COMMENTS ON INTERIM REPORT

I now turn to the interim report of the Commission. We in the church appreciate the labor that has gone into the very considerable task of assembling the data and preparing this interim report. Though the implications of much of the report are troubling at best, and night-marish at worst, we are all in the debt of the Commission and its staff for this report.

RESOURCES

On pages 2 and 5 of the interim report are references to resources. The assumption is made that "the U.S. has the resources, if it chooses to use them, to meet the demands of a population growing at the current rate as well as to correct various social and economic inequities . . ."

At a time when this nation is drawing on food, fiber and mineral resources from far beyond our borders, often from developing nations with inadequate resources, we find this to be a statement that calls for further scrutiny by the Commission and for expert testimony from the field of world resources.

Of all nations, the resource consumption and environmental pollution levels of affluent Americans contribute the largest negative impact to the world's ecology. Citizens of developing nations as a whole, though larger in numbers, do not consume or pollute at anywhere near the level of United States citizens. This fact poses practical ethical challenges to America's population growth as well as to its growing resource consumption.

Garrett Hardin has noted that population multiplied by prosperity equals pollution, and that ultimately the only way to reduce pollution is to reduce prosperity, or population. This is part of the practical challenge.

Ethically, the question to be steadily faced is this: What right do we have to produce a flood of millions more affluent, consuming, polluting Americans in a world of diminishing resources and deprived peoples? Do we have the right to have as many children as we choose, no matter what it does to the quality of life for future generations?

POPULATION POLICY

In our view, it is essential that the Commission arrive at the point where it calls for the stabilization of U.S. population size at the earliest practicable time.

As the Commission has noted, there has recently been a declining birth rate in this country. However, this is not the result of a rationally arrived at national commitment. In the absence of such, there is no guarantee that population growth rates may not rise again. Further, lacking such a policy and national commitment, there are no guarantees that we will close the gap to a zero growth rate and arrive at the two-child family norm for American life.

For example, there is considerable national discussion as well as growing pressure to provide completely free universal health care, free education through graduate levels, and a guaranteed annual income base for all families, perhaps keyed to family size. Parental concerns regarding financial resources for health, education and family maintenance are at present a real factor in limiting family size. Removal of strictures caused by these family financial concerns could measurably increase American family size norms in the absence of a two-child-per-family population policy and national commitment.

NONPOOR WHITES PRIMARY SOURCE OF POPULATION GROWTH

In addition to our vigorous support of the need for a national population stabilization policy, we support the position adopted by the family planning panel of the 1970 White House Conference on Children, namely that:

"We recommend a national program to edu-

cate all citizens in the problems of population growth, and to develop programs to achieve population stability. Population growth in the United States occurs primarily among affluent and middle class whites, and programs designed to achieve population stabilization should be directed to reducing their birthrate." (Forum 16.)

In considering the impact of existing population as well as of future population upon resources, environment, and quality of life, we have noted well the statement on pages 23 and 24 of the Commission's interim report, to wit: "We regard population growth, however, as an intensifier or multiplier of many problems impairing the quality of life in the U.S."

In light of the United Methodist Population Resolution, there can be *no question* as to the position of our church respecting the magnification of problems arising from population growth.

The Commission's interim report raises the question on page 25 as to whether population stabilization is desirable. In our opinion, stabilization of the American population is not only desirable, it is imperative. We recognize that there are problems raised by the movement of this nation to stability of population size, but in our considered opinion they are not of the magnitude of the problems posed by continuing population growth.

VOLUNTARISM

In this testimony, I would like to underscore the question of voluntarism in any movement toward population stabilization. We concur with the Commission's statement on page 29 that "the best kind of national population policy would be one that serves the general welfare by promoting informed individual choice." In the implementation of such a policy, the United Methodist Church is prepared to devote considerable effort in the area of citizen education and the mobilization of an informed public opinion regarding the population issue. In fact, we are currently devoting substantial energy in this direction.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Finally, although this is a commission brought into being to deal with the American scene, nevertheless the international context within which population growth occurs cannot be ignored. It crops up in the report in discussions of immigration and in discussions of resources. Our national destiny cannot be separated from a world heading for a doubled population sometime during the decade following the turn of the century. It is imperative that attention be paid to our national impact on world resource consumption and environmental degradation. The example which this nation sets in the world can help turn man's direction from self-destruction to survival of our species at a level ensuring a truly "human" existence.

International agronomist and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Norman E. Borlaug, has repeatedly referred to the monster of population growth. The world, with the United States in a position of foremost leadership, stands at a crossroads. The flood of population growth both in this country and around the world threatens to engulf us all, together with all that we hold dear and valuable. In the words of the United Methodist Population Resolution, "A full-scale effort must be made to stem the flood."

STATEMENT BY PHYLLIS T. PIOTROW, POPULATION CRISIS COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON POPULATION AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 14, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future: I appreciate this opportunity to make a brief statement on the direction which I believe United States population policy might take in the coming decades. There are many complex issues involved, but I would like to raise just one point today and recommend a single area in which I believe the Commission could perform a significant educational role.

There is increasing evidence from many quarters that girls in their teens are not emotionally, psychologically, socially, or economically ready for pregnancy and motherhood. Teenage pregnancy—to put it bluntly—is often a disaster, for the teenager, for the family, and for the baby.

The table on the following page gives the very simplest statistics on teenage reproduction. More than 15% of American births in the 1960's were to teenage mothers and the percentage increased through the decade. During the 1970's there will be even more teenage girls in the U.S. population than was the case in the 1960's. There is, therefore, every likelihood that the number and percentage of births to teenagers will also increase unless a genuine effort is made to reduce that number.

Why should such an effort be made?

What are the disadvantages of teenage reproduction?

On the health side, it is known that maternal mortality is lowest at ages 20 to 24 and higher both before 20 and after 25. Perinatal and infant mortality seems to follow a similar pattern.

From the social and psychological point of view the hazards are even greater. Illegitimacy is higher among teenagers, and it was estimated recently that about half the teenage brides are pregnant at the time of marriage. A recent study by Oppel and Royston at Johns Hopkins suggests that, even controlling for race, socioeconomic status, parity, and birth weight, mothers under 18 are less likely to remain with their children and "less likely to rear their children in families rated by social workers as healthy. . . ." Their children are more likely to have behavior problems, to be underweight, short of stature, and lower in reading grade level and IQ.[1] There is an increasing amount of research under way today on the other, potentially damaging, aspects of teenage reproduction.

What of the economic future for the teenage girl who has a child? Whether she is married or not, whatever arrangements can be made for care of the baby, she is at a continuing disadvantage in pursuing her own education or career. The first child makes a greater difference in the life aspirations and opportunities of a teenage girl, or a teenage couple, than later ones. Disadvantage for the mother, the child, and even for succeeding children persist long after the teenage years are past. The pregnant high-school or college dropout—even if happily married—is handicapped in ways she cannot easily surmount. In a society where employed females at all educational levels are paid substantially less than males and where poverty predominates in female-headed families, the teenage girl, black or white, married or unmarried, rich, middleclass, or poor, is mortgaging her future by too early reproduction.

Without being able to offer any array of statistics or an immediate, comprehensive program to solve this problem, I would nevertheless like to suggest most seriously that the Commission, in its broadly educational role, give increased study, consideration and emphasis to the disadvantages of teenage reproduction. These disadvantages affect the mother, the child, and society as a whole. Not only illegitimacy, not only births in the poverty sector, but all births to females under 20 might better be delayed.

One of the difficulties of a population policy is the lurking suspicion of ulterior motives: that one socioeconomic, ethnic, or racial group may be trying to dissuade the others from childbearing. In the case of teenage reproduction, no one can make such an allegation.

Surely, those persons most likely to have a strong affection and unselfish motivation toward any potential teenage mother are her own parents. I doubt that any parents, rich or poor, black or white, old or young, however many children they may have or want themselves, would want their own daughters to begin motherhood until they are emotionally, educationally, and psychologically ready. I also see many signs that teenagers themselves, far from resenting help, would themselves welcome assistance in avoiding the tragedy of premature reproduction.

The suggestion implied in the Commission's Interim Report is that a 2-child family, with no unwanted children, might be a suitable American goal. I would like to qualify that implication by suggesting that a broad area of educational, legal, and scientific initiatives designed to encourage and help teenagers postpone reproduction would also be beneficial—not only demographically but also individually. Such a program would not need to be targetted toward any specific group but rather toward all teenagers and all parents of teenagers. In other words, to make it very simple, I would summarize and amend the Commission's Interim Report as follows:

Two are plenty—
But *none* before twenty.

TEENAGE REPRODUCTION

[Numbers by thousands]

Year	Number of annual births	Number of annual births to females 15–19	Percent of annual births to females 15–19	Number of females 15–19
1960	4,258	587	13.8	6,652
1961	4,268	602	14.1	6,839
1962	4,167	600	14.4	7,395
1963	4,098	586	14.3	7,678
1964	4,027	586	14.6	8,046
1965	3,760	591	15.7	8,395
1966	3,606	621	17.2	8,804
1967	3,521	596	16.9	8,786
1968	3,502	591	16.9	8,946
1969	3,571			9,145
1970	3,718			
1971				9,628
1972				9,859
1973				10,023
1974				10,169
1975				10,253
1976				10,386
1977				10,420
1978				10,409
1979				10,354
1980				10,220

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," U.S. Department of HEW, "Monthly Vital Statistics Reports".

TESTIMONY FOR THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 14, 1971

Thanks to someone for the opportunity to testify today. I am Wilma Scott Heide, a behavioral science and human resource consultant. For further identification, I am Chairwoman of the Board of Directors of NOW, the National Organization for Women, Inc. and a Pennsylvania Human Relations Commissioner. NOW does not speak for all women but does speak to and act to achieve the potential of all women and girls to determine our own lives socially, psychologically, politically, legally, economically, religiously, educationally, and reproductively if and when *we* choose.

My purposes today are several. The first of these is to demythologize this commission of any notion it may have that United States and its government has no population policy. There is a population policy implicitly by

[1] Wallace C. Oppel and Anita B. Royston, "Teen-age Births: Some Sociological, Psychological and Physical Sequelae," Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, October 29, 1969 (mimeo.).

omission and explicitly by practices and applied belief systems. The objective for this commission should not be to develop a policy of population control because control of someone else is inherently anti-life, a denial of civil liberties and negates the potential of self control. The issue for this commission to confront is freedom of choice and creating the cultural climate and therefore policy where operational choices are more real than apparent. Today, the reverse is true: in euphemistic terms of "family-planning" the choices are more apparent than real. By the time prospective parents plan (if indeed most do at all) for family size, the ballots are all but marked especially for most women from pervasive pro-natalist conditioning.

In the interim report of this commission, I noted four brief examples of surface awareness of the changing roles of women and relevance of this to population issues. Let me first note these instances then analytically critique the conceptualization manifested, sensitize you to the depths of sexism and finally suggest alternative orientations and affirmative actions to achieve supportable quality population in a free choice society.

Example one on page 22 states: "Changes in family size will have far-reaching significance for a variety of social processes, not the least of which is the role of women in our society." The sequence is backwards; first we affirmatively must change (not merely note the slowly changing role of women passively) and then family size will change.

Example two on page 29 implicitly acknowledges the effects of the suggested reversed sequence in *other* countries: "As the experiences of other countries indicates, *when* women are able to work, birth rates decline (emphases mine). A minimal two observations are imperative: 1. Women have always been *able* to work, it's the kind of and rewards for work that are limited in *this* country; and 2. the profound potential of this effect for this country are virtually unexplored elsewhere.

Example three on page 22: "Reductions in family size imply that women will spend less time in childbearing and child rearing activities and thus have more time available for work on other interests." Again, the sequence of "other interests" and motherhood roles needs to be reversed and of equal importance: the traditional assumption of mothers as primary child rearers leaves unexplored the potential reality of fathers as primary child rearers. The euphemism of "the changing roles of women" must become the affirmative "*changing* the roles of women" and for that we must change the roles of men.

Example four on page 25 states: "The Commission views population policy not as an end in itself but as a means to facilitate the achievement of other social goals desirable in their own right. Such goals would include improvements in the status of women, . ." This goal is laudable, benign—and patronizingly insufficient. The goal of this Commission and this Country must be *equalizing* the status of women and men. We who are feminists are wary of population policy developed by this Commission and this Country that represents further control by a male-dominated and male-oriented society over female reproduction and life styles.

The makeup by sex of this Commission (only 4 of 24 members are women), the near absence of any feminist viewpoint, and the known exclusion of at least one feminist with other credentials recommended for this Commission membership does not hearten us. In short, we see evidence one more time even here that women will be acted *upon* not acting *in* our own right *upon* the cultural climate and decisions that affect our lives. For one of thousands of examples of just the subtle let alone blatant ways that women are acted upon rather than acting in own right, I ask to append to my testimony the study of Dr. Robert Seidenberg entitled: "Does Misogyny Sell "Mind" Drugs?" If you wonder why I include a study by a man in the light of my previous critique, there are two reasons: 1. The study has intrinsic significance; and 2. I am aware the Commission may not be immune to the still current and documented phenomenon that equally excellent endeavors by women and men are unequally valued in favor of men.

Next, as promised, I want to share with you a little of the pervasive depths of sexism. The voice and accurate image of woman as a person has largely been absent from discussions and decisions that create and determine our being in common with men. Except for the purely biological, there are *no* women's interests and men's interests and human roles. Women must be socialized to speak and act with knowledge and confidence on resources, population, pollution, religion, space exploration, law, health care, education, politics, family forms and styles, finance, existential philosophy—*everything*. Our androcentric society is neither whole nor healthy without the significant participation and leadership of the other half of the population. Women have been the real 'silent majority' in this country. We will be silent and falsely modest no more. We will never again accept the status of "barefoot in the winter and pregnant in the summer."

On the question of overpopulation and the quality of our social and total environment: no matter how safe, effective, and universally available is any contraceptive method for women *or* men, women will continue to be reproducers of excess children and exploited by the consumership role instead of producers of ideas, inventions, art, and leadership *unless* they have viable significant alternatives to motherhood as their raison d'etre from the second of birth. Overpopulation may well be a problem of identity, motivation, and psychological oppression. Women's liberation/rights as possibly the most profound social movement ever is raising the consciousness of girls and women to the potential of personhood. If you would opt for quality population you must adopt this human liberation movement which will, in the process, emancipate men from dehumanizing expectations for their personhood.

Thus, NOW speaks to the imperative of your addressing yourself to the double standard of behavioral expectations and sanctions of approval or disapproval. The double standard includes and transcends the "bedroom routine." It's often called the male-female "game," and you better believe placing the male first reflects the reality of priorities, prerogatives, and privileges. The "game" itself might be called "Sexroll Stereotype." That's the existential reality; later, we'll come to the potential of alternatives. What we see too frequently is actually a female life career of protection of the fragile male ego that may not withstand the jeopardy of reality. Protection and perpetuation of a fragile ego will never strengthen it.

Rather recent research with mental health practitioners revealed and documented that clinicians view as healthy, "normal," and indeed ideal in women those traits which would be considered immature for men and adults of unspecified sex. Thus, healthy women are judged to be more submissive, more easily influenced, less independent, less adventurous, less competitive, less objective, more easily hurt, etc. than healthy men. Furthermore, stereotypically labelled "masculine" traits of an opposite nature are generally perceived as more socially desirable than stereotypically "feminine" traits.

There are highly trained clinicians simply reflecting society's myopic devaluation of the female. Further, the practitioners' views of the ideal for mature humans, sex unspecified, were virtually identical with ideals for men. 'Twas ever thus, man and human are synonymous, and women are "the other" with a separate standard that is considered deviant in terms of personhood. In fact, we women who exhibit human interests and abilities for "man's" world are accused of wanting to be or act like men (what superb arrogance!). We are cautioned in thousands of ways to wear "feminine" clothes, perfumes, and never be assertive. That's a man's unique prerogative! Hogwash! Women are people; that's all you need to remember, and then my thoughts make sense. All traits except biological-physiological are human traits.

In child rearing: The sex-caste role stereotyping in the minds of expectant parents: in the husbands who wish/demand a boy child—or a girl who will be "pretty"; in parents who prepare girls for marriage and motherhood from second one, and boys for occupational achievement as if their social parenthood would never eventuate; in visiting friends and relatives who ask little girls about dolls and their appearance, and little boys about what they want to do and be when they grow up. The whole socialization of most girls assumes their major identity will depend on their sex and its use (and abuse), on whom they may marry and mother, with any identity of their own as a secondary or tertiary, maybe sometime, kind of insurance "just in case," as long as we get home in time to make dinner and can find a baby sitter. It's not that girls don't ever aspire; their motivation to grow up as authentic persons is subtly subverted in thousands of ways by kinds of toys, by patronizing, by disparagement of ambition and usually entrapment in the "feminine mystique," while boys are pressed to the "masculine mystique" that sanctions violence as the final assertion of "manhood" and nationhood which turns out to be synonymous with "manhood."

Now (if you'll pardon the expression), in dating and marriage, the sex role caste system is finally epitomized in the expression: "A man and a woman marry and they become as one—and that one is the man." Mary Jones marries John Smith; she becomes Mrs. John Smith. Take away the "Mrs." and not surprisingly people literally wonder: "What ever became of Mary Jones?" Sociologist Dr. Jessie Bernard, who told me she's only recently becoming liberated, writes in the April 1970 The *Futurist:* "Marriage was not and is not, I repeat, a good status for women, at least not as it has been institutionalized in the past."

In the family still presented as "*the* ideal," the sex role stereotype assumes that the ability to bear children confers the ability to rear children and that maleness disqualifies men for the major role in that regard. Also, it seems the possession of a uterus uniquely qualifies women for housework, and the generally superior muscles of men disqualify them. Women carry their child twenty-four hours a day for nine months before birth; men could carry them more afterward. The breadwinner role is for people; take away the unequal opportunities for men, then women will commit themselves to employed work full time, part time, or alternate times and provide more options for men. What women need is "wives", but husbands can be socialized to this role and still be genuine males.

In organized religion and most scripture, the male godhead, male savior, male priesthood, the fatherhood of god and brotherhood of man surely ignores the very presence of "Adam's Rib," except as an afterthought to serve men. In fact, Judeo-Christian civilization has taught women to believe they (symbolically through Eve) are the source of original sin and then offers a male-dominated religion as women's salvation. It's incredibly

misogynist, but, tragically, many women believe it and thus is perpetuated the self-fulfilling prophecy of self-hate, self-doubt, and distrust of other women and the slave mentality (predictably) of many women.

In education, this self-doubt and the limited self-aspirations of women is projected by some women teachers to children in countless acts of rigidity, attention to trivia, and unimaginative teaching. Further, children are tracted by sex so that girls take home economics and interior decorating and boys take industrial arts and architecture, regardless of individuality. In higher education, ratios, quota systems, fellowship and scholarship awards favor the male in direct ways and negative attitudes of faculty and staff discourage women in more subtle ways. We decry the foot-binding of Chinese women, but the direct and subtle mind-binding of U.S. women may be even worse.

In politics, women are beginning to refuse the housekeeping chores and demand leadership roles, but they have few other women as role models. In the law and government, the legal (and illegal) discrimination against and exclusion of women from leadership roles is unconscionable. Basic constitutional equality for women is still being debated in Congress 48 years after the idea was introduced, and even then it was 147 years overdue. I testified before white male Senators on that issue in May and September of 1970 and find it an outrage to plead one more time for what is a birthright of every male. This country can't even ratify parts of the United Nations Convention because of our social backwardness regarding women's status.

In our economic institutions, women as workers are still not taken seriously, though we comprise over 30 million workers, but with less status every day. Indeed, over 60 percent of the poor children in U.S.A. are *completely* dependent on the earnings of women and more would be poor if women didn't work even at low-pay jobs. Equally qualified women make 58 percent of counterpart men. Turnover and absenteeism of women is less than men if we hold the level of job responsibility constant. On illegal sex-segregating of jobs and employment want ads, we say: There's only *one* job for which *no* woman is qualified—sperm-donor; there's only *one* job for which *no* man is qualified—human incubator. (Period)

On job performance, some women exhibit a kind of pseudostupidity because it's expected of them just as it has been of black people. Women will not be free adults until they expect and develop the capacity to be economically independent, whether or not they exercise the ability.

In the mass media, the image of woman as a person is absent or distorted but seldom authentic. The role models presented for our daughters either project the idea that the brand laundry soap or deodorant or bowl cleaner is priority number one, or that the concern of every adult female is to be a "sex goddess." If those images are correct, families and the country are in trouble; if incorrect, as I am convinced, then the media are doing a public disservice, though they're licensed in the public interest. Where are the women announcers, commentators, experts in every field of human endeavor who may also be wives and mothers? Indeed, the systematic exclusion of women from broadcasting in media publicly licensed in the public interest is a denial of our civil rights and our civil liberties right of free speech under the First Amendment as it applies to the public forum. I am urging broadcasters, the American Civil Liberties Union and this Commission to act affirmatively on these documented assertions. To women, I would advise: You've not come a long way, baby, not so long as the nation is not outraged by the symbolic reference to over one-half the adult population with a term appropriate for an immature organism.

In our language, women are disadvantaged. Woman, she, and female are derivative words for people who are not derivative except from our parents. The history of black people in the U.S.A. has been omitted and/or distorted in our texts. A black friend of mine studied this a few years ago and was absolutely amazed to see the omission and ridicule of women in history. Even the word bothers me. Why his-tory? Where is her-story? Or better yet, their-story? The use of the word "man" and "men" for people is not so generic as we're told—very often it means what it sounds like: male(s).

One must wonder if the imagelessness and voicelessness of women is not at the heart of the aggression of men. It is men who cannot free themselves of possessive mothers, who cannot accept another woman—any woman—as equal rather than someone omnipotent and threatening. Interestingly, it is women unwillingly imprisoned at home who can't let go of their children and who work out frustrations especially on their sons.

It is women who prefer something other or additional to motherhood who have children with three times the emotional problems of other children. It is mothers who have internalized the pro-natalist conditioning and have no alternatives who live motherhood as an obligation, not a choice. Those mothers and fathers who truly care about children, not just self-extensions, often adopt the homeless who already overpopulate this planet. It is fathers who see fatherhood as proof of virility and parenthood as opportunity to dominate who need to be freed of any obligation to procreate and then to support, often begrudgingly, and thus produce more reluctant parents. The pro-natalist stereotyped socialization of people is counter-productive of quality people.

The first thing to know about any society and indeed this Commission is: "What does it take for granted as natural or 'the givens'?" If it assumes a current status quo to be natural and therefore right, appropriate and to be conserved, it's probably in trouble. Certainly, I think, a society such as ours underrepresented by men at home and even more significantly and underrepresented by women in public affairs is unbalanced and obviously sex role and caste stereotyped. Such is the nature of sexism. If the current continuing sexism of the ages in today's form is accepted as natural, then we may never learn the vital facts about what our society conceives as possible, what it envisions as a humane development of everyone's potential. Our visions indeed go beyond feminism to a hybrid model of equality.

The first human inequality was sex inequality. Once the idea of any inequality was ever sanctioned, other kinds of race, national, religious, and other inequalities were doubtless inevitable and predictable. Remove this basic inequality, and the energy released from sex role game playing will delight us all. I was at a feminist theatre and an art show recently. The release I saw in that theatre and the works of art therein reminded me once again, as I've seen with black art, of how much we need the energies, talents, and insights of people as we truly are: black, white, female, male, old, young, poor, and affluent.

Finally, I want to insist on some alternatives to society's orientations to this Commission and some affirmative implementing actions you can take beyond these hearings and catalyze others to initiate. In making these suggestions, please know feminists are not advocating unisex, we are creating unipeople; to stereotype people by sex, race, class, nationality or religion is to deny individuality and polarize groups. In all candor, I think this Commission needs to be reconstituted to balance women and men in membership including feminists of both sexes. Should this indeed be legally impossible, feminists as consultants are a sine quo-non.

Truthfully, I have no desire to embarrass anyone here today. Even less can I, speaking for NOW, countenance the continued exclusion and oppression of our sisters and our daughters as irrelevant objects to be acted upon and only tokenly relevant participants in public policy. The subtle artificiality of the pedestal is an unacceptable substitute for our personhood.

Specifically, I would recommend that you act affirmatively to use your good offices to publicly legitimatize and specifically support the women's rights and liberation movement as of tremendous potential for this Commission's objectives and vice versa. For instance, there are countless basic and action research projects this Commission could initiate and/or support. Until two months ago, I worked as a behavioral research scientist and suggest my particular recommendations might better be a function of your past-hearing action. For a sample, though, you might examine the pre and past women's movement activism of participants in selected communities. This could tease out the effects of raised consciousness on self-concepts and family planning.

What I'm suggesting is less attention to passive demographic studies of society's drift to population patterns, less computerizing of mobility patterns in sophisticated research constructs, less quantification of the consequences of the status quo and its trends. You can affirmatively act to provide free choice and quality population and policy. As you note on page 26 of your interim report: "The sum of individuals' real preferences may in fact coincide with the welfare of society as a whole." I am encouraged by your implied view of abortion law repeal. The issues, of course, is control of one's own body and its reproductive use and thus free choice. Another issue is the unconstitutionality of anachronistic abortion laws enacted before women had the vote let alone even token representation and thus legislation without representation. The human sperm and human ovum singly or in combination are not so rare nor so precious as to supersede the rights of the living woman.

For centuries, women have been told that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. That's only the universe of the nursery and even there advised mostly by male sexists. Now, we whose hands have rocked the cradle are using our heads to rock the boat. In proportionate numbers, we intend to guide the ship of state and the world not in hostility to or imitation of men but with a transfusion of new dimensions that values the talents and life experiences of "the other half of the population." Women's rights/women's liberation is pregnant and overdue. We intend to deliver!

You have recognized some of the dimensions of the problem of pro-natalist conditioning and the absence of truly free choice in the known incidences of unwanted children. Every problem is an opportunity for affirmative action. You have a choice: to be part of the problem or part of the solution. It is a tribute to you individually and collectively that I hope you choose the promise, the logic and implementation of an androgynous society and thus share in its reward for America's future population.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT W. LAMSON, STAFF ASSOCIATE, PLANS AND ANALYSIS OFFICE, NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION, BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 15, 1971

NATIONAL POPULATION POLICY—NEEDS AND REQUIREMENTS

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I appreciate having this opportunity

to present a statement concerning the nation's need for a population policy.

Since you have copies of the statement, I am not going to read it, but will, instead, cover the highlights, and then attempt to answer any questions which you may care to ask.

My statement will cover the following subjects:

I. Is there a need for a population policy?

II. What should be the key elements of the policy, and what steps are necessary to implement the policy?

III. What policy research is needed on the population problem?

I. Need for a population policy

Whether we, as a nation, can protect and enhance what we value and achieve our goals will depend on our ability to influence such important factors and trends as:

1. The development and use of technology;
2. The demand for and use of resources and services;
3. The growth of the economy;
4. The creation and disposal of waste products; and
5. The growth, composition and distribution of population, within the United States, as well as for the world as a whole.

At present, there is no explicitly stated, agreed upon policy for these factors, including population, although in the Employment Act of 1946 we do have a policy for the economy and employment, and although the Environmental Quality Act does provide for a national environmental policy.

However, as a government and as a nation, we do make many decisions which influence, by intent and as an unintended by-product, population growth, composition and distribution, as well as these other factors.

Today, we lack reliable knowledge as well as agreement, within the government and among the public as a whole, concerning:

1. What are the problems created by these factors and trends;
2. What goals should we pursue to solve the problems; and
3. What actions should we take to implement the goals?

Since the urgency of a person's action recommendations tends to depend upon how severe one perceives the problem to be, it is extremely important that we clarify and develop consensus concerning the nature of the population problem which confronts us.

We need to develop policies to increase this knowledge and agreement, and to implement actions based upon the areas of agreement.

We need to begin to develop a national policy to influence population size, growth, distribution and composition, along with the other important factors which I have listed, and in conjunction with and as part of our overall national goals and policies.

Such policies can be an ad hoc, explicit, combination of policies and actions taken for other reasons, which is the current situation, or they can be more self-conscious and explicit.

It takes a long time to create and implement population policies, and to carry out the needed research, planning and operational programs.

Research takes a long time and since research results are subject to uncertainty, it is therefore difficult to obtain agreement concerning such concepts and goals as:

1. Stable population—At what level and when?
2. Optimum population—In terms of what variables, values and goals, for example, national security, economic growth, environmental quality?

We therefore need to begin to act now to develop interim population policy strategies, goals, implementing actions and institutions which we can pursue immediately, based on the best knowledge and the maximum current agreement concerning the problem and what to do about it.

And, as we pursue these goals, we should develop the additional knowledge, understanding, agreement, actions and institutions needed for a more comprehensive policy.

We should set up time schedules to complete various population policy goals and actions, including the immediate and longer run goals.

Goals which we could currently pursue with regard to overall growth, while we develop more knowledge and consensus, include the following:

1. Every child a wanted child;
2. A slower rate of growth is better than a faster rate;
3. It is better to have the low than the high projection come true.

The hearings of this Commission, by exploring the nature of the population problem, and alternative goals and actions to cope with it, are helping to provide this knowledge, and thereby, to help create the national consensus which is needed if we are to create more effective and coherent policies for population as well as technology, use of resources and services, economic growth, and creation and disposal of waste products.

II. Key elements and needed actions for population policy

The key elements of a formal, explicit population policy include a statement and consensus on the Problem and on the Goals, Principles, and Means (Actions and Institutions) to solve it.

The following is an outline for such a statement of policy along with suggestions concerning some of the content which might be included.

A. *Problem and Findings:* Population size, growth and distribution, within the United States as well as for the world as a whole, affect our and mankind's ability to protect and promote such values as the quality of human life, of the physical environment (natural and built), and of society.

It is therefore important that we attempt to influence and control the growth and distribution of population, and to do it in such a way that we protect and promote our values of economic well-being, environmental quality, democratic government and individual freedom.

B. *Goals:* The United States should pursue and integrate the following policy goals concerning population growth and distribution, at various levels—international, national, state and local, family and individual.

1. *International Level:* Give assistance, directly as well as through appropriate international organizations, to assist other nations to control their rates of population growth in order, ultimately, to stabilize the world's population at a level consistent with the need to protect and promote the quality of human life and of the natural environment. (Stabilization at what level and when?)

2. *Federal Level:* Develop, encourage and implement the necessary policies, attitudes and actions which will, at a minimum, attain the low population projection, and as soon as possible, stabilize the population of the United States, in a manner consistent with human rights and individual conscience, in order to provide an example to other nations, to relieve the pressure of our highly industrialized, rapidly growing economy on the world's environment and resources, and to make it more possible to protect and promote the quality of human life, of society and of the environment within the United States. (Stabilization when and at what level?)

3. *Federal State and Local Level:* Develop short and long range plans which aim to achieve a desirable distribution of population and related economic activity in order to enhance the social quality of life, prevent and minimize environmental degradation, and encourage economic growth in the disadvantaged parts of the United States.

4. *Family and Individual Level:* Make it possible for every child to be a wanted child.

5. *Total System:* Make the pursuit of these goals, at various levels, compatible with each other.

C. *Principles:*[1] Means for attaining our population policy goals should:

1. Be effective;
2. Be voluntary and consistent with human rights, individual conscience and freedom of choice;
3. Not penalize children;
4. Be consistent with stability of the family;
5. Avoid coercion and compulsion;
6. Avoid raising death rates, for example, through war, famine and disease;
7. Provide for political participation and social and economic justice for minority groups.

D. *Means* (Actions and Institutional Changes) to implement the goals could include the following:

1. Modify laws which encourage childbearing and restrict the availability of family planning information and services,
2. Provide adequate funding, manpower, facilities and institutions for:

(a) Free family planning information and services;

(b) Research in the biological and medical sciences related to contraceptive development, as well as the behavioral sciences, policy analysis and program implementation fields related to population control and family planning;

(c) Trained manpower needed to provide these services and research; and

(d) Public information and education to communicate the nature of the population problem,

3. Include in all federal, state, regional and local development plans comprehensive analyses of the implications of low, medium and high population projections;
4. Extend positive government programs to improve the status of all women and encourage satisfying roles for women that would be alternatives to motherhood;
5. Create the needed organizational and institutional changes needed to implement these goals.

Since an agreed upon formal, explicit policy concerning population growth and distribution is difficult to state and to achieve, I have included in the Appendix an article, "Federal Action for Population Policy—What More Can We Do Now?", which outlines a range of population policy actions in the area of research, planning and operations which various parts of the federal government could begin to perform now, in an ad hoc fashion. Many of these actions would not require new authority or additional levels of funding.

Such actions should help to develop the knowledge and understanding, the national discussion and consensus needed for a more formal, explicit commitment to population policy goals, principles and actions.

III. Policy research on the population problem

The following is a statement which I have prepared for the Federal Interagency Committee on Population Research concerning the population policy research supported by the federal government and listed in the inventory prepared by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

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[1] This outline of Principles and Means is adapted from "Reports and Resolutions of the First National Congress on Optimum Population and Environment," 1970, Topic IV—Governmental Approaches to Problems of Population/Environment, P. 12.

A. *What Is Policy Research?* Policy research analyizes a problem, presents alternate goals and means to cope with it, and indicates, in a form which the policymaker can understand, the probable costs and benefits of the alternatives.

By policymaker, I mean anyone who is in a position to make decisions which affect the future course of history.

In the United States, this includes just about everyone, the legislator and executive in government, as well as the citizen and general public.

In considering policy research, the following nautical metaphor may be useful. If we look at the similarities between the ship Titanic and modern society, we can view policy research as a means whereby a nation or society can steer its way among the "reefs and icebergs of history." The Titanic could have used some radar. As I see it, policy research helps to provide early warning and alternatives for action to enable the social navigators and helmsmen avoid the problems and threats of the future. Policy research also helps to design the steering mechanisms and the rudders to enable a society actually to move in the desired direction.

In sponsoring and performing policy as well as other types of research on population problems, we should keep in mind a number of facts. In any policy area, there will always be uncertainty and risk. We always act without perfect knowledge and perfect certainty concerning what the future will be like if we choose one path or another. The time available to us is short and research is long. Decisions will be made whether or not research is ready and all the facts are in. Policymakers will decide, choose and act with what knowledge they have, in the absence of perfect knowledge, before all the research is done, and in the absence of perfect consensus.

The purpose of policy research is to help the policymaker perceive problems and to choose goals and policies to implement them in the face of uncertainty and risk—risk concerning the benefits and hazards of action, or inaction—uncertainty concerning: 1. what are the facts and risks; 2. what causes and effects are operating; 3. what the future will be like if we choose policy A, B, C, etc., or decide to continue as we are; and 4. what will be the costs and benefits of various policies, for whom and what values.

By analyzing the policy implications of the population problem, we can, it is hoped: outline the main choices open to policymakers; help to reduce the element of uncertainty and risk involved in their decisions; help them to become more aware of the uncertainties and risks, and costs and benefits involved in the choices which they make; and thereby, to make better decisions.

B. *What Population Policy Research is the Federal Government Supporting?* The primary source of information concerning Federal support for population policy research is "The Federal Program in Population Research" an inventory of population research supported by Federal Agencies. Two editions of this publication have been published, the first on July 1, 1969 [2] and the most recent dated December 31, 1970.[3]

The federally supported population policy research projects which these inventories list is as follows:

Feasibility of Research on Effects of Government Population Policies in Eastern Europe; Henry David; American Institutes for Research, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Situation Reports on Population Problems, Policies and Program; Harrison Brown; California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California.

Goals and Conditions of Population Control; Kingsley Davis; University of California, Berkeley, California.

Population/Economic Growth Analysis and Presentation (for political and economic policy makers in developing countries); Stephen Enke, General Electric Co.—TEMPO Santa Barbara, California.

USIA and Population Matters Abroad; Irving Wechsler; Mildred Marcy, USIA, Washington, D.C.; USIA Intramural.

"Population Growth and America's Future", the Interim Report prepared by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, lists the following population policy research projects and papers which it plans to publish.

Congressional-Executive Relations in the Formation of Explicit Population Policy; Phyllis T. Piotrow, The Johns Hopkins University.

Historical Development of Values in the American Political-Legal Tradition Bearing on Population Growth and Distribution; Peter Brown and Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences.

Present and Future American Ethical Norms as Limits Upon Possible Population Policies; Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences.

Population Policymaking and the Constitution; Arthur S. Miller, National Law Center, The George Washington University.

Guarding Against Unintended Consequences of Possible Population Policies; Theodore J. Lowi, University of Chicago.

Outside of government, various foundations and organizations such as Resources for the Future and the Population Council are becoming more active in policy research on the population problem, and the National Academy of Sciences is preparing a report on the policy implications of rapid population growth.

C. *Types of Policy Research Questions:* There are, in general four types of questions in which the population policymaker is interested:

1. *Factual—Descriptive:* What is? For example, how many births, deaths and where?

2. *Factual—Analytical:* What causes produce what effects? For example, why does country X have a slower rate of growth than country Y? Why does group X have a lower birth rate than group Y?

What are the effects of changes in various demographic variables (size, distribution, composition, etc.) on such problems and goals as: urbanization, industralization, employment, health and welfare, education and communications, production of goods and services, natural resources and environmental quality, political structure and distribution of power, intergroup conflict. Each discipline (for example, demography, political science, sociology, psychology, economics, biology, chemistry, medicine, etc.) has a contribution to make to answering such factual questions.

3. *Policy:* Involving answers to the types of factual questions listed above as well as questions about future problems, probabilities, effects, alternatives, benefits, costs, and risks.

4. *Normative:* What policy should we pursue?

The following is a list of questions which need to be asked and answered if policy research is to help the policymaker, and which policy research projects should attempt tc answer.

Such a list could serve as a checklist of questions for evaluating past, current and proposed policy research concerning the population problem.

D. *What Policy Research Needs to be Done?*

1. *Alternate Futures:* What range of developments, opportunities, problems and threats confront us, and the world, now and in the future, with regard to population size, growth and distribution, and its relation to:

(a) Trends and problems such as development and use of resources and services, and output of waste;

(b) Values and goals such as national security and international order, protection and enhancement of the natural, man-made and human environment, provision of resource and services, economic development and welfare, political stability, representative government and freedom.

2. *Probability:* What is the probability of their occurrence—under what conditions? (Impossible to inevitable; 0% to 100%)

3. *Effects:* What will be the effects if the problems occur?

(a) *Extent:* To what extent?

When? What time frame? (years, decades, centuries)

Where? What geographic area? (local, regional, national, international)

For whom? What groups and level of abstraction? (individual, family, industry, nation, world, mankind, humanity, etc.)

For what values? Examples?

(b) *Intensity:* How severe?

4. *Priorities:* What priorities should we assign to these events, opportunities, problems and threats?

5. *Popularity:* To what extent are specific groups and the public concerned about these events?

6. *Desirability:* How desirable or undesirable are these events, in terms of what values, and for what groups, and why?

7. *Alternate National Policies:* What alternate values, goals, principles, actions, and policies and programs can we pursue domestically and internationally to influence and control these trends, opportunities and threats, in terms of research, planning and operational programs to:

(a) Prevent the development of the problem and the effect if undesirable;

(b) Limit damage to values if it occurs;

(c) Restore damage done;

(d) Create new values;

(e) Create the effect or opportunity if it is desired?

8. *Feasibility, Benefits and Costs:* What are the feasibilities, benefits and costs—economic, political, social and moral—of each alternative and combination, for whom, in terms of what values?

Which alternatives are desirable and why?

9. *Role of Population Policy:* What is the role of population policy in these alternate national policies?

What goals, principles, activities, resources, policy processes and institutions are and should be a part of our population policy?

10. *Use of Research Results:* What provision will be made to transmit the results of such analysis to policymakers, the media and the public.

11. *Model Legislation and Executive Orders:* What provision will be made to transform the results of policy analysis into model legislation and executive orders at the relevant level—international, federal, state, and local?

In addition to these general questions which population policy research needs to answer, we need to attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What if various alternative projections for future population growth and distri-

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[2] Ad Hoc Group on Population Research, "The Federal Program in Population Research, a Report to the Federal Council for Science and Technology," Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President, 1 July 1969.

[3] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, "The Federal Program in Population Research, Inventory of Population Research Supported by Federal Agencies During Fiscal Year 1970", 31 December 1970.

bution (as well as for development and use of technology, economic production and growth, supply and use of resources and services, and waste output) were to come true, the effects would be on the success and costs of our policies:

(a) To supply and conserve resources (land, water, air, food, minerals, energy, timber, wildlife, wilderness, outdoor recreation and park areas, open spaces, natural beauty, silence, etc.);

(b) To provide services (transportation health, welfare, housing, sanitation, education, etc.); and

(c) At the same time, to protect and promote environmental quality, that is, to prevent further pollution of our land, air and water, to clean up what pollution remains, to restore the damaged environment, to rebuild our deteriorated cities and to create new ones; and

(d) To solve these problems within the existing framework of political and personal values?

2. Which, if any, of the various alternative projections for future population growth and distribution should we regard as goals for population policy and the costs and benefits of achieving each? For example, what would be the effects of a stable population?

3. How could we achieve each goal?

4. What would be the feasibility, probable effects, costs and benefits, and methods of achieving each of a range of projections describing the possible future population of the United States, for example:

(a) To achieve population growth in the United States which would increase more rapidly or slowly than is projected;

(b) To stabilize United States (and world) population at less than its present size, or double its present size, or greater by a factor of 2.5, 3 or 4? When, in 40, 60, 80, 100 or 200 years? How?

E. *Needs for Further Research:* Given the current population policy projects sponsored within and outside of government, and given the requirements for population policy research, what more needs to be done?

It is difficult to determine exactly what specific products will result from the population policy research projects listed above, and how they will help to answer the foregoing policy research questions. However, it is probably safe to say that the nation's needs for population policy research will not be completely satisfied nor necessarily presented in a form which the policymaker can easily use.

There will, therefore, be a continuing need to compare the results of population policy research projects with a set of criteria and questions such as the foregoing in order to help satisfy the policymaker's needs for analysis.

We will need to evaluate, on a continuing basis, the needs for factual data and causal analysis which various disciplines can provide.

The following are suggestions concerning needs for specific policy-related research and for improving the system for managing policy research.

1. *Needed Policy Research Projects:*

(a) *Population Growth and National Goals:* Research is needed to analyze the effects of alternate trends in population growth and distribution on the success and cost of federal programs as well as on the capacity of the United States to protect and enhance its values and to meet its goals. This requires us to outline a range of alternate goals in such areas as national security, resources, environment, provision of services and welfare, and to analyze their relation to alternate population growth rates, patterns and policies. Many agencies have interests and responsibilities which are affected by population growth and they should have a role and interest in performing such analysis as well as in publicizing the results through Annual Reports, public information materials and reports on proposed legislation.

(b) *Background Analysis for International Conferences:* The World Population Year is scheduled for 1974 and analysis of policy alternatives and of short and long term initiatives is needed in order to provide for a coordinated strategy of action to cope with the population problem at the international level.

(c) *Zero Population Growth:* We need more research on the consequences and requirements for stabilizing U.S. and world population at various levels and at different rates.

(d) *Computer Simulation:* A relatively unexplored area is the use of computer simulation, visuals and graphics for the exploration of population policy effects and alternatives. For example, Professor Paul Handler, at the University of Illinois, with assistance from the National Science Foundation, has prepared a computer program for a course in demography which is also useful for policy analysis and public education in that it enables a person to make assumptions about demographic variables and then to see the effects of these assumptions displayed visually, in the form of population pyramids and growth curves. Such techniques should be further developed and used.

(e) *Incentives:* We need more analysis of the means to implement alternate population policy goals via various types and combinations of incentives and disincentives. In addition to creating, through biomedical research, more efficient means to limit births, we also need more analysis of incentives to use these means and to limit family size for example, through restructuring the social as well as physical environment. We need analysis of various legal and institutional means such as our systems for tax and social security, and insurance.

F. *Needs For Better Research Management:* If the United States Government is to apply, effectively, knowledge, research and analysis to meet national population problems, goals and needs, then it will have to take a more active role in organizing and managing directed research programs.

We need to analyze the factual, analytic, policy and normative questions involved in our population problems, and alternate goals and means to solve these problems. This requires us to:

1. Outline the types and content of research questions which need to be answered, based on an analysis of:

(a) National problems, goals and needs;

(b) The capabilities and state-of-the-art in various scientific disciplines and fields of technology;

2. Develop research programs to answer these questions.

Policy analysis for the population problem should be based on a program structure of interrelated statements such as:

1. Statement of problem or objective;

2. What we already know and what we need to know;

3. Description of the project and its potential contribution;

4. A projection of requirements needed to complete the project, in terms of time, funds, personnel, facilities, etc.

5. Possible performers.

6. Potential users of the policy research results in government and outside;

7. Provide for ways to transmit, effectively, the results of policy analysis to policymakers, and to use the results of research in policy planning and operational programs, at various levels of government and in various sectors of society.

Each specific project should be related to and fit into a larger structure of research and analysis which integrates the results of specific specialized studies. Page 27 contains an example of such a structured program format.

POLICY RESEARCH AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Policy research is needed to analyze:

I. *Problems*

Problems created by trends of such factors as:

Population growth and distribution.
Development and use of technology.
Economic growth.
Supply and use of resources and services.
Waste production and disposal.

II. *Goals*

Alternative population policy goals for solving these problems:

Every child a wanted child.
Make the low projection come true.
Stable population (At what level and when?).

III. *Principles*

Be effective.
Be voluntary and consistent with human rights, individual conscience and freedom of choice.
Do not penalize children.
Be consistent with the stability of the family.
Avoid coercion and compulsion.
Avoid raising death rates.
Provide for political participation.

IV. *Means*

Alternate Actions, Programs, Institutions and Requirements to implement the Goals, via research, planning, operational programs, and laws.

V. *Evaluation*

To evaluate, on a continuing basis:

Our perception and definition of the problem.
Effectiveness of our goals in solving the problem.
Efficiency of our means in attaining the goals.

VI. *Use*

To communicate, and put the results of policy research into the policy process, at various levels (international, national, state and local) and sectors (executive, legislative, the public).

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF POPULATION POLICY GOALS

Goals	Year									
	1971	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2025	2050	2075
Population growth:										
Individual family level: Every child a wanted child			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National level:										
Achieve low rather than high projection		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	------
Stability (at what level and when?)									?	?
International level:										
Achieve low rather than high projection		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	------
Stability (at what level and when?)									?	?
Population distribution										
Population composition										

FORMAT FOR POLICY RESEARCH PROJECTS

Number
Subject
Project
Subproject
Statement of problem and objective
State of the art
Project description

	Fiscal year—					
	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Total
Requirements:						
Funds						
Manpower						
Facilities						
Institutions						
Time						
Authority-responsibility						
Possible performers:						
In-house						
Consultants						
Universities						
Thinktanks						
Potential users						

STATEMENT OF RUFUS E. MILES, JR., AT THE HEARINGS OF THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, APRIL 15, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commission: Let me begin by saying that the views which I shall express to your Commission are my own, for which I assume full responsibility. I do not speak in my official position as President of the Population Reference Bureau.

Your Commission is to be commended for its excellent Interim Report. It presents to the American people in simple, clear terms the marked contrast between the long-run effects upon American society of a two-child family, on the average, and a three-child family. It articulates well the concepts that population growth aggravates our other social problems and that deferring action upon the population growth problem will only make it more difficult to solve later.

It seems to me that it woud be difficult for any thoughtful American, upon reading this section of your report, to arrive at any other conclusion than that the question as to when and how the United States population should be stabilized is of immediate and continuing concern to the people of the United States and their government. This seems to be the direction in which your Commission is heading and, as will be evident from the balance of my statement, I strongly encourage you to keep heading in this direction.

Your Commission is also to be commended for the imaginative range of research projects and papers which you have sponsored and which are due to be published in 1972. These should provide the basis for a great deal of further discussion and some may provide the springboard for further action.

The quest on which you have embarked—that of seeking to determine what policies, if any, the United States should adopt in respect to population growth and distribution—has a degree of importance which transcends the boundaries of this nation. It is unfortunate that the charge to this Commission from the Congress did not more explicitly recognize the importance of the international implications of the population policies which might be adopted—or fail to be adopted—by this nation. The Commission's recent Interim Report, admirable as it was in almost all other respects, virtually ignored the international context within which the population problem should be viewed. I urge the Commission to give much greater consideration to the international perspective during the coming year and in its final report.

In its analysis and determination as to whether population growth is inimical to the American future, the Commission would do well to seek answers to four questions, two of which relate to the rest of the world:

1. Is the population growth of the United States a significant problem for this nation alone?

2. Is the population growth of the rest of the world a problem for the United States?

3. Is the population growth of the United States a problem for the rest of the world?

4. If the answer to any of these questions is yes, what sort of policies should the nation adopt to cope with the U.S. population growth problem?

My statement to the Commission is intended to discuss and express my views upon each of these four questions. Since I have not given as much study to problems of population distribution as to problems of unrestrained growth, I shall deal only very briefly with issues as to where the next 25 or 50 million Americans should live and work.

I. IS THE POPULATION GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM FOR THIS NATION ALONE?

I am pleased that the Commission has reached the tentative conclusion that "population growth of the magnitude we have had since World War II has aggravated many of the Nation's problems and made their solution more difficult." I fully agree. I would go a step further and say that we have reached a stage of development where we should be planning a no-growth population policy for the United States.

All of us know that population growth must come to an end sooner or later. As the Commission pointed out, if a three-child average family were to prevail for a century, the population of the United States would reach nearly a billion. I cannot conceive of anybody's wanting a billion people in this country. It is not likely to happen because the American people will find life sufficiently intolerable before then so that they will see that something is done about it. The question is, how long are they prepared to wait and hope that the problem will take care of itself? When will they reach a consensus that this is a social problem, to be dealt with vigorously through both governmental and private action, not a matter tc be left in the hands of some uncertain Fate?

Rene Dubos has forcefully expressed the apprehension that man is an excessively adaptable animal—that he can and may find ways of surviving in a steadily deteriorating physical and social environment without taking the difficult steps required to stop the deterioration. Mere survival in these circumstances would be accompanied by a slow diminution of all of our traditional freedoms. This is exactly what is going on now. How many more millions are likely to be added to the United States population before a consensus is reached that we have more than enough?

Additional population will constitute a drag on America's future in four ways: economically, socially, ecologically and aesthetically.

The economic costs of a growing population are high. Economist Joseph Spengler has estimated that 4 percent of our national income—currently equivalent to $30 billion—goes to support our 1 percent per year of population growth in the United States. These funds are used for increasing the investment in plant, facilities, public services, housing, etc., needed to supply more people. That we need these billions to provide more adequately for the people we already have seems evident on every hand. Furthermore, it is becoming uncomfortably clear that we do not fully comprehend how to provide full employment for our expanding labor force without inflation. Population increase can only aggravate this problem. If we turn the proposition around and ask what we would gain from a continued increase in population, the answer is that any conceivable gain in the form of stimulated purchasing of needed products for more people would be most illusory and would be an exchange of short-range advantage for long-range disadvantage. This is exactly what has been going on for some time, and the long-range disadvantages have now accumulated to the point where they are becoming painful. A non-growing population does not mean a non-growing economy. The continued growth in the economy could, with a non-growing population, be devoted to improving the quality of our society—a concerted attack upon poverty, urban blight, and pollution.

The social costs of a growing U.S. population are likewise high. We have built cities which we hoped would be great cities and now find them in decay. We have a society which is so complex and so rapidly changing that we do not know how to manage it. The nature and rapidity of change have been influenced by major social migrations which have disrupted the cities and placed intense psychological strains on those who have sought to find themselves in utterly strange surroundings. Population growth is not solely responsible by any means for these social migrations, but it has enlarged and accelerated the movements from farm to city and from one area of the country to another. Slower total growth rates and an ultimately non-growing population will reduce pressures for internal migration and thus help relieve social strains.

Post World War II birth rates have produced a bulge in our population which is now overburdening our society with a young labor force which we have not learned how to absorb and use. Unemployment rates for young people in their late teens are generally at least double the general unemployment rates and often higher. While in one context this is an economic problem, in another it is one of the major factors in the extraordinarily bad social conditions in many of our major cities, with high drug addiction leading to high rates of crime and violence and these leading to the exodus of usinesses and middle-class residents from central cities.

Bringing fertility rates down to the replacement level will be no short-range solution, but without bringing them down, especially during the 70s and 80s, the social problems we seek to resolve will become more complicated, difficult, and expensive to overcome.

The ecological costs of a growing U.S. population are heavier than most of us realize. As Paul Ehrlich pointed out in the March 26 issue of *Science*, the adverse ecological effects are, in many instances, more than proportionate to the added population. As the richest reserves of our non-renewable resources are consumed, we must use lower grade ores, drill deeper, and increase our investment and operating costs for transportation. Each of these activities increases our per capita use of energy and our per capita stress on the environment.

Increasing food production to meet the needs of growing populations also increases environmental straits disproportionately. The lower the quality of soils used for farming, the greater the requirement for fertilizer to produce a given quantity of food and the greater the amount of power needed to produce the fertilizer. The more good farm land that is paved over and built up for residential subdivisions, the more the farm production problem is aggravated. These and other factors—such as pesticide use—are disproportionately affected by the number of consumers added to our population each year.

There are also certain threshold effects. As Ehrlich points out, "five hundred people may be able to live around a lake and dump their raw sewage into the lake, and the natural systems of the lake will be able to break down the sewage and keep the lake

from undergoing rapid ecological change. Five hundred and five people may overload the system and result in a 'polluted' or eutrophic lake." We know far too little about these threshold effects, but the experience of the death of Lake Erie should warn us very strongly that what we don't know in the field of the environment *can* hurt us and *is hurting* us. It is imperative that we put on the brakes in a variety of ways until we find out a lot more about where these threshold effects are. Slowing and stabilizing population is one way of helping to put on the brakes. It should under no circumstances be used as a substitute for imperative shorter-range actions of a very direct nature, but it is an important long-range factor which must not be ignored.

The aesthetic costs of a growing U.S. population are difficult to avoid. It is hard to define in any generally acceptable terms what is meant by aesthetic costs since people's aesthetic sensitivities differ. But in a given amount of desirable living space, the more people who occupy it beyond certain minimal levels, the less their opportunity is likely to be for privacy, the more restrictions must be placed on their freedoms, the more they are likely to jostle each other, and the more psychologically withdrawn or nettled and aggressive they are likely to become. Opportunity for enjoyment of the finest wonders of nature, while temporarily increased for parts of our population through increased mobility, decreases significantly in quality as the Nation's great beaches and parks and other recreational areas become overloaded. No number of additional Disneylands can take their place. Improved aesthetic sensitivity and appreciation will not automatically follow a stabilized population, but the opportunities for their enhancement will be greater when our preoccupation with the strains of growth has abated.

In sum, the United States definitely has a population problem from several standpoints. Population growth has been a causative factor in many of our deepest societal problems without explicit recognition of it. It is time we faced the adverse effects of continued population growth in a forthright manner.

II. IS THE POPULATION GROWTH OF THE REST OF THE WORLD A PROBLEM FOR THE UNITED STATES?

The answer to this question is certainly yes. The momentum of world population growth is so great that if all the nations of the world were to bring their fertility down to the replacement level by 1985 and keep it there, the ultimate population of the world around 2050 would be in the order of seven billion. This is roughly double the present world population. Since there is little or no prospect that we can bring fertility rates down to the replacement level all over the world by 1985, the population of the earth seems headed for a higher figure than seven billion, provided such numbers can be fed and assuming such factors as pollution and social chaos do not set in as upper limiting factors before then. On the basis of current knowledge and known resources, there is little likelihood of achieving a stable world civilization consisting of more than seven billion well-nourished, well-housed, well-educated people at peace with one another. The known resources of the earth are not sufficient to support such a population at reasonable standards of living by Western criteria. Although some additional resources will undoubtedly be discovered, the rate of discovery becomes generally slower and the energy costs progressively higher in dollars and pollution. We must recognize that we are pushing toward finite limits.

What may happen to those regions of the world which are now living barely above the subsistence level when their populations double and then begin to double again is not pleasant to contemplate. The greater the momentum of population growth in the high-birth-rate, low-death-rate nations, the greater becomes the hazards of massive famines and social chaos in those nations. Per capita incomes are very low and climbing slowly; in some years they do not climb at all. Meanwhile, the per capita incomes in the industrialized nations continue to move steadily upward, so the income gap continues to widen. If these trends continue, prospects for a stable world are indeed bleak.

If these trends are to be interrupted and modified for the better, the most fundamental single change which must occur is a worldwide, rapid shift toward low birth rates. It may even become necessary for fertility rates in many parts of the world to come down to sub-replacement levels in the decades ahead if nations now close to the margin of subsistence are to avoid major famines and epidemics and improve the lot of their people.

If such a worldwide shift does not occur, then the kind of world in which our children will be living in the 21st Century may bear little resemblance to that which we now know.

In recent weeks I have been working on a forthcoming publication in which three models of the future are analyzed. Since this publication, which should be available during May, will make much clearer than I can in this statement the outlook for world population growth and its implications, I would like to submit it for your information and record at the time of its publication.

III. IS THE POPULATION GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES A PROBLEM FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD?

It is inescapable that there will be increasing discussion, both in the United States and in the developing nations, of the comparatively greater significance of each million of the population growth of the industrialized nations because of their high rates of consumption of the earth's non-renewable resources and high rates of pollution of the earth's water, air and land. This is partly a population problem, partly a consumption problem, and partly a straight pollution problem; and these should not be confused with one another.

The rates at which the United States is using both its own non-renewable resources and those of other countries are partly due to population growth and partly due to growth in per capita consumption. It is difficult to make estimates as to how much of our growing consumption is ascribable to population growth, but it seems undeniable that it is a significant factor. At current consumption levels, each additional million Americans is equivalent to somewhere in the order of 30 million Indians. Adding two million Americans annually is therefore equivalent in consumption terms to adding sixty million Indians—roughly as many as India adds in four years. Despite some technical weaknesses in the comparison, it has a high degree of basic relevance. Comparatively speaking, a rapidly-growing, high-consumption, high-waste economy will move the entire world, including, of course, the non-industrialized nations, much closer to either the exhaustion of non-renewable resources or rapidly diminishing returns with corresponding scarcity and high prices.

The argument is sometimes made that increased consumption is good for both the United States and the less developed nations from which the resources come. It is said that only by selling their oil and tin and nickel and other resources to the industrialized countries can such nations have any prospect of gaining the foreign exchange needed to buy the machine tools, generators, and numerous other products of high technology needed for rapid industrialization. This argument has a surface plausibility, but it becomes absurd when carefully analyzed.

On this theory, the greater the purchases of fossil fuels and high-grade ores from non-industrialized nations, the more they will prosper, and the smaller the purchases the more severe will be their economic plight. By this logic, the higher the number of voracious consumers in the industrialized countries, the better off are the non-industrialized nations. And, to continue the reasoning, one of the greatest contributions the United States might make to the developing world would be to resume its high birth rates of the early 1950s and produce and consume at the highest feasible rate.

Rapid export of raw materials is not the only way of earning foreign exchange, and in the long run may be the least desirable way. Of what advantage will it be for the poor nations to industrialize if, by the time they do, the high consumption rates of the industrialized nations have brought about the extreme depletion of fuels, mineral ores and other resources essential to an industrial civilization? The industrialized world simply cannot long continue the recent rates of doubling either its consumption or its population growth. The world's resources are limited and we are approaching the limits at an alarming pace. The nearer we come, the greater the tension will be between the highly industrialized nations which have already consumed more than their share of the world's resources, and the developing nations which find themselves increasingly short of resources and priced out of the market. When we reach a point when the depletion of certain resources has become critical for the world—a point which may be no more than decades away—who will then say that high consumption by the high-waste economies has been the salvation of the developing nations? Who will then say that continuing population growth by the developed overdeveloped world was a good idea?

Let us not hide from ourselves what it is we are doing. We are spending the world's capital at a prodigious rate. It is extremely shortsighted to argue that developing nations fortunate enough to have subterranean capital in substantial quantities will be benefited for more than a short period by the accelerated consumption of that capital by the developed nations, even if they receive the products of high technology in exchange. Every nation in the world, and all nations collectively, must soon come to terms with the limits of the earth and actively seek ways of bringing about a more equitable distribution of the world's resources and the products of mankind.

If the question as to whether the population growth of the United States is a problem for the rest of the world were shifted in focus, it would throw additional light on the subject from the standpoint of the non-industrialized world. If we ask, "Is the lack of a U.S. population policy looking toward non-growth a problem for the rest of the world?" clearly the answer is yes, in more than one respect.

The only conceivable way the human race can move from where it is now to a situation in which it achieves universally adequate nutritional and other living standards, a durable ecological balance with the rest of nature, and reasonable international stability is through a basic and worldwide shift in perception as to what constitutes man's self-interest. This change must come fast if it is to stave off catastrophe.

The shift in perception must begin with the keen realization that all efforts to preserve and improve civilization will be made more difficult with each additional million people that are added to the human race, as at present, every five days. And this shift in perception must proceed further to the conviction that stopping the growth of world population is not only vital to all that man considers important, but that it *can be ac-*

complished if we develop the necessary worldwide consensus. At present, almost no one thinks it is possible for worldwide attitudes and mores to change rapidly so as to bring fertility down at least to replacement in the next few decades. As long as practically no one thinks it is possible, it will not *be* possible. Until a leading nation demonstrates to the world that it believes a no-growth population policy is both important and feasible, the likelihood of a rapid shift in perception is remote.

There are compelling reasons why the United States should lead the way toward a global condition of non-growth by setting its own house in order. Consciousness of the population problem in this country has reached a level where many people are crying out for governmental leadership to articulate objectives and put forth a coherent plan to cope adequately with the problem.

In recent years the United States has earmarked a significant part of its appropriations under the AID program for family planning in the developing nations. But lack of either a significant Federally-sponsored family planning program or any population goal aimed at reducing population growth has led the citizens of the developing nations increasingly to question the motives of the United States in urging the adoption of widespread family planning abroad as a means of population control. Where latent or overt anti-American attitudes prevail, the term "imperialistic" has been used to refer to U.S. policies in support of birth control in the developing countries. The new "Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970" will help in establishing our credibility and consistency, but adoption of a new law setting a specific U.S. policy objective of moving toward a non-growing population would go much further in making the U.S. position unequivocal.

IV. WHAT POLICIES SHOULD THE NATION ADOPT TO COPE WITH THE POPULATION GROWTH PROBLEM OF THE UNITED STATES?

The reluctance of individuals and especially of nations to regard the adverse consequences of population growth as a social problem stems from what most people think of as their inalienable right to procreate. They do not believe it should be any of the government's business how many children they have. But this freedom, like all freedoms, can endure only as long as it is used responsibly and with restraint. If and when the continuity or welfare of society is seriously jeopardized by the unrestrained use of this freedom, the freedom itself will disappear. The question as to whether it will still exist in the twenty-first century is directly dependent upon how responsibly it is used in the balance of the twentieth century.

Precisely for this reason, governmental leadership is now imperative. Governmental leadership is needed to take the steps which will, if successful, preserve the freedom of parents to decide responsibly and with restraint how many children they should bring into this world. Doing nothing and hoping the problem will take care of itself would be an act of irresponsibility on the part of government. It would be an expression of unconcern over a major cause of the erosion of the freedoms we cherish.

Sooner or later, all nations must face their population problems and develop explicit policies to cope with them. And the time is not far off when most nations will need to think in terms of establishing the objective of bringing their fertility down at least to the replacement level. This level would, in the United States at the present time, mean an average of 2.1 children per woman. As your report has pointed out, even if a two-child family, on the average, were to be achieved starting tomorrow, U.S. population would grow another 60 million within the next 30 years, assuming continued immigration at current levels.

I hope the final report of your commission will recommend a no-growth population objective for the United States at the earliest possible date. Under what I am terming a "no-growth population policy," replacement fertility would be the *upper* limit of the national objective. The lower limit would be unspecified and would vary from time to time, depending upon a variety of factors, especially the changing age structure of the population.

For some reason or other there has developed a feeling that the replacement level of fertility should be the *lowest* level toward which we should aim. A modest variation above the replacement level is thought to be acceptable; a modest variation below the replacement level is thought to be unacceptable on a variety of grounds, and possibly inimical to the national interest. It seems to me that this proposition has been much too widely accepted without thinking it through. An error on the high side—that is, a higher population that we set as our objective—is likely to be far more costly than an error on the side which produces a lower population than was intended.

The United States should not become concerned because a nation like Japan is today faced with a so-called labor shortage as a result of its plunging birth rate two decades ago. The term labor shortage is simply a way of saying that they have full employment and could employ still more people if they were available at comparatively low wages. That is an enviable position for a country to be in. Japan's rate of economic growth has been the highest in the world, partly for the very reason that her low birth rate produced a low ratio of dependents to producers. If a labor shortage is the main cost of low fertility, it is hard to think of a cost with a higher benefit.

The decades of the 70s and 80s will be decades in which it will be particularly important for the fertility level to come *down to or below the replacement level.* In these decades, if fertility should turn out to be even moderately above replacement, we will have an "echo baby boom" of significant proportions. A sub-replacement level of fertility during the next two decades would partially offset the momentum created by high fertility a generation ago and help smooth out the age structure of our population. It would be much more advantageous than a second baby boom.

As the large numbers of parents born in the late 40s and 50s pass beyond their childbearing years in the late 80s and 90s, it might become desirable to alter population policies. If fertility were to fall significantly below replacement in the 70s, a move toward replacement fertility might be considered desirable. It may now seem a little strange to be thinking and talking in respect to population in the kinds of terms which John Maynard Keynes used in talking about a managed economy during the 30s, but his ideas were no less strange then and have come to be widely accepted within a generation. We are clearly headed in the same direction now with respect to population, but we may have less time.

Exercising governmental leadership in achieving a stationary population for the United States will not be easy. It is a difficult long-range problem. Nothing that any President, or any Congress, may do about the problem can have any significant immediate effect. Conversely, failure to act will not have demonstrable adverse consequences for which the President or Congress are likely to be criticized in their own day. Presidents and Congressmen are under great pressure to deal with urgent and critical problems with short time fuses. They become the victims of what is sometimes called "Gresham's Law of Public Administration," which says, "The pressure of day-to-day problems with short deadlines tends to drive out long-range planning." This law might well be generalized into "The Second Law of Human Behavior" which would read, "The seemingly urgent is usually the successful enemy of the truly important." Only by devising institutional methods for bringing the important subject of population planning to the conscious attention of Presidents, the Congress, and the public at reasonably frequent intervals can this subject receive the emphasis and action needed. This basic consideration underlies some of the policy recommendations which follow.

The most important single step the United States could take at this time would be to enact a "Population Policy Act" which would frankly and explicitly recognize that population growth and population distribution are matters of great collective concern for the people of the United States requiring federal governmental leadership. For reasons I have already expressed, I consider the population growth aspect to be of extremely high importance, especially in the international context, but the issue of appropriate population distribution likewise requires similar governmental leadership.

A Population Policy Act would establish national objectives and a continuing means of evaluating our progress in meeting those objectives. It should, I believe, establish the clear-cut principle that our national interest requires a "no-growth population objective" within the foreseeable future. Intermediate steps required to meet this objective would be spelled out along with the machinery for further analysis and implementation. Such an Act might be likened to the milestone "Full Employment Act of 1946." In that legislation, the Congress established both the principle that, and the general methodology by which, the Nation would seek to assure employment for all able-bodied persons seeking work. It set up a three-man Council of Economic Advisers within the Executive Office of the President and charged it, among other things, with the submission of an annual report to Congress on the state of the economy and the steps taken to meet the full-employment goals.

Although it may seem at times as though the steps taken to implement the "Full Employment Act of 1946" have fallen considerably short of achieving its stated purpose, a great deal was accomplished. The contrast between the levels of unemployment in the two decades after World War I and the two decades after World War II is very striking. The national consensus upon a goal, coupled with the creation of the Council of Economic Advisers to keep alerting the President and Congress to the steps needed to reach that goal, was a major step forward in managing the Nation's economy.

Similarly, at the start of 1970, a new Council on Environmental Quality was established by law to conduct studies and develop recommendations for the President, the various departments of the government, and the Congress for the preservation and improvement of our physical environment. Even though it has been in existence only a short time, it is already evident that this body is serving a very useful role. In one important respect its function is directly analogous to the function that will be required in respect to population. It must seek to discover the causes and the extent of negative impacts on our physical environment with particular concern for both unsuspected causes, and for the cumulative and synergistic effects of causes that may not be apparent. It then becomes the Council's duty to bring these and other effects to the attention of policy-making officials and to attempt to influence decisions in the direction of protecting the environment. Such decisions usually mean making hard choices between actions which seem to be of short range urgency and those which will protect our environment for the next generation. Under such circumstances, hard factual data and analyses, and effective

presentation of them, constitute the principal weight in the scale on the side of the next generation. A continuing institution with a first class professional staff is absolutely essential for the development of needed research studies, the assembly and analysis of data, and the presentation of the results of those analyses to the key policy makers of government. The result may be some very important shifts in national priorities and the allocation of resources in support of those priorities.

The successful experience of both the Council of Economic Advisers and the Council on Environmental Quality should be applied to the vital need which both we and the rest of the world currently face with respect to population. We should enact a "Population Policy Act," accompanied by the creation of a "Council of Population Advisers." Within the policy framework of the legislation, the Council should be charged with advising the President and the Congress through an annual report and in a variety of other ways on the most appropriate methods of achieving the stated goals.

To those who say that the President has too many agencies and councils reporting to him, and that population policies should be assigned to an existing agency, I would respond by saying that this would not be satisfactory for two reasons. First, one of the main objectives is to show that we are at last recognizing the importance of population in the scheme of things and one of the ways that we reflect importance is by structuring the government to place those functions we value most highly directly under the President. The organizational location of population policy analysis and advice within the governmental structure will tell the American people and the world how important their governmental leaders consider the subject, Second, there is no other suitable agency to which this assignment could be made with any prospect that sufficient resources will be allocated to it to conduct the kind of continuing research program which is essential.

If it is argued that conflicts will arise between the Council of Population Advisers and other key units in the Executive Office of the President—such as the Council of Economic Advisers, the Domestic Council, and the Office of Management and Budget—I would say that this is precisely what the new Council should be there for. It is needed to remind the President, the Congress and the public of the inevitable conflict between some actions which may be in our short-range interest and more difficult actions which are essential to the long-range survival of our society.

The composition of such a Council of Population Advisers is important to consider. A broader representation then would be possible with a three-member council would seem desirable, although the number should not become unmanageably large. The major purpose of a larger Council—that of assuring consideration of a variety of relevant points of view—might be achieved in part by prescribing a procedure under which public hearings were required to be held at periodic intervals in various parts of the country, just as this Commission is doing now. I believe this is a very wise approach

As its name implies, such a "Council of Population Advisers" should be an advisory body with no executive power. To the extent that the President and the Congress find the advice of the Council worth taking, it will carve out a significant role for itself and for the subject of population. To the extent that population questions force themselves on the President and the Congress from other sources, our executive and legislative leaders would presumably turn to the Council for advice.

Generally speaking, the Council would conduct studies and make recommendations to the President and the Congress on the following subjects:

1. Counseling and services for responsible parenthood

A major element of any program to achieve a non-growing U.S. population should be a nationally financed and sponsored effort to increase parental responsibility and provide both counselling and contraceptive services to potential parents. As the family planners have said for decades, we should try to come as close as possible to creating conditions under which every child will be a wanted child. We are moving in this direction in the United States today—but with what I believe is an excessively limited perspective and goal. The "Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970," added to previous authorizations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity, was a major step toward broadened access to contraceptive services, but all existing authorizations combined will not be adequate even when they are fully financed and implemented.

The character and magnitude of federally financed family planning programs are based on the assumption that the main segment of our national community that needs governmentally financed counselling and services is the poverty sector—the people who cannot afford to pay for a private physician's services and who even have difficulty in buying the necessary supplies or prescription drugs. The estimated size of this group at the time the legislation was considered and enacted was five million women. All other women—and men—are presumed to have the understanding, the motivation and the necessary medical advice and services to avoid unwanted pregnancies. This approach is built upon the theory that unwanted pregnancy is more of a poverty problem than a basic social problem affecting all segments of society.

While a disproportionately high number of unwanted pregnancies occurs among the poor, in absolute terms a much higher number of unwanted pregnancies occurs among the great majority who are well above the poverty line. It is they, too, who share a heavy responsibility for the continuing growth of our population. No wonder, then, that some of the poor, and especially the ethnic groups who are disproportionately represented among the poor, believe that they are being unfairly singled out as the target for a national campaign to cut down on the birth rate.

Only when counselling and contraceptive services for responsible parenthood are made universally available—and treated as though they are necessary for all segments of society—will we have put the subject of contraceptive services in a proper social and demographic context. Free anti-pregnancy counselling should be available through outpatient clinics and hospitals to any person who asks for it. Services and supplies should likewise be universally available. The matter of payment should be handled in such a way that no one will be deterred by cost considerations from obtaining the necessary counselling and services. The Federal government should underwrite the costs. It is difficult to think of a Federal expenditure which would have a greater long-range benefit to society and to the individuals and families who thereby avoided bringing unwanted children into the world.

If counselling and services for responsible parenthood were universally available, they would materially reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies. But we should not delude ourselves that they would eliminate them. Human nature being what it is, occasional unwanted pregnancies will occur even among prudent people imprudent. Unwanted children are so great a tragedy that abortion should be available to any woman who is quite sure she does not want to bear the child. Health insurance plans should include the costs of providing abortions to women who wish them.

Better and more reliable methods of contraception are needed. No single method is ever likely to fulfill the needs of all persons. The medical research capabilities of the United States exceed those of any country in the world. Many of the results of research are likely to be universally useful. The United States should, therefore, be especially ready and willing to use its resources and expertise to step up the levels of research to find improved methods of birth control. These levels of research should bear a more intelligent relationship to the very large sums being spent on death control. I urge the Commission to undertake an independent evaluation of existing research opportunities and the levels of funding which will be required to exploit fully and rapidly all promising leads.

It is predicated by some people that a vigorous national effort to minimize unwanted pregnancies and unwanted births will go far toward bringing the fertility rate of American women down to the replacement level. This is disputed by others both because of the difficulty of moving very far or very fast toward the goal of bringing only wanted children into the world and because there still is considerable evidence that the number of children wanted by most American women is more than two. It would be a grave mistake to place all our reliance upon such a prediction or hypothesis. Other steps are needed.

2. New roles for women

The self-fulfillment of women through other than maternal roles is one of the most significant and fruitful avenues toward bringing down the birth rate to levels which are consistent with national and international welfare. In the kind of society which we now have and which we will increasingly have in the future, neither the lesser physical strength of women, as compared to men, nor their childbearing roles need keep them from performing most of the occupations pursued by men. We have been slow to recognize this fact and encourage women to enter occupations where they should be taking leading roles. In India and Israel, the national governments are led by women; in the Soviet Union, half of the doctors are women. Politics and medicine are symbolic of the fields where women may contribute much that has been lacking in sex-biased professions.

Young women are understandably more reluctant than young men to pile up educational debts as now seems to be the national trend in the field of higher education. Ways and means must be found for underwriting the costs of lengthy education for young women without heavily mortgaging their futures. Where the social demand is heavy, as in the medical and paramedical professions, the social advantages to be gained by enlarging the supply of trained women are so great from multiple standpoints that this should become a policy of high priority for the Nation. It will serve population policy purposes, health policy purposes and welfare policy purposes, all simultaneously.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Program should be broadened to put greater emphasis on the elimination of sex discrimination. And women, themselves, apart from any governmental activity, need to seek broadened roles toward self-fulfillment and social contribution. Some are doing so; if more did, it would help pave the way toward later marriage, delayed childbearing and smaller families.

The development and application of governmental policies affecting the education and employment of women offer a good example of the meaning of the term "popula-

tion policy," and its application by the Federal Government. Let us assume, as a hypothesis, that research studies were available that demonstrated clearly that expanding meaningful employment for women had a measurable, direct effect in reducing fertility rates. Let us assume, too, that government officials working on the national budget were facing hard choices among various competing claims including improved mass transportation, post-Apollo space projects, government-sponsored employment programs and various other objectives. The issues of population policy should come strongly to the fore in the discussions of comparative priorities. Assuming that facts showed that investments in the education and employment of women (this does not mean discrimination against men, but genuine equalization of opportunity) have high long-range pay-off in reducing the later outlays for education, health and other public services, such investments deserve high priority consideration. Resource allocation decisions are now made without taking into account population policy factors and without knowing or considering the relationship between types and levels of female education and employment, levels of fertility, and required governmental outlays at various time intervals.

Unfortunately, not enough is now known about the effects of various types of educational and employment opportunities, for women or men, but particularly women, upon fertility rates. We have not been conducting adequate studies of this kind, partly because we have had no particular goal in mind—such as a stationary population—toward which we have been aiming, and have not, therefore, felt that such studies were particularly relevant to, or needed for, policy decisions. The time has come for the articulation of a goal and the establishment of institutional mechanisms spearheaded by a body such as the proposed Council of Population Advisers, to sponsor and then use the research needed for policy decisions at the highest levels of government.

3. Education in population dynamics, ecology, and family life

Attitudes toward desired family size are probably formed initially in pre-adolescent years. At this stage, they are formed without any regard for the social or ecological consequences of excessive population growth. They result from attitude transmission from parent to child, from the unspoken cultural atmosphere, from TV programs (e.g. "My Three Sons"), etc. The longer these attitudes remain unchallenged, the more persistent they become. It is by this process that most potential parents in the United States have acquired a desire to have at least three children. This number—if it were actually to be the average for the next three generations—would produce a population of nearly a billion, as your Commission pointed out, and would make all of the nation's problems difficult beyond description.

To overcome what has become a set of vestigial, dysfunctional attitudes toward family size, an educational process is needed which begins before young people reach the age when they may have children. By educational process, I do not mean an indoctrination process. I mean a process which enables young people to understand what is happening in their world as a result of the extraordinary growth aberration of mankind; what the arithmetic of compound interest—demographically speaking—is leading to in their own lifetimes and the lifetimes of their children; what is happening to the economy, the environment and the culture of the Nation as a result of a variety of interlocking factors of which population growth is one; what their options are as parents and as citizens in forming their families; the advantages of delaying childbearing until after a marriage has been tested and found to be durable; the alternative roles which women are increasingly likely to have in society; the high costs of raising children well; and other relevant factors.

Such education must come through a variety of means and channels, public and private, e.g. schools, TV, press, radio and private organizations with memberships which understand the crucial nature of the issues. Private institutions will undoubtedly have to play a large part in leading the way, followed by the newspapers and magaiznes, the electronic media and the schools. Since pressure is great upon schools and teachers to provide students with more subjects and subject matter than either teachers can teach or students are ready to absorb, squeezing new subjects such as population dynamics, ecology, and family life education into an already crowded curriculum will be difficult. The importance of the need, nevertheless, makes it imperative that ways be found of performing this educational function. When the priorities of a society change, schools must find ways of changing theirs, too.

A "Population Policy Act" should include authorizations for funds to support a substantial program in population education to be administered by one or more government agencies, not the Council of Population Advisers. The preparation of academic materials, information that can be readily adapted by mass media, summer institutes for teachers, and other tested approaches should be adequately financed. Although this would add another to the overly long list of categorical grant programs which now exist, I believe it is the responsibility of the Federal government to add such programs from time to time under terms and conditions which would launch them and finance them for a temporary period—such as five years—and then phase them into the ongoing programs of the fifty states and their sub-divisions.

4. Countering pronatalist policies and attitudes

The habit of marriage and childbearing at rates which average more than two children per woman has existed for so many thousands of years that it undoubtedly has a social momentum which compounds the demographic momentum of population growth. It is important to recognize the existence of a public policy bias toward marriage, childbearing, and even, in some instances, the production of multiple children, and to raise questions as to whether these policies have independent merit, or whether they should be modified or repealed.

To give but a single example, the tax bias against unmarried persons has long been a prominent element of our tax system. Even with some recent amelioration, it still exists. To what extent it encourages marriage, we do not know, but it probably contributes to the subtle psychological pressure that says to people, "Marriage is a natural and desirable condition of man and woman. If you are not married, your tax rates are going to be higher so that you will help educate the children of good family people." A population policy aimed at achieving a non-growing population would presumably seek to remove both the stigma and the disincentives, to the extent that they exist, attached to non-marriage and childlessness.

If the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future is able to do so, I would recommend that it develop an inventory of policies with pronatalist implications (and anti-natalist, too, if there are any) which have crept into federal and state laws. If the Commission is unable to undertake this function, I would recommend that it be a project of the Council of Population Advisers and that the Council should follow it up with studies and policy analyses on the basis of which it can make appropriate recommendations to the President and the Congress.

5. Developing policies for improving the distribution of the population within the country

I have very deliberately emphasized population growth problems in the statement, as compared with policies the government might develop to influence the residential location and distribution of people within the country. I have done this primarily because I believe that in the world context in which we should be thinking, influencing and indirectly controlling population growth is far more important than correcting population maldistribution. It will require statemanship of the highest order to lead the world to comprehend and act upon its population predicament in the most basic quantitative terms before disaster of unprecedented proportion strikes. Nevertheless, population distribution is an important issue and deserves the most intensive and continuing analysis.

I am convinced that we are reaching, if we have not indeed passed, the outer limits of our political and managerial capability to make big cities pleasant, safe, and tolerably healthy places to live. I will not go into all the reasons why this has happened, but I do not regard it as a temporary phenomenon, nor is it peculiar to the United States. The management of big cities is breaking down all over the world. I say big cities because I think there is both subjective evidence and theoretical logic that says the problems of administering cities of over a half million mount rapidly as the size increases.

As Korzybski and others have pointed out, as the number of people in any organized relationship increases, the number of interrelationships goes up not arithmetically, but geometrically. When the number of people in a city gets up into the millions, the interrelationships, direct and indirect, reach astronomical proportions. Even the interrelationships between organized self-interest groups, business enterprises, and units of the city government reach a magnitude which no human mind can encompass. And even with the aid of computer technology and all other aids to improved management, it seems unlikely that the increasing complexity of managing his cities will be brought within manageable proportions. Size is not, of course, the only factor which compounds the difficulty of management, but it is one of the most important factors.

There also seems to be increasing evidence that crowding decreases the civility of human beings toward one another, increases their impersonality and self-centeredness, and makes them far less interested in taking responsibility for their community life. Crowding is not, of course, solely responsible for this type of dysfunctional behavior but is a cause of its aggravation.

If more data should confirm these hypotheses, it seems clear that the Nation would do well to adopt policies which encourage what is likely to be the trend in any event—the channelling of most of the additional population growth which will occur between now and the time when we reach a stationary population into smaller urban centers. If a disproportionate share of the growth during the next two decades were to occur in cities between 10,000 and 50,000. I believe that our problems of accommodating the growth would be considerably less than if a major part of the growth were to occur in or immediately around the big cities.

The most careful kind of analysis will be required to determine what kinds of government policies would help to achieve these purposes without, at the same time, abandoning our very large cities to decay. We must find ways of revitalizing these cities without encouraging a renewed inflow into them. This will take extremely thoughtful analysis and planning. Continuing studies of such important issues as these, following on the heels of those already initiated by your temporary commission, should be the

responsibility of the Council on Population Policy.

The study of issues of internal population distribution is another example of the kind of research activity and policy analysis which must be done at a supra-departmental level. No existing department and none of the four new domestic departments recommended by the President, will have responsibilities or perspectives which are sufficiently broad to make them appropriate locations for the development of policy recommendations on population distribution. The subject cuts across the entire government—from the placement of certain kinds of defense contracts to the design of highway policy, to the character of mass transit programs, to farm subsidy policies, to water diversion projects, and to many other issues. A "Council of Population Advisers" is needed to perform this role.

6. Systematic evaluation of progress toward stated objectives

One of the main functions of the Council of Economic Advisers has been to keep track of where we stand. It makes sure we have adequate reporting systems for measuring our economic progress or lack of it, publishes *Economic Indicators* to keep policy officials, businessmen and the public informed of trends, and publishes an annual report on the state of the economy and what steps have been taken and should be taken to keep the economy on course. Similar functions should be basic to the role of the "Council of Population Advisers."

It will not be sufficient for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to evaluate its own progress, for example, toward the goal of making "family planning" services available to all who need and cannot afford them. Its own goal, as earlier pointed out, may be too limited; it needs to be broadened to assure that such services are available to all persons regardless of income. All subsidiary goals such as this should be reviewed by the Council of Population Advisers to determine whether they have a reasonable prospect of achieving the broader purpose of population stability at an appropriate level. Evaluation systems, reporting systems, and publications programs should then be reviewed and instituted where necessary.

Special research studies by the Council of Population Advisers and others sponsored and financed by the Council would be of particular importance. This Commission is to be complimented for the excellent list of such studies which it has sponsored. These should be a splendid beginning for a continuing program of research. When completed, these studies should be put to widest possible use. Some of them will require follow-up studies; others may point to legislative or executive policy changes which may be needed. All of them will probably deserve publication and public discussion.

Either through misunderstanding or through misrepresentation, the impression may develop that the establishment of a population growth policy implies the development of "coercive" population measures. It will be important to allay such fears in advance. It must be emphasized from the start that its role is to help the Nation retain the freedom of responsible decision-making by parents in deciding upon family size. Failure to establish policies which will encourage—not coerce—reproductive habits which will average out at not more than two (or more precisely 2.1) children per woman may drive us inexorably toward conditions which will increase the demand for coercion.

There are numerous methods of changing social and psychological attitudes toward childbearing and, when carefully used, economic incentives or disincentives may play a significant role. It would be distortion of the first order to label the removal of pronatalist incentives as coercion or to label modest negative influences toward childbearing any more coercive than the modest positive influences which have existed in the past. Policies to give greater encouragement to the growth of cities of 10,000 to 500,000 than to the very large cities should not be thought of as coercive. These policies are intended to change marginally the choices and decisions of people in the direction of what we consider to be in the general public interest. This is one of the proper responsibilities of government.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In summary, I believe the evidence should be persuasive that the United States has a population growth problem both in domestic and international terms to which it should address itself promptly. If the United States expects other nations of the world to deal directly and effectively with their own population problems, the United States can do no less. But even if this factor were disregarded, the United States has an important enough population growth problem in terms of arresting the erosion of cherished American freedoms to warrant a major research and action program by the United States Government. I believe also that the subject of population distribution warrants similar governmental leadership.

To deal with the population problems of this Nation, I recommend that the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future adopt the following policy positions:

1. That in order to protect and preserve the freedoms Americans cherish, a population policy objective be established by the United States for itself of achieving a condition of non-growth at the earliest feasible time.

2. That a policy be established of encouraging the distribution of the population growth which will inevitably occur in the next two decades in such a way as not to burden further the cities which are now over 500,000 in size.

3. That more detailed policies be developed to achieve these objectives which will be both effective and consistent with our heritage and values.

4. That a "Population Policy Act" be enacted, clearly setting forth these policies and creating the machinery to assist in implementing them.

5. That a "Council of Population Advisers" be established to conduct research and advise the President and the Congress on the more detailed formulation and implementation of population policies.

We may or may not have reached the stage where the Nation is sufficiently understanding of and concerned about population issues so that it is now prepared to support a set of population policies which includes the objective of non-growth and the objective of governmentally encouraged residential growth away from the megalopolises. The trends and the logic seem to point clearly in these directions and the sooner we recognize the urgent need for careful analysis, well conceived policies, and appropriate action to achieve these policies, the greater the likelihood of our working our way out of man's population predicament. And the more we, in the United States, demonstrate that effective population policies are possible within the context of a free society, the more such concepts may find utility elsewhere in the world. Leading the world in this effort may be of far greater long-range international significance than donating a few million extra bushels of grain during a period of intense famine.

The challenge before us far exceeds the direct impact of population problems on ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren. What we are really talking about is whether mankind can learn to make an essential accommodation to the finite limits of the earth's ecosystem. Time is of the essence.

FEDERAL ACTION FOR POPULATION POLICY—WHAT MORE CAN WE DO NOW?

(By Robert W. Lamson)

A critical problem and a question confront us. The United States and World Population will not increase forever. There are limits. How will they be imposed?

We have roughly three options.[1]

(1) *Physical limits—war, famine, and disease:* to approach more closely the physical capacity of the earth, and thereby, to bring into play the traditional agents—war, famine, and disease—which have helped to limit growth of populations in the past.

(2) *Repression:* to risk, by delaying action now, the use later of more manipulative and repressive social and political techniques, which some individuals now advocate and governments may come to use, in order to avoid the "traditional" physical limiting agents.

(3) *Voluntary limitation:* to control our size and growth, voluntarily, by increasing human awareness and individual decision to regulate family and population size. This option is based on widespread provision of the means to limit births as well as on democratic creation of policies to influence the intent of individuals to use these means.

Current concern over the environment has led to increased discussion of the need to control population size, primarily via the third option.

Consider for example, the following statements which reflect the concern of the Executive Branch as well as the Congress of the United States:

Dr. Rober Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: "What does freedom of choice in family planning imply in the present state of our society? It implies enormous population growth for the simple reason that the typical American family, if it can, will elect to have three children, not two. . . . I think we are going to have to work for a change in national mores, a change based on the public acceptance of the demographic facts of life. I think we are going to have to help the people of this country understand that their vital interest and that of their children demands that we control the growth of population."

Secretary Robert H. Finch, Department oi Health, Education and Welfare, when asked at a meeting in Washington, D.C., what young people can do to protect the environment, replied: "I'd begin by saying, have only two children."

The House Committee on Government Op-

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[1] Provision of means to limit births and family size include abortion, sterilization, pills, chemicals, various types of contraceptives, rhythm, abstinence, and delayed marriage.

Methods for motivating people to limit family size include clinics, information, and propaganda, removal of incentives for having additional children beyond a given number through the tax and social security system, raising the legal age for marriage, provision of careers for women which will serve as viable alternative means to the self-fulfillment now attained through having and raising children.

Manipulative and repressive techniques include putting contraceptive chemicals in food and water supplies; greatly increasing the legal age for marriage and government licensing of the right to bear children with harsh penalties for violation; compulsory sterilization, abortion, and contraceptive inoculation or immunization against fertility via implantation of fertility-reducing drugs and chemicals; and infanticide.

erations: "We fully agree that one of the most serious challenges in the last third of this century will be the growth of population and that our response to that challenge will be determined by what we do today.

The House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population: "The overriding concern of the Task Force is for realization that the time for action is now and that the need is urgent."

Dr. Lee DuBridge, Science Advisor to the President: "Do we need more people on the earth?" We all know the answer to that is 'no.' Do we have to have more people? Also 'no.'...

"Our spaceship called the Earth is reaching its capacity. Can we not invent a way to reduce our population growth rate to zero? Of ensuring that there be no more births than deaths?

"That is the first great challenge of our time. And we are the first generation to come face to face with this challenge and recognize it. Will we do something about it? Every human institution, school, university, church, family, government—and international agencies, such as UNESCO—should set this as its prime task."

If the nation and the U.S. government are serious about the importance of the population problem and about zero population growth, which the President's Science Advisor stated as a desirable goal for national policy, then we must ask ourselves several questions, and begin to implement the answers.

What can we do now, with existing resources, to carry out this goal through voluntary limitation?

In the future, what measures can we take for which we will need additional funds, personnel, equipment, facilities, authority, and new organizational arrangements?

The federal government can, immediately, with existing authority and resources, take many actions in the areas of research, planning, and operations to cope with our critical domestic population problem—the additional 100 million projected for the year 2000, if current trends continue.

RESEARCH

On 1 July 1969, an interagency Ad Hoc Group on Population Research made a report, "The Federal Program in Population Research," to the Federal Council for Science and Technology.

The Group recommended that the government create an interagency Standing Committee on Population Research to review and evaluate federal population research activities; to advise on gaps, priorities, and uses, as well as appropriate ways to support and administer research; to review efforts to collect, store, and disseminate information; to review federal mechanisms to identify research underway and further research needed in the future; and to identify organizations involved in research.

The federal government, particularly the new Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, now has an opportunity to help implement these actions. In addition, much research remains to be done.

Population Growth Rates and National Goals: For example, we need to analyze the effects of alternate trends in population growth and distribution on the success and cost of federal programs as well as on the capacity of the United States to protect and enhance its values and to meet its goals.

There are many goals and programs affected by population growth as well as agencies which should, therefore, have an interest in this research. Too large a population and too rapid growth make it more difficult for us to achieve these goals. Consider the various agencies with responsibilities for meeting the need to:

Protect and enhance the environment, and meet increasing demands for resources and services (Departments of Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Transportation; and Interior; Smithsonian Institution; Water Resources Council; National Water Commission; Corps of Engineers)

Provide energy (Atomic Energy Commission; Federal Power Commission; Department of the Interior).

Supply housing and other urban functions (Department of Housing and Urban Development).

Provide tronsportation (Department of Transportation).

Solve manpower and unemployment problems (Department of Labor).

Solve problems of trade, industrial production, economic growth, location of population and industry, and examine and cope with the effects of population stability on the economy (Council of Economic Advisors; Departments of Commerce and Labor).

Provide for education, health, and welfare services (Department of Health, Education and Welfare).

These agencies could introduce their analysis of the impact of population trends into their Annual Reports, public information materials, and reports on proposed legislation.

Environment and Population Policies: Based on its survey of ongoing population research supported by federal agencies as of 30 April 1969, the Ad Hoc Group on Population Research found that, of a total of some $55 million spent for population research, about $20,000 or 0.04% of it concerned the environment, and about $153,000 or 0.3% concerned population policy and its implementation.

Even allowing for some error in reporting, there does seem to be a need for more research emphasis in such areas as the implementation of alternate population growth rates and policies for the achievement of environmental quality values, goals, and programs. In this regard, population study centers could be encouraged to examine the environmental policy aspects of population growth and distribution; and, environment and resource study centers could be encouraged to analyze the relation between population trends and environmental problems. Federal activities with an interest in such research include: the Council and Cabinet Committee on Environmental Quality; the Departments of Interior: Agriculture; Commerce; and Health, Education and Welfare; The Atomic Energy Commission; and The Federal Power Commission.

Incentives: In addition to creating, through biomedical research, more efficient means to limit births, we also need more analysis of incentives to use these means and to limit family size. The physical and social environment can be designed to restructure incentives for having children, for example, through housing and community arrangements, and by creating alternate careers for women which provide opportunities, in addition to having and raising children, through which women can find personal self-fulfillment. The Council on Urban Affairs; the Departments of Housing and Urban Development; Labor; and Health, Education and Welfare, all have interests and responsibilities in this area. In addition, the tax and social security system as well as federal and state laws can accelerate or retard population growth and influence population distribution. There are opportunities here for the Departments of Justice; Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare; Treasury; and Internal Revenue Service; and the Council on Environmental Quality.

Zero Population Growth: Finally, we need more research on the problem of stabilizing U.S. (and world) population at various levels—less than its present size, or double its present size, or greater by a factor of 2.5, 3, or 4. The critical research questions are: What are the requirements for, and effects of, achieving a stable population, at what level, at what rate, and when—in 40, 60, 76, 100, or 200 years?

PLANNING AND OPERATIONS

We can take, immediately, many practical steps to plan and implement policies for zero population growth, and to translate the results of research into action. Consider the following opportunities.

Planning: In our plans to support science, we can aim directly at developing the manpower, institutions, and medical and social technology necessary to achieve zero population growth. The Office of Science and Technology, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the National Science Foundation have important responsibilities and opportunities in this area.

We can include considerations of population growth, distribution and control in planning, programming, and budgeting studies conducted throughout the government. The Bureau of the Budget can make sure that all agencies plan for a range of alternative demographic futures, based on alternate patterns of population growth, distribution, and use of technology. For example, federal water resource planning should consider a range of contingencies based on the difference between high and low population projections for the nation as a whole as well as for specific river basins.

River Basin Commissions, Regional Commissions and States, in addition to attempting to meet demands for resources, could be encouraged to look at a range of population projections, and to consider the problem of limiting demands for resources by influencing population growth and distribution within a particular river basin or region. In addition to the Bureau of the Budget, agencies in a position to encourage this activity include the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce; the Corps of Engineers; Water Resources Council; and National Water Commission.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING FEDERAL ACTIONS FOR POPULATION POLICY TO INFLUENCE CAPACITY AND INTENT TO LIMIT BIRTHS

Research [1]	Planning	Operations	Goals and options
Reproductive biology. Fertility regulation techniques and materials. Description of population size, distribution, characteristics, and trends. Determinants of population size, distribution, characteristics, and trends. Consequences of population size, distribution, characteristics, and trends. Research on operational aspects of population problems. Programs to support institutions which perform research on population.	Plan to control population growth as well as to meet the needs (for resources and services) generated by population growth. Contingency planning for a range of alternative demographic futures. Use of planning, programing, and budgeting system.	Public information. Annual reports. Reports on legislation. Family planning programs, clinics. Programs with States and cities. Possible futures; use of tax and social security. Careers for women. Urban design.	Zero population growth via: Voluntary limitation. Manipulation and repression. War, famine, and disease.

[1] This list of research categories is taken from the report by the Ad Hoc Group on Population Research.

In commenting on proposed legislation, especially proposals which attempt to meet the demand for some resource or service, agencies of the Executive Branch can discuss the relation of the proposal to population growth, what difference it would make for the success of the legislation if the high or low population projection came true, and the limits to the proposal's ability to meet the demands which population growth creates. The Bureau of the Budget, in coordinating comments on legislation, has an opportunity to encourage agencies to include such considerations in their reports.

Public Information and Education: This activity is important in influencing people's intent to limit births. To some degree, public information can substitute for positive and negative incentives.

As we have seen, most agencies have interests and programs which are affected by population growth. They could, therefore, adapt their public information programs to convey to the public the interaction between: (1) alternate population growth rates; (2) family size; and (3) the ability of the agency to continue to solve the problems which it is chartered to solve. Federal agencies can do much more to develop public awareness of the population problem through conferences and seminars, and by developing needed public information and media materials, T.V. programs, speeches, charts, graphs, posters, pamphlets, movies, and policy exhibits.

For example, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, with the Departments of Interior; Health, Education and Welfare; and Agriculture could develop a series of posters on the theme "Spaceship Earth," the need to take proper care of it, and the relation of this theme to population growth, environmental quality, and average family size. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could develop teaching aids for use in acquainting students at various grade levels with the demographic facts of life, how to prevent conception, and what needs to be done to preserve and extend the quality of the environment.

The Post Office Department could (1) create a series of stamps concerning the relation between population growth, family planning, family size, and problems of resources, the environment, and society—air, water, and land pollution, transportation, food, housing, medical and welfare services, and education; (2) provide free distribution of information and publicity via pamphlets and posters; and (3) increase the opportunity for employment of housewives.

The Government Printing Office and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could create and maintain a special list of available government publications, charts, exhibits, posters, stamps, films, etc., on population and family planning.

All federal agencies could include in their Annual Reports information on the relation between trends in population growth and distribution and the success or failure of their mission.

Federal agencies such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and Office of Economic Opportunity which have family planning programs could, in addition to enabling families to control births, also attempt to influence their intent to do so, for example, through information concerning the relation between family size, population growth, and other social problems.

Finally, most federal agencies have programs with regions, states, and cities and could encourage them to consider alternatives for population growth and distribution in their planning, programs, and public information.

CONCLUSION

As this article demonstrates, the government currently commands many resources to do more *now*, through research, planning, and operational programs, to implement Dr. DuBridge's priority, no-growth goal for U.S. population.

However, we urgently need the wisdom, will, and decisions to put these many existing capacities to work—to increase quickly public discussion of the population problem and of the goals and means to cope with it, and to expand among policy makers and the public, the awareness, concern, and understanding which are necessary for effective action.

What do we do now, with the resources at hand, and with the time we have left, will help to determine how, at some future date, we will achieve the inevitable limits to the world and U.S. population growth.

Our lack of foresight and prompt action increases the likelihood that we will limit our population through some combination of manipulation, repression, war, famine, and disease. Thus, we will fail to protect and promote our values of economic well-being, environmental quality, democratic government, and individual freedom.

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TESTIMONY PREPARED FOR THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE, FOR THE SIERRA CLUB

(By John H. Tanton, M.D.)

My name is John Tanton. I am an ophthalmologist in group clinic practice in Petoskey, Michigan, and am National Chairman of the Sierra Club Population Committee. A bibliography of my involvement in the conservation and population movements is attached, in case that is of interest.

The Sierra Club is interested in the population problem for the simple reason that its ox is being gored by that problem. Among the many values that the Club is interested in conserving is that of wilderness and the wilderness experience, and of all of our natural resources, this one is perhaps the most sensitive to people pressure. The problem has spread to our national parks and other recreation areas, to the extent that with other groups we are now studying the role that limited entry may have to play in the survival of these resources. As the Club's program has broadened into such areas as a national energy policy, mass transit, fossil fuel consumption, etc., we have come into more contact with the population problem. We have come to the same conclusion that your Commission expressed in its Interim Report, that population growth is an intensifier or multiplier of many problems imparing the quality of life in the United States.

Historically, Club resolutions on the problem date to 1964. In May of 1968, we published *The Population Bomb*, by Paul Ehrlich, a controversial book which did, however, do much to develop public interest in the problem. In part, it was this public interest which paved the way for the establishment of your Commission. During the passage of the legislation setting up the Commission, the Club played an important role in the addition of Section 4. (5), which provides for the all-important suggestions by the Commission of what to do about the problem, in addition to the study of it.

Even though the Club has been involved for some time in the population problem, we are still in the process of developing formal policy on many of the issues involved. As a result, my talk today will indicate some of our areas of concern. We have not however developed formal policy on all of these points as yet. As a format for this discussion, I wish to react to the Commission's Interim Report, dealing with those areas which are of particular interest to us.

IMMIGRATION

As the Commission has noted, immigration stands to account for one quarter of our growth over the next 30 years, given the new Series E projections of the Bureau of the Census. We feel that discussion of this important factor in our overall growth can no longer be avoided.

Immigration policy has interesting ramifications on many fronts. It is an important part of our present unwritten national population policy. The possibility of immigration speaks in an important way to foreign peoples. For the foreign student studying in the United States, the field of study chosen may be influenced in significant ways by the student's interest in immigration. If he intends to return home, the field of study will likely be much different than if he intends to remain in this country. For many foreign countries losing students to the United States, it represents a loss of scarce capital invested in their education as well as a loss of some of their prime citizens. For our country, the "open door" image is part of our heritage, as is the granting of asylum to political refuges. We may well acquire some of our most productive citizens through immigration, since quota immigrees generally must have a marketable skill or concrete financial arrangements, some education, and must be highly motivated to make the switch from their home country. We may not do as well with our native born on an average!

So our immigration policy presents the American people with some dilemmas which must be confronted. If we are to reduce our rate of growth, cuts must be made somewhere in the additions to our system. Shall we continue immigration at its present level, and work just on reducing the number of native born Americans? Or should immigration also be reduced in some proportion along with out domestic birth control efforts? Or should we perhaps even increase immigration, which would require even further reductions in our native born children?

These are interesting and challenging questions, and we hope that your Commission will go beyond just describing the demgraphic effects of immigration, and will lay out clearly for the American people all of the choices which are open to them in this area, together with the implications of each. To this end we suggest the addition of a research project under your topic "Policy Research", to deal with the national and inter-

national implications of various immigration policies.

REDISTRIBUTION

We share the Commission's view that simple redistribution of population might not solve many of the population-related problems that we face. Our concern goes beyond this, to a fear that redistribution may just come to "doing the American thing" to what remains of the unspoiled landscape and resources. We fear that it may just be a later day expression of the "cowboy" economy, that dictates moving on to fresh horizons when one has made an intolerable mess of the present setting. We are concerned that an emphasis on constructing new towns will distract us from the real necessity of reworking our present cities into livable environments.

Perhaps our major difference in emphasis would come at this point. It is an important one, one we would like to try and make clearly. In reading over the whole Interim Report, we must come to the conclusion that it is basically an anthropocentric document. It regards man and his institutions, recent though they may be, as the most central and important feature of the natural scene, and asks the question, "What must we do to this scene to make it accommodate man's 'wants', 'needs', and his growth in numbers?"

We feel strongly that this question should be rephrased to read, "What is best in both the short and long run for the welfare of the bio-physical world?" It is our position that man must then adapt his "wants", "needs", and population size to the realities of this situation, and not vice versa. The attitude should be one of submission to a higher law, of functioning within the system of nature, not domination of it. It should be the attitude contained in the saying from the farm community where I grew up: If the farmer will take care of his land, the land will take care of the farmer. This all has an important bearing on the question of population redistribution. If we approach the question from the man-centered point of view, we may well end up with another increment of damage as we do what the people "need" and "wants". If we work from the system-centered point of view, we may well have to forego some of our "needs" and "wants" in favor of the long range good of the system—and of course that ultimately means the good of man, too.

GOVERNMENT

As a group of largely volunteer citizen activists, the Sierra Club is concerned in particular about one aspect of the effect of population growth on government. This is the relationship between population size, problem size and the willingness of individual citizens to try and solve our problems. This distinction is missed by those who state that such countries as the Netherlands are much more densely populated than the United States, implying that we therefore have no population problem. While we are less densely peopled, our 205 million as compared to their 13 million makes for several orders of magnitude of increase in the complexity of the problems we face, and of the problem-solving mechanism.

In 1870 each member of the federal House of Representatives had a constituency of about 135,000. Today it approaches 470,000, over three times as large. The citizen's plaintive cry "What good is one vote?" is actually a very accurate assessment of the situation. We are all becoming progressively smaller fish in a pond that is rapidly growing in size, and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the individual to even understand the problems that we face as a people, much less do anything about them.

There are many benchmarks that have been envisioned to indicate the decline of a civilization. We would suggest that a crucial one is that point at which problems and the problem-solving mechanisms become so large and complex that individual citizens stop making the effort of problem solving. It then becomes only a matter of time to collapse.

This is an important and seldom mentioned aspect of the population problem which we would like to see the Commission cover in its category of "Political and Governmental Research". A suggested title would be "Population Size, Problem Size and Citizen Abdication from the Problem Solving Process".

THE ECONOMY

It is no accident that persons with an interest in natural history were among the first to notice the population problem, since it is the things which they value highly that are often the most sensitive indicators of people pressure. Many of us were originally attracted to the population problem because we had identified it as a prime cause of many of our natural resource problems, a view which we now recognize was oversimplified. If it is not the population problem, what then is "the" cause? Is it the meaness of human nature, some sort of a 'territorial imperative', or what?

I'm sure that we can readily agree that there is no single cause, but the realization is beginning to dawn that economic growth is an important factor. Many of the things that have been said about population growth can also be said about economic growth: that it can not go on forever, that there are limited resources and natural pollution cleansing capacities of the environment, and that its growth can be stopped only by either conscious action on the part of man, or failing that, collapse of the system when natural laws finally operate. As a matter of fact, when one gets into it, in many ways it appears that population growth is a subheading under economic growth, rather than the other way around. This is in fact what the Commission has said in asserting that population growth is an intensifier or multiplier of other problems. Prime among these problems is that of perpetual economic growth.

Now the view is still widely held that population growth is a prime cause of many of our problems, and it appears from the Interim Report that the Commission sees as one of its objectives the overturning of this simplistic view. To this end, the Sierra Club feels that it is very important that your "Economic Research" section include a study of the relationship between the concepts of a stationary population, and a stationary gross economic product. This should include a dissection of the erroneous idea that a cessation of population growth will stop economic growth. It should also clearly show that many of the values which we wish to conserve by controlling population growth can readily be extinguished by continued economic growth.

This is a vitally important area, because it may well be that a change away from the philosophy of perpetual growth to that of the steady state is necessary before we can develop the new priorities needed to resolve the problems that we face. If we fail to make this transition, we may achieve a stationary population only to find that our goals continue to recede in front of us.

The effect of the various population growth rates on our Social Security System should also be the subject of a specific study. Owing to its method of financing, a steepening of the age-specific pyramid would bring difficulties of great magnitude.

OPTIMUM POPULATION

This is a concept that has attracted attention, and one that is not mentioned as such in the Interim Report. The Sierra Club recognizes that we still have a maximum to go through before there can be any hope of returning to even the present level of population, which many feel is excessive. We feel that this subject is worthy of discussion for the light that it can shed on the values that are important to population policy decisions. A related concept from the world of natural history is the carrying capacity of the land, that is, the number of individuals that can be cared for on a permanent basis without damage to the support system. It would be useful for demonstration purposes if, as part of the Commission's demographic research, projections were prepared for the length of time that would be required to reduce population to selected former levels after maxima are reached, given varying assumptions for family size, etc.

ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

The Interim Report correctly cites on pages 4–6 the extremely disruptive effects that would follow attempts to achieve a zero rate of growth in the near future. The brief discussion falls short of its potential by assuming that the end point would be some stationary population, rather than leaving open the possibility of retrenchment to lower levels. While we recognize the many political, religious, cultural and economic and other factors that would have to be overcome in any such rapid reduction of our growth rate, we feel that this option should be fully explored and presented to the American people. They can then judge whether or not it is more severe than other alternatives.

WANTED CHILDREN

The Interim Report takes appropriate note of recent research indicating that a very large number of "unwanted" children are born in the United States, and the view that the elimination of these births would take us a long way towards a stationary population. Planned Parenthood has for years used a related slogan "Every Child a Wanted Child".

Few however have looked into the reasons for "wanting" children. Those of us who have, find that there are many bad and even sociopathic reasons for having children. In many instances, being "wanted" is simply not enough.

Let me cite an example. A 16 year old single girl recently presented herself to the gynecologist at our clinic with the chief complaint that she was unable to become pregnant!! Under the circumstances, that might seem like an unusual problem. It turned out however, that she and her 17 year old boyfriend wanted to get married, and that her parents wouldn't give permission. So this was their solution: get pregnant and then the parents would insist on marriage! Few of us would classify this as a healthful situation, in view of the divorce rate for teen age marriage, the effect of the age of first childbearing on completed family size, and other factors. Yet it would classify as a "wanted" pregnancy, which we have come to equate with a "good" pregnancy in our uncritical thinking in this area.

Here is another actual example. I am acquainted with a family in which the mother is a carrier of hemophilia, a bleeding disorder which women can carry and is expressed in their male children. She has four boys and two girls. The eldest is married and has a son who appears to have the disease. The youngest girl recently became pregnant out of wedlock at age 16, and had the pregnancy terminated. Among the boys, all are effected, one has died, and the eldest had been hospitalized 64 times the last time I checked. The important point here is that these are all *wanted* children . . . the mother just loves children, even though they do bleed a lot!!

Many other examples could be given, ranging from the couple with marital problems that decides to use another child as a medicine to heal the marriage, to the woman who is tired of working and sees a child as a way

to retreat to the home, to the woman who uses a pregnancy wanted by her alone to get even with her husband for something.

We need to learn the dimensions of this problem, and very little seems to be known about it, especially if it turns out that the prevention of unwanted births and changes in immigration policy are insufficient to produce a stationary population. (Page 28–29) If it proves to be necessary to also reduce the number "wanted" children then those children wanted for pathological reasons should receive first attention. The difficulty and controversy in dealing with these pregnancies may not be as great as envisioned by the Commission.

To this end the Club strongly suggests that the Commission address itself to this new area under the topic of "Social Research." A paper titled along the lines of "Pathological Reasons Behind Some Wanted Pregnancies," and another attempting to quantify these would fill the bill.

CASE METHOD APPROACH

Those of us in clinical medicine have found great value in the case method approach to discussing certain aspects of the population problem. This is particularly applicable to discussion of unwanted and pathologically wanted pregnancy, and abortion, as has hopefully been demonstrated in this paper. To consider these issues in the abstract fails to give the full impact to the reader. It would be a very useful research project for the Commission to prepare a booklet of actual case histories to illustrate different aspects of the population problem.

A STRATEGY FOR POPULATION REGULATION

The Population Committee of the Club is currently engaged in preparing a 5-year plan for our involvement in resolution of the population problem. The plan attempts to develop an overall strategy for approaching the problem, which assigns the multitude of possible projects a specific priority and place in the overall plan. This plan is nearly complete, and I would like very much to present it to you today. However it has not been officially adopted as yet so it would be improper to do so. I will provide you with copies as soon as it is released.

I mention this only because of the great need for workers in this field, whether professional or volunteer, to have some overall plan to give direction to their efforts. It is our hope, and one of our major recommendations, that your Commission in its final report lay out in specific terms the role that you feel private citizen groups can play in resolution of the population problem.

There is one point of terminology which I wish the Commission would take upon itself to clear up. It is the confusion between the words stable and stationary, a confusion which creeps into the Interim Report. I believe that the word stationary means constant in size, whereas the word stable means only that the subject is in a steady state. A population increasing at 3% every year is a stable population, but it certainly is not stationary. The problem is that while the term stationary is parallel to the term stable, there are apparently no parallel terms for the words stabilize and stabilization. Let me suggest that we coin the words stationize and stationization. Then on page 25, the last sentence in paragraph one would read "The concerns of overriding importance are whether population stationization and redistribution of the population are desirable". On page 29 a similar change in the first sentence of the first complete paragraph would also convey more accurately the idea involved.

On behalf of the Sierra Club I appreciate the opportunity to make this presentation, and share with you some of the things which we have been thinking about in relation to the population problem. We have found it a fascinating problem to be involved with, because of its great import to the future of our race, and the strong human feelings attached to it. And unlike many of the problems we face today, it is one where each individual can make a specific and measurable contribution to its solution.

PARTIAL BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN H. TANTON, M.D.

(Particularly as it pertains to natural history, conservation and the population problem), March, 1971.

Born February 23, 1934. B.A. Chemistry, Michigan State University, 1956. M.D., University of Michigan, 1960 M.S., Ophthalmology, University of Michigan, 1964. Diplomate, American Board of Ophthalmology, 1966.

Organizational duties

Secretary, Michigan Natural Areas Council, 1962–63.

Chairman, Bear River Development Commission, City of Petoskey, 1965–present.

President & Vice-President, Petoskey Regional Audubon Society, 1967–68–69.

Volunteer, Environmental Education Program, Petoskey Public Schools, 1967–68.

Organizer, Hartwick Pines Natural History Association, 1969.

Organizer and Chairman, Petoskey Regional Group, Sierra Club, 1970–present.

Member, Environmental Survival Committee, National Sierra Club, 1970–present.

Speaker, on the subject of Human Population, 1962–present.

President, Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood Association, 1965–present.

Organizer, Population Committee, Mackinac Chapter Sierra Club, 1969.

Member, Population Committee, National Sierra Club, 1969–present.

Chairman, Great Lakes Public Affairs Committee of Planned Parenthood, 1970–present.

Organizational memberships

Planned Parenthood-World Population, the Population Reference Bureau, Ann Arbor League for Planned Parenthood, the Wilderness Society, the Nature Conservancy, the National Audubon Society, Save-The-Redwoods League, Sierra Club, Michigan Parks Association, Michigan Botanical Club, Michigan Audubon Society, Michigan United Conservation Clubs, Michigan Association of Conservation Ecologists, Michigan Natural Areas Council.

THE FUTURE OF MAN'S ENVIRONMENT[1]

(By Robert W. Lamson)

In thinking about and acting to influence man's future environment, we must consider many factors—the physical, biological, and social; the "man-made" as well as the "natural." Man's future environment will include the human populations, the cities and institutions which man has created, as well as the physical, chemical, and non-human biological systems—the oceans, continents, river basins, and the populations of various species of plants, fish, insects, birds, and animals upon which man depends for his survival and well-being.

If we wish to protect and improve the social, physical, and biological aspects of our environment, we must attempt to answer and act upon the answers to the following three critical questions:

What are the trends which are helping to modify or create the natural and man-made environments which man will inhabit during the next half century?

What is the possible range of these alternatives future environments?

What might be done to influence these trends so as to shape the future in desired directions?

This article discusses these questions, specifically as they concern the United States.

[1] This article represents only the views of the author and not those of the Department of the Interior.

TRENDS AND CONDITIONS CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES

Important trends which will affect man's future environment include population growth and distribution, resource supply and use, output of wastes, and growth and use of technological and organizational power.

Population growth and distribution

The current world population of about 3.5 billion could double and reach 7 billion or more by the year 2000 if current trends continue. Projected United States population for the year 2015 ranges between 325 and 483 million. In just 50 years, the nation's population could grow by 125 to 280 million over today's population of about 200 million.

Throughout the world, people have been moving from rural areas to more densely populated urban areas, and in the United States, a very large percentage of the growing population lives and is projected to live on a very small percentage of the land.

Supply and use of resources

The United States contains a supply of renewable and non-renewable natural resources which is not unlimited, which can be depleted, but which can also be expanded and upgraded through application of scientific research, and used more efficiently through better management.

Use of many resources in the United States is projected to increase even more rapidly than population, due to increased per capita demand for resources caused by increased industrialization and use of technology, urbanization, rising levels of income and individual expectations, increased leisure, and outdoor recreation. Increasing demand for resources sometimes involves a requirement for higher quality resources, for instance, water.

Output of wastes

Output of wastes—solid, liquid, and gaseous—is increasing for the nation and per capita, thereby intensifying the threat of pollution to our air, land, and water. Sources of pollution include cities, industries, farms, heat from power generation, automobiles, recreation, mining, boating, and commercial shipping. The types, sources, and amounts of wastes will tend to increase with the growth of population, industry, and use of technology and resources. Many types of wastes are also projected to increase more rapidly than will population.

The factors which help to increase demands for resources, for clean water, pure air, and unlittered land, also help to increase the output of wastes, thereby making demands more difficult to satisfy. While we have placed increasing demands upon the environment, we have also increased our dumping of wastes into it.

Although we may not be in immediate danger of exhausting our supply of many types of resources, we are in danger, because of declining quality, of jeopardizing our usable supply.

Growth of technological and organizational power

By applying our knowledge and experience to solve practical problems, we are increasing our technological and organizational ability to:

1. Push back many of the constraints of nature, of distance, time, and disease, and of our formerly low capacity to manipulate the environment;

2. Shape and create widespread, intense, and long-lasting changes in the natural environment; some of the these changes could be irreversible and adverse to man's long-term survival, health, and well-being;

3. Create "artificial" or man-made environments (for instance, cities and manned satellites), and to live in new environments (under the ocean and on the moon);

4. Perceive, predict, and monitor as well as to control, influence, or manage environmental changes, for example, via new tech-

niques (systems analysis), tools (microscopes, telescopes, satellites, and computers), laws (domestic rules as well as international agreements concerning conservation, use of resources, and technology), and institutions (river basin commissions);

5. Increase rapidly the production of food and energy, transform raw materials into finished products through industrial processes, and transport people, goods, energy, and information.

Changing proportion of "natural" and "man-made" aspects of the environment

As a result of population growth and of using our increased technological and organizational power, more and more of man's environment is becoming man-affected or man-made, except where special provision has been made to keep the influence of man and his machines at a minimum (for example, in wilderness areas and natural areas created to provide a base line for ecological studies).

The primary threats to man's physical and psychic survival, to his health and well-being, now increasingly stem from his own creations, from the environments which he has created or altered, from the natural forces which he has harnessed, and from the institutions, techniques, and tools which he has invented in order to remove the constraints of space, time, and low capacity to manipulate the environment.

Man no longer has the margin for error which space, time, and his relative lack of power once provided for his ecological mistakes.

He must, therefore, take care, in his relation to the environment and in his actions to shape it, that he does not make himself and his society more vulnerable to sabotage, disruption, and disaster—for example, if a small element of the system which he designs does not perform perfectly, if his shaping of the environment should have adverse effects, or if disturbances in the environment, such as floods, earthquakes, and hurricanes, should affect the areas in which he has settled.

We have had some sharp, recent experience with systems which created potentially disastrous effects when a small part of the system failed—for instance, the Northeast power failure and the Torrey Canyon tanker disaster.

In attempting to use our power to influence the environment, we should design for a range of contingencies—for the optimist when all works well and for the pessimist when much goes wrong. The test of our technical creations is not how well they perform when all parts work as designed, but how well the system runs and how widespread the damage is when a part of the system fails.

Since the environment influences man himself, and since man has increased power to influence his environment, man is, in many ways, through intent as well as inadvertence, and perhaps in ways he does not understand, increasingly influencing his own genetic, physical, and psychological nature—and that of his children—through the environments which he creates.

Because man's increased power to manipulate the environment has created a total environment which is increasingly man-made and in which man's margin for error is reduced, his only protection now is knowledge and wisdom in using his technological and organizational power. Man's ability to create adverse effects may be greater than his ability to perceive, judge, prevent, and control them. As a result of his inability to control wisely the purposes to which he puts his power, man may find that he is creating effects in his "natural" and "man-made" environments, as well as in himself, which he cannot control and which are adverse and irreversible.

RANGE OF ALTERNATIVE FUTURE ENVIROMENTS

In attempting to look at the "natural" as well as the "man-made" aspects of man's future environment, one can project a number of possible alternatives, ranging from optimistic to pessimistic.

The many elements which will make up man's future environment vary with respect to: (1) probability of occurrence; from impossible to inevitable or zero to 100 percent; (2) popularity, or the extent to which the event is desired by the public or by specific groups, today or in the future; and (3) desirability.

The actual future environment which man will inhabit depends upon the nature and unfolding of the various trends which are helping to shape the environment and upon man's actions to influence these trends.

The crucial problem in looking at the future is to decide what is desirable among the range of possible future events and then to work for it, taking into consideration the probability that the future event will occur, the difficulty and costs of bringing it about, and the consequences of not doing so.

Within the range of possible future social and ecological environments, many pessimistic possibilities could be realized in the absence of adequate policies to prevent their occurrence.

For example, problems of external defense, international order, and war could become worse, with general nuclear war one pessimistic possibility for rapidly decimating our population, and, at the same time severely damaging our natural environment and our cities.

Large-scale loss of life due to ecological and technological disasters is not impossible, particularly if large and densely concentrated populations depend upon an ecology and large-scale systems of technology and organization which are highly vulnerable to disruption, breakdown, and misuse.

In the absence of adequate policies to protect against such natural hazards as storms, earthquakes, and floods, larger numbers of people could become vulnerable to disaster.

Other possible adverse effects of misusing our technological power have been mentioned, for example, global ecological imbalances and more intense and widespread disasters caused by:

1. Environmental pollution which upsets the chemical-thermal balance of the earth's astmosphere because of increased burning of fossil fuels, pollution of the upper atmosphere, and impairment of the cycle by which the carbon-oxygen balance in the atmosphere is maintained, through photosynthesis, by plants on land and in the ocean.

2. Soil depletion and increased salinity of the soil.

3. Poorly planned, large-scale, environmental engineering projects which trigger world-wide ecological effects—rapid or slow—which are adverse to man and irreversible.

Increasing pressures to mass produce and construct, in a short time, large numbers of new buildings and housing units could cause a decline in diversity, quality, and choice in our cities. Without proper protection, the quality of the countryside, also, could continue to deteriorate because of junkyards, billboards, power lines, overenriched lakes ruined by algae growth fed by wastes from cities and farms, polluted streams, and erosion of hillsides and of the many new inadequately protected construction sites.

The cumulative and mutually reinforcing effects of many environmental changes on the ecology and on man's physical and psychic health are potentially dangerous but not well known.

For example, we do not know enough about the long-term ecological, somatic, and genetic effects of various chemicals used in such environmental contaminants as radioactive wastes and lead; of the concentration of various poisons through the food chain, or of their cumulative and interactive effects. Nevertheless, the outpouring of toxic materials into the environment is already great and increasing.

Even though the nation's economy, our gross national product, and our per capita income will continue to grow, individual standards of living could decline because of inadequate policies and programs to protect the environment. Since the social, physical, and biological aspects of man's environment interact, deterioration of the nonhuman environment could help to create economic and social decline.

Moreover, failure on the social and political level could, in turn, contribute to deterioration of our physical and biological surroundings. For example, the educational system could fail to transmit to succeeding generations the cultural values which underlie the nation's political system as well as the attitudes and skills essential to maintaining environmental quality.

Internal order as well as ecological balance and environmental quality could break down or become more difficult to maintain. Or, their maintenance could be based more and more on "external controls" and repressive measures, on the threat of punishment and constriction of freedom.

Man's actions to avert the various environmental threats which now confront him will help to determine whether or not his future environment will be one in which he can thrive as well as exist.

Depending on his actions to prevent the occurrence of future pessimistic possibilities, and to realize optimistic ones, man could enjoy more widespread and heightened values of, for example: natural beauty, clean air, water, and unlittered land; cities which are beautiful, exciting, and a joy to live in; rising levels of living; tranquillity and silence; privacy as well as sociability; diversity, individuality, and choice; justice and security; political freedom, the opportunity to influence and participate in the decisions which affect his welfare and that of his children; democratic, representative government; and the opportunity to develop his personality to the maximum extent.

We must remember that the optimistic projections will not automatically come about without human effort. Nor will we prevent the pessimistic projections from coming true if we do not work at it. In fact, projections can become self-denying or self-fulfilling prophecies, depending upon their effect on human attitudes, effort, and will.

When people view any particular future alternative as necessarily inevitable, such an attitude tends to generate self-fulfilling or self-denying prophecies, depending on whether we see the inevitable as optimistic or pessimistic. For example, a pessimistic projection which is viewed as inevitable can become a self-confirming prophecy through reducing any effort to prevent its occurrence, thereby increasing the probability that it will come true. An optimistic projection which is viewed as inevitable can become a self-denying prophecy through reducing the effort devoted to bringing it about, thereby reducing the probability of its coming true.

On the other hand, if the future is regarded as open and subject, to some extent, to human manipulation, then this will tend to leave room for the creative exercise of human wisdom, will, and effort.

CONTROL OR INFLUENCE OF TRENDS

Having outlined some of the important trends confronting the United States, and a range of alternative environmental outcomes associated with these trends, the question arises: Should we attempt to "adjust" to the trends, or to "influence" and "control" them, or both?

Assuming that "adjustment," by itself, is not an adequate guide if we wish to promote economic growth, individual well-being, and environmental quality, we then need to consider what can be done to "control"—or at least to "influence" the various trends which will affect man's future environment. What can be done to make more probable the optimistic rather than the pessimistic projections?

Technological and organizational power

It is crucial that we control the uses of our increasing technological and organizational power to affect our environment, since to date, we have used this growing power in an unbalanced way:

To limit deaths, but not, at the same time and in the same degree, to limit births. As a result, no matter how efficient the technology, skill, and organization devoted to producing, expanding, and making more efficient use of resources, population now outpaces production in many parts of the world, with tragic results.

To use, destroy, and deplete resources for immediate benefit, without sufficient regard for the resource needs of future generations and without providing adequate knowledge and skills to compensate for the depletion.

To pollute our land, air, and water, but not to prevent pollution, clean it up where it occurs, and restore the damaged environment.

To promote economic and population growth, but not to protect and promote environmental quality.

To create and apply new knowledge and powerful technologies without, at the same time, acting to prevent and limit the damaging side effects of using this knowledge and technology.

There is a need now to restore the balance in our use of science and technology—in our attitudes, laws, and institutions. For science and engineering, by themselves, cannot save us from our lack of wisdom and vision in using science and in managing our technological power.

Additional technological power and efficiency, applied in the same manner that we have applied them in the past to our environment and to the forces of nature, will not necessarily save us from our lack of balance and wisdom in using that power.

We need, therefore, to perceive, predict, evaluate, influence, and control the effects of using our technological and organizational power so that the optimistic rather than the pessimistic possibilities will come to pass.

To carry out the research, planning, and operational programs to perform these activities, we need to create the necessary laws and institutions, in government, at the federal, state, and local levels, as well as in the private sector, in universities and industry.

We need to use our technological power in such a way as to affect the trends which, if unchecked, would realize the pessimistic possibilities. In other words, we need to influence population growth and distribution, the supply of and demand for resources and services, and the output of wastes.

Population growth and distribution

Problems of population increase as well as density could seriously jeopardize the ability of this and other nations to meet, concomitantly, their national goals for security, economic growth, welfare and well-being, resources, conservation, and environmental quality.

There is, therefore, a need to develop a population policy based on analysis to determine:

1. What, if various alternative projections for future population growth and distribution were to come true, the effects would be on the success and costs of our policies:

(a) *To supply and conserve resources* (land, water, air, food, minerals, energy, timber, wildlife, wilderness, outdoor recreation and park areas, open spaces, natural beauty, silence, etc.)

(b) *To provide services* (transportation, health, welfare, housing, sanitation, education, etc.); and

(c) At the same time, *to protect and promote environmental quality;* that is, to prevent further pollution of our land, air, and water, to clean up what pollution remains, to restore the damaged environment, to rebuild our deteriorated cities and to create new ones;

(d) To solve these problems within the existing framework of government and political and personal values (to protect and strengthen freedom of choice and representative, popular government and to limit the extent of intrusion of government into the personal lives of citizens).

2. Which, if any, of the various alternative projections for future population growth and distribution we should regard as goals for population policy, and the costs and benefits of achieving each; and

3. How, by what methods, we could achieve each goal. Programs for action to influence population growth rates and distribution could be based on such analyses.

Alternative goals for population growth might include, for example: (1) to insure that all American families will have access to information and services that will enable them to plan the number and spacing of their children, and thereby, to insure that any future American child will be a "wanted child"; (2) to achieve population growth in the United States which would increase more rapidly or more slowly than is projected; and (3) to stabilize United States (and world) population at less than its present size, or double its present size, or greater by a factor of 2.5, 3, or 4. Here, the question arises: At what level and when should this stabilization—occur in 40, 60, 75, 100, or 200 years?

Supply and use of resources and services

To help satisfy the increasing demands for resources, there is a need to increase the available supply, through research and exploration programs, and to make more efficient use of the existing supply through improved conservation, management, and pricing.

Moreover, if our aim is to increase individual well-being and standards of living, access to resources and services, as well as to promote overall economic growth, then the question arises whether we should attempt to limit the rate at which demand grows as well as to "satisfy" increasing demands for resources and services. This would require us to limit the rate at which population grows and puts pressure on our not unlimited ability to provide resources and services.

Control of waste output

If we are to protect the environment adequately, we must bring under control and manage the wastes of our society which threaten to poison and bury us and to destroy the ecological systems upon which we depend. We must, therefore, prevent, limit, manage, and control waste and pollution at each step in the process by which our economy and industry transform energy and materials, from raw materials through to finished products, to ultimate use and disposal.

This requires us to create more efficient and less wasteful industrial and economic processes, and to provide for use, reuse, recovery, and recycling of the waste products—solid, liquid, and gaseous—which are generated at each stage in our economic system.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL VALUES AND CONTROL OF TRENDS

To control and influence the trends outlined above requires "management" and control of people and institutions as well as of the environment. What is the relation between: (1) "management" of the environment and of the "trends" which will affect the environment, and (2) personal and political values?

"Environmental management" involves the monitoring and manipulation of physical, chemical, and non-human biological systems—the oceans, river basins, watersheds, airsheds, industrial, agricultural, and municipal wastes, and populations of various species of fish, birds, animals, insects, and plants.

But such objects are only part of the environmental quality problem. Human persons, their attitudes, ideologies, practices, social systems, and institutions are also part of the problem of maintaining environmental quality. They must also be part of the cure.

If more "efficient environmental management" involves human persons, attitudes, and institutions, then what are the implications of "efficient environmental management" for such values as freedom, privacy, autonomy of personality, dispersal of power and pluralism (particularly under conditions of rapidly increasing population), industrialization, urbanization, and use of technological power to manipulate the environment?

How can the United States promote environmental quality, and, at the same time, protect and promote various important personal and political values under conditions in which an additional 100 million people are projected to be added to the United States population in a short 30 years?

If the United States is to control the effects of its citizens' actions on the environment, and at the same time, to protect their personal and political values, there will be a need to rely, to a large extent, on internal psychological controls—rather than on the external threat of law or punishment. And, if such internal controls are to be used with a rapidly expanding population, then great reliance must be placed on education for conservation and environmental quality—at each stage of a person's life—in the home, through school, and in other areas of activity.

The need to promote and to reconcile "environmental quality" and "environmental management" with such values as freedom, privacy, and autonomy of personality, dispersal of power, and pluralism is one which places a critical responsibility on the educational system in general, and on the teachers of science in particular.

CONCLUSION

Our current environmental crisis is due to man's misuse of power—to one-sided use of his capacity to control the forces of nature and to his lack of understanding of himself and his lack of wisdom in using his power.

Much remains to be done for environmental quality—in many areas—in terms of attitudes and education, laws and institutions, research, planning, and operational programs.

Science teachers who convey the attitudes and skills needed to protect and promote environmental quality are on the forefront of man's effort to restore balance and harmony—within himself, within nature, and between himself and nature.

We must restore wisdom and balance in our actions, in the use of our power, and in nature. Time is short. Much of our damage to the environment is irreversible; what we destroy cannot be restored and is lost forever.

The accelerating damage which we do to nature and to ourselves will not wait for us to catch up, nor will it wait while we refine our understanding of this damage.

We must learn, and science teachers must help future generations to learn, to restore the balance:

Between our power and our wisdom in using that power

Between our power to create and our power to destroy and disrupt

Between our efforts to prevent injury and our efforts to heal the damaged environment

Between our efforts to understand envi-

ronmental problems and our actions to prevent and correct these problems

Our power has exceeded our wisdom.

Our power to destroy the environment has surpassed our power to correct the damage, to conserve and create.

Our efforts to prevent have lagged behind our efforts to cure.

Our cures have been too little and too late.

And, we have often allowed the quest for more perfect knowledge to deflect us from acting now with what knowledge we have.

HOME RULE DRIVE BEGINS

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues my program for developing a home rule bill reflecting the deep and considered aspirations of the citizens of our Nation's Capital. On Saturday, May 1, I will present a working draft of a home rule bill to a community meeting of representatives of the people of the District. After Saturday's meeting, a series of hearings will be held in each of our city's eight wards to discuss, correct, and amend the working draft. Following the completion of this process, we will have a final draft bill which will be submitted for the consideration of this House.

I should like to outline briefly the major features of my tentative proposal. An elected mayor-city council form of government would be created. The city council would be composed of 15 members, with seven members being elected at large and eight members being elected one from each of eight wards. The city council would exercise broad legislative authority with the power to raise revenues through the imposition of local taxes and fees. Provisions appearing in earlier bills relating to Presidential veto of local legislation have been deleted from this proposal.

My proposal also sets forth an automatic Federal payment formula to meet the District Government's pressing fiscal needs. The level of the payment would be set at 32 percent of general local revenues and miscellaneous receipts for fiscal year 1972, 34 percent for fiscal 1973, 36 percent for fiscal 1974, 38 percent for fiscal 1975, and levels off at 40 percent for fiscal 1976. In addition, to meet the District government's need for a modern system of capital financing, I have proposed that the District government be given the authority to issue public works bonds with a Federal interest subsidy to take into account the fact that the bonds would not be tax exempt.

At the upcoming neighborhood hearings, I shall ask for the people to give me their views on the central features of this proposal, particularly on such questions as the size of the city council, the development of an automatic Federal payment provision, and the creation of a modern election law for the District.

Let me emphasize that the document which I am entering into the RECORD today is a tentative proposal. I consider the point of view of our citizens to be an essential element in any legislation affecting the District which this House considers in the future and I intend to solicit actively this point of view before submitting a bill.

Because I know that home rule legislation is of considerable interest to many of my colleagues, I am placing my draft proposal in the RECORD. I hope you will give me your comments. The draft proposal is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, subject to the retention by Congress of the ultimate legislative authority over the Nation's Capital which is granted by the Constitution, it is the intent of Congress to restore to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia the powers of local self-government which are a basic privilege of all American citizens; to reaffirm through such action the confidence of the American people in the strengthened validity of principles of local self-government by the elective process; to promote among the inhabitants of the District the sense of responsibility for the development and well-being of their community which will result from the enjoyment of such powers of self-government; to provide for the more effective participation in the development of the District and in the solution of its local problems by those persons who are most closely concerned; and to relieve the National Legislature of the burden of legislating upon purely local District matters. It is the further intention of Congress to exercise its retained ultimate legislative authority over the District only insofar as such action shall be necessary or desirable in the interest of the Nation.

TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 101. For the purposes of this Act—

(1) The term "District" means the District of Columbia.

(2) The terms "District Council" and "Council" mean the Council of the District of Columbia provided for by title III.

(3) The term "District of Columbia Council" means the Council of the District of Columbia established under Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967.

(4) The term "Chairman" means, unless otherwise indicated in this Act the Chairman of the District Council provided for by title III.

(5) The term "Mayor" means the Mayor provided for by title IV.

(6) The term "qualified voter," except as otherwise specifically provided, shall have the same meaning as that provided for a "qualified elector" under paragraph (2) of section 2 of the District of Columbia Election Act.

(7) The term "act" includes any legislation adopted by the District Council, except where the term "Act" is used to refer to this Act or other Acts of Congress herein specified.

(8) The term "District Election Act of 1955" means the Act of August 12, 1955 (69 Stat. 699), as amended.

(9) The term "person" includes an individual, partnership, association, joint-stock company, trust, or corporation.

(10) The term "capital project", or "project", means (a) any physical public betterment of improvement and any preliminary studies and surveys relative thereto; (b) the acquisition of property of a permanent nature; or (c) the purchase of equipment for any public betterment or improvement when first erected or acquired.

(11) The term "pending", when applied to any capital project, means authorized but not yet completed.

(12) The term "Board of Elections" means the Board of Elections created by section 3 of the District Election Act of 1955.

(13) The term "election", unless the context otherwise indicates means an election held pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

(14) The term "domicile" means that place where a person has his true, fixed, and permanent home and to which, when he is absent, he has the intention of returning.

(15) The terms "publish" and "publication", unless otherwise specifically provided herein, mean publication in a newspaper of general circulation in the District.

(16) The term "municipal courts of the District of Columbia" means the Superior Court of the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and such other municipal courts as the District Council may hereafter establish by act.

TITLE II—STATUS OF THE DISTRICT

SEC. 201. (a) All of the territory constituting the permanent seat of the Government of the United States shall continue to be designated as the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia shall remain and continue a body corporate, as provided in section 2 of the Revised Statutes relating to said District. Said Corporation shall continue to be charged with all the duties, obligations, responsibilities, and liabilities, and to be vested with all of the powers, rights, privileges, immunities, and assets, respectively, imposed upon and vested in said Corporation, or the Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

(b) No law or regulation which is in force on the effective date of part 2, title III, of this Act shall be deemed amended or repealed by this Act except to the extent specifically provided herein or to the extent that such law or regulation is inconsistent with this Act: *Provided,* That any such law or regulation may be amended or repealed by legislation or regulation as authorized in this Act, or by Act of Congress.

(c) Nothing contained in this section shall affect the boundary line between the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Virginia as the same was established or may be subsequently established under the provisions of title I of the Act of October 31, 1945 (59 Stat. 552).

TITLE III—THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

PART 1—CREATION OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

CREATION AND MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 301. There is hereby created a Council of the District of Columbia consisting of fifteen members, of whom the Chairman and six members shall be elected at large and the other eight members shall be elected one from each of the eight election wards established under the District of Columbia Election Act. The term of office of the Chairman and other members of the Council shall be four years beginning at noon on January 2 of the odd-numbered year following such election; except that of the members (other than the Chairman) first elected after the effective date of this provision, three members elected at large and four members elected from wards shall serve for terms of two years. The members who shall serve for terms of two years shall be determined by lots cast before the Board of Elections of the District of Columbia upon a date set and pursuant to regulations issued by the Board of Elections. The legislative power granted the District by this Act shall be vested in the Council.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR HOLDING OFFICE

SEC. 302. No person shall hold the office of member of the District Council unless he (1) is a qualified voter, (2) is domiciled in the District and, if he is nominated for election from a particular ward, resides in the ward from which he is nominated, (3) has, during the three years next preceding his election, resided and been domiciled in the

District, (4) if he is nominated for election from a particular ward, has, for one year preceding his election, resided and been domiciled in the ward from which he is nominated, (5) holds no other elective public office other than delegate or alternate delegate to a convention of a political party nominating candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, (6) holds no position as an officer or employee of the municipal government of the District of Columbia or any appointive office, for which compensation is provided out of District funds, and (7) holds no office to which he was appointed by the President of the United States and for which compensation is provided out of Federal or District funds. A member of the Council shall forfeit his office upon failure to maintain the qualifications required by this section.

COMPENSATION

SEC. 303. Each member of the District Council shall receive compensation at a rate established by the Council, payable in periodic installments. The Chairman and the Vice Chairman shall receive compensation at a rate established by the Council, payable in periodic installments. All members shall receive such additional allowances for expenses as may be approved by the Council to be paid out of funds duly appropriated therefor.

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP AND COMPENSATION OF DISTRICT COUNCIL MEMBERS

SEC. 304. The number of members constituting the District Council, the qualifications for holding office, and the compensation of such members may be changed by act passed by the Council: *Provided*, That no such act (other than an Act involving compensation) shall take effect until after it has been assented to by a majority of the qualified voters of the District voting at an election on the proposition set forth in any such act.

PART 2—PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

ABOLISHMENT OF EXISTING GOVERNMENT AND TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

SEC. 321. (a) The District of Columbia Council, the offices of Chairman of the District of Columbia Council, Vice Chairman of the District of Columbia Council, and the seven other members of the District of Columbia Council, and the offices of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia and Assistant to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, as established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967, are hereby abolished: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not be construed to reinstate any governmental body or office in the District abolished in said plan or otherwise heretofore.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, all functions granted to or imposed upon, or vested in or transferred to the District of Columbia Council or the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, as established by Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967, are hereby transferred to the District Council, established under the provisions of part I of this title, except those powers hereinafter specifically conferred on the Mayor.

CERTAIN DELEGATED FUNCTIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF CERTAIN AGENCIES

SEC. 322. No function of the District of Columbia Council (established under Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967) or of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia which such District of Columbia Council or Commissioner has delegated to an officer, employee, or agency (including any body of or under such agency) of the District, nor any function now vested pursuant to section 501 of Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967 in the District Public Service Commission, Zoning Commission, Zoning Advisory Council, Board of Zoning Adjustment, Office of the Recorder of Deeds, or Armory Board, or in any officer, employee, or body of or under such agency, shall be considered as a function transferred to the District Council pursuant to section 321 of this Act. Each such function is hereby transferred to the officer, employee, or agency (including a body or under such agency), to whom or to which it was delegated, or in whom or in which it has remained vested, until the Mayor or Council established under this title, or both, pursuant to the powers herein granted, shall revoke, modify, or transfer such delegation or vesting.

SEC. 323. (a) The provisions of section 322 of this Act notwithstanding, before any zoning regulation or equivalent legislation for the District is approved by the District Council, Zoning Commission, or other authority—

(1) the Council, Zoning Commission, or authority shall deposit such regulation or legislation in its introduced form with the National Capital Planning Commission. Such Planning Commission shall, within thirty days after the day of such deposit, submit its comments to the Council, Zoning Commission, or authority, including advice as to whether the proposed regulation or legislation is in conformity with the comprehensive plan for the District of Columbia. The Council, Zoning Commission, or authority shall not pass the regulation or legislation unless it has received said comments, or the Planning Commission has failed to comment, within the thirty-day period above specified; and

(b) The Council, Zoning Commission, or authority shall deposit with the Planning Commission each such regulation or item of legislation passed by it.

(c) This section shall not be construed to restrict legislation (or regulation) regarding solely the procedure (apart from this section) or mechanism for regulating zoning in the District and not itself regulating such zoning.

APPOINTMENT OF ARMORY BOARD

SEC. 324. (a) The first sentence of section 2 of the Act of June 4, 1948 (62 Stat. 339), is hereby amended to read as follows: "There is hereby established an Armory Board, to be composed of three members who shall be appointed by the Mayor by and with the advice and consent of the Council and who shall serve at the pleasure of the Mayor."

(b) All functions and authority vested in the President by the Act of June 12, 1934 (48 Stat. 930), as amended, are hereby transferred to and vested in the Mayor.

POWERS OF AND LIMITATIONS UPON DISTRICT COUNCIL AND THE QUALIFIED VOTERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SEC. 325. (a)(1) The legislative power granted to the District by this Act shall be vested in the District Council, and in the qualified voters of the District of Columbia (as provided in section 1501 of title XV of this Act).

(2) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section, the legislative power of the District shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation including the power to raise revenues through the imposition of appropriate taxes and fees within the District consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act, subject, nevertheless, to all the restrictions and limitations imposed upon States by the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States; but all acts of the Council and the qualified voters of the District of Columbia shall at all times be subject to repeal or modification by the Congress of the United States, and nothing herein shall be construed to deprive Congress of the power of legislation over said District in as ample manner as if this Act had not been enacted: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed as vesting in the District government any greater authority over the Washington Aqueduct, the Commission on Mental Health, the National Zoological Park, the National Guard of the District of Columbia, or, except as otherwise specifically provided in this Act, over any Federal agency, than was vested in the Commissioner of the District prior to the effective date of part 2, title III, of this Act.

(b) Neither the Council nor the qualified voters of the District of Columbia may pass any act contrary to the provisions of this Act, or—

(1) impose any tax on property of the United States, States;

(2) lend the public credit for support of any private undertaking;

(3) authorize the issuance of bonds except in compliance with the provisions of title VI;

(4) authorize the use of public money in support of any sectarian, denominational, or private school except as now or hereafter authorized by Congress;

(5) enact any act to amend or repeal any Act of Congress which concerns the functions or property of the United States or which is not restricted in its application exclusively in or to the District;

(6) pass any act inconsistent with or contrary to the Act of June 6, 1924 (43 Stat. 463), as amended, or the Act of May 29, 1930 (46 Stat. 482), as amended, and the Council shall not pass any act inconsistent with or contrary to any provision of any Act of Congress as it specifically pertains to any duty, authority, and responsibility of the National Capital Planning Commission.

(c) Every act shall include a preamble, or be accompanied by a report, setting forth concisely the purposes of its adoption. Every act shall be published, upon becoming law, as the Council may direct.

(d) An act passed by the Council shall be presented by the Chairman of the Council to the Mayor, who shall, within ten calendar days after the act is presented to him, either approve or disapprove such act. If the Mayor shall approve such act, he shall indicate the same by affixing his signature thereto, and such act shall, subject to the provisions of subsection (e) of this section, become law. If the Mayor shall disapprove such act, he shall, within ten calendar days after it is presented to him, return such act to the Council setting forth his reasons for such disapproval. If any act so passed shall not be returned to the Council by the Mayor within ten calendar days after it shall have been presented to him, the Mayor shall be deemed to have approved it, and such act shall, subject to the provisions of subsection (e) of this section, become law. If, within thirty calendar days after an act has been timely returned by the Mayor to the Council with his disapproval, two-thirds of the members of the Council present and voting vote to repass such act, the act so repassed shall, subject to the provisions of subsection (e) of this section, become law.

(e) The Congress of the United States reserves the right, at any time, to exercise its constitutional authority as legislature for the District of Columbia, by enacting legislation for the District on any subject, whether within or without the scope of legislative power granted to the District Council and the qualified voters of the District of Columbia by this Act, including, without limitation, legislation to amend or repeal any law in force in the District prior to or after enactment of this Act and any act passed by the Council or by the qualified voters of the District of Columbia.

(f) Except as limited by subsection (h) of this section, upon the effective date of this part, jurisdiction over the municipal courts of the District of Columbia shall vest with the District Council in all matters (other than the appointment of judges) pertaining to the organization and composition of such courts, and to the qualification, tenure, and

compensation of the judges thereof: *Provided*, That the Council shall not transfer or modify any function performed by the United States marshal or the United States attorney for the District on the effective date of this part. Appointments to positions as judges of the municipal courts of the District of Columbia shall be made by the Mayor, with the advice and consent of the Council. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to change the tenure of any persons occupying positions as judges of the municipal courts of the District of Columbia on the effective date of this part, except that their compensation may be increased.

(g) On or before the effective date of this part, any person appointed to serve as judge of one of the municipal courts of the District of Columbia shall not (1) be appointed to serve for a term of less than ten years, (2) serve on the court past the year that the seventieth anniversary of his birth shall occur, or (3) receive as compensation for such service an amount less than the amount payable to an associate judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia on the effective date of this part.

(h) Nothing in this section or elsewhere in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the District Council to curtail the jurisdiction, established by enactment of the Congress of the United States, of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia or any other United States court other than the municipal courts of the District.

PART 3—ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

THE CHAIRMAN

SEC. 331. The Chairman of the District Council shall be the presiding officer of the Council. The District Council shall elect from among its members a Vice Chairman, who shall preside in the absence of the Chairman. When the Mayor is absent or unable to act, or when the office is vacant, the Chairman shall act in his stead.

SECRETARY OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL; RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS

SEC. 332. (a) The Council shall appoint a secretary as its chief administrative officer and such assistants and clerical personnel as may be necessary. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the compensation and other terms of employment of such secretary, assistants, and clerical personnel shall be prescribed by the Council.

(b) The secretary shall (1) keep a record of the proceedings of the Council, (2) keep a record showing the text of all acts introduced and the ayes and noes of each vote, (3) authenticate by his signature and record in full in a continuing record kept for that purpose all acts passed by the Council and by the qualified voters of the District of Columbia, including the date and time that each such act takes effect, and (4) perform such other duties as the Council may from time to time prescribe.

(c) The records required by subsection (b) shall be available for public inspection during normal business hours and copies of the records shall be made available for purchase under such conditions and upon the payment of such fees as the Council shall deem appropriate.

MEETINGS

SEC. 333. (a) A majority of the District Council shall constitute a quorum for the lawful convening of any meeting of the Council and for the transaction of business of the Council.

(b) The first meeting of the Council after this part takes effect shall be called by the Chairman of the District Council elected in accordance with this Act. Following each such election, but not later than December 15 of the year of the election, the secretary of the Council shall call the first meeting of the members of the Council elected in such election for a date not later than January 7 of the next year.

(c) The Council shall provide for the time and place of its regular meetings. The Council shall hold at least one regular meeting in each calendar week except that during July and August it shall hold at least two regular meetings in each month. Special meetings may be called, upon the giving of adequate notice, by the Mayor, the Chairman, or any three members of the Council.

(d) Meetings of the Council shall be open to the public and shall be held at reasonable hours and at such places as may be necessary to accommodate a reasonable number of spectators. The Council shall not exclude the public from any of its meetings unless the national security is involved. Any citizen shall have the right to petition and be heard by the Council at any of its meetings, within reasonable limits as set by the Council.

COMMITTEES

SEC. 334. The Council Chairman, with the advice and consent of the Council, shall determine the standing and special committees which may be expedient for the conduct of the Council's business. The Chairman shall appoint members to such committees. All committee meetings shall be open to the public except when ordered closed by the committee chairman, with the prior approval of a majority of the members of the committee.

ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS

SEC. 335. (a) The Council, to discharge the powers and duties imposed herein, shall pass acts and adopt resolutions, upon a vote of majority of the members of the Council present and voting, unless otherwise provided herein. The Council shall use acts for all legislative purposes. Resolutions shall be used to express simple determination, decision, or directions of the Council of a special or temporary character.

(b) (1) The enacting clause of all acts passed by the Council shall be, "Be it enacted by the Council of the District of Columbia:".

(2) The resolving clause of all resolutions passed by the Council shall be, "The Council of the District of Columbia hereby resolves,".

(c) A special election may be called by resolution of the Council to present for referendum vote of the people any proposition upon which the Council desires to take such action.

PASSAGE OF ACTS

SEC. 336. The Council shall not pass any act before the thirteenth day following the day on which it is introduced. Subject to the other limitations of this Act, this requirement may be waived by the unanimous vote of the members present: *Provided*, That the members present constitute a majority of the Council.

INVESTIGATIONS BY DISTRICT COUNCIL

SEC. 337. (a) The Council, or any committee or person authorized by it, shall have power to investigate any matter relating to the affairs of the District; and for that purpose may require the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and other evidence. For such purpose any member of the Council (if the Council is conducting the inquiry) or any member of the committee, or the person conducting the inquiry, may issue subpenas and may administer oaths.

(b) In case of contumacy by or refusal to obey a subpena issued to any person, the Council, committee, or person conducting the investigation shall have power to refer the matter to any judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, who may by order require such person to appear and to give or produce testimony or books, papers, or other evidence, bearing upon the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof as in the case of failure to obey a subpena issued, or to testify, in a case pending before such court.

TITLE IV—MAYOR

ELECTION, QUALIFICATIONS, AND SALARY

SEC. 401. (a) There is hereby created the office of Mayor of the District of Columbia. The Mayor shall be elected as provided in title VII. The term of office of the Mayor shall be four years, beginning at noon on January 2 of the odd-numbered years during which the President of the United States takes office.

(b) No person shall hold the office of Mayor unless he (1) is a qualified voter, (2) is domiciled and resides in the District, (3) has, during the three years next preceding his nomination, been resident in and domiciled in the District, (4) holds no other elective public office, (5) holds no position as an officer or employee of the municipal government of the District of Columbia or any appointive office, for which compensation is provided out of District funds, and (6) holds no office to which he was appointed by the President of the United States and for which compensation is provided out of Federal or District funds. The Mayor shall forfeit his office upon failure to maintain the qualifications required by this section.

(c) The Mayor shall receive an annual salary in an amount established by the Council, and an allowance, in such amount as the Council shall establish, for official reception and representation expenses, which he shall certify in reasonable detail to the District Council. Such salary shall be payable in periodic installments.

(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the method of election, the qualifications for office, the compensation and the allowance for official expenses pertaining to the office of Mayor may be changed by acts passed by the Council: *Provided*, That no such act (other than an act involving compensation or allowances) shall take effect until after it has been assented to by a majority of the qualified voters of the District voting at an election on the proposition set forth in any such act.

POWERS AND DUTIES

SEC. 402. The executive power of the District shall be vested in the Mayor who shall be the chief executive officer of the District government. He shall be responsible for the proper administration of the affairs of the District coming under his jurisdiction or control, and to that end shall have the following powers and functions:

(1) He shall designate the officer or officers of the executive department of the District who shall, during periods of disability or absence from the District of the Mayor, the Chairman, and the Vice Chairman of the Council, execute and perform all the powers and duties of the Mayor.

(2) He shall act as the official spokesman for the District and as the head of the District for ceremonial purposes.

(3) He shall administer all laws relating to the appointment, promotion, discipline, separation, and other conditions of employment of personnel in the office of the Mayor, personnel in executive departments of the District, and members of boards, commissions, and other agencies, who, under laws in effect on the effective date of this section, are subject to appointment and removal by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia. All actions affecting such personnel and such members shall, until such time as legislation is enacted by the Council superseding such laws and establishing a permanent District government merit system or systems, pursuant to section 402(4), continue to be subject to the provisions of Acts of Congress relating to the appointment, promotion, discipline, separation, and other conditions of employment applicable to offi-

cers and employees of the District government, to section 1001(d) of this Act, and where applicable, to the provisions of the joint agreement between the Commissioners and the Civil Service Commission authorized by Executive Order Numbered 5491 of November 18, 1930, relating to the appointment of District personnel. He shall appoint or assign persons to positions formerly occupied, ex officio, by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia or by the Assistant to the Commissioner and shall have power to remove such persons from such positions. The officers and employees of each agency with respect to which legislative power is delegated by this Act and which, immediately prior to the effective date of this section, was not subject to the administrative control of tne Commissioner of the District, shall continue to be appointed and removed in accordance with applicable laws until such time as such laws may be superseded by legislation passed by the Council establishing a permanent District government merit system or systems pursuant to section 402(4).

(4) He shall administer the personnel functions of the District covering employees of all District departments, boards, commissions, offices, and agencies, except as otherwise provided by this Act. Personnel legislation enacted by Congress, prior to or after the effective date of this section, including, without limitation, legislation relating to appointments, promotions, discipline, separations, pay, unemployment compensation, health, disability, and death benefits, leave, retirement, insurance, and veterans' preference, applicable to employees of the District government, as set forth in section 1002(c), shall continue to be applicable until such time as the Council shall, pursuant to this section, provide equal or equivalent coverage under a District government merit system or systems. The District government merit system or systems shall be established by legislation of the Council. The system or systems may provide for continued participation in all or part of the Federal Civil Service System and shall provide for persons employed by the District government immediately preceding the effective date of such system or systems personnel benefits, including but not limited to pay, tenure, leave, residence, retirement, health and life insurance, and employee disability and death benefits, all at least equal to those provided by legislation enacted by Congress, or regulation adopted pursuant thereto, and applicable to such officers and employees immediately prior to the effective date of the system or systems established pursuant to this Act. The District government merit system or systems shall take effect not earlier than one year nor later than five years after the effective date of this section.

(5) He shall, through the heads of administrative boards, offices, and agencies, supervise and direct the activities of such boards, offices, and agencies.

(6) He shall, at the end of each fiscal year, prepare reports for such year of (a) the finances of the District, and (b) the administrative activities of the executive office of the Mayor and the executive departments of the District. He shall submit such reports to the Council within ninety days after the close of the fiscal year.

(7) He shall keep the Council advised of the financial condition and future needs of the District and make such recommendations to the Council as may seem to him desirable.

(8) He may submit drafts of acts to the Council.

(9) He shall perform such other duties as the Council, consistent with the provisions of this Act, may direct.

(10) He may delegate any of his functions (other than the function of approving or disapproving acts passed by the Council or the function of approving contracts between the District and the Federal Government under section 901) to any officer, employee, or agency of the executive office of the Mayor, or to any director of an executive department who may, with the approval of the Mayor, make further delegation of all or a part of such functions to subordinates under his jurisdictions.

(11) There shall be a City Administrator, who shall be appointed by the Mayor and who may be removed by the Mayor. The City Administrator shall be the principal managerial aide to the Mayor, and he shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Mayor.

(12) The Mayor or the Council may propose to the executive or legislative branches of the United States Government legislation or other action dealing with any subject not falling within the authority of the District government as defined in this Act.

(13) As custodian the Mayor shall use and authenticate the corporate seal of the District in accordance with law.

(14) He shall have the right, under the rules to be adopted by the Council, to be heard by the Council or any of its committees.

(15) He is authorized to issue and enforce such administrative orders, not inconsistent with any Act of the Congress or any act of the Council or of the qualified voters of the District of Columbia, as are necessary to carry out his functions and duties.

TITLE V—THE DISTRICT BUDGET

FISCAL YEAR

SEC. 501. The fiscal year of the District of Columbia shall begin on the 1st day of July and shall end on the 30th day of June of the succeeding calendar year. Such fiscal year shall also constitute the budget and accounting year.

BUDGETARY DETAILS FIXED BY DISTRICT COUNCIL

SEC. 502. (a) The Mayor shall prepare and submit not later than April 1, to the District Council, in such form as the Council shall approve, the annual budget estimates of the District and the budget message.

(b) The Mayor shall, in consultation with the Council, take whatever action may be necessary to achieve, insofar as is possible, (1) consistency in accounting and budget classifications, (2) synchronization between accounting and budget classifications and organizational structure, and (3) support of the budget justifications by information on performance and program costs as shown by the accounts.

ADOPTION OF BUDGET

SEC. 503. The Council shall by act adopt a budget for each fiscal year not later than May 15, except that the Council may, by resolution, extend the period for its adoption. The effective date of the budget shall be July 1 of the same calendar year.

FIVE-YEAR CAPITAL PROGRAM

SEC. 504. (a) Prior to the adoption of the annual budget, the Council shall adopt a five-year capital program and a capital budget.

(b) The Mayor shall prepare the five-year capital program and shall submit said program and the capital budget message to the Council, not later than February 1.

(c) The capital program shall include:

(1) a clear general summary of its contents;

(2) a list of all capital improvements which are proposed to be undertaken during the five fiscal years next ensuing, with appropriate supporting information as to the necessity for such improvements;

(3) cost estimates, methods of financing, and recommended time schedules for each such improvement; and

(4) the estimated annual cost of operating and maintaining the facilities to be constructed or acquired.

(d) The capital program shall be revised and extended each year with regard to capital improvements still pending or in the process of construction or acquisition.

(e) Actual capital expenditures shall be carried each year as the capital outlay section of the current budget. These expenditures shall be in the form of direct capital outlays from current revenues or debt service payments.

BUDGET ESTABLISHES APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 505. The adoption of the budget by the Council shall operate to appropriate and to make available for expenditure, for the purposes therein named, the several amounts stated therein as proposed expenditures, subject to the provisions of section 702.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 506. The Council may at any time pass an act rescinding previously appropriated funds which are then available for expenditure, or appropriating funds in addition to those theretofore appropriated to the extent unappropriated funds are available; and for such purpose unappropriated funds may include those borrowed in accordance with the provisions of title VI.

TITLE VI—BORROWING

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 601. As used in this title—

"Capital program obligations" means all outstanding obligations incurred by the District as a result of borrowing for capital outlay programs, but not including obligations incurred pursuant to the authority contained in the District of Columbia Stadium Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 619; D.C. Code, title 2, chapter 17, subchapter II), in the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 (60 Stat. 790; D.C. Code, sections 5–701 through 5–719), and in the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act (48 Stat. 930), as amended (D.C. Code, sections 5–103 through 5–116).

"District revenues" means all revenues derived from taxes, charges, and miscellaneous receipts, including all annual Federal payments to the District authorized by law (except payments pursuant to sections 604(a), 610(a), and 611(a)), but not including funds received by the District under any Federal grant-in-aid program.

"Secretary" means the Secretary of the Treasury.

DISTRICT'S AUTHORITY TO ISSUE AND REDEEM OBLIGATIONS

SEC. 602. (a) The District is hereby authorized to provide for the payment of the cost of its various capital outlay programs by an issue or issues of negotiable obligations of the District, bearing interest, payable annually or semiannually, at such rate or rates as the Mayor may from time to time determine are necessary to make marketable each such issue of obligations. No obligation shall be issued which would cause the amount of principal and interest (as reduced by payments pursuant to sections 604(a) and 610(a)) required to be paid in any fiscal year on the aggregate amount of all outstanding capital program obligations to exceed 12 per centum of the District revenues which the Mayor estimates will be credited to all funds of the District for such fiscal year.

(b) The District may reserve the right to redeem any or all of its obligations before maturity in such manner and at such price or prices as may be fixed by the Mayor prior to the issuance of such obligations.

PURCHASE OF DISTRICT OBLIGATIONS BY THE SECRETARY

SEC. 603. (a) The Secretary is authorized and directed to purchase from the District all or part of any issue of its obligations whenever the Secretary determines such purchase is necessary in order to permit the District to make timely payment of the principal and interest on any of its outstanding

obligations. The Secretary is further authorized to purchase from the District all or any part of any proposed issue of its obligations whenever, pursuant to section 604(b), he determines that this is preferable to Federal payment of the net effective interest expense thereof.

(b) For the purpose of purchasing obligations of the District pursuant to subsection (a) or section 604(b), as authorized in appropriation Acts, and such authorizations may be without fiscal year limitation, the Secretary may use as a public debt transaction the proceeds of the sale of any securities hereafter issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as now or hereafter in force, are extended to include purchases of District obligations. Each purchase of obligations by the Secretary under this section shall be upon such terms and conditions as to yield a return at a rate not less than a rate determined by the Secretary, taking into consideration the current average yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States of comparable maturities. The Secretary may sell, upon such terms and conditions and at such price or prices as he shall determine, any of the obligations acquired by him under this section. All purchases and sales by the Secretary of such obligations under this section shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

FEDERAL PAYMENT OF NET EFFECTIVE INTEREST EXPENSE

SEC. 604. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the Secretary is authorized and directed to make periodic payments to the District, upon request therefor by the Mayor in such amounts as may be necessary (1) to equal one-fourth of the net effective interest expense, including fees, commissions, and other costs of issuance incurred by the District on its obligations, or (2) to equal the difference between the net effective interest expense incurred by the District on account of its obligations and the net effective interest expense which the District would have incurred had the interest rate on its obligations been equal to the interest rate on purchases by the Secretary pursuant to section 603, whichever is greater.

(b) The Mayor shall, prior to making any request of the Secretary as authorized by subsection (a), advise him as to the net effective interest expense which the District expects to incur with respect to the proposed issue of its obligations. The Secretary shall, on the basis of such advice from the Mayor, determine whether to pay to the District the periodic amounts determined as specified in clause (1) or (2) of subsection (a), or, in the alternative, to purchase from the District all or part of the proposed issue of its obligations as authorized in section 603.

INTERIM LOAN AUTHORITY

SEC. 605. (a) The Mayor is authorized to accept loans for the District from the United States Treasury, and the Secretary is authorized to lend to the Mayor, such sums as the Mayor may determine are required to complete payments on capital outlay contracts which have been awarded not later than ninety days after the effective date of this provision. In addition, such loans shall include funds to pay the District's share of the cost of the Adopted Regional System specified in the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969.

(b) In addition to loan authority contained in subsection (a), the Mayor is authorized to accept loans for the District from the Treasury, and the Secretary is authorized to lend to the Mayor such sums as the Mayor from time to time determines are necessary to provide for the continuation of work on any capital program project or projects, pending the sale of an issue of District obligations. Any such loan shall be for such term as may be agreed upon by the Mayor and the Secretary, but in no event shall the term of any such loan extend for more than thirty days beyond the date on which proceeds from the sale of the District's obligations become available for the construction of such project or projects.

(c) Loans advanced pursuant to this section during any six-month period shall be at a rate of interest determined by the Secretary as of the beginning of such period, which, in his judgment, would reflect the cost of money to the Treasury for borrowing at a maturity approximately equal to the period of time the loan is outstanding.

(d) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to make loans under this section.

DISTRICT OBLIGATIONS SUBJECT TO TAXATION

SEC. 606. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. 103), any and all obligations issued by the District under the authority of this title shall be subject both as to principal and interest to District, Federal, State, and local taxation to the same extent as the obligations of private corporations are taxed.

DISTRICT OBLIGATIONS AS LAWFUL INVESTMENTS, ACCEPTANCE AS SECURITY

SEC. 607. All obligations issued by the District under the authority of this title shall be lawful investments, and may be accepted as security for fiduciary, trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which shall be under authority or control of the United States or of any officer or officers thereof. All obligations issued by the District pursuant to this title shall be deemed to be exempt securities within the meaning of laws administered by the Securities and Exchange Commission, to the same extent as securities which are issued by the United States.

DISTRICT OBLIGATIONS ELIGIBLE FOR PURCHASE BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

SEC. 608. (a) The sixth sentence of the seventh paragraph of section 5136 of the Revised Satutes, as amended (12 U.S.C. 24), is amended by inserting ", or obligations of the District of Columbia issued pursuant to the District of Columbia Charter Act," immediately following "United States" where such term first appears in such sixth sentence.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any building association or building and loan association or any savings and loan association, incorporated or unincorporated, organized and operating under the laws of the District, or any Federal savings and loan association, may invest its funds in obligations of the District issued pursuant to this title.

PERMANENT APPROPRIATION FOR FEDERAL PAYMENT OF NET EFFECTIVE INTEREST EXPENSE

SEC. 609. Section 3689 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 711), is further amended by adding a new paragraph appropriating moneys for the purposes under the Treasury Department, to read as follows:

"Payments with respect to District of Columbia Obligations: For payments with respect to obligations of the District of Columbia pursuant to section 604(a) of the District of Columbia Charter Act."

WATER POLLUTION

SEC. 610. (a) The Mayor shall annually estimate the amount of the District's principal and interest expense which is required to service District obligations attributable to the Maryland and Virginia pro rata share of District sanitary wage works and other water pollution projects which provide service to the local jurisdictions in those States. Such amounts as determined by the Mayor shall be used to exclude the Maryland and Virginia share of pollution projects costs from the limitation on the District's capital program obligations as provided in section 602(a).

(b) The Mayor shall enter into agreements with the States and local jurisdictions concerned for annual payments to the District of rates and charges for waste treatment services in accordance with the use and benefits made and derived from the operation of the said waste treatment facilities. Each such agreement shall require that the estimated amount of such rates and charges will be paid in advance, subject to adjustment after each year. Such rates and charges shall be sufficient to cover the cost of construction, interest on capital, operation and maintenance, and the necessary replacement of equipment during the useful life of the facility.

FUNDS FOR DISTRICT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

SEC. 611. (a) In order to carry out the District's capital programs for its institutions of higher education, including those programs authorized by the District of Columbia Public Education Act approved November 7, 1966 (Public Law 89–791; 80 Stat. 1426), there is authorized to be appropriated Federal capital contributions to the Mayor in such amounts as may be necessary to defray the cost of constructing projects which have been included in the budget estimates for the District and approved by the Congress, in making capital outlay appropriations to the District: *Provided*, That such project or projects shall be included by the Mayor in the budget estimates of the Mayor only after he has approved an education program and financial plan for the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute submitted to him jointly by the Chairman of the Board of Higher Education and the Chairman of the Board of Higher Education and the Chairman of the Board of Vocational Education. Such plan to be known as "The District of Columbia Higher Education Program and Financial Plan", may be amended from time to time as appropriate and shall include the following—

(1) an estimate of the total cost of construction of all proposed physical facilities, including construction scheduling and annual capital cost requirements;

(2) estimates and projects of student body enrollment;

(3) overall financial plans for operating expenses;

(4) admission policies as they may affect student body enrollment levels;

(5) estimates of financial assistance for which the District may qualify under various Federal grant-in-aid programs; and

(6) such other information as the Mayor determines necessary to complete his review of the Higher Education Program and Financial Plan.

In approving the Higher Education Program and Financial Plan required by this section, the Commissioner may make such modifications as he determines necessary in the interest of economy and efficiency of the operations of the institutions of higher education or of other agencies of the District, or the Commissioner may disapprove such plan and return it, together with his reasons for disapproval, to the respective institutions for resubmission.

(b) There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of subsection (a) and of titles I and II of the District of Columbia Education Act.

(c) Title III of the District of Columbia Education Act is repealed.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA TRANSIT AUTHORITY

SEC. 612. Notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, beginning with fiscal year 1973 the District share of the cost of the Adopted Regional System described in the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969 (Public Law 91–143; 83 Stat. 320) shall be payable from the proceeds of the sale of Dis-

trict obligations issued pursuant to the authority contained in section 602 of this title.

TERMINATION OF THE DISTRICT'S AUTHORITY TO BORROW FROM THE TREASURY

SEC. 613. (a) The first section of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to borrow funds for capital improvement programs and to amend provisions of law relating to Federal Government participation in meeting costs of maintaining the Nation's Capital City", approved June 6, 1958 (72 Stat. 183; D.C. Code, sec. 9–220), is amended by striking out subsections (b), (c), (d), and (e).

(b) The Act entitled "An Act authorizing loans from the United States Treasury for the expansion of the District of Columbia water system", approved June 2, 1950 (60 Stat. 195; D.C. Code, sec. 43–1540), is repealed.

(c) Title II of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the financing of a program of public works construction for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes", approved May 18, 1954 (68 Stat. 104), is amended by striking out sections 213, 214, 216, 217, and 218 (D.C. Code, sections 43, 1612, 1613, 1615, 1616, and 1617), authorizing loans from the United States Treasury for sanitary and combined sewer systems of the District.

(d) Section 402 of title IV of such Act approved May 18, 1954 (68 Stat. 110; D.C. Code, sec. 7–133), authorizing loans from the United States Treasury for the District of Columbia highway construction program, is repealed.

(e) Nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to relieve the District of its obligation to repay any loan made to it under the authority of the Acts specified in the preceding subsections, nor to preclude the District from using the unexpended balance of any such loan appropriated to the District prior to the effective date of this provision.

TITLE VII—FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE DISTRICT

PART 1—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

SURETY BONDS

SEC. 701. Each officer and employee of the District required to do so by the District Council shall provide a bond with such surety and in such amount as the Council may require. The premiums for all such bonds shall be paid out of appropriations for the District.

FINANCIAL DUTIES OF THE MAYOR

SEC. 702. The Mayor, through his duly designated subordinates, shall have charge of the administration of the financial affairs of the Distrist and to that end he shall—

(1) prepare and submit in the form and manner prescribed by the Council under section 502 the annual budget estimates and a budget message;

(2) supervise and be responsible for all financial transactions to insure adequate control of revenues and resources and to insure that appropriations are not exceeded;

(3) maintain systems of accounting and internal control designed to provide—

(A) full disclosure of the financial results of the District government's activities,

(B) adequate financial information needed by the District government for management purposes,

(C) effective control over and accountability for all funds, property, and other assets;

(4) submit to the Council a monthly financial statement, by appropriation and department, and in any further detail the Council may specify;

(5) prepare, as of the end of each fiscal year, a complete financial statement and report;

(6) supervise and be responsible for the assessment of all property subject to assessment within the corporate limits of the District for taxation, make all special assessments for the District government, prepare tax maps, and give such notice of taxes and special assessments as may be required by law;

(7) supervise and be responsible for the assessment and collection of all taxes, special assessments, license fees, and other revenues of the District for the collection of which the District is responsible and receive all money receivable by the District from the Federal Government, or from any court, or from any agency of the District;

(8) have custody of all public funds belonging to or under the control of the District, or any agency of the District government, and deposit all funds coming into his hands, in such depositories as may be designated and under such terms and conditions may be prescribed by act of the Council;

(9) have custody of all investments and invested funds of the District government, or in possession of such government in a fiduciary capacity, and have the safekeeping of all bonds and notes of the District and the receipt and delivery of District bonds and notes for transfer, registration, or exchange.

CONTROL OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 703. The Council may provide for (1) the transfer during the budget year of any appropriation balance then available for one item of appropration to another item of appropriation, and (2) the allocation to new items of funds appropriated for contingent expenditure.

ACCOUNTING SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

SEC. 704. The Mayor, through his duly authorized subordinates, shall—

(1) prescribe the forms of receipts, vouchers, bills, and claims to be used by all the agencies of the District government;

(2) examine and approve all contracts, orders, and other documents by which the District government incurs financial obligations, having previously ascertained that moneys have been appropriated and allotted and will be available when the obligations shall become due and payable;

(3) audit and approve before payment all bills, invoices, payrolls, and other evidences of claims, demands, or charges against the District government and with the advice of the legal officials of the District determine the regularity, legality, and correctness of such claims, demands, or charges; and

(4) perform internal audits of central accounting and department and agency records of the District government, including the examination of any accounts or records of financial transactions, giving due consideration to the effectiveness of accounting systems, internal control, and related administrative practices of the respective agencies.

GENERAL FUND

SEC. 705. The general fund of the District shall be composed of the revenues of the District other than the revenues applied by law to special funds. All moneys received by any agency, officer, or employee of the District in its or his official capacity shall belong to the District government and shall be paid promptly to the Mayor, or his duly authorized subordinates, for deposit in the appropriate funds.

CONTRACTS EXTENDING BEYOND ONE YEAR

SEC. 706. No contract involving expenditure out of an appropriation which is available for more than one year shall be made for a period of more than five years; nor shall any such contract be valid unless made pursuant to criteria established by act of the Council.

PART 2—ANNUAL POST AUDIT BY GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

INDEPENDENT ANNUAL POST AUDIT

SEC. 721. (a) The financial transactions shall be audited by the General Accounting Office in accordance with such principles and procedures and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Comptroller General of the United States. In the determination of the auditing procedures to be followed and the extent of the examination of vouchers and other documents, the Comptroller General shall give due regard to generally accepted principles of auditing, including consideration of the effectiveness of the accounting organizations and systems, internal audit and control, and related administrative practices. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts are normally kept. The representatives of the General Accounting Office shall have access to all books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the District and necessary to facilitate the audit, and such representatives shall be afforded full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians. The District of Columbia shall reimburse the General Accounting Office for expenses of such audit in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Mayor and the Comptroller General, and the amounts so reimbursed shall be deposited into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

(b)(1 The Comptroller General shall submit his audit reports to the Congress, the Mayor, and the Council. The reports shall set forth the scope of the audits and shall include such comments and information as the Comptroller General may deem necessary to keep the Mayor and the Council informed of the operations to which the reports relate, together with such recommedations with respect thereto as the Comptroller General may deem advisable. The reports shall show specifically every program, expenditure, and other financial transaction or undertaking which, in the opinion of the Comptroller General, has been carried on or made without authority of law.

(2) After the Mayor and his duly authorized surbordinates have had an opportunity to be heard, the Council shall make such report, together with such other material as it deems pertinent thereto, available for public inspection and shall transmit copies thereof to the Congress.

(3) The Mayor, within ninety days after the report has been made to him and the Council, shall state in writing to the Council, with a copy to the Congress, what has been done to comply with the recommendations made by the Comptroller General in the report.

AMENDMENT OF BUDGET AND ACCOUNTING ACT

SEC. 722. Section 2 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 2), is hereby amended by striking out "and the municipal government of the District of Columbia".

PART 3—ADJUSTMENT OF FEDERAL AND DISTRICT EXPENSES

SEC. 731. Subject to section 901 and other provisions of law, the Mayor, with the approval of the Council, and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, are authorized and empowered to enter into an agreement or agreements concerning the manner and method by which amounts owed by the District to the United States, or by the United States to the District, shall be ascertained and paid.

PART 4—ANNUAL FEDERAL PAYMENT TO THE DISTRICT

SEC. 741. (a) In recognition of the unique character of the District of Columbia as the Nation's Capital City, regular annual payments by the Federal Government are hereby authorized to cover the proper share of the expenses of the District government. On or before January 10 of each year, the Mayor shall, with the approval of the Council, submit to the Secretary of the Treasury through the Administrator of General Services a re-

quest for a Federal payment to be made during the following fiscal year, and the amount of such payment shall be computed in accordance with this part.

(b) The Federal payment for each fiscal year shall be determined on the basis of a percentage of the amount of District of Columbia fees, miscellaneous receipts, and tax revenues which the Mayor estimates will be credited to the general fund of the District during the fiscal year as follows:

(1) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, such amount shall be an amount equal to 32 per centum of such fees, receipts, and revenues so estimated for that fiscal year;

(2) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, such payment shall be an amount equal to 34 per centum of such fees, receipts, and revenues so estimated for that fiscal year;

(3) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, such payment shall be an amount equal to 36 per centum of such fees, receipts, and revenues so estimated for that fiscal year;

(4) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, such payment shall be an amount equal to 38 per centum of such fees, receipts, and revenues so estimated for that fiscal year;

(5) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976, such payment shall be an amount equal to 40 per centum of such fees, receipts, and revenues so estimated for that fiscal year; and

(c) Commencing with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, the amount of the Federal payment for any fiscal year shall be adjusted by an amount equal to the difference between (1) the Federal payment made for such fiscal year and (2) the per centum in effect for that fiscal year times such fees, miscellaneous receipts, and tax revenues actually credited to the general fund during such fiscal year.

(d) After review by the Administrator of General Services of the request for Federal payment and certification by him on or before April 10 of the fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the annual Federal payment is being requested that such request is in conformity with the provisions of this part, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, not later than September 1 of each fiscal year, cause such payment to be made to the District out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to advance on or after July 1, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, without interest, such amounts (not to exceed in the aggregate the total payment in the previous fiscal year) as may be required by the District pending the payment of the amount authorized by this section.

(e) The Administrator of General Services shall enter into cooperative arrangements with the Mayor whereby adjustments, disputes, differences, or disagreements involving the Federal payment may be resolved.

TITLE VIII—AMENDMENTS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION ACT

AMENDMENTS

SEC. 801. The District of Columbia Election Act is amended as follows:

(1) The first section of such Act is amended by inserting immediately after "Board of Education,", the following: "the members of the Council of the District of Columbia, the Mayor, the Delegate from the District of Columbia,".

(2) Paragraph (2) of section 2 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The term 'qualified elector' means any person (A) who, for the purpose of voting in an election under this Act, has resided in the District continuously during the six-month period ending on the day of such election, (B) who is a citizen of the United States, (C) who is, or will be on the day of the next election, at least eighteen years old, (D) who is not mentally incompetent as adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction, and (E) who certifies that he has not, within six months immediately preceding the day of the election, claimed the right to vote or voted in any election in any State or territory of the United States (other than the District of Columbia)."

(3) Section 2 of such Act is further amended (1) by striking out in paragraph (4) thereof "a school" and inserting in lieu thereof "an"; and (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(6) The term 'Council' or 'Council of the District of Columbia' means the Council of the District of Columbia established pursuant to the District of Columbia Charter Act.

"(7) The term 'Mayor' means the office of Mayor of the District of Columbia established pursuant to the District of Columbia Charter Act."

(4)(A) Section 3 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. There is hereby created a Board of Elections for the District of Columbia, to be composed of three members appointed by the Mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the District Council. The term of each such member shall be three years from the expiration of the term of his predecessor. Any person appointed to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of his predecessor. When a member's term of office expires, he may continue to serve until his successor is appointed and has qualified. The Mayor shall from time to time designate the Chairman of the Board."

(B) The members of the Board of Elections in office on the date when the Mayor first elected takes office shall continue in office for the remainder of the terms for which they were appointed.

(5) The first sentence of section 4(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Each member of the Board shall be paid at the rate of $1,500 per annum in periodic installments; except that the rate of compensation may be changed by act passed by the District Council."

(6) Section 5(a)(4) of such Act is amended by striking "school".

(7) Section 7(d)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "odd-numbered calendar year and of each presidential election year," and inserting in lieu thereof "calendar year,".

(8) Section 8(h) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(h)(1) Except in the case of the three members of the Board of Education, the three members, including the Chairman, of the Council, the Mayor, and the District Delegate elected at large, the other members of the Board of Education and the Council shall be elected by the qualified electors of the respective wards of the District from which the members have been nominated.

"(2) In the case of the three members of the Board of Education, the three members, including the Chairman, of the Council, the Mayor, and the District Delegate elected at large, such members, Mayor, and District Delegate shall be elected by the qualified electors of the District."

(9) Section 8(i) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(i) Each candidate in a general election for member of the Board of Education, member of the Council, the office of Mayor, or the office of District Delegate shall be nominated for such office by a petition (A) filed with the Board not later than forty-five days before the date of such general election; (B) signed by at least two hundred and fifty persons who are duly registered under section 7 in the ward from which the candidate seeks election, or, in the case of a candidate running at large, signed by at least one hundred and twenty-five persons in each ward of the District who are duly registered in such ward; and (C) accompanied by a filing fee of $100. Such fee may be refunded only in the event that the candidate withdraws his nomination in writing and it is received by the Board not later than three days after the date on which nominations are closed. A nominating petition for any such candidate in a general election may not be circulated for signatures before the ninety-ninth day preceding the date of such election and may not be filed with the Board before the seventieth day preceding such date. The Board may prescribe rules with respect to the preparation and presentation of nominating petitions and the posting and disposition of filing fees. The Board shall insure that each signature on a petition is that of a registered voter and that no voter shall sign more than one nominating petition for any office. In a general election for candidate for the office of Board of Education or the Council to be elected from wards, the Board shall arrange the ballots in each ward to enable a voter registered in that ward to vote for any one candidate duly nominated to be elected to any such office from such ward, and, in the case of candidates for the office of Board of Education or the Council to be elected at large, the Board shall arrange the ballots in each ward to enable a voter registered in that ward to vote for as many candidates duly nominated for election at large to any such office as there are Board of Education or Council members to be elected at large in such election. In a general election for Mayor or District Delegate, the Board shall arrange the ballots in each ward to enable a voter registered in that ward to vote for any one candidate duly nominated to be elected to any such office."

(10) Section 10(a) of such Act is amended by inserting immediately after paragraph (3) thereof the following new paragraph:

"(3A) The first general election for members of the Council shall be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of the year this Act shall become law, and thereafter on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of each even-numbered calendar year. The first general election for the office of Mayor shall be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of the year this Act shall become law, and thereafter on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of such year as the President of the United States shall be elected."

(11) Paragraph 4(A) of section 10(a) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(4)(A)(1) If in a general election for members of the Board of Education or the Council no candidate for the office of member of such Board or Council from a ward, or no candidate for the office of member of such Board or Council elected at large (where only one at large position is being filled at such election) receives 40 per centum of the votes validly cast for such office, a runoff election shall be held on the twenty-first day next following such election. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes in such runoff election shall be declared elected.

"(2) If in a general election for the office of Mayor or Chairman of the Council or Delegate from the District of Columbia no candidate for any such office receives 40 per centum of the votes validly cast for such office, a runoff election shall be held on the twenty-first day next following such election. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes in such runoff election shall be declared elected.".

(12) Paragraph (5) of section 10(a) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(5) In the case of a runoff election for the office of member of the Board of Education or the Council elected at large, the candidates in such runoff election shall be those unsuccessful candidates, in number not more than one more than the number of such offices to be filled, who in the general election

next preceding such runoff election received the highest number of votes less than 40 per centum. In the case of a runoff election for the office of member of the Board of Education or the Council from a ward, the runoff election shall be held in such ward, and the two candidates who in the general election next preceding such runoff election received respectively the highest number and the second highest number of votes validly cast in such ward or who tied in receiving the highest number of such votes shall run in such runoff election. In the case of a runoff election for the office of Mayor or Chairman of the Council or Delegate from the District of Columbia, the candidates in such runoff election shall be those two candidates who in the general election next preceding such runoff election received respectively the highest number and the second highest number of votes validly cast in such election for such office, or who tied in receiving the highest number of such votes. If in any case a tie vote must be resolved to determine the candidates to run in any runoff election, the Board may resolve such tie vote by requiring the candidates receiving the tie vote to cast lots at such time and in such manner as the Board may prescribe.".

(13) Paragraph (6) of section 10(a) of such Act is amended by inserting a comma immediately after "Board of Education" and the following: "or the Council, or Mayor or Delegate from the District of Columbia".

(14) Section 10(b) of such Act is amended by inserting immediately after "Board of Education", the following: "or the Council, or the Mayor or Delegate from the District Columbia".

(15) Section 10(c) of such Act is amended by inserting immediately after "Board of Education", the following: "or the Council, or the Mayor or Delegate from the District of Columbia".

(16) Section 10(d) of such Act is amended by inserting immediately after "Board of Education", the following: "or the Council, or the Mayor or Delegate from the District of Columbia".

(17) Section 10(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Whenever a vacancy occurs in the office of member of the Board of Education or Mayor, such vacancy shall be filled at the next general election for members of the Board of Education or the office of Mayor, as the case may be, which occurs more than ninety-nine days after such vacancy occurs. However, in the case of the Board of Education, such Board shall appoint a person to fill such vacancy until the unexpired term of the vacant office ends or until the fourth Monday in January next following the date of the election of a person to serve the remainder of such unexpired term, whichever occurs first. In the case of the office of Mayor, the Council shall appoint a person to fill such vacancy until the unexpired term of the vacant office ends or until January 2 next following the date of the election of a person to serve the remainder of such unexpired term, whichever occurs first. A person elected to fill any such vacancy shall hold office for the duration of the unexpired term of office to which he was elected. Any person appointed under this subsection shall have the same qualifications for holding such office as were required of his immediate predecessor."

(18) The first sentence of section 15 of such Act is amended to read as follows: "No person shall be a candidate for more than one office on the Board of Education or the Council in any election for members of the Board of Education or the Council.".

RECALL

SEC. 802. (a) Any elective officer of the District of Columbia, other than the Delegate from the District of Columbia, shall be subject to recall by the qualified voters of the elective unit, ward, or the District, from which he was elected. Any petition filed demanding such recall shall be signed by not less than 25 per centum of the number of qualified voters of the applicable elective unit voting at the last preceding general election (not a runoff election). Such petition shall set forth the reasons for the demand and shall be filed with the secretary of the District Council. If any such officer with respect to whom such a petition is filed shall offer his resignation, it shall be accepted and take effect on the day it is offered, and the vacancy shall be filled as provided by law for filling a vacancy in that office arising from any other cause. If he shall not resign within five days after the petition is filed, a special election shall be called by the Council to be held within twenty days thereafter to determine whether the qualified voters of the applicable elective unit will recall such officer.

(b) There shall be printed on the ballot at such election, in not more than two hundred words, the reason or reasons for demanding the recall of any such officer, and in not more than two hundred words, the officer's justification or answer to such demands. Any officer with respect to whom a petition demanding his recall has been filed shall continue to perform the duties of his office until the result of such special election is officially declared by the Board of Elections. No petition demanding the recall of any officer filed pursuant to this section shall be circulated against any officer of the District until he has held his office six months.

(c) If a majority of the qualified voters voting on any petition filed pursuant to this section vote to recall any officer, his recall shall be effective on the day on which the Board of Elections certifies the results of the special election, and the vacancy created thereby shall be filled immediately in a manner provided by law for filling a vacancy in that office arising from any other cause.

(d) The Board of Elections shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary or appropriate (1) with respect to the form, filing, examination, amendment, and certification of a petition for recall filed pursuant to this section, and (2) with respect to the conduct of any special election held pursuant to this Act.

INTERFERENCE WITH REGISTRATION OR VOTING

SEC. 803. (a) No one shall interfere with the registration or voting of another person, except as it may be reasonably necessary in the performance of a duty imposed by law. No person performing such a duty shall interfere with the registration or voting of another person because of his race, color, sex, or religious belief, or his lack of property or income.

(b) No registered voter shall be required to perform a military duty on election day which would prevent him from voting, except in time of war or public danger, or unless he is away from the District in military service. No registered voter may be arrested while voting or going to vote except for treason, a felony, or for a breach of the peace then committed.

TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS

AGREEMENTS WITH UNITED STATES

SEC. 901. (a) For the purpose of preventing duplication of effort or for the purpose of otherwise promoting efficiency and economy, any Federal officer or agency may furnish services to the District government and any District officer or agency may furnish services to the Federal Government. Except where the terms and conditions governing the furnishing of such services are prescribed by other provisions of law, such services shall be furnished pursuant to an agreement (1) negotiated by the Federal and District authorities concerned, and (2) approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and by the Mayor, with the approval of the District Council. Each such agreement shall provide that the cost of furnishing such services shall be borne in the manner provided in subsection (c) by the government to which such services are furnished at rates or charges based on the actual cost of furnishing such services.

(b) For the purpose of carrying out any agreement negotiated and approved pursuant to subsection (a), any District officer or agency may in the agreement delegate any of his or its functions to any Federal officer or agency, and any Federal officer or agency may in the agreement delegate any of his or its functions to any District officer or agency. Any function so delegated may be exercised in accordance with the terms of the delegation.

(c) The cost to each Federal officer and agency in furnishing services to the District pursuant to any such agreement shall be paid, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, out of appropriations made by the Council to the District officers and agencies to which such services are furnished. The costs to each District officer and agency in furnishing services to the Federal Government pursuant to any such agreement shall be paid, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, out of appropriations made by the Congress or other funds available to the Federal officers and agencies to which such services are furnished.

PERSONAL INTEREST IN CONTRACTS OR TRANSACTIONS

SEC. 902. Any officer or employee of the District who is convicted of a violation of section 208 of title 18, United States Code, shall forfeit his office or position.

COMPENSATION FROM MORE THAN ONE SOURCE

SEC. 903. (a) Except as provided in this Act, no person shall be ineligible to serve or to receive compensation as a member of the Council, or the Board of Elections because he occupies another office or position or because he receives compensation (including retirement compensation) from another source.

(b) The right to another office or position or to compensation from another source otherwise secured to such a person under the laws of the United States shall not be abridged by the fact of his service or receipt of compensation as a member of the Council or such Board, if such service does not interfere with the discharge of his duties in such other office or position.

ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION IN DEVELOPMENT OF DISTRICT MERIT SYSTEM

SEC. 904. The United States Civil Service Commission is hereby authorized to advise and assist the Mayor and the Council in the further development of the merit system required by section 402(3) and the said Commission is authorized to enter into agreements with the District government to make available its registers of eligibles as a recruiting source to fill District positions as needed. The costs of any specific services furnished by the Civil Service Commission may be compensated for under the provisions of section 901 of this Act.

TITLE X—SUCCESSION IN GOVERNMENT

TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL, PROPERTY, AND FUNDS

SEC. 1001. (a) In each case of the transfer, by any provision of this Act, of functions to the Council, to the Mayor, or to any agency or officer, there are hereby transferred (as of the time of such transfer of functions) to the Council, to the Mayor, to such agency, or to the agency of which such officer is the head, for use in the administration of the functions of the Council or such agency or officer, the personnel (except the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, the Assistant to the Commissioner, the Chairman of the District of Columbia Council, the Vice Chairman of the District of Columbia Council, the other members thereof, all of

whose offices are abolished by this Act), property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations and other funds, which relate primarily to the functions so transferred.

(b) If any question arises in connection with the carrying out of subsection (a), such question shall be decided—

(1) in the case of functions transferred from a Federal officer or agency, by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; and

(2) in the case of other functions (A) by the Council, or in such manner as the Council shall provide, if such functions are transferred to the Council, and (B) by the Mayor if such functions are transferred to him or to any other officer or agency.

(c) Any of the personnel transferred to the Council, the Mayor, or any agency by this section which the Council or the head of such agency shall find to be in excess of the personnel necessary for the administration of its or his functions shall, in accordance with law, be retransferred to other positions in the District or Federal Government or be separated from the service.

(d) No officer or employee shall, by reason of his transfer by this Act or his separation from service under this Act, be deprived of a civil service status held by him prior to such transfer or any right of appeal or review he may have by reason of his separation from service.

EXISTING STATUTES, REGULATIONS, AND OTHER ACTIONS

SEC. 1002. (a) Any statute, regulation, or other action in respect of (and any regulation or other action issued, made, taken, or granted by) any officer or agency from which any function is transferred by this Act shall, except to the extent modified or made inapplicable by or under authority of law, continue in effect as if such transfer had not been made; but after such transfer, references in such statute, regulation, or other action to an officer or agency from which a transfer is made by this Act shall be held and considered to refer to the officer or agency to which the transfer is made.

(b) As used in subsection (a), the term "other action" includes, without limitation, any rule, order, contract, compact, policy, determination, directive, grant, authorization, permit, requirement, or designation.

(c) Unless otherwise specifically provided, nothing contained in this Act shall be construed as affecting the applicability to the District of Columbia government of personnel legislation relating to the District government until such time as the Council may otherwise elect to provide equal or equivalent coverage as provided in section 402(4).

PENDING ACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

SEC. 1003. (a) No suit, action, or other judicial proceeding lawfully commenced by or against any officer or agency in his or its official capacity or in relation to the exercise of his or its official functions, shall abate by reason of the taking effect of any provision of this Act; but the court, unless it determines that the survival of such suit, action, or other proceeding is not necessary for purposes of settlement of the questions involved, shall allow the same to be maintained, with such substitutions as to parties as are appropriate.

(b) No administrative action or proceeding lawfully commenced shall abate solely by reason of the taking effect of any provision of this Act, but such action or proceeding shall be continued with such substitutions as to parties and officers or agencies as are appropriate.

VACANCIES RESULTING FROM ABOLISHMENT OF OFFICES OF COMMISSIONER AND ASSISTANT TO THE COMMISSIONER

SEC. 1004. Until the 1st day of July next after the first Mayor takes office under this Act, no vacancy occurring in any District agency by reason of section 321, abolishing the offices of Commissioner of the District of Columbia and Assistant to the Commissioner, shall affect the power of the remaining members of such agency to exercise its functions; but such agency may take action only if a majority of the members holding office vote in favor of it.

TITLE XI—SEPARABILITY OF PROVISION

SEC. 1101. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

TITLE XII—TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT DURING TRANSITION PERIOD

SEC. 1201. The President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to take such action during the period following the date of the enactment of this Act and ending on the date of the first meeting of the District Council, by Executive order or otherwise, with respect to the administration of the functions of the District of Columbia government, as he deems necessary to enable the Board of Elections properly to perform its functions under this Act.

REIMBURSABLE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DISTRICT

SEC. 1202. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to advance to the District of Columbia the sum of $750,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for use (1) in paying the expenses of the Board of Elections (including compensation of the members thereof), and (2) in otherwise carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

(b) The full amount expended out of the money advanced pursuant to this section shall be reimbursed to the United States, without interest, during the second fiscal year which begins after the effective date of title V, from the general fund of the District of Columbia.

TITLE XIII—EFFECTIVE DATES

SEC. 1301. (a) As used in this title and title XIV the term "charter" means titles I to XI, both inclusive, and title XV.

(b) The charter shall take effect only if accepted pursuant to title XIV. If the charter is so accepted, it shall take effect on the day following the date on which it is accepted (as determined pursuant to section 1406) except that—

(1) part 2 of title III, title V, title VII (except part 4), and title XV shall take effect on the day upon which the Council members first elected take office;

(2) section 402 shall take effect on the day upon which the Mayor first elected takes office; and

(3) part 4 of title VII shall take effect with respect to the first fiscal year beginning next after the Mayor first elected takes office and with respect to subsequent fiscal years.

(c) Titles XII, XIII, and XIV shall take effect on the day following the date on which this Act is enacted.

TITLE XIV—SUBMISSION OF CHARTER FOR REFERENDUM

CHARTER REFERENDUM

SEC. 1401. On a date to be fixed by the Board of Elections, not more than four months after the enactment of this Act, a referendum (in this title referred to as the "charter referendum") shall be conducted to determine whether the registered qualified voters of the District of Columbia accept the charter.

BOARD OF ELECTIONS

SEC. 1402. (a) In addition to its other duties, the Board of Elections established under the District Election Act of 1955 shall conduct the charter referendum and certify the results thereof as provided in this title.

(b) Notwithstanding the fact that such section does not otherwise take effect unless the charter is accepted under this title, the applicable provisions of title VIII of this Act shall govern the Board of Elections in the performance of its duties under this Act.

APPLICABILITY OF TITLE VIII

SEC. 1403. Except as otherwise indicated in this title, the provisions of title VIII of this Act shall to the extent applicable govern all aspects (including, but not solely, the registration and qualification of voters, the method of voting, recounts and contests, interference with registration or voting, and election violations) of the referendum election herein, notwithstanding the fact that such title VIII does not otherwise take effect unless the charter is accepted.

CHARTER REFERENDUM BALLOT: NOTICE OF VOTING

SEC. 1404. (a) The charter referendum ballot shall contain the following, with a blank space appropriately filled:

"The District of Columbia Charter Act, enacted ——, proposes to establish a new charter for the District of Columbia, but provides that the charter shall take effect only if it is accepted by the registered qualified voters of the District in this referendum.

"By marking a cross (X) in one of the squares provided below, show whether you are for or against the charter.

☐ For the charter

☐ Against the charter".

(b) Voting may be by paper ballot or by voting machine. The Board of Elections may make such changes in the second paragraph of the charter referendum ballot as it determines to be necessary to permit the use of voting machines if such machines are used.

(c) Not less than five days before the date of charter referendum, the Board of Elections shall mail to each person registered (1) a sample of the charter referendum ballot, and (2) information showing the polling place of such person and the date and hours of voting.

(d) Not less than one day before the charter referendum, the Board of Elections shall publish, in newspapers of general circulation published in the District of Columbia, a list of the polling places and the date and hours of voting.

ACCEPTANCE OR NONACCEPTANCE OF CHARTER

SEC. 1405. (a) If a majority of the registered qualified voters voting the charter referendum vote for the charter the charter shall be considered accepted as of the time the Board of Elections certifies the result of the charter referendum to the President of the United States, as provided in subsection (b).

(b) The Board of Elections shall, within a reasonable time, but in no event more than thirty days after the date of the charter referendum, certify the result of the charter referendum to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

TITLE XV—INITIATIVE

POWER TO PREPOSE AND ENACT LEGISLATION

SEC. 1501. (a) Subject to the provisions of section 325 of this Act, the qualified voters of the District shall have the power, independent of the Mayor and Council, to propose and enact legislation relating to the District with respect to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act.

(b) In exercising the power of initiative conferred upon the qualified voters by subsection (a) of this section, not less than 10 per centum of the number of qualified

voters voting in the last preceding general election shall be required to propose any measure by an initiative petition. Every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed and shall be filed with the Secretary of the District Council to be submitted to a vote of the qualified voters. Any such petition which has been filed with the Secretary, and certified by him as sufficient, shall be submitted to the qualified voters of the District at the first general election which occurs not less than thirty days nor more than one year from the date on which the Secretary files his certificate of sufficiency. The Council shall, if no general election is to be held within such period, provide for a special election for the purpose of considering the petition.

(c) Upon receiving the certification of the Board of Elections of the results of any election held with respect to any measure proposed by an initiative petition, the Secretary of the Council, if such measure was approved by a majority of the qualified voters of the District voting thereon, shall, within five calendar days thereafter, present the petition containing such measure so approved, which was filed with him pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to the President of the United States. Such measure shall become law unless, within ten calendar days after it is so presented to the President, he shall, in accordance with this subsection, disapprove the same. The President may, if he is satisfied that such measure adversely affects a Federal interest, disapprove it, in which event he shall return it, with his objections, to the Secretary and, notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, such measure shall not become law.

(d) If conflicting measures proposed at the same election become law, the measure receiving the greatest number of affirmative votes shall prevail to the extent of such conflict.

(e) If, within thirty days after the filing of a petition, the Secretary has not specified the particulars in which a petition is defective, the petition shall be deemed certified as sufficient for purposes of this section.

(f) The style of all measures proposed by initiative petition shall be as follows: "Be it enacted by the People of the District of Columbia".

(g) The Board of Elections shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary or appropriate (1) with respect to the form, filing, examination, amendment, and certification of initiative petitions, and (2) with respect to the conduct of any election during which any such petition is considered.

(h) If any organization or group request it for the purpose of circulating descriptive matter relating to the measures proposed to be voted on, the Board of Elections shall either permit such organization or group to copy the names and addresses of the qualified electors or furnish it with a list thereof, at a charge to be determined by the Board of Elections, not exceeding the actual cost of reproducing such list.

TITLE XVI—TITLE OF ACT

SEC. 1601. This Act, divided into titles and sections according to table of contents, and including the declaration of congressional policy which is a part of such Act, may be cited as the "District of Columbia Charter Act".

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR HEALTH

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, during the next few weeks we will be considering the various appropriations bills that will provide funds for the many health programs that are administered by the executive branch of the National Government. We will also deal with various health care plans, including those that have been offered by the Nixon administration, organized labor, the American Medical Association, the Health Insurance Association of America, and the American Hospital Association.

Before any Member of this body votes on either the appropriations measures or on authorizations for new health programs, I hope he will take time to examine some figures that I will insert in the RECORD at the close of my remarks. These statistics are based on "The Budget of the United States" for fiscal 1972, which is now going through the appropriations process.

According to the tabulation, total obligations amounted to $20,612,439,000 during fiscal 1970. They are expected to total $23,890,886,000 during the current year, fiscal 1971, and $25,616,191,000 during fiscal 1972, which will begin 2 months from now. These vast sums do not include health appropriations that are not separated from nonhealth appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues who feel that the Federal Government is being parsimonious in financing health programs will scrutinize the figures that I have prepared for them. I hope that those who are concerned about unbalanced budgets will look for places to economize, consolidate, and streamline. I especially hope that those who want to establish new health care programs will bear in mind that the money for them will have to come from the same source as that which will have to provide almost $26,000,000,000 during fiscal 1972 for existing health activities—the taxpayer.

FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Demonstration health projects	4,408	45,669	45,000

Grants are made for the construction, equipping, and operation of multicounty demonstration health facilities, including hospitals, regional health diagnostic or treatment centers, and other facilities. Emphasis will be given to programs for child development and nutrition and to continued operational assistance for health services in selected demonstrations within the Appalachian region.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
International development assistance informational foreign currency schedules: Financial activities related to maternal welfare, child health and problems of population growth	5,588	17,933	6,540

Portions of the foreign currencies from the sale of agricultural commodities are allocated to the foreign economic assistance program to finance activities related to maternal welfare, child health and nutrition, population growth, and plant or pest control.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Economic opportunity program: Community development programs: Health and nutrition	122,500	139,700	134,900

A number of additional health services projects will be started in 1972 to explore new ways to deliver comprehensive care to the poor. The major effort will be in developing communitywide programs involving a number of institutions forming a coordinated network of services for the poor. Family planning and narcotics rehabilitation programs will also be expanded.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

EXTENSION SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Cooperation with the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice, on work concerned with eradication of marihuana	6	----------	----------

FOREST SERVICE

Construction and land acquisition: Pollution abatement	----------	6,488	19,088

To provide for bringing water and air pollution control at existing recreation, research, fire, and administrative facilities to the quality standards adopted pursuant to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, the Clean Air Act, as amended, or as prescribed pursuant to Executive Order 11507—1970.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

PROMOTION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: National Industrial Pollution Control Council	20	----------	----------
National Industrial Pollution Control Council, salaries and expenses:			
Administrative expenses	----------	291	294
Change in selected resources	----------	3	6
Total obligations	----------	294	300

Executive Order 11523—1970—established the National Industrial Pollution Control Council to advise the President and the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, through the Secretary of Commerce, on programs of in-

dustry relating to the quality of the environment. The role of the Council is to: survey and evaluate the plans and actions of industry in the field of environmental quality; identify and examine problems of the effects on the environment of industrial practices and the needs of industry for improvements in the quality of the environment, and recommend solutions to those problems; provide liaison among members of the business and industrial community on environmental quality matters; encourage the business and industrial community to improve the quality of the environment; and advise on plans and actions of Federal, State, and local agencies involving environmental quality policies affecting industry which are referred to it by the Secretary of Commerce, or by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality through the Secretary.

This activity is carried out through 30 subcouncils of industry categories such as chemicals, airlines, each composed of six to eight industry executives of large and small companies. These subcouncils promote a knowledgeable industry-by-industry approach to industrial environmental quality improvement.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, MILITARY

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Army National Guard: Medical support	20	35	969
Air National Guard: Medical support	565	700	700
Informational foreign currency schedule (value of goods and service provided by the Berlin magistrat for occupation costs and mandatory expenditures): Medical activities	835	872	1,093

Note: A great deal of money is provided for "Medical" under "Department of Defense—Military," that is not isolated from other budget items.

REVOLVING AND MANAGEMENT FUNDS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Air Force stock fund: Medical-dental	53,770	52,663	50,093
Defense stock fund: Medical and dental material	178,585	178,000	166,000

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—CIVIL

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Soldiers' Home: Operation and maintenance: Medical care	4,350	4,713	5,031

A hospital operated as part of the home cares for the daily average patient loads. In addition, certain members will receive specialized care at other hospitals.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical care		149	

A proposed supplemental appropriation is anticipated in 1971 to cover increased costs of operating the Home.

THE PANAMA CANAL

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operating expenses:			
Health and sanitation:			
Hospitals and clinics	13,642	14,250	15,037
Other public health services	2,569	2,697	2,885

Hospitals and clinics: Two general medical and surgical hospitals, with outpatient clinics, are maintained and operated to furnish medical care to eligible civilian and military personnel. A neuropsychiatric and domiciliary hospital and a leprosarium also are operated and maintained.

Other public health services: This provides for communitywide public health services, sanitation, and quarantine work in the Canal Zone, and for ships calling at its ports and transiting the canal, inspection of food processing establishments, and facilities for animal care and quarantine.

CAPITAL OUTLAY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Civil functions:			
Public areas and facilities:			
Construction of sewage pollution controls			400
Health and sanitation:			
Replace and add equipment	339	701	246
Improvements and rehabilitations to health facilities	29	285	503
Prior year projects	597	395	

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Food and drug control:			
Foods:			
Grants	420	2,946	2,946
Direct operations	26,596	33,545	39,460
Drugs and devices	30,465	36,182	39,915
Product safety			
Grants	230	748	748
Direct operations	3,589	5,124	5,217
Program direction and management services	5,055	6,906	6,907
Total program costs, funded	66,355	85,451	95,193
Change in selected resources	9,849		
Total obligations	76,204	85,451	95,193

The laws administered by the Food and Drug Administration are designed to protect the public against dangerous, misbranded, and adulterated foods, drugs, therapeutic devices, cosmetics, and other products, including pesticides, poisons, toys, and hazardous household substances.

Foods: Grants: Research and training grants are awarded to State agencies, to universities, and to qualified nonprofit institutions for studies to determine harmful properties in milk and food and to develop methods to detect and prevent food contamination.

Direct operations: The agency is responsible for promoting the safety, quality, nutritional adequacy, and integrity of the country's food supply. It conducts intramural and extramural studies of foods, long-term low-dose chemical feeding studies in animals, sets standards for certain classes of products, reviews industry petitions to use additives in foods and establishes tolerance for them, defines good manufacturing practices and works to secure industry's voluntary adherence to them and to the law, inspects establishments in the food marketing chain to insure that products are being manufactured and distributed properly, collects and analyzes samples of marketed foods to insure that the final product is safe, wholesome, and properly labeled, and takes whatever regulatory action is necessary to insure compliance with the law.

The 1972 increase will fund expanded food inspection efforts, the establishment and monitoring of guidelines for the nutritional quality and labeling of foods, expanded research and regulatory programs involving foods containing mycotoxins and poisonous metals, expanded coverage of imported foods, the establishment of a program for periodic review of the safety of chemicals added to food, and initiation of a cooperative quality assurance program.

Drugs and devices: The agency's responsibilities within this activity are to insure that drugs and medical devices are both safe and effective. It evaluates all new drugs when they are first proposed for experimental testing in humans and again before they can be sold to the public at large. Additionally, it reviews reports from industry and from the medical profession to learn about adverse reactions or other problems associated with marketed drugs and devices, conducts extramural and intramural studies to detect problems that may not be readily apparent to the layman or to the physician, inspects drug establishments to insure that products are manufactured and distributed properly, collects and analyzes samples of marketed drugs to insure that the final product is safe and effective in the form in which it actually reaches the consumer, and takes regulatory action when necessary to insure compliance with the law.

The 1972 increase will enable the agency to improve the drug review process, increase its statistical analysis capability in its effort to insure the safety and efficacy of new drugs, increased efforts to remove ineffective drugs from the market, expand research on the safety and efficacy of drugs, increase drug inspection efforts, develop an initial testing and monitoring program to determine the safety and efficacy of medical devices, and expand studies to determine the occurrence and significance of drug residues in food-producing animals.

Product safety—grants: Research grants are awarded to universities and to other eligible institutions for the study of accidental poisonings, burns, and other injuries related to the use or misuse of potentially hazardous products.

Direct operations: The agency's responsibilities within this activity center on the identification and, where the law permits, the regulatory control of unsafe products that pose a threat to the consumer. It collects, evaluates, and disseminates epidemiological data on accidental poisonings and injuries involving hazardous products, conducts intramural and extramural studies of these products and their components, inspects establishments in the marketing chain to insure that proper manufacturing and distribution procedures are followed, sponsors tests of certain products that appear unusually dangerous, and takes regulatory action when necessary against violations of the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act and the Child Protection and Toy Safety Act.

Program direction and management services: This activity includes the agency's executive and administrative functions: the establishment of policy, the formulation and promulgation of agency-wide plans and directives, the allocation and control of resources, the daily direction of the organization, the evaluation of performance, the maintenance of liaison with Congress and other Government agencies, the coordination of the agency's international activities, and the support of its operating units in the areas of financial management, mail and records, printing and distribution, facilities management, supply management, management services, personnel, and training.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Buildings and facilities:			
Total program costs, funded		4,705	8,049
Change in selected resources		1,574	7,157
Total obligations		6,279	15,206

This appropriation provides funds for continuing projects related to the planning, construction, repair, and improvements of all buildings and facilities of the Food and Drug Administration.

REVOLVING FUND FOR CERTIFICATION AND OTHER SERVICES—OPERATING COSTS, FUNDED

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Certification services:			
Antibiotics	2,861	3,489	3,526
Color additives	553	592	600
Insulin	87	81	82
Establishment of tolerances:			
Pesticides	212	69	
Capital outlay, funded: Purchase of equipment	147	209	209
Total program costs, funded	3,860	4,440	4,417
Change in selected resources	67		
Total obligations	3,927	4,440	4,417

The Food and Drug Administration certifies batches of antibiotics, insulin, and color additives for use in food, drugs, or cosmetics; it also establishes tolerances for residues of pesticide chemicals in or on raw agricultural products and lists color additives for use in foods, drugs, and cosmetics. These services are financed wholly by fees paid by the industries affected.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Food and drug control	158	326	326

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Environmental control:			
Solid waste management	13,911	10,771	2,000
Occupational health	8,088	13,700	2,000
Radiological health	12,759	13,891	6,000
Community environmental management	13,287	6,871	3,000
Water hygiene	2,602	2,221	1,000
Program direction and management services	2,880	2,326	1,000
Total program costs, funded	53,527	49,780	15,000
Change in selected resources	3,060	−11,731	−15,000
Total obligations	56,587	38,049	

Programs supported by the environmental control appropriation in 1971 will be transferred to other Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations and to appropriations of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1972. Programs remaining under Department control are occupational health, community environmental management, and the health related segments of the radiological health program. Programs transferred to the Environmental Protection Agency effective December 2, 1970, include solid waste management, water hygiene, the environmental elements of the radiological health program and program direction and management services activities of the Environmental Control Administration.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Buildings and facilities:			
Food and Drug Administration	22		
Environmental Control Administration	2,115	1,954	
Total program costs, funded	2,137	1,954	
Change in selected resources	−1,041	−1,794	
Total obligations	1,096	160	

This appropriation was terminated as of November 30, 1970. Construction activities previously funded through this account have been transferred to the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Health Services and Mental Health Administration.

HEALTH SERVICES AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
MENTAL HEALTH			
Research:			
Grants	84,796	90,600	92,400
Direct operations	26,797	26,426	26,942
Manpower development:			
Training grants and fellowships	118,335	116,350	113,300
Direct operations	5,678	5,810	5,765
State and community programs:			
Community mental health centers:			
Construction	23,995	27,678	
Staffing	47,622	90,100	105,100
Community narcotic addiction and alcoholism rehabilitation programs	3,057	29,713	40,193
Direct operations	2,715	3,431	3,938
Rehabilitation of drug abusers	17,131	20,308	20,611
Program support activities:			
Field activities	2,562	2,881	2,889
Scientific communication and public education	4,019	4,831	5,255
Executive direction and management services	5,653	5,982	5,839
Total program costs, funded	342,360	424,110	422,232
Change in selected resources	−1,096		
Total obligations	341,264	424,110	422,232

Research, grants: Grants are awarded on a project basis for clinical, psychopharmacological, service developmental, and behavioral research in mental illness and health. Clinical research centers, research in special areas such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and violence, child mental health, and general research support grants are also supported. Hospital improvement projects which are awarded to State institutions for the mentally ill are also supported from this subactivity. These projects are designed to improve the quality of care, treatment, and rehabilitation in State institutions.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research are supported in this subactivity in the behavioral and biological sciences, for example, phychiatry, socio-economic studies, neurobiology, and neurochemistry and in special mental health problems of narcotic addiction, alcoholism, neuropharmacology, and clinical psychopharmacology.

This subactivity also supports Institute staff who are responsible for the planning, development, and administration of the grant and contract programs included under "Grants."

A limited amount of the funds is used to support research on a contract basis. One such activity is the marihuana contract program designed to determine the behavioral and biological effects of marihuana. Payments to the National Institutes of Health's management fund are also supported in this subactivity.

Manpower development: Training grants and fellowships: Grants are made to training institutions for training in psychiatry, psychology, psychiatric nursing, psychiatric social work, and other mental health disciplines, such as the rapidly developing paraprofessional mental health worker field. Experimental and special programs and continuing education in mental health are supported

as well as specialized training in such areas as alcoholism, drug abuse, crime and delinquency, and suicide prevention. Fellowship awards are made on the basis of individual merit to persons involved in mental health research.

Direct operations: This subactivity supports Institute staff who are responsible for planning and administration of the national mental health manpower program including mental health manpower studies and the development of training programs for paraprofessionals. A limited amount of funds will be used to support contracts to train individuals to work with drug abusers. This subactivity also supports the training activities of the National Center for Mental Health Services, training and research, and a program for training psychiatrists for careers in the Public Health Service.

State and community programs: Community mental health centers. Construction: Grants are awarded to public and nonprofit agencies for the partial support of construction costs for community mental health centers.

Staffing: Grants are awarded to the centers for partial support on a matching basis, of professional and technical personnel.

Community narcotic addiction and alcoholism rehabilitation programs: These grants provide partial support on a matching basis for the construction and staffing of community facilities for the treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts and alcoholics. Project grants are also made for specialized training programs, special projects, evaluation of existing narcotic addiction and alcoholism rehabilitation programs, consultation services, and for the initiation and development of new projects in poverty areas. The 1972 budget will also support drug abuse projects transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Direct operations: This subactivity supports Institute staff responsible for program development and policymaking operations for the community mental health centers program, technical program assistance for the mental hospital improvement program and administration of a mental health services delivery, research grants, and intramural research program. Additional funds and positions are contained in the 1972 budget for this subactivity for the planning, development, and administration of the rapidly expanding alcoholism community assistance program.

Rehabilitation of drug abusers: This activity provides salaries and expenses for the National Institute of Mental Health staff who administer the narcotic addiction community assistance grant program. Funds are also included for the treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts in the clinical research centers located at Lexington, Ky., and under contract arrangements with community agencies. The Fort Worth, Tex., narcotic hospital will be transferred to the Department of Justice in 1972.

Program support activities: Field activities: This subactivity supports the National Institute of Mental Health staff located in the Department's regional offices and the headquarters staff responsible for coordination of regional programs and the Institute's relationships with other Federal agencies, professional societies, and State and community organizations.

Scientific communication and public education: Included in this activity is the National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information which collects and disseminates scientific and technical information in the mental health field and the National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Information which gives the public a central office within the Federal Government to contact for information and assistance concerning this social problem. Other public information and education activities are also supported including a program directed toward increasing public knowledge about alcohol and alcoholism.

Executive direction and management services: Institute staff responsible for executive direction, program planning and evaluation, biometric and legislative services, and administrative management are funded in this subactivity.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
St. Elizabeths Hospital:			
Clinical and community services, total program costs	41,884	44,960	48,508
Unfunded adjustments to total program costs: Property, services, or capital assets transferred in without charge	−135	−135	−135
Total, program costs, funded	41,749	44,825	48,373
Change in selected resources	373	−380	−562
Total, obligations	42,122	44,445	47,811

St. Elizabeths Hospital provides treatment and care for the mentally ill who are either beneficiaries of the Federal Government or residents of the District of Columbia. Programs of the hospital are financed by Federal appropriations covering treatment and care of Federal beneficiaries and by reimbursements made to the hospital for services rendered other patient groups, principally residents of the District of Columbia. Federal appropriations to the hospital are of the indefinite type, under which the hospital receives, in appropriated funds, the difference between the amount of reimbursements actually received during the year, for patient care provided by the hospital, and the total program costs approved by the Congress for the year.

Treatment programs of the hospital operate on both an inpatient and outpatient basis. St. Elizabeths operates a community mental health center on its campus, which serves the population of part of the District of Columbia.

HEALTH SERVICES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Studies, training, and systems development:			
Grants and contracts	30,123	51,712	55,218
Direct operations	2,400	3,514	3,782
Program direction and management services	1,850	2,400	2,484
Total program costs, funded	34,373	57,626	61,484
Change in selected resources	8,195		
Total obligations	42,568	57,626	61,484

The National Center for Health Services Research and Development has been established as the principal agency within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to improve the organization, delivery, and financing of health services by stimulating and supporting research, development, demonstrations, and related training. The National Center is focusing on national priority problems in health services such as rising costs, unequal distribution and utilization of health services, inadequate methods for planning and decisionmaking, and shortages of professional personnel.

In order to focus research and development efforts effectively, the critical areas which are most likely to yield results on a national scale are being identified. To date these are: Development of experimental community health services systems; new, national acceptable types of health services manpower to expand physician services; simplified financing arrangements and effective cost containment methods; improved integration among health services institutions and among programs for ambulatory and inpatient care; nationally applicable methods of performance accounting, including an acceptable and usable index of health status; application of cost-effective health services technology; and training in health services research and development and in creative management of health services innovations.

Studies, training, and systems development; grants and contracts; research and development: Grants and contracts are awarded to public or private agencies, academic and other research organizations to conduct analyses of economic, social, and technological factors which affect the organization, financing, and utilization of health services. Large-scale research and development projects are directed primarily at containing the rate of increase of medical care costs, and developing community-based systems for delivering health services and improving the availability and utilization of care. Contracts will be awarded for the development of a cooperative Federal-State-local health statistics system.

In 1972, the National Center will expand its research and development effort into health maintenance organization-like settings. Emphasis will be on the development of information necessary for sound guidelines with respect to enrollment, scope of benefits, and use of

services, measures of health care effectiveness, financing alternatives, resource supply and use, legal and market factors, information systems, and eligibility requirements. The increase will support research and development and evaluation of up to 24 health maintenance organizations.

Research and development training: Grants and contracts are awarded to institutions and to qualified scholars for supporting research and managerial training in the health services field.

Direct operations: This activity supports the staff which designs and directs the strategic program of research and development. The staff obtains high-level evaluation of all proposals, closely monitors contracts, reviews results, informs the professional community of significant progress, and identifies the next steps in research and development.

Program direction and management services: The activity provides the leadership and direction for the operation of the National Center, including central management services.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH PLANNING AND SERVICES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Partnership for health:			
Grants:			
Planning	16,157	22,000	25,000
Formula	85,783	90,000	90,000
Project	76,226	108,813	106,400
Direct operations	4,989	7,228	7,691
Migrant health program:			
Grants	4,012	14,000	17,000
Direct operations	506	1,041	1,056
Medical care standards and implementation	5,790	6,553	6,736
Program direction and management services	2,394	2,493	2,373
Total program costs, funded	195,857	252,128	256,256
Change in selected resources	25,178		
Total obligations	221,034	252,128	256,256

This appropriation encompasses activities designed to improve the quality, quantity, effectiveness, and availability of health services in all settings. These activities are pursued through the following:

Partnership for health: Grants: Planning: Formula for comprehensive health planning. These grants are awarded to States according to a formula based on population and per capita income with no State receiving less than 1 percent of the total, to provide a framework in which health needs and resources can be analyzed and alternative courses of action recommended. Federal financial participation cannot exceed 75 percent of the costs.

Many State agencies have been involved in promoting the development of areawide health planning agencies within their jurisdictions and will continue to work with them toward cooperative accomplishment of mutual objectives. The strengthening and coordination of the work of existing areawide agencies will become increasingly important as a large number of areawide agencies now in the organization phase will graduate to the planning phase.

In 1972, great emphasis will continue to be put on drawing together the categorical programs in health, for the purpose of improving health services to people through the joint efforts of these programs.

Project grants for areawide comprehensive health planning: Through a project grant to a public or private nonprofit group to establish an areawide health planning agency, a community has the opportunity to work toward a more coherent and efficient areawide health system aimed at meeting the needs of all segments of the population. Such groups as private health practitioners, hospitals, medical schools, voluntary health agencies, health departments, local governments, consumers, and specialized planning groups, as well as urban or regional general planning agencies now work through an institutionalized forum to reach agreement on local priorities for facility, service, and manpower development. Federal support cannot exceed 75 percent of the costs.

Project grants for training, studies, and demonstrations for comprehensive health planning: These grants provide support for both long-term and short-term training of health planners. In 1972, regional centers will be redesigned to encompass a wider scope of concerns. For example, demonstrations, studies, and continuing education for professionals and consumers will become a concern of these centers. Consumer education programs will be continued.

Formula grants to States for health services: These block grants to State health and mental health authorities assist the States in attacking those health problems they consider of most immediate importance. The State plan for carrying out these programs must be in accord with the overall plans developed by the State comprehensive health planning agency. By statute, at least 15 percent of these funds must support mental health activities.

The 1971 State plans for programs supported by this formula grant provided continuing evidence of the value of its flexibility. A high percentage of States budgeted increased formula moneys for tuberculosis activities. Many States used these funds to expand and strengthen outpatient mental health services. In addition, more emphasis was placed on programs of outpatient services for children and youth in the mental health area.

Project grants for health services development: These grants provide support to public and nonprofit private agencies for activities to meet special regionally or nationally determined needs. The highest priority is the support of comprehensive health service programs providing primary care and a broad range of ambulatory services. The 1972 program will provide continuing support for community health comprehensive health service programs and component projects. It also includes funds for comprehensive health centers which were previously funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and which will be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In addition, it provides funds for the centers transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1971. Higher continuation costs and expansion of these centers will be financed through increased reimbursements from medicare, medicaid, and other non-Federal sources. The comprehensive health service projects contribute significantly to the provision of family-oriented primary care to population groups long without basic health services. A major portion of the projects have model city involvement.

By the end of 1972, 42 million children will be inoculated against German measles as a result of the intensive nationwide rubella immunization program. Grants will also be awarded to support other health activities and venereal disease control programs.

Direct operations: This activity provides for the direction and administration of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration program in the regional offices, including the partnership for health. It also provides policy guidance, professional and technical assistance to the State planning and public health agencies, the areawide planning agencies, the health planning training programs, and the comprehensive health service programs including group practice. The increase provides for the establishment of a National Advisory Council on Comprehensive Health Planning programs. In 1972, emphasis will be given to strengthening management capabilities to garner medicare-medicaid and other third-party payments for services provided by comprehensive health centers.

Migrant health program: Grants are made to finance part of the costs of establishing family health services clinics, to provide short-term hospitalization, and to improve the health services of agricultural migrant workers and their families. Through direct operations, the program provides technical assistance to migrant health projects and conducts studies vital to the effectiveness of the program.

Medical care standards and implementation: This activity provides technical and professional assistance to health care providers and State and local health organizations, as well as assistance and consultation to State medicare agencies and Social Security Administration staff in connection with the professional health aspects of title XVIII medicare program. Activities such as the health facility survey improvement program for training and upgrading capabilities of State surveyors; clarification, strengthening, and revising medicare standards; and the development of standards for new benefits as designated in amendments to the social security legislation are supported.

Program direction and management services: This activity provides for overall Executive direction, planning, evaluation, and administrative management of the Community Health Service programs.

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Maternal and child health:			
Grants to States	107,856	117,850	119,650
Project grants	75,825	83,350	90,380
Research and training	14,885	16,935	21,106
Program direction and management services		4,166	4,299
Family planning activities:			
Project grants and contracts	22,800	31,765	88,815
Program direction and management services		1,804	2,122
Child welfare	56,328		
Total obligations	277,694	255,870	326,372

Maternal and child health: This program has as its major goal the provision of health services to mothers and children, especially in rural areas or areas suffering from severe economic distress. Through assistance to States, localities, and nonprofit groups it directs primary attention to: Reducing infant mortality and otherwise promoting the health of mothers and children; and locating, diagnosing, and treating children who are suffering from crippling or handicapping illnesses.

Significant contributions to recent reductions in the Nation's infant mortality rate have been made through the maternal and child health program and the comprehensive maternity and infant care projects.

Grants to States: Formula grants are made to States for health. One-half of the amount appropriated must be matched by the States and the remainder is distributed in proportion to financial need of the States, except that no more than 12½ percent of the appropriation may be used for special project grants.

Maternal and child health services: Funds are used by States for the extension and improvement of health services for mothers and children.

Crippled children's services: States utilize funds for casefinding, diagnosis, and treatment of children who are crippled or who are suffering from conditions leading to crippling.

Project grants: Grants are made to specified agencies to meet up to 75 percent of the costs of comprehensive health care in three major areas as follows:

Maternity and infant care: State and local health agencies or other public or nonprofit private organizations operate projects to help reduce infant and maternal mortality and the incidence of mental retardation and other handicapping conditions associated with childbearing. The existing projects are also serving a demonstrated need to improve the quality and quantity of maternity services to women in low-income areas.

Health of school and preschool children: State or local agencies, medical schools, and teaching hospitals conduct comprehensive health care projects for children and youth, particularly in areas where low-income families are concentrated.

Dental health of children: State and local agencies and other public or nonprofit groups are eligible to conduct comprehensive dental care projects for children.

Research and training: Training: Grants are made to public or nonprofit institutions of higher learning including university affiliated mental retardation centers for training personnel for health care and related services for mothers and children. The 1972 program proposes to initiate a program for training of nurse midwives, pediatric nurses, and physicians' assistants.

Research: The focus of this program is to support research which shows promise of substantial contribution to the advancement of maternal and child health or crippled children's services and to study the effectiveness of such programs through research grants, contracts, or jointly financed cooperative arrangements.

Program direction and management services: This activity provides for executive direction, planning, and general management of the maternal and child health program.

Family planning activities: One of the most effective measures for reducing infant and maternal mortality and improving the physical and mental health of families is through the provision of family planning services which enable families to decide the number and spacing of their children. Thus, the Child Health Act of 1967 specified that not less than 6 percent of the amount appropriated for maternal and child health should be available for family planning, and in October 1969, the National Center for Family Planning Services was established to achieve the goal set forth by the President in July 1969, of providing adequate family planning services to all those who want them, but cannot afford them, within 5 years. The following programs administered by the Center are designed to accomplish this goal.

Project grants and contracts. Services delivery: Project grants are to State and local health agencies or other public or nonprofit organizations under title V of the Social Security Act for up to 75 percent of the costs of projects to provide family planning services. Grants will also be awarded in 1972 under title X of the Public Health Service Act which contains no specific grant matching requirements and higher funding authorizations. This will enable a larger number and greater variety of organizations to apply for funds.

Training and education: Project grants and contracts are awarded to train allied and other health personnel for service in family planning clinics, to educate and inform families of the benefits of voluntary family planning, to develop improved training programs for family planning workers, and to develop improved family planning education and information materials.

Services delivery improvement: Project contracts are awarded for the support of operational research projects designed to improve the delivery of family planning services; for technical assistance to demonstrate and encourage the utilization of improved family planning services delivery methods; and for program planning and evaluation.

Program direction and management services: This activity supports the administration of the decentralized services delivery project grant program; the development and operation of training, education, information, and services delivery improvement programs; and the planning, evaluation, coordination, direction, and administrative management of the programs of the National Center for Family Planning Services.

REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Regional medical programs:			
Grants	78,202	70,298	75,000
Direct operations	1,294	1,887	1,747
Technical assistance and disease control	11,318	13,332	8,749
Program direction and management services	2,716	2,090	1,460
Total program costs, funded	93,530	87,607	86,956
Change in selected resources	6,955		
Total obligations	100,485	87,607	86,956

Regional medical programs. Grants: The regional medical programs promote and sustain, through grants, the development of regional cooperative arrangements among the Nation's health professions and institutions for: the improvement of regional health resources and services, and enhancement of the capabilities of providers of care at the community level; and specifically to improve personal health care for persons threatened by heart disease, cancer, stroke, kidney disease, and related diseases. These activities are aimed at improving the quality of health care and strengthening the health care system generally throughout the Nation.

A major shift in emphasis by the regional medical programs will be directed toward improved and expanded service by existing physicians, nurses, and other allied health personnel; increase utilization of new types of allied health personnel; new and specific mechanisms that provide quality control and improved standards and decreased costs of care in hospitals; early detection of disease; implementation of the most efficient use of all phases of health care technology; and supporting the necessary catalytic role to help initiate necessary consolidation or reorganization of health care activities to achieve maximum efficiency.

Direct operations: This activity includes reviewing, processing, and awarding of grants; providing health data required by the central regional medical program staff and the 55 local regional medical programs in the implementation of their activities; and maintaining appropriate relationships with government and private agencies concerned with improving the organization and delivery of health services.

Technical assistance and disease control: These funds will support activities aimed at: First, providing continuing education assistance to the wide range of health occupations in the 55 regions involved in prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of heart disease, cancer, stroke, kidney disease, and related diseases; second, providing technical and professional assistance for the regional medical programs in the development and implementation of their activities and for promotion of the application of

new concepts, standards, and practices in the areas of heart disease, cancer, stroke, kidney disease, and related diseases; third, preventing and controlling chronic kidney disease through improving artificial kidney treatment and increasing the use of kidney dialysis methods as a step toward more permanent treatment—cadaver transplantation; and, fourth, reducing the number of cigarette smokers by stimulating and supporting national, State, and local activities to help those who wish to stop smoking and by encouraging youth not to take up the practice.

Program direction and management services: This activity provides for a central staff needed in planning, directing, and evaluating the broad scope of program activities that exist in the Regional Medical Programs Service; maintains effective communication and information links with the local regional medical programs and the general public; and provides management services such as personnel management, management policy, contract administration, and general administrative services.

DISEASE CONTROL

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Prevention and control:			
Grants	1,925	4,414	2,144
Direct operations	34,376	33,498	34,826
Laboratory improvement	6,627	7,211	7,343
Occupational health:			
Grants			2,950
Direct operations			13,515
Radiological health:			
Grants			2,245
Direct operations			8,981
Community environmental management			3,699
Program direction and management services	2,173	2,323	2,340
Total program costs, funded	45,101	47,446	78,043
Change in selected resources	—3,247	—1,649	
Total obligations	41,854	45,797	78,043

This program provides facilities and services for the investigation, prevention, and suppression of diseases and occupational injuries by direct development, advancement, and demonstration of knowledge, and techniques, through research grants, and through prevention of the introduction of communicable diseases from foreign countries.

Prevention and control: Grants: Research grants are awarded to organizations, institutions, and individuals for research concerned with epidemiology, prevention, laboratory diagnosis, and treatment of communicable diseases at the community level.

Direct operation: Communicable diseases: Scientific and technical skills in the fields of epidemiological medicine and microbiology are provided to State and local health departments through investigations, consultations, and demonstrations. Professional competence in the investigation of epidemic outbreaks is afforded to the States through the staff of the Epidemic Intelligence Service which is constantly alert to epidemic situations in the country. These EIS officers provide a wide range of service, including epidemic aid, epidemiological field investigations, consultations in communicable disease control, surveillance of infectious diseases, and collaborative field and laboratory research.

Tuberculosis: Studies are conducted in epidemiology, prevention, detection, diagnosis, and therapy of tuberculosis. This research is conducted in cooperation with State and local health departments, tuberculosis hospitals, private investigators, and others. The results of the applied research are made available to the States and integrated into tuberculosis control programs by means of demonstrations, consultative services, operational studies, and training activities.

Venereal diseases: Research and evaluation activities are directed toward maintenance of uniformly satisfactory nationwide serologic services; development and introduction of new syphilis diagnostic tests; development of an immunizing agent for syphilis; improvement of diagnostic techniques for gonorrhea; evaluation of more effective methods of therapy; and the improvement of control procedures. Scientific and general information about venereal disease for both professional and lay groups is disseminated through State agencies.

Foreign quarantine: Certain visa applicants are examined in order to determine those who are excludable for physical or mental reasons. Other inspections—persons and importations—are made to prevent the introduction into the United States of quarantinable and other communicable diseases.

Nutrition: Research and evaluation activities are directed to the identification of specific factors which cause nutritional diseases, the relationship of nutrition to other health problems, and to the determination of the extent of nutritional problems. Corrective action and prevention of nutritional diseases is sought through the conduct of demonstrations and provision of technical assistance to State and local health departments and other public and private organizations.

Laboratory improvement: A comprehensive national laboratory improvement program is administered through research for improving and standardizing laboratory methodology and through evaluation of techniques, materials, and reagents used in public health laboratories. Individuals are provided experimental vaccines and special immune globulin is distributed to control laboratory infections. States are also provided consultation, training, and informational services in laboratory techniques. The program provides for upgrading the performance of the Nation's clinical laboratories and for the licensure and evaluation of clinical laboratories engaged in interstate commerce.

Occupational health: In order to minimize the high economic and social costs of worker illness and injury, the program conducts health research and provides technical assistance to other agencies and to industry for the prevention and control of occupational hazards and diseases. The 1972 increase will provide for: further development of the National Surveillance Network, expanded efforts to reduce the health effects of noise, development of environmental and medical control measures in the area of byssinosis, the development of a more comprehensive inplant health service, continuation of examinations and research required by the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 and programs related to the recently enacted Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 which provides for extending health protection to the Nation's work force.

Radiological health: This program is responsible for the control and prevention of radiation hazards to man. This is accomplished through basic and applied research on the sources, levels, and effects of both ionizing and nonionizing radiation as well as on means of protecting the public. The 1972 increase will provide for the expansion of inplant and field surveys to determine compliance with performance standards and new and expanded projects to determine short-term and long-term effects of radiation exposure.

Community environmental management: This program concentrates its efforts toward the human ecological aspects in the research and management of environmental conditions associated with man's home, neighborhood, metropolitan area, and regional complexities. Assistance is provided Federal, State, and local communities or agencies through technical consultation, training, and planning guidance for safe and healthful environments.

Program direction and management services: This includes top management and staff services for the National Center.

MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Construction grants	200,576	170,212	58,280
Direct loans		30,000	30,000
Interest subsidies		4,700	20,600
District of Columbia medical facilities	11,337	19,365	7,000
Program direction and technical assistance	3,662	3,314	3,395
Total program costs, funded	215,575	227,591	119,275
Change in selected resources	55,557		
Total obligations	271,132	227,591	119,275

Federal funds are provided on a grant or loan basis to assist States, other public agencies, and nonprofit organizations in the construction and modernization of hospitals and other health facilities. Loans made to private, nonprofit health facilities are guaranteed and the interest on those loans is subsidized.

Construction grants: Funds appropriated for construction grants will be directed toward construction of ambulatory care facilities including outpatient facilities, rehabilitation facilities, and mental health facilities.

Direct loans: Construction of health facilities owned by public agencies—States, cities, counties, hospital districts, and so forth—is supported by a program of direct loans. Loans will be made in exchange for public agency commitments in the form of bonds. Concurrent with the transaction between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the public agency, the bonds will be sold by HEW to the Federal Na-

tional Mortgage Association and other investors. Proceeds from these sales by HEW of obligations will be used to provide funds for the direct loans. No appropriation of Federal funds is required, however, it is necessary that contract authority of $30,000,000 be authorized.

Interest subsidies: Under the redirected Hill-Burton program, Federal support for construction of inpatient health facilities such as hospitals and long term care centers would be available through guaranteed loans with interest subsidies for private, nonprofit hospitals and direct loans for facilities owned by public agencies. These types of facilities generate the income from fees for services and third-party payments necessary for repayment of mortgage loans. The amount requested for 1972 would fund the loan guarantee and loan fund from which interest subsidies, direct loans, discharge of guarantee obligations, and other authorized expenses will be paid.

District of Columbia medical facilities: Grants and loans to assist public and private nonprofit medical facilities in the District of Columbia are authorized.

Program direction and technical assistance: State agencies are provided technical assistance in determining additional facilities required and developing programs to meet the indicated needs. State plans are reviewed for conformance with planning criteria and guidelines. Assistance is provided to States and communities in the planning, programing, designing, and functioning of hospital and other health facilities, and proposed projects are reviewed to determine eligibility and compliance with the law and regulations. In addition, the program provides program management assistance and consultation to health facility construction projects assisted under the Federal Housing Administration loan guarantee program, and under sections 202 and 214 of the Appalachian Redevelopment Administration and to rehabilitation facilities assisted under section 12 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act.

PATIENT CARE AND SPECIAL HEALTH SERVICES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical care for special groups:			
Merchant seamen, lepers, and other primary beneficiaries	78,982	87,822	66,011
Coast Guard	3,913	4,468	4,665
Federal employees	3,141	4,188	4,505
Payment to Hawaii	1,200	1,200	1,200
Personnel detailed to other agencies	605	452	452
Program direction and management services	2,758	2,632	2,610
Total program costs, funded	90,599	100,762	79,520
Change in selected resources	755		4,889
Total obligations	91,354	100,762	74,631

Medical care for special groups: Merchant seamen, lepers, and other primary beneficiaries: In 1972, this activity will fund medical care for American merchant seamen, Public Health Service Commissioned Corps personnel, and other beneficiaries. The budget places emphasis on the use of service arrangements with private and Federal sources for such care and the conversion of the existing facilities to community use.

Coast Guard: This activity provides PHS personnel to staff infirmaries, dispensaries, and sickbays at shore stations, air stations, and on board vessels. Contract care is also provided in civilian or other Federal facilities. As an adjunct service to insure the continuance of quality health care, this activity is also initiating programs in industrial, underwater, and aviation medicine, and in environmental sanitation.

Federal employees: This activity provides surveys of and consultation to Federal agencies, Federal executive boards and associations, and Federal employee organizations, upon request, on the establishment and evaluation of Federal employee health activities. Occupational health programs are provided to Federal agencies on a reimbursable basis, on request.

Payment to Hawaii: Grants are made to Hawaii to defray the cost of care and treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy.

Personnel detailed to other agencies: Medical, dental, and other professional personnel are detailed to other Federal agencies on a reimbursable basis.

Program direction and management services: This activity provides advice, guidance, direction, and management services to the above activities. Emphasis will be placed on contracting for the care of primary beneficiaries in 1972.

NATIONAL HEALTH STATISTICS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
National vital and health statistics	8,644	9,516	14,618
Program direction and management services	541	599	635
Total program costs, funded	9,185	10,115	15,253
Change in selected resources	81		
Total obligations	9,266	10,115	15,253

The National Center for Health Statistics was established as a research-oriented statistical organization, to exercise an overall responsibility in the diverse areas of health statistics. The Center is committed to provide a factual statistical basis for planning national programs designed to advance the health and well-being of the American people The Center provides national leadership in collecting, analyzing, and disseminating essential statistical data which will be the basis for the development of sound national health policies and programs.

The Center tests existing statistical and survey techniques and develops new techniques; provides technical assistance to, and training for, State and local vital and health statistics personnel; participates in mutually beneficial programs of research in foreign countries; and maintains working relationships on a worldwide basis with a variety of health and health-related organizations.

National vital and health statistics: The program of the National Center for Health Statistics comprises the major activities of the Public Health Service in the measurement of the health status of the Nation and in developing and applying optimum technical methods for the collection, processing, and analysis of health statistics. It includes: The collection, compilation, analysis, and dissemination of statistics on births, deaths, fetal deaths, marriages and divorces, and other health data related to these basic vital events; continuing surveys and special health statistics studies on the amount, distributions, and effects of illness and disability in the United States and services received for or because of such conditions; studies of health survey methods with a view toward their continued improvement; and technical advice and assistance on the application of statistical methods in the health and medical fields.

Program direction and management services: All of the program activities of the National Center for Health Statistics are centrally directed and managed. The Office of the Director establishes program priorities for the Center and provides centralized administrative management support. The Office of Program Planning and Evaluation reviews program plans and periodically evaluates overall effectiveness of program activities.

RETIREMENT PAY AND MEDICAL BENEFITS FOR COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Dependents' medical care	7,989	8,457	9,996

This activity provides funds for care in non-Public Health Service facilities for dependents of PHS beneficiary members of the uniformed services and retired personnel in accordance with the Dependents' Medical Care Act, as amended. Care provided directly in PHS facilities is financed under the appropriation, "Patient care and special health services."

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
National Institute of Mental Health:			
St. Elizabeths Hospital	981	3,730	1,920
Other	34	250	273
Center for Disease Control	422	3,182	1,551
Federal health programs service	2,104	1,917	1,322
Total program costs, funded	3,541	9,079	5,066
Change in selected resources	−2,280	1,973	−1,939
Total obligations	1,261	11,052	3,127

This appropriation includes all proposed direct construction items of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration except construction of Indian health facilities. It also includes certain health-related facilities transferred from the former environmental health services during 1971.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Management and central services	10,811	10,777	11,788
Change in selected resources	−90		
Total obligations	10,721	10,777	11,788

The Office of the Administrator provides a central staff needed in planning, directing, and administering the broad scope of program activities in the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. Staff assistance is provided the Administrator in formulating policy in the areas of grant-in-aid and contract administration, financial management, personnel, and general services.

In 1972, through continued emphasis on program evaluation, it is planned to assess the progress and the degree to which HSMHA programs are meeting the goals of the Secretary and the stated objectives of HSMHA. The Office of the Administrator plans, through stronger direction, to provide improved program coordination, eliminate overlap, and thus provide a more efficient and economic organization. It will continue to provide program direction and administrative services required for the management of the various HSMHA programs.

INDIAN HEALTH SERVICES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Patient care	77,373	89,954	98,512
Field health services	27,480	32,162	38,298
Administration	2,069	2,265	2,316
Adjustment of prior year costs	−7		
Total program costs, funded	106,916	124,381	139,126
Change in selected resources	1,715		
Total obligations	108,631	124,381	139,126

Patient care: This activity consists of the operation of 49 general hospitals and their outpatient clinics and two tuberculosis sanatoriums and medical care under contract with non-Federal hospitals, clinics, private physicians, and dentists, as well as contractual arrangements with State and local health organizations.

A concerted effort will be made in 1972 to: Improve the proficiency of the laboratory system as to quality and quantity of services provided, and reduce the backlog of critical facility safety and hazard projects in the maintenance and repair program. In addition, expansion of the contract health care program to provide a moderate increase in general average daily patients is provided for in 1972.

Field health services: These include programs in sanitation, health education, nutrition, maternal, and child health, school health, tuberculosis, and other communicable disease control, medical social services, public health nursing, oral health, family planning, and mental health. The services are provided through health centers, clinics, and other field health units operated directly by the Indian Health Service, as well as through contractual arrangements with State and local health organizations. A program to train Indians as community health representatives providing educational, sanitation, and referral services to the Indian population will be continued and enlarged.

A community-based mental health program utilizing Indians as community mental health workers will be expanded in 1972 as will programs for improving maternal and child health with emphasis on family planning. Some expansion in the dental program is also provided.

Expanded support will be provided in 1971 and 1972 by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These funds will be used to alleviate major Indian health problems such as otitis medias, mental health, alcoholism, and maternal and child health, as well as expand Indian community health projects and develop Indian health manpower.

INDIAN HEALTH FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Hospitals:			
New and replacement	1,855	853	107
Modernization and repair	424	1,708	549
Outpatient care facilities	977	2,291	453
Grants to community facilities	1,880	420	107
Sanitation facilities	11,243	22,180	23,390
Personnel quarters	627	726	183
Total program costs, funded	17,006	28,178	24,789
Change in selected resources	4,448	−2,952	−5,850
Total obligations	21,454	25,226	18,939

EMERGENCY HEALTH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical stockpile	−2,086	3,667	3,144
Community preparedness	1,470	1,543	1,524
Program direction and management services	1,209	1,342	1,299
Total program costs, funded	593	6,552	5,967
Change in selected resources	4,046	−1,675	−1,936
Total obligations	4,639	4,877	4,031

Medical stockpile: The goal of this activity is to provide essential medical material for civilian needs in time of disaster. Medical supplies and equipment have been assembled into emergency packaged disaster hospitals which are located throughout the United States in affiliation with local community hospitals.

Community preparedness: Programs are inaugurated and maintained to support the preparation of national emergency health and medical plans, and the development of preparedness action projects to achieve a continuity of health services necessary to meet all conditions of a national emergency. The estimate for 1972 provides for a moderate program to assist States and communities during disaster situations, continue the development of plans and operational capability for civilian health manpower as well as utilization and distribution of health resources; develop and initiate disaster management services; and continue the operation of training programs at the State and local level.

Program direction and management services: Total program control is provided for the organization and planning of programs that will afford adequate medical care for individuals in medical emergencies. The estimate for 1972 provides for a continuing activity that furnishes program direction, coordination, and management services to carry out the total emergency health preparedness program. Working relationships are to be maintained with professional organizations and other Government agencies for the development of an effective disaster readiness program for the civilian population.

SERVICE AND SUPPLY FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operating costs, funded:			
Fiscal services program:			
Cost of services	1,560	2,579	2,579
Supply distribution sales program:			
Cost of goods sold	2,020	2,015	2,015
Other	639	640	640
Publications storage and distribution program:			
Cost of services	68	210	210
Common services program:			
Cost of services	325	673	673
Capital outlay, funded:			
Fiscal services program:			
Purchase of equipment	7	26	26
Supply distribution sales program: Purchase of equipment		29	29
Publications storage and distribution program of equipment		4	4
Common services program:			
Purchase of equipment		8	8
Total program costs, funded	4,619	6,184	6,184
Change in selected resources	−474	105	105
Adjustment in selected resources (donated working capital)	−1		
Total obligations	4,144	6,289	6,289

This fund finances medical supply and service operations of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. It is reimbursed from the appropriations supporting the programs benefited.

Budget program: The principal activities of the fund are carried out at: the Supply Service Center, which maintains inventories of medical stock and supplies to meet, in part, the requirements of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration and requisitions of other Government organizations; the Office of Financial Management and the Office of Systems Management which finances accounting and auditing services and data processing services for headquarters offices of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration; the Publications Storage and Distribution Center, which stores and issues publications relating to health and well being of the individual; the Common Services Program which provides a wide range of centralized services to the Public Health Service and the Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare offices occupying the Parklawn Building, Rockville, Md. Of major importance among these services are printing and reproduction, telecommunications, telephone management, procurement, mail and messenger, building and space management, parking control, conference room management, shipping and receiving, motor pool, surplus property utilization, and building safety and security. This fund is reimbursed from applicable appropriations or funds available when services are performed or stock furnished on the basis of rates which shall include estimated or actual charges for personal services, materials, equipment—including maintenance, repairs, and depreciation—and other expenses.

ADVANCES AND REIMBURSEMENTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Health services research and development	30	35	31
Comprehensive health planning and services	5	673	24
Maternal and child health		265	273
Regional medical programs	243		
Disease control	8,397	9,600	10,618
Medical facilities construction		2	2
National health statistics	658	100	200
Office of the Administrator	91	603	
Emergency health	4,796	1,148	603
Consolidated working fund	855	935	928
Research grants	1,106	1,559	1,525
Total program costs, funded	16,181	14,920	14,205
Change in selected resources	−36		
Total obligations	16,145	14,920	14,205
Public Health Service trust funds:			
Patients' benefits	33	19	16
Gifts	137	254	110
Special statistical work	92	15	15
Construction and maintenance of Indian sanitation facilities	297	146	118
Total program costs, funded	558	434	259
Change in selected resources	−122	−40	−14
Total obligations	437	394	245

Gifts to the Public Health Service, some of which are limited to specific uses by the donors, are expended for the benefit of patients at PHS hospitals, and for research of other activities of the Service. Donations are also received by St. Elizabeths Hospital and used for patients' benefits as provided by the donors.

Contributions are made by Indians and others to be served toward the construction, improvement, extension, and provision of sanitation facilities.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

The National Institutes of Health is the primary arm of the U.S. Government in the support of biomedical research, education, and communications. NIH's mission is investigating basic life processes, advancing the capability for the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease, and supporting the development of adequate health research, educational, and communications resources.

In 1972, the NIH research institutes will initiate or expand activities in several high priority program areas. The National Cancer Institute will expand research on viruses as a cause of cancer, continuing efforts to develop a vaccine or other means for preventing virus-induced cancers. The National Heart and Lung Institute will expand research in the area of arteriosclerosis and pulmonary diseases in an effort to predict and control the relationship between risk factors and the incidence of diseases of the heart and lungs. The National Institute of Dental Research will expand the efforts of the national caries program dedicated to the prevention of dental caries. Expansion in the study of biological effects of environmental pollutants will be continued—the laboratory space available for this research will double, enabling the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences to initiate new programs in this research area. A major increase is planned for the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development for research in the biological, behavioral, and social processes of reproduction and contraception; and the study of diseases and other factors affecting the child under the age of six. The National Eye Institute will continue its research efforts in the diseases and disorders of the eye. The National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases will continue its activities in artificial kidney/chronic uremia research, and expand its research efforts in collaboration with the Indian Health Service. The National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke will maintain a substantial level of research in the diseases and disorders of the nervous and sensory systems. The National Institute of General Medical Science will support research in the basic medical sciences, as well as such specialized areas as anesthesiology, radiology, and trauma. The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases will continue to provide support for research in respiratory, viral, and allergic diseases, and transplantation immunology. The research training grant programs of all Research Institutes reflect a reduction representing a transfer of institutional support funds from the categorical institutes to the institutional support program administered by the Bureau of Health Manpower Education giving the schools greater flexibility in the use of these funds. Research resources will provide additional funds for operating general clinical research centers and primate centers.

The missions of the research institutes and divisions are carried out through the following funding mechanisms: Research grants are awarded to individual researchers in support of projects which have been reviewed by study groups composed of accomplished scientists, recommended for their high scientific merit and approved by disease-oriented national advisory councils. Fellowships are awarded to promising individuals preparing for a research career in the biomedical sciences. Training grants are awarded to academic or research institutions which have demonstrated the ability to design and conduct successful training programs in one or more of the biomedical sciences.

In addition to grants, the research institutes and divisions of NIH support biomedical research through direct operations which can be categorized as follows: Laboratory and clinical research is conducted in the institutes' laboratory facilities and in a commonly shared clinical center facility. Collaborative research and development projects are conducted by NIH researchers in collaboration with other Federal and non-Federal institutions largely through contracts and thus are strongly oriented toward the solution of specific health problems in areas where the state of knowledge is sufficiently advanced to permit a more directed approach. Other activities under direct operations include biometry, epidemiology, and field studies, international research, and biologics standards. Funds are also provided for program direction, research support and service activities, and review and approval of grants.

In 1972, increased efforts will be made to expand the supply of trained health manpower by assisting the institutions responsible for health education to expand enrollments. The Bureau of Health Manpower Education provides a national focus for health manpower activities, and supports programs designed to enlarge and improve the pool of qualified health manpower through institutional support grants, student assistance awards, and research grants and direct operations which evaluate and support special studies related to health manpower requirements and utilization. Construction grants are provided on an individual project basis to public and other nonprofit agencies or organizations to assist in the construction of new facilities and the expansion, rehabilitation, and modernzation of existing facilities for teaching, for research in the sciences related to health, and for medical library facilities. The National Library of Medicine serves as a national resource for biomedical information and as a focus for national planning to improve communications in the health sciences. Appropriations for buildings and facilities support construction, renovation, and maintenance of NIH laboratory, clinical, and administrative facilities while that for Office of the Director supports salaries and expenses for the staff of the Director's office, NIH.

The biomedical research and health manpower programs which will be initiated or expanded in 1972 will be supported largely through research grants, contracts, and direct operations of the research institutes and the Bureau of Health Manpower Education.

BIOLOGICS STANDARDS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Program costs, funded	6,347	9,127	8,636
Change in selected resources	1,888		
Total obligations	8,235	9,127	8,636

The activities of the Division of Biologics Standards include administration of the Biologics Control Act, establishment of standards for preparation of biologics, testing of vaccines and their preparation,

and research related to development, manufacture, testing, and use of vaccines an analogous products.

NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	84,416	100,005	105,624
Fellowships	4,499	3,798	3,348
Training	13,066	10,774	8,358
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	18,383	21,272	18,698
Collaborative research and development	77,484	92,177	91,755
Review and approval	2,639	2,937	3,112
Program direction	1,086	1,271	1,339
Total program costs, funded	201,573	232,234	232,234
Change in selected resources	−20,228		
Total obligations	181,345	232,234	232,234

The National Cancer Institute conducts, fosters, and assists research and training directed toward preventing, diagnosing, treating, and controlling cancer in man. These objectives are pursued directly within Government laboratory and clinical facilities and through universities, nonprofit research organizations, and commercial concerns supported with grants and contracts and include both laboratory and clinical studies.

Grants: Research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and specialized research centers.

Fellowships: Postdoctoral and special fellowships and career award and career development fellowships will be supported.

Training: Grants are awarded to accredited schools for training in such fields as surgery, pathology, radiobiology, radiotherapy, and internal medicine; and grants are awarded to research training centers for individual traineeships.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: Research includes laboratory research in the fields of biology, biochemistry, and physiology; and clinical research in the fields of surgery, immunology, radiation, dermatology, pathology, and metabolism.

Collaborative research and development: Research is conducted in the areas of etiology and chemotherapy. This activity includes the breast cancer and lung cancer task forces. Research is conducted through targeted programs utilizing the contract mechanism as well as investigations carried on directly in Government laboratories and clinical facilities. The programs are focused on the causes of cancers and their occurrence patterns and prevention, as well as finding the best methods of treating cancer through the screening, testing, and clinical evaluation of drugs.

This is the first time in the budget schedules that the funding to the Veterans' Administration for cancer research is included under project contracts rather than by an allocation to the VA.

NATIONAL HEART AND LUNG INSTITUTE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	96,490	116,774	126,031
Fellowships	6,904	6,871	6,195
Training	22,052	17,643	13,592
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	13,705	17,071	15,946
Collaborative research and development	25,701	30,556	26,591
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	1,997	1,876	1,983
Review and approval of grants	2,478	2,818	2,673
Program direction	1,095	839	1,437
Total program costs, funded	170,422	194,448	194,448
Change in selected resources	−10,164		
Total obligations	160,258	194,448	194,448

The National Heart and Lung Institute conducts, fosters, and supports research, development, and training programs that are designed to produce, test, and apply new knowledge as to the cause, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of diseases of the heart, lungs, and circulatory system. Research and training are fostered intramurally by scientists working in the Institute's laboratories and extramurally through grants and contracts to scientific institutions. Programs are designed to develop and to coordinate the useful application of both prevention and treatment of cardiovascular and respiratory diseases.

Grants, research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, specialized research centers, and the heart cooperative drug study.

Fellowships: Fellowship awards will be supported.

Training: For undergraduate cardiovascular training, funds in 1972 will provide assistance to schools of medicine, osteopathy, and public health. Funds will also provide for grants for graduate cardiovascular and pulmonary research and clinical training.

Direct operations, laboratory and clinical research: Research encompasses work which aids in the understanding of the cardiovascular and pulmonary systems and their diseases, with emphasis in therapeutic agents, diagnostic instrumentation, surgery, and clinical medicine.

Collaborative research and development: Funds will support programs in the research and development of the application of medical devices, in myocardial infarction, drug studies, blood resources, clinical applications, and pulmonary diseases.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: This activity conducts and supports therapeutic evaluations, epidemiological and biometrics research.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL RESEARCH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	15,401	16,125	18,886
Fellowships	1,614	1,601	1,367
Training	5,355	5,206	4,285
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	5,034	6,095	6,265
Collaborative research and development	1,057	4,353	5,384
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	472	700	909
Review and approval of grants	738	766	861
Program direction	367	396	443
Total program costs, funded	30,038	35,242	38,400
Change in selected resources	−1,322		
Total obligations	28,716	35,242	38,400

The National Institute of Dental Research conducts and supports basic, clinical, and applied research and research training, in the causes, diagnosis, prevention, and cure of oral diseases and disorders: First, conducts intramural laboratory, clinical, and field research; second, supports dental and medically related research and research training by assisting individuals, universities, and agencies through grants-in-aid for research projects, training, fellowships, and dental research institutes; and third, conducts and supports collaborative and developmental research programs aimed at specific dental problems where major advance seems clearly possible.

Grants: Research: Research grants support fundamental, clinical, and applied research studies in such areas as dental caries, periodontal disease, oral-facial growth and development, and dental restorative materials. Support is furnished for studies designed to advance scientific frontiers and exploit emerging research opportunities, including, first, investigation of the interplay of host, dietary, and microbiotic factors in dental caries; second, development of more effective therapeutic and preventive measures in periodontal diseases; third, development of treatment procedures and determination of preventive measures for oral-facial anomalies; and fourth, work on the immediate problems of dental treatment through development of new and improved restorative materials and clinical methods. In addition, support is furnished for clinical research centers, dental research institutes, and general research support grants.

Fellowships: Funds for fellowships are used for support of clinical and basic research training. Applications under this program are for special fellowships, postdoctoral fellowships, career development, and career awards.

Training: Training funds are the principal means of meeting the need for dental research and academic personnel in the dental schools to teach clinical and basic sciences, and to conduct research.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: Laboratory and clinical research studies conducted in Insti-

tute facilities are concerned with the causes, treatment, control, and prevention of such dental diseases and disorders as caries, periodontal disease, oral-facial anomalies, and oral cancer. Three primary approaches are used: basic research directed at the acquisition of new knowledge as a means of solving dental health problems; field studies and clinical trials of new therapeutic and prevention concepts coming out of basic research; and further studies on the definition and distribution of oral-facial diseases and disorders on an epidemiologic or geographic basis. Much of this research will make direct contributions to the recently initiated national caries program.

Collaborative research and development: The programs in this activity involve contracts with public and private research and development organizations. Primary objectives include the development of new and improved dental restorative materials and support of the national caries program.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: These activities are concerned with the planning, conduct, and analysis of epidemiological and field investigations concerning such matters as prevalence of oral disease, and effectiveness of new or improved methods of diagnosis, control, and prevention. A number of the studies conducted will be integral parts of the national caries program.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTHRITIS AND METABOLIC DISEASES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	88,717	88,858	92,091
Fellowships	6,757	5,740	5,094
Training	16,703	15,072	11,475
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	16,304	18,353	16,561
Collaborative research and development	7,783	5,936	5,453
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	711	877	916
Review and approval of grants	2,225	2,278	2,414
Program direction	323	357	396
Total program costs, funded	139,523	137,471	134,400
Change in selected resources	—8,070		
Total obligations	131,453	137,471	134,400

The responsibilities of the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases encompass an unusually diverse area, including the broad spectrum of arthritic, rheumatic, and collagen (connective tissue) diseases, various metabolic disorders such as diabetes, and cystic fibrosis, gastrointestinal diseases such as peptic ulcer, endocrine malfunctions, dermatological conditions such as psoriasis, diseases of blood, bone, liver, and kidney, and research in urology, nutrition, and orthopedic surgery.

Grants. Research: Grants will be supported. Projects include both basic investigations and clinical studies to apply knowledge developed in the laboratory. Funds are also provided for general research support grants and clinical research centers.

Fellowships: Fellowships are awarded to private postdoctoral research training and career development opportunities to individual investigators working in the diverse fields related to the mission of this Institute.

Training: Graduate training grants are awarded to academic institutions to establish or improve programs to prepare increased numbers of independent and competent clinical research investigators and teachers in research training.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: Research is conducted in the fields of arthritis, rheumatism, diabetes, and other metabolic disorders, as well as studies in the major disciplines including pharmacology, physiology, biochemistry, nutrition, chemistry, pathology, endocrinology, physical biology, molecular biology, chemical biology, gastroenterology, hematology, and biomathematics.

Collaborative research and development: Comprehensive research and development programs are conducted under contracts with individuals and institutions. These programs include projects leading to improved methods of hemodialysis and development of a smaller, simpler, and more economical artificial kidney, and to the preparation and distribution of hormonal substances. Support is also provided for scientific communication activities, such as the preparation and distribution of abstracts on specific areas of research interest.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: Research and epidemiological studies are conducted on arthritis, diabetes, cholecystitis, iodine metabolism, and hyperuremia in special population groups, primarily long-range studies in the Southwestern United States.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF NEUROLOGICAL DISEASES AND STROKE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	54,710	58,802	58,092
Fellowships	2,713	2,782	2,595
Training	14,204	14,300	11,456
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	10,260	11,668	9,696
Collaborative research and development	9,100	9,440	7,451
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	3,094	3,324	3,371
Review and approval of grants	2,208	2,194	2,265
Program direction	525	512	570
Total program costs, funded	96,814	103,022	95,496
Change in selected resources	350		
Total obligations	97,164	103,022	95,496

The National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke conducts and supports research and training programs to develop new knowledge on the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of diseases of the central nervous system. Research is carried out by scientists working in the laboratories of the Institute and through grants and contracts with academic institutions and other nonprofit and profitmaking research organizations. Programs are planned and coordinated to wage a concerted, multidisciplinary attack against cerebrovascular disease, epilepsy, parkinsonism, multiple sclerosis, muscular disorders, head and spinal cord injury, and disorders of human communication.

Grants: Research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, clinical research center grants, and specialized research center grants.

Fellowships: Fellowships will be supported.

Training: Graduate training grants will be supported. These grants are made to training institutions to establish and improve programs to train teachers and clinical investigators in neurology and otology.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research. Research is being conducted on disorders of the brain, spinal cord, and peripheral nerves, such as epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, apoplexy, and Parkinson's disease; on neuromuscular disorders, such as muscular dystrophy; hearing impairments; and the perinatal physiology studies using primates.

Collaborative research and development: These studies include the coordination and central service activities for the collaborative project on cerebral palsy, mental retardation, and other neurological and sensory disorders of childhood. Also included is the Institute's research programs on head injury and epilepsy.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: These studies include epidemiological, biometric, and international studies relating to cerebrovascular disease, speech and hearing disorders, and research on viruses and their effect on the central nervous system.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	57,463	57,657	56,999
Fellowships	3,908	3,749	3,504
Training	11,413	8,972	7,330
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	16,236	17,842	16,732
Collaborative research and development	12,898	11,830	11,857
Review and approval	1,533	1,534	1,622
Program direction	326	346	387
Total program costs, funded	103,777	101,930	98,431
Change in selected resources	—6,722		
Total obligations	97,055	101,930	98,431

The mission of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases is to conduct research on the causes, characteristics, prevention, control, and treatment of diseases believed to be caused by infectious agents—including bacteria, fungi, viruses, and parasites—or by abnormalities in the body's immune mechanisms, such as allergies.

The research programs are comprised of three major problem areas, infectious diseases, allergic and immune disorders, and other disease related problems.

Grants: Research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are

provided for general research support grants, clinical research centers, and international centers for medical research and training.

Fellowships: Fellowships will be awarded.

Training: Training grants will be awarded.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: The Institute research effort embraces both basic and applied research. Laboratory scientists and clinical investigators at NIH and field installations are directing their efforts to the discovery and exploitation of new knowledge leading to the eventual prevention and treatment of diseases caused by infection with micro-organisms or abnormal immunological mechanisms. The diseases under intensive study are those caused by viruses, bacteria, mycoplasma, fungi, protozoa, and helminths.

Collaborative research and development: Primary objectives include translation of significant basic research data into practical achievements of clinical applicability in immunologic and infectious diseases. The program also conducts and supports developmental research in the prevention, control, and treatment of diseases caused by infectious agents including bacteria, viruses, and parasites and abnormalities in the body's immune mechanisms.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL SCIENCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	67,140	85,321	87,772
Fellowships	18,836	18,454	15,142
Training	44,395	43,746	38,385
Direct operations:			
Collaborative research and development	4,167	7,667	3,548
Training activities	360	390	315
Review and approval of grants	3,158	3,381	3,611
Program direction	1,158	1,207	1,318
Total program costs, funded	139,214	160,066	150,091
Change in selected resources	8,876		
Total obligations	148,090	160,066	150,091

The National Institute of General Medical Sciences is responsible for the support of research and training in the basic biomedical sciences and in certain clinical disciplines that are of central importance to a variety of medical problems. Within this framework it has also launched selected programs of training, research, and development which are of great importance to the expansion of our knowledge of life's processes and to the improvement of health care.

Grants: Research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants, research and training resources, and research centers in diagnostic radiology and anesthesiology.

Fellowships: Fellowships will be awarded.

Training: Training grants will be awarded.

Direct operations: Collaborative research and development in the biomedical sciences and supportive areas are conducted by contract with institutions.

Training activities: This activity supports a program for training pharmacologists and toxicologists.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	43,210	50,237	54,229
Fellowships	3,960	3,786	3,653
Training	12,283	10,142	9,085
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	7,032	9,104	11,171
Collaborative research and development	5,097	15,455	18,484
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	2,032	2,187	2,200
Training activities	75	83	85
Review and approval	2,099	2,490	2,591
Program direction	776	1,001	1,034
Total program costs, funded	76,564	94,485	102,532
Change in selected resources	−602		
Tota. obligations	75,962	94,485	102,532

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development conducts and supports research and training programs spanning the entire life cycle from conception through old age. This approach cuts across disciplinary lines and covers both normal and abnormal development. Research is carried out by scientists working in the laboratories of the Institute in Bethesda and in Baltimore at the Gerontology Research Center and through grants and contracts with academic institutions and other nonprofit and profitmaking research organizations.

The Institute's primary areas of concentration relate to problems of both a scientific nature as well as social importance and urgency. These include family planning and the attendant consequences of overpopulation, the healthy development of the unborn and newborn, the intellectual and physical development of the young, the prevention and amelioration of mental retardation, and an understanding of the aging process.

Grants: Research: Research grants will be supported. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and mental retardation research centers.

Fellowships: Postdoctoral and special fellowships will be supported, as well as career awards and career development fellowships.

Training: Training grants will be supported.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: Laboratory and clinical research is conducted in five major program areas of child health and human development: Population and reproduction research—reproductive biology, endocrinology, and ecology. Perinatal biology and infant mortality—maternal-child interactions, maturation of motor and behavioral systems, nutrition, and development. Growth and development—neurophysiology, neurochemistry, and nutrition. Adult development and aging—cellular biology, biochemistry, physiology, and psychology. Mental retardation—biochemistry, neurophysiology, and behavioral research.

Collaborative research and development: This supplements the Institute's five research programs primarily through the contract mechanism. The research conducted is usually Institute initiated and is directed toward gaps in existing research or to expand on current studies of either the intramural program or the research grant program. This activity provides one of the most effective ways for coordinating program development in the five program areas. The main thrust of the Institute's population research program is accomplished through contract efforts within this activity. In addition to the contract activities, program liaison is maintained and advanced through support of interdisciplinary research conferences and symposia and through scientific information centers.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: Through contracted research this activity supports the Institute's scientific staff in planning and conducting studies dealing with the incidence, distribution, and control of health problems in certain populations. It supports development of more effective and reliable means for measuring health problems, collects and analyzes health data, and makes statistical studies for use in initiating and evaluating scientific programs.

Training activities: This activity represents the Institute's career development program designed to provide the necessary cross-disciplinary training required in the basic research programs of the Institute.

NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	16,807	20,754	24,525
Fellowships	865	1,676	876
Training	2,959	2,998	2,225
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	857	1,861	2,955
Collaborative research and development	359	1,332	332
Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies	250	341	368
Review and approval of grants	416	689	770
Program direction	152	326	373
Total program costs, funded	22,665	29,977	32,434
Change in selected resources	140		
Total obligations	22,805	29,977	32,434

The National Eye Institute conducts and supports research and training programs to develop new knowledge on the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of diseases of the eye and visual system. Research is carried out by scientists working in the laboratories of the Institute and through grants and contracts with academic institutions and other nonprofit and profitmaking research organizations. Programs are planned and coordinated to wage a concerted, multidisciplinary attack against corneal and retinal disease, glaucoma, cataract, and other blinding or disabling visual disorders.

Grants: Research: Projects range from basic investigations of the visual

system to clinical applications of knowledge developed in the laboratory. Glaucoma, corneal disease, retinal disorders, uveitis, and infectious diseases are among the conditions under investigation. In addition, funds are provided for general research support grants and vision clinical research centers.

Fellowships: Fellowships are awarded to provide postdoctoral research training to individual investigators working in the field of vision research. Awardees are provided an opportunity for training in a wide variety of scientific disciplines related to research on the eye and visual system.

Training: Graduate training grants are awarded to academic institutions to establish or improve existing programs to prepare more advanced laboratory scientists for research in disorders of the visual system.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: Laboratory and clinical studies conducted by Institute staff are directed toward increasing our knowledge and understanding of specific vision disorders such as retinal disease, glaucoma, cataracts, and corneal disease. A close association between laboratory and clinic facilitates rapid and direct application of new knowledge to the treatment of eye patients.

Collaborative research and development: A small program of contract support to public and private research and development organizations has been started to exploit areas of outstanding promise for rapid advances in research and to accelerate the application of new knowledge to the treatment of visual disorders.

Biometry, epidemiology, and field studies: This activity supports epidemiological investigations of the incidence and prevalence of eye disease, and assistance to in-house and extramural programs in the design of biostatistical studies of visual disorders.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SCIENCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	6,990	8,980	10,478
Fellowships	215	264	264
Training	3,622	3,117	3,283
Direct operations:			
Laboratory and clinical research	3,561	5,355	7,139
Collaborative research and development	1,005	1,484	2,995
Review and approval	344	477	488
Program direction	388	390	392
Total program costs, funded	16,125	20,067	25,039
Change in selected resources	1,129		
Total obligations	17,254	20,067	25,039

The National Institutes of Environmental Health Sciences was established in response to the need to increase the store of fundamental knowledge and understanding of environmental agents as hazards immediately or ultimately affecting man's health. The results of this research are promptly made available to agencies having responsibility for the environmental monitoring, standards-setting, and control of all of its phases or compartments. The initial approach is to determine the magnitude and significance of the hazard to man's health from long-term exposures to low-level concentrations of chemical, physical, and biological agents in the environment; and, second, to elucidate the underlying mechanisms of adverse response with the hope that principles and generalizations will be identified to provide a scientific base for criteria upon which control agencies could set standards for protective and preventive measures.

Grants: Research: This activity supports research on the phenomena associated with the source, distribution, mode of entry, and effect of environmental agents on biological systems through grants to universities, research institutes, and other public or private nonprofit institutions.

Fellowships: Under the fellowship program, postdoctoral, special, and research career development awards are made to graduate students and scientists for training in the field of environmental health sciences.

Training: The graduate research training program supports the availability of high-quality training opportunities in environmental health. The goal is to increase the number of highly qualified scientists primarily concerned with environmental health.

Direct operations: Laboratory and clinical research: This activity supports the in-house research programs in environmental health sciences at the National Environmental Health Sciences Center. Included are research efforts in cell biology, pharmacology, and toxicology, analytical and synthetic chemistry, biophysics, and biomedical instrumentation, animal science, and technology, pathologic physiology, epidemiology, biometry, epidemiologic pathology, and scientific information, as well as the supporting services for these laboratories and branches.

Collaborative research and development: This activity supplements and complements the Institute's intramural research program. Research in this activity is supported through contracts in collaboration with other Federal agencies, university research centers, and industrial research organizations.

RESEARCH RESOURCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	58,195	62,810	64,310
Fellowships	106	126	126
Training	317	352	352
Direct operations:			
Collaborative research and development	983	1,385	1,384
Review and approval	702	956	1,044
Program direction	514	647	700
Division of computer research and technology	4,240		
Total program costs, funded	65,057	66,276	67,916
Change in selected resources	1,875		
Total obligations	66,932	66,276	67,916

The programs administered by the Division of Research Resources are oriented toward providing the resources necessary for the conduct of biomedical research, including support for general clinical research centers, primate centers, the maintenance of laboratory animals, and the provision of biotechnology resources, such as large-scale equipment to improve multidisciplinary research capabilities of institutions. The Division also administers the general research support grants program.

Research resources: Grants: Research: Funds in 1972 will provide the following: General clinical research centers will be supported with some diversification to facilitate research on ambulatory patients; biotechnology resources; animal resources.

Fellowships: Fellowships will be supported.

Training: Grants are awarded to institutions for training in laboratory animal medicine.

Direct operations: Collaborative research and development: This activity is carried out primarily through research contracts with industry, universities, and other Federal and non-Federal institutions. Included are the chemical/biological information handling program which is committed to developing a discipline-oriented information-handling system for the Nation's pharmacologists and medicinal chemists, and the other research resource programs of the Division.

FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants:			
Research	20	520	520
Fellowships	531	1,077	739
Scholarships	131	170	170
International Center	1,552	1,869	1,823
Total, program costs, funded	2,234	3,636	3,252
Change in selected resources	497		
Total, obligations	2,731	3,636	3,252

The objective of the Fogarty International Center is to administer programs of advanced study and related international activities to provide a new dimension in the identification, exploration, and solution of biomedical science problems. Specifically the center administers a scholars-in-residence program inviting outstanding individuals to live in residence while devoting their energies to the examination, discussion, and documentation of problems and their solution; the international postdoctoral fellowship program which utilizes the talents and experience of scientists and investigators of other countries for application to the urgent research problems which now confront American society; and the NIH portion of the special foreign currency program. Additional programs administered by the center include its advanced study program consisting of conferences, seminars, and workshops where specialists from many countries are invited to participate in meetings sharing their expertise to facilitate the progress of biomedical research and the development of new knowledge, and the International Visitors Center program where foreign and visiting American scientists may re-

ceive assistance ranging from day-to-day problems to arrangements for scientific exchanges and interaction with NIH scientists. Support is also provided to the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory.

Grants: Research: Funds will support the Gorgas Memorial Institute. In addition, funds are provided for scientific evaluation.

Fellowships and scholarships will be supported.

International center: Provides for the executive direction, planning, and coordination of international activities of the National Institutes of Health, including international seminars and conferences.

HEALTH MANPOWER

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical, dental, and related health professions	157,507	320,116	421,548
Nursing	47,687	84,540	68,018
Public health	14,881	18,890	18,514
Allied health	11,935	20,595	26,494
Program direction and manpower analysis	4,568	4,977	6,227
Total program costs, funded	236,578	449,118	540,801
Change in selected resources	141,991		
Total obligations	378,569	449,118	540,801

The Bureau of Health Manpower Education administers and supports educational and training programs which produce workers in the health and allied health professions. The Bureau administers grants and loans and conducts operations which promote and support the extension and improvement of the Nation's educational process to increase the supply and improve the quality of health manpower. It assesses current and future health manpower supply, distribution, and requirements, particularly as they affect education and training; and serves as a clearinghouse for information on all aspects of health manpower in the Nation.

Medical, dental, and related health professions: The objective of alleviating the shortages of professional health manpower is pursued by providing financial assistance to health professions institutions and their students. This assistance is provided through four mechanisms:

Institutional support: Institutional grants are awarded on a formula basis to health professions schools in order to strengthen their base of financial support, thereby encouraging increases in enrollments and graduates, and improving the quality of their educational programs. Special project grants supply broad-range assistance to schools with potential to increase enrollments and to help alleviate the difficulties of schools in serious financial straits, as well as to enable schools to experiment with programs designed to increase the quality of trained personnel. A significant increase is provided in 1972 for enrollment increases and to assist schools in dire financial need.

Student assistance: Health professions scholarships and loans enable deserving students from low-income families to pursue their education. Schools make scholarship awards to students who, in the judgment of the school, have an exceptional financial need. The student loan program concentrates on making loans to students from lower income families.

Dental fellowship grants are awarded to candidates pursuing advanced degrees in public health administration, computer technology, bioengineering, dental health delivery systems, dental economics, and education research.

Construction: Grants are made to public and other nonprofit schools, agencies, and organizations for the construction of health professions teaching facilities and of multipurpose and graduate facilities.

Educational grants and contracts and direct operations: Support is focused on innovation and experimentation in medical and dental education and on manpower and educational research. Research training grants in 1972 will support students working in the areas of oral epidemiology, dental education, and sociology in dental public health. Grants will be supported for continuing education systems which deliver new knowledge to the practicing dentist and dental assistant. The current dental auxiliary utilization program, designed to teach students the effective utilization of a chairside assistant has produced a more productive practitioner; financial support for this current program will undergo gradual withdrawal and be redirected to a program which will provide dental students with training in expanded functions and expanded auxiliary management—the team concept of clinical dentistry.

Nursing: To help alleviate the shortage of nurses, financial assistance is provided to nursing institutions and students, through the following programs:

Institutional support: Special projects for the improvement of nurse training are providing the impetus for schools to initiate new methods in nursing education designed to improve the quality and increase the number of nurses available in the Nation. Funds requested for 1972 will support projects in such areas as utilization of faculty, methods of instruction, curriculum revision, and enrollment increases, and in assisting nursing schools in serious financial straits.

Student assistance: Nurse scholarships and loans encourage and assist qualified young people with exceptional financial need to undertake education for nursing.

Nursing fellowship grants are awarded to prepare professional nurses for independent research, to collaborate in interdisciplinary research, and to direct community health research.

Professional traineeships: Traineeships support the graduate and specialized preparation of professional nurses as teachers, administrators, and supervisors.

Construction. Grants are made to public and other nonprofit schools, agencies, and organizations for the construction of teaching facilities for nurses.

Educational grants and contracts, and direct operations. Educational research projects in such areas as nursing practice and patient care are supported and result in modifications to and development of nurse educational and training programs. A nurse scientist graduate training grant program advances nursing and other health-related research by increasing the number of research scientists with a nursing background. An increase in contract funds will enable additional States to add to their nursing work force by initiating refresher training programs.

Public health: Changes in the concepts of health services delivery have created needs for new types of public health personnel when existing types are already in short supply. The following mechanisms are currently being used in an attempt to alleviate the shortages:

Institutional support: Formula grants are awarded to accredited schools of public health for the purpose of assisting them in providing comprehensive professional training, specialized consultative services, and technical assistance in public health fields and in public health administration at the State and local levels. Project grants for graduate training in public health are awarded to schools of public health and to other public or nonprofit private instiutions to strengthen or expand the graduate or specialized training in public health which they provide.

Professional traineeships: Traineeships support the graduate and specialized preparation of students in public health, most of whom are employed by State or local health agencies representing such health disciplines as medicine, dentistry, nursing, and engineering. Types of training included are postprofessional, long-term, academic training; short-term training to update the skills of current public health professionals; residency training in preventive medicine and dental public health; and apprenticeships for medical and dental students in public health training.

Direct operations: Grants programing will emphasize consultation with schools and professional organizations which can most readily utilize resources affecting priority areas of nutrition, maternal, and child health, and preventive services to people in disadvantaged situations.

Allied health: More general use of allied health workers in this country requires more efficient utilization of our present training capacities and experimentation with, and development of, new and improved ways of training and using these personnel. The following mechanisms are directed to these ends:

Institutional support: Special improvement grants will be made to allied health training centers offering the greatest comparative potential for expansion of allied health manpower output through enrollment increases in established curriculums, planning and establishing new programs, shortening curriculums, and developing coordinated programs to conserve faculty and facilities. The 1972 program represents a shift from the formula grant to a project grant mechanism and will allow concentration of resources in high priority areas while providing continuity of support to schools previously receiving entitlement funds.

Professional traineeships: Traineeships support students preparing to teach or to serve in an administrative, supervisory, or specialist capacity in the allied health disciplines.

Educational grants and contracts and direct operations: Funds requested for special projects in 1972 will support awards to a greater variety of newly eligible grantees—agencies, institutions, and organizations, in addition to training centers—for developing, demonstrating, or evaluating interdisciplinary training programs; new teaching methods; new types of health manpower; equivalency and proficiency testing mechanisms; and special programs to reach special groups such as returning veterans with experience in a health field. Increases in contract funds and staff will emphasize such program efforts as equivalency and proficiency testing, the utilization of returning veterans in civilian health occupations, and responsiveness to local needs for health manpower through strengthened regional office resources.

Program direction and manpower analysis: The Bureau of Health Manpower Education guides, supports, and evaluates health manpower programs; designs proposals for new or revised programs; coordinates improved manpower data gathering and reporting activities; conducts statistical surveys on the size, composition, and related characteristics of the existing health manpower supply and the national requirements for health manpower; and maintains an inventory of all health manpower educational programs in the Nation.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical library assistance	5,697	5,818	5,906
Direct operations:			
Lister Hill National Center Biomedical Communications	997	1,388	1,103
National Medical Audiovisual Center	2,219	2,081	1,989
Library operations	7,836	7,626	7,869
Toxicology information	1,351	1,241	1,215
Review and approval of grants	703	627	685
Program direction	1,733	1,818	2,220
Total program costs, funded	20,536	20,599	20,987
Change in selected resources	778	608	499
Total obligations	19,758	21,207	21,486

The National Library of Medicine serves as a national resource for biomedical information and as a focus for national planning to improve communications in the health sciences. Toward these ends the library conducts programs to provide: First, interlibrary loan, reference, and bibliographic services to units of the national system of libraries and information centers; second, bibliographic and literature searches through the computer-based medical literature analysis and retrieval system and its decentralized satellites; third, specialized information services including development of a toxicology information exchange to meet national needs for information relating to the effects of chemical agents on man; fourth, audiovisual resources and services and the development of new media for medical and health-related education through the National Medical Audiovisual Center; fifth, systems engineering, design, and implementation of a national, multimedia biomedical communications network for the most timely and efficient delivery of biomedical information to health professions; and, fifth, administration of support programs authorized by the Medical Library Assistance Act for the improvement of communications in the health sciences.

Medical library assistance: This activity provides funds for the following categories of support: Training grants, special scientific project grants, research grants, library resources grants, regional medical library grants and contracts, and publications support grants.

Direct operations: Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications:

The Center applies existing technology to the development of biomedical communications systems aimed at improving health education, medical research, and the delivery of health services. The Center is responsible for developing a national biomedical communications network, which involves identification of existing resources available to the network, demonstration of remote access devices to link the physician in his office to a central information source, and experimentation in telephone-dial access to diagnostic and therapeutic procedure messages. The Center also serves as the Department's focal point for coordinating health communications systems and network projects. In 1972, the Center will work toward the design of automated coordination systems utilizing reporting-at-the-source and on-line retrieval; individualized education and information centers to serve medical professionals regardless of location; and experimental use of satellite communications to reach remotely located patients, practitioners, and medical institutions.

National Medical Audiovisual Center: The Center will continue to emphasize the collection, cataloging, and distribution of biomedical audiovisuals and consultation concerning their use in education. The new cooperative media program, through which the Center works with teaching institutions and professional groups to develop innovative teaching aids, will receive increased emphasis.

Library operations: Under this activity the library acquires and maintains an archival and reference collection of the world's biomedical literature and provides bibliographic, reference, and loan services through a network of regional and local medical libraries. The National Library of Medicine serves both as the mid-Atlantic regional library and as a backup for the entire network and supports the development and operation of the Medical Literature Analysis and Retrieval System, a computer-based bibliographic information storage and retrieval system now undergoing conversion to a second-generation system. The new system (Medlars II) will not only continue to provide the data base for "Index Medicus" and other NLM bibliographic publications, but will provide for the eventual automation of most of the library's acquisition, cataloging, circulation and reference services.

Toxicology information: This program is responsible for developing and operating a computer-based information storage and retrieval system concerning the effects of chemical compounds on man and his environment. Activities in 1972 will include the creation of a new Medlars-based journal, Health Effects of Environmental Pollutants, using existing abstracts and summaries to make bioenvironmental toxicology information more readily available to scientists and public officials and the further development of an automated toxicology information storage and retrieval system.

Review and approval of grants: This activity provides the administrative and scientific staff responsible for managing grant programs authorized by the Medical Library Assistance Extension Act of 1970 and the international activities of the NLM which are funded by the scientific activities overseas appropriation.

Program direction: This activity supports the staffs of the immediate Office of the Director, the Office of Administrative Management, and the Office of Public Information and Publications Management. In addition, it provides reimbursement to the NIH management fund for centrally furnished administrative services and supports the costs of plant maintenance services.

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Research facilities	486	1,433	3,565
Service and administrative facilities	2,552	3,688	3,515
Total program costs, funded	3,038	5,121	7,080
Change in selected resources	−2,811	1,594	−339
Total obligations	227	6,715	6,741

The buildings and facilities appropriation provides funding for the construction, major repair, improvement, extension, alteration, and equipment, including the acquisition of sites for facilities of or used by the National Institutes of Health.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Program direction and management services—program costs, funded	7,771	8,667	11,371
Change in selected resources	217		
Total obligations	7,988	8,667	11,371

Program direction and management services provides for overall executive and program direction, and for supporting services relating to program planning and evaluation, scientific and public information, financial management, per-

sonnel management, management policy and review, and grants and contract management and analyses.

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES OVERSEAS (SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Foreign health research	4,002	29,235	25,545

The scientific activities overseas program is supported by excess U.S.-owned foreign currencies derived from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities.

Activities are directed toward the prevention, control, and treatment of specific disease and health problems in the United States and abroad; improving the organization and delivery of health services; and the translation of research publications to encourage and enhance international communication in the health sciences. The program also supports the interchange of experts, training, and international health-related conferences. Projects funded under the program are collaborative in nature and are of mutual interest to the United States and the host country.

In 1972 new lines of investigation will be directed toward solutions to the domestic problems of environmental health, the supply and utilization of health manpower, mental health, nutrition, and consumer protection. Biomedical research and the program of selective critical review and translation of scientific health publications will continue to be major priority areas. Emphasis will be placed on institutional development in host countries through a coordinated multidisciplinary approach to specific program areas such as neurophysiology and family planning.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Loans to health professions schools	6,479		
Interest	2,040	4,121	4,223
Cancellations to schools			213
Total obligations	8,519	4,121	4,436

The Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966 amended title VII, part C, of the Public Health Service Act to establish a revolving fund from which schools may obtain loans to provide loans to health professions students.

NURSE TRAINING FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Loans to schools of nursing	4,252		
Payment to Government National Mortgage Association to retire participation certificates		1,618	
Interest	744	2,038	2,039
Cancellations to schools			540
Total obligations	4,996	3,656	2,579

The Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966 amended section 827 of the Public Health Service Act to establish a revolving fund to provide loans to student nurses.

GENERAL RESEARCH SUPPORT GRANTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Total obligations	57,677	60,700	49,200

Public Law 86–188 amends the Public Health Service Act to provide for grants-in-aid to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public or nonprofit institutions for the general support of research and research training in sciences related to health. The act specifies that this program will be supported with funds provided for research grants through the appropriations for the National Institutes of Health and the National Institute of Mental Health.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH MANAGEMENT FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Computer services		4,472	4,527
Research services	4,597	5,130	5,263
Engineering services	10,778	11,477	12,016
Clinical services	18,891	20,584	21,062
Grant review and approval	8,039	8,245	8,361
Administrative services	8,771	8,768	8,319
Total, program costs, funded	51,076	58,676	59,548
Change in selected resources	−103		
Total, obligations	50,973	58,676	59,548

The National Institutes of Health management fund was established to facilitate the conduct of operations of the National Institutes of Health which are financed by two or more appropriations. The activities of the fund are financed primarily from advances and reimbursements from the several institutes. A small portion of the funds comes from reimbursements from outside sources and from other Government agencies.

The centralized organizations of the National Institutes of Health provide supporting services to all programs as follows:

Computer services provide a central scientific and computational resource for the NIH programs. The division plans and conducts an extensive interdisciplinary research and development program in which the concepts and methods of computer science, engineering, and mathematics are applied to biomedical problems. These research efforts provide a solid technical foundation for computational efforts at NIH and create new tools for use in biomedical research, education, and the application of health knowledge.

Research services provide the central administration and operation of services for the conduct of research activities such as providing laboratory animals, culture media, and glassware; design and fabrication of laboratory instrumentation; operating the NIH medical reference library, including the translation of medical literature; scientific photography and medical arts; and environmental engineering services.

Engineering services provide engineering, architectural, craft, and labor services required for the: Operation and maintenance of the NIH facility; planning of NIH facilities and improvements; administration and inspection of NIH construction performed under direct contract; and, liaison and inspection of projects administered by both the Facilities Engineering and Construction Agency, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Public Buildings Service of the General Services Administration.

Clinical services consist of the operation of the clinical center together with the laboratory space required for the care and treatment of research patients.

Grant review and approval initiates and develops recommednations and provides staff support services for the National Institutes of Health in formulating Public Health Service grants and awards policies and procedures relating to research, center, and training grants and fellowship programs; assigns grant and award applications to the appropriate bureau of the PHS; assigns applications within the NIH to institutes and divisions and to initial review groups, and provides for the scientific review of applications by the NIH study sections and review committees; conducts negotiations with grantee institutions, makes studies, and provides advisory and consultative services to NIH institutes and divisions relative to PHS grant policy and NIH-wide management matters, collects, stores, retrieves, analyzes, and evaluates management and program data needed by the NIH in the management of its extramural programs.

Administrative services provides for: Plant and office services, including cleaning of space; mail, messenger, telephone, and other communication services; operation and maintenance of motor vehicles; guards, firefighting, and other plant protection, and safety services; and procurement and supply management.

GRANTS MANAGEMENT FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Social and Rehabilitation Service	151,129	155,000	160,000
Office of Education	513,926	520,000	530,000
Health Services and Mental Health Administration	411,342	420,000	450,000
Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service	51,548	52,000	55,000
Social Security Administration	194	200	200
National Institutes of Health	1,096,295	1,100,000	1,120,000
Veterans' Administration	−549	550	550
Total obligations	2,223,885	2,247,750	2,315,750

SERVICE AND SUPPLY FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Administrative services:			
Cost of goods sold	5,371	5,303	5,490
Other	2,599	2,755	3,027
Data processing services	5,744	6,445	7,632
Instrumentation:			
Cost of goods sold	269	305	340
Other	1,279	1,296	1,386
Research animals:			
Cost of goods sold	136	125	100
Other	1,433	1,491	1,652
Total program costs, funded	16,831	17,720	19,627
Change in selected resources	−14	−50	50
Total obligations	16,817	17,670	19,677

The NIH service and supply fund provides a single means for consolidated financing and accounting of business-type operations involving the sale of services and commodities to customers.

ADVANCES AND REIMBURSEMENTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical research	1,026	1,145	1,083
Health manpower	2,067	2,323	2,362
National Library of Medicine	478	300	250
Total obligations	3,571	3,768	3,695

SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants to States for public assistance: Medical assistance:			
For those eligible for maintenance assistance	1,701,125	2,159,916	2,845,832
For those not eligible for maintenance assistance	800,529	814,253	813,965
Administration	114,946	139,516	167,822
Total, medical assistance	2,616,600	3,113,685	3,827,619
Collections and adjustments	21,368	−4,000	
Program costs, funded	2,637,968	3,109,685	3,827,619

Medical assistance: Grants for medical assistance under title XIX of the Social Security Act—medicaid—are made to States having plans approved by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Eligible recipients must include all persons receiving or eligible to receive money payments under the Social Security Act and States may elect to cover certain medically needy persons eligible for help only with their medical bills. Medicaid complements the Federal medicare program by paying the deductible and coinsurance for the needy aged, paying their premiums for Medicare's supplementary medical insurance program, and by paying for services not covered by medicare, for example, long-term nursing home care.

The medical assistance program is a State administered program with cost shared by the Federal Government.

GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE (PROPOSED FOR SEPARATE TRANSMITTAL, EXISTING LEGISLATION)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical assistance:			
For those eligible for maintenance assistance		201,959	
For those not eligible for maintenance assistance		−103,647	
State and local administration		8,145	
Program costs funded, medical assistance		106,457	

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Maternal and child health and development	4,719		
Assistance to refugees in the United States: Health services	2,449	3,195	3,963

These services are provided to new arrivals and to needy refugees in Miami and include medical screening, outpatient clinic services, and care of patients with tuberculosis and mental illness.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Payments to social security trust funds:			
Matching payments for supplementary medical insurance	928,151	1,245,282	1,376,400
Hospital insurance for the uninsured	617,262	878,688	503,351
Limitation on salaries and expenses, health insurance:			
Hospital insurance	127,505	136,942	148,768
Supplementary medical insurance	215,550	250,435	269,797

Health insurance: This program includes the hospital insurance and the voluntary supplementary medical insurance programs which were established by the 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act and commonly referred to as medicare.

Hospital insurance: The hospital insurance program affords protection to persons aged 65 and over against the cost of inpatient hospital services, posthospital home health services, and posthospital extended care services.

Supplementary medical insurance: Almost all persons aged 65 and over are eligible to enroll in the supplementary medical insurance program which covers the cost of physician services and other medical costs within certain deductible and coinsurance requirements.

FEDERAL HOSPITAL INSURANCE TRUST FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Benefit payments	4,803,900	5,819,700	6,690,000
Construction	171	1,896	807
Administration:			
Authorized program	140,415	146,277	160,902
Proposed increase in limitation		2,082	
Incentive reimbursement experimentation	2,003	1,278	3,061
Total obligations	4,946,489	5,971,232	6,854,770

The hospital insurance program protects individuals and families against the costs of health care by helping eligible people aged 65 and over finance the cost of hospital and related care.

Benefit payments: The hospital insurance program provides protection to persons aged 65 and over against the costs of inpatient hospital services, posthospital home health services, and posthospital extended care services.

Construction: The costs of site acquisition, design, and construction of office facilities for the Social Security Administration are financed by this and the other trust funds.

Administration: The administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration as reflected in its salaries and expenses appropriation and those incurred for social security programs by the Treasury Department and other Department of Health, Education, and Welfare components are financed in part by each trust fund.

Incentive reimbursement experimentation: The 1967 Social Security Amendments provide authorization to conduct experiments for reimbursement of providers of services on a basis other than the "reasonable cost" or "reasonable charges" provisions generally applicable under the medicare program, in order to achieve incentives for economy while maintaining or improving quality in the provision of health services. The cost of administering and evaluating the experiments is financed by the hospital insurance and supplementary medical insurance trust funds. Hospital insurance benefit payments made to providers of health services who are participating in these experiments are included in the benefit payments shown above.

FEDERAL SUPPLEMENTARY MEDICAL INSURANCE TRUST FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Benefit payments	1,979,287	2,070,300	2,300,000
Construction	205	2,278	970
Administration:			
Authorized program	220,228	250,179	273,083
Proposed increase in limitation		2,429	
Incentive reimbursement experimentation	557	398	1,064
Total obligations	2,200,277	2,325,584	2,575,117

The supplementary medical insurance program protects individuals and families against the costs of health care by helping individuals aged 65 and over who elect this coverage to finance the cost of physicians' services and certain other medical and health services.

Benefit payments: Participants in the program are covered for the cost of physicians' services, home health services not covered under the hospital insurance program, outpatient services, and certain other medical costs, with specified deductible and coinsurance amounts.

Construction: The costs of site acquisition, design, and construction of the office facilities for the Social Security Administration are financed by this and the other trust funds.

Administration: The administrative expenses of the Social Security Admin-

istration, as reflected in its salaries and expenses appropriation, and those incurred for social security programs by the Treasury Department and other Department of Health, Education, and Welfare components are financed in part by each trust fund.

Incentive reimbursement experimentation: The 1967 Social Security Amendments provide authorization to conduct experiments for reimbursement of providers of services on a basis other than the "reasonable cost" or "reasonable charges" provisions generally applicable under the medicare program in order to achieve incentive for economy while maintaining or improving quality in the provision of health services. The cost of administering and evaluating the experiments is financed by the hospital insurance and supplementary medical insurance trust funds. Medical insurance benefit payments made to providers of health services who are participating in these experiments are included in the benefit payments shown above.

SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Howard University, Freedmen's Hospital	15,683	16,819	17,700

The hospital furnishes inpatient and outpatient care and a facility for training of physicians and nurses and other professional and technical health personnel. Operation of the hospital is financed by direct appropriation and income derived from charges for medical and hospital services from patients, medicare, the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions. Federal funds provide 71.9 percent of the total operating costs.

DEPARTMENTAL MANAGEMENT—ADVANCES AND REIMBURSEMENTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
International health activities	967	1,193	1,122
Secretary's Advisory Committee on Health Protection and Disease Prevention	293	----	----
Secretary's Task Force on Medicaid	250	----	----
Secretary's Commission on Pesticides	83	125	----
Family health insurance plan	----	153	----
Advisory Committee on Dental Health	----	68	82

SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants to States for public assistance: Medical assistance	----	----	$444,000

Legislation will be proposed to modify the medicaid program, including provisions that would discourage overutilization of services, place increased emphasis on preventive medical care, and restrain cost increases for institutional services. These changes will be consistent with the proposed new family health insurance plan, one objective of which will be to promote cost sharing according to the beneficiary's ability to pay.

CANCER RESEARCH INITIATIVES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Obligations	----	----	100,000

Budget amendments will be proposed for a major initiative in research on cancer. This initiative will involve all pertinent institutes and agencies.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE—FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons:			
Medical services	4,408	5,006	6,271
Narcotic addict treatment	1,109	2,428	2,814

Medical services: Funds are allocated to the Health Services and Mental Health Administration for the cost of medical, psychiatric, and technical services.

Narcotic addict treatment: This covers the cost of treatment of narcotic addicts while in institutions and provides for aftercare treatment services after the inmate is released.

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
New construction: Medical facility, Butner, N.C.	----	350	14,250

Construction will be started on a psychiatric study and treatment center at Butner, N.C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Kabul Hospital:			
Agency for International Development	183	207	207
Peace Corps	39	42	42
Defense	22	23	23
Other accounts	39	41	41

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Contributions to international organizations:			
World Health Organization	19,533	21,681	23,741
Pan American Health Organization	8,402	9,263	10,437

The World Health Organization is expanding its activities in the fields of public health administration, education and training, communicable disease control, and environmental health.

The Pan American Health Organization is further incorporating into its regular budget the costs of the malaria eradication campaign, previously funded in part by the Agency for International Development, and expanding its programs in the fields of communicable diseases, environmental health, and public health administration.

WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
22d World Health Assembly	2	----	----

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION—FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Safety regulation: Administration of medical programs	----	----	4,203

This activity covers the portion of the development of regulations governing the physical and mental fitness of airmen and other persons whose health affects safety in flight; the development and supervision of a health and medical program for agency personnel; the administration of an aviation medical research program, the project costs of which are financed under research and development; and the operation of the Civil Aeromedical Institute building not financed from the trust fund.

OPERATIONS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Administration of medical programs	5,956	6,715	----

This account will be phased out in 1971 and the activities authorized under provisions of Public Law 91–258 will be shown in the new account, operations—airport and airway trust fund—in 1972.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Aviation medicine	1,919	2,000	----

This account will be phased out in 1971 and the activities authorized under provisions of Public Law 91–258 will be shown in the new account airway systems investment and development—airport and airway trust fund—in 1972.

OPERATIONS (AIRPORT AND AIRWAY TRUST FUND)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Administration of medical programs	----	----	2,913

This activity covers the development of standards governing the physical and mental fitness of airmen and other persons in the air navigation system; the development and supervision of a health and medical program for agency personnel; the administration of an aviation medical research program, the project costs of which are financed under research and development; and the operation of the Civil Aeromedical Institute Building.

AIRWAY SYSTEM INVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (AIRPORT AND AIRWAY TRUST FUND)

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Research and development:			
Aviation medicine			660

This activity provides for conducting an aeromedical research effort directed toward the identification and elimination of those physical, physiological, and psychological factors which may affect personnel engaged in operation of the air traffic control system.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operating expenses: Biology and medicine	89,516	88,300	88,300

Basic and applied research and development is conducted on the effects of radiation on living organisms and on the environment, protection against the injurious effects of radiation, and development of methods for using radioactive materials in the diagnosis, treatment, and understanding of human diseases such as cancer. The program includes measurement and study of the effects of radioactivity—including fallout—in the environment for developing standards to insure that nuclear activities are conducted safely. The program is coordinated with other Government agencies conducting programs in related aspects of biomedical research.

Primary emphasis in 1972 will be placed on program areas of particular importance and urgency including: the late effects of low doses of radiation; tumorigenicity of particles of plutonium and other alpha emitters; and thermal alteration of land, fresh water, marine, and atmosphere environments.

PLANT AND CAPITAL EQUIPMENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Biology and medicine	5,409	6,853	6,230

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
MEDICAL CARE			
Direct operating costs, funded:			
Maintenance and operation of VA facilities:			
VA hospital care:			
Medical bed sections	476,620	522,110	558,429
Surgical bed sections	291,664	319,373	341,368
Psychiatric bed sections	384,260	406,198	420,391
Nursing home care	33,670	43,600	52,404
Domiciliary care	38,634	39,521	38,316
Restoration centers	3,450	3,612	4,112
Outpatient care	231,473	291,915	316,130
Miscellaneous benefits and services	28,783	32,054	32,992
Education and training	89,636	107,463	107,981
Research and development in health services	2,182	2,671	2,171
Contract care:			
Hospitalization	18,247	18,432	18,618
Nursing home	19,950	20,203	22,824
Grants for State home care:			
Domiciliary	8,836	8,173	7,777
Nursing home	4,552	5,851	6,783
Hospitalization	1,180	3,666	4,018
Total direct operating costs, funded	1,633,137	1,824,842	1,934,314
Capital outlay, funded:			
Maintenance and operation of V.A. facilities:			
V.A. hospital care:			
Medical bed sections	17,508	33,100	39,900
Surgical bed sections	10,606	20,000	24,000
Psychiatric bed sections	7,382	14,000	16,900
Nursing home care	712	550	733
Domiciliary care	540	1,000	1,200
Restoration centers	102	200	190
Outpatient care	2,569	4,307	5,800
Miscellaneous benefits and services	1,609	3,000	3,812
Education and training	300	2,000	900
Research and development in services	1	1	1
Total capital outlay	41,329	78,158	93,436
Total direct program costs, funded	1,674,466	1,903,000	2,027,750
Reimbursable program:			
Maintenance and operation VA facilities:			
VA hospital care	11,641	11,508	11,508
Outpatient care	2,492	2,492	2,492
Total reimbursable program costs	14,133	14,000	14,000
Total program costs, funded	1,688,599	1,917,000	2,041,750
Change in selected resources	8,743		
Total obligations	1,697,342	1,917,000	2,041,750
MEDICAL AND PROSTHETIC RESEARCH			
Operating costs, funded:			
Medical research	50,552	53,153	54,087
Prosthetic research	1,560	1,983	1,994
Capital outlay, funded:			
Medical research	6,768	6,510	5,879
Prosthetic research	37	40	40
Total program costs, funded	58,917	61,686	62,000
Change in selected resources	−232		
Total obligations	58,685	61,686	62,000

Medical research: Medical research projects are conducted in Veterans' Administration laboratories or in other institutions on a contract basis, whichever is more advantageous or economical. Excluded from this estimate are the costs of research construction projects which are funded from the construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities appropriation.

Prosthetic research: This is a research program to develop and test prosthetic, orthopedic, and sensory aids for the purpose of improving the care and rehabilitation of disabled eligible veterans, including amputees, paraplegics, and the blind.

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS OPERATING EXPENSES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operating costs, funded:			
Medical, hospital, and domiciliary administration	13,049	14,086	14,544
Postgraduate and in-service training	2,809	3,599	4,000
Exchange of medical information	1,180	1,852	
Capital outlay, funded:			
Medical, hospital, and domiciliary administration	30	41	57
Postgraduate and inservice training	311	81	600
Exchange of medical information	328	148	
Total, program costs, funded	17,706	19,807	19,201
Change in selected resources	236		
Total, obligations	17,942	19,807	19,201

Medical, hospital, and domiciliary administration: This covers the development, implementation, and administration of policies, plans, and broad objectives, and provides executive direction for all agency medical programs.

Postgraduate and inservice training: This provides for tuition and registration payments, lecturer fees, travel expenses, and training materials incidental to continuing education programs for professional medical and administrative staff. This also serves as a media for disseminating information on medical advances resulting from research efforts.

Exchange of medical information: This provides for entering into agreements with medical schools, hospitals, research centers and individual institutions, and members of the medical-scientific community under which physicians at hospitals not affiliated with medical schools will maintain closer contact with such schools and other primary sources of medical information. Existing legislation for this program expires at the end of 1971. Estimates for 1972 are being submitted under the proposed for separate transmittal, proposed legislation section.

CONSTRUCTION OF HOSPITAL AND DOMICILIARY FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Hospitals:			
Replacement and relocation	45,630	34,422	37,900
Modernization	5,467	10,286	19,775
Other improvements	9,394	12,048	27,915
Nursing homes	248	664	3,356
Research facilities	3,905	5,818	9,819

Hospitals: Replacement and relocation: Beds which are housed in temporary, obsolete, or hazardous structures are to be replaced or relocated.

Modernization: Existing hospitals are to be brought up to the standards of the new hospitals insofar as practicable.

Nursing homes: This activity provides for the construction necessary to establish VA nursing home facilities. These facilities are being provided by altering existing hospital and domiciliary facilities and by new construction where necessary.

Research facilities: This activity provides for construction of medical research facilities.

GRANTS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF STATE EXTENDED CARE FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grants for State nursing home construction	3,452	5,000	5,000
Grants for existing State home hospital or domiciliary facility remodeling, modification, or alteration		2,500	3,000
Total program costs, funded	3,452	7,500	8,000
Change in selected resources	−1,459	2,476	
Total obligations	1,993	9,976	8,000

This program provides grants to assist the States in the construction of State nursing facilities, and to remodel, modify, or alter existing hospital and domiciliary facilities in State homes for providing care and treatment to war veterans.

GRANTS TO THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical care and treatment of veterans	1,252	1,900	2,000
Medical research and training grants	85	100	100
Hospital equipment, plant, and facilities rehabilitation grants	4	40	
Total obligations	1,341	2,040	2,100

Grants are made to the Republic of the Philippines for the medical care and treatment at the Veterans Memorial Hospital or at other facilities by contract, of Philippine Commonwealth Army veterans and new Philippine Scouts.

ADVANCES AND REIMBURSEMENTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical and prosthetic research	558	550	559
Medical administration and miscellaneous operating expenses	107	50	50
Cancer chemotherapy research		950	1,000
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities	45		

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS OPERATING EXPENSES

Exchange of medical information	2,000

In 1968 an exchange of medical information program was implemented to strengthen nonaffiliated VA hospitals which are distant from medical centers. Current legislation for this program expires at the end of 1971. Legislation will be proposed to continue this program in 1972.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Occupational health	231	416	434

The Commission assists departments and agencies to develop adequate occupational health programs with services provided at work locations, issues standards and guidelines, and, in cooperation with the Public Health Service, Department of Labor, and General Services Administration, works toward achieving a modern and comprehensive health program for all Federal employees.

GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS FOR ANNUITANTS, EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Government contributions for annuitants benefits (1959 law)	34,457	38,356	95,432
Government contributions for annuitants benefits (1960 act)	9,515	9,369	9,028
Administrative expense (1960 act)	244	291	239
Total program costs, funded	44,216	48,016	104,699
Change in selected resources	−3,031	−1,493	
Total obligations	41,185	46,523	104,699

This appropriation covers the Government's share of the cost of health insurance for certain annuitants as defined in sections 8901 and 8906 of title 5, United States Code; the Government's share of the cost of health insurance for other annuitants—who were retired when the Federal employees health benefits law became effective—as defined in the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1960; and the Government's contribution for payment of administrative expenses incurred by the Commission in administration of the Retired Employees Health Benefits Act of 1960.

The use of these funds is reflected in the schedules for the employees health benefits fund and the retired employees health benefits fund.

GOVERNMENT PAYMENT FOR ANNUITANTS, EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Government contributions for annuitants benefits (1959 law)		21,356	

This proposed supplemental is for the increase in Government contributions for annuitants created by Public Law 91-418, which amends the Federal employees health benefits law by providing for increased Government contributions to health benefit premiums beginning in January 1971.

EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Payments to carriers: Semimonthly (subscriptions)	865,017	1,082,775	1,319,52
Annual from contingency reserve	49,845	39,000	31,000
Excess or deficiency on payments to carriers	22,000	10,500	−22,900
Administration	1,492	1,478	1,655
Total operating costs, funded	938,354	1,133,753	1,330,179
Change in selected resources	−15,000	−3,500	29,000
Total obligations	923,354	1,130,253	1,359,179

The fund finances the cost of health benefits for: Active employees; employees who retired after June 1960, or their survivors; and the related expenses of the Commission in administering the program.

RETIRED EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS PROGRAM

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Subscription charge payments to uniform plan carrier	8,451	6,674	5,902
Less excess subscription charge held by carrier	1,296	−426	−2,448
Net payments	7,156	7,100	8,350
Government contributions to annuitants with private plans	5,251	5,219	5,067
Administration	244	291	239
Total obligations	12,651	12,610	13,656

This fund finances: The cost of health benefits for retired employees and survivors who enroll in the Government-sponsored uniform health benefits plan; the contribution to retired employees and survivors who retain or purchase private health insurance; and expenses of the Commission in administering the program.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD—ADVANCES AND REIMBURSEMENTS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medicare activities (Social Security Administration)	609	625	625

LIMITATION ON RAILROAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ADMINISTRATION FUND

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Processing of sickness claims	2,552	2,824	2,678

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: National Advisory Committee on the Selection of Physicians, Dentists, and Allied Specialists	46	78	59

TEMPORARY STUDY COMMISSIONS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse: Salaries and expenses: Conduct a study of marihuana and the causes of drug abuse		200	500

A supplemental request is anticipated to provide funds for this Commission. It will conduct a study of marihuana including its extent of use, the efficacy of existing laws, its pharmacology and effects, its relationship to crime and other drugs, and its international control. The Commission will also conduct a study and investigation into the causes of drug abuse and their relative significance.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Grand total	20,612,439	23,890,886	25,616,191

PLIGHT OF POW'S

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I announce to you and this body that today marks the 7th year and 35th day that Americans have been held prisoners of war in Southeast Asia. We have made every reasonable effort to obtain the release of these brave Americans and we are all aware of the massive letterwriting campaigns which have been conducted by concerned American citizens to Hanoi in this regard with but little tangible results thus far.

Perhaps we should consider directing our letterwriting efforts to Russia, the country which feeds the war effort of North Vietnam and is, therefore, in a unique position to withhold support from North Vietnam. Also, perhaps it would be meaningful to solicit and involve world opinions at the grass roots level by communicating directly with the people of European countries such as England and France. It is my belief that a sincere and united outcry by the people of the free world could not help but influence those in Hanoi who have not had the character or decency to abide by the terms of the Geneva Convention.

LETTER FROM INDOCHINA

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 30, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the April 24 edition of the New Yorker contained a most penetrating analysis by Robert Shaplen of our recent foray into Laos and its repercussions throughout Indochina. It is one of the most knowledgeable and objective accounts of our involvement in Vietnam I have yet encountered and I recommend it to my colleagues.

LETTER FROM INDO-CHINA

SAIGON, APRIL 14.

It may be six or eight months before any final assessment can be made of Operation Lam Son 719, the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos, supported by vast American air power, which lasted from February 8th until March 25th and was followed by brief commando forays until early in April. Nevertheless, even though this operation has produced more heated debate than any other Indo-Chinese battle since the French fell into the trap of Dien Bien Phu in the spring of 1954, a few conclusions can be reached now. The invasion failed to achieve anything close to its maximum aims, for, though it caused the death of a great many South and North Vietnamese, it did little—contrary to American and South Vietnamese expectations—to speed the end of the fighting, either by forcing Hanoi to negotiate or by assuring the success of the still inconclusive Vietnamization program. It may, at most, have postponed some major offensives that the Communists had planned in South Vietnam over the next few months. On the other hand, at least one big attack—in Kontum Province, in the Central Highlands—has been pressed during the past fortnight, and there has been a noticeable increase of terrorism throughout the country. Costly as the Laotian invasion was to Hanoi, it apparently hardened the determination of the North Vietnamese to continue fighting throughout Indo-China. Moreover, it led to a reaffirmation of Chinese and Russian pledges of assistance. Finally, the operation was a political setback for President Nguyen Van Thieu, whose reelection in October is now, for the first time, open to question.

The Americans, who are going all out to uphold Thieu and make their South Vietnamese allies feel "six feet tall" as the monthly rate of American troop withdrawals increases, have come up with the customary set of sanguinary statistics, this time claiming a nine-to-one "kill ratio" in favor of the Saigon forces. If that is believable—and even President Nixon, in his television interview of March 22nd, indicated that a five-to-one ratio might be more realistic—it could be due only to the preponderance of American bombers and artillery. There can be no doubt that if it had not been for this support the results would have been disastrous for the twenty-four thousand South Vietnamese who were fighting deep in unknown jungle territory against about thirty-five thousand North Vietnamese—a far more experienced force, which was fully determined to protect its lifeline to the South in the Ho Chi Minh Trail complex. The gruesome game of body counts has long been the bugaboo of correspondents in Vietnam, and in this case the confusion has been compounded by a flood of often contradictory statements and assessments emanating from Washington and Saigon. Indeed, never in the past ten years—not even during the chaotic months before the overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, in 1963, or during the Communist Tet offensive at the beginning of 1968 and the May and August offensives that followed—have I witnessed such dissension as has taken place between the news media and the authorities, both American and South Vietnamese, over the invasion of Laos.

According to the latest official American figures, the losses of the South Vietnamese—who for the most part fought bravely and well but lacked a cohesive command—were about fifteen hundred dead, more than six hundred missing, and fifty-five hundred wounded; so far there have been no estimates of how many of the wounded have died or are likely to die. Unofficially, however, according to what South Vietnamese sources have told me, the number of men missing and presumed dead is actually between a thousand and fifteen hundred, and the number of wounded is at least seven thousand. Some of those listed as missing are still straggling back across the border, but the majority, it is said, either died of their wounds in Laos or surrendered or were captured by the North Vietnamese. In their flight from Laos, under extremely heavy North Vietnamese attacks, the South Vietnamese abandoned many of their wounded—something that the government is reluctant to admit—and though American rescue helicopters did remarkable work under the most hazardous conditions, they couldn't bring out all the wounded. (A hundred and five helicopters were lost in the Laotian operation, and five hundred and fifty-six were damaged; a hundred and seventy-six Americans were killed during those weeks, on both sides of the border, and forty-two are missing.) Each Vietnamese unit commander reports on his own losses, so it is difficult to come up with comprehensive figures. The dependents of known dead get full pension awards, while those of the missing get payment for only four years, and the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, Pham Van Dong, said to me, "I won't know for months how much I have to pay to how many."

The North Vietnamese assuredly suffered heavier casualties, but whether these were as high as Allied authorities claimed can never be determined. It is admittedly difficult for troops engaged in bloody fighting or in flight to count the bodies of those killed by bombs, but if the given figure of thirteen thousand five hundred dead is correct, and if one assumes, as Allied military officials do, that twice as many North Vietnamese were wounded as were killed, then the total casualties come to about forty thousand, or more than the number of North Vietnamese that the same military officials say were fighting in the Laotian battle. There would seem to be more realism in the estimate that from a third to a half of the thirty-three North Vietnamese battalions engaged were rendered "combat ineffective," and that it will be no easy task for North Vietnam, which is suffering from a manpower shortage, to replace these losses. About a third of the North Vietnamese losses were specialists—technicians of one sort or another who directed the flow of traffic on the Trail—and those men will be the most difficult to replace.

Nevertheless, the North Vietnamese quickly sent in between four thousand and eight thousand reinforcements to repair the damage done to the Trail, mostly by our B–52 bombers, and within a fortnight after the invasion ended, the movement of trucks south had been resumed at a more or less normal pace. (In comparison to the North Vietnamese battalion losses, at least five—and some say eight—of the twenty-two South Vietnamese battalions involved were hurt to the point of combat ineffectiveness, and it must be stressed that Saigon threw its best forces into Lam Son 719. It will take between six months and a year to build these units back up to strength, and then they will certainly not be as well trained and "elite" as they were before.) The North Vietnamese apparently lost between three and four thousand trucks

along the Trail; again, most of these losses were the result of bombing, and only about three hundred trucks were destroyed in the actual area of the ground invasion. The North Vietnamese also lost more than a hundred tanks. (The number of new Russian-built PT–76, T–54, and T–34 tanks that Hanoi used, sometimes right under the noses of the South Vietnamese, was one of the surprises of the campaign, and the lighter tanks of the South Vietnamese forces, many of which got bogged down, were no match for them.) In addition, Hanoi lost nearly seven thousand weapons, big and small, and nearly five hundred tons of heavy ammunition—artillery and mortar shells, and the like—but Saigon's claim of a total of a hundred and seventy-six thousand tons of North Vietnamese ammunition blown up, mostly by bombing, seems ridiculous, since the average monthly flow south in the past has been only about fourteen thousand tons. Furthermore, no major storage depots were taken—only some medium-sized way stations along the Trail. The French used to say that for every ton of ammunition captured the Communists had three more tons available nearby. No one knows how much the North Vietnamese have currently stashed away around the Blovens Plateau, about a hundred miles below the invasion area and near the border point where Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam meet. However, the North Vietnamese and their Pathet Lao accomplices recently extended their control in that region, and they obviously have quite a lot of supplies cached there. Consequently, just how much time Hanoi lost and Saigon gained by the invasion can be determined only next fall, when materiel in the northern part of the Trail complex is due to arrive farther south, some of it destined for Cambodia and the rest for the central and southern parts of South Vietnam.

For anyone attempting to evaluate the Laotian operation, what has perhaps been most significant is the fact that the Communists have struck back quickly and violently in various parts of South Vietnam and in Cambodia, clearly demonstrating that they have enough men and arms to cause a lot of trouble—at least during the present dry season, which will last another month. And most observers believe they will continue their attacks across the now expanded Indo-China fronts throughout the coming rainy season, which will last until the end of October. The attacks in South Vietnam over the past two weeks have ranged from a successful assault on an American base in Quang Nam Province, in the north, in which thirty-three Americans were killed and seventy-six were wounded, to quick strikes at district towns and headquarters and at fortified artillery fire bases that are set up to provide strong points for Allied military operations in all battle zones. By far the most serious of these attacks has been the one in Kontum, in the Central Highlands. Although the Communists have lost about twenty-five hundred men in this province as a result of American bombing, they have been making a concerted effort to capture Fire Base 6 there; if they succeed, they will presumably try to advance southward to Pleiku and Quang Duc Provinces and eastward as far as possible toward Binh Dinh and other coastal areas where there has been a recent flurry of fighting. The Communists also seem determined to pin down South Vietnamese troops and inflict heavy casualties. That being so, it is significant that the equivalent of five South Vietnamese regiments is heavily engaged in Kontum, which in itself would seem to belie Saigon's claims that its casualties have been light. In mid-February, the Communists, having apparently anticipated a move westward into the border region below the Bolovens Plateau and adjacent to the Highlands, repulsed a South Vietnamese assault there and caused heavy casualties to two battalions. (No official announcement of this defeat has so far been made here.)

It has already become apparent that the North Vietnamese are taking advantage of the American troop withdrawals to strike at the thinly spread South Vietnamese. Were it not for American air power (and nobody knows how much of that will be maintained and for how long), the Saigon forces would be in serious trouble. The Communists are already taking advantage of the situation along Route 19, which runs eastward through Pleiku Province below Kontum to the coast. It seems that after American troops left, the South Korean troops assigned to that area refused to fill that gap, complaining that they hadn't been promised enough helicopters and armored vehicles. Sections of Highway 1, which runs along the coast, are also considered risky these days, and for similar reasons. The general pattern of attacks around the country—including several attacks in Saigon in the past few days—makes it clear that the Communists are trying to create as much fear as possible and to disrupt the government's pacification program just when it is supposed to be going into high gear. One of the worst incidents occurred at the district town of Duc Duc, in Quang Nam Province: The North Vietnamese raided a camp of refugee woodcutters from the mountains and killed a hundred and nine of them and twenty-three members of the territorial forces, losing fifty-nine men themselves. This seemed to be an act of pure vengefulness against the refugees, intended also to serve as a warning to others not to go over to the government side. Since January 1st, about thirty outposts have been attacked in the Delta alone, where it has been claimed that the Communists are "dwindling on the vine." Although the Communists have been severely pressed in their major base areas in the Delta—such as the U Minh forest, where they have recently taken heavy losses and where there have been more than two thousand defectors, mostly conscripted laborers—the phrase "dwindling on the vine" seems questionable. In Vinh Binh Province, for example, the Communists were able to mount carefully coordinated strikes against two district headquarters and nearby outposts a fortnight ago. Admittedly, Vinh Binh has always been a "bad" province, and one American official sought to minimize the effect of the attack by pointing out that "one doesn't make a summer." On the other hand, once a security pattern is broken, word of the fact quickly spreads throughout the area. In this way, the Communists seek to destroy the people's still shaky confidence in their government and to deny Saigon's optimistic claims that virtually the whole country is now pacified.

The recent attacks in South Vietnam underline what was basically wrong with the Laotian operation from the start—its conventionality. One neutral military observer said of it, "The South Vietnamese, while fighting bravely, fought half in the old French style and half in the new American style, and they fell between two stools. They have still not learned how to fight an unconventional war against an unconventional enemy who is flexible—and is even willing, when necessary, to stand and fight conventionally, and take enormous losses if he thinks it worth the effort, as he did in Laos." A number of South Vietnamese officers have privately been saying the same thing—some of them have been saying it for years, but lately more voices have been added—and at least one high-ranking friend of mine bemoaned the fact that "you Americans have never let us fight the kind of war we know we have to fight." The helicopter is a remarkably mobile instrument of warfare, and it has done much in past years to keep South Vietnam from falling to the Communists, but there are veteran Americans here who now wish that it had never been invented, and that Vietnamese troops had been trained from the start to fight a "people's war." Nothing could have dramatized this failure more than the sight of South Vietnamese soldiers clinging to the skids of helicopters that were being flown out of Laos.

A large number of South Vietnamese are saying that the Americans pushed them into Laos against their will, and some of the comments have been extremely bitter; one newspaper cartoon depicted a helicopter lifting President Nixon in his Presidential chair out of Laos under fire. The South Vietnamese were certainly encouraged to undertake the invasion, as they have been encouraged to do many other things before, although all specific military decisions were made by the South Vietnamese themselves—most notably by President Thieu and by General Cao Van Vien, the chief of the Joint General Staff. As the campaign proceeded, it quickly became apparent that much of the strategy derived from American misconceptions about waging a conventional or semiconventional helicopter war against an unconventional enemy in the jungle. Intelligence about the swiftly moving Communist troops was bad, and on many occasions the South Vietnamese found themselves sitting on hilltops surrounded by North Vietnamese troops who had moved in during the night or in the early-morning mist. It may be, as the Americans maintain, that General Vo Nguyen Giap, the North Vietnamese commander, misjudged an early halt in the South Vietnamese momentum and massed his troops for what he thought would be the kill, only to suffer his heaviest losses, mostly through bombing. But if that was so, the carnage was general. Helicopters were used to bring replacements and ammunition to the South Vietnamese and to evacuate the wounded, but air-to-ground communications collapsed when the going got tough (language difficulties were a big part of this), and there was a notable lack of coordination among the four top South Vietnamese commanders in the field; each was operating on his own, and was not effectively responsible to a single headquarters. This caused profound morale problems, and many capable young junior officers and noncoms afterward blamed their senior commanders and the generals for not providing proper leadership. A number of battalion commanders, some of whom didn't seem to know what they were supposed to be doing, actually surrendered or fled in the midst of battle.

The armored column moving out along Route 9 into Laos with protective screens of troops on both sides was bogged down almost at once by bad weather. Originally, the Trail hub of Tchepone, about twenty-five miles from the border, was supposed to be reached in four days. When the armored force got stuck and North Vietnamese ambushes began, General Creighton Abrams and his Vietnamese counterpart, General Vien, flew north to Khe Sanh to bring pressure on both Thieu and his local commanders to keep moving. Thieu demurred. He wanted the force to dig in, avoiding any heavy engagements. It was at this point that it was decided to lift troops by helicopter to several fire bases farther inside Laos, which were supposed to support each other. (The North Vietnamese quickly surrounded the bases.) Troops were also lifted as far as Tchepone, where the Saigon flag was briefly shown before they left. Ultimately, there were differences among the South Vietnamese generals and between the generals and Thieu about what to do, and these arguments, which the Americans were unable to reconcile, plus another spell of bad weather, caused the operation to be suspended a month early. Toward the end, some of the units just pulled out pell-mell on their own, without orders, and with the North Vietnamese pursuing them right to the border. A great many South Vietnamese vehicles

were left behind, including some armored vehicles that had never moved more than ten miles down Route 9. The confusion that accompanied the withdrawal intensified the bitterness of the South Vietnamese soldiers. "We do not want our leaders to minimize our casualty figures," one junior officer told a Vietnamese friend of mine, a correspondent who was wounded in Laos. "Let's give the true figures on our losses to prove we weren't on a camping trip. To mislead our families and our countrymen about our casualties will just encourage the enemy and dishonor us."

President Thieu, at his press conference on March 31st, expressed satisfaction over the Laotian offensive while admitting that some lessons had been learned for the future, and top American commanders have said much the same thing. It is a matter of opinion whether any of them are really proud of what was accomplished or are trying to hide their disappointment. Thieu, with his political future at stake, has obviously been on the defensive. He spoke of "tendentious rumors" that the attack had been a failure, and claimed it was "the biggest victory ever," telling his troops, "I am proud of your performance," and adding, "You have caused a psychological breakdown among the Communists—you have hurt their morale seriously." There is no doubt, however, that more and more South Vietnamese soldiers are coming to resent the strategy and tactics that Western-trained officers have forced them to adopt.

One experienced Western analyst—Brian Jenkins, a historian and former Special Forces officer in Vietnam, who recently worked for American Army headquarters here on long-range-planning projects—has for several years been studying the subject of conventional vs. unconventional warfare. In July, 1969, Jenkins wrote, for an American research organization, a closely reasoned paper entitled "The Unchangeable War," in which he was highly critical of the American military establishment's hardheaded refusal to alter its traditional concepts and ways. Jenkins concluded that "the most damaging indictment of our concept of warfare is that our military superiority and successes on the battlefield do not challenge the enemy's political control of the people, which he maintains by his promises of a better society and, when that fails, by intimidation and terror." In a list of "the institutional obstacles to change," Jenkins included the following: the belief that everything we do is right per se, especially in determining strategy; the attendant belief that when something fails it was not because of any inherent error of strategy or tactics but because "not enough" troops or materiel was applied; the myth that no organizational changes are possible in the midst of war, and that even if they were possible the Vietnam war is an "aberration" anyway, "an exotic interlude between wars that really count," and therefore doesn't warrant any "radical" institutional changes; the orthodox dependence on high body counts as the basis for good efficiency reports and for promotion; the illogicality of the twelve-month tour of duty for American military men in Vietnam, since it is far too short for anyone to learn enough to be effective; and, finally, the lack of a single, over-all American command among the services in Saigon, Hawaii, and Washington.

Jenkins concluded that because of the way we have imposed our doctrine, organization, and technology on the South Vietnamese, "we may have rendered them incapable of successfully continuing the war after our withdrawal," and the Laotian operation appears to bear this conclusion out. A number of American officers here seem to consider the ideas for a "people's war" that Jenkins is now gathering from among growing numbers of disgruntled South Vietnamese as nothing short of "Communistic." Jenkins, however, has said that he derives some hope from the South Vietnamese reactions he has encountered. For example, the mounting objections to the American way of fighting the war have led more and more South Vietnamese officers to advocate doing away with the whole concept of divisions and corps—especially since it is widely held that three of the four corps commanders have proved themselves to be either incompetent or inadequate, the only really good one in the country being Ngo Quang Truong, who commands in the Delta.

The officers advocate that the large, unwieldy units be replaced by smaller ARVN mobile brigades, made up of troops serving on a volunteer basis (and better paid than the regulars are now) who would operate in the forefront as a strike force. The territorial forces, of drafted youths serving a hitch of from two to five years (for less pay than the volunteers), would spend part of their service helping to build roads and working in the fields at harvest-time. Finally—what is perhaps most important—there would be a new form of the People's Self Defense Forces, which are supposed to defend local hamlets but are increasingly being incorporated into the national military bureaucracy. What Jenkins and the South Vietnamese he has spoken with envisage is a P.S.D.F. whose members would be paid subsistence wages (they get nothing now) and who not only would take their turns at defending their hamlets but would develop plots of land assigned to them; after three years one-third of these forces would become full-time farmers and would be replaced by new men. Thus, paramilitary units would become production units, and a constant supply of full-time farmers would still be available for defense duties in times of crisis. All this is very close to the program that the North Vietnamese have successfully carried out for many years, and that fact may account for the shocked reaction of some of the American generals whom Jenkins has approached. "Why, what you're talking about, damn it, is building *communes!*" one of them boomed.

Statistical-minded, as always, the Americans have just come up with still another new set of standards for the so-called Hamlet Evaluation System, whereby each hamlet in the country is rated from A, or a hundred per cent secure, to E, or contested, on the basis of security and development, and V designated a hamlet still run by the Vietcong. The new system is based more on the whereabouts and safety of certain key individuals, notably hamlet chiefs and members of village councils, than on general, area-wide security. In Long Khanh Province, for example, where there has been an increase in terrorism, and where some main-force Communist units are operating from sparsely populated jungle areas they have long controlled, the H.E.S. rating has recently dropped from eighty-nine per cent to sixty-eight. The drop appears to indicate primarily the foolishness of trying to determine Communist strength by playing with numbers.

I reached this conclusion during a recent trip I took through four provinces near Saigon: Long An, just to the south, which used to be one of the worst from the standpoint of security and is now said to be much improved, and three others, to the west—Phuoc Tuy, Binh Tuy, and Long Khanh, which are still rated relatively low on the H.E.S. scale. In Long An, which has been in a shaky condition for years, farmers are still not taking sides, realizing that when the Americans leave Vietnam the government will probably have a harder time holding its own, but neither are they responding to the blandishments of the Communists as much as they were a year ago. When the local guerrillas come to a peasant's home for food, for instance, they are given a meal but are asked not to come back again. This response reflects a cautious belief on the farmers' part that the Communists are growing somewhat weaker under government pressure, even though abductions and assassinations and other forms of terrorism are continuing, but it does not necessarily reflect belief in the government or increasing support for President Thieu. Here, as elsewhere, the Communists are stepping up their process of "going legal"—that is, ordering their cadres to blend themselves into the government landscape and live openly as ordinary citizens of the villages and towns while reporting, on a "one-man-cell" basis, to unknown contacts through mail drops and waiting for new orders.

Another of the recent innovations—they never cease—is known as Dong Khoi, translatable as "Star Together," whose main purpose is to produce some cohesion among small, local units directly involved in pacification. The impetus for the new program came from the chief of Quang Tin Province, in the northern part of the country—an ingenious man who, when his opposite number, the underground Communist province chief, was killed, late last year, gave him a special burial in a local pagoda, went to the funeral himself, and, in general, "took him back into the fold." Leaflets describing the ceremony were subsequently distributed, and a lot of Communists were won over, or at least softened up. In any event, the Dong Khoi concept, which often makes use of such imaginative tactics, has not yet inspired any noticeable improvement in the much debated Phoenix program for uprooting the Vietcong infrastructure, which includes an estimated sixty-five thousand people. The Phoenix program is still floundering, largely because it is just another streamlined American scheme imposed upon a Vietnamese society that is not only incapable of dealing with it but is actively hostile to it. Designed to coordinate intelligence-gathering and lead to the arrest of top Vietcong leaders, the program has simply created new jealousies and increased inefficiency among the various South Vietnamese who were expected to deal with it—particularly the local military-intelligence men at the district level. The police, under the Department of the Interior, will soon take over the primary responsibility for the Phoenix program, and, whether it works any better or not, one American has said of the shift, "This is the best thing that could happen, and the sooner we get out of the whole thing and let the Vietnamese run it the better."

Through comments like this may imply nothing more than an increasing degree of resignation on the part of Americans here nowadays. Vietnamization of this sort does seem to make sense; what it really amounts to is "de-Americanization." The chief of one province, a veteran intelligence man, has devised a method of his own for dealing with Communist agents. When he detects one, and has what he considers positive proof about, say, a financial official in a hamlet who is operating legally and pretending to be a loyal assistant to the government's hamlet chief, he will invite the man in, praise him, ask him to dinner a couple of times. This treatment frequently causes the Communists to become suspicious of their agent and to kill him. It is pure entrapment, but it is also beating the Communists at their own game. Whatever form of accommodation is finally reached in Vietnam, terror and counter-terror are bound to continue for years.

In three of the four provinces I visited, it was apparent that the Communists were still a force to be reckoned with, although at that moment their level of activity was low. Their conduct was thoroughly in accord with the now famous Resolution 9 of COSVN—the Central Office for South Vietnam, which runs the war in the South under Hanoi's aegis. This directive, issued more than a year ago, sets forth the concept of "protracted war-

fare," and provides one reason the Paris peace talks are getting nowhere and probably won't get anywhere—at least until after the American election in 1972. In conducting their campaigns of terror and their occasional larger strikes, the Communists are generally relying on progressively smaller structures and progressively smaller units. Ordinarily (the Kontum attack is an exception), they don't move about nowadays in groups of more than fifty. They are using more and more terrorist tactics, such as sapper attacks and booby traps, which are killing Americans and South Vietnamese alike, much to the exasperation of experts like George Jacobson, the acting head of the pacification program on the American side. "If we can figure out a way to go to the moon," Jacobson exclaims, "why the hell can't we figure out a way to detect booby traps before they blow us up!" Jacobson, one of the few Americans who believe in the concept of a "people's war," spends at least one day a week roaming around the country trying to "debureaucratize" both the American and the South Vietnamese pacification effort. His success is limited. Almost invariably, inexperienced and uninvolved Americans in the districts give him the same meaningless or patently exaggerated figures about the Phoenix program. Almost always, an American provincial or district pacification adviser will say that the strength of the territorial units is up ninety per cent or more. When Jacobson hears this, he usually snaps out just one word— "Ghosts!"—meaning that the payrolls are obviously padded and that the district or province chief is pocketing the difference.

Corruption, on a widespread basis, continues to be one of the major issues in South Vietnam, and this issue is bound to have an effect both on the elections for a new House of Representatives in August and on the Presidential election in October. Smuggling has increased on a vast scale in the past six months, partly as a result of new import taxes imposed to obtain more revenue for the government, so that it can continue fighting the war as American aid drops off. The government's anti-fraud bureau, which is run by a handful of men who are related to or are otherwise close to some of the highest officials in the country, has been slow to move against the smugglers, but a few weeks ago two members of the House of Representatives were caught smuggling heroin and gold into the country. The fact that they happened to be pro-Thieu men suggested to some that there must have been a political tipoff. The scandal prompted one of the representatives to resign immediately, and Thieu's political opponents, in the light of the dubious success of the Laos invasion, aired the corruption issue anew.

All in all, though the Americans here refuse to admit it, Thieu's popularity has sunk to a new low. Many South Vietnamese admit it readily, but their fundamental cynicism leads them to believe that it won't make any difference—that Thieu will be reelected, because the Americans want him to be, and because the vote will be rigged anyway. Thieu is fully aware of his diminishing popularity and is doing his best to improve the situation by travelling around the country more. (It is also significant that just this week General Dang Van Quang, the head of all security services, who is a close friend of Thieu's and probably the second most powerful man in the country, saw fit to take a trip to the United States. Although American officials deny it, some South Vietnamese, including members of Quang's own staff, have said that the main reason for the trip is Thieu's desire to get a sounding on American public opinion after the Laotian invasion and an appraisal of how much personal support he can expect from President Nixon.) Even before the invasion of Laos, I have learned, Thieu was severely shaken by a private poll he had ordered, which showed that sixty per cent of the South Vietnamese military men questioned were against him. Earlier, a number of informal provincial samplings were conducted by the United States Information Service—an enterprise that has now led to the introduction of a bill by Senator Frank Church in the United States Congress prohibiting any government agency from engaging in any propaganda activity involving the internal affairs of another nation. Several stories in the local press to the effect that the American Embassy was supporting Thieu prompted an official statement last week from an Embassy spokesman denying that Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker or anyone else in the mission supported "any specific individual or individuals in the forthcoming election." This was issued at about the same time a resolution was cosponsored in the Senate by Senators Adlai Stevenson III and Mike Mansfield calling for the creation of a ten-man congressional commission to make sure the United States stays out of the coming election campaigns in Vietnam. Stevenson charged that American officials were in effect supporting the reelection of Thieu and Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky.

While many of the Americans here would still like to see Thieu and Ky run together again, the chances of this happening are increasingly remote. Ky, who told me a month and a half ago that he would run for President himself, has just informed me that he is more determined than ever to be a candidate and that he is rapidly creating a campaign team. He has obtained a growing number of pledges for political and financial support, he says. The political climate has now reached the temperature at which all the religious and political elements in the country are scurrying around trying to figure out who has the best chance of winning and whom to support. It appears at the moment that there will be three principal candidates—Thieu, Ky, and retired General Duong Van Minh, the former Chief of State and the nominal leader of the 1963 coup that overthrew Diem. An agreement between Ky and Minh for concerted action against Thieu that began to be fashioned several weeks ago has become increasingly solid, and Thieu has begun to run scared—so scared, indeed, that some observers are predicting that he will withdraw from the race before October. Assuming that he doesn't withdraw, and that Ky and Minh both enter the race, the challenger whose prospects look dimmer will almost surely throw his support to the other at the last moment.

Ky told me that he is determined to defeat Thieu in an open contest, and that he has received promises of help from many people, including military men, who will in effect serve as volunteer poll watchers in an attempt to insure an honest election. Even so, both Ky and Minh will have a hard time contending with Thieu's apparatus, dominated by the province and district chiefs he has appointed, who will all do their utmost to see to it that he wins, no matter how few people vote for him. Nevertheless, given the rising public sentiment against the President, Ky or Minh conceivably could win if the election should be even reasonably fair. Just how much an American or an international commission could do in the way of preventing fraud is debatable. The official American "observers" who watched the 1967 elections here certainly saw little or nothing of what actually went on, but a more professional group of poll watchers might have greater success.

What may be more important this time is the role to be played by elements of the sort that Ky spoke of—not only Army men but local village and hamlet officials, including leaders of the Buddhists, Catholics, and the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects. An interesting curtain-raiser will be the House elections, which promise to be less of a grab-bag affair than they were in 1967. At least two solid blocs of candidates will be running for election, one dominated by the Farmer-Workers Party, which is headed by Tran Quoc Buu, a labor leader who is not running himself, and the other by former Senator Tran Van Don's National Salvation Front Party. Don is still trying without much success to make peace among Minh, Thieu, and Ky, but in a showdown he will probably support Ky. If the House elections are orderly and fair, and if there is enough of a ground swell of public opinion demanding an honest vote for the Presidency, and if social unrest over high prices, corruption, veterans' payments, and other issues does not produce uncontrollable disorder, the Presidential election just might turn out to be more honest than the cynics predict. It will be interesting to see what role the Communists take. Formally, of course, they will not participate in the voting, but I have been told that they have pledged at least half a million votes to General Minh, whom they regard as the leading peace candidate. Minh has said he is against coalition government—the same thing Thieu and Ky have said, but more outspokenly—and it is believed that if Minh should win, the Communists would simply push the peace issue without demanding a coalition government immediately, leaving themselves free to work from within to dominate or undermine his regime and thus eventually get coalition government anyway.

One high-ranking American here has attempted to justify the Laotian invasion by maintaining that it was better for Thieu and his army to fight the North Vietnamese in Laos and Cambodia than in Vietnam itself. This is not how the people in Laos and Cambodia feel about it. I have just visited both countries, and found them in a state of confusion and dismay over the widening of the war. What they still want is for all Vietnamese, Northerners and Southerners, to get out.

In Vientiane, the administrative capital, I spoke with the sixty-nine-year-old Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos since 1962, who, practically alone, has kept his divided country in some semblance of unity. I saw him the morning after the South Vietnamese troops withdrew, and just after the royal capital of Luang Prabang had been hit by Communist rockets. Since he had no control over events in eastern Laos, around the Ho Chi Minh Trail area, Souvanna had mildly condemned the invasion when it began, and he expressed to me satisfaction that it was now over, although he admitted that it might have had "some good results." He was extremely angry about the attack on Luang Prabang, however, and regarded it as further proof that "the Communists are now engaged in total war as a result of the creation of their new Indo-China People's United Front last year." He had just been to Luang Prabang to see King Savang Vatthana, who, he said, was equally angry and had decided to stay in his capital instead of coming to Vientiane to take part in Army Day celebrations, as he had originally planned.

"The attack will serve to strengthen the unity of the Lao people," Souvanna told me. He went on to say that it would do little to increase the chances of peace between him and the Neo Lao Hak Xat, which is the Communist political front of the Pathet Lao and is headed by his half brother Prince Souphanouvong. "Hanoi wants to continue the war," Souvanna said. "I will continue to try to negotiate and will go anywhere to talk, but not under the impossible conditions imposed by the Pathet Lao, such as their demand that we stop bombing northern Laos, which is the only way we can counterbalance their attacks against us." Many of the foreign diplomats in Vientiane, including the Americans, had been hoping that the

end of the invasion would bring the Communist representative of Prince Souphanouvong back to the city to resume preliminary talks to arrange a full-fledged meeting aimed at restoring the tripartite government of left-under, right-wingers, and neutralists that was set up under the Geneva formula of 1962. Souvanna, though his hopes were not high, agreed that "when you have a small candle, you have to keep it burning, and not blow it out."

The Russians are said to be in favor of reestablishing the 1962 coalition, but with more Communists in the Cabinet than there were then. As for the Chinese Communists, there are signs that they are not altogether pleased about Hanoi's apparent plan to push ahead in Laos and take over the country by force. Peking wants to maintain its position in the northwestern part of the country, where in recent weeks it has increased the number of Chinese troops building a road from the Chinese border down through Laos toward the Mekong River, almost to the border of Thailand. It therefore seems significant that Premier Chou En-lai, who visited Hanoi shortly after the Trail attack began, took the occasion to make public mention for the first time of a five-point formula that the Neo Lao Hak Xat had set as the basis of its negotiations with Souvanna. The Chinese realize that the Lao Communists want to break away from North Vietnamese domination (more than a hundred Pathet Lao fled from the North Vietnamese in the Bolovens Plateau a few days ago), and also that the Neo Lao Hak Xat seeks the support of the Russians in establishing a new coalition government, with stronger Communist representation. Consequently, the Chinese are going all out to please the Lao Communist leaders—even entertaining them in China. And in order to keep a tight watch on Souvanna, Peking recently sent a new chargé d'affaires to Vientiane.

The military situation is more precarious for the Royal Lao government today than it has been at any time since 1964, and the dangers have grown especially acute in the past month. Before I left Laos, Luang Prabang was shelled for the second time and a number of planes were destroyed on its airfield. The Communists pressed to within two or three miles of the city on all sides before government reinforcements were rushed to the scene to push them back. Most observers believe that because of the patriotic importance of the King—it is to him rather than to Souvanna that the North Vietnamese and the Chinese diplomats are accredited—the Communists won't try to seize the royal capital itself. But they are obviously engaging in some strong psychological warfare, and appear determined to advance as far as they can through Laos before the dry season ends, and to maintain their new positions during the rainy season. With C.I.A. support, government troops are still holding the bases of Long Sheng and Sam Thong, along the eastern rim of the Plaine des Jarres, which is held by the North Vietnamese. (Hanoi denies that it has any troops of its own in Laos, but there are actually about fifty thousand of them.) The bases are being subjected to almost daily shelling and to some ground probes by sappers from two North Vietnamese divisions and from what was described to me by one Laotian defense official as an additional "suicide regiment." If both bases should fall, and the troops of the Meo leader General Vang Pao should be further weakened by casualties, the Communists' conquest of the north would be virtually complete; they would then control the eastern half of the country from the Pathet Lao capital of Sam Neua, in the north, all the way down to the Bolovens Plateau. Even now the Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese cadres dominate some pockets in the southwest as well.

Originally, it had been reported that Royal Lao government troops, aided by some Thai "volunteers," were supposed to push toward the Trail area from the west at the time of the invasion and take the towns of Muong Phalane and Muong Phine, near Tchepone, as part of a pincers movement designed to prevent the North Vietnamese from using alternate trails southward. However, this action was never seriously contemplated, despite the urging of the right-wing generals in Vientiane, because, among other reasons, the government forces were simply too weak. Instead, some guerrilla probes were conducted, but the Communists repulsed most of them. The increased military activity in the northern part of the country has dampened earlier talk that the right-wingers would make a move to topple Souvanna, who remains more or less the indispensable man among the non-Communist factions. Certain right-wingers would undoubtedly like to bring Phoumi Nosavan, the former strong man of Laos, back from exile in Thailand. There was a report of a coup a few days after I left, but it turned out to be only a struggle within the right wing, which is itself divided. Souvanna has agreed to reshuffle his Cabinet in May, and members of the right wing will surely try to persuade him to let go of some seats he is still holding for the Communists, in the event that some agreement can be worked out for their return. Souvanna told me he would refuse to do this.

The right-wingers, divided though they are, are fully aware of the Communists' new intention of grabbing not only as much land as they can in Laos this season but also of bringing more people in line—through terrorism and abductions, if necessary. They are terrorizing the refugees in government camps, undoubtedly to deter others from fleeing Communist areas, and in their drive westward this season they have abducted villagers to work on the Trail and have even been building new villages and roads close to the Trail, colonizing these remote areas with mixed groups of Lao and North Vietnamese. The colonization program is an example of the struggle for manpower now going on in Laos, which has a population of about three million. The government is having trouble augmenting its still fairly incompetent regular army of sixty thousand; General Vang Pao has only about ten thousand men, following some severe losses in the last year. For this reason, Souvanna has somewhat reluctantly accepted Thai "volunteers" in addition to one regular Thai artillery battalion. Recently, some young Lao who were taken north four and five years ago, at the age of fourteen, and trained in Hanoi have been returned to proselyte other Lao. Further, in what has been a remarkable job of synchronizing the radio propaganda from Peking, Hanoi, and Sam Neua, the Pathet Lao have been given all the credit for "repulsing" the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos. The increase in these political efforts removes any doubt about the firmness of Hanoi's determination to remain in Laos. All in all, the country is in a shaky condition, and, as one European ambassador put it to me, "Laos has proved itself shockproof by now, but it's not waterproof, and one of these days it may just sink into the morass of Indo-China and disappear."

Apart from the relatively brief action within and around the Ho Chi Minh Trail complex, the war in Laos has remained more or less separate, in strategic if not in ideological terms, from the war in Vietnam. The war in Cambodia, on the other hand, has been very closely related to the Vietnamese conflict for the past year. East of the Mekong, South Vietnamese troops are ostensibly helping the Cambodians but are primarily protecting their own flanks in South Vietnam. In the former North Vietnamese sanctuary areas, a battle is now being waged between the South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese in which the former are trying to keep the latter from reestablishing the sanctuary areas and supply lines into South Vietnam. Over the past two months the North Vietnamese are said to have suffered fifty-three hundred fatalities, largely because of American airpower, and the South Vietnamese only five hundred.

To the west of the Mekong, the South Vietnamese are less directly involved, and this phase of the war is rapidly developing into a struggle for Cambodia itself. With the exception of the area around Angkor Wat, where the North Vietnamese have entrenched themselves, the struggle increasingly involves native Cambodian Communists and the forces of the new Republic. The Communists, both Cambodian and North Vietnamese, naturally seek the overthrow of the Republic headed by Prime Minister Lon Nol, who got back this week from Hawaii, where he had been recuperating from a stroke he suffered two months ago. But the Cambodians, even more than the Lao, have no love for Vietnamese of any political coloration, and its is perfectly possible that had they been left to themselves the Cambodians might already have reached some form of internal accommodation. In fact, last February, a number of Khmer Communists met with representatives of the Phnom Penh government in the western province of Pursat, bordering on Thailand and the Gulf of Siam. Several sessions were held in a jungle clearing. No one knows whether any progress was made, however, because after an air attack by Cambodian pilots, flying T–28 bombers that the Thais had lent them to destroy a nearby Communist camp, all five government representatives were killed. Whether the attack was an accident or was ordered by someone in Phnom Penh who knew about the meeting and didn't want it to succeed has been the subject of much speculation.

In any event, the attack served to emphasize the confusion that exists in Cambodia today. Besides some forty thousand North Vietnamese in the country, and some Vietcong, there are perhaps ten thousand Khmer Rouge, who cooperate with the North Vietnamese and are partly dependent on them for arms and ammunition (they give the North Vietnamese rice in return) but who are becoming increasingly restive and critical of the conditions the alliance imposes on them. The North Vietnamese appear to be concentrating more and more on developing their own Cambodian elements, and, especially in the southern part of the country, are training recruited or impressed Cambodians in scores of jungle camps. There is also a small remnant of anti-government forces still loyal to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was overthrown in March, 1970, but they don't amount to much. Sihanouk, who is in Peking, nevertheless keeps referring to them as the nucleus of his new revolutionary government. While Peking permits the Prince to exhort his "followers" over Radio Peking, the Chinese Communists apparently regard him as a mere puppet, and continue to prepare their own team of Sino-Khmer leaders, trained in Peking—or, in earlier days, in Moscow—to take over Cambodia when the time comes.

A year ago, when the South Vietnamese and American troops made their original attack on the sanctuaries, the North Vietnamese established new base areas west of the Mekong and in the northern part of the country, below Laos. Since they then still had enough supplies on hand, they conducted a wide-ranging campaign to consolidate their hold on at least half the country and to capture some cities. In the past few months, perhaps because they now want to husband their supplies of ammunition pending the arrival of more from the north, they have shifted their tactics and—except for engaging in a few big battles with South Viet-

namese forces, mostly around Kompong Cham and the Chup-plantation area north of Phnom Penh—have concentrated on ambushing Republic troops and on cutting a number of main roads. They have had considerable success at this, but less at stopping river traffic on the Mekong from Saigon to Phnom Penh. During the past two months, at least half a dozen protected convoys carrying oil and other supplies have reached the capital despite attacks en route from the shore.

The government's army, of some two hundred thousand men, is in the process of being pruned to a somewhat smaller and more effective force. The troops are still being trained mostly in Vietnam, but their effectiveness is not improving fast enough to satisfy the Americans. There are fifteen United States military attachés currently stationed in Phnom Penh, along with sixteen representatives of the new Military Equipment Delivery Teams. Fifty additional M.E.D.T. representatives stay in Vietnam and take turns serving in Cambodia. These men are not supposed to advise the Cambodians but simply to supervise the use of equipment—obviously a narrow line to draw. At the moment, an effort is being made in Washington and Saigon to bring out another fifty M.E.D.T. men. This is being strongly opposed by a handful of Americans in Cambodia—notably by Jonathan Ladd, a retired Special Forces colonel with long experience in Vietnam, who has the title of political-military counsellor. Ladd feels that we are starting to make the same mistakes in Cambodia that we have been making for years in Vietnam. He says that the Cambodian Army is now being turned into the same sort of conventional force we created in Vietnam, and he is vigorously opposing a plan formulated by some military men in Saigon to send Cambodians to the United States for training at conventional war schools, such as Fort Leavenworth and Fort Benning. "The Cambodians have to clean up their own back yard first, and they're not going to learn how to do that in America," Ladd says. "We have to accept them for what they are rather than what they ought to be, and one thing they're not going to do is march through Belgium."

The number of personnel at the American Embassy in Phnom Penh has grown in the past year from a dozen, including secretaries, to just under a hundred. Emory C. Swank, an able ambassador with experience in Laos, is trying to adhere to President Nixon's policy of "keeping the profile low," but there are difficulties about doing this when the military-aid and economic-aid programs together total two hundred and twenty-five million dollars. The Cambodians naturally welcome the American aid, and very little remains of the anti-American feeling that Sihanouk engendered. They are proud of having survived over the past year, marked, as it was, by an expansion of the war following Sihanouk's downfall, but they also feel a deep uncertainty and discontent, which is most often expressed in criticism of nepotism, corruption, and the generally slow rate of progress in the fighting. Two weeks ago, Acting Prime Minister Sisowath Sirik Matak called for a "popular war" to combat the Communists in the countryside. This will include a small and poorly planned pacification program, mostly involving the distribution of medicines and pamphlets and some guns to villagers, and what neutral observers regard as far too lax a basis.

The uncertainty and discontent have surely been aggravated by Lon Nol's illness and temporary absence from the scene. Sirik Matak, despite his demonstrated administrative abilities—among other things, he has allowed the various generals in the military regions to run their own campaigns without the interference from Phnom Penh that Lon Nol kept imposing—is not a popular leader. Père Lon Nol, as he is often referred to, remains the consensus figure—the father who took over the guardianship of Sihanouk's "children," as the Prince was so fond of calling his people. During Lon Nol's absence, there was a flurry of coup rumors in Phnom Penh, mostly involving alleged efforts to restore the monarchy, but the diplomatic community is virtually unanimous in stating that there was little substance to these rumblings. However, considerable doubt exists about what will happen now that Lon Nol is taking over again.

The question everyone is asking is whether he will be able to do his job effectively. He has made it clear that he cannot resume his eighteen-hour-a-day pace, but the degree to which he will allow Sirik Matak and others to share the burdens of leadership is not yet known. A fundamental Cambodian quality that diplomats in Phnom Penh describe as "immobilism" or "the phlegmatic approach" continues to hamper progress in most areas of governmental concern, especially the economy, which is just barely holding its own as prices rise slowly and the riel—the Cambodian monetary unit—brings half the official rate on the black market. The problems include a lack of organization, too many overlapping ministries, and a lot of dead wood left over from the Sihanouk days. "There has been a loss of *élan*, of political enthusiasm, in the last few months," one Western ambassador says. "The Cambodians have been hurt militarily, and Lon Nol's illness was a real psychological blow. Now we'll just have to see what happens." Like other military observers in Cambodia, Jonathan Ladd believes that the Cambodians can survive as long as the North Vietnamese don't make that country their primary target. The signs indicate that South Vietnam is still Target No. 1, but more will be known about that when the next dry season starts.

However one gauges the results of the recent military and political events in Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam, the biggest factor is their collective impact on North Vietnam, where new elections just took place, on April 11th, for the fourth legislature of the National Assembly. These are the first such elections since 1964, and, important as they are in their own right, they may be even more important in presaging a full Party congress later this year or early next year. The last such congress was called in 1960. Though the election results are sure to be routine when they are announced—the official Fatherland Front chose five hundred and twenty-two out of the five hundred and twenty-nine candidates to run for four hundred and twenty seats—the new Assembly, which meets in June, is likely to take some important political steps, including making changes in the government. It seems likely that some younger men will be added to the Politburo, most of whose members are in their late sixties or older. There is also a possibility that North Vietnam may acquire a new President, for Ton Duc Thang, who replaced the late Ho Chi Minh, is in his eighties. Conceivably, he could voluntarily step down and be given some honorific post, in which case, experts here speculate, his place might be taken by Vice-President Nguyen Luong Bang, who played a significant role in Ho's efforts to maintain a precarious balance between Moscow and Peking. Or Bang might become the first of two Vice-Presidents with special duties.

Even if the new elections consolidate the position of Truong Chinh, the ailing chairman of the Standing Committee of the Assembly, who is generally regarded as the strongest pro-Peking man in the Politburo, no one here believes that he is prepared to challenge the "first-among-equals" position of Le Duan, the first secretary of the Lao Dong (Workers') Party. There are some differences within the Politburo over the emphasis that should be accorded domestic problems vs. the prosecution of the war, but the unity of the group remains basically firm. The policy is one of flexibility—a policy that was set forth in an important speech delivered a few months ago by General Giap and was further stressed in speeches made by Le Duan, during a trip to Peking and then to Moscow, where he was given the signal honor of being the first speaker at the Soviet Party Congress. Duan, Chinh, and Prime Minister Dong are still the top three men in the Politburo. Many people now believe the fourth-most-important man to be Pham Hung, who runs the war in South Vietnam and spends most of his time there. Giap and Le Duc Tho, a theoretician, who is the liaison man for the Paris talks, are next in line.

While the Laotian and Cambodian attacks hurt the North Vietnamese, the mood in Hanoi, according to observers who have recently returned from there, is one of tough-minded confidence. For the first time in two years or so, articles propounding the official line in North Vietnamese publications are emphasizing the need to press on to military victory in Indo-China, and, at least for the moment, the stress on diplomatic offensives, in Paris or elsewhere, has been dropped. The threats to invade the North voiced by President Thieu and other South Vietnamese—and backed by President Nixon and various Administration spokesmen at least to the extent of not ruling out such a possibility—are regarded here by almost all experienced observers as psychological warfare maneuvers. Since the South Vietnamese have suffered severe losses, and since they have their hands full right here as the Americans step up their troop withdrawals, they are certainly spread too thin to plan any further bold offensives, though they could make commando raids.

The invasion threats have backfired in that they have helped the North Vietnamese leaders to rally the population to increase its military effort and to stiffen the economy for the imminent "total victory" that they claim lies ahead. In an effort to obtain hard currency, the North Vietnamese are exporting all the goods they can spare—even rice and coal. One reason they need hard currency is that they are buying necessary mining and other machinery and small mechanical plows from Japan, partly because the equipment obtained from Russia and China has been difficult to maintain. Prosecuting the war throughout Indochina has certainly made heavy financial demands. "Legalizing" their cadres in South Vietnam, for example, costs a great deal of money, and, aside from the needs of individual cadres, Hanoi has increased what is known as its "shadow supply system," whereby its agents secretly buy into Western firms in South Vietnam and elsewhere. It also costs a lot to finance the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam—the successor to the National Liberation Front—especially now that the P.R.G. is recognized by about a score of nations and maintains delegations abroad.

In their elections, the North Vietnamese decided to eliminate eighty-nine seats that had been accorded to "Southern delegates" in 1946—a decision that has given rise to much speculation here in Saigon. The step was probably taken simply to accord the P.R.G. status as a "government" in its own right, and thus enhance its position throughout the world. It has been suggested that, for propaganda purposes, and because the talks in Paris are getting nowhere, the Hanoi delegation may leave Paris, at least temporarily, and let the P.R.G. deal directly with the Saigon government. This would embarrass both Washington and Saigon, but in the long run it might lead the two sides within South Vietnam itself to hold some serious talks, and lead Washington and Hanoi to use their own channels to settle the mat-

ter of prisoners and troop withdrawals. In any event, by holding their elections now, ahead of those in South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese have mounted a political offensive at a time when the diplomatic front is momentarily quiet. Taken in conjunction with the negative effects of the Laotian invasion—especially its failure to spur negotiations—political events both in the North and in the South between now and the end of the year are apt to be more important than military events. The fighting will continue, as it seems to continue endlessly, but the real contest for power is now a political one. Unfortunately, the hard-liners in Hanoi are far more aware of this underlying situation than are the political leaders in the South, who seem to offer their followers only further doubts and uncertainties. That is why the Northerners seem so sure of ultimate victory, and why so many Southerners are secretly making their own plans for ultimate accommodation. Such an accommodation increasingly implies a willingness to get along somehow with the Communists in the South, while accepting the fact that North and South Vietnam are likely to remain separate countries indefinitely.

MISMANAGMENT IN WELFARE PROGRAMS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 30, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the April 20 edition of the Muncie (Ind.) Star included a splendid editorial about several instances of mismanagement in welfare programs and programs related to welfare.

The editorial says that there is a "shell game" going on in the field of welfare, a statement which I believe is perfectly accurate.

The editorial makes note of the recently terminated program under which some New York City welfare families were sent on free ski trips—a program which I criticized on the floor of the Senate.

The ski trip program has now been ended.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial "Shell Game" be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SHELL GAME

In New York State, which has had a liberal share of welfare troubles, Governor Rockefeller has signed welfare reform legislation which provides, among other things, that able-bodied reliefers can be put to work.

The law in question requires local, city and county welfare agencies to devise public works projects, such as raking leaves in parks or cleaning up streets, and forces employable reliefers to work in the projects in return for their welfare payments.

As was to be expected, howls of anguish went up among ward healers in New York City, where last summer Mayor Lindsay snubbed a suggestion that able-bodied reliefers be made to work as "medieval."

One guardian of the welfare spongers' right to loaf labeled the new law a "shell game."

This is a curious attitude in light of the fantastic absurdities which have been uncovered in the New York welfare mess.

In January a mother and her four children were sent by welfare officials to live at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at a cost to taxpayers of $75 a day. Other welfare recipients have been assigned to hotels in Greenwich Village, on Broadway and in Brooklyn and in motels on Long Island at rates that run as high as $50,000 a year!

Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) charged recently that $30,000 in tax funds had been leeched from New York Model Cities programs to send welfare recipients on ski outings to upstate New York, Massachusetts and other resort areas.

"These funds come from hard-working American taxpayers," he said. "They are a public trust. To use public funds for frills such as ski trips is to take money away from people truly in need. I think the American people are getting fed up with this kind of abuse of trust by public officials."

He is right.

And there is a "shell game" going on. It is being practiced by spongers, unscrupulous welfare officials and vote-scavenging politicians on the American working people.

It's time it was stopped—not just in New York but everywhere.

DEMISE OF FEDERAL EXPRESS

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the snows of yesterday seem to be getting deeper as more and more everyday institutions are consigned to their ghostly drifts.

The latest is the Federal Express, once the epitome of genteel travel, which has made the overnight run from Boston to Washington for the past 95 years. Tonight, the train makes the trip for the last time.

Before joining the swollen ranks of discontinued passenger trains, however, the Federal Express had a long and colorful history, including many notables from all walks of life among its cargoes.

All of this is detailed in a very fine article by A. S. Plotkin which appeared in the April 25 issue of Boston Globe. I include it here as a tribute to a fine old train and a pleasantly remembered way of life.

DEMISE OF AN HISTORIC TRAIN

(By A. S. Plotkin)

At 9:45 p.m. next Friday, April 30, the Federal Express—consisting of one sleeper, a coach, and one or more mail cars—will roll out of South Station. It will be bound for Washington, D.C.—and oblivion.

It will be the last run, after 95 years, of the famed overnight train. In its heyday it was so popular an advance reservation was necessary. Often it had ten or more sleeping cars, and sometimes it ran in two sections. It was the way of going to Washington, civilized and time-saving.

The Federal's passenger list was a mini-Who's Who of politics and government: Presidential and royal families, members of Congress, Cabinet members and lobbyists, statesmen and newsmen, diplomatic couriers and business tycoons.

BOOZY FUN

There were antic tales of all-night card games, of boozy conviviality, of political and other deals made or attempted.

But Number 177, as the Penn Central timetable lists it, has become another victim of the jet airliner (27 daily flights each make it to Washington now in 1 hour, 20 minutes) and the expressway (which requires nine hours).

The train takes more than 10 hours. (There will still remain, however, three day trains to Washington: the Colonial, Senator and the Patriot.)

The decision to drop Number 177, as well as Number 176 (The Federal overnight to Boston) was made by "Amtrak." That is the new name, replacing "Railpax," for the government's new National Railway Passenger Corp. Amtrak decreed that the Federal, along with 179 of the 400-odd remaining intercity passenger trains, was expendable.

An Amtrak official said the Federal lost "hundreds of thousands of dollars annually," but Penn Central people, who are glad to get rid of the burden, cannot confirm that estimate. David W. Kendall, chairman of the Amtrak directors, said of the Federal a few days ago, "Nobody rides the darn thing."

Starting Saturday, May 1 Amtrak will take over from the nation's railroads the responsibility of operating—and, presumably, attempting to improve—a basic network of passenger trains. The corporation says it expects, after three years or so, to start making profits.

There will be 21 basic routes—of which Boston-New York will be one—and 114 of the larger cities will be served. (Unless, that is, some annoyed powers on Capitol Hill, like Senate President Mike Mansfield of Montana, manage to get that number increased.) Thus passenger train service throughout the country will be cut in half.

A Globe reporter was aboard the Federal one chilly Monday morning recently when it stopped at the rear of Washington's cavernous Union Station. It was 7:38 a.m., an unusual 12 minutes ahead of schedule.

Sleeping had not been easy. Maybe it was the brooding, depressing atmosphere of South Station, the glum looks of the train crewmen uncertain about their next jobs, the strained near-silence aboard the sleeper, the swaying and jolting, the hiss of air brakes, of cars being coupled and uncoupled. Or the dim realization that this once-gracious way of travel, at least in the nation's Northeast Corridor, was done.

THREE CUSTOMERS

From the sleeper, which has six double bedrooms and ten "roomettes," emerged only three paying passengers from Boston. Plus three "deadheads," railroad people who ride free. Two other paying riders had gotten off the sleeper at Baltimore 50 minutes earlier. This was the Sunday night train, normally the busiest of the week. On recent midweek trips the Federal's sleeping car sometimes carries no paying passengers.

The car was reasonably clean. But in some places where it might matter to a pampered 1971 customer—like the bathroom—even the paint could not mask the shabbiness.

You used to be able to get breakfast, either in the lounge car or served in your room. Now you couldn't even get coffee.

On that Sunday night the Federal hauled two coaches out of Boston. They contained a couple dozen passengers, mostly servicemen. Some left at New London. A few others at Penn Station, shortly before 3 a.m.

Out of Boston there had been one mail car, aboard which Post Office crews sorted New York letters (weekday nights there are two mail cars). These mail cars had been a pretty good source of income for the railroads. Now with the Federal soon gone the Post Office will make other arrangements.

With the last trip on Friday, Boston will have seen the last of the sleeper cars. There was the "Owl," the overnight to New York. The New Haven Railroad used to advertise

that the Owl traveled only 30 miles an hour so riders would sleep better.

Two years ago the Owl's sleeper was hooked onto the Federal, and last year even that was dropped. The nostalgic and the rail buffs will recall that until a few years ago there were also overnight trains to Chicago and St. Louis.

BEGAN IN 1876

The first trip of the Federal was made on May 8, 1876. Its name then was the "Washington Night Express" and it left from the New York and New England rail depot at the foot of Summer st., on the site of the future South Station.

It was put into service largely to accommodate New Englanders wishing to visit the Centennial celebration in Philadelphia. A day train was also started, but that was dropped when the Centennial closed.

There were various routes over the years. Initially it was via Providence and then the so-called "Air Line" route, straight across Connecticut to a point above New Haven.

(Ironically, advocates of 160 mph Boston-New York trains urge that this same basic Air Line route, now used sporadically for freight, be used instead of the curvy, slow Shore Line. Upgrading the new route to standards would cost hundreds of millions of dollars.)

Later the Washington Night Express route was changed to take it via Hartford. Then it went via the New York, New Haven and Hartford RR to the Harlem River.

ROUTE CHANGES

At that point the train was transferred to the steamer Maryland which took it on a two-hour trip, down the East River and around Manhattan's Battery, to Jersey City where it was shunted onto the Pennsylvania RR tracks.

Twice there were changes in the East River route, Once, in 1888 when the Maryland was destroyed by fire and in 1912 when the sinking of the S.S. Titanic brought about new regulations in coastwise shipping and the Maryland was discontinued. In both instances the train was routed via bridges across the Hudson Rver, and ultimately onto Pennsy tracks.

In 1893 came the change of name to the Federal Express. In that year also its route was changed to the Shore Line, and the departure point became the Park Square station of the Old Colony Railroad.

Six years later South Station opened and on Sept. 10, 1899 that became the departure point for the Federal and all other trains of the Providence division.

The most significant change came in April, 1917, with the opening of the Hell Gate bridge. This saved at least two hours for New Englanders bound for New York and points South.

TOLLS DON'T END

The bridge, with four tracks, spanned a tidal channel of the East River and was part of a 3½-mile-long project costing $30 million. It was a huge sum then, and for many years Boston passengers were charged an extra 90 cents by the N.Y. Connecting Railroad—owned jointly by the New Haven and the Pennsy.

Bostonians riding to New York now go via the Hell Gate bridge to Penn station. Now they no longer have to pay the bridge toll. But those going beyond New York must still pay the 90 cents.

(Confessed a railroad man:) "I really don't know how to justify it. I suppose the bridge was paid for many years ago. My guess is they figure it like the tolls on the Mystic Bridge in Boston. Surely that was paid off a long time ago, but the Massachusetts Port Authority still charges the toll."

Former Sen. Leverett Saltonstall has fond memories of the Federal. He recalls that, as a child, he accompanied his parents and sister on a trip which involved a ferry crossing of the Hudson.

He and Mrs. Saltonstall, during most of his 22 years in the Senate, often rode the Federal. Usually they carried along some food from their farm in Dover, in an insulated bag.

He remembers the trip when a blizzard slowed the train's progress. The hungry passengers had nearly cleaned out the food supply in the diner, but the Saltonstalls had in their room a dozen of their own fresh eggs.

He would have liked to supply all who wanted eggs for breakfast, but there wouldn't be enough. "I saw Sen. Pastore and a lot of other old friends seated there." It might have been embarrassing.

So he asked the porter to have the chef soft-boil three eggs—which were served in the privacy of their bedroom near Baltimore.

Saltonstall says he is "no rail buff and I don't like to fly. I could sleep fairly well, if I got a room in the middle of the car, away from the wheels."

But "you have to save time," so in recent years, before his retirement, he left the train for the airlines.

For a long time after John W. McCormack was elected to the House in 1928, he and Mrs. McCormack took the Federal. "It was a very convenient and pleasurable trip. You could do a day's work on the train, and we were able to sleep. It was usually on time, too," he said.

The former Speaker and his wife did not fly, and when the network of super-roads opened they were able to drive to Washington "in nine or 9½ hours." That is the way they traveled to and from Boston in recent years.

"WAKER" NOT "SLEEPER"

One of the Federal's regular weekend riders—until a few years ago—was Sen. Claiborne Pell (D–R.I.). Pell is widely credited with providing the impetus for the experiments with the Turbotrain and the Metroliner in the Boston-Washington corridor. Penn Central will continue running both of these advanced-technology trains for Amtrak, and the aim is to improve riding comfort and speed.

But Pell gave up on the Federal. He found the ride had deteriorated so that "I couldn't sleep. I called it the 'waker' instead of the sleeper. Service got worse and worse."

The decision for Pell came when a window on the Federal was shattered "and I almost had my eye put out. They took 18 pieces of glass out."

An apologetic railroad vice president explained that a loosened brake shoe on a passing New Haven train was catapulted at the Federal.

(Penn Central is now replacing glass window panes with a clear plastic so tough it is supposed to stop a .45-caliber bullet.)

That did it for Pell, though. Now he flies from Providence.

COMMENTS ON UNITED STATES-ISRAEL ALLIANCE BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in the past weeks of tension in the Middle East, the relationship of the United States and Israel has been the subject of considerable commentary and speculation. If that relationship is to stand, Mr. Speaker, I think it necessary that it be constantly redefined and reaffirmed by leading American spokesmen.

The distinguished minority leader of this House and my good friend from Michigan, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, has done just that. In his speech before the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, Mr. FORD provided a firm clarification of the United States-Israel alliance as well as a lucid analysis of the Mideast situation. I commend his remarks to my colleagues.

His speech follows:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD

Today I want to speak to you of peace in the Middle East. We are meeting here to reaffirm the close ties of friendship between the United States and Israel at a time when our Secretary of State is on his way to that part of the world. This is a historic moment—not only because we commemorate Israel's 23rd birthday but because of the possibilities of deterring a renewal of hostilities and promoting a lasting peace settlement.

It occurred to me during the recent observance of the Passover holiday that the Jewish people every year participate in a festival denoting deliverance and freedom although the Jews have had no real peace since Adolph Hitler declared war on the Hebrew faith in the early 1930's. I can now understand the depth of the Jewish commitment to a genuine peace.

The cause of peace is served by American-Israeli friendship and our traditional bipartisan foreign policy. Every American President of the twentieth century has supported the Zionist dream of a Jewish national home. Both of our major political parties are committed to Israel's survival and security. We see a dramatic demonstration of that in this room today, with gentlemen from both parties assembled to share in an occasion that could be inspired by no other embattled nation of today's world. Our mutual commitment to Israel is unique.

It is vital that we retain our unity in supporting the Israeli cause. The Soviet Union, collaborating with the Arabs, is trying to impose a unilateral peace that would compromise Israel's future. The Arabs would achieve through diplomacy what they failed to win on the field of battle. The Russians would serve their own aggressive ends.

I feel that the parties to the conflict are the only parties that can negotiate, contract, and keep a lasting peace. The boundaries are theirs. They must live with them. They must make mutual accommodation with each other.

Israel, the victim of aggression, is entitled to reasonable claims for new and secure boundaries. Israel has every right to seek a defensible frontier which may not correspond identically with the frontiers of 1967 when the forces of aggression imposed an unwanted war upon Israel. I will not today discuss the various proposals and formulas except to say that we must exercise great care to avoid unwitting collaboration with Moscow and impose a settlement upon Israel.

In exercising such caution it is vital that we maintain the great bastion of bi-partisan Congressional support of Israel. Such support strengthens the hand of our President who is committed to a just peace. But I am troubled that some very important Members of the United States Senate are abandoning bipartnership on the Middle East and are making statements that facilitate the Soviet Union's anti-Israel pressures.

I am thinking of one Senator who is seeking our highest national office. Earlier this year he went to the Middle East and then called on Soviet Premier Kosygin in Moscow. He told Kosygin that "there was a strong body of opinion in the United States" opposed to U.S. defense appropriations linked

to our foreign commitments including the Middle East.

I am dismayed that such a well-informed Senator could visit Israel and Egypt where he actually witnessed the ongoing Soviet military build-up and still find it possible to go to Moscow and tell Kosygin that there was disunity between him and President Nixon on U.S. military spending that relates to Israel's security. This was a disservice to Israel's security. It was a disservice to the bi-partisan foreign policy objectives of the United States. It tended to undermine the credibility of American deterrence of the growing Soviet military involvement against Israel. It undercut the impact of President Nixon's visit to the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean last Autumn when the President served notice on Moscow that we were prepared to defend freedom in the Mediterranean.

I am dismayed that this Senator could ignore what the Soviet Union is doing not only in the United Arab Republic but also through its intervention in such places as Ceylon, Sudan, and East Pakistan. Russian MIG's and Russian bombs are killing peasants in those places. But some are too busy denouncing our own nation to notice.

While we talk of peace, the Russians build new missile systems. While our defense needs are attacked, a Russian leader is told that elements of our Congress are trying to cut back our military appropriations bills.

I would have been much more encouraged to hear that this distinguished Senator visited Moscow and told Kosygin that *if Russia is so categorical in demanding Israeli withdrawal from every vestige of occupied territory, let Russia set an example by withdrawing from the nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia which have been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.* Moscow in these cases used the pretext of security but denies Israel the right to frontier revisions even in a very different context, a context in which Israel is the target of aggression and is threatened by the far-ranging elements of Soviet military power.

Let me refer to another Senator, the chairman of a prestigious Committee, who recently denounced the State of Israel for allegedly resorting to "Communist-baiting humbuggery," as he described it, to "manipulate"—his word—the United States policy in the Middle East. He depicted Israel as a manipulative "pusher" of noxious ideological drugs because Israel dares to oppose Communism and aggression.

It is tragic that such a self-proclaimed peace advocate has undermined prospects of a real Arab-Israeli settlement by tacitly encouraging the Soviet Union and Arab extremists to desist from a genuine peace and to continue a great military escalation in the hopes of forcing their will upon Israel. This Senator has weakened the bi-partisan foreign policy of the United States.

It is very important that the luncheon we are now attending become more than a ritualistic expression of pro-Israel generalities. Those who truly care about Israel's survival must make bi-partisan support an action involving deeds rather than words.

I was very gratified to be part of an Administration that responded to the realities in the Middle East by providing Israel with some of the finest U.S. weapons. We pray for a day when we can beat our swords into plowshares. But we witness the Soviet shipments of the latest Russian weaponry and aircraft—including the MIG–23 supersonic fighter-bombers—which are so sophisticated that they must be operated by Russians. We witness a deepening Soviet infiltration of the Middle East, an expanding involvement, a build-up of aggressive bases. I am now reassured to know that my country at least has provided Israel with the means of deterring aggression.

How beautiful it would be to hear certain Senators question the presence of Soviet troops in Egypt!

Three Arab nations—Egypt, Libya, and Syria—and their 42 million people are seeking a new union involving one President, one flag, one military command, and, obviously, one enemy: The State of Israel. I fervently hope that our Secretary of State assesses this new development and carefully evaluates the latest Soviet military moves and other developments. He could appropriately advise the Congress on the developing security situation in the Middle East. The crisis goes far beyond the Suez Canal.

Our bi-partisan Congressional policy on the Middle East is committed to a peace that must emerge from the parties directly involved. We reject any diplomatic concept that would force our friends, the Israelies, to negotiate with the United States rather than Egypt on the territorial question. Moscow would relish a split between America and Israel.

It is apparent that Soviet diplomacy seeks to avoid a formal peace while forcing Israel out of territories now occupied. Consider the full context of developments. A new situation is developing in Asia. Israel is, after all, an Asian nation. So is the Soviet Union. We may now be entering a new and far-reaching relationship with Communist China that could even affect the Middle East in terms of Soviet policies. It remains to be seen whether Chinese overtures lead beyond Ping-Pong. But this is obviously not the time to abandon a true friend like Israel in one corner of Asia while a whole new constellation of factors may be emerging involving our various relationships and possibilities for a new phase on that side of the world.

It is possible that a firm and non-hysterical policy will lead to the kind of Asia we all want—an Asia at peace, with a live-and-let-live attitude toward other nations and other philosophies of government. In this context it is conceivable that even the Arabs and Israelis may find a way to play Ping-Pong.

Meanwhile, the United States Government must continue to give Israel the backing necessary to maintain the credibility of our friendship. This is in our own self-interest as a world power. We will not dip the Stars and Stripes in retreat and defeat in the Mediterranean. We are not ready to abandon Western Europe or NATO. Nor are we unconscious of the implications of a strong and viable Israel to the free world.

Another important matter concerns both the United States and Israel. I refer to the fate of the Jewish community of the Soviet Union. This is not a religious or partisan matter but an issue completely consistent with our beliefs and commitments to human freedom and the dignity of the individual.

America and Israel are both concerned about the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. We cannot rest without doing everything within our power to alleviate the plight of Russian Jewry and to communicate to the Soviet authorities that the American people are watching Soviet racism and religious discrimination.

I wish to salute the brave Jews, young and old, who stand up to the Soviet secret police. I wish to honor them within the halls of the United States Congress. They are true demonstrators for peace and freedom. They are putting their lives on the line against totalitarianism and oppression. Their heroic deeds in the face of Communism should be recorded in our history books so that American young people can know what it really means to demonstrate against an oppressive regime.

This observance of Israel's anniversary coincides with the anniversary of the courageous Jewish uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis during World War II. America and Israel are dedicated and rededicated to the proposition that the Jewish victims of Nazism and Communism did not die in vain. We have faith that their sacrifices will lead to a world in which our children and our children's children can cherish the Judeo-Christian values in a society that is flexible enough to change but brave enough to retain its freedom.

I thank you.

BOYS ON HIKE SAVE LIFE OF BRIDGEWATER MAN

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 30, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, two young men in Bridgewater, Iowa, saved a man's life in a chance encounter. The action of George Parrott, 15, and his cousin Rick, 14, exemplifies one of the best qualities of youth: the quick, generous, almost reflexive response to a fellow human being in need.

With the headlines filled with tales of teenage bombers, we occasionally need a story like the one that follows from the Adair County Free Press to restore balance to the public image of young people in America today.

The article follows:

BOYS ON HIKE SAVE LIFE OF BRIDGEWATER MAN

EARL METZGER FELL HEAD DOWN INTO 18-INCH TILE

Two teen-age boys saved the life of Earl Metzger, Bridgewater waterworks superintendent, Sunday about 1 p.m. in a freak accident.

Metzger was installing a water meter in a hydrant at the Hazen property in the southeast edge of Bridgewater. The hydrant was to be used to water sheep which were to graze on the property.

The meter was located in an 18 inch tile and while Metzger was working his foot slipped and he fell head-first into the 18 inch hole.

The boys, Rick Parrott, 14, son of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Parrott of Bridgewater, and George Parrott, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Parrott of Greenfield, had been dinner guests at the home of their grandmother, Mrs. Christian Parrott of Bridgewater.

After dinner the boys took a hike through the southeast part of Bridgewater and were passing the Hazen property when they saw Metzger's feet sticking out of the tile.

They went to the rescue and pulled Metzger out of the hole. He was semi-conscious and could not talk after his rescue. The boys stayed with him until he had recovered sufficiently to walk home.

In his efforts to escape Metzger had rubbed the skin off his legs and his face and his body was skinned and bruised.

After medical attention Metzger was ordered to remain in bed for at least a week.

The neighborhood in which the accident occurred had no near neighbors who could have heard Metzger's cries for help. Only the timely arrival and efforts of George and Rick Parrott is the reason that Earl Metzger is alive today.

MUST WE DESTROY THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN ORDER TO SAVE AMERICA?

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the argument over actions now being taken by the executive branch and laws being enacted by the legislative branch of our Government continues unabated. Some people find the seeds of repression in these steps while others believe that it is a logical reaction to hostile actions by American citizens.

My position on this question is well known. During the 6 years I had the privilege to chair a panel within the House Committee on Government Operations concerned with the invasion of privacy, I often spoke of the onrush of post-constitutional America and of my conviction that the Age of Aquarius will become the Age of Aquariums in which every action of our citizens take place in a fishbowl.

Last November, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published articles on Mr. William F. Woo's lengthy investigation of the arguments, both pro and con, over this issue. He spoke to dozens of Americans who reflected all shades of opinion and he has produced a valuable report. I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues and to the readers of the RECORD.

[From the St. Louis-Post-Dispatch, Nov. 15, 1970]

IS REPRESSION ENDANGERING CIVIL LIBERTIES?

(NOTE.—The Post-Dispatch has completed a two-month survey of the status of civil liberties. Along with scores of interviews conducted throughout the country, the survey included an examination of legislation and court cases.)

(By William F. Woo)

In the United States in the year 1970, six years before the 200th anniversary of its founding and 14 years before 1984:

The President's automobile was stoned by young protesters.

White radicals, who called themselves the Weatherman, were urging the destruction of the Government; black radicals, calling themselves Black Panthers, were saying "death to the police."

Bombs were going off, both through intent and blunder, with alarming frequency and people were being killed.

A judge was kidnapped from his courtroom by a band of self-proclaimed revolutionaries and murdered.

The urban guerrilla emerged as the romantic idol of the moment for the more severly disaffected and he was variously identified or confused with the Palestinian commando, the Tupemaro of Uruguay and the Quebec separatist.

In the same year that these things were occurring:

The President entertained at the White House representatives of the Hard Hats, who in several cities had beaten students and other youths.

The Vice President was calling for the "separation" from society of dissenters and suggested they be sent somewhere for "remedial education."

Congress passed a package of crime bills that contained such drastic provisions that civil libertarians throughout the country were greatly concerned.

One thousand agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were assigned to investigate campus violence.

In Ohio, a grand jury absolved the National Guard of any wrongdoing in its killing of four students and indicted 25 students and alleged agitators.

The Army was revealed to be operating a data bank containing the names of persons in political opposition to the Government.

A stranger to America, equipped only with a copy of the Constitution, might well have wondered what was happening in the most prosperous and powerful republic on earth. Had he been a visitor to the Senate spectators' gallery on June 1, he would have heard what many would agree was a plausible explanation. On that day, Senator Margaret Chase Smith (Rep.), Maine, took the floor to speak on a "clear and present danger" that confronted "the American democracy." The date was the twentieth anniversary of her celebrated speech against McCarthyism.

"Extremism bent upon polarization of our people," she said, "is increasingly forcing upon the American people the narrow choice between anarchy and repression.

"And make no mistake about it, if that narrow choice has to be made, the American people, even with reluctance and misgiving, will choose repression."

The point, as was clear from her full remarks, was that this harsh decision was not yet upon the people, that other, more civil options still existed through which the polarization that divided the country might still be overcome. To a significant percentage of the population, however, the Senator's words may have come too late. A growing number of persons believe that repression is now a fact of American life and that the narrow choice between anarchy and a widespread suppression of civil liberties already has been made.

The most persistent complaints about repression come from the young, the black and the over-30 white who consider themselves somewhere to the distant left of the Silent Majority. A remark made to a reporter by Miss Margery Rosenthal, director of the Massachusetts Committee Against Repressive Legislation, is somewhat typical of this point of view.

"What is going on now is unique," she said, 'The war is increasingly unpopular. There is less and less money to cool our social problems and the cities are in a very bad way. The only way the Administration can deal with these things is by repression."

More bluntly, Charles Garry, the San Francisco-based attorney for the Black Panthers, says, "The Bill of Rights is inoperative for 60,000,000 Americans."

Conservatives are likely to think of repression in one of two ways. Some see it as a drastic but necessary antidote to violence and terrorism.

"I think 85 per cent of our membership would prefer a police state to what's going on now," a Washington official of a national patriotic organization says. "We just can't have a breakdown of our society—bombings and burnings of our cities."

Others, however, fear that repression may be the tragic price of urban and campus disorder.

"Repression," says Representative Richard Ichord (Dem.), Missouri, "is the greatest danger from revolutionary groups operating in this country. The great threat is that these people will cause law-abiding citizens to lose their liberty. This already has begun to come about."

From the Post-Dispatch investigation of civil liberties two general conclusions, both paradoxes, emerge:

First, despite loud and frequent assertions to the contrary, it cannot be demonstrated that Americans now are living in a repressive society ruled by a repressive government. Yet, forms of repression exist, follow a number of well-defined patterns and seem to be tolerated by a large percentage of the people. Statistical evidence from numerous polls can easily be adduced in support of the last statement. (For example, a CBS survey found 76 per cent of the public would not permit organized protest against Government policy.)

Second, since the Korean War, civil liberties have been expanded to a breadth that is without precedent in American history. Supreme Court rulings, for example, have greatly broadened the rights of the accused to have legal counsel and have placed tighter restraints on police procedures in the area of search and surveillance. A series of court rulings on the issue of pornography have left the law sufficiently broad so that virtually anything may be published if it possesses some "social value." By court and by Congress, the Negro's right to schooling, the vote, housing and public accommodation has been upheld.

Yet, Congress has passed within recent months legislation that both conservatives and liberals believe demonstrate a serious disregard for the Bill of Rights and that as a result face grave constitutional difficulties.

To persons at either end of the political and social spectrums, the Bill of Rights, in fact, seems scarcely relevant. A San Francisco labor leader finishes an interview by saying it is appropriate for youthful protesters to be beaten for their words. An article in a recent issue of the Black Panther newspaper concludes "The only thing that will register in the mind of a pig is a 12-gauge protest—aimed right between the eyes." Most persons agree, however, that the effects of polarization on civil liberties can best be measured not at the extremities but within the vast middle reaches of the American people.

As the CBS poll and other surveys disclose, a good many Americans appear willing to tolerate a retrenchment on civil liberties if such steps will reduce crime and violence. Not long ago, the office of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (Dem.), Missouri, responded to more than 200 persons who had written in support of stiff law and order legislation. Neither the Senator nor anyone on his staff could remember receiving any letters urging that Congress, in the interests of preserving civil liberties, take a softer line on criminal legislation.

Says Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher (Dem.), New Jersey, "If someone were to introduce in the name of law and order a bill requiring the execution of every first-born child, it would pass overwhelmingly."

"Violence is intolerable to the community at large," says Harry S. Ashmore, the Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and now a senior fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif. "Therefore, the community will support repression and restrictions."

If there are erosions of civil liberties, it probably is safe to say that most Americans do not regard them, taken individually, as direct assaults on the Bill of Rights.

"When you look at the Bill of Rights," Ramsey Clark, the former Attorney General, said recently, "you find that it is taught as a little piece of antiquity. People form their basic ideas not from a study of the Bill of Rights but through a gut reaction to a series of unrelated experiences in their own lives. Your idea of free speech, for example, is not usually formulated by objective study."

What frequently is overlooked by those who believe that massive repression is or is about to be a condition of American life is that civil liberties have been suppressed throughout the nation's history. As Gerald Gunther, professor of law at Stanford University, points out, the first significant free

speech case did not even reach the Supreme Court until after World War I. And that case, speech case did not even reach the Supreme in which Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes articulated his famous "clear and present danger" test, was decided against the defendant, who had distributed leaflets urging resistance to the draft.

In even the most cursory review of American history, periods of sanctioned repression are evident.

Under the sedition laws of 1798, Republican editors who criticized President John Adams were jailed. (Federalist editors who criticized Vice President Thomas Jefferson were not.) Abraham Lincoln, in the Civil War, suspended habeas corpus. The Espionage Act of 1917 made it a crime to "utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language" about the armed forces or its uniforms, and persons went to prison for suggesting that woolen socks knitted by volunteers might not reach the troops. After the war, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer ordered mass arrests of labor and political agitators; in one sweep, 2700 persons in 33 cities were taken into custody. The accusations and blacklists of the McCarthy era remain a fresh and terrible memory for many Americans.

The fact, however, that repression is not a novel experience in American history provides little comfort to those who worry about violations of civil liberties. They point to a wide range of examples:

Passage by Congress of legislation that permits police to enter a home without first knocking, that permit judges to detain in jail without trial persons who are "substantially guilty" of a crime.

The increased use by law authorities of "spies" in schools and political groups. Some of these agents have admitted fomenting illegal actions.

The claim by the Attorney General that court orders are not needed for electronic surveillance in cases involving "national security." Wire taps against radicals have been defended on the ground of national security.

The widespread use of subpenas against reporters' notes, news photographs and unused television film footage; the use by California of a criminal statute to punish an underground newspaper for publishing unauthorized information.

Inspection by federal authorities of incoming foreign mail.

The common use of breach of peace statutes against hippies and political protesters.

The refusal by grand juries to take action against law officers or national guardsmen who shot to death students at Jackson State College and Kent State University.

Police raids on black militants, such as the one in Chicago last December, in which police fired 82 shots. The militants, several Black Panthers, fired one shot. No officers were indicted although a grand jury found that police had falsified evidence, claiming to have been attacked.

The use by the Administration of the anti-riot rider to the 1968 Civil Rights Act to indict political protesters on conspiracy charges in Chicago, Seattle and St. Louis.

Most of these and other incidents of alleged repression are on the surface unrelated. Yet, some say, despite their apparent disparate nature, these incidents contribute toward an over-all national pattern, one that reveals an increasing callousness on the part of elected authorities toward Bill of Rights guarantees and a growing intolerance among the people of unpopular social or political opinions. These characteristics, many contend, contain the potential for transforming the American society from one that at the moment may be largely indifferent to civil liberties to one that is truly repressive.

"I have a hard time," says Elie Abel, dean of the Columbia University journalism school "accepting the notion that we're living in a repressive era. But I do think we're living in the vestibule of that era."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 16, 1970]

LIBERTARIANS ALARMED AT HARSH LEGISLATION

(By William F. Woo)

The evidence most frequently cited by those who contend that the United States has set itself on a course leading toward repression are two harsh laws against crime and civil disruption enacted this year by Congress and other proposals that still are before the legislators that include even more drastic provisions.

The more publicized of the two laws and the one that provoked the loudest opposition from civil libertarians was the District of Columbia Crime Bill, which the President signed in late July. Partly this was because the bill was the first to be taken up and debated by Congress, but even more so because of its novel features, which included no-knock entry by police and preventive detention. This bill was put forward by the Administration as a model for state legislation.

These features alarmed many persons who regarded them as a cynical exchange of constitutional guarantees for the appearance of stern and effective measures against crime and disorder. They seemed to critics to be expedient, election year concessions to the demands for law and order. Furthermore, they were thought by some to be at least tacitly aimed more at blacks and dissident youths than they were at syndicated crime and professional criminals.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (Dem.), North Carolina, who led an unsuccessful fight against the bill, called it "a garbage pail of some of the most repressive, nearsighted, intolerant, unfair and vindictive legislation that the Senate has ever been presented."

The second law, as its name—the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970—implies, was presented as a measure to combat organized crime, "a highly sophisticated, diversified and widespread activity that annually drains billions of dollars from America's economy . . ." Critics of the act say, however, that it will be thoroughly ineffective against organized crime and, instead, poses grave threats to civil liberties. It was to this bill that a last-minute amendment was attached at the request of President Richard M. Nixon authorizing the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate bombings on campus.

Of the measures still before Congress, at least five are of special concern to persons who are worried about repression:

HR-19163—a bill to amend the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. It would authorize the Government to place in detention camps potential saboteurs in time of war or insurrection. Its chief supporter, Representative Richard J. Ichord (Dem.), Missouri, says the bill would protect citizens against a capricious President because it requires a congressional resolution declaring the existence of an insurrection to become operative.

S-2600—a bill to extend the principle of preventive detention to the entire country.

HR-14864—a bill amending the Internal Security Act of 1950. It enlarges the term "defense facility" to include, among other things, schools, public utilities and any factory. The activities considered subversive under the language of the bill, says Representative John Conyers Jr. (Dem.), Michigan, are susceptible to infinite expansion. The President, says Conyers, "would be justified in barring a worker employed in a defense industry because he took part in peaceful picketing of a chemical company in protest of its manufacture of napalm . . . Students and faculty members who express their disagreement with the university's involvement in defense work could be barred from campus."

S-3976—The First Amendment Freedoms Act. It would permit the Government or private parties to seek injunctions in federal courts against possible heckling at public gatherings.

S-3563—a bill to allow the arrest and detention of persons to whom there exists no probable cause for arrest in a crime. The purpose of the detention is to permit authorities to obtain "nontestimonial identification"—the taking of fingerprints, handwriting samples and blood and urine samples.

"Not long ago, I'd have said that most people talking in terms of repression are not being very objective," says Lawrence Speiser, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. "I've changed my mind because of what's happened in Congress."

The suggestion that the new crime laws, both proposed by the Administration, may be repressive was rejected by Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kliendienst in an interview.

"There is no way you can trade by congressional enactment a constitutional safeguard," Kliendienst said. "So long as your court system has as its principal function the preservation of primary safeguards, there's no fear. Anybody who says that congressional enactment takes away constitutional rights is engaging in irresponsible rhetoric."

Under the District of Columbia crime law, police may enter without knocking if notice is likely to result in the destruction of evidence, endanger life, enable the suspect to escape or be a useless gesture. The preventive detention provision allows a judge to detain up to 60 days in prison without trial any person who is thought to be "substantially guilty" and who may be a danger to society if released.

Critics of the law contend that the no-knock provision is in violation of the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable searches and examinations. They point also to the ancient principle that "Every man's house is his castle," a tradition that finds legal expression as far back as Semayne's case in 1603. In Semayne, an English court held that "the sheriff . . . before he breaks it (the door), he ought to signify the cause of his coming, and to make request to open the doors."

"When people think of no-knock they're usually thinking of someone else's home," says Lawrence Sperber, director of the Southern California ACLU Foundation. "Eventually, though, it's going to be your house, your door."

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark says that in his opinion "the real harm in the no-knock provision is that its passage indicates to the police that the public wants this kind of law. It seeks to control conduct by police violence.

". . . What it does is tell police, the legislatures, and city councils that this is something the public condones. That sort of thing can get out of control. If you begin to use such measures, you rarely limit them with any refinement."

Kliendienst disagrees. "As a matter of practice," he said. "Federal courts for years have determined a federal officer could enter if knocking would prevent the evidence from being seized. Twenty-eight states have such laws."

Opponents of preventive detention say this provision may well violate the Eighth Amendment right to reasonable bail. They point out that since 1789 federal law has made the right to bail in noncapital cases absolute. The provision, too, they say, goes

against the fundamental tenet that a man is presumed inocent until proved guilty and is contrary to the historic principle that a person should not be imprisoned for crimes that have not been, and may never be, committed.

"Preventive detention should have been applauded by civil libertarians," says Kliendienst. "Under the 1966 Bail Act, federal courts could only deny bail if a court found the defendant was unlikely to appear for trial and, generally speaking, that's not a bad rule. In certain kinds of crime—armed robbery, rape, kidnaping, murder—judges prior to 1966 could take into consideration whether release would create dangers to society. Now what's happening is that the judges hypocritically make their decision on this point and 'decide' that the man will not appear for trial. We think this (preventive detention) is a correction of the law."

When the House Judiciary Committee favorably reported the organized crime bill, three Democratic Representatives—Conyers, Abner J. Mikva of Illinois and William F. Ryan of New York—issued a scathing dissent. Not the least of their complaints was that nowhere did the bill define organized crime.

"This bill," they said, "is another dreary episode in the ponderous assault on freedom. It employs the spirit of repression extant in some quarters as a substitute for the Constitution, custom and reason."

Specifically, the objected to provisions:

(1) Authorizing special grand juries to accuse public officials of misconduct even when there is insufficient evidence for indictment. The provision, the dissent says, "proposes to create official bodies bedecked with the power to accuse, while leaving the accused bereft of any effective means of rebuttal. This is hardly less than sanctified calumny." The three noted that the bill was amended by the House to exclude "elected officials from the reach of these mini-star chambers."

(2) Making admissible in court illegally obtained evidence that is more than five years old. "It demonstrates an antipathy toward, and impatience with, the exercise of constitutional rights which reflects another grim chapter in the attempts to uplift expediency to the level of constitutional legitimacy."

(3) Permitting the imprisonment for up to 25 years of "dangerous special offenders" who have been convicted of crimes carrying only a normal two-year sentence. "(The provision) . . . substitutes revenge for reason, and it flouts the concept of fair treatment."

Some who urged passage of the bill did so on the ground that increased crime made severe measures essential. Senator John McClellan (Dem.), Arkansas, speaking in support of it, said, "I know the members of this body (the Senate) want to enact whatever legislation is necessary to strengthen the arm of the law and law enforcement in this country, so that society may be protected . . ."

Others sought to associate the danger of organized crime with violent protest. "Organized crime," said Senator Robert C. Byrd (Dem.), West Virginia, "is just as great a threat to the well-being of our nation as are the continued upsurge of street violence and the work of militants who seek to burn down our cities or destroy our educational institutions."

The bill reached the Senate floor in January. It was the first piece of legislation taken up by the Senate this year after its members had returned to Washington after the Christmas recess during which they had the opportunity to talk and listen to constituents. The bill was approved, 73 to 1.

"That," says Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (Dem.), Missouri, "tells you something about the mood of the country."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 17, 1970]

BREACH-OF-PEACE LAWS ASSAILED AS REPRESSIVE

(By William F. Woo)

On the day the Navy recommissioned a warship in Philadelphia, Peter J. Countryman was one of 100 persons who went to a park to protest against the event. Despite the peaceful and symbolic nature of the protest, which consisted of planting a tree and singing songs, Countryman and 50 others were arrested for violating an ordinance prohibiting gatherings of more than 12 persons in times of a "limited civil emergency."

Such an emergency had been proclaimed by the mayor of Philadelphia a few days earlier, after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King had been followed by disruptions in several cities. A few blocks away from the park where Countryman and the others were arrested, 10,000 persons were assembled to celebrate the warship's recommissioning. That event was undisturbed by the police.

In Los Angeles, Paul Robert Cohen was arrested when he appeared in the Municipal Court building wearing a jacket embroidered with a slogan denouncing the draft. The slogan employed a four-letter word commonly considered an obscenity. Cohen was convicted on charges of "tumultuous and offensive conduct." His appeal is before the Supreme Court.

In Toledo, O., the city attorney's office has announced that a long-standing statute forbidding disrespect for the police will be invoked whenever someone calls an officer a "pig." To say "oink, oink" in the presence of a patrolman now can bring 30 days in jail.

The cases of Countryman and Cohen and the resurrection of the disrespect ordinance by Toledo officials are typical examples, say those who are concerned with the possibility of repression, of attempts to suppress the First Amendment rights of dissidents. The widespread use of breach-of-the-peace statutes, the threat of federal conspiracy indictments and the difficulty frequently encountered in obtaining permits for rallies and demonstrations are evidence for many Americans that speech may not be free for all and that the right to assemble peaceably may exist for some only at the whim of the authorities.

It is, however, probably safe to conclude that to a sizable majority of citizens the notion that the First Amendment may be under serious attack is clearly preposterous.

At any moment, in the ghetto and on the campus, one may hear appeals for the overthrow of the established order. Communists and radicals do manage, although with occasional difficulty, to obtain a public forum. Radicals such as Angela Davis are hired by state university regents. And by now the spectacle of violent demonstrations has, through television, long become a familiar one for almost everyone.

As suggested in a CBS poll, which shows that 76 percent would prohibit any demonstration by extremists against the Government, a good many persons may think that speech today is all too free.

Especially disturbing to civil libertarians is the fact that some of the most severe assaults on the principle of free speech have come from the militant left. As Marc Franklin, professor of law at Stanford University, observed, "The people who scream for free speech are the very people who stand up and holler the loudest when it comes to letting someone else with different ideas speak."

Some who attempt to justify heckling or the shouting down of speakers do so on the ground that such tactics are the only way for protesters to bring their views before the public. Others argue that individuals have an obligation to interfere with those whose speeches serve a so-called immoral policy. A third, and more sophisticated rationale, is advanced by Donald Kalish, professor of philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles.

"It's spurious," Kalish says, "to use the First Amendment against shouting someone down. The people who are shouted down are people who really can't be suppressed. They have the media. Their point of view is all over the nation, before the people every hour of the day. Shouting them down doesn't suppress an idea. Under most cases, though, it's a tactical mistake. If you let them speak, they'll usually do themselves in."

In matters of free speech, both liberals and conservatives face a similar dilemma. As Alan F. Westin, a Columbia University political science professor, pointed out, the Bill of Rights is hardly a national suicide pact.

"No society," said Westin, "legally allows revolution. There have to be rules for changing the system."

The dilemma is the point at which the line can be drawn to prohibit speech or assembly without at the same time violating the Constitution.

Robert L. F. Sikes (Dem.), Florida, said, "Those who incite to violence should be punished whether or not freedom of speech is impaired."

When Sikes made this comment, he was speaking on behalf of the antiriot provision of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, which makes it a felony to travel interstate or to use the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio or television with the intent to encourage any person to participate in a riot. It is the provision under which the defendants in the Chicago conspiracy trial were brought to court and under which political protesters have been indicted in Seattle and St. Louis.

Civil Libertarians, in attacking the constitutionality of the statute, contend that provocative speech by "outside agitators" is protected by the Constitution, even in times of social instability.

In a friend-of-the-court brief filed with the Supreme Court in behalf of three Black Panthers who have challenged the antiriot section of the act, attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union quoted from the decision of the Supreme Court, written by Justice William O. Douglas in 1947, in the case of Terminiello vs. Chicago:

"A function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging. This is why freedom of speech, though not absolute . . . is, nevertheless, protected against censorship or punishment, unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance or unrest."

The lawyers themselves concluded. "Therefore, since there is constitutional right to travel in interstate commerce and a constitutional right to engage in agitation . . . Congress may not constitutionally prohibit 'outside agitators' from crossing state lines. Nor may it enact legislation having the same effect under the guise that it is legislating against violence."

Although conspiracy indictments are regarded as the most drastic measures against political or social dissent, they have been until now used sparingly. The most frequent complaints about the suppression of free speech are concerned with breach-of-the-peace statutes. Just last week, the ACLU,

acting for four activists, asked the Supreme Court to invalidate St. Louis peace disturbance ordinances on the ground that they were unconstitutionally vague. It was under a similar statute that Paul Robert Cohen was convicted in Los Angeles.

Anthony G. Amsterdam, Stanford law professor, writing in an ACLU friends-of-the-court brief filed on Cohen's behalf, said, "They (breach-of-the-peace laws) are the sinks of American criminal and constitutional jurisprudence. Hundreds of times every day, in every state, their applications are the occasion of arbitrariness and injustice, harassment, ideological repression . . .

"Of course, the prosperous, white, well-groomed, well-shod citizen, so long as he avoids political assemblies and never expresses unpopular views in public, has no reason to encounter these laws, or even to know that more arrests are made yearly under their authority than for any other crime except drunkenness. But where the poor live, or the black, the dissentient, culturally divergent, those whom policemen see as 'subjects' rather than objects—or any who youth, venturesomeness, wanderlust, social or political activism or bad housing cause to be upon the streets more than ordinarily often—the breach-of-the-peace laws are an ever-present repressive force."

The convictions of Countryman and the others arrested in the Philadelphia park at the time of the proclaimed state of limited emergency were appealed to the Supreme Court, which declined to review the case. The refusal itself was regarded by some as an ominous sign.

"It was a clear signal to the states," said one Los Angeles lawyer. "It said, 'Go ahead and do whatever you want. We won't get involved'."

In a dissent, Justice Douglas raised several questions pertaining to the banning of public assemblies.

"Control of civil disorders that may threaten the very existence of the State is certainly within the police power of the government," Douglas said. He went on, however, to ask, "Yet does a particular proclamation violate equal protection? Is it used to circumvent constitutional procedures for clearing the streets of 'undesirable' people? Is it used selectively against an unwelcome minority?"

Authorities frequently cite the possibility of violence as a reason for discouraging public gatherings. Such discouragement, most frequently directed at young persons and minority group members, takes the form of a refusal to grant permits or of arrests. Civil libertarians, however contend that the threat of violence is not sufficient cause to prevent assemblies and in support of this view point to an opinion written in 1927 by Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

It said, "Prohibition of free speech and assembly is a measure so stringent that it would be inappropriate as the means for averting a relatively trivial harm to society . . . The fact that speech is likely to result in some violence or in destruction of property is not enough to justify its suppression."

Recently, this opinion was cited in a case arising out of the arrest at San Fernando Valley, Calif., State College of about 300 students who were waiting to be addressed by the school president. The meeting had been called by the president to discuss demonstrations that had been occurring at the college.

"The meeting was canceled by the president on the advice of police spies, who said that it would become violent," said Lawrence Sperber, a civil liberties lawyer in Los Angeles. "As the students were setting in their chairs, waiting for their president, the police decreed it an unlawful assembly and ordered them to leave. They didn't and the arrests were made.

"Now, was this a case of preventive arrest, an attempt to stop trouble before it began? If you follow that line far enough, you begin putting people in concentration camps before they do anything wrong."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 18, 1970]

GOVERNMENT UNITS HARASSING PRESS

(By William F. Woo)

Arthur G. Kunkin and Gerald Robert Applebaum were convicted in a California Superior Court this summer of receiving stolen property. Neither of the defendants fits the usual image of a fence, and the stolen property in question was hardly the sort normally taken by professional thieves. The case, in short, had significance beyond those of an ordinary criminal trial.

Kunkin is editor and publisher of the Los Angeles Free Press and Applebaum is a former reporter for the paper. The stolen property was a document that made its way in an unauthorized fashion from the state attorney general's office to the underground publication. The document contained the names, addresses and telephone numbers of California narcotics agents and when the Free Press published these, under a headline reading "Know Your Neighborhood Narc," the state filed criminal charges.

At the time of the conviction, the case received little attention. Some civil libertarians and editorialists who might have taken an interest in the trial were put out by what they considered the wanton journalistic irresponsibility of exposing 85 state agents to harassment. Two months after the trial, however, one significance of the case was described in an opinion article in the Los Angeles Times.

Pointing out that this was the first time that the law against receiving stolen property had been applied to the publication of information in a newspaper, Gene Blake, the Time's legal specialist, wrote, "Should this case stand and become precedent, the impact on the investigative efforts of the press to disclose wrongdoing in government could be devastating."

"Anytime you publish anything that isn't released to you, you're buying a prosecution," says Mel Albaum, an attorney for the Free Press. "They're not going after the big papers, but you go out and start your own little paper, and see what happens."

Albaum's remarks underscored the second significance of the Free Press trial: The state had used the novel weapon of a burglary statute not against a large established publication but against an underground newspaper that espouses radical political and social opinions. In this respect, the prosecution of the Free Press provided further confirmation for those who believe that the media have become targets for official intimidation.

"The press," says Prof. Richard T. Baker of the Columbia University School of Journalism, "has had a year of harassment. It is under serious attack."

In addition to the Free Press prosecution, other examples that have been offered as evidence that government authorities are attempting to intimidate the media include:

(1) The broad and sweeping subpenas issued by the Department of Justice for reporters' notes, news photographs and television film.

(2) Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's vigorous criticism of both television news analysis and newspaper editorials.

(3) The advice of Federal Communications Commission Chairman Dean Burch to executives of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to "go out and hire some noncreative conservatives."

(4) Burch's request to the networks, three days after he took office, for transcripts of comments after a speech by the President.

(5) A bill introduced in the House that would require broadcasters to retain used and unused film and tape for government review.

(6) Strongly worded suggestions from the White House that songs with lyrics mentioning drugs not be played over the air.

In the opinion of some, government subpenas represented the most serious threat to the press, in a speech on the subject, Nicholas Johnson, the outspoken FCC commissioner, said that "this wave of government subpenas, together with other manipulations of the press, have placed the freedom and integrity of this country's news media in serious jeopardy."

The list of new organizations that have received subpenas for information acquired in reporting is extensive. It includes the New York Times, Newsweek, Time, Life, Fortune, the Post-Dispatch, the Chicago Daily News, the Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Tribune, CBS and local television stations in Baltimore and Chicago.

The most publicized of these cases involves a subpena issued to Earl Caldwell, a black New York Times reporter who specializes in reporting on West Coast militant groups. In February, Caldwell was served with a subpena from a federal grand jury in San Francisco ordering him to appear before it with notes and tape recordings of interviews with Black Panthers dating back to January 1969.

The following month, Caldwell received a second subpena ordering him to testify but without identifying the subject matter of his expected testimony. On motions by Caldwell, the Government withdrew the first subpena.

Before legal proceedings in Caldwell's appeal on the second subpena were completed, the term of the grand jury expired. A new grand jury was sworn in and a third subpena was issued. As he had in the two previous cases, Caldwell refused to answer it, citing the First and Fourth Amendments' guarantee of free press and the prohibition against unreasonable search and seizures. Caldwell contended that the subpenas were based on information gathered by unconstitutional government wire taps.

In June, Caldwell, continuing his refusal to appear before the grand jury, was found guilty of civil contempt. That conviction is being appealed.

Caldwell and other reporters maintain that to appear before a grand jury jeopardizes a journalist's credibility with his news sources. Because grand jury proceedings are secret, a reporter has little opportunity to convince his sources that he has not betrayed their confidences.

"To a degree never previously shown, this record documents the devastating effect that the compulsion of newsmen's testimony has upon freedom of the press," Caldwell's brief appealing the conviction says.

"Newsmen of national stature—Walter Cronkite, J. Anthony Lukas, Eric Sevareid and Mike Wallace, among others—filed affidavits making basic points: that confidential communications to newsmen are indispensable to their gathering, analysis and dissemination of the news; that when newsmen are subpenaed to appear and testify concerning information obtained by them in their professional capacities, their confidential news sources are terrified of disclosure and consequently shut up; that the mere appearance of a newsman in secret grand jury proceedings, where what he has told cannot be known, destroys his credibility . . ."

"The Caldwell case," says Anthony G. Amsterdam, professor of law at Stanford University and Caldwell's attorney, "is important because it's at the junction of two things. One, there is an active federally directed effort to suppress the Black Panthers, and the Caldwell case is an important instrument

of that program. Two, it shows a callousness on the part of the Administration to what kinds of liberty get stepped on as they go about doing what they want to do.

"There are serious risks to the press in this case. As groups get polarized, the role of the press becomes much more sensitive. And also as polarization continues, it becomes more vital for the public to get a good flow of accurate news. Today it is both more important and more difficult for a reporter to relate to all segments of society."

Prof. Baker points out that the subpena cases have been usually associated with the reportage of social change.

"We should be trying to find out what the radical movement is about, and the Government should be encouraging the press to establish lines of confidence with people in the movement," he said. "Why then should the Government try to break the New York Times's line of communication with the Panthers in Oakland?"

At the American Bar Association meeting this year in St. Louis, Attorney General John N. Mitchell said he did not consider "the press an investigative arm of the government." In the future, he said, the department would negotiate with the press in all instances in which subpenas were contemplated and would use subpenas only if negotiations failed.

His remarks, however, did not erase the feeling many have that the Government intended to continue applying pressure to the press.

"Mitchell's doctrine tells me two things," says Elie Abel, dean of the Columbia Journalism School. "It says, first, that the more thorough and penetrating your performance, the more you'll be harassed by the Government. And secondly, it says if the press will lay off the kind of investigative stories such as Caldwell was doing, the Government will lay off the subpenas."

Many observers of the press contend that if there is an official effort to intimidate the media it can best be observed in the performance of television networks and local stations. These attempts at intimidation, they say, can be traced to November 1969, when FCC Chairman Burch requested transcripts of network analysis of the President's Vietnam speech and when the Vice President, speaking in Des Moines, Ia., denounced "instant analysis and querulous criticism."

An editorial in TV Guide has noted that "Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's scolding of the networks apparently had the desired result: after President Nixon's Dec. 8 press conference, there was no criticism whatever from the commentators who followed him."

Agnew himself has said, "Sometimes when I look around the tube from time to time, I think I have had a modicum of success." Tricia Nixon was more direct in her assessment of the Vice President's performance: "He's amazing, what he's done to the media . . . You can't underestimate the power of fear."

Reuven Frank, president of NBC News, contends, however, that the actions of the Administration have had little effect on the networks.

"I don't know that the networks have been intimidated," he said in an interview. "Since the Des Moines speech, I'm tired of trying to defend myself against this. We're not in the business of debating the President of the United States. What I've tried to do since then (Agnew's speech) is keep people from doing either more or less than they had been.

"On this matter, we've had neither direct nor indirect pressure from our business office. Where we get the pressure, and it is real pressure, is from some of our affiliated stations. There is pressure on the way we do the news. There are repeated suggestions for a conservative spokesman. We get suggestions that we devote less time to radicals. 'Why don't you give us good news?' they ask. What they really want isn't good news. It's bad news happening to somebody else."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 19, 1970]

DATA BANKS CAUSING ALARM

(By William F. Woo)

Not long ago, in the course of a conversation with a visiting reporter, Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher (Dem.), New Jersey, began discussing "the last election." Gallagher was not talking about this year's congressional elections; neither did he have in mind President Richard M. Nixon's victory in 1968.

What Gallagher was referring to was the last election ever to be held in the United States.

"What happens," he asked, settling back into a large, black armchair, "when we have the second and third users of the data bank? All the crooks have been put in jail now. The data banks have gotten all the corrupt politicians out of office. A national police force has been installed. Someone, then, comes along who is smart enough to see the electronic corridors to power. One can foresee the last election."

As Chairman of the House special subcommittee on invasion of privacy, Gallagher for years has been a close student of computers and data banks and the possibilities for mischief that arise out of their misuse.

At the moment, the "last election" exists only as a figment of political science fiction. In alluding to it, however, Gallagher was expressing the deep concern many persons have over the dangerous possibilities that lie in the manipulation for political ends of information that is stored in computer-based data banks.

"The surveillance mentality," says Gallagher, "drawn to its logical conclusion means a dictatorship in the United States in five years. Not through a malignant plot, mind you, but through a corrosion of liberties carried forward, as the glaciers move, by well-meaning people. We are already living in the age of aquariums."

Three data-gathering operations which have accumulated files on political dissidents, have caused considerable alarm among civil libertarians. These are data banks maintained by the Department of Justice and the Secret Service and an information system that the Army now says it has discontinued.

"I'm afraid that the net effect of collecting information will be for repressive purposes," says Aalan F. Westin, a Columbia University professor of political science and the author of "Privacy and Freedom." "I don't think that the people who are collecting the information can distinguish between revolutionaries and legitimate protesters."

Recently, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. (Dem.), North Carolina, wrote the Justice Department asking for an explanation of its policies on collecting personal information about citizens. "A particular area of current controversy," he wrote, "is the extent to which federal agencies may appropriately maintain intelligence-type data banks for surveillance of protesters, demonstrators and others involved in political activities either for or against various government policies."

Ervin's letter was answered by Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, who said the department had four systems for collecting information on individuals: the Civil Disturbance file, Organized Crime Intelligence Center, National Crime Information Center and the Known Professional Check Passers File.

"We share your concern with regard to unwarranted invasions of individual privacy," Kleindienst replied. "I would like to emphasize, however, that the Department of Justice maintains only those records and systems which relate directly to the departments functions as a principal law enforcement agency of the Federal Government.

"The department does not investigate protesters, demonstrators and others involved in political activities either for or against various Government policies. We do seek information concerning individuals in this country whose activities may constitute a violation of federal statutes . . . or whose activities present a potential for riots, disturbances, armed rebellion, urban guerrilla warfare or other violence.

Of the four systems, the one of greatest concern to civil libertarians is the Civil Disturbance file, which was established in July 1969 and contains information on 13,200 persons and 14,000 incidents. Completely computerized, its purpose is to co-ordinate all civilian activities connected with civil disturbances.

In his letter to Ervin, Kleindienst conceded that no written comprehensive guidelines existed governing the disclosure of data in the file, although "access and review are severely limited. Disclosure of information is predicated upon a need-to-know basis and follows established procedures governing the exchange of information between law enforcement bodies."

Attached to the letter was a fictitious sample printout from the file's "individual" category. It gave the name and home town of a 24-year-old man, noted that he belonged to the Students for a Democratic Society, had been arrested for possession of marijuana and incendiaries and was a suspect in a plot to burn down the Justice Department.

In addition to incidents of actual violence, the data bank contains information on such events as peace rallies and welfare protests and the individuals and groups involved in them. Judgments are made by the department as to whether the individuals are radicals or moderates.

"There's no way to determine the standard for getting on the list," says Lawrence M. Baskir, chief counsel for the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. "And why keep lists of demonstrations anyway? People like the weathermen don't usually engage in peace demonstrations.

"I don't like the idea of a general dossier that shows presumptive guilt. What the Government is doing is taking activities that are innocent on the surface and using them as indicators of a trend toward criminality."

The Secret Service data bank, one of the most sophisticated information gathering systems in the Government, is used to assist the agency in its function of protecting the President.

To justify the system, the Treasury Department cites the Warren Commission report, which states: "It will require every available resource of our Government to devise a practical system (of identifying protential assassins) which has any reasonable possibility of revealing such malcontents."

Ervin and others contend that the guidelines for collecting information for the bank are far too broad. Among other things, the guidelines seek information on persons who "insist upon personally contacting high Goverment officials for the purpose of redress of imaginary grievances," who are "professional gate-crashers," who plan to embarrass Government officials and who make "oral or written statements about high Government officials in the following catgories: (1) threatening statements, (2) irrational statements, and (3) abusive statements." It seeks "information regarding anti-American or anti-U.S. Government demonstrations in the United States or overseas" and data on civil disturbances.

"Potentially, at least, I may qualify under the loosely written and even looser interpreted guidelines the Secret Service has issued," Ervin says. "Although I am not a professional gate-crasher, I am a malcontent

on many issues. I have written the President and other high officials complaining of grievances that some may consider imaginary . . .

"The guidelines seek a wide variety of information of any tangential significance for discovering possible assassins. Requesting information on people taking part in demonstrations, be they anti-American, civil disturbances, or just plain demonstrations, opens the possibility at least of having everyone of hundreds of thousands who peacefully marched in recent months entered into Government security computer files."

Ervin pointed out that the Secret Service did not inform persons that their names were put in the file and they are given no opportunity to rebut derogatory information until they are arrested.

"That there is some opportunity to rebut at this stage is scant comfort," Ervin said. "We can only speculate on the consequences to an individual which follow his arrest for being a possible danger to the President. It will be little recompense to the victim's reputation if it later turns out this was a mistake and the Secret Service apologizes."

The Secret Service data bank is said to be capable of retrieving from its file individuals by name, alias, group affiliation and even by physical appearance.

"When that bomb went off in Cambridge, Md., this year at the courthouse where Rap Brown was to be tried, the Secret Service took the description of a woman seen around the place," says Baskir. "That description was put into the computer and out came five names. The question is, how did those five people get into the file?

"When it becomes known that the Government is taking notice of people who engage in certain kinds of activity, people will stop doing these things regardless of whether or not they're perfectly legal. The first Amendment goes out the window if people don't do things they think the Government doesn't approve of. And at this point, you're well on the way to thought control."

The existence of the Army domestic intelligence system came to light this January in an article in the Washington Monthly. The author, Christopher H. Pyle, a former Army officer, disclosed that the Army was keeping a detailed dossier on "virtually every activist political group in the country."

The program, which included a data bank, a microfilm archive of clippings and a loose leaf encyclopedia on dissent, was established to provide the Army with early warning should it be called on to quell civil disorders.

Representative Gallagher estimates that at one time the Army maintained three or four data banks containing the names of from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 persons. Some of the information in the system appears to have been included without careful review.

"A prominent general whose fighting record is among the very best was classified as being a far-out leftist peacenik," reports a member of Gallagher's subcommittee staff. "The reason was that a former soldier in his outfit had submitted his name as a subscriber to an underground newspaper."

When it was learned that the Army was keeping track of civilian political activity, both Ervin and Gallagher threatened to hold hearings on the matter.

The Army received more than 50 inquiries from Senators and Representatives on the system and the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit to force the military to discontinue this surveillance. As a result of the controversy, the Army announced that it was dismantling its data banks.

Some, such as Gallagher, took the Army's word that it had abandoned its domestic intelligence system. Others such as Ervin and Baskir remained sceptical.

In a letter to Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, Ervin said, "it appears that the army has finally persuaded the Department of Justice to assume certain surveillance and certain data-collection which the Army has been performing on civilians . . . However, I confess that the exceptions, qualifications and lack of criteria in your policy letter could lead the average citizen—which I consider myself—to wonder just how much of a change it represents in Government policy."

In addition to the constitutional issues the Army's intelligence system raised in the matter of invading the privacy of citizens, the data banks were important for another reason, the Senator said.

"This," Ervin said, "was that they appeared to be part of a vast network of intelligence-oriented systems which are being developed willy-nilly throughout our land, by Government and by private industries. I believe that in these systems, where they contain the record of the individual's thoughts, beliefs, habits, attitudes and personal activities, there may well rest a potential for political control which is alien to a society of free men."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 20, 1970]

FREE SPEECH IDEAL WANING

(By William F. Woo)

On the Fourth of July, a newspaper reporter stood on a sidewalk in Miami and asked 50 middle-aged passers-by to sign a copy of the Declaration of Independence. Only one man agreed. One person threatened to call the police, another suggested that the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigate the document and two others called it "Commie junk."

The reporter selected middle-aged pedestrians because earlier he had circulated a questionnaire about the Declaration among 300 young persons attending a Youth For Christ meeting. Twenty-eight per cent of the youths thought the Declaration had been written by Lenin. Others said it was the work of a hippie or "someone against our country."

As a number of surveys have demonstrated, there was nothing unusual about the public's response in Miami. More than 80 per cent of those questioned in Omaha refused to sign the Declaration. In Madison, Wis., only one person in 112 said he would sign the Bill of Rights. Most who refused said it was out of "fear of the consequences." In Aurora, Ill., two thirds of those approached refused to sign the Preamble to the Constitution.

If many Americans are unwilling to endorse the specific language of the Constitution or the Declaration, there is also evidence to suggest that a sizable percentage of the population does not agree with the principles of these documents.

A poll conducted by the Columbia Broadcasting System this year found that more than half of those questioned would favor peacetime censorship if the Government considered certain news stories harmful to the national interest.

More than half would not give everyone the right to criticize the Government and 76 per cent said that extremists should not be permitted to demonstrate against the government, even if there was no danger of violence.

A Harris poll showed that one American in five believes that "some politicians who have their lives threatened probably deserve it" and that one in 11 agrees that "sometimes I have felt that the best thing for our country might be the death of some of our political leaders." Half said that the "rough-and-ready" justice of the Old West was more efficient than current procedures, "with all the legal red tape."

"Very frankly, I think that if people say 'kill the pigs,' the cops ought to take after them," says Al Clem, business manager of Operating Engineers Local Three in San Francisco. "I think a guy has a right to express his opinion but he ought to take his lumps without whining about it.

"We've all been on the picket line and admittedly we broke some laws. But when the cops laid the wood to us we took our lumps. Some of these crybabies are shouting now about what happened at Kent State. Well, the National Guard wouldn't have been around if the students hadn't burned the ROTC building."

In an apartment in Cambridge, Mass., Robert Gaylord Burlingham speaks in a patient, almost resigned manner, about the Bill of Rights. The impression he conveys is that the guarantees in the Constitution are neither adequate nor relevant any longer. Burlingham is 24 years old and, along with 12 other members of the radical Weatherman organization, he is under a federal indictment charging him with being part of a conspiracy to commit bombings in four cities.

"I suppose," he says, "that among lawyers and public people, the Constitution means something, that it's still possible to have justice in the constitutional sense. Among the people with whom I operate, among the young left in general, there's a cynicism about whether we have the right to speak or assemble.

"What's pushing this country toward a civil war is not a disregard for the Bill of Rights, but Vietnam. I believe the American Government and the American system have to be stopped by any means, preferably with the least amount of suffering.

"I don't think the proper social goals can be achieved under the Bill of Rights framework as long as power is distributed so unequally in this country. And actually, the question really isn't whether the Bill of Rights works in America. The question is whether you want the Bill of Rights for Southeast Asia."

Neither Clem nor Burlingham could claim to speak for all trade unionists or all radicals. Many in the labor movement are sympathetic to the aims of young protesters just as many radicals believe that the principles of the Bill of Rights are still useful.

"How the hell do you expect the kids to react to the war?" asks John De Lury, president of Uniformed Sanitationmen's Local 831 in New York. "If money were taken from killing and maiming and put into social reform it would solve some of the problems.

"I'm the champion of free speech, but I say when a man takes high office in the nation, or the state, or this city, and he divides the nation with his speech, he's worse than Benedict Arnold."

One of De Lury's assistants interrupted: "Who are you talking about?"

"I think his name is Spiro," De Lury replied. "Look, bullets and force have never killed an idea and neither has punitive legislation. Kent State—the National Guard was there and that college didn't quiet down."

Carl Oglesby, a radical theoretician, recently spent a few months as a visiting fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif. While he was there, a reporter asked him whether he thought the Bill of Rights would necessarily have to be disregarded to achieve the kinds of social changes that radicals demand.

"I wouldn't abridge the Bill of Rights," he said. "As long as there isn't a civil war going on, there are certain rules that should be followed.

"There's no civil war now, only a metaphorical one. People who say there's a civil war in America haven't the faintest notion of what things would be like. I mean, that'd be a whole new and different trip."

For many Americans, especially the young and members of minority groups, the problem is not so much that the Bill of Rights may be irrelevant or objectionable as it is that it simply appears inoperative insofar as millions of persons are concerned.

"Kids who grow up believing in the Bill of Rights see the contradictions between what it says and what is really happening in society," says Mrs. Sarah Cirese, a researcher at the University of California who recently completed an attitudinal survey of students on 10 campuses.

"We found the more active the kids, the higher their level of moral development was likely to be and the more committed they were to the idea of freedom. At the highest level of moral development, there's a strong belief in the Golden Rule, the Bill of Rights, in acting on the basis of principles and one's conscience."

Students surveyed by Mrs. Cirese indicated a strong commitment to the ideal of free speech. Eighty-seven per cent agreed that "a person who advocates unpopular actions or holds unpopular ideas, no matter how extreme, should be allowed to speak to students." But she also found that 99 per cent of the students believed that some form of confrontation was necessary for social and political change. And nearly 10 per cent thought violence must occasionally be resorted to in order to effect change.

Charles Garry, the Black Panthers' attorney, has concluded that as far as the black and the poor are concerned, the Bill of Rights is meaningless.

"The Bill of Rights means nothing to you unless you can participate in the democratic apportionment of the wealth," Garry says. "The Bill of Rights means nothing on an empty stomach.

"In fact, I don't think the Bill of Rights is operational at all. In some cases, it has the appearance of being operational, but it's not. In terms of appearance, you have a judge, there's a jury, there's a lawyer defending the man and the judge even gives the appearance of being fair. But everything the judge does is geared to the prosecution. He's supporting the status quo and he looks at the defendant as an enemy of the status quo.

"If you could give the finest legal defense to blacks, it wouldn't mean a tinker's dam. It would only mean that they were convicted under the legal process. I'm trying to see if the Bill of Rights can give my clients some relief, but I don't kid myself.

"You know 34 months in prison for Huey Newton is hardly any justice. I really don't know what I'm accomplishing. I know the system doesn't work. I've come to the conclusion that our present system is tyrannical and has no useful reason to exist."

Middle Americans, too, are troubled over the apparent contradictions between the ideals of the Bill of Rights and conditions as they exist in society. They, however, are more likely to view the contradictions as arising out of abuses that certain groups—criminals and protesters—have made of constitutional guarantees.

"People in my area aren't looking for new repressive laws," says Max Hanson, of Boise, Idaho, a national vice commander of the American Legion. "They're mainly against destruction of property and the disruption of public institutions. I think most citizens of Idaho are quite tolerant of free speech, but by the same token they don't want to allow destructive acts to take place. If you want to get in trouble real quick in Idaho, just try burning a flag.

"If the dissident minority would follow the accepted ritual in presenting their views, nobody would object. It's their disgusting manner that offends people."

"When they had a disturbance at Queens College, I and seven other councilmen from Queens told the president, who had to climb out of his office window to meet with us, that he either stop this nonsense or we were going to cut the budget and close the school down altogether. We're not going to pay taxpayers' money so that he can run a boarding school for revolutionaries."

Nonetheless, Troy, who considers himself somewhat more liberal than most of his constituents, is concerned with the intolerance he observes in his district. He said that a radical such as a Weatherman probably would be denied the right to speak and he recalled a community meeting at which the audience shouted down a speaker who was attempting to describe a program to help drug addicts.

"My God," he said, "it must have been what Germany was like in the '30s, the way they yelled at that guy."

In a recent discussion on public attitudes toward civil liberties, Vern Countryman, a Harvard law professor, noted that "many people feel caught between Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell on one hand and the SDS-Weatherman-Panthers on the other. They're both a threat to civil liberties.

"You know, I suppose if we had any way of reading people's minds, we'd find a lot of people in the country don't really believe in free speech. I guess that's why somebody had the wisdom to write those guarantees into the Constitution."

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 22, 1970]

CIVIL LIBERTIES THREATENED MANY TIMES IN U.S. HISTORY

(By William F. Woo)

A scenario for political repression:

Two years before a national election, the majority party in Congress pushes through a law making it a prison offense to write malicious articles about the President. The law is designed to intimidate the opposition press during the forthcoming campaign. It expires on the day after the incumbent President's term ends. In this way, the statute cannot be turned against those who wrote it, should the opposing party's candidate win the election.

As the campaign begins, an editor is brought to trial under the law. He is accused, among other things, of suggesting that the President is spending too much money on the military and encouraging high interest rates. The editor is charged also with having written that at the time the President took office, he "was hardly in the infancy of his political mistake . . ."

In his remarks to the jury, the judge makes the political purpose of the law plain. "This publication," he says, "is evidently intended to mislead the ignorant, and inflame their minds against the President, and to influence their votes on the next election."

Convicted, the editor is fined and spends six months in jail.

The scenario is from American history. The law was the Sedition Act of 1798. The editor was Thomas Cooper of Sunbury, Pa., later to become president of South Carolina College. The judge was Samuel Chase, a fierce partisan of the Federalists and President John Adams. In addition to Cooper, nine men, all Republicans were convicted under the act.

"The Sedition Act," says Donald H. Fleming, professor of history at Harvard University, "was probably the most serious threat to civil liberties we've had and it came at the very beginning. But, mind you, the man who was against this threat, Jefferson, was elected President."

Persons who believe the nation now is undergoing a repressive period in which civil liberties are being eroded in wholesale fashion can muster a certain amount of evidence for their case. They point to, among many other things, what they consider harsh criminal legislation of dubious constitutionality, increased Government surveillance of political protestors and efforts to intimidate the press.

It can be said, however, that although there may be some genuine cause for concern now by civil libertarians, American history is replete with instances of repression. A case, in fact, might be made that civil liberties have been in jeopardy far more frequently than they have been secure.

"The contrast with what's happening now is not with a natural state of paradise we once had and lost," said Gerald Gunther, a professor of law at Stanford University. "It's been an uphill fight all the way."

"For most of our history, a very dominant part of public opinion and law enforcement have not been as tolerant of individual liberties as the Bill of Rights would indicate they should have been."

The country, in fact, began its existence with the immense contradiction of slavery and the words of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . ."

"Repression now?" asks Fleming. "In any historical perspective, no. To my mind, it's a fantastic suggestion that this is a repressive era in American history. I conclude that most of the talk consists of measuring what we have now against ideals."

In the War of 1812, the New England Federalists were frequently accused of treason, Fleming noted. As the Abolitionist movement gained strength in the 1830s, its leaders were attacked and lynched. Religious persecution against the Mormons was especially vicious, and their founder, Joseph Smith, was lynched in Carthage, Ill.

"The Civil War was a particularly bad time," Fleming said. "Lincoln's record in civil liberties was probably the worst of any President. He suspended habeas corpus and the life of the Copperhead, the Southern sympathizer, in the Middle West was grave, indeed.

"Then, of course, in the 1880s, when the anarchists tried to take over they were violently suppressed. World War I vies with the Civil War for the worst suppression of civil liberties. Both the federal and the state governments took repressive measures. People were imprisoned for criticizing the war in private conversations. Then Wilson lost control of the Administration and you have (Attorney General) Mitchell Palmer's raids. That cleaned out the radical movement and the IWW (International Workers of the World).

"World War II compares favorably, except for our treatment of the Japanese, who were interned, and yet that didn't become a model for repression in society as a whole.

"With the exception of the McCarthy period, there has been a real expansion of civil liberties since the Depression. I see, by the way, no similarity between what (Vice President Spiro T.) Agnew is doing and what (Senator Joseph R.) McCarthy did. One man attempted to purge the federal bureaucracy; the other urges voters to turn people out of office.

"As a matter of fact, in any past generation you wouldn't know what people meant in saying Agnew's rhetoric heated people up. I mean, in any past generation if the worst you could say about somebody was that he was a radical, you'd better give up. Theodore Roosevelt's language was very vehement. He poked fund at the 'hyphenated-American,' the foreigner, and impugned his patriotism in a way that people understood. If you go back to the Jackson-Van Buren campaign or the Cleveland-Blaine campaign, why, they were absolutely scurrilous."

Harry S. Ashmore, the Pulitzer-Price winning Arkansas editor who now is a senior fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif., suggests a close parallel between the kind of repression that elements of the Left contend now exists and a type of repression that Southern whites experienced a few years ago.

"The rednecks felt a degree of isolation and desperation," said Ashmore. "They felt persecuted by the Federal Government, which was insisting on integration, and they began arming themselves. The Klan literature was

always saying, 'Every God-fearing white man had the right to bear arms. If the police had sold out to the nigger-lovers, well, we'd have to take that law into our own hands.'

"For a long time this was only rhetoric but then the violence began to come. Then the police cracked down, finally to the point of federal troops. A lot of whites felt the Supreme Court had abridged their constitutional rights. Gov. (Orval E.) Faubus said the integration order was null and void. And this sanctioned a lot of people's thinking they were both morally and legally wrong in acceding to the law.

"Their arguments would be very close to the one that's used today—that people have a moral right to do certain things. That's why these people were so difficult to deal with. But what happened in the end? Violence, the majority of whites concluded was intolerable. They disavowed it and the violence ended."

Some observers have noted, however, that the current period has certain significant differences from other times in American history when civil liberties were threatened. One of these differences is what might be called a revolution in rising expectations, a major change in attitudes fostered in no small measure by the Supreme Court's expansion of individual rights in recent years.

"Now we're worrying about whether the police can enter without knocking," says William Cohen, a Stanford University law professor. "Ten years ago, we worried about whether they needed any probable cause at all for arrests. Sure, things like the no-knock crime bill are important. But we're now arguing at a level of civilized police behavior that would have been unthinkable 30 years ago."

James Fisk, for 30 years a police officer in Los Angeles, agrees. Fisk, who retired as deputy police chief, is an adjunct professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles.

"When I came into the police department, nobody even talked about the Bill of Rights," he says. "I didn't have the faintest idea of the need for a search warrant. It used to be that the courts told us that evidence was admissile regardless of the method by which it was obtained."

"What I've seen in 30 years is an increased awareness among police officers that constitutional guarantees are superior to substantive law. The real question, however, is whether our society wants law enforcement to be constitutional."

Another aspect of the current concern over repression that sets it apart from other times in American history is the state of development in communications and data-processing technology.

The television set that brings the Vietnamese war into the living room also brings ghetto riots and campus violence. Students demanding the overthrow of the system and a President calling for law and order reached the same national audience. If the television coverage of the riots in Chicago at the time of the Democratic National Convention radicalized many youths, it hardened also the attitudes of many of their elders, who became convinced that protest was going too far.

The nearly infinite memory of the computer, with its ability for almost instant recall, for the first time has presented the nation with a possibility that a person's political and social opinions might be kept on file just as his credit rating already is. Just as a bad credit rating can prevent a citizen from engaging in a business transaction, so, civil libertarians worry, a bad social or political "rating" may keep someone out of a job—or put him in prison.

Coupled with increasingly sophisticated methods of electronic eavesdropping, the computer-based data bank may have given man, as Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher (Dem.), New Jersey, put it, "so powerful an instrument of social control that individual dreams, which become local nightmares, can now be world-wide catastrophes."

"If you're born with a television in the room, it's a state of nature to you," says former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. "If you're born with audio-surveillance in the room, you accept that, too.

"There are many tragedies to governmental wire tapping. It's far more than a dirty business. It tinkers with the foundation of individual character. If you try to sell it as morally right, you build an acceptance for it. If you try to sell its acceptance, as the Administration does, for purposes that are largely imagery, you build an acceptance for things that are essentially immoral. I don't find a history or a literature in which the eavesdropper is extolled."

A third factor that distinguishes this era, civil libertarians believe, is that repression is aimed at large cultural groups as well as at those with unpopular political views. Thus a youth with long hair, whatever his political opinions, may well feel repressed if the local authorities decide "to clear our streets of the hippie elements."

"What happened in the 1960s was a breaking up of the dominant cultural consensus," says Alan F. Westin, professor of political science at Columbia University. "We broke loose from the Puritan-Protestant consensus, and driving through society came new life styles and with that a demand to be able to dress differently . . . Censorship was loosened tremendously by the courts.

"Objectively, civil liberties, the right to pursue your ideas, really got greater breadth between 1960 and 1968 than in any other time in our history. But—a lot of people began exercising these freedoms and they came up against a fundamental fact. They didn't have a majority. And at this time, the dissenters began to say the whole society is rotten.

"That's what the issue of repression is all about to radicals. They say, 'To give us freedom and not make the changes that are necessary is really not to give us freedom at all.'"

WILL GARBAGE INHERIT THE EARTH?

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, perhaps there is no issue that is receiving as much attention as pollution control, yet it is also an issue to which a practical approach by individuals is too often lacking. This point is well made in an editorial in the Thursday, April 22, Worth-Palos Reporter by that publication's editor, Pat Bouchard. This editorial commentary effectively directs the attention ingful, steps they can take to combat of individuals to the little, yet mean-pollution:

WILL GARBAGE INHERIT THE EARTH?

(By Pat Bouchard)

This is Earth Week—so what else is new? Pollution has become like the weather, everyone is talking about it but . . .

The ecology cause has gone the way of most controversial causes, politicians have taken it to their bosoms and can use it to further their own "noble images."

However the politicians and bureaucrats are not the only ones who give mere lip service to saving the environment.

We all find it easy to rant about the power companies causing air pollution and demand that something be done about it. But, how many of us bother to turn off an unused electric bulb, or would be willing to give up the comfort of our usually overheated homes? Further, how many would be willing to sacrifice the comfort of air conditioning next summer?

We lament the overloaded and non-working sewer systems of the area. Yet how many of us refuse to give up our color coordinated toilet paper, tissues, and paper towels? White paper products dissolve, colored ones do not. But my dear, white toilet paper, how gauche!

We are quick to criticize the auto industry for creating too many fume spewing motor vehicles. But then just think, when was the last time you walked to the store instead of taking your car? You remember what walking is—that is the act whereby you propel yourself forward by placing one foot in front of the other.

After hearing about the polluted lakes and rivers of our country we all worry about our own waterways. Perhaps we worry, but when was the last time you checked the phosphate levels in your household detergents and then changed to a brand with a lower phosphate level? Too many of us fear "ring around the collar" more than rotten water.

When was the last time you passed up non-returnable bottles or aluminum beverage cans and lugged home a carton of returnable bottled products?

When was the last time you tied up old newspapers for a paper drive rather than just toss them out for the refuse man to worry about?

We all agree that those careless litter bugs should be prosecuted for garbaging up our highways and byways. But come on confess, when was the last time you surreptitiously rolled down the window of your auto and quickly disposed of a gum wrapper?

Mea culpa!

CONGRESSIONAL INFORMATION SERVICE WINS TOP AWARD

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, since my colleagues indirectly contributed, they will be pleased to learn that Congressional Information Service has been awarded the New Information Product of the Year Award—1971 "in recognition of CIS/INDEX to publications of the U.S. Congress."

CIS, which has its offices just outside Washington in Bethesda, Md., was cited by the Information Industry Association, which made this award, for its "usefulness, innovation, and responsiveness to the information needs of a changing society."

The material follows:

NEW INFORMATION PRODUCT OF THE YEAR AWARD—1971

"It is difficult to choose from among a wide range of information products and services entering the market place in 1970," Jeffrey Norton, IIA President and Publisher, Information Systems, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, said in making the award. "Yet, the identification of Congressional documents as an essential store of information, the creation of a high quality standard in-depth index to this material and the provision of a microform fulfillment service, won

for Congressional Information Service this first New Information Product of the Year Award—1971."

The award was presented to James B. Adler, President, Congressional Information Service at the Third National Meeting of the Information Industry Association held recently. Coincidentally, the award came two years to the day following the opening of the offices of the Congressional Information Service.

Hailed by librarians and their publications variously as "indispensable to every library" and as a "superindex", the CIS/INDEX locates, collects, abstracts and microfilms virtually all of the voluminous hearings, reports and staff studies churned out annually by some 50 committees and 250 sub-committees of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

The idea for the CIS/INDEX grew out of a visit to the Library of Congress by Mr. Adler while working for a New York Publisher. In search of a hearing his publisher wished to publish in book form he asked to see the standard index to Congressional documents and got a question in return: "What standard index?"

The CIS/INDEX enables the user to identify all committees and all publications on a particular subject and to locate immediately the particular chart, testimony or article desired from among the hundreds and thousands of pages involved. The Index covers an annual outpouring that exceeded 450,000 pages in 1970.

It is said that Congress functions as the country's most important information producing institution, dealing, as it does, with every aspect of American life from anti-ballistic missiles to zoning regulations. The CIS/INDEX opens this vast body of literature to quick and ready access by all segments of society, not just particular Congressional Committees.

A subscriber to the CIS/INDEX who also purchases the microfilm version of the underlying publications has a more complete file of congressional literature than any library, even the Library of Congress, since the first step of the process of the Congressional Information Service is to collect every publication of every committee. Many of these documents are not generally listed by GPO as publications and have never before been brought together as a collection.

AS WE SEE IT: SURVEILLANCE ON CIVILIANS DANGER SIGN FOR DEMOCRACY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit Free Press of March 22, 1971, carried an excellent editorial under the heading "As We See It, Surveillance on Civilians Danger Sign for Democracy."

So that my colleagues may be familiar with the view of the Free Press on this vital matter, I include the text of the editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Opponents of government surveillance on civilians could hardly ask for better allies than the federal bureaucrats who, despite their plain yearnings to the contrary are making a powerful case for legislative controls.

Assistant Attorney General William H. Rehnquist has returned to the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights and enlarged his previous claims to watchdog authority in the government. The surveillance powers he asserted a few days ago may be used on elected officials as well, he now tells the senators to their faces. No legal abuse exists, he says, so long as information is not forcibly extracted or used in court.

Consider the progression: First, the government insisted that no surveillance had been maintained on elected officials. Then, in the face of evidence, it admitted otherwise. Now it says that political surveillance may be undertaken at pleasure.

Here, made real, is the danger seen by Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr., who once warned that government prying can destroy ". . . all anonymity and privacy; it makes the government privy to everything . . ."

Indeed so, Rehnquist blithely argues for the sitting administration; even legal political activity is subject to review by the federal bureaucracy, according to its own standards of worth and propriety; the shadow thrown on private rights and democratic processes need not cause concern; it is enough to correct individual abuses when they can be shown.

Set aside the ample evidence that federal agencies have little will to acknowledge abuses, much less correct them. In point of fact, government surveillance on civilians threatens a kind of damage that must be forestalled because it cannot be redressed. A necessary tenet of democratic societies is that government is *not* privy to everything.

Arguments to the contrary are major danger signals. Federal spokesmen have been raising such signals with scant murmur of dissent from policy-making superiors. Unresponsible and unresponsive to the public, they are venturing to determine a basic posture of government. Their stubborn refusal to grapple with demonstrated problems is jeopardizing respect even for the legitimate uses of surveillance and electronic data-processing.

They leave the Congress little choice but to act.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the May 6, 1971, New York Review of Books includes a statement issued in Athens to mark the 150th anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821. The statement was sent to the New York Review as a letter to the editor.

This is a statement of the "fundamental precept of 1821, expressed in the constitutional texts of the War of Independence, that a nation is truly free only when all its citizens are free."

As the authors point out, the U.S. Government continues to sacrifice the liberties and the dignity of the Greeks to the alleged defense requirements of the free nations of the NATO alliance.

American support for the Greek junta was recently widely publicized in Greece. An American official publicly expressed effusive and unqualified support for the dictators. News reports of these incidents follow the commemorative statement I am placng in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, the ties between the Greek and American people are strong. They are not indestructible. If we continue our present policies, we shall accomplish the difficult—we shall seriously damage our relationship with the Greek Nation.

The material follows:

GREEK INDEPENDENCE

The following proclamation was distributed in Athens, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, during which the ruling dictatorial regime organized festivities to celebrate the event. It is signed by 133 intellectuals, artists, politicans, scientists, military, etc., representing all shades of political opinion in Greece, from the right, the center and the left. The text was published in the Athens newspaper *To Vima* which was obliged to omit a number of passages, on account of the severe Press Law which threatens with closing, fines, and imprisonment any newspaper and its editors who publish material considered as detrimental to the junta's image.

"On this 150th anniversary of the Revolution of 1821, we are impelled to recall its true nature and its ideological content: that it was an uprising of the people against tyranny; that its simultaneous and indivisible aims were national independence and sovereignty of the people; that it renewed the age-old democratic tradition of the Greeks.

"It is a fundamental precept of 1821, expressed in the constitutional texts of the War of Independence, that a nation is truly free only when all its citizens are free.

"During these 150 years, the Nation's most glorious achievements were nearly always accomplished under unrestrictedly democratic institutions, and they were always dedicated to the democratic ideal. It was under parliamentary democracy that the greater part of our unredeemed territories were freed. It was under parliamentary democracy that all major reforms were carried out, such as the agrarian and the educational reforms, and that the country made progress in all directions. It was the functioning of democracy that revealed the outstanding personalities who have passed naturally and for all time into our history.

"Today it is our duty to formulate those basic principles which will ensure that the national identity of Hellenism will be preserved, which will lead it to truly fruitful ventures and which will serve the permanent interests of the People. These principles have their roots in the ideals of the War of Independence and are as follows:

"1. The foundation of popular sovereignty through equal and responsible participation of all citizens in the public life. This applies to both central and local government, because self-government is an essential democratic institution.

"In democracy, no one group has the right to monopolize patriotism, or to arrogate to itself the exclusive right to represent the Nation, stating that it authentically expresses its will: the will of a nation does not exist separately from the will of the people. It is voiced by the majority and with freely elected representatives.

"2. Safeguarding human rights as defined in the European Convention of 1950. Observance of these rights ensures freedom and equality under law, releases the citizen from fear and threats, favors the growth of the creative forces of the People in peaceful times and its fighting spirit in times of danger.

"The suspension of the People's sovereignty and of human rights arrests the fruitful flow of national life, opens the way to other constitutional deviations, deprives the country of natural renewal of its political forces, and leads it to spiritual and political stagnation.

"The suspension of democratic institutions in our country today means, moreover, that a considerable number of Greeks—among them many distinguised for their

services to their country and to its allies—find themselves in prison or in deportation either for their beliefs alone or for acts inspired by their devotion to freedom. It is a national imperative that this state of affairs should be terminated without delay.

"3. An educational system truly universal, alive and modern, with one of its fundamental aims the formation of free and responsible citizens imbued with mutual respect and accustomed to confront problems with an open mind and to settle differences through persuasion.

"A democratic society has the further duty to keep up a sustained effort for the educational development of all Greeks irrespective of age, sex or profession. The best means of making them familiar with more general problems and broadening their outlook are free public discussion and a use of mass media designed to raise the cultural standards of all citizens and to protect them from one-sided influences.

"4. The effective integration of Greece into Europe, and the development in our People of a deeper and lasting European consciousness.

"Greece's incorporation into Europe is first and foremost a matter of freedom of institutions. The community of Europe rests upon a certain cultural heritage, democratic ethic and human values.

"In accordance with these principles, we declare:

That the Greek People belongs to the family of the democracies, as it has proved through its struggles for their common ideals;

That freedom is indivisible, and that it is inadmissible that the liberties and the dignity of the Greeks should be sacrificed to the alleged defense requirements of other free countries;

That only with the restoration of its liberty will our country revert to its historical tradition and recover the place that belongs to it in the community of nations."

March 22, 1971

The signatories include lawyers, judges, writers, poets, critics, publishers, painters, sculptors, musicians, actors, film producers, architects, archaeologists, educators, professors, teachers, journalists, bank employees, librarians, historians, former army and navy officers, civil servants, and ambassadors, businessmen, private employees, including the following:

George Seferis, Professor John Pesmatzoglou, Ambassador A. G. Xydis, Anna Synodinou, George Mangakis, G. Kavounidis, R. Roufos, Lt. Gen. P. Dimopoulos (Ret.), Lt. Gen. S. Tzanetis (Ret.), Professor E. Zachareas, I. Kambanellis, K. Krokodeilou, N. Louros, Arda Mandikian, K. Tachtsis, A. Floros.

[From the New York Times]

STANS, IN ATHENS, HAILS THE REGIME

(By Mario S. Modiano)

ATHENS, April 23.—Maurice H. Stans, the United States Secretary of Commerce, praised today the "sense of security" that he said the Greek Government gave American companies operating in this country.

Mr. Stans arrived in Athens yesterday on the third leg of a six-county tour to promote trade. He spoke at a luncheon of the Hellenic-American Chamber of Commerce at the Grande Bretagne Hotel.

Asserting that American investments could play an important role in the economic development of Greece, he voiced satisfaction with "the welcome that is given here to American companies and the sense of security the Government of Greece is imparting to them."

He noted that nine members of the Government were at the luncheon. The ranking Greek guest was Nicholas Makarezos, Minister of Economic Coordination and the third-ranking man in the Government.

Then a colonel, Mr. Makarezos was a leading member of the military junta that seized control of the country four years ago last Wednesday, at a time of great political turmoil.

The military government suspended both the Parliament and many provisions of the Constitution as part of its program to give Greece a "disciplined democracy." The outlook for a return to representative democracy is still uncertain.

Secretary Stans said he had been impressed by the "remarkable economic progress Greece has made.

"You have provided an economic miracle up to now," he continued, "and I'm sure that miracle will continue to grow."

He added that President Nixon had asked him to convey his best wishes to the members of the Chamber of Commerce because "he has warm regard for the people of Greece, for the wonderful way in which Greece has kept its commitments to NATO and for the way in which the two countries are working together."

The Secretary carried letters from President Nixon to the leaders of the six countries on his itinerary—Ireland, Spain, Greece, Rumania, Iran and Austria. In the three-paragraph letter, the text of which was made public today by the Greek Press Ministry, Mr. Nixon expressed best wishes "for the continued welfare and prosperity of the people of Greece."

At a news conference after the luncheon, Mr. Stans said he had discussed today with Premier George Papadopoulos and four other Greek ministers United States-Greek trade, American investments and tourism.

STANS' REMARKS HAILED BY ATHENS

ATHENS, April 24.—United States-Greek relations boomed this weekend after a two-day official visit to Athens by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, broadly interpreted here as a gesture of support by the Nixon Administration for the military-backed regime of Greece.

Mr. Stans, who is on a six-nation tour to promote trade, arrived here Thursday and conveyed a message from President Nixon to Premier George Papadopoulos.

The pro-Government Athens press gave banner headlines today to the Nixon message, but there is no mention that Mr. Stans, who is flying to Rumania tomorrow, is also delivering presidential messages to leaders of the other five countries he is visiting.

The newspapers stressed Mr. Nixon's phrase: "Greece's economic progress over the past few years has placed her in the forefront of rapidly developing nations."

INTERPRETED AS APPROVAL

The President's message and Mr. Stans' exceptionally cordial praise for the Greek regime and the "sense of security" that he said it gave American investors were interpreted here as an expression of political approval.

The Government-controlled Athens News Agency in its English-language news bulletin, today printed on the front page the Nixon statements under the heading "Mr. Stans in Athens—a recognition of Greece's economic progress."

The pro-Government press put strong emphasis on remarks attributed to Mr. Stans during a visit yesterday to the Ministry of Economic Coordination, where he spoke of Greece's "industrial miracle" and said that he had been asked by the President to "convey to the Government of Greece and the Greek people his warm love."

The text of these remarks was released by the Greek Government, and the English-language daily Athens News added in brackets at this point "managing editor's note: Did the American Secretary really say that?"

DENIED BY EMBASSY

The United States Embassy later denied that the words "warm love" had been used they suggested that Mr. Stans had spoken of Mr. Nixon's "warmth and confidence" for the Government of Greece.

Mr. Stans was reported to have presented to Premier Papadopoulos a gold plaque bearing an embossed portrait of President Nixon and, on the reverse, his seal of office.

Mr. Stans received from the Minister of Economic Coordination, Nicholas Makarezos, a piece of ancient Greek ceramic dating from the fifth century B.C.

The Secretary and Mrs. Stans spent today yachting as guests of an old personal friend, Thomas A. Pappas, a Greek-born Boston financier who operates a $200-million industrial complex in northern Greece.

Other guests at today's private yachting party included Trade Minister Spyridon Zappas and the United States Ambassador, Henry J. Tasca.

The unusual cordiality shown by the American official toward the four-year-old regime stirred a wave of speculation among foreign diplomats here, although it was accepted that Mr. Stans, as a promoter of trade could hardly be expected to behave differently.

Some observers suggested that Washington might be camouflaging a vigorous effort, which has been rumored, to induce the regime to move toward early restoration of constitutional Government, suspended four years ago.

APRIL IS ALABAMA CONSERVANCY MONTH

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in calling to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the fact that the current month of April marks the observance of an occasion of special significance to the citizens of Alabama—the observance of "Alabama Conservancy Month."

In recognition of the fine leadership which has been given by members of the Alabama Conservancy toward improvements and solutions in every area of environmental problems, on March 16 of this year the Governor of Alabama issued a proclamation designating April as "Alabama Conservancy Month."

During the 2 years of its official existence, Alabama Conservancy members have worked diligently to create a greater awareness on the part of Alabama citizens of environmental problems and a responsible concern about clean air, clean water, protection of wild and scenic areas, and the banning of destructive pesticides.

Through an "Environmental Newsletter" and various other special mailings, the Conservancy keeps its members informed of threats to our State's environment and of concrete means to counter these threats. The Conservancy has also been very helpful in keeping the State's Members of Congress and other

Government officials informed on these matters. In addition, Conservancy members have testified on environmental issues during hearings held by numerous Federal, State, and local governmental units.

During the last 2 years the paramount concern of the Alabama Conservancy has been the establishment of Alabama's first statutory wilderness, to encompass 11,000 acres within the Bankhead National Forest. This meritorious project has, furthermore, been conducted exclusively by the Alabama Conservancy. Through their persistent work on behalf of the proposed Sipsey Wilderness, the conservancy has gained wide support for this project at all levels of government and among concerned citizens living far beyond the boundaries of Alabama.

I have been privileged to work with members of the Alabama Conservancy toward the establishment of the proposed Sipsey Wilderness and certainly share their earnest hope that this goal will soon be attained.

The fine work of the Alabama Conservancy has no doubt resulted from the commendable efforts of many of its members, and I wish to express my personal gratitude to all of these fine citizens. I would, however, like to give special recognition to the efforts of two members of the conservancy who have given the leadership so essential to this organization's work: Dr. Charles S. Prigmore, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who serves as president of the Alabama Conservancy; and Mrs. Robert E. Burks, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., who is the conservancy's vice president and wilderness chairman.

Americans everywhere are awakening to the urgent need to take definitive actions toward preserving our country's precious natural resources and protecting its environment. There is a growing awareness that this is a challenge which we must meet, and I certainly wish the Alabama Conservancy continued success in helping us to do so.

THE STORY OF THE VANTAGE TEN NINETY FUND

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I have always been a great believer in the strength and vitality of private initiative. This is a great country, made so for this most part by private citizens pursuing their own goals within a framework of freedom, law, and order. It is clear at this time that such private efforts must have an equally vigorous social conscience. Mixing the goal of private pursuits with the public and social progress is the path of the future.

For the past 2 years, it has been my distinct privilege to serve along with other distinguished Americans, on the board of the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund. My associates on this board, among them my colleague, F. BRADFORD MORSE; Edward N. Gadsby, former Chairman of SEC; Carrol M. Shanks, former president of Prudential Insurance Co.; Eugene S. Williams, former chairman of the St. Louis County National Bank; S. Russell Bridges, chairman of the Piedmont Life Insurance Co. in Atlanta; Howard E. Whitaker, former chairman of the Mead Corp. in Dayton; John L. Schroeder, chairman of the Lexington group of mutual funds, and several others, feel as I do that Vantage Ten Ninety Fund can be an important part of the cry for "relevance" heard frequently throughout our country.

Vantage Ten Ninety Fund is a mutual fund that may be bought by an investor seeking capital growth. Although no fund can give assurances that this objective will be achieved, Vantage purchases securities that it feels have growth potential.

An important feature of Vantage is that 10 to 15 percent of the fund is placed in social investments, that is, potentially profitable investments in certain critical areas of society. The investor himself can select the area of social action for his own investment from the fields of—

Pollution;

The inner city; and

The war on hunger.

The fund then exerts its best efforts to place its investments in the proportion in which they are designated by the investor.

Thus Vantage is a mutual fund in which the investor is seeking growth of capital, 10 to 15 percent of which is invested for his profit in social action investments, and 85 to 90 percent in a diversified portfolio of marketable securities.

The unique feature of Vantage is not so much that 10 percent has been earmarked for social investments, but that the fund has pledged that these investments shall be in new or expanding firms, that is, that this portion of Vantage will be fresh capital for firms in these areas. To the best of my knowledge Vantage is the only mutual fund that undertakes to supply fresh capital to industry.

Therefore, what seems like a small step for Vantage is really a giant step for the mutual fund industry.

Mr. Speaker, America, in spite of her greatness, has many areas of her life which need our full attention. In any dynamic growing society this will always be the case. The critics however are growing louder and the winds of change are blowing hot.

The forces of private initiative and effort indeed must be harnessed and channeled into these pressing social problem areas before it is too late. I have said before, and I will say once again that private effort can and must attend to broader social needs at the same time that it is seeking gain for shareholders.

One of the main reasons that I continue to serve on the Vantage board of directors is that I feel that it has an important answer. To me, it is holding up to Americans higher standards of investment. Not only does it intend to make 10 to 15 percent available for investments in important social contexts, but also it allows its good offices to be used to follow up any complaint a Vantage shareholder may have with the product or practices of any company whose shares Vantage has purchased.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that all the darkness in the world cannot put out the light from one brief candle. If private enterprise is to survive the balance of this century, efforts like Vantage must be a beacon.

We have lit this beacon. I want to congratulate the founder and president of Vantage Ten Ninety Fund, Dr. J. T. Houk, and his associates, and call this important effort to the attention of my colleagues. Mr. Speaker, at this point, I insert in the RECORD a report that tells the story of the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund:

THE STORY OF THE VANTAGE TEN NINETY FUND

Born of the concern for some of the pressing social problems besetting us, a private whirlwind of effort began several years ago. Nestled in the seat of the largest government in the world, Washington, D.C., the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund has been selling its shares to investors all over the world. Its founders feel that it is unique in its approach to the investor.

But first, a word of introduction is in order. In March of 1967, at an International Christian Leadership weekly luncheon gathering at the National Lawyers Club, a group of men were informed about impending world famine. They found out that nearly two billion people in this world were starving or malnourished, and that 3½ million of them would die that year from starvation abetted illness.

The speaker that day, Dr. J. T. Houk, a private consultant in the field of economic development and finance, and a faculty member of the University of Virginia, and several others in the audience formed a nucleus of contributors to the Meals for Millions Foundation in Santa Monica, California.

By the fall of 1967, the "booster" group of contributors had grown quite large, and at the suggestion of several, a blue-ribbon Steering Committee was asked to recommend a way for the investor to get involved in pressing social problems such as the war on hunger.

This steering committee, composed of Edward N. Gadsby, former Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission; Congressman F. Bradford Morse; Congressman Richard T. Hanna; Carrol M. Shanks, former President of Prudential Insurance Company; George Putnam Jr. of the Putnam Funds of Boston; Edwin D. Etherington, former President of the American Stock Exchange, and then President of Wesleyan University; John L. Schroeder, President of the Lexington Group of mutual funds, and President of the Investment Counseling firm of Templeton Dobbrow and Vance; Eugene S. Williams, former Chairman of the St. Louis County National Bank, and several others, recommended the formation of the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund.

Vantage was therefore incorporated in April of 1968, submitted its filing in Registration under the Securities Laws with the Securities and Exchange Commission in June of 1968, and was registered and released for sale to the public in December of 1968.

The Vantage Ten Ninety Fund is an open-end diversified mutual fund, seeking growth of capital for its shareholders. Altho like all funds unable to guarantee performance, Vantage selects securities, usually corporate stocks, for their potential for capital appreciation.

Those involved with Vantage feel that it offers the public higher standards of investment. While committing no more than 10% to 15% to social investments, Vantage

permits each investor to select the area of social action for his own investment from:

(a) new or expanding firms related to the food or population problem;

(b) new or expanded firms related to the problem of environmental pollution; and

(c) new or expanding firms related to the problem of urban deterioration.

Thus, Vantage is a mutual fund in which the investor is seeking growth of capital, 10% to 15% of which is invested for his potential profit in social action investments, and 85% to 90% in a diversified portfolio of marketable securities.

The unique feature of Vantage is that the fund has pledged that this 10% to 15% portion shall be fresh capital, that is that these investments shall be only in new firms as part of their original capital, or in more experienced firms as part of an expansion effort.

The growth of the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund has been steady, even tho during much of the period the stock market was dropping in value. Beginning with 22 investors and $135,000.00 in December of 1968, in April of 1971, Vantage had nearly 1,800 investors and almost $2,500,000.00.

The success of the Vantage Ten Ninety Fund to date is a reflection of the facts that there is going on today a subtle change in the place of money in men's lives. Two factors in our society are principally the cause of this change (1) the fact that a rising GNP (approaching 1.4 trillion dollars by 1975) has permitted a disproportionately large rise in discretionary income, and permitted a weakening of economic motives; and (2) pressure from all parts and sectors of society the net effect of which is to intensify social concern.

Vantage catches this new mood with an investment instrument into which social concern has been inextricably woven. Vantage seeks out investors with a healthy content of social concern in their motivational triggers. While hoping to be responsive to their legitimate economic requirements—the education of their children, energies, retirement, or that once-in-a-lifetime business opportunity—Vantage asks them to permit the Fund to make a small part available for social investments.

And in addition, Vantage hopes to be fully responsive to its shareholders other concerns about its portfolio companies. The Fund offers its good offices as a "go-between" with any of its shareholders who have a complaint about the product or practices of any company whose shares Vantage may own.

Vantage is run by businessmen who, rather than give lip service to the merits of free enterprise, seek to use the capitalistic concept to make a stronger, more viable society in which to live.

"LEST WE FORGET"

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in a land of progress and prosperity, it is often easy to assume an "out of sight, out of mind" attitude about matters which are not consistently brought to our attention. The fact exists that today more than 1,550 American servicemen are listed as prisoners or missing in Southeast Asia. The wives, children, and parents of these men have not forgotten, and I would hope that my colleagues in Congress and our countrymen across America will not neglect the fact that all men are not free for as long as one of our number is enslaved.

Capt. Charles M. Walling, U.S. Air Force, 83167A, Phoenix, Ariz., married and the father of two children. The son of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Walling, Phoenix, Ariz., 1961 graduate of Arizona State University. Officially listed as missing August 8, 1966. As of today, Captain Walling has been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 1,721 days.

VA HOSPITAL SYSTEM STILL UNDER ATTACK

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Hospital Subcommittee of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, headed by Senator ALAN CRANSTON of California, has begun hearings on problems confronting the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical program. The Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House will be undertaking hearings on this subject in a few days. The Washington Evening Star has published an editorial concerning the problem confronting the VA hospital and medical program. As the editorial indicates, the Office of Management and Budget is again attempting to curtail the VA hospital and medical program. That agency was successful last year in diverting $105 million additional funds which Congress made available from expenditures for needed staff to one-time expenditures such as equipment and maintenance. Therefore, the VA is still confronted with essentially the same problems, that is, attempting to operate with less staff than is found in other comparable hospitals. The Evening Star editorial follows:

THE VETERANS' HOSPITALS

Senator Cranston of California is continuing in his valuable role as watchdog over the much-criticized Veterans Administration hospital system. Today, his Veterans Health and Hospitals subcommittee began three days of hearings on a reported Nixon administration plan to cut by about 47,000 the anticipated number of patients that can be served by VA hospitals in the fiscal year starting July 1.

Perhaps the administration can explain that this is a wise, just and humane decision. But in the light of a couple of facts, that would seem to be quite a trick.

Cranston notes that there are currently 5,000 sick or injured veterans who are certified for admission to VA hospitals but are waiting to get in. Applications are increasing, and the flow of veterans of the Vietnam conflict, some of them dreadfully and permanently maimed, is far from over.

The senator calculates the fiscal 1972 cut of 47,000 patients from a budget decision to hold the average daily census of the VA hospitals at 79,000, instead of a projected 84,500, with patient turnover staying what it is now. He questions administration hopes of speeding the patient turnover, because of increasing age levels of some veteran groups and the Vietnam influx.

The Nixon administration, for all its patriotic utterances, has had a curious record on veterans affairs. Despite last year's revelations of understaffing and the unnecessary sufferings of some Vietnam victims in VA hospitals, the administration resisted attempts led by Cranston to beef up the budgets of the hospitals. (One of Cranston's current concerns is the disposition of the $105 million increase that finally was enacted.)

As for the 350,000 Vietnam veterans who are jobless in our currently slow economy, the administration's latest brainstorm calls for spending a piddling $1 million to inform them about benefits under the GI Bill.

The young returnees from Vietnam deserve better—particularly those who suffered serious wounds. There should be no question about their entitlement to the best medical care the country can provide. It is a sad circumstance that a congressional hearing on the subject should be needed.

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, it has become increasingly clear that Mr. Nixon values political publicity more than performance.

From his presidential campaign in 1968 to the rhetoric of "Southern strategy," from Supreme Court nominations to "Vietnamization," and from revenue sharing to the Calley case, Mr. Nixon has proved himself to be primarily concerned with the value his public relations staff places on any decision. When other persons and offices in the Nixon administration have suggested alternative points of view, the final judgment on a specific proposal has rested with Mr. Nixon and his public relations staff.

Trained professionals at all levels in the administration find they must compete with the Nixon public relations staff; clearly, decisions are made not on the basis of what they will accomplish, rather they are based on the amount of publicity they will generate.

Mr. Speaker, we can examine Mr. Nixon's involvement in the Calley case as a recent example. Serious legal questions were raised by Mr. Nixon's interruption of the judicial process, but reporters were told by the administration's Director of Communication, Herbert G. Klein, that even if lawyers considered Mr. Nixon's move inapproriate, the public approved of it.

Without a doubt, the legal questions raised by Mr. Nixon's interjection into the Calley case took a back seat to the anticipation of public support. Unfortunately, this decision may be even more significant than first thought; the public relations staff may now be the undisputed authority on all subjects in the White House.

A recent article appearing in the April 17, 1971, edition of the New Yorker argues convincingly that the public relations staff in the White House is in complete control. Analyzing Mr. Nixon's statements, the article clearly distinguishes between political publicity and substantive content. The former is found abundantly, and the latter is conspicuously lacking.

I include the article in the RECORD at

this point and commend it to my colleagues attention:

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

NOTES AND COMMENT

Three weeks before President-elect Nixon took office, Kevin Phillips, one of his campaign aides predicted privately that the White House would become the site of a power struggle between the new President's legal counsellors and his public-relations staff. Time has proved him right. Almost from the outset, it has been a seesaw contest, although for the most part the publicity men's weight has left the lawyers dangling high in the air.

Civil-rights attorneys in the government fought valiantly to continue, and step up, the pace of desegregation in the South, only to have their work undercut by political publicity men in the White House, who were willing to violate the law in order to carry out the Southern strategy. Mr. Nixon listened to public-relations men (including the government's chief lawyer, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who had in effect become a public-relations man in the course of his work as Mr. Nixon's campaign manager) when he made his two attempts to place an unfit judge on the Supreme Court in order to render that institution more pliable to his demands and also placate the South.

When the Senate carried out its Constitutional mandate and rejected the nominees, the President fell on it in fury. His nominations and his response to their rejection tampered with the Constitutional separation of powers, and were the acts of a public-relations man, not of someone who serves and reveres the law. If the chief difference between a lawyer and a public-relations man is that the first relies on the weight of facts and the second on the weight of words, then most of the President's statements about the war in Indo-China have been the statements of a public-relations man.

In the face of mountainous evidence to the contrary, he told the nation the other evening that, because of the successes in Cambodia and Laos, "Vietnamization has succeeded." The idea of "Vietnamization" was itself a public-relations idea, for a country that could not defend itself with the assistance of half a million American soldiers cannot defend itself alone. And by holding to this public-relations-politician's plan the President sacrificed the lawyer-politician's advantage—a political settlement—because now the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong have no reason to negotiate.

In short, he exchanged the possibility of getting something for the beleaguered and exhausted people of South Vietnam for the certainty of getting nothing. At almost the same hour that President Nixon told his audience about our success in Laos, Vice-President Agnew, his chief public-relations assistant, was attacking the press for drawing "preponderantly negative" conclusion about the operation and the entire war, and was telling *his* audience that "most knowledgeable people" believed it was too soon to judge the effects of the Laos invasion. The act of turning Mr. Agnew loose against the press whenever the Administration finds itself in disfavor has trampeled all over the First Amendment.

Now Mr. Nixon's actions in the Calley case have decisively demonstrated who won that power struggle in the White House. In the President's statement on the case in a press conference before the trial began, he said that My Lai was "a massacre." That was prejudicial to the defendant's right to be presumed innocent, for part of what has to be proved in a criminal case is that a crime has been committed.

In response to the confused and sometimes almost deranged reactions of the public to the life sentence imposed on Lieutenant Calley, Mr. Nixon the public-relations man interfered in a way that, according to some impressive legal opinion, he had no established right to under the law. By so hastily ordering Calley released from the stockade, and by asserting that he would review and decided the case, he insulted the Army, which had gone to commendable lengths to observe the most rigorous standards of judicial propriety, and he made the chance for a fair review on appeal almost impossible. Some say that the President took these steps to calm the people down, and others say that he took them to get votes. (Herbert G. Klein, who holds the title of the Administration's Director of Communications, told reporters that although lawyers might consider Mr. Nixon's move inappropriate, the public approved of it.)

Whatever the reason for the President's acts, he defied the law in spirit and probably in letter, and, by virtue of his position, he told the people that all men are *not* equal under our legal system. When Mr. Nixon was sworn in as President, he took the oath that is required by the Constitution: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." On numerous occasions, President Nixon has tried to ignore or sidestep the Constitution. In the Calley case, he has repudiated it.

As we listened to the President's speech last week, we felt as though he were speaking from another country. He seemed not to have lived through what this country had lived since Lieutenant Calley's conviction. The conviction and sentencing of Lieutenant Calley had made tangible the enormous burden of responsibility that America bears for the holocaust in Indo-China.

For many of us, the Calley verdict did what the horrifying day-by-day reports of the war had failed to do, and even the reports of My Lai itself, and even the Calley trial: it drove us into a corner. It was as if the moment we passed judgment on this one man for what he had done in Indo-China, we were forced to judge ourselves. The anguish of Indo-China became wholly ours, and our country began to endure a torment that cannot abate until the war ends. This torment took a thousand forms. Some people who had once supported the war now joined those who opposed it.

Others who had supported the war turned, in confusion, not only against the war but against everything that reminded them of the war, denouncing the war *and* the anti-war movement, the Army *and* its critics, the massacre *and* the conviction. People who had already opposed the war for years now began to feel their own complicity as taxpayers (followers of orders, albeit of civil orders). Some people were moved to heightened compassion for those who are suffering in the war. Others seemed to ruthlessly stamp out all feeling within themselves for innocent victims of the war, including the ones murdered at My Lai. Many—perhaps most—reactions ran deeper than national explanation can follow.

One young veteran of the war who had lost an arm said that the conviction showed he had lost his arm for nothing. (One cannot imagine that he would suddenly regain his faith in the cause for which he made his sacrifice if the conviction were to be reversed or dismissed.) Many veterans volunteered public confessions of crimes they themselves had committed. All over the country, the most profound questions a people can ask about itself were reopened, and we were arguing over who we are and what we stand for. Yet beneath the seemingly endless divergence of views one sentiment did appear nearly unanimous: America had to get out of Vietnam as soon as possible in order to save itself.

In his speech, the President also spoke of "anguish," of "despair," and of redeeming the nation—seemingly the right words. "I believe, as Thomas Jefferson did, that Americans will always choose hope over despair. . . . We have it in our power to prove to our friends in the world that America's sense of responsibility remains the world's greatest single hope of peace," he said, and he went on to speak of his hope—shared by so many of his countrymen—that America might "come out of this searing experience with a measure of pride in our nation, confidence in our own character, and hope for the future of the spirit of America." But the anguish that the President was speaking of was not the country's anguish. He was speaking of something else—of our resolve not to "give victory to the Communists" by leaving "precipitately." This is not what has been bothering America in the last few weeks—or in the last few years, for that matter.

The speech was certainly meant to draw our attention away from the questions that have been torturing us, but the devices it employed were so transparently calculated to divert our attention that our attention was drawn back, in an unexpected, roundabout way, to those very questions.

The President wanted us to think only about American casualties—which are lower now than they were a few years ago—and to forget the Vietnamese casualties. But when he said that "one American dying in combat is one too many," pictures of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians dying had to flash across our minds. Against the background of the Laotian invasion, in which South Vietnamese had so recently died in great numbers "to save American lives" and to speed our withdrawal (as though the South Vietnamese Army were in Indo-China to protect us, rather than the other way around), the President's omissions were more vivid than his statement.

With an almost eerie consistency, each of the President's phrases had an unintended echo in the realm of our real concerns. He mentioned "the barbaric . . . use of prisoners," but though the Presidential compassion for prisoners went only as far as our own men in North Vietnam, it was impossible when he used this phrase not to think of victims at My Lai—prisoners who had been murdered by the score in cold blood. And when the President spoke of his fear that "we would lose respect for this nation, respect for one another, respect for ourselves," he was speaking of what he believed might happen at some future date if he "should move to end this war without regard to what happens to South Vietnam," but it was impossible not to think of the agony we were going through *right then* in the aftermath of the Calley conviction.

As we can see all around us, what endangers America is not what might happen to South Vietnam after an American withdrawal. What endangers America is what we're doing to ourselves and to South Vietnam while we remain there. It isn't "how" we end the war that will determine "the kind of people we are," as the President believes, but whether and when we end the war. The President once said he was afraid that America would become a "pitiful, helpless giant" if it failed in South Vietnam, but the real danger—a danger that becomes more urgent than ever in the light of the President's failure to acknowledge the spiritual crisis in the nation—is that we will become a heartless, headless giant.

AMERICANS COMING HOME

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States with-

drew an additional 6,200 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today, there are 281,400 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

TRIBUTE TO S. SMITH GRISWOLD

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened last week to learn of the death of S. Smith Griswold, who was one of our Nation's leading pioneers in the area of air pollution control.

I worked very closely with "Gris" when he was head of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District, and we spent many hours together developing clean air legislation. He was a good man, and all of us who have fought for clean air in our country have lost a friend.

I would like to include in the RECORD a fine article about "Gris" written by Colman McCarthy of the Washington Post and published in the April 21, 1971, edition:

S. S. GRISWOLD, POLLUTION FIGHTER, DIES

(By Colman McCarthy)

S. Smith Griswold, a leading pioneer figure in the nation's struggle against air pollution, died yesterday at Bethesda Naval Medical Center at the age of 62 after a long fight against cancer.

He learned his trade in what was then the smog capital of the western world, Los Angeles, a title other cities might dubiously claim. From 1954 to 1965, Mr. Griswold served as the air pollution control officer for the county of Los Angeles.

During those eleven years, Mr. Griswold, who had a low tolerance for stalls and put-offs, brought thousands of pollution cases to court, getting convictions or guilty pleas in 96 per cent. No pollution control officer anywhere in the country has matched this record.

Known as a plugger, Mr. Griswold was hardnosed about his facts and had a flinty impulse to say what he thought. He made a speech in Houston in 1964 that was an early pump on the brake of public opinion that is now trying to stop the runaway problem of automobile pollution.

"Everything that the industry is able to do today (1964) to control auto exhaust was possible technically 10 years ago," he said. "No new principles had to be developed; no technological advance was needed; no scientific breakthrough was required."

Mrs. Griswold depicted the auto makers as people crusted with "arrogance and apathy" who had "bought 10 years of delay and unhampered freedom to pour millions of tons of toxic contamination into the atmosphere."

Mr. Griswold said that to people interested in profits, spending for the development and production of exhaust controls was a liability. "Control of air pollution does not make cars easier to sell, it does not make them cheaper to produce, and it does not reduce comeback on the warranty."

At the time of the speech, Mr. Griswold estimated that the industry was spending only $1 million a year for pollution control. He contrasted this sum with the total combined earnings in 1963 of 22 auto company executives and with the $1 billion being spent for 1965 model changes.

"In short" concluded Mr. Griswold, "during the past decade the industry's total investment in controlling the nation's No. 1 air pollution problem, a blight that is costing the rest of us more than $11 billion a year, has constituted less than one year's salary for 22 of their executives."

Mr. Griswold's position became the genesis of a Justice Department civil antitrust suit filed in January, 1969. The government charged the four major U.S. auto manufacturers and their trade association with conspiring to delay development and installation of devices to curb automotive air pollution. The case was eventually settled by consent decree.

In 1965, Mr. Griswold left Los Angeles to become abatement and control chief at HEW's Office for Air Pollution Control. He soon discovered that Washington, like Los Angeles, was an atmosphere cesspool.

"I had an apartment on Massachusetts Avenue," he recalled last year, "and the living room had white curtains. In six months' time, they were filthy. In California, your draperies last four or five years and usually the sun rots them before they need a cleaning."

Mr. Griswold's actions and thoughts at HEW helped in the passage of the 1967 Air Quality Control Act. Soon, however, Mr. Griswold came to believe that the abatement efforts he had built up were being diluted or ignored. He left the government in late 1967 and become a private consultant in Washington.

Although aggressive and raw-edged in his public life, Mr. Griswold was privately gentle, easygoing and wry. Interviewing reporters found Mr. Griswold extremely modest about his accomplishments in Los Angeles and Washington. He once said he was unaware that his 1964 speech laid out the essentials of an antitrust case.

Nothing might have happened had not Ralph Nader, then an obscure volunteer worker in the Labor Department, happened onto the speech and perceived its potential explosiveness. Nader interested Justice Department lawyers in the facts set out by Mr. Griswold.

On becoming a free-lance consultant Mr. Griswold was in demand. Officials in places as diverse as Maine and Puerto Rico called him in. "They want industry," he explained, "but they want it clean."

"When the public gets outraged at the air pollution all around them, the politicians and lawmakers won't be afraid to act forcefully and stop the polluters. Nor will they be hesitant to raise and spend the money for pollution control, because the politicians love a safe and popular issue."

Mr. Griswold is survived by his wife, Ingeborg, of Monterey Park, Calif., a daughter, Mrs. Gary Swanson, and his father, W. H. Griswold, both of the Los Angeles area, a brother, W. H. Griswold, Jr., of Ypsilanti, Mich., and one granddaughter.

THE ALLIGATORS ARE SNAPPING

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, recently I read a humorous version of a job description for a civil engineer which, I believe, can be used as an analogy for this country's situation in the field of free and fair foreign trade.

According to the description the objective of a dedicated engineer is to thoroughly analyze all situations as they impend, anticipate all problems prior to their occurrence, have answers for those problems and move swiftly to solve them when called upon. However, the description observes, when the engineer is up to his hips in alligators it is often difficult to remember his initial objective was to drain the swamp.

Similarly, Uncle Sam has been a dedicated worker in the field of international free-fair trade. He diligently has sought to analyze, anticipate, and, with a far less degree of success, solve the problems that have arisen. However, many of his major domestic industries now are feeling the bite of unfair foreign competition.

Steel imports, for instance, are off to a record start in 1971, totaling more than 2.5 million tons for the first 2 months of this year. This figure is 71.5 percent greater, or 1.4 million tons more, than what was shipped into the country during the same period last year. Stainless and alloy steel imports totaled almost 93,000 during this 2-month period, 13,000 tons more than in the comparable period of last year.

For the benefit of the ultrafree traders in the Nation, Mr. Speaker, I issue this warning. The alligators are snapping.

CABORA-BASSA DAM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, at this time, the Export-Import Bank is considering an application from the General Electric Co. to provide $55 million for financing a transformer for the Cabora-Bassa Dam being constructed by the Portuguese in Mozambique.

The Export-Import Bank, some months ago, gave its preliminary approval of the project. Their decision was purely economic. Now, the National Advisory Council on International, Monetary, and Financial Policy is considering the loan's soundness.

This Council is composed of the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and Treasury, as well as the President of the Export-Import Bank and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Each member views request loans from a particular vantage point.

The Cabora-Bassa Dam project is a politically sensitive issue. There is no doubt that construction of the dam will strengthen Portugal's, South Africa's, and Rhodesia's hold on black southern Africa.

The Organization for African Unity Summit Conference, in 1970, categorically condemned the Cabora-Bassa Dam project. By helping General Electric finance this transformer the United States appears to be condoning policies of exploitation, racism, and colonialism. Too often, we have been associated with these policies—many times unjustly. We must not, at this time, risk alienating a devel-

oping and vital black Africa by identifying ourselves with the Cabora-Bassa project.

I have written letters urging Secretary of State Rogers and the President of the Export-Import Bank, Henry Kearns, to deny General Electric's application.

A TRIBUTE TO DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 8, 1971, Col. Walter E. Stone of the Rhode Island State Police wrote a stirring letter supporting Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI. He sent this letter to Chief John R. Shryock, president of the International Association of the Chiefs of Police, urging that groups' endorsement. Chief Shryock brought this letter to my attention.

In the wake of the recent attacks on Mr. Hoover, I find Colonel Stone's letter an inspiration. His moving defense of the FBI and its Director should be read and considered by our colleagues, and I, therefore, insert it in the RECORD at this point:

DIVISION OF STATE POLICE,
North Scituate, R.I., February 24, 1971.

Chief JOHN R. SHRYOCK,
President, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHIEF SHRYOCK: As a police officer and member of the Executive Committee, IACP, I wish to express my concern over the unfounded public criticism being leveled at Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation by a minority of persons in some position of influence. Their remarks, if reported accurately by the mass media, seem to me to indicate an unwarranted attempt to impugn the image and creditability of this great American whose deeds and performances stand preeminent in the world.

It is most unfortunate that such unjustifiable comments about Mr. Hoover (and, in some instances the entire FBI) are being made by non-professionals at a time when the signs of lawlessness throughout the nation are broadening in scope and demand a continuum of the special confidence millions of our fellow citizens have for the FBI today and in the ability of J. Edgar Hoover to provide expert administration. This is why I have been stirred to communicate with you in this way and why I believe it is vitally important at this time that the IACP Executive Committee declare publicly its support and approval of FBI operations, its purposes, and Mr. Hoover's leadership. For this reason, I respectfully request that a public statement of this tenor be made by the Committee at its next meeting.

In my opinion, such a statement should project a support of the FBI as a total bureaucratic entity within a bureaucratic society having as its responsibility the purpose of internal security for the people attempt to bring about disorder, distortion of social justice, and perversion of the rights of individuals. I believe criticisms aimed at Mr. Hoover are grounded in presumption, opinion, and appear to be Leftist leaning. In the interest of basic truth the Big Lie leveled at this man should be exposed for what it really is—that of a Big Lie.

For almost five decades J. Edgar Hoover has exemplified the epitome of Americanism in its true sense of equality, in its true sense of efficiency in government, and in its true sense of non-partisan political example. The courage, loyalty, dedication and integrity of the American people to justice, law and the American ideal has been the substance of his performance in a long and honorable public service career. There are those who, by innuendo, blatant allegation, and surreptitiousness, premeditate the destruction of this man's image, the ideal of the American way of life, and the laws of government that prevail. As a co-partner in the objectives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it is the responsibility—indeed the duty—of the IACP to stand up and be counted and to support J. Edgar Hoover by denouncing these irresponsible attacks.

Sincerely,

Col. WALTER E. STONE,
Superintendent.

WILD HORSE LETTERS FROM CHILDREN

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a few of the many hundreds of letters that children have written on behalf of the legislation I introduced to protect the wild horses of the American West. Many adults have written too, but the youngsters' letters are especially warm and direct.

Wrote Cindy Bartram:

Why do people have to be cruel to horses? The day I found out about this I was sad and that night I cried because I love horses more than any other animal in the whole wide world . . . Horses have a great deal of use, like riding and friendship.

My bill would put the dwindling herds under the protection of the Department of the Interior, which would set aside ranges for them and would set regulations to protect them. Some youngsters had ideas of how this should be done.

Wrote Keith Knoth and Brian Faber of 358 Brook Avenue, Bay Shore, N.Y.:

I think a radar station should be set up. That way you could see the hellecopters (Used for rounding up wild horses for slaughter) overhead.

And Dominick Pelli wrote:

If they slaughter wild horses, they should not use trucks to catch them, they should also use horses.

Instead of rounding up wild horses for use in pet food, Kevin Wood of Cedar Grove, N.J., suggested that "artificial horse meat could be used."

David Barton of Route 5, Box 499, Springfield, Mo., had an alternate idea:

I don't like mustangs being killed for dog food so I want you to make a law on it because we in Missouri can feed scraps to them.

Charlie Webster of 23 Meadow Drive, Bay Shore, N.Y., said:

Here is an idea. Take a small plane fulled with sleeping gas and spray the horses and then take a special branding iron and brand them. Or make a giant fence about 90 miles long and lock it up so no one can get a horse from it. Put a steel top with holes so they can breathe.

One of my favorite letters came from Ellen Roy of R.R. 1, Rankin, Ill., who wrote:

I love horses and I don't like to see them hurt. We like horses all our family does. I'll name Dads, moms, Lesa and me, Ellen, and in the same order, Jody, Blaze and Billie. Bill is the best horse in the world to every one that has seen him.

But one girl in my class is scared of him. I don't like her.

Donna Jane Wilson of Wasco, Calif., wrote:

I am eleven years old and will soon be living about twenty miles from town where there are coyote, fox, muskrat, skunk, deer and other small animals. I will have a horse and a skunk of my own. If all animals are not protected, pretty soon others kids won't get to see and play with animals like I have.

I could not make out the signature, but I also liked the letter that said:

If the people who are killing the horses were horses, they wouldn't like it eather.

Chris Peterson of 1905 Merikoke Ave., Wantagh, L.I., wrote:

I am supporting you all the way . . . I have written the President.

Sarah Weiss, a second grader at the Solomon Schechter Day School in Jacksonville, Fla., wrote:

Say it is illegal, please. I like wild horses. Please try not to kill wild horses. I love wild horses. I love horses, too. So please try to stop it, oh please.

And Jacqueline Bloom, of the same class, said:

I wish that there was a law, that if a hunter kills a horse, that would be illegal.

A letter from 224 Goodrich St. in Hartford, Conn., said:

My name is Carla Cataldi. I am 8 years old. I love horses very very much. I read where you are trying to save the wild horses. I wonder if I may have one horse?

Pat Wyn of Route 3, Box 37A, Newaygo, Mich., wrote Greg:

I read your article that was in the February 8th issue that was in the Detroit Free Press. I was very glad you are doing something or at least trying, to save the wild horses. . . . I think if we got enough people to oppose the killings we could win.

We think that because of letters like Pat's, we can win. We hope so.

In addition to these letters, I have received a copy of one sent to President Nixon from Jennie Daily, who argues that horses should be protected because, first, horse manure is better than auto exhaust; second, horses would provide cheap transportation in a depression; and, third, horses are gentle and lovable.

Jennie is a sixth grader at Sunnyside School, Bonita, Calif. Her letter to President Nixon had 119 signatures.

Here is the letter:

I think that Wild Horse's should have a chance to live.

A couple of weeks ago there was an article in the Senior Weekly Reader about Wild Horse's being trapped, and killed for dog and cat food.

Many people think there is a depression coming. Well, just suppose there is, Horse's would come in very handy for us.

Some of the people at our school feel the same way and we think that Horse's should have a chance to be ridden for transportation in stead of cars, besides Horse's manure helps plants and flowers grow better, when all motor vehicle's make alot of pollution.

To keep a car would cost more than to keep a horse:

CAR

You must be 16 old or older to drive a car. It costs $500,000 at least: $30 license plates (a year); $180 insurance; $260 gas and oil ($5 a week); $8 license; $3 antifreeze; $50 maintenance (repair); total cost $1,031.

HORSE

You may ride at any age. Only $175 for a horse or more: $50 saddle & Briddle but you don't need a saddle; $3 halter and lead strap; $3 hoof equipment; $100 board (feed-straw; rent place); $5 vet (worming, cold, etc.); total cost $336.

Besides all this, Horses are gentle, and lovable.

Here are people that want to save our Wild Horse's and use them for transportation.

(Signed by 119 persons.)

DON LUCE ORDERED TO LEAVE SOUTH VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the news from Saigon that reporter Don Luce is being forced to leave the country is indeed shocking.

For 12 years this reporter has worked to improve the lives of the war-ravaged people of South Vietnam. Don Luce was most helpful to me when I visited Vietnam last summer, and I find this action by the Government of South Vietnam to be utterly reprehensible and a step backward in the long and torturous fight for the individual rights of South Vietnamese citizens.

A resolution was adopted April 28 by the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches strongly condemning this action by the Saigon Government, and I include it at this point in the RECORD:

The U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches in Annual Meeting at Albany, New York, today learned that the South Vietnamese government has ordered the World Council correspondent in Saigon, Don Luce, to leave the country by May 16. It condemns this action of the Saigon Government.

Don Luce, throughout 12 years of service in Vietnam, as an agriculturist and journalist, has rendered outstanding humanitarian service to the ordinary people of this war ravaged land. Accepting for himself their living standard and language, he has identified his life with theirs in every possible way, and his writings have given their aspirations for peace and freedom a voice heard literally around the world.

We commend Don Luce's unceasing efforts in behalf of all prisoners, military and political, who languish in prisons and camps throughout Indochina today. We particularly commend his role last summer in disclosing the inhuman "tiger cage" dungeons of South Vietnam's political prison on Con Son Island. The strict observance of the Geneva Conventions on war prisoners now held in the South is indispensable to U.S. efforts to secure the release of U.S. prisoners held in the North. The U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches believes that the highest interests of the South Vietnamese and the U.S. Governments, jointly responsible for the intolerable prison conditions which Don Luce, together with U.S. Congresmen William R. Anderson and Augustus F. Hawkins, brought to light, were well served by his courageous reporting. It deeply regrets that he will no longer be permitted to give voice to the hopes and needs of the silenced people of Indochina.

The Conference sees this action by the Saigon government as a further example of the repression of a free press in South Vietnam. It is the conviction of the Conference that the aspirations of the people of South Vietnam will be best served by a liberalizing of the restraints imposed by the government of South Vietnam upon the domestic and foreign press within that country.

PLANNING AND CONSERVATION IN SWEDEN

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of an April 1971 statement from the Swedish Information Service outlining some of the environmental planning and conservation activities being carried forward in Sweden.

I would like to share this information with my colleagues and, therefore, I include the text of the Swedish Information Service statement at this point in the RECORD:

PLANNING AND CONSERVATION IN SWEDEN

(By Lars Emmelin)

SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL

The problems of solid waste are literally threatening to grow out of control. Every Swede now produces approximately 250 kilograms of domestic solid waste per year. This amount increases by some 3 to 4 per cent every year and will double sometime in the 1990's. In addition, industries produce a variety of solid wastes, building and construction add further quantities, and after a statistical average life of 9 years every car becomes a waste disposal problem.

This issue of Environmental Planning will be devoted to some of the problems of solid wastes and the way they have been tackled in Sweden.

NEW LEGISLATION

As of the 1st of January this year, the municipalities have the sole responsibility for collection and disposal of wastes. The legislation gives the municipalities absolute responsibility. In 1972, this will be coupled with a monopoly on the handling of all domestic waste. The basis for a sound economy of collecting and disposing of the wastes from the entire municipality will thus be established, making it possible to collect from the rural areas without prohibitive costs to the individual households.

The fines for illegal dumping of wastes, littering or leaving scrapped cars have been raised considerably. A municipality which has to clean up an illegal dump can send the bill to those who made it. This ensures that the municipal responsibility and monopoly is not misused.

The municipalities can also handle industrial waste products which may make operations more economical in certain cases.

REGIONAL PLANNING

Whatever method used for the disposal of wastes it is normally economical to operate on a larger scale. Planning is at present going on to ensure regional cooperation between municipalities for waste collection and disposal.

The regions are determined on an economic basis primarily, by a computer program. Consideration is not given to county boundaries or other administrative units other than the municipalities.

The planning is given both a geographical and a time scale. The number of regions will gradually diminish in the future.

To handle the waste collection and disposal a special company was formed in 1970 by the Swedish Development Company and the Association of Municipalities. This company, IKAB will handle ordinary domestic and industrial wastes for the municipalities.

TREATMENT OF WASTES

At present most of the domestic wastes are disposed of in dumps. These have created many problems. If badly managed they cause water and air pollution, rats and other pests thrive and may become public health problems. In some of the urban areas suitable sites are lacking.

Approximately 20 per cent of the domestic waste is incinerated. The proportion so treated is expected to rise gradually, reaching some 40 per cent in the early 1980's. Incineration is recommended mainly because of the great reduction in volume achieved. Certain types of solid waste must be burned for sanitary reasons. Critics of this method of waste disposal point out that for many reasons—one being the increasing amount of plastics in the wastes—incineration is unsuitable because of the air pollution it may cause. From a resource management point of view incineration is considered a bad solution to the waste problem. Every year potential raw materials worth some Skr 500 million (U.S. $100 million) are made unavailable by various methods of waste disposal.

COMPOSTING WITH SLUDGE

One method of waste disposal which is subject to intense study at present is composting the wastes together with sludge from municipal sewage treatment plants. Composting of a homogenizate of solid wastes is no new method. Several plants are in operation in various parts of the world. Some of the present Swedish experiments are conducted with a view to finding out if the method is possible under the climatic conditions present.

The main point of interest seems to be the composting of solid waste with sewage sludge. The reason for adding sludge is mainly that a certain balance between the amount of carbon and nitrogen is necessary for the biological degradation processes occurring in a compost. Domestic solid waste is composed of approximately 50 percent paper making it rich in carbon. Sludge on the other hand is rich in nitrogen.

The end product of a composting process is a potentially valuable fertilizer. It is assumed that both agriculture and forestry could use it. If only six to seven per cent of the arable land was used with success for the deposition of the compost most disposal problems would be solved.

Several questions must however be answered before the compost can be considered a realistic alternative. The economics are largely unknown and problems of environmental poisons and harmful micro-organisms particularly in the sludge have not been solved. One of the necessary requisites seems to be a separation of waste water from households and industries or at least a detoxification of industrial effluent before it is discharged into the municipal treatment plants.

COLLECTION OF WASTES

Most of the domestic waste is collected manually with the aid of special trucks and usually with hydraulic compression of the wastes. This method has several drawbacks. The costs are high and rising, the trucks and

compressing equipment are fairly noisy in spite of great improvements made recently and the method may constitute a sanitary problem if mismanaged.

In the towns of Sollentuna and Sundbyberg outside Stockholm, systems of automatic collection and compression are now in operation. The waste is transported in pipes by vacuum to a container with compression equipment. The system is completely closed and the containers handled by special trucks.

The Sollentuna system, built by Centralsug AB, is the more advanced having a control system which opens the necessary valves in a sequence as the waste passes along the pipes.

A comparison of the costs for manual collection methods and a complete vacuum system indicates that the latter is more economical in the long run in areas with houses of three or more stories. Initial investment is of course greater. But over a 5–10 year period this is outweighed by savings made: The vacuum system requires less space, no preparation for heavy trucks in the immediate vicinity of each house and is less sensitive to rising labor costs.

ELECTRICITY FROM WASTES

In Högdalen in Stockholm an incineration plant, which uses the heat from burning wastes for power generation, started operation in 1970.

The domestic wastes from the Stockholm region contain some 60 per cent paper. This is combination with other factors, including the large amounts produced, in the area, makes it possible to use the wastes in a thermoelectric plant. When the Högdalen plant reaches full capacity the output of electric energy will be 24 Megawatts. Of these 22 MW will be sold. The reduction in waste disposal costs due to this will be 10 to 15 per cent.

The plant is equipped with electro-filters to eliminate particulate air pollution. Installation of other pollution control equipment to cope with future problems from harmful flue gases has been prepared.

SCRAPPED CARS

The problem of scrapped cars seems to be well on its way towards a solution in Sweden. In 1971 a fragmentation plant for cars will become operational in Halmstad on the Swedish west coast. The capacity of the plant is approximately 50 per cent of the number of cars scrapped each year in Sweden. This means that the plant will handle one car per minute. One of the main environmental problems eliminated at the Halmstad plant is the open burning of oil residues, textiles and other combustible parts of the cars which is practiced at other places.

The plant in Halmstad will handle cars from all over the country. These will be collected, stripped of any valuable parts, compressed and sent to Halmstad by subcontractors to the owners of the Halmstad plant, Bilfragmentering AB.

ECONOMICS OF SCRAPPING CARS

The National Office of Organization and Management proposed a way of financing the expensive and complicated control of car scrapping in 1970. At the time of sale of every new car a special scrapping charge would be paid to a national organization equipped for scrapping cars. The last owner would receive the same sum on delivery of the car to this organization. If this charge is set correctly the organization should be able to operate on the interests of the accumulated charges.

The advantages of this system are several. The costs to society for scrapped cars would be borne by those who benefit from the use of cars. The owners receive positive stimulation to dispose of their cars in a legal manner and the trade in old cars, which constitutes a definite road safety problem, would diminish. The company handling the cars would have an economic basis for rational management including pollution control.

HANDLING OF DANGEROUS WASTES

In 1970 the government-owned Swedish Development Company together with the Swedish Association of Municipal Authorities and the Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society of Sweden formed the SAKAB or Svensk Avfallskonvertering AB (Waste Conversion Ltd.).

This company will handle dangerous, poisonous or other kinds of difficult wastes. One of the first actions of the company was to handle quantities of products containing DDT from households wanting to get rid of this substance when the DDT ban went into effect.

SAKAB operates through regional collection units owned either by the company or, as in the case of oil residues, in cooperation with the distributors of the products.

HOUSING

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the question of housing in this Nation's crowded, urban centers, particularly in New York City, is much more than a problem; it is a crisis. A scarcity of new housing, poor maintenance, and confusion of Government authority, clearly all contribute to this growing dilemma that the cities face.

While the Federal Government must do its part, we must also concern ourselves with State and local efforts in this vital area. Recently Governor Rockefeller of New York stated that he would urge the New York State Legislature to adopt a uniform rent control law which would decontrol apartments as vacancies occur.

A program based upon decontrol as vacancies occur is an open invitation to unscrupulous landlords to harrass tenants into abandoning apartments. Decontrolling as vacancies occur could lead to an end to renovation and rehabilitation efforts in entire neighborhoods. Some landlords will simply choose to let buildings fall into disrepair as a certain method of getting tenants to leave.

This result would be disastrous when considered in light of the serious deterioration in the city's housing stock which is likely to result from the recent cut in the State's contribution to the city's code enforcement program.

Over 250,000 of those living in apartments, which are now controlled, are senior citizens or others living on fixed incomes. These people must move occasionally, and a policy which decontrolled apartments as they fell vacant would hit these people the hardest.

Only last year the city amended its own rent control law to provide significant relief to landlords. The need for further change at this point is unproved. No evidence has been produced to show that the landlord's economic picture has worsened.

At a time when housing presents such a bleak picture, we cannot tamper with the protective measures we already possess.

It is my hope that Governor Rockefeller, and each of my colleagues would support all existing and proposed measures, on every level of government, designed to lessen the burdens of housing on the American people.

NO PLACE FOR STEREOTYPES

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to submit a statement this week to the Subcommittee on Communications and Power of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on behalf of legislation to express the opposition of the Congress to the degradation of ethnic, racial, and religious groups which is still too much a part of what passes for entertainment in the media today.

I include my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PEPPER

As one of the cosponsors, I would like to express my strong support for House Concurrent Resolution 88, which would express the opposition of the Congress to the production and presentation of motion pictures and television and radio programs which defame, stereotype, ridicule, demean, or degrade ethnic, racial or religious groups in our country.

The Declaration of Independence, which brought our country into existence, declares clearly that "all men are created equal." There are no second class citizens in our society and neither law nor literature should stigmatize or stereotype any group of citizens among us.

In our time the most powerful media are television, radio and the motion picture, in the formation of attitudes toward our fellow citizens. This can be constructive or it can be highly destructive, as when the special traits and special characteristics of the several ethnic, racial and religious groups living in our midst are exaggerated and derided, either seriously or humorously.

I have always been disturbed by the haters in America. At the beginning of my political career, in 1929 as a member of the Florida Legislature, I found many of my fellow citizens terribly upset because the First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Herbert Hoover, had served tea to the wife of the Liberian ambassador at a diplomatic wives function at the White House. My State Legislature along with others actually voted to censure Mrs. Hoover for this simple act of hospitality and I was one of only 13 members who cast their votes against this hateful resolution.

The response was typical of the period, and it was fostered by the newspapers and motion pictures of the period, which portrayed the Negro as a debased and repulsive creature.

Yet another example of the great inhumanity of which man is capable is the hostility which was generated by thousands of years of stereotyped thinking where Jews were concerned. It could only have been generations of "brainwashing" of this kind which led to the terrible mass extermination of millions of innocent men, women and children of the Jewish faith by the Nazis.

Thus, to me, there is nothing amusing about "ethnic humor" or the exploitation of stereotyped thinking to convey either humor or dramatic action in television, radio and films today. The acts of persection which offend every right-thinking American have their brutal roots in the ridicule and name-calling and petty degradation that still is too much a part of our life.

I feel the Congress has a right and an obligation to speak out against the harm which

is inflected upon ethnic, racial and religious groups and upon the fabric of our democratic society. House Concurrent Resolution 88 seeks to do this and I strongly urge this committee to bring it to the House Floor for approval.

JOBS FOR VETERANS PROGRAM REDUCES VETERAN UNEMPLOYMENT IN HOUSTON

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, at the end of the first quarter of 1971, there were approximately 372,000 Vietnam era unemployed veterans in America. This represented 10.8 percent of the national unemployment total. The Education and Labor Committee is presently considering legislation to help relieve this problem on a national basis, however, I want to commend to the attention of the Congress an excellent example of what is being done on a local basis in Houston, Tex. I have just received a comprehensive report from the Director of the Veterans' Administration Regional Office in Houston, Mr. Percy Mims, on the progress which has been made in the Houston area in the "Jobs for Veterans" program. This program is headed by a group of volunteers composed of distinguished businessmen and civic leaders of the community. The honorary chairman of the committee is Mayor Louie Welch. The general chairmen are W. W. Bryan, chairman of Humble Oil & Refining Co., and Roy L. Dye, Jr. general manager of Sears, Roebuck & Co. Working with the Veterans' Administration, and the local director of the Texas Employment Commission, the very able A. Lee Gruhlkey, this group has achieved a great deal of success in focusing attention on the plight of the unemployed veteran. It is also apparent that this Houston group is beginning to make considerable progress in finding jobs for these unemployed veterans.

Mr. Speaker, there are a number of hard-working committee chairmen who are doing excellent jobs along with the distinguished general chairmen. Mr. Ralph Jordon, chairman of the public relations committee, who is general sales manager of Sears Roebuck in Houston, has been especially effective in obtaining massive publicity which has been a key element in focusing attention on the problem. Robert R. Herring, president of Houston Natural Gas Corp., is chairman of the speakers committee which has been responsible for rounding up effective and knowledgeable speakers to address various local groups. Mr. Don Horn, secretary-treasurer of the local AFL–CIO Council, is working most diligently with the labor organizations. Vocation and training activities have been most capably handled by Mrs. Chapman Cronquist, president of the League of Women Voters, and Mr. James A. Wilson, chairman of the board of United Gas Corp., has provided most effective leadership as chairman of the employers contact program to interest local employers in jobs for veterans. Mr. G. M. Sawyer, president of Texas Southern University, has made outstanding contributions to the success of this undertaking as chairman of university programs. And Peter Stack, past inspector general of the VFW, has worked effectively with the veterans organizations. Among other effective contributions they have contributed 50,000 bumper stickers to emphasize the program. Mr. Percy Mims, the Director of Veterans' Administration regional office, spearheaded the program in its formative stages and continues to provide outstanding leadership in coordinating activities of the group.

Mr. Speaker, here are some of the positive and noteworthy results of the Houston Jobs for Veterans Committee:

Four television stations are using spot announcements throughout their broadcast day, ranging from 10 to 60 seconds.

Nineteen radio stations are using 10- to 60-second announcements during prime time throughout the day.

The Houston Outdoor Advertising Council has made available 23 billboards, 10 by 40 feet in size.

Five feature articles concerning the program have been published by the Houston Post.

The Houston Chronicle has published four news articles supporting the campaign.

News articles have also appeared in the Bellaire Texas, Pasadena News Citizen, Houston Tribune, Voice of Hope, and the Informer.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. has arranged for credit statement enclosures supporting the Jobs for Veterans Campaign to be mailed to their customers and various other merchandising firms—100,000 during May and 400,000 by September 1971.

Five hundred posters have been distributed to business establishments in the area for display.

A speakers bureau has furnished guest speakers to various civic and business groups using materials developed by the Veterans' Administration and the National Jobs for Veterans Committee.

Both the Houston Post and the Houston Chronicle have been using special classified section slogan inserts designed by the publicity committee. These are run daily and number in the hundreds.

The committee developed 50,000 bumper stickers to be used throughout the campaign.

Another significant accomplishment of the Jobs for Veterans Committee has been a free service to Vietnam era veterans offered by the Houston Post. The newspaper provides all veterans the opportunity to advertise their job needs and skills free of charge. The Houston Post has reported to the committee that this free service has resulted in a large number of veterans advertising their job assistance requests directly to potential employers.

Information has been received from the Texas Employment Commission reflecting their analysis of the jobs for veterans campaign. For example, in February and March 1970, the unemployment rate for the Houston area was 2.1 percent; and for the same period in 1971, it was 2.8 percent. Veteran job placements, according to the Texas Employment Commission, have totaled 1,728 since the start of the jobs for veterans program in February 1971. This represents a 20.8-percent increase over the same period 1 year ago. I am sure that you will agree these statistics sharply pinpoint the effectiveness of the committee's efforts to find suitable employment for our veterans.

The jobs for veterans program is gaining momentum through the kind of cooperation exemplified in Houston, and the program has the right kind of backup here in Washington from James F. Oates, Jr., national chairman for the National Jobs for Veterans Committee, and our former colleague, the Honorable Bill Ayres, special assistant to the national chairman.

SANCTITY OF CIVILIAN NONCOMBATANTS

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Maj. Gen. John H. Cushman has written a letter to the editor of the New York Times in response to an article entitled "We Must End the War," by Burke Marshall, which also appeared in the Times. General Cushman is a distinguished career officer who is now serving his third tour in Vietnam and who has had considerable combat experience. I agree with his position on the protection of civilans and, as a former combat officer myself, can confirm his statements about the policy of the armed services on instructing soldiers on the humane treatment of civilians. I request permission that his letter be printed at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and the American public.

The letter follows:

VIETNAM ORDERS: SPARE CIVILIANS

To the Editor:

I am home on leave from Vietnam and I have read Burke Marshall's Op-Ed article, "We Must End the War" (April 10.) As a responsible officer of the United States Army in Vietnam, I should like to comment on this article from first-hand knowledge.

Mr. Marshall says that "our war in Indochina is based on killing civilians." I must tell you that I know as to my own experience that this monstrous statement is simply not true.

I am on my third tour in that bitter and difficult war. I was an adviser in the Delta in 1963–64 and a brigade commander in the Tet 1968 fighting around Hue, and I am now an adviser again in the Delta. While I believe that the U.S. effort in Vietnam has been and is in a worthy cause, I am only too aware of the cost of the war, in all its dimensions, including the innocent civilans killed and maimed, and I share Mr. Marshall's anguish at the loss of civilian lives.

But I assure you that as a commander and adviser in the field the instructions which I personally and others like me have received have always been absolutely clear. Our solemn and repeated orders have always been to take every possible measure to keep civilians from harm. Wherever I have been, and wherever I have observed, we have gone to extraordinary lengths to do so. We have in fact sometimes exposed our men to increased risks in our efforts to carry out these instructions meticulously.

Mine is no isolated case; these are the standard instructions of this war. They are not the characteristic instructions of a war "based on killing civilians." Such a horrifying concept is completely antiethical to the personal and professional code which must be the essential equipment of responsible officers in uniform.

Mr. Marshall refers to Lieutenant Calley's case. Lieutenant Calley was court-martialed for a clear and abominable violation of instructions. Despite our most natural grief at what his trial has revealed, it would be a fundamental error to go on to say, as Mr. Marshall does, that the premeditated murder of which Lieutenant Calley has been found guilty "we are now doing daily in Indochina."

I respect, indeed I admire, Mr. Marshall as a concerned citizen and an able lawyer. I would want him to know that there are many good and decent men in the United States armed forces in Vietnam, not brutalized by that war, and immensely saddened by the destruction and loss of life and general suffering which this war, like all wars, brings to noncombatants as well as combatants.

These men are laboring well and with some good results in a multifaceted interdependent military-civilian effort to achieve the limited U.S. objective there—namely, to gain as quickly as possible a reasonable assurance that the people of South Vietnam can determine their own affairs.

I believe you, and Mr. Marshall as well, would find that at the same time these men are doing their utmost, and not without success to keep the war from destroying the innocent.

JOHN H. CUSHMAN,
Major General, U.S. Army.
SULLIVANS ISLAND, S.C., *April 15, 1971.*

ISRAEL CELEBRATES 23D YEAR

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the story of the Jewish restoration of the land of Israel is one marked by courage, prosperity, and progress.

Perhaps the reason for her success is that while she has only formally existed for 23 years, Israel in fact is a very old nation—she has lived for 4,000 years in the minds and hearts of the Jewish people.

Israel is a true friend and sister Republic. It is a tribute to the Israeli people that while they have borne persecution, separation, and bitterness for thousands of years, the state which they have created is a model of democratic political process despite the presence of war-like conditions during most of her existence.

Israel's remarkable political, social, and economic achievements are lauded not only for the accomplishments themselves, but for the faith and perserveance which made them possible against seemingly insurmountable odds.

The bonds of affection between the people of our two nations are impregnable because they are based on a love of freedom and commitment to justice.

I join in proclaiming Am Yisrael Chai.

In saluting the Israeli people on the 23d anniversary of the State of Israel, we pray for that troubled land a birth of peace and reaffirm a full measure of American friendship.

GLOBE'S LOSS, MUSKIE'S GAIN

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month a member of the fourth estate who had covered this House and the other body for several years, and had distinguished himself by that coverage, left the press gallery and newspaper work for other pursuits.

I know many Members of this House will miss Richard Stewart who covered the entire Congress for the Boston Globe.

Through the years, I had the opportunity to get to know Dick Stewart on both a professional and a personal basis and I consider myself fortunate for that opportunity.

The esteem in which he is held by public officials attests to his professional characteristics. And his election, after only 3 years on the hill, to the five-member committee which governs the House and Senate press galleries, is ample evidence of the respect he commanded from his colleagues.

But, if he is a newspaperman's newspaperman, he is even more a man who knows the value of friendship and loyalty and places a great emphasis on both. These are not easy attributes to preserve when one is a newspaperman in Washington, D.C., but I know of no one who has done a better job of it than Dick Stewart.

Certainly, none of my remarks today are to be interpreted, in any way, as an endorsement for Dick's new employer, although I congratulate him on his good fortune in getting the services of a man such as Dick.

No matter what the future holds in store for Dick Stewart, however, he will always command the respect and affection of everyone who admires professionalism, integrity and friendliness.

Mr. Speaker, in the April 10 editions of the Boston Globe, Mr. Stewart's former colleague Matthew V. Storin wrote a column spelling out in greater detail the type of man Dick Stewart is. I insert that article in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Boston Globe, Apr. 10, 1971]

GLOBE'S LOSS, MUSKIE'S GAIN

(By Matthew V. Storin)

WASHINGTON.—A journalist is always taking the nation's pulse. These days that can be a disconcerting experience. In some reporters their concern for their country wells up to a point where being an observer and chronicler is simply not enough.

For Richard Stewart, Globe Staff member for 11 years, that point came last week.

On Monday, Stewart became Sen. Edmund S. Muskie's press secretary and immediately began preparation for the senator's inevitable candidacy for the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination.

Not every man who forsakes journalism for the political world does so for the reason stated above. For some it's a way out of a job that perhaps has grown tiresome. Almost always the new job pays more and, for many, this is undoubtedly the major attraction. But in Stewart's case, his commitment to Muskie and a certain sense of outrage about the status quo are evident to those who know him.

Since May 1967 Stewart has been a member of the Globe Washington Bureau. All of that time has been spent covering the Congress, particularly the Senate.

The first thing anyone in Washington would tell you about Dick Stewart is his popularity among his peers. Some enjoy Stewart because he's an easy mark in the gin rummy game but most are attracted by his quips, his friendliness and his professional competence.

After three years on Capitol Hill, he was elected to the five-member committee which governs the Senate and House press galleries.

At 39, he is still young and his outlook has been that of the younger man in his profession. But in other respects he has been an old school journalist. He learned the business in the days when an important part of metropolitan journalism was grabbing off family photographs of unfortunate victims of tragedy before the competitor newspapers could. It was a tough job that fortunately has been deemphasized with a new sophistication among newspapers.

I didn't know Stewart then but he says he was good at it and I don't doubt it.

Stewart is also a man who is never overlooked at a party. He does some crazy thing with his mouth and his hands so he can imitate almost any musical instrument. I hope Muskie appreciates Stewart's version of Clyde McCoy's "Sugar Blues."

But Stewart's most compelling traits are those of a human being. One story out of his career helps explain.

After Mary Jo Kopechne was killed in the Chappaquiddick accident involving Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Stewart was assigned to cover the girl's funeral in Pennsylvania. Through a mixup in planes, he wound up stranded for several hours in the Wilkes-Barre airport with the five other girls who had been with Miss Kopechne the night she died.

All the press was speculating on the party that the girls attended and whether there had been much drinking. (All testified that there was little drinking.) But the girls had been close to Miss Kopechne and Stewart refused to take advantage of his position on the day of her funeral to pry a story out of the girls.

Instead he treated them all to dinner and his unflagging sense of humor.

The next day one of the girls told some of the party details to a competing reporter and Stewart had to answer to his editor. He didn't have to answer to his conscience.

The newspaper business can ill afford the loss of such principles but they are certainly Muskie's gain.

As Steward well knows, he's fair game for his former colleagues now. It's hard to tell what kind of a press secretary he'll be or how good a candidate he's working for.

But it can be said that he left this business in what he called the biggest decision of his life, for the noblest of reasons.

NOLEN BULLOCH

HON. JOHN N. HAPPY CAMP

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute today to a great reporter, Nolen Bulloch.

Nolen, who passed away Tuesday, earned the respect of Oklahomans throughout the State for his decades-

long reputation of clear, honest investigative reporting.

So highly was he regarded that in his last years, when emphysema robbed him of his mobility and confined him to his desk, top political figures from all over the State would come to tell him the news. They knew they would always get a fair hearing.

He was also a great crime reporter. His fine indepth stories were instrumental in putting some men behind bars, but he was equally effective in obtaining the release of others, whom time and the outside world had forgotten.

A few years ago Nolen met George Jones, an inmate at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary for 28 years, who had not received a letter or a package in all that time.

His crime, for which he received a life term, was a theft which netted him 15 cents.

Through Nolen's efforts George Jones is now a free man and a useful contributor to society. He does not need a eulogy to tell him the kind of man Nolen Bulloch was.

Mr. Speaker, men the caliber of Nolen Bulloch are all too rare and the Nation can ill-afford to lose any of them. Because of this, and because of my deep personal admiration for Nolen, I mention his passing with the greatest regret.

Mrs. Camp and I extend our deepest condolences to Nolen's wife, Mary Louise, and his children.

TEENAGER LAUDED FOR LIFE-SAVING

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to comment on something which seems to be fading from our way of life in this country today. It is refreshing, in a world which is becoming less and less personal, where more and more people ignore the needs and trials of their neighbors, to come across a person who goes against this trend. I am honored to have just such a person in my district: Kevin Ames, a 14-year-old paperboy, is a lifesaver.

At this point, I include in the RECORD a short but comprehensive article detailing Kevin's valor:

TEENAGER LAUDED FOR LIFESAVING

SANTA ANA.—A teenager was praised by fire department officials today for saving the life of a man found unconscious Tuesday night in his smoke-filled house.

Kevin Ames, 14, of 1143 S. Parton St., will be recommended for a citation of bravery from the city council for saving Jerry Hessen, 35, of 1138 S. Garnsey St., said Fire Chief Eugene Judd.

Fire Capt. Douglas Jones said Hassen apparently was smoking on a couch in his living room when the fire started and fell unconscious on the floor.

Ames, a Register carrier, saw smoke coming from the house about 8 p.m. and ran to a neighbor, Larry Oberlies, 1142 S. Garnsey St., who called the fire department, Jones reported.

The two returned to the smoke-filled house, and when they could not get in the locked front door, the fire officials said. Ames ran to the back door, entered, let Oberlies in the front and they doused the burning couch. Other neighbors dragged it outside.

Arriving fire crews tried to revive Hessen and sent him to Santa Ana Community Hospital, Judd said. He later was released.

THE GROUND RAN RED

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the grim, armed men appeared suddenly and soon the ground ran red from the blood of slaughtered natives, mostly women and children.

As they butchered mercilessly, the men thought about their fellows who had been maimed and killed, not by these particular individuals, perhaps, but by people like them. It was sweet revenge for years of frustration, fighting against an elusive and cruel enemy.

Mylai in 1968? No. Camp Grant, Ariz., in 1871—100 years ago this Friday.

This darkest hour in Territorial history, as it has been called, was a massacre carried out for a purpose judged righteous. It was an effort to resolve the Apache question.

For an account of the bloody American effort to resolve another question—Philippine guerrillas—see "Mylai was Not the First Time" in the April 24, 1971, New Republic.

These events do not add glory to our Nation's history. But they should be remembered because they serve as reminders that there did lurk and there still lurks in the human character the capacity to put a cheap price on the lives of others. It behooves us to develop adequate safeguards to protect us from ourselves.

The sad and terrible Camp Grant massacre is the subject of a thoroughly researched book, "Vast Domain of Blood," written by Tucson's talented Don Schellie. Mr. Schellie, a columnist for the Tucson Daily Citizen, last Saturday wrote a piece for his newspaper marking the 100th anniversary of the Camp Grant slaughter. I commend it to my colleagues:

MASSACRE CENTENNIAL RECALLS DARKEST DAY IN TERRITORIAL HISTORY

(By Don Schellie)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This article is based on material in Don Schellie's book, "Vast Domain of Blood," which tells the story of the Camp Grant "massacre" of April 1871. Published in hardback at $7.50 by Westernlore Press in 1968, a paperback edition of the book has just been released by Tower Publications at 95 cents.)

Dawn drew near. The long spring night soon would be over.

High on a bluff above the village, the Apache sentries—a youthful warrior and an old woman—played cards on a blanket spread beside the watch fire.

Slipping swiftly, silently, through the shadowy night, the Papagos moved in on the card players.

Before an alarm could be sounded the sentries were dead.

Down below, beside the waters of Arivaipa Creek, William Sanders Oury raised his arm and then brought it forward.

The men around him moved out.

Noiselessly the raiders swept through the sleeping Apache village. Knives slashed out, warclubs cut through the air.

A dog barked. More joined him. The alarm spread, then, as women screamed in the night. Shots were fired. Children cried.

Arivaipa and Pinal Apaches awakened into a living nightmare of horror. Awakened only to die.

The raiders from Tucson and the Papago villages did their work quickly and well.

When the force withdrew from the Apache encampment a few miles up Arivaipa Creek from the Army's Camp Grant, as many as 125 Apaches—all but a few of them women and children—lay dead.

"The attack was so swift and fierce," Tucsonian William Oury would later comment, "that within half an hour the whole work was ended and not an adult Indian left to tell the tale."

And then he added: "Not a single man of our command was hurt to mar the full measure of our triumph."

The date—Apr. 30, 1871.

Friday will mark the 100th anniversary of this bloody incident that is perhaps the blackest page in Arizona history—the "Camp Grant Massacre."

It would be impossible to place a finger on a certain time or event in hazy history and say, "it all started here."

What some people called the "Apache wars" had been going on for many years—virtually since the first white man arrived in the Southwest.

In the years that followed the Civil War more and more white men pushed westward, settling in Arizona Territory, crowding the Apache Indians off the desert and mountain lands they had called their own.

Inevitably that warfare intensified.

The Apaches raided throughout the Southwest, murdering, stealing, burning. Every issue of the territorial newspapers carried accounts of the raiding activities.

Tucson merchant Sam Drachman described the Indian situation at that time in a masterful bit of understatement when he said it was "of a serious nature."

"People were being killed, some in the most brutal manner," Drachman observed. "But few outsiders dared to visit our little town and things looked dark indeed."

In a series of town meetings—some were held in the Pima County Court House, others in Charles O. Brown's Congress Hall Saloon—the citizens of Tucson sought solutions to what was generally called the "Apache problem."

Speeches were made, resolutions passed, committees formed. Still the raiding continued.

An appeal was made to the Army to have more troops sent to Arizona Territory. William Oury reported that the Army informed him that "the people of Tucson and vicinity could not expect anything more than had been done already (and that) if anything further is expected we must depend upon our own efforts for its consummation."

Following a brief lull, the Apache raiding increased again in the early days of April a century ago.

Editor John Wasson, who had founded the Arizona Citizen in Tucson the previous October, published weekly accounts of Apache depredations, and in inflammatory editorials, chided his fellow Arizonians to take action against the Indians.

Several months before, the Arivaipa and Pinal Apaches who followed the chief called Eskiminzin, had gone to Camp Grant, located some 50 miles north of Tucson near the place where Arivaipa Creek joins the Rio San

Pedro. They said they wanted to live at peace with the white man.

His people were tired of making war, said Eskiminzin, and they wanted to live in harmony with their white brothers.

The Apache chief spoke with 1st Lt. Royal Emerson Whitman, a Civil War veteran from Maine, who was acting commander at Camp Grant. Reluctantly Whitman gave tentative approval for the Indians to make their village a few miles above the Army post, beside the creek. Whitman told the Apaches he would seek official approval from his superiors, but promised to feed them and care for them in the meantime.

The Indians in Whitman's care were provided with rations of beef and beans, and were given the opportunity to cut hay to sell for money needed to buy clothes and other supplies. As spring came, Arivaipa Creek went dry at the location of the Indian village, and Eskiminzin was given permission to move his people a few more miles upstream from Camp Grant.

And so the Indians lived and worked at peace with the white man. Whitman felt the experiment was successful.

However, the citizens of Tucson were convinced that those Indians living under the protection of the United States Army were the very ones who were continuing to raid throughout the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys.

William Sanders Oury and Jesus Maria Elias decided that if anything were to be done, it must be done now.

Oury was a feisty, white-bearded Virginian who had come to Arizona Territory in the mid-1850s. For a time he worked as general agent for the Overland Mail Company, then went into farming and ranching in the Tucson area. Elias and his brother, Juan, were members of a proud Spanish family that had held title to sprawling land grants in the southern portion of what had come to be Arizona Territory. Years of Apache trouble had all but wiped out the family's vast holdings.

Longtime friends, Elias and Oury decided to muster a force to march on the Apache village at Camp Grant and "settle" the Indian problem once and for all.

For days the two moved through the streets of the adobe village of Tucson, speaking with trusted friends, lining up their force. And then Elias and Oury travelled south to the Papago village at the Mission San Xavier del Bac.

There they talked with Francisco Galerita, leader of the Papagos in that area, and convinced him to raise a party of Papagos to join the expedition. After all, Oury reasoned, the Papagos were traditional enemies of the Apaches, and what people had suffered at the hands of the Apaches more than the Papagos?

Singly, or in small groups, many men rode out of Tucson on the morning of Apr. 28, 1871, then, and gathered at that place where the Tanque Verde and Pantano come together to form the Rillito. They were joined by Chief Francisco and his warriors—men from the villages of San Xavier and Pan Tak, or Coyote Sits.

Territorial adjutant general Sam Hughes, Tucson butcher and prominent businessman, sent his regrets. He was unable to join the party, but he WAS able to send a wagonload of arms and ammunition—government supplies—as well as a quantity of food and water.

Then the force moved out. They crossed the mountains at Redington Pass and dropped down into the valley of the San Pedro. Oury later described the party as "92 Papago Indians, 48 Mexicans and six Americans."

The raiders moved through the mesquite thickets along the riverbank in order to escape detection. For the most part they travelled at night.

Elias, who had been elected commander of the troop, had his men poised and ready for the attack in the predawn hours of the second day.

When the raiders returned to the Old Pueblo of Tucson, they were greeted as heroes. On May 17, Sidney Randolph DeLong, one of the raiders, was elected mayor of Tucson. Oury was elected alderman, as was Sam Hughes, who had provided weapons for the expedition. And Juan Elias, younger brother of commander Jesus Maria, and himself a member of the raiding party, was elected dog catcher.

The action was viewed differently by those in the East.

When news of the affair reached President Ulysses S. Grant, he dispatched an official party to make an investigation of the incident. Later he ordered the government of Arizona Territory to try the men in the civil courts.

The wheels of territorial justice turned slowly.

In October 1871, a grand jury reluctantly indicted some 100 men for the murder of the Apache at Camp Grant. Merchant Charles Trumbell Hayden, the father of Arizona's longtime Sen. Carl Hayden, was foreman of the grand jury.

That night, U.S. District Attorney C. W. C. Rowell, who had pushed for the indictments, and an assistant, were burned in effigy in Tucson. In the days that followed, the post commander at Camp Lowell found it necessary to detail "a number of soldiers to mingle among the people and keep an eye" on Rowell and his aide.

The trial was held in December.

A Philadelphian, Judge John Titus of the United States District Court, was on the bench. The court proceedings began on Dec. 6, 1871, and ran through Dec. 13. No session was held on Dec. 10—a Sunday.

Rowell presented his case. It was an open and shut matter he believed. None of the defendants disputed the facts. They didn't deny participation in the raid. Indeed, the defense was merely to heap justification upon justification for the actions the 100 had taken.

It was late afternoon when the case went to the jury. Judge Titus, in charging the men, likened Arizona Territory, under the Apache "reign of terror," to a "vast domain of blood."

In his instructions, he all but ordered the jury to find the defendants innocent.

The jury followed instructions well. At the end of the seven days of trial, the jury deliberated for 19 minutes. The members returned to the courtroom with an acquittal.

"Justice" had been done.

And the Camp Grant massacre passed into the pages of the history of turbulent Arizona Territory.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

WHERE ARE THE FUNDS TO FIGHT LEAD-BASED PAINT POISONING?

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, last week 44 Members joined me in writing to Secretary Elliot Richardson of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare urging him to request funding for the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act, enacted into law on January 14 of this year. In addition, three other Members joined in support of that letter, which is printed in full in the April 27 edition of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at page 12188.

Thus far, the administration has made no request for funding of this vitally important legislation, either for fiscal year 1971 or for fiscal year 1972. Were money appropriated, it would go to State and local governmental units to conduct programs of detection and treatment of lead-based paint poisoning—a vicious disease afflicting some 200,000 children nationwide—and programs of eradication of the sources of the disease.

The disease is a severe one—it can cause blindness, cerebral palsy, permanent brain damage, even death. Its victims are almost exclusively small children, who pick up and eat lead-tainted paint and plaster chips which fall from the walls and ceilings of decaying dwellings. Yet the striking thing about this disease is that it is preventable. Given adequate detection centers, given adequate treatment, and given adequate eradication programs, the disease could be wiped out.

As I said earlier this week, when I inserted our letter to Secretary Richardson in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> In dollars and cents terms—and I certainly think that when we are talking about children's lives such terms should not even be a consideration—there really is no justification for not requesting the funds.

A news story in the April 28 edition of the New York Daily News, by Jean Perry, particularly makes clear this point. The city of New York has spent $35,000 since last November in hospitalization costs for two children poisoned by lead paint chips. Yet, the walls of their apartment, from which they obtained the chips, could have been refinished for just $2,400.

A story such as the Daily News article, entitled "2 Children's Lead-Poisoning Costs City $35G," could be a thing of the past; the suffering of children such as the two described—Ramon Rodriguez, 5, and Victor Lopez, 4—could be a thing of the past, were the law that now exists only funded.

Again, I urge quick, affirmative action; $10 million is authorized for the current fiscal year—$8.33 million of it for the grant programs; $20 million is authorized for fiscal year 1972. We need that money—the children of our slums must have that money.

[From the New York Daily News, Apr. 28, 1971]

TWO CHILDREN'S LEAD-POISONING COSTS CITY $35,000

(By Jean Perry)

The city has spent $35,000 since November in hospitalization costs for two children who were poisoned by lead paint chips, doctors at Lincoln Hospital's pediatrics department said yesterday, when the peeling walls in the railroad flat that made them ill could have been refinished for $2,400.

"We're unable to send the kids home because of the condition in this house," said one of the doctors, Joellen Werne, 27, who is treating the children, Ramon Rodriguez, 5, and his cousin, Victor Lopez, 4.

Ramon was admitted to the hospital in November, and Victor a month later.

"Ramon has permanent kidney damage, and Victor permanent brain damage," Dr. Werne said. She added that blood tests on a younger child in the family showed a lead level of .05 on a .06 leadpoison scale.

She said that housing the two boys meant tying up beds in already overcrowded and short-staffed Lincoln Hospital, but that sending them back home would only "sentence them" to another bout with lead-poisoning.

Leading a group of reporters and members of the Bronx Clergy Coalition through the apartment of the children's mother, Mrs. Naomi Nerchado, at 846 Hewitt Place, Bronx, Paul DeBreel, assistant to Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, called the situation "a classic example of a snafu in the city bureaucracy that is holding back anti-lead-poisoning programs." DeBreel contended that the city spent $1,300 for a "patchwork" job to fix up the apartment when the six rooms could have been completely replastered for $2,400.

Doctors described the lead-poisoning treatment—administered through injections and intravenously—as "extremely painful and psychologically depressing for the child."

THE SELLING OF THE PENTAGON

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, in the light of what has been said about the program, "The Selling of the Pentagon," I felt it was proper to insert in the RECORD the statement of the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS), at the opening of the hearing of the Subcommittee on Investigations on last Thursday, April 20, in order that the Members may know of the problems involved, the jurisdiction of the committee, and what it is trying to get at:

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN HARLEY O. STAGGERS

On April 7, 1971, this Subcommittee ordered that certain subpoenas *duces tecum* be served on the CBS and NBC networks and Wolper Productions Incorporated. These subpoenas were all duly served.

The purpose of this meeting is to receive the materials subpoenaed. Unless there is objection, I direct that the full text of the subpoenas be inserted in the record at this point, together with proof of service.

Prior to taking up the specific matter at hand, I feel it would serve a very useful purpose to place in the record a clear statement concerning the legislative purpose behind the Subcommittee's action in issuing the subpoenas.

Rule XI of the House of Representatives charges the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce with responsibility for legislation having to do with the regulation of the interstate and foreign communications. We have always considered this jurisdiction over the laws governing broadcasting to be one of our most important responsibilities.

Broadcasting has, from its inception, been recognized as an activity vitally affecting the public interest. The broadcaster makes use of a precious and limited public resource which is not available to all. As the Supreme Court stated in the case of *National Broadcasting Company* v. *United States*, 319 U.S. 190 (1943):

"Freedom of utterance is abridged to many who wish to use the limited facilities of radio. Unlike other modes of expression radio inherently is not available to all. That is its unique characteristic, and that is why, unlike other modes of expression, it is subject to government regulation."

Again, in the recent case of *Red Lion Broadcasting Company* v. *F.C.C.* 395 U.S. 367 (1969), a unanimous Supreme Court expressed similar views in upholding the FCC's fairness doctrine:

"The broadcasters challenge the fairness doctrine, and its specific manifestations in the personal attack and political editorial rules, on conventional First Amendment grounds, alleging that the rules abridge their freedom of speech and press.

* * * * *

"Although broadcasting is clearly a medium affected by a First Amendment interest . . . differences in the characteristics of new media justify differences in the First Amendment standards applied to them.

* * * * *

"This is not to say that the First Amendment is irrelevant to public broadcasting . . . but the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount."

As the printed text of my remarks will show, I have quoted from several portions of the Supreme Court's opinion.

Our concern with the laws governing broadcasting is not just a matter of inclination or preference by the Commerce Committee. It is also a duty imposed on it by clause 28 of Rule XI of the House of Representatives, recently enacted as part of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. I will read briefly from that Rule:

"(a) In order to assist the House in—

"(1) Its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

"(2) Its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate.

"Each standing committee shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of that committee."

House Resolution 170 of the 92nd Congress authorizes the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, to conduct full and complete studies and investigations and to make inquiries within its jurisdicton, as set forth in clause 12 of Rule XI of the House of Representatives. Unless there is objection, I will insert into the record at this point the pertinent text of clauses 12 and 28 of Rule XI of the House of Representatives, together with the text of House Resolution 170. Witnesses here this afternoon have been provided with printed copies of these materials and I invite their careful attention to them.

Pursuant to discharging our responsibilities, we must be concerned not only with specific proposals for new legislation concerning broadcasting, but also with the adequacy of the present laws and their administration. In this connection, this Subcommittee has the following legislative subjects under inquiry and study:

1. The Federal Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

2. The rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission.

3. The administration and enforcement of the law and regulations by the Federal Communications Commission.

4. The desirability of additional, or remedial, legislation in the regulation of broadcasting for the benefit and protection of the public.

5. The applicability, if any, of the fairness doctrine to questions of factual accuracy.

6. The adequacy of the present laws, and their administration by the FCC, pertaining directly or indirectly to the preparation and presentation of news documentary programs.

7. Whether certain technological advances and/or the employment of certain production and editing techniques, methods of operation, and other practices by networks, broadcasters, and producers, have given rise to the need for new laws for the protection of the public—through disclosure requirements or other suitable means.

In order for the Subcommittee to pursue its legislative oversight responsibilities in the field of communications, it must on occasion make use of its subpoena powers. The materials called for in the subpoenas served on CBS, NBC, and Wolper Productions, are all relevant to one or more of the legislative subjects which I have just enumerated. I will be more specific on that point in a few minutes.

The regulation of broadcasting requires, of course, a due regard for the interests of the broadcasters and the public. We must be aware of the possibility that there may be times when the rights of the public must be protected against encroachments and abuses by those who control and utilize the instruments of mass communication. It has long been recognized in this country that the public is entitled to certain safeguards and protections in this area—that is, that those who engage in mass communications have certain responsibilities to the public.

It was for this reason that the Congress enacted those provisions of the Federal Trade Commission Act making it illegal to disseminate false and misleading advertisements in commerce. This Act governs all mass communications, including broadcasting: Its constitutionality has, of course, been conclusively established.

Another safeguard for the public is found in sections 317 and 508 of the Communications Act. These insure that the public will be informed when the broadcasters or his employees have received any payment or valuable consideration in connection with the broadcast of any matter. The underlying rationale is that people have a right to know by whom they are being persuaded. These sections require disclosures only when the broadcaster or his employees *receive* inducements to broadcast certain material. However, there may also be instances wherein the public interest might require disclosures when the broadcaster, or the producer of programming, has *given* inducements to others. This would, of course, require new legislation. It is one of the questions we are addressing in this inquiry.

In 1959, Congress was confronted with another area wherein protection of the public required the imposition of certain legal duties on broadcasting. It was determined that deception and fraud had begun to appear in connection with the presentation of what were purported to be *bona fide* contests

of intellectual skill, better known as "Quiz Shows." This Committee inquired into the matter—making use of its subpoena powers to insure that all relevant facts were made known. The result, after careful consideration of these facts, was the enactment of Section 509 which prohibits deception in the presentation of such programs.

More recently, information has been received of a much more serious nature. It has been alleged that various broadcasters in connection with the preparation and/or presentation of purportedly *bona fide* news programs and documentaries have engaged in practices which might result in misleading and deceiving the public. These practices include: (1) Prearrangement or "staging" of events which are then presented as though they were *bona fide* and spontaneous news stories; and (2) Production techniques, including the manipulation of sound tracks, film and/or videotape, which rearrange the sequence of events, mismatch responses given during interviews, or otherwise distort the actual event originally filmed by the camera.

The Congress, and this Subcommittee specifically, have had occasion in the recent past to examine a number of such allegations; in some significant instances, the allegations were determined to be well founded in fact. I refer to the program entitled "Pot Party at a University," prepared and presented by station WBBM–TV, Chicago, Illinois, and the CBS News documentary entitled "Hunger in America." The latter program was investigated by a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.

Very recently this Subcommittee had occasion to examine in detail the production of a CBS documentary which attempted to follow the adventures of a group seeking to invade the Island of Haiti and overthrow its government. This was, of course, the much discussed "Project Nassau." This documentary was never brought to final completion or broadcast by CBS.

This Subcommittee found that fraudulent and deceptive production techniques had been used in producing "Project Nassau." It is disturbing that CBS, both at the time and since, has asserted that its activities were a legitimate exercise of "news judgment." In its report on the subject, this Subcommittee unanimously rejected that argument. I might quote here briefly from page 5 of the Committee's report:

"Fraud and deception in the presentation of purportedly *bona fide* news events is no more protected by the First Amendment than is the presentation of fraud and deception in the context of commercial advertising or quiz programs."

These are, I must emphasize, matters of the most serious public importance and legislative concern. The public has a right to expect, and I believe they do expect, that their elected representatives will ascertain the facts in order to determine whether the public interest is sufficiently protected by existing laws covering broadcasting. In both the "Pot Party" and the "Project Nassau" investigations, we made use of our subpoena power to insure that we had all the available evidence before we reached any conclusions. In both cases, the subpoenas called for the production of film outtakes and other material not used on the air. In neither case were these subpoenas challenged as beyond the proper scope of Congressional inquiry. In the case of the "Pot Party" investigation, the outtakes were not made available because they had been destroyed. In the "Project Nassau" case, all materials called for in the subpoena were provided. Our examination of these materials proved their relevance to the legislative concerns of this Subcommittee.

This brings us to the crux of the matter. We are concerned that the public be protected from deliberate staging and distortion of purportedly *bona fide* news. Whether this is done through prearrangement or through subsequent manipulation of film and sound tracks, the effect is the same. One of the things we have discovered in the light of our previous investigations in this area is that once such a distortion has been accomplished and incorporated into a final broadcast, it is virtually impossible to detect. This is why the original, uncut and unedited material must be examined.

This Subcommittee must consider, among other things, whether the public has a right to be advised when edited sequences are presented to them under conditions which might suggest that they have not been edited; whether it has a right to be advised when an apparently continuous event is actually the result of splicing together film and sound tracks which were obtained at different times and places; and whether it has a right to be advised when apparently spontaneous news coverage has been obtained through staging or other prearrangements. I cannot accept the proposition that any attempt on the part of the people's representatives in Congress to become informed as to the existence and effect of various television production techniques which bear on these questions is offensive to the First Amendment. If I felt that this was the case, we might not be here this afternoon.

To come finally to the matter at hand, we are concerned with two television network documentaries, "The Selling of the Pentagon," broadcast by CBS, and "Say Goodbye" broadcast by NBC. With respect to both broadcasts, there has been substantial allegation raised that incidents and events made to appear spontaneous and *bona fide* were, in fact, the product of questionable production techniques which distorted the original events.

These allegations have been sustained in some measure by the external evidence of the documentaries themselves. But to completely evaluate this matter, it will be necessary to examine the original materials. Our subpoenas have been designed to elicit only information which is legitimately concerned with this Subcommittee's legislative responsibilities.

Here I feel I must make some attempt to clarify the confusion on this point which apparently exists in some quarters. The questions under inquiry by this Subcommittee, and to which the subpoenas are pertinent, have nothing to do with evaluating the Pentagon's public affairs activities. Our purpose is not to look into whether CBS has been "biased" against the Department of Defense. Any controversy which may have arisen between the Department of Defense and CBS as to the conclusions drawn on the "Pentagon" documentary is likewise none of our concern.

The sole question under inquiry here is one which is clear, definite, and objectively ascertainable: That is, are the producers of television news documentary programs engaging in factually false and misleading filming and editing practices, consisting of rearranging, staging, or misrepresenting events, giving viewers an erroneous impression that what they are seeing has really happened, or that it happened in the way and under the circumstances in which it is shown. Certainly this is a matter of legitimate legislative interest. I might quote from the testimony of Dr. Frank Stanton, President of CBS, when he appeared before the predecessor of this Subcommittee twelve years ago during the "Quiz Show" hearings of 1959. During those hearings, Dr. Stanton stated as follows:

"The test in every case must be whether any substantial number of the viewing audience is likely, in the given circumstances, to be deceived or misled as to the true nature of the program being offered. That test requires the exercise of human discretion in applying a 'rule of reason.'"

This statement, of course, was made during a hearing concerning staged and deceptive quiz programming presented for the amusement of television viewers. I would accept that statement as being at least equally applicable to news programming which is presented to the viewers as a basis upon which they are to make political and social decisions; decisions, I might add, which affect their own welfare and the future of this nation.

By now, I would hope that the relevancy of the outtakes, nonbroadcast film, and other materials detailed in the subpoenas is clear. An allegation that questions and answers in a filmed interview have been deliberately mismatched (to give but one example) cannot be evaluated without examination of the film of the entire interview, not just that portion which was finally broadcast. Allegations that certain scenes were simulated through careful editing and manipulation of different films and sound tracks must be resolved through a consideration of the original uncut material. We can neither prejudge these allegations nor ignore them. We simply must have the facts.

It should be equally obvious that the names and addresses of persons, other than network employees, appearing in the programs in question, together with information concerning payments of money to such individuals, is highly pertinent in an inquiry into the spontaneity of the events in which they appear.

Again I stress that it is not this Subcommittee's function to sit in judgment of the viewpoints expressed in television news or documentary programs. We do not have, nor do we seek, authority to curtail the presentation of controversial issues or of unpopular causes or personalities. It is this Subcommittee's view, however, that the American public is entitled to know whether what it is seeing on the television screen is real or simulated, edited or unedited, sequentially accurate or editorially rearranged, spontaneous or contrived.

While the inquiry into such subject matter is controversial as has been demonstrated over the past few days, I do not feel that we can shirk our duty to the public. The television broadcasting industry is still in its relative infancy: It has been on the scene as a national force for about twenty-four years. The legislative delineation of the duties of this industry to the public is still evolving. It is only through frank discussion and honest inquiry, with all the facts on the table, that we will make progress.

I am aware that I have expressed my views at some length, but the subject matter is of great importance. This matter has been considered carefully. For my part, I am convinced that the American public has the right to know and understand the techniques and procedures which go into the production and presentation of the television news documentaries upon which they must rely for their knowledge of the great issues and controversies of the day. They have a right to know—not only by whom—but how they are being persuaded. We are here today to assert those rights.

HEARINGS ON BILLS AFFECTING THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary

will hold public hearings on H.R. 6953, to create the Office of Administrative Assistant to the Chief Justice of the United States, and H.R. 7377, providing for the appointment of Justices and judges to the offices of Administrative Assistant to the Chief Justice, Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Director, Federal Judicial Center, and for other purposes.

These hearings are scheduled to be held on Thursday, May 6, 1971, at 10 a.m., in room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building.

Parties interested in submitting testimony should contact the Committee on the Judiciary, room 2137, Rayburn House Office Building.

STATE DEPARTMENT SHOULD COMPLY TO ENVIRONMENTAL ACT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the language of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as well as the legislative history of that statute, makes it clear that the act's provisions apply to each of the Federal departments and agencies insofar as the activities of such departments and agencies have an impact upon the environment.

Therefore, it came as a great shock to me when I learned that the Department of State by administrative fiat is seeking to exempt the activities of the Agency for International Development from the requirements of the act. This is particularly so in view of the fact that the legal advisory committee to the Council on Environmental Quality after lengthy study and consideration has found that the National Environmental Quality Act does apply to the activities of the Department of State and AID.

In an effort to rectify this situation, I wrote President Nixon on April 27, 1971, to urge that he "take the necessary steps to see that immediate action is taken by the Department of State to comply with all the provisions of NEPA."

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my letter to the President, the text of a press release relating thereto, the text of the legal advisory committee's resolution, and the text of the committee's April 25, 1971, press release at this point in the RECORD:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 27, 1971.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In December 1970 my Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries held extensive oversight hearings on the administration of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA). Testimony was presented at the hearings by representatives of nearly every major department and agency which has a significant function or program in the area of environmental development or improvement. It was the intent of the Subcommittee during the hearings to explore with the agencies emerging problems associated with the Act, to evaluate and discuss agency progress toward full implementation of NEPA, and, in particular, to focus attention on the principal action-forcing provision of NEPA, Section 102(2)(C), which requires all agencies of the Federal Government to the fullest extent possible, to file environmental impact statements on all proposed actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment.

The Subcommittee hearings covered nine full days in which an excess of two thousand pages of testimony was compiled and reviewed. On the whole, the Subcommittee was pleased with the progress that was made to implement NEPA, however, the hearings did disclose several problems with regard to the implementation of NEPA. Since the Subcommittee is about to issue a report on the hearings, as Chairman of the Subcommittee, I would like to take this opportunity to inform you of a highly significant problem which deeply concerns me as well as the other members of my Subcommittee. In his testimony at the hearings, Assistant Secretary of State, Christian Herter, Jr., said that it was the State Department's position that the Act did not apply to actions affecting the environment within the territorial jurisdiction of other nations. The result of this interpretation was to exempt the Department of State and the Agency for International Development from compliance with the preparation of environmental impact statements on activities undertaken overseas. The Department's witness felt that to apply NEPA to actions undertaken in foreign countries might be looked upon as an imposition of our environmental values on those countries.

Mr. President, I cannot express to you too firmly my conviction that the Department of State's interpretation of its responsibilities under NEPA is totally incorrect. The Act itself is perfectly clear; it directs "*all* agencies of the Federal Government" to prepare environmental impact statements on "major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." In addition, Section 102(E) of the Act directs agencies to recognize the worldwide and long-range character of environmental problems and to "lend appropriate support to initiatives, resolutions and programs designed to prevent the decline in the quality of mankind's world environment." Also, Section 3(g) of your Executive Order 11514, issued on March 5, 1970, clearly directs the Council on Environmental Quality to "advise and assist the President and the agencies in achieving international cooperation for dealing with environmental problems, under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State."

The Act and its legislative history demonstrate clearly that actions which, through a chain of events, might have an impact on the environment of a foreign country fall under the purview of the Act. The Act was also designed to initiate a new element in the decisionmaking process, placing new and expanded emphasis on environmental considerations. The preparation of these statements, especially by AID, would document for the recipient country, as well as the United States, the impact of their projects on the quality of the world environment. The preparation of such statements would not "impose" our environmental values on a foreign country; rather, it would serve as a means to inform countries of the consequences that their actions may have on the environment.

My Subcommittee plans to issue a report within the near future that will further clarify the legislative intent of NEPA as it pertains to global activities. The report will stress that Section 102(2)(C) and (E) of the Act, in combination, gives the Department of State the responsibility to take into consideration the impact its actions have on the world environment. In this regard, I am pleased to note that the Legal Advisory Committee to the Council on Environmental Quality adopted at its meeting on April 19, 1971, a resolution urging full compliance by the Department of State and the Agency for International Development with the provisions of NEPA and, specifically, Section 102(2)(C) of the Act. This is a positive contribution and clarification of the legislative intent of this Act.

Mr. President, I would like to request that you take the necessary steps to see that immediate action is taken by the Department of State to comply with *all* the provisions of NEPA. The quality of this Nation's environment is not dependent solely on actions undertaken in this country; also it is intimately interlaced with the quality of the world environment. The nations of the world must begin to accept a new responsibility not only for their own citizens, but also for the effects of their activities on the welfare of mankind. The United States must take the leadership in this task, both politically and economically. We cannot take our responsibilities lightly. The Department of State is the proper Federal agency to lead this government's activities in improving and enhancing the quality of the world environment, and only by complying with all the provisions of NEPA can this leadership be provided.

Sincerely,

JOHN D. DINGELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation.

NEWS RELEASE, APRIL 28, 1971

Congressman John D. Dingell (D., Mich.) has charged the State Department with failing to meet the requirements of a new Federal law designed to protect the environment, and he has called upon President Nixon to compel that agency's compliance.

Dingell is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, which is part of the full House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, chaired by Edward A. Garmatz (D., Md.). Dingell voiced his complaint in a letter sent yesterday (April 27) to the President. He emphasized that the State Department claims it does not have to fulfill the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), and that it is not, therefore, compelled to identify and discuss environmental problems on an international level.

In his letter to the President, Dingell said that the Act and its history demonstrated clearly that the Agency for International Development (AID) loans for the construction of major environment-affecting facilities such as roads and dams and also for the procurement of such commodities as pesticides would be actions which might have a significant impact on the environment.

"These are precisely the kinds of activities that these actions were directed toward. NEPA sought to initiate a new element in the decisionmaking process," stated Congressman Dingell. "The Act places new, expanded emphasis in the consideration of environmental factors. The State Department, just as any other agency of the Federal Government, must assume the responsibility of taking into consideration the impacts its actions have on the environment."

In recent hearings before Dingell's Subcommittee, Assistant Secretary of State Christian Herter, Jr., said that it was the State Department's position that the Act which became law January 1, 1970, did not require environmental evaluation of Federal actions outside the United States. Section 102(2)(C) of the law requires all Federal agencies, to the fullest extent possible, to file detailed statements on proposed actions "significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." The State Department concluded that the Sec. 102(2)(C) reporting requirements do not apply to foreign aid programs carried on by AID.

Herter's position before the Subcommittee was that the preparation of environmental impact statements would "impose" U.S. values on foreign countries.

Dingell refuted this view. "Writing an environmental impact statement on a proposed loan to a developing country to buy pesticides would not in any way impose our environmental values on that country. Rather, a statement would simply document for the developing country, as well as the United States, the impact of their decision on the quality of the world environment. The statement informs the developing country of the consequences their action may have on the environment."

Dingell pointed out that the State Department had been committed to initiative in the environmental field in a recent report issued by the President's office. Entitled "Protecting the World Environment in Light of Population Increase" (December 1970), the report included the following recommendation covering multilateral relations:

"The AID Administrator should enunciate the intention of AID to establish a focal point for environmental matters within the agency and to reflect throughout its programs the growing concern for the effects of man's activities on the quality of the environment. This policy should reflect a determination to take positive steps in those areas where the United States has a demonstrated capability to assist developing countries."

"This recommendation has been agreed to by President Nixon," Dingell stated. "Under the provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act, many agencies of the Federal bureaucracy can provide technical assistance to help the State Department carry out a leadership role in improving the quality of the world environment.

"There is no doubt at all that U.S. actions in many fields might have direct bearing on global changes," Dingell stated. "For this reason we are now requiring NASA to report on the global impact of its Apollo Program and Skylab Program.

"A forthcoming report on the Subcommittee's oversight hearings in which the State Department's views were expressed by Mr. Herter will further clarify the legislative intent of NEPA as it pertains to global activities," Dingell stated.

Mr. Dingell noted that the Legal Advisory Committee to the President's Council on Environmental Quality this week urged "full compliance" by the State Department with the reporting provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act in the carrying out of U.S. foreign aid programs overseas. The action was announced by the Committee's Chairman, Whitney North Seymour, Jr., on April 25, 1971.

"I have seen the resolution of the Legal Advisory Council," continued Mr. Dingell, "and I must say that I find it to be accurate and responsive to the high hopes that we have held for that group." He added that he intended to watch closely the actions of the Council as these might reinforce the conclusions of the Legal advisory group, noting that the Chairman of the Council, Russell M. Train, had recently conferred with Secretary Herter on the subject of the requirements of NEPA as they might affect activities of AID.

RESOLUTION

(Resolution of the Legal Advisory Committee to the Council on Environmental Quality, adopted at its meeting of 19 April 1971, Washington, D.C., unanimously by those present.)

Whereas, the Department of State, in a legal memorandum and comments dated 4 May 1970, contended that § 102(2)(c) of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, requiring submission of an environmental policy statement, does not apply to State and AID actions carried out within the territorial jurisdiction of another nation; and

Whereas, the Legal Advisory Committee of the Council on Environmental Quality believes that the language and legislative history of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the law of the United States, and the administrative procedures of the Council on Environmental Quality, while not entirely clear, support the conclusion that § 102(2)(c) does not apply to State and AID actions carried out within the territorial jurisdiction of another nation;

Whereas, the Department of State, through a representative meeting with the International Legal Advisory Subcommittee, has made five further representations on behalf of its position to wit:

(1) The Act is ambiguous, the legislative history of the Act on this matter is unclear, as noted by Congressman Dingell, and the detailed steps required to implement § 102(2)(c) cannot readily be applied to a situation where the action occurs in a foreign country;

(2) many developing countries would regard the imposition of explicit environmental criteria on US AID funding as an infringement on their sovereignty and as a pretext to delay their advance towards industrialization with what they see as its concomitant pollution;

(3) unilateral action by the United States to influence environmental results in other nations is unwise because it would encourage further such unilateral actions by other nations in environmental and other areas and would impede international solutions to these worldwide problems;

(4) specific environmental conditions, like other economic or political conditions, should not be made mandatory in State and AID funding of foreign programs since experience has shown this complicates the administration of aid and impedes the development of US relations with developing countries;

(5) the information which would be provided under a § 102(2)(c) statement is available already.

The Legal Advisory Committee responds to these representations as follows:

(1) the legislative record stands as a public document and indicates an intention to include all federal agencies not specifically excluded; further, the procedures for preparing § 102(2)(c) statements can be applied within a foreign context without undue administrative difficulty;

(2) while the State Department's assessment of the attitude of other nations is generally correct, the attitudes of the developing nations are changing—in part because of US diplomatic efforts to this end—and can be expected to continue to change in the direction of increased concern for the environmental effects of development; moreover, the § 102(2)(c) can be a useful educational device to further this objective;

(3 and 4) the effect of the application of § 102(2)(c) statement to State and AID would not be to impose specific conditions on United States' spending abroad but to inform United States citizens and the citizens of foreign nations of the anticipated environmental effects of such spending, and to establish guidelines for the extension of aid which are in the long-range interests of the recipient countries;

(5) while the information to be obtained under the § 102(2)(c) statement may in fact be available elsewhere, the purpose of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 is to bring all such information together in a common place to simplify the task of people seeking information about the environmental impacts of all programs of federal agencies.

Now, Therefore, the Legal Advisory Committee resolves that the Council on Environmental Quality hereby is urged to seek full compliance by State and AID with the provisions of § 102(2)(c).

PRESS RELEASE, APRIL 25, 1971

The Legal Advisory Committee to the President's Council on Environmental Quality this week urged "full compliance" by the State Department with the reporting provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act in the carrying out of U.S. foreign aid programs abroad. The action was announced by the Committee's Chairman, Whitney North Seymour, Jr.

The 1970 law requires all federal agencies to file detailed statements of proposed actions "significantly affecting the quality of the human environment."

The Advisory Committee's action came in response to the State Department's announced position that the Act's reporting requirements do not apply to foreign aid programs carried on by its Agency for International Development in the territory of another nation.

According to Mr. Seymour, the Advisory Committee concluded after studying the question that the legislative record of the Congress in discussing the NEPA makes clear an intent that the language "all agencies of the federal government" in the Act includes the State Department. The Committee also concluded that the United States is obligated to inform citizens of the U.S. and abroad of possible environmental effects of U.S. moneys spent to support local programs. The Committee felt such environmental information should be compiled and made publicly available by State for comment by other agencies and the public at large.

The State Department has claimed that the Environmental Policy Act is "ambiguous" and that the steps necessary to implement a statement of possible environmental effects could not be easily applied to actions in a foreign country.

State also takes the position that "unilateral action" by the U.S. to influence environmental quality within the territory of another nation poses a serious impediment to foreign relations programs of the nation. Commenting on these arguments, Mr. Seymour stated, "The Legal Advisory Committee believes that the State Department should fully comply with the Environmental Policy Act not only as a matter of law, but also as a matter of national policy.'

The Legal Advisory Committee's recommendation was based upon a consideration of the language, legislative history, and administrative interpretations of the NEPA, Mr. Seymour stated.

The total lending program for AID is about $760 million for the fiscal year 1971. A small portion of these loans involves the purchase of pesticide for use abroad. Loans totalling $150 million are for the construction of physical facilities such as roads, irrigation systems, and support for fertilizer and smelter industries, each of which presumably might have a significant impact on the environment and therefore would be covered by the provisions of the law.

ROLE OF TRANSPORTATION IN DISPOSAL OF OBSOLETE METALLIC WASTE

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important pieces of legislation that I have introduced in Congress would establish an aid program to enable the States to establish abandoned automobile collection programs, and provide a tax incentive to scrap processors to

encourage them to install the most modern equipment capable of producing recyclable metal scrap. Over 70 Members have now joined me in this legislation, through which a "waste" would become an important resource.

In association with this legislation, I am also interested in removing any impediments which may exist to effective recycling of steel, paper, glass, and other materials. In an article published in Waste Age, Dr. Herschel Cutler, transportation consultant to the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, Inc., pointed out certain problems in the transportation field inhibiting the recycling of metallic wastes. A shortage of open gondola cars, together with discriminatory freight rates for scrap as compared to iron ore, discourage recycling of these and other materials. Both of these problems may be corrected. The transportation policies of this country should support the cause of environmental enhancement as enunciated in the National Environmetal Policy Act.

I am pleased to bring this material to the attention of the Congress, knowing of many Members' interest in encouraging the reuse of our resources:

ROLE OF TRANSPORTATION IN DISPOSAL OF OBSOLETE METALLIC WASTE

(By Dr. Herschel Cutler)

Land pollution is perhaps most often characterized by the unsightly, abandoned junk auto. Other possibilities, for the average citizen, include the tin can, old refrigerator or discarded stove. In fact, in article after article, including those dealing with garbage disposal problems, not scrap re-cycling matters, the demonstration of the dilemma is a picture of an auto graveyard or a municipal dump piled high with metallic solid waste, the obituary of the affluent American economy. Clearly, obsolete metal is a problem, but the reasons for the situation are not so clear, namely, the fact that artificial hindrances are restricting its full processing and use as an input to the steel and foundry indusries.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISPOSAL AND RECYCLING

Solid waste is a generic description applying to materials no longer wanted or desirable in that form. The problem of removing such materials is usually looked upon as disposal—getting rid of it. Under the heading of solid waste are such diverse items as garbage, one-way bottles, waste paper, abandoned autos and other metallics.

Though there are similarities, the economic method for disposal is quite different depending on whether the material is recyclable or not. Thus, it is wrong to think about "disposing" of junk autos and other sources of metallic inputs since natural iron (FE), the basic component of such materials, is a much desired product for which markets do exist; this material should be recycled and there should be no disposal problem.

All of the metal lying abandoned on the roadways, farmyards or municipal dumps could be recycled; all of it would be recycled, if the artificial parameters denying such action were removed. The solid metallic waste problem would not exist, if the scrap cycle was operating efficiently. It is sad indeed that solid metallic waste, a true national resource, is a problem because it is not being used; it is a disgrace that such a resource is considered a disposal problem because it is not being recycled. This article will consider one reason for the breakdown in the scrap cycle—a man-made barrier—the artificial limitations imposed by transportation conditions facing the shipper of ferrous scrap.

THE SCRAP CYCLE

Solid metallic waste in the form of scrap results from three distinct sources. First, in the process of making steel the mills generate tons of material that are not part of their finished production. For example, ingots are too short for rolling and are not processed further or ingots are cropped short or steel plate clippings are produced. This scrap, called home or revert scrap, is generated entirely within the steelmaking facility and clearly is first used in re-charging the furnaces for the next steel cycle.

Home scrap is not an environment problem since it does not generally leave the mill and it is used first because it is, in a sense, "costless" to the mill since there is no purchase required. Home scrap is very important in the steelmaking process in that it accounts for approximately 60% of the total scrap charge. Stated in other terms, almost two-thirds of the total scrap charged never leaves the confines of the steel mill.

A second source of ferrous scrap is broadly identified as purchased scrap in that the mills and foundries "buy" these materials from persons outside their corporate structure. Purchased scrap emanates from two distinct sources: industrial and obsolescent.

Industrial scrap is that resulting generally from steel fabricators performing their manufacturing processes. Because the basic purpose of the process is to produce the fabricated product, and any interruption of the assembly line causes expensive delays, industrial scrap must move. Thus, it leaves the plant, but does it re-enter the steelmaking process? Though it is an historic phenomenon that such scrap moves to mills quickly and commands a premium because of its generally high quality and known metallurgical characteristics, certain grades of industrial scrap, under present market conditions, have experienced plunging or "negative" (the fabricator pays to have the material removed) buying prices. Since the scrap must be moved to avoid upsetting the manufacturing cycle, in many instances low quality industrial scrap grades are not finding their way back into steelmaking but rather are being consigned to municipal or private dumps for disposal. Thus, the first hint of the metallic waste problem is found in the industrial scrap area; some low grade industrial scrap is not being re-cycled. Industrial scrap accounts for 16% of the total scrap availability.

The second source of purchased scrap is known as obsolete scrap. This material is best represented by metallic objects that are worn out, corroded, broken, deteriorated or otherwise rendered obsolete, leading to their discard. Obsolete scrap, thus, is generated not in concentrated singular areas of economic activity, like a steel mill or a fabricating plant, but rather such items appear wherever people use steel products, wherever they live, work or congregate, wherever they may wander to recreate or rest, and the material must be collected wherever it is left and then processed into an acceptable product for mill and foundry use. These materials, if uncollected, are the solid metallic waste problem; they are the eyesores and pollutants.

The amount of metallic material made obsolete is a function of deterioration rates and service life, factors beyond the control of the scrap processor. But, the amount of metallic obsolete scrap recycled is uniquely responsive to the price paid by the mill, the scrap processor and the other factors in the scrap cycle. Since obsolete scrap accounts for 23% of the total scrap charge, and since obsolete scrap generally will not move unless the price "is right" or someone is prepared to make the price right by "paying" (subsidizing) if necessary, the solid metallic waste problem is, in the main, a problem of obsolete metallic items for which attractive markets do not exist such that the cycle will operate to steer the metallic sources back to the steelmaking furnaces.

THE PROCESS OF MAKING STEEL

All iron originally comes from ore, a natural resource limited in nature. Ferrous scrap is a secondary resource limited only by man's creative ability and desire to modernize (or at least change). Ferrous scrap is not being used as quickly as it is being generated.

The processes for making steel differ depending on the raw material used. Until 1957, 90% of the steel output in the United States came from the open hearth furnace which consumed significant amounts of both pig iron (reduced iron ore) and ferrous scrap as the two necessary ingredients in the process. The electric arc furnace, which appeared around the 1950's was, and is, primarily a consumer of ferrous scrap, with the charge to that furnace virtually 100% scrap. However, in the early 1950's, the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) arrived and this type of furnace now accounts for over 40% of total steel production. The BOF is predominantly a hot metal (reduced iron ore in molten form as distinct from pig iron which is reduced iron ore after cooling) consumer though, in general, a 30% scrap charge is used.

Not only has the BOF become the major single source of finished steel, and not only does it possess the inherent capacity to melt a reduced percentage of ferrous scrap in the production of that steel, it also possesses an amazing capability to overcome the need for any purchased scrap whatever. Thus, whereas the BOF normally employs a charge of 70% hot metal (iron ore in molten form), it can operate efficiently with little or no obsolete purchased scrap (using home and prompt industrial scrap and increasing the ore charge), while still producing the same amount of steel. In other words, the BOF has the potential to make the steel producer virtually independent of the obsolete ferrous scrap market. In fact, a mill making its own hot metal (a so-called integrated steel producer) could increase its hot metal output and continue to produce the same exact amount of steel without the need to purchase a single pound of obsolete iron and steel scrap. The BOF, thus, has increased the problem of the obsolete solid metallic waste backlog.

Though the steel made mainly from ore and the steel made mainly from scrap result from different physical processes, these are not the most significant differences in that the function of either steelmaking process is, obviously, to make steel. How the steel is made, what raw materials are utilized and what capital investment is required are, of course, of great import, but that is only part of the problem. The role of society must be considered, especially the conservation of its natural resources and the control of its environment. These factors likewise deserve concern since steel can be produced by many diverse processes, some of which more effectively protect society than others.

While society has need for such protection, it also, at least in our modern economy, has need for steel. It is thus important to establish reasonable and efficient parameters to guide the making of steel while limiting the social losses otherwise threatening.

Thus, recognizing that steel can be made from two sources, namely primary (ore) or secondary (scrap) iron units, should lead society to the conclusion that all ferrous scrap would be melted prior to the use of new iron ore in the making of steel. This is the logical expectation since both sources of iron (scrap and ore) are interchangeable in a ratio reflecting their relative natural iron contents, i.e. if both contain 73% FE, they are directly interchangeable; if one has 90% FE and the other 60% FE, they are interchangeable at a ratio of 1½ to 1.

Natural iron is the key factor in steelmak-

ing: it is the item purchased and it is the item that gives both scrap and ore their value. This is the metallurgical explanation of the relationship of the two competitive raw materials; it is the rationale that should have led to a removal of the solid metallic waste problem. Yet, the process of making steel, which simply is the melting of natural iron in various forms, has not consumed all the available ferrous scrap.

THE ROLE OF TRANSPORTATION IN MARKETING FERROUS SCRAP

The producer of processed ferrous scrap suitable for melting into new steel is faced with the need for transport in at least two distinct phases of the operation. There is need to move the obsolete material from where it is located to the processing facility and there is need to move the finished product to the consuming point. The transport difficulties are distinct, yet they share a common characteristic—they exist in disproportionate fashion to the detriment of the free flow of obsolete metallic waste.

Inbound to the processing facility, a key factor is bulk. The cubic requirements in relation to the weight involved in the movement of junk autos, old boilers, stoves, refrigerators, and hay balers, mean that the usual carrying capacity of space is exhausted before the weight carrying capacity is even approached. Thus, the rate per pound, the usual basis for quotation of freight rates, precludes economical movement by the common carrier industry. It becomes necessary to rely on persons who own both the vehicles and the obsolete scrap if the processor is to get the material, e.g. the auto wrecker who trucks his hulks to the processor, the collector who brings in his findings, or the processor who employs his own trucks to go out and pick-up the obsolete items for processing. In such cases whether or not the metallic waste is collected depends upon the cost of movement and, in virtually all cases, the solution is a privately owned motor vehicle of some sort. The railroads have almost been entirely eliminated from the inbound movement of so-called unprepared scrap because their rate structure does not recognize the "balloon nature" of the product, a characteristic which does not fit the present rate structure, especially when the very low value of unprepared scrap is considered.

The movement of processed scrap to consuming points is quite different. The processed material is a much more dense commodity, it comes closer to consuming both the weight and cubic capacity of the vehicles offered for scrap service. Thus, the railroads are the carriers in the outbound movement of prepared ferrous scrap, but this very role is the cause of a major problem, one that threatens the continued viability of the processing industry devoted to the removal of solid waste.

THE RAILROAD AS A CARRIER OF FERROUS SCRAP

Virtually every scrap processing facility in this nation is designed around a railroad. The tracks usually determine the location of processing equipment since every moving operation is very costly (in-plant movement is usually by crane and magnet). To minimize such movement, the processing machines are located trackside wherever possible. Yet, this forced dependence on the railroad is not entirely a free choice by the processor; it is not his decision to become a "captive" to the railroad (the tracks also tend to preclude truck service since it is difficult to operate trucks under these conditions).

Given the relative cost and service characteristics of present rail and truck service, there is much reason to design scrap processing facilities around motor vehicles as the prime conveyances. However, the railroad remains predominant on the outbound movement because most steel mills currently will not accept inbound shipment to their plants other than by rail. Since the customer demands rail movement the supplier must accommodate these wishes, and an artificial barrier is created resulting in an unwanted, and in the present case highly undesirable, captivity for the shipper of ferrous scrap.

Though certain mills have accepted truck shipment for ferrous scrap, the vast majority of consumers are not set up to receive prepared scrap other than by rail. As is true of the scrap facility, most mills have designed their internal operations around the railroad so that inbound scrap in rail cars can be unloaded directly into the furnaces or stocked adjacent to the melting area.

Moreover, truck movements pose serious safety and security problems not encountered when rail cars are used for the inbound movement. Drivers waiting to have the vehicles unloaded are unnecessarily subjected to the hazards of mill operation not truly appreciated by personnel unaware of how steel is made. Also, trucks have to be unloaded quickly because, contrary to the situation where rail cars are involved, the driver generally waits for the vehicle's release. Thus, the mills' requirement to use rail is well founded but the effect is to create an artificial situation whereby flexibility of alternatives is generally denied the shipper of ferrous scrap. This lack of alternatives has led to the present difficulties facing the shipper of prepared ferrous scrap.

THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF TRANSPORT "CAPTIVITY"

When a shipper has the freedom of choice about the transport mode serving him, he strives to optimize the two key ingredients of carrier operation—cost and service. The usual decision process recognizes that trade-offs exist between these factors. The best overall situation per dollar expended most likely will be less than optimum; both the lowest price and the best service are not generally attainable. Yet, the decision process usually yields results reflecting the best service for a reasonable price, given the needs of the situation.

Where the ferrous scrap processor has such choice, he has exercised it. Thus, for the movement to his yard, most unprepared scrap enters by truck because the processor has a choice of modes; when the possibility for diversion from the rail is available, it has occurred. On the other hand, where diversion is not possible, the railroad continues to be the key service factor.

Though it is a regulated industry, the railroads, recognizing the captivity of the scrap shipper, have found it possible to discriminate in both critical areas, rates and service. The scrap shipper, therefore, finds that he is faced with inadequate, poor, and at times non-existent, car service as well as rates which fail to reflect the competition existing between ferrous scrap and iron ore. The twofold effect of this transport discrimination yields the condition that iron and steel scrap moves only when the unrealistically high rates can be absorbed by the collection and processing system AND only when freight cars are available to move the material after such absorption is undertaken. Accordingly, the railroad industry must assume a significant share of the blame for today's solid metallic waste backlog, since if the material cannot be moved, it will not be collected and processed.

THE EFFECT OF RATES

It is a generally accepted concept of equity that transportation rates should not alter the competitive standing of the alternative inputs to any manufacturing process. Transport rates should not disturb these relationships so long as the rates exceed the carrier's cost of providing such service. Equitable rates, reflecting the basic commodity values, allow competition to continue without distortion. Present rail rates show that, contrary to this reasonable position (reasonable even if solid wastes were not a major problem), a distinct and significant bias exists in favor of iron ore and against ferrous scrap.

Using as representative averages the natural iron content of 90% for ferrous scrap and 60% for iron ore, an anticipated ratio of rates on the competing commodities would be 1½ to 1 (90/60). The actual ratio is, however, far different. For example, the latest published Interstate Commerce Commission tabulation of average rates (average revenue per ton) shows a ratio of rates of 2.5 to 1 against ferrous scrap. A study developed the fact that, on the average, iron and steel scrap is charged $1.66 per ton more than should be assessed if the competitive relationship is to remain undisturbed by the artificiality of freight rate discrimination.

These data demonstrated in the following table which clearly points out the negative impact of railroad pricing structures on the movement of ferrous scrap:

[All figures are in net tons]

	1966 revenue per ton—		Using FE basis, correct revenue per ton for iron and steel scrap should be [1]	Discrimination against iron and steel scrap per ton [2]
	Iron and steel scrap	Iron ore		
United States to United States regions	$4.12	$1.64	$2.46	$1.66
OFF to OFF	3.78	2.22	3.33	.45
SOU to SOU	3.76	1.90	2.85	.45
WTL to WTL	4.40	.98	1.47	2.93
MTP to MTP	4.02	2.54	3.81	.21

[1] Multiplying 1966 revenue for iron ore by 1½ (FE ratio).
[2] Difference between 1966 revenue for iron and steel scrap and correct rate of FE basis.

The impact of the $1.66 per ton is significant not only in the short-run, day-to-day, buy or not, decisions, it is of greater import in the long-run decision about the type of new furnace capacity to purchase. The role of the clear discrimination of $1.66 per ton can most easily be appreciated by recognizing it to be a permanent disability known to exist whether or not temporary fluctuations occur. Though scrap prices fluctuate daily in a "free market" while iron ore prices tend to be more stable, the impact of the inherent rate disability is equal to an inherent infirmity sharply limiting its desirability. Thus, when demand is high and prices are higher to bring material out, the disparity with iron ore per delivered iron unit is somewhat more unfavorable to the scrap seller; the reverse is true when conditions are opposite; but the $1.66 infirmity does not change. On the average, and only for artificial reasons, the iron units delivered from scrap suffer a clear and severe disability.

In the investment decision area, the infirmity of the $1.66 per ton is even more serious. The presence of the continuing discrimination is part of the analytical process leading to a particular choice of new or replacement steelmaking capacity. The magnitude of the discrimination is sufficient to alter the decision in such a way that, for example, high ore-dependent furnaces could be purchased rather than high-scrap dependent furnaces, (or high scrap-consuming furnaces, otherwise justified, might not be constructed) because the cost differential in the output of finished steel is artificially distorted to the extent that the rates do not reflect relative values of the competing inputs. And, once a low-scrap consuming furnace is on-line, the volume of scrap needed is curtailed, to the detriment of society which finds the solid metallic waste buildup becoming even more significant.

Thus, whether it is the daily buying decision or the long-run investment decision that is made in the artificial atmosphere of transportation charges that overprice, on a delivered basis, one of two competitive inputs, the result is the same; the commodity being discriminated against finds its markets denied at an accelerating pace. The continued loss of markets leads to more obsolete metallic waste that does not move for re-cycling.

THE EFFECT OF SERVICE

But discriminatory rates are only part of the problem. Even if the rates are unreasonably high and favor the competitive material, it is essential that rail cars be available to move the processed scrap to consumers if the material is to be sold. Because steel mills require assurance of a continuous supply of the necessary raw materials, the buyer must be confident of the ability of his suppliers to provide either scrap or ore in the volumes needed when they are required.

Such assurance is not possible where the scrap shipper is involved because the carriers refuse (or are unable) to provide reasonably scheduled service and they refuse (or are unable) to maintain, much less increase, the size of their gondola fleet. The gondola is critical to the scrap processor because he is not only captive to the railroad, for all intents and purposes he is also captive to the gondola. Thus, whereas other commodities dependent upon rail service can be moved via alternative conveyances (even grain can move in boxcars and hopper cars), scrap is virtually limited to movement only in gondolas.

Examination of rail car ownership records shows that the gondola fleet has decreased 35 percent in the past 16 years (January 1, 1970/January 1, 1955), almost half again as sharp a decrease as that experienced in the boxcar area (though boxcars are always noted as the critically short equipment). Moreover, the capacity in tons of the cars yet in service has fallen by 24 percent so that the scrap shipper is served with 102,000 gondolas less that can be loaded and those cars available can accommodate approximately 4,000,000 tons less capacity. Certainly, these figures offer little assurance that scrap shipments will be made according to schedule and with continuity. Moreover, the downward trend in car ownership is continuing and the gondola fleet as of June 1, 1970, showed a decrease of over 5,000 cars from the number available on June 1, 1969.

Unfortunately, the service problem extends beyond the deterioration in capacity to move ferrous scrap. The carriers delay loaded cars for weeks in crosstown switching movements as well as for the relatively short line hauls that characterize so much of the scrap business today because long distance movement is prevented due to the unreasonably high rates for such shipments. They do not pick-up loaded cars for long periods of time; they delay the placements of empties for days while scrap must be stockpiled in a costly operation; they provide cars with cubic capacities so low it is impossible to load sufficient material in the car to make the movement economically worthwhile.

Adding to these problems are the almost continuous attempts of the carriers to further limit the magnitude of their presently inadequate service. Reductions from daily to two or three switches per week are not uncommon; refusal to honor claims for differences in scrap lading between car weights at origin and the same cars at destination while paying such claims where other commodities are involved; requesting sharp increases in demurrage rates when the problems with low railroad car utilization are predominantly inadequacies in carrier service not delays by scrap shippers and/or receivers.

The captivity of the ferrous scrap shipper, thus, not only leads to sharply discriminatory rates that hinder the movement of ferrous scrap vis-a-vis iron ore, it also leads to an almost total lack of interest in the service needs of the iron and steel scrap processing industry. The result is that this major industry, tied generally to the rails is almost totally ignored when service needs are at issue.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO OVERCOME THESE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS HINDERING THE MOVEMENT OF FERROUS SCRAP

Many suggestions result from even a superficial analysis of the transport problems facing ferrous scrap shippers. Many of these proposals require government administrative and executive action because the transportation industry is a regulated economic entity. Some of these actions require legislative undertakings for the same reason or because the concepts would have to carry the force of law to be widely adopted. Finally, research money will be needed, in far lower sums than might seem to be required, if the overall program is to succeed.

In outline form, some suggested actions are:

1. Removal of the rate discrimination—Certainly, first must be the deletion from the rate structure of the inherent rate bias that now exists amounting to $1.66 per ton against ferrous scrap. The impact of this correction alone would be great in terms of the added scrap that would be consumed in the day-to-day operation of present steelmaking capacity and, more importantly, in protecting the tonnage that might have been lost if artifically motivated decisions to purchase low scrap-consuming new or replacement furnaces were to continue.

Concerted action by interested parties could lead to removal of this artificial barrier by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

2. Purchase of new gondolas—Equally important is the need for adequate capacity to move ferrous scrap. The carriers should be directed to spend part (or all) of the funds resulting from General Revenue (Ex Parte) cases from shippers using gondola cars, to the purchase of new equipment to serve these industries. Thus, new and larger gondolas would be installed to support reasonable rates for the movement of ferrous scrap in competition with the low rates and new equipment serving the ore industry.

If the carriers find they are unable to purchase the needed equipment, the ferrous scrap processing industry (assisted by government guarantees of the obligations) should consider purchasing and maintaining a gondola car fleet to insure the movement of its products. Obviously, however, the carrier rate structures then would not only have to be made competitive with that quoted for iron ore, they would also have to accommodate the ownership costs that would be shifted from carrier to shipper.

3. Change in service attitude—The carriers must recognize that ferrous scrap is not "at the bottom of the pile" where service needs are concerned. They understand the "assembly line" needs of many other industries but seem unable to comprehend the same needs in this industry. Scheduled service is as critical to ferrous scrap as it is to iron ore movements. The Interstate Commerce Commission should establish levels of service performance which it considers reasonable and should establish a clear understanding of the performance levels that are unacceptable. Thus, three weeks to cross a city from its east to west side cannot be considered reasonable, and the ICC should have enforcement powers to preclude such delay not only for scrap but for all commodities.

4. Research money must be made available—Research must be undertaken in such diverse areas as:

(a) limited pre-reduction of metallic waste by portable processing equipment so that the cubic demands are lessened without reducing the quality of the scrap prior to its being completely processed.

(b) development of collection points for centralizing metallic waste pick-up efforts,

(c) assistance programs to stimulate the inbound movement of metallic waste to scrap processing yards; the assistance to go to the inbound transporter to encourage his participation.

5. Grant status to the environment effort—At all levels of government and industry, recognition must be given to the critical battle for survival that envisions control of our environment. Thus, exemptions in the interest of environmental control should be considered as extensions of the need to survive. For example,

(a) increase in load limits on public highways for trucks carrying solid metallic waste so long as the road surface is protected by additional axles and wheels, and

(b) extending "exemption" status in the case of barge and truck shipment so that excess capacity for these modes could be used to move ferrous scrap without the necessity to meet all the needs of rate regulation. (This would accord to ferrous scrap the same sort of flexibility now permitted where agricultural goods move by truck and bulk goods move by barge.)

These suggestions are just the beginning of a long list of possible assists that would yield a great harvest in social benefit. First, and foremost, the solid metallic waste backlog would begin to cease being a problem. the railroads would find ferrous scrap to be a profitable commodity when served appropriately and the other modes—truck and barge—would be serving the scrap processing industry where their unique contributions will help in solid waste re-cycling.

To obtain these many bounties requires relatively little effort, possibly only a small amount of money. The key ingredients are not time or funds, rather they are, first, an awareness of the source of the problem, second, a willingness to attack the difficulty and, third, an interest in seeing to it that success results. There is so much to gain that waiting and delay are inexcusable.

NEW ASSIGNMENT FOR THE U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS—REGIONAL WASTE WATER MANAGEMENT

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, recently our Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works approved a request of the Corps of Engineers to reorient, within available funds, its investigations program to initiate the development of alternative plans for waste water management systems at a number of metropolitan areas. Although funds are included in the fiscal 1972 budget for expediting such planning studies, our subcommittee agreed with the Chief of Engineers that the matter was of such great urgency that it should be permitted to proceed immediately to consider the application of new technology in the development of regional plans for waste water management systems which would accomplish a great deal more than the traditional sewage treatment plants.

Over the past 14 years, more than $6 billion have been spent on the construction of sewage treatment plants, and present plans call for the expenditure of an additional $12 billion during the next

3 years, with the likelihood of equally large expenditures being programmed for many years thereafter. The provision of these waste treatment plants, requiring the use of our rivers and lakes to dilute and assimilate the wastes, has degraded vast reaches of our waterways and estuary waters. Alternatives to using the Nation's rivers and lakes as disposal areas for partially treated wastes must be developed and evaluated.

The pilot study to be undertaken by the Corps involves a reorientation of its ongoing studies of the metropolitan areas of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, San Francisco, and the Merrimack River Basin in the Boston area to develop and assess a range of alternative regional waste water management systems. Emphasis will be placed on land disposal systems that would use the soil as a living filter to achieve a high level of final treatment of industrial and municipal wastes and produce regenerated ground water supplies of a quality suitable for use as water supply.

In granting approval of the Corps' funding request, the subcommittee stipulated that prior to the initiation of the studies that a memorandum of understanding be developed and agreed upon between the Corps and the Environmental Protection Agency to assure full coordination and cooperation among the Federal, state, and local agencies involved. This joint agreement has now been finalized and establishes a client-consultant relationship whereby the Department of the Army will act as a consultant to EPA. EPA, in consultation with the states and local governments will assign priorities, determine needs, and provide overall guidance for the studies.

I believe that this new undertaking is a landmark in water resources planning for it will make possible full utilization of the most efficient planning, engineering, and construction capabilities of the Army Corps of Engineers in the solving of our waste water management problems.

I include a copy of an excellent article concerning this new assignment to the U.S. Army Engineers, which was prepared by John Lear, science editor, and appeared in the May 1, 1971, issue of the Saturday Review:

ENVIRONMENT AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE—ENVIRONMENT REPAIR: THE U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS' NEW ASSIGNMENT

(By John Lear)

Assuming that the spenders work a standard forty-hour week, $1-million worth of tax money is now being spent for construction of new sewage disposal facilities in the United States every hour.

Practically none of this money is buying what most taxpayers think they are paying for.

Disease-carrying viruses are not being removed from waste water the new facilities are pouring into our streams, lakes, and oceans.

Nitrogenous contents of sewage are being converted into nitrates hazardous to health.

Organic substances known to provoke cancer are being dumped into waterways that subsequently become sources of drinking water for homes and public places.

Most deceptive of all is the common practice of designing sewage disposal plants so as to divert raw sewage, not treated in any way, into watercourses whenever something goes wrong with the disposal pumps or the other plant machinery requires repair. Automatic bypass devices were, in fact, required as a "safety" measure up to two years ago.

When the disposal process is working, solids it separates from the water are not permanently removed as pollutants from the environment but are only temporarily set aside. They settle as thick ooze on the bottom of processing basins, whence they must be taken periodically and otherwise dealt with later. In a few places, the sludge is collected and sold as fertilizer. Milwaukee bags it and markets it through normal interstate commerce channels. But most of it is either incinerated—returning noxious fumes to the atmosphere—or once again set adrift in the water to prematurely age river, lake, and ocean beds with layers of fertilizing accelerants of eutrophication. The most elaborate incinerator in operation anywhere today serves the city of Denver, where the people are now violently protesting the pollutants it vents into the mountain air. New York City dumps its sludge into the sea from tug-drawn barges subsidized by taxpayers all over the country through grants from President Nixon's Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)—a practice that EPA intends to discontinue just as soon as a practical alternate method of disposal can be arranged. U.S. Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey is forcing the issue with proposed legislation to stop dumping of any waste into any ocean or into the Great Lakes within five years.

Those few who know the truth about sewage disposal seldom talk candidly about it in public. Their justification for silence is that it is a disservice to distress people unless immediate action can be taken to provide now-missing protection. The closest approach any highly placed government bureaucrat has made to full disclosure was in a speech recently delivered by Eugene T. Jensen, operations chief in the water quality control office of the EPA. Mr. Jensen told an American Society of Civil Engineers National Specialty Conference at Los Angeles:

"I am ashamed to admit that . . . the old "pros" in the field of water pollution control appear to be lagging. The people and Congress appear to have swept by us. We seem willing to settle for too little. . . . We build [sewage] treatment facilities—but we fear expenditures that exceed what is absolutely necessary to maintain *minimum* stream quality. We tolerate poor operation. We are satisfied with less than modern treatment techniques, and confine our new, advanced, waste treatment technology to pilot plants and research laboratories. When the public asks for treatment to permit reuse [of waste water], we hold back and point out only the weaknesses of the new treatment technology. We take some enforcement actions, but we do not make "unreasonable" requests. Is "reasonableness" an excuse for weakness, and "prudence" another word for timidity? The cases in which a major [polluted] stream or lake has actually been restored can be counted on one hand. . . .

"The problem will not be solved merely by enactment of legislation, no matter how well conceived or how expertly drawn. . . . We, the professionals in the field of water pollution control, are going to have to change ourselves, our concepts, and our way of doing things. . . . First and foremost perhaps, we must stop being satisfied with yesterday's technology. New technology is available. Until it is transferred into actual treatment facilities, it is of little value. Just because we have relied on tricking filters and activated sludge plants in the past does not mean that we should continue to do so today.

"You will object, perhaps, that these processes have been well tried and have proved reliable. Yes, they have proved reliable if by reliable one means that they are known to break down and are subject to erratic performance. . . ."

Why did Jensen stick his neck out so plainly and so far? Why, especially, at a time when—as he put it—"the public has asked for clean water. They want clean water in the very immediate future and think that even five years is too long to wait"? Undoubtedly, partly because he is a conscientious person and feels the pressure of generations of Danish-farmer ancestors who accorded respect to nature. But also perhaps partly because he was then engaged in negotiations that he felt confident would result in decisive reform in less than five years.

For all practical purposes, these negotiations are now complete. EPA has assigned the most efficient planning and construction agency on earth—the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers—to undertake field studies of feasible alternative methods of modern sewage disposal in five of the nine largest metropolitan areas of the country, home of 12 to 15 per cent of the nation's population: the dozen California counties bordering San Francisco Bay and its estuary (10,000 square miles, ocupied by 5.5-million people); Chiago and those contiguous parts of Illinois and Indiana abutting the lower tip of Lake Michigan (3,700 square miles, 7.25-million people); the city of Detroit and its environs (4,000 square miles, 4.9 million people); the Cleveland-Akron metropolitan complex and its Cuyahoga basin hinterland (2,000 square miles, 2.4-million people); and the Merrimack River basin, into which the waters of most of metropolitan Boston drain (5,000 square miles, 3.4-million people).

A memorandum of understanding has been agreed to by the staff of EPA and the Corps, and now carries the initials of William Ruckelshaus, EPA administrator, and Robert Jordan III, general counsel to the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary's Special Assistant for Civilian Affairs. The gist of the memo has been approved by the public works subcommittees of the appropriations committees of the two houses of Congress, which have endorsed the shifting of $6.7-million of previously budgeted Corps funds to enable the engineers to get to work. A special task force, made up largely of bright, young, ecologically oriented Ph. D.s who have military service obligations to work off, has been assembled in the office of Corps Chief Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke; it has put together a fifty-page manual to guide the scores of engineers who will gather the detailed information on which the choices of disposal systems will be based. The current operating schedule calls for fever-pitch activity culminating in recommendations by July 1. Slippage into August is a reasonable expectation. But by autumn the Corps hopes to have EPA's encouragement to begin drafting actual plans for construction of sewage disposal systems. At that point, 500 to 600 uniformed men and 30,000 highly trained civilian employees will be involved in the updating of attitudes EPA's Jensen so pointedly deplored last March.

The new environment repair mission of the Corps of Engineers could well be the big breakthrough everyone has been looking for in America's fulminating ecological revolution. The Corps has been instrumental in almost every great forward step in American destiny. George Washington himself conceived the idea of a corps and wrote of it explicitly in his earliest planning for the new democracy. An embryonic embodiment of his brainchild fortified Breed's Hill just before the Battle of Bunker Hill. The Military Academy at West Point began as an engineering school, the only one in America at the time. The men who emerged from it, and their successors, cut the earliest roads westward from the Atlantic Seaboard across the hilled wilderness to the plains that would serve as the mature nation's breadbasket. Later on, the Corps of Engineers surveyed the routes the railroads followed out of the plains and over the Rockies to the Pacific.

Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, from which has sprung all of modern man's thinking about himself in relation to his environment, was derived in part from botanist Asa Gray's analysis of the grasses and flowers the surveyors gathered as they traveled. In the 1890's, the Corps originated river basin resource planning that led to the conservation concepts of President Theodore Roosevelt and his forester-politicians protégé, Gifford Pinchot. The Engineers were the earliest official guardians of the forest and were the first to fight for preservation of the natural wonders of Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Sequoia as national parks. The Corps built the Alaskan Highway when Japanese invasion seemed feasible in World War II. It built the atom bomb that ended that war. It built the launching pads from which departed the first manned voyages to the moon.

Monuments to the versatility and reliability of the Corps's building methods are admired daily by multitudes of people who never suspect the parentage of the Capitol Dome in Washington, D.C., the memorial to Abraham Lincoln, the Tidal Basin in which the Japanese cherry tree blossom festival is celebrated every spring, the Pentagon, the electric power generating dams that have enabled the Tennessee Valley Authority to lift a whole region from red-dust-deep poverty, various post offices, and several hundred artificial lakes throughout the country—impounded behind dams constructed to prevent floods in the valleys of the Missouri, the Mississippi, and many lesser rivers.

Some of those lakes are 200 miles long. To bring them into being, the Corps had to raise out of nowhere whole towns to house workers recruited by private contractors under Corps specifications (an unpremeditated spin-off of this procedure, at Grand Coulee Dam in 1938, was the "team medicine" innovation of contractor Henry Kaiser, which is now reshaping medical practice in America). Jobs opened by the hundreds wherever this happened. Similar situations arose from the erection of miles of levees to further restrain the rivers. During the long economic depression that followed the stock market collapse of 1929, nothing could have been more popular. The Corps of Engineers assumed heroic proportions in the minds of the hungry multitude. Local chambers of commerce avidly hunted projects to bring to the Corps's attention. Congressmen and Senators vied for the privilege of supporting proposals that would add to the prosperity of their districts and their states. The Corps was not the only big builder in the federal domain. The Reclamation Bureau of the Interior Department and the Soil Conservation Agency of the Department of Agriculture were similarly occupied. But the military precision of the Engineers, the disciplined principles of rapid motion, hard striking, and getting the job done by the book gave the Corps special visibility.

According to flow charts of governmental authority, the Engineers belong to the Army, and the Army belongs to the Executive branch uner strict Presidential control. But even such a charismatic President as the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and as scrappy a one as Harry Truman were unable to bring the agency in the direction of their wishes. For every dollar the Corps got in the President's budget, the Congress added at least another dollar. The Corps could afford to behave as independently as J. Edgar Hoover, and it exercised the privilege fully throughout the years when vigorous growth was equated with robust national health.

Enthusiasm for the "build, build, build" philosophy was always short of unanimous. People whose homes were drowned by the water the dams backed up and those whose sensibilities were offended by wholesale mutilation of natural beauty raised plaintive voices, occasionally made headlines of protest, and in rare cases dared the juggernaut in court. Not only did they almost always lose out, but they usually left the scene bearing such epithets of scorn as "bird watchers," "butterfly chasers," and "little old ladies in tennis shoes."

Hardly anyone noticed when the tide began to turn a quarter century ago. I recall how pleasantly surprised was Ben Hibbs, then editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, when I took to his office a manuscript I titled "Pennsylvania's Hidebound Revolutionary." My subject was Gen. Edward Martin, then state Governor, widely looked upon as an unimaginative errand boy of the Mellon interests within the Republican Party. Martin and his Attorney General, James Duff, had found the rich steel and oil contributors to GOP election campaigns in the state open to adoption of a new set of laws designed to clean up Pennsylvania's polluted streams. Martin began putting the laws through a reluctant legislature, and Duff finished the job after taking Martin's place in the Governor's chair. Half a decade later, in 1951, the Corps of Engineers' share of responsibility for making a mess of waterways across the nation was exposed to a wide public for the first time in *Muddy Waters: The Corps of Engineers and the Nation's Rivers*, a book written by Harvard University Professor Arthur Maass and published by Harvard University Press.

In 1958, Congress began to sense that the Corps had fallen out of tune with the times. But that year's legislation governing the Corps' work required only that consequences to fish and game be taken into account in future straightening of rivers, dredging of harbors, and building of dams. By that time, the Corps was too accustomed to power to feel the rebuke, and resentment against continuance of its bulldozer tactics swelled as the years passed. Early in 1968, one of the country's most influential and plain-spoken conservationists, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, declared in a speech to the Great Lakes Chapter of the Sierra Club: "The Army Corps of Engineers is public enemy number one." In July of the following year, the Justice published in *Playboy* magazine his personal conviction that "the Corps is destroying free-flowing streams to make unnecessary dams. It is trying to turn natural rivers into sluiceways. It is destroying our estuaries." He then recapitulated the Corps's history and considered its future:

"The Corps . . . has a long and illustrious record, completely free of fraud, mismanagement, or other types of scandal. . . . Since 1824, it has built most of the nation's harbors and navigable waterways. From the beginning, it was active in flood control, and when the first national Flood Control Act was passed by Congress in 1917, it became very active, especially in the Mississippi Valley. . . .

"The difficulty is, however, that we are running out of free-flowing rivers and healthy estuaries. The traditional engineering functions no longer fit our needs. Our need is to preserve the few remaining natural wonders that we have and make them clean and sparkling and fit for use by humans and the vast world of birds, fish, reptiles, and crustaceans that possess our waters.

"We need the Corps. But we need also to redefine its functions and change its focus. . . . We can accomplish that goal by a few simple amendments to the Corps' basic authority.

"First, its projects for river improvement should now be conditioned by conservation standards. Will the project protect the marshlands? Will it provide the needed fresh water for sanctuaries such as the Everglades? Will it preserve the bottomlands sorely needed for ecological studies?

"Second, the Corps statutory authority should be enlarged to authorize it to construct sewage-disposal plants. . . . It can be busier at that than at dam-building. . . ."

When that issue of Playboy appeared on the newsstands, one of the committees of Congress was holding a bill that had been introduced by Representative Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin. The bill would have authorized the Corps to plan and build sewage disposal plants wherever they were needed throughout the land. The proposed law never reached the floor for a vote.

The lead article in the April 1970 issue of The Atlantic bore the title: "Dam Outrage: The Story of the Army Engineers." The magazine's edior, Elizabeth B. Drew, rephrased much of Justice Douglas' indictment of the previous years and sharpened his main point by noting an especially bizarre detail: "The nation is now committed [by Congressional appropriations for Corps projects] to making Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Fort Worth, Texas, into seaports, although each is about 400 miles from the sea, at costs of at least $1.2-billion and $1-billion respectively." She concluded as follows:

"One solution to the problems the Corps program creates would be simply to stop it. . . . If there are to be a Corps and a Corps public-works program, then proposals to expand the Corps' function make sense. Making the Corps responsible for sewage treatment, for example, would give it a task that needs to be done, local governments a benefit that they really need and that would be widely shared, and politicians a new form of largesse to hand around. Anti-pollution could be spared the pork barrel through a combination of requirements for local action and federal incentives, and through adequate financing. Yet, making anti-pollution part of the pork barrel may be just what it needs."

The Atlantic sent a copy of the Drew report to Professor Maass, the author of *Muddy Waters*, inviting his comment. Maass replied in a letter that reached print not in *The Atlantic* but in the *Congressional Record*. The letter said that Maass was still critical of Corps practices but that he didn't think it fair to blame the Corps alone for doing what a great many Americans plainly had wanted done at the time the Corps undertook its various assignments. Popular attitudes have changed radically in recent years, he observed, and any genuinely fair appraisal of the Corps today would have to include consideration of changes in Corps procedure. He noted especially the introduction of a system of policy-planning that enriched the mix of proposed Corps projects and tightened Executive control over Corps budgeting. He urged public recognition of the fact that the former position of conservationists has been largely reversed and that some of them now prefer to try for "a flat veto" over construction projects rather than participate in a decision-making process "in which the benefits of their objectives can be compared to those of other objectives."

Although the Maass letter did not so specify, the new planning method had been proposed by Alfred B. Fitt and put in force by Jordan, Fitt's successor as the Army Secretary's General Counsel and Special Assistant for Civilian Affairs, and thus top figure on the Corps totem pole. One of Jordan's innovations was an annually rotating visiting professorship that brought in a detached and independent mind to the planning staff. The visitor who was asked to come aboard in September 1970 [see "Reviving the Great Lakes," *SR*, Nov. 7, 1970] accepted the invitation only after being designated as science adviser to Jordan with civil service rank equivalent to that of a two-star general. This driving young (thirty-nine-year-old) man intended to make some major changes and was too experienced to start by being outranked by those whose complacency he might disturb.

He was Professor John R. Sheaffer, associate director of the Institute of Urban Affairs at the University of Chicago. A specialist in flood plain management (one of the areas

in which the Corps had failed notoriously; in spite of its dam and levee building, flood damage had risen progressively because home building had been allowed on supposedly protected but actually vulnerable low-lying flatlands), he had recently accomplished the prodigious feat of bringing local officeholders in twelve cities and townships of Muskegon County, Michigan, into one harmonious company supporting a single sewage disposal system to serve all their communities together.

Before the creation of EPA, one of the agencies that now constitute it—the Federal Water Quality Administration of the Department of the Interior—gave the Muskegon coalition the biggest single project grant in FWQA history: $2-million for the opening phase of the experiment. The project marked a return to the ancient principle of treating wastes as natural resources and returning them to the earth to contribute to the regeneration of life. Instead of dumping sewage into waterways, a practice Muskegon now shares with hundreds of other localities, Sheaffer proposed to pipe the wastes inland to storage lagoons and thence to a network of irrigation sprinklers installed on presently barren acreage susceptible to conversion into cropland. FWQA backed the project as a pioneer attempt to operate such a waste disposal system as a self-supporting economic enterprise, with the cost of the system's operation to be paid from the sale of the fruits of the fields.

Sheaffer had received a personal letter of praise from President Nixon after the Muskegon coup became public knowledge. The letter put him in a good position to argue for adoption of the principle of land disposal of sewage throughout the country. Acceptance of the principle would inevitably require the crossing of town and township boundary lines, perhaps the crossing of county and in some cases even state lines. The Corps of Engineers was one of the few agencies in the country with established Congressional authority to deal in such terms. Sheaffer knew from personal experience the extent of the antagonisms the Corps had aroused among conservationists generally. But he recognized a tremendous advantage for the nation in taking an existing agency with the Corps' unmatched capabilities and turning it around to meet the challenge of restoring America. The Corps already had obtained specific authorization from Congress to study five great metropolitan water basins: those encompassing San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston. In no case, however, did the authorization include responsibility for doing anything about water quality. Sheaffer's problem, then, was to see that the quality question was introduced into the Corps' plans.

He had no trouble persuading Jordan to support this line of attack, for Jordan had been hunting just that kind of opportunity. The military nature of the Corps command made internal realignment of the perspective of its officers relatively painless. The first real hurdle was in the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB), which had to approve the shifting of already committed Corps funds to the proposed new purpose. EPA had just gone to OMB with a very large request for money for improving the quality of the nation's water supply. Ordinarily, this request from a top coordinating agency would have taken precedence over any competition from below. But EPA needed new money, and it was exceedingly scarce. The Corps already had the funds Sheaffer wanted to use. So Sheaffer left OMB with a clear go-ahead.

At the other end of Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue, Sheaffer encountered no problems. The public works subcommittees of the appropriations committees of Congress had been weighing the desirability of public hearings to discover how best to encourage the Corps to be more responsive to the demands of the new environmental reformers. Sheaffer's proposal made the hearings unnecessary; he had a powerful encouragement in hand. If he was right in his land disposal ideas, engineering studies would confirm his point of view. The committeemen therefore agreed to approve the requested budget shifts with the stipulation that the funds would pay for analysis of the comparative feasibility of alternate disposal methods, and that EPA and the Corps would arrive at an understanding of how the analysis should be done.

The understanding subsequently achieved was essentially what Sidney Howe and William J. Duddleson, officers of the Conservation Foundation (once headed by Russell Train, now chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality), recommended in Cincinnati last February to a land and water management seminar jointly sponsored by the Council of State Governments Interstate Conference on Water Problems and the United States Water Resources Council. Howe and Duddleson had proposed separation of the authority to construct public works from the authority to evaluate those works. The understanding between EPA and the Corps gave EPA clear control over what should be done and how; the Corps assignment was to function as a consultant to EPA in the actual designing and building of projects—leaving out specifications, drawing up contracts, and seeing that private contractors met the specifications. At one time, there would have been widespread doubt of any other agency's ability to restrain the Corps' lobbying power. Most of the doubts disappeared, however, after the Corps meekly accepted President Nixon's recent decision to stop construction of the half-finished Cross-Florida barge canal.

As Howe and Duddleson told the Cincinnati seminar, some conservationists are still willing to meet the Corps only in court. But as long as others are willing to reason, Sheaffer is confident of ultimate vindication. The critics of his decision to help the Engineers get a new start haven't much to say beyond the fact that his concept of land disposal of sewage isn't new. To him, this is carping; he never claimed to be the originator of the land disposal theory. He has always given public credit to the late Professor Warren Thornthwaite, University of Chicago geographer, whose experiments at Seabrook Farms in New Jersey years ago inspired a more sophisticated waste water irrigation project at Pennsylvania State University (see "The Crisis in Water—What Brought It On?" *SR*, Oct. 23, 1965). The Penn State work in turn became a model for the still more sophisticated system Sheaffer designed for Muskegon with the advice of William J. Bauer, Chicago engineer, after the opportunity was opened by the farsightedness and political finesse of Muskegon County Planning Director Roderick Dittmer, the County Planning Commission, and the Board of Muskegon County Commissioners.

The most stubborn obstacle in Sheaffer's future path is the curious failure of academe to teach or even discuss the Penn State experience in sanitary engineering courses. The depth of professional disinterest is further indicated by absence from waste water treatment textbooks of any description of the mechanisms or procedures employed in land disposal of sewage effluent. Richard R. Parizek, associate professor of hydrogeology at Penn State and one of the leading missionaries of land disposal doctrine, laments: "Even in cases where individual engineers favor irrigation schemes as a means of treating sewage, their enthusiasm and designs are frequently discouraged by state officials charged with the responsibility of reviewing and approving designs and operating procedures." The backwardness is undoubtedly influenced by the requirement that spray irrigation appraisers be trained in groundwater hydrology, geology, agronomy, and sanitary engineering. Parizek has been able to find only two states—Pennsylvania and Illinois—with hydrogeologists on their health department staffs.

This complaint about the delinquencies of the states is echoed in the 700-page report released early last month by Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law. Publication of this document, *Water Wasteland*, followed a two-year study that condemned water pollution control in the United States as "a miserable failure" and attributed a major share of the responsibility to federal government willingness to permit individual stages to cripple federally financed improvements designed to enhance water quality across the country.

EPA's water quality control operations chief Jensen has dug well below the surface of this problem. In talking with me recently, he raised the question why people think of human waste separately and apart from the wastes of animals or from exhausted corn and wheat stalks or fallen tree leaves. All contain nutrients too valuable to be lost; all should be returned to the earth. But he doubts that human waste disposal will reach this desirable state until an intensive effort is made to change popular thinking. He suspects that we may have to amend the language we use in dealing with the matter. Present-day waste disposal terminology is filled with unhappy clichés. The watery constituents of sewage are not water but "effluent." Wastes are "dumped" into streams or otherwise "got rid of." Truly modern sewage disposal systems entail very little odor, but how many citizens spend much time around such facilities? To most people, the word "sewage" is equated with the word "stink."

Parizek agrees: "The public has a hang-up" in its approach to waste disposal. The tension springs from exaggerated fears, of not only odors but "flies, mosquitoes, risk of disease; or of depressed land values in the countryside" around irrigated fields. Parizek argues for "an honest and open" public information policy "from the beginning." It would be capable of rallying "grassroots support," because "concepts of reclaiming waste water and nutrients for recycling and reuse by plants and indirectly by game animals, promoting groundwater recharge to replenish diminishing water supplies improving soil fertility, and abating pollution in rivers and lakes all have broad appeal to the public at this stage in our history. Further, the prospect of reduced [sewage] treatment costs by harvesting forest and agronomic crops and games makes sense to the layman. If conceived of on a large enough scale, spray irrigation could have a major impact on regional economy."

Parizek stressed the regional importance of sewage disposal on land as far back as the 1968 American Water Resources Conferences in New York. He and E. A. Myers then read a paper that said in part:

"The south shore of Lake Erie, selected bluffs of the east bank of the Susquehanna River, loess-covered bluffs of a number of Midwestern rivers—Ohio, Wabash, Mississippi, Illinois, Missouri, etc.—are but a few examples of potentially favorable regions."

Spray irrigation disposal of appropriately treated sewage obviously requires land, and purchase of land is not now permissible with funds from federal water quality control grants. Parizek points out that this limitation "tends to perpetuate routine and accepted sanitary engineering practices." He challenges the underlying logic: "Money can be used for engineering studies, design of pipelines, buildings, aeration, tanks, etc. It cannot be used to purchase land whereon lies the physical-chemical-biologic treatment mechanism relied upon in irrigation projects

to renovate waste waters. In both instances, a biologic complex or living filter is involved, but one is used in 'government approved' tanks and related facilities, while the other is used within 'government unapproved' soils."

The faster the Corps of Engineers can get geared for the new environment repair assignment, the more money will be saved for the taxpayers. Every additional working-day hour that passes costs $1-million in out-of-date technology.

PROFESSOR RECRUITS STUDENTS FOR TUTORING IN CHILDREN'S CENTER

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John Pettibone, formerly a reporter on the Florida Times-Union in Jacksonville, Fla., and his wife, Irene Dragones Pettibone are taking leadership in helping young people in an unusual community enterprise in their adopted community at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. Mrs. Pettibone is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jerry D. Dragones, a prominent Jacksonville family. Mr. Dragones is a retired deputy U.S. marshal with 25 years of service as such with the Southern Judicial District of Florida and more recently with State Insurance Office as referee in Jacksonville.

The following article which appeared in the Bowling Green Daily Sentinel on March 31 tells the story of activities at Bowling Green:

PROFESSOR RECRUITS 40 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR TUTORING

Students from Bowling Green State University comprise the majority of volunteer tutors at the Lucas County Children's Center in Maumee, thanks to a professor who has become a self-appointed recruiter for the tutoring program.

More than 40 Bowling Green students have been visiting the Children's Center once and sometimes twice, a week to tutor children who are having problems with their schoolwork.

Their presence at the center is due to the efforts of Dr. John F. Pettibone, associate professor of journalism at Bowling Green, who has been tutoring at the center himself twice every week since October.

"I wanted something worthwhile to do," Dr. Pettibone explained. "So I called and volunteered."

Students became involved in the project when the professor talked about his work and asked for volunteer tutors from among students in his journalism classes. The volunteers emerged, not only from journalism but also from non-journalism students.

Students majoring in special education got wind of the tutoring program and welcomed the opportunity to try out their developing skills at helping slow learners.

Later, several members of a class in business education joined the volunteer corps.

University students whose special skills were not needed in the tutoring program volunteered to lead recreational activities, such as basketball. One student started a weekly art appreciation class.

The tutoring program is in operation at the center every evening, Monday through Thursday. According to James McGinnis, director of the center, Bowling Green students make up a large majority of the 69 volunteer tutors there.

"Dr. Pettibone has done a great job recruiting for us in Bowling Green," he said. "We also have four or five students coming from Mary Manse College and from the University of Toledo."

"Tutoring is done on a one-to-one basis, just as parents would help their own children at home," Mr. McGinnis explained. The program was begun because a high percentage of children living at the center are behind academically, and past experience has shown that tutors help.

Dr. Pettibone's first tutoring assignment was with a 17-year-old girl who needed tutoring in a journalism course. When she was placed in a foster home, he turned to a 10-year-old boy with a reading problem.

"It's good if a tutor can stick with the same child each visit," Dr. Pettibone said. "This way the child can see that someone cares enough to come every week. Attachments are formed, and the tutor becomes a sort of family substitute."

"You'll find that an underachiever being tutored like this will sometimes suddenly make progress with his coursework." he added "It's sort of like the kid is saying 'Show me you love me, and I'll do it'."

The needs that are met could very well be mutual for Dr. Pettibone.

While the children need parental love, he enjoys being able to help other children in the absence of his own daughter, now completing her senior year in a New York High School. The professor's wife and daughter will join him in Bowling Green this summer.

Satisfying though the tutoring is, Dr. Pettibone has created one problem in his recruiting efforts.

"It's lack of wheels," he said simply. "Not too many students have cars, and I can only get five in mine, so I try to keep track of who is going and who might be able to drive."

Located at 2500 River Road in Maumee, the Lucas County Children's Center is a home for approximately 330 dependent children of Lucas County, few of which are actually orphans. Many are placed in the Children's Center because conditions in their own homes were not desirable.

The children attend public schools, most of them in the Maumee school system. Mr. McGinnis traces the trend to be behind academically to their former unstable home life.

"When there are problems in the home, the child tends to worry about them, and has no time left to worry about school," he explained.

BOYS AND GIRLS WORKING ON BATTLESHIP "MASSACHUSETTS"

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 30, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to hear that a Federal program is working well and achieving the objectives for which it was created.

Such is apparently the case with the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Fall River, Mass. Boys and girls in the program have been working on the Battleship *Massachusetts*, the Commonwealth's World War II memorial which is permanently anchored at Fall River.

I am including a letter from Paul S. Vaitses, Jr., executive director of the U.S.S. *Massachusetts*, which outlines his experience with the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The letter follows:

APRIL 8, 1971.

Hon. MARGARET M. HECKLER,
Cannon Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HECKLER: Having been an elected official myself, I am sure that your mail is filled with many letters of criticism and complaint. Therefore I thought you might enjoy receiving a letter which is complimentary of a government program for a change.

I am writing in reference to the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in which we have been involved here in Fall River for several years. This program has provided young people, both boys and girls, with the opportunity to work in the maintenance of the ship, the operation of the ticket booth, the ship's store and in my office. Presently we are developing the possibility of using some of these young people as guides on the ship during the summer season.

We have found this program to be of great advantage to us, to the community and to the youngsters themselves. It has provided us with a flexible work force which we would find difficult if not impossible to obtain otherwise. It has provided the community with much needed employment for these youngsters who come from underprivileged families. Finally and most importantly it has provided job experience and training which these young people might not otherwise get until much later in life, if ever. We here at the Battleship have gained great satisfaction in watching some of these youngsters develop responsibility and work skills during their employment with us.

We have found the administration of the Neighborhood Youth Corps under the Director Thomas E. Alecrim to be highly professional and very businesslike. The entire staff has been most cooperative with us and in my opinion is a great asset to Fall River.

In brief, I cannot be too high in my praise for the overall efficacy of the Neighborhood Youth Corps as it effects us here on the Battleship Massachusetts. It is a worthwhile program which I believe you can continue to support wholeheartedly.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL S. VAITSES, Jr.,
Executive Director.

OBSERVANCE OF VERRAZANO DAY, APRIL 17

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, those of us who live in Brooklyn, the name Giovanni Da Verrazano is almost a household word. This is because the bridge which bears this illustrious explorer's name is of such importance to our daily lives.

Those of us who are closely identified with our splendid Italo-American organizations share with them their justifiable pride in this gallant Italian forebear. It is my sincere hope that in the years to come Americans will become truly aware of the great part which Verrazano played in the development of our country, particularly along our eastern shores.

It would be well for all of us to remind ourselves of the deeds of this young 29-year-old Florentine sea captain who is credited with the discovery of New York harbor and Narraganset Bay. These discoveries and his meticulous charting of our coastline from the Carolinas to Newfoundland made relatively simple the navigational procedures which faced the thousands of shipmasters bringing in settlers and establishing trade and commerce between the old and new worlds.

Those who are familiar with Verrazano's successful explorations into the uncharted waterways of the strange and fearsome shores of the new continent, marvel at his perseverance and his bravery. They marvel, too, at the thoroughness and competence of his records and maps marking each new area he penetrated with his courageous crewmen.

Even with all our modern appliances and advanced skills, these maps and charts made almost five centuries ago compare favorably with those of our experts today.

Americans of all racial and national backgrounds would like to claim Giovanni da Verrazano as one of our most illustrious forebears because his was the kind of dauntless courage which helped to make this country great.

Our friends in South America might have enjoyed the same type of rapid settlement and close ties with the old world if Verrazano had been able to chart for them the shores and waterways as he did for us. But Verrazano's southern explorations met with tragic consequences. The actual facts concerning his last and most ill-fated voyage are not clearly established, even so it can be assumed that this gallant navigator was captured by savages, even by cannibals who devoured him and his fellow crewmen.

Mr. Speaker, let us all join with our fellow Americans of Italian lineage and pay tribute to Giovanni da Verrazano.

ATTACKS AIMED AT DESTROYING THE FBI

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I strongly deplore the vicious and unwarranted attacks being aimed at FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. On May 10, he will have served 47 years as head of the Nation's top law enforcement agency.

During these years, he has made the FBI into the most outstanding law enforcement agency in the world—an agency feared by the underworld and the enemies of America.

Mr. Hoover is the target of relentless criticism from the so-called peace groups in the country and, I regret to note, even from some of our so-called leaders in the Congress.

The sad truth is that Mr. Hoover is only the incidental target. The real aim is to tear down the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the agency responsible for America's internal security. Director Hoover is merely the symbol, and by attacking him, revolutionary forces in this country hope to weaken us internally.

Their ultimate aim, of course, is the destruction of the United States as we know it and the substitution of a different form of government.

So the attacks continue.

They attack Mr. Hoover's professional ability. They attack his motives. They attack his ethics, his personal life, and even rummage in the trash can behind his house.

Records are stolen, and selected excerpts are fed to certain "friendly" news media to create a false impression about FBI activities. The FBI is accused of widespread wiretapping without proper legal authority, but no evidence is forthcoming.

The objective clearly is to destroy public confidence in the FBI and create an atmosphere of suspicion that will allow the forces of revolution to breed and flourish.

Not unexpectedly, Mr. Hoover's critics stumble all over themselves when asked to produce a single shred of evidence to document their charges. Finally, they argue that proof is not needed because they believe the charges are true.

So J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI are condemned—without proof—as the targets of half-truths and outright distortions, and are tried by innuendo as the victims of a relentless effort at character assassination.

This is a free country, and the public has the right—indeed, the duty—to scrutinize the activities of Mr. Hoover and the FBI, as well as every other Government agency in the United States. But true Americans will do this openly, fairly, and with the aim of improving the agency and strengthening our internal security, rather than weakening and destroying it.

Strangely enough, all Americans, including those who relentlessly attack the FBI, are guaranteed this right because of the tireless work of men like J. Edgar Hoover and the dedicated Americans who serve in the FBI.

STOKES LEAVES 'EM BEWILDERED

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cleveland, Ohio, which includes my congressional district, has long been plagued by inept leadership, divisive politics, and racial polarity. In 1967, however, Carl B. Stokes was elected mayor of our city after a previously unsuccessful campaign for that office. The national spotlight was focused on the first major city in the United States to elect a black mayor; the local press sang his praises; Clevelanders spoke of a new era of good feeling; all was sweetness and light. Until Mayor Stokes set out to find and implement some meaningful solutions to the city's problems.

After two terms in office, Mayor Stokes has announced that he will not be a candidate for reelection. It is obvious that decision was based upon his utter frustration with the resistance and obstructionism he encountered from those citizens and public officials who placed his defeat above the best interests of their troubled city.

Don Robertson of the Cleveland Press recently wrote an article entitled "Stokes Leaves 'Em Bewildered." I feel it sums up the past 4 years of Cleveland's political history very well and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

STOKES LEAVES 'EM BEWILDERED

(By Don Robertson)

I love the Plain Dealer. I really do. Especially its editorial page. Over years, it has provided the Greater Cleveland community with a sort of laughing gas of the mind, and you can almost always count on its pundits to get to the heart of an issue and reduce it to complete unintelligibility.

This requires great skill and is almost an art form. Consider, as an example, this gem which was published two mornings ago.

"Mayor Stokes' decision not to seek a third term was surprising at this time though there has been considerable controversy recently over his leadership."

Hey, no kidding. That's really laying it on the line.

Ah now, but seriously, folks, I simply quote from the editorial in an effort to describe a state of mind . . . and, for want of a better word, call that state of mind bewilderment.

The politicians are bewildered. The people are bewildered. White people are bewildered. Black people are bewildered. And even columnists are bewildered. At the same time, the mayoral election has been thrown open to just about everyone except Mortimer Snerd and King, the Wonder Dog.

I have no idea what Stokes intends to do after his term expires, but I do know that in the past year or so he has been terribly discouraged. In his view, an entrenched and short-sighted establishment has stood in the way of his efforts to bring people together and get the city going again. Also, he feels he has been badgered and bedeviled by racism, Council, the newspapers and both political parties.

And he obviously is right. The establishment is no different than it was four years ago. White racists will always despise black people who hold public office. The Council has never gotten along with any mayor. The newspapers are not in business to make public officials look good. And, finally, both political parties have indeed formed a loose confederation aimed at forcing Stokes out of office.

This last point is very interesting. What will happen to all those petition drives now? It is my guess that the Democrats will drop out very quickly, figuring that their candidate will be white and that a white Democrat will beat a white Republican any day of the week. (And, for that reason, forget all the talk about Ralph Perk being a front runner.)

The political reaction to Stokes' announcement is quite interesting, especially the remarks attributed to those Stokes haters in Council who were drooling in their anxiety to get rid of him and now turn around and accuse him of "betraying" the city.

As for Stokes himself, all I can say is that he was an imperfect, stubborn, bright and courageous mayor, and I wish him well. The deck was stacked against him, and these fourth-raters on the Board of Elections even changed the rules in an effort to get him out of office, and yet he never gave up. Not really. I expect we'll be hearing from him again, and quite soon.

PATRICK YOUNG OF THE NATIONAL OBSERVER BECOMES "A BELIEVER" IN THE FAIR CREDIT REPORTING ACT

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, most people are aware that when they fail to pay their bills for any reason—including a dispute over the legitimacy of the charge—they run the risk of damaging their "credit rating" and that this might have embarrassing consequences. But comparatively few Americans are aware of how far reaching an adverse and perhaps erroneous entry in an anonymous credit bureau file somewhere can be to their economic situation. It can prevent extensions of credit; it can lead to the rejection of an application for insurance, and it might also keep an individual from getting a job for which he has applied. Until Sunday of this week, the individual affected had little or no opportunity to protect his "Good Name" in this kind of situation.

On Sunday the new Fair Credit Reporting Act went into effect, giving every individual, for the first time, the clear legal right to find out the kind of information about him being compiled and sold by credit bureaus. The law was passed last October as part of Public Law 91–508, creating a new title VI of the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968.

As the manager of this legislation in the House, and as sponsor of a bill with numerous provisions stronger than the legislation which was enacted, I was disappointed that the Senate conferees would not agree to include in the law a requirement that each credit bureau subject to the act send out a notice once to every person on whom a credit report has been made after the effective date of the act that it has developed a file on his background and where it can be found, in case the individual wants to review the accuracy of the information and correct any errors.

REJECTION FOR CREDIT, INSURANCE OR EMPLOYMENT TRIGGERS NOTIFICATION

As enacted, the law places upon the prospective creditor, insurer or employer who turns down an individual's application the responsibility of advising the individual of the name and address of any credit bureau which furnished information responsible in whole or in part for the businessman's decision to reject the application. Hence, the only way a consumer knows for sure whether a particular credit bureau may have a file on his background is to be turned down by a client of the credit bureau for some benefit for which the individual has applied.

According to an article in the National Observer yesterday by Patrick Young, this solves only part of the consumer's problem—for several or many other credit bureaus may have the same information about him, and if the information is wrong, or outdated, and he is concerned about the possible consequences of this inaccurate data on his economic status, he faces a formidable task in tracking down all of the credit bureaus which may have a file in his name.

THE $20,000 LAW SUIT

Mr. Young experienced his first brush with credit bureau information when he applied for a loan last January—before the new act took effect—and "the bank wanted to know about the $20,000 lawsuit pending against me."

"So did I," adds the writer. "No one had told me about it."

The lawsuit, he writes, had been filed without his knowledge as a result of a minor automobile accident in which he was involved and in which the total damage to both cars was $148. The suit was settled by Mr. Young's insurance firm and was dismissed more than 4 months before he applied for the bank loan, but the Credit Bureau report obtained by the bank nevertheless referred only to the filing of the lawsuit, not its disposition. I am informed this is a very common situation in credit bureau procedures—there may have been a newspaper article, perhaps in a legal journal, on the filing of the lawsuit but its disposition was not reported and credit bureaus, as a general rule, apparently do not have the resources and manpower to check out court records and verify every piece of raw information which comes into their possession. Thus, it is frequently quite important to an individual to learn about the existence and location of credit bureau files which contain entries about him, so that he can bring about a correction of erroneous or obsolete or incomplete or misleading data.

In his article in the National Observer, Mr. Young tells about the difficulties he experienced in trying to track down all of the credit bureau files on him and clear his credit rating, in the absence of the rights every individual is now accorded under the Fair Credit Reporting Act, and says:

> What I found made me a believer in the new Federal law, effective April 25, that requires a credit agency to supply you, on request, with a summary of nearly all information in your dossier.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to all of the Members who were present in the House last October 13 and voted for the conference report on H.R. 15073 which contained as its title VI what is now the Fair Credit Reporting Act. This article not only describes Mr. Young's own personal experience with credit reports but is a good explanation of what the new law contains.

ARTICLE IN NATIONAL OBSERVER

Under unanimous consent, I therefore submit as part of my remarks, the column "On the Practical Side" from the National Observer of April 26, 1971, entitled: "A New Law Helps—How Faulty Credit Data Blocked One Man's Loan" by Patrick Young, as follows:

A NEW LAW HELPS: HOW FAULTY CREDIT DATA BLOCKED ONE MAN'S LOAN

(By Patrick Young)

Ever wonder about what's in your file at a credit-reporting service?

I did. What I found made me a believer in a new Federal law, effective April 25, that requires a credit agency to supply you, on request, with a summary of nearly all information in your dossier.

It was more than mere curiosity or a reporter's instinct that sent me searching for credit files on me and my wife. I had applied for a loan last January from my friendly, full-service bank, where I had obtained similar loans before. I expected a telephone call saying the loan was approved.

It didn't happen that way. The bank wanted to know about the $20,000 law suit pending aaginst me. So did I. No one had told me about it.

For two days the bank refused to tell me where it had learned of the suit, what it involved, or where it had been filed. But it did say that if I was being sued, sorry, no loan—even if I had insurance to cover any judgment against me.

Finally the bank informed me the report had come from Stone's Mercantile Agency Co. Stone's told me where the suit had been filed and my lawyer quickly checked. I, indeed, had been sued on July 20, 1970. The suit involved, apparently, a medical claim from a minor traffic accident, total damage to both cars, $148. And the suit, settled by my insurance company, had been dismissed on Sept. 4.

With that cleared up, I got my loan. But I began wondering who else had files on me, and what they contained. And so I started looking in early April, and gained some knowledge about what credit-agency reports contain. I did wonder, since the law had not gone into effect, what co-operation I would get. I didn't get much at a couple of agencies, but from others I got plenty—too much in fact.

ACCURATE BUT DULL

I checked first with Stone's. A young man read me my file, which took up a single sheet of yellow paper. It was accurate and dull: my employer, one previous employer; two previous addresses; my wife's maiden name; and the fact that the law suit had been dismissed. I also learned that three credit checks had been run on me through Stone's since 1969.

I was out on the street before a thought struck. No one had asked me for identification. That did make me wonder just how confidential my file was.

My next stop came at the Credit Bureau, Inc., which did check for identification. Here was what I sought. They still had me being sued, seven months after the suit had been dropped. I made arrangements to clear that up. And I learned five department stores thought I did just fine paying my bills.

Finally I visited Retail Credit Co. They found no record on me.

I next called nine of the agencies listed in the telephone-book Yellow Pages. One was out of business, two were collection agencies only, and the others said they had no files on me.

O'Hanlon Reports, one of the agencies that snoops for insurance companies, refused to tell me whether they had a file unless I made an appointment and came into their Washington, D.C., office.

But I had more success at the American Service Bureau, which recently investigated me for a life-insurance company. They had a file, and even offered to read it over the phone. "All the entries are favorable," I was told. Very nice. But again I wondered about confidentiality.

The new Fair Credit Reporting Act for the first time gives all consumers some protection from the shadowy and intrusive activities of the nation's 2,500 credit-re-

porting agencies. No longer is it up to an agency to set its own rules on divulging file contents that may be blocking a crucial loan or other form of credit.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CREDIT

Today credit is a necessary and an almost universal part of American commerce. "We must realize that the old cliche that credit is a privilege and not a right makes no sense in the mid-Twentieth Century America," Arthur R. Miller, professor of law at the University of Michigan, told a Senate subcommittee investigating credit agencies.

The Nation's credit agencies play a vital role in the Nation's credit system. But several congressional investigations, which disclosed abuses and patently unfair practices, forced Congress to enact the new law to regulate the industry.

Credit agencies gather information that indicates the risks involved in granting people credit, and many check out a man's personal life. They readily exchange this data with other agencies, and sell summaries to businesses, insurance companies, and employers. Government agencies, such as the FBI, also have access to their files.

Much of the information comes from consumers themselves, through such things as credit and loan applications. The agencies also check public records and court dockets. But, as I can testify, they can be lax about following court cases to their conclusion.

Careless record-checking can and does cause trouble. A Wisconsin couple was refused a bank loan, but not told why. A relative eventually obtained a credit report for them. The credit agency had confused the husband with a man having a similar, but not identical name, who had a court judgment against him.

More damaging to reputations can be personal investigations, often done for insurance companies and employers, that contain hearsay information gathered from neighbors, acquaintances and "friends."

AN ALCOHOLIC?

A Pennsylvania man was repeatedly denied medical insuarnce for his wife for 11 years. He finally learned through a friend that his wife, whom he testified took perhaps five drinks a year, was listed by a credit agency as an alcoholic.

Previously, most credit agencies barred banks, insurance companies, and businesses from revealing them as the source of derogatory data. Nor would they discuss a person's file until he signed a release freeing them from any court action for circulating false and libelous information. Indeed, Retail Credit Co. long had a policy of neither confirming nor denying a person that it held a dossier on him.

The Fair Credit Reporting Act became law, over strong opposition from credit-agency lobbyists and their friends in Congress, largely through the efforts of Sen. William Proxmire, Wisconsin Democrat, and Rep. Leonor L. Sullivan, Missouri Democrat.

It provides these protections:

Credit agencies must disclose the nature and substance of all information in their files on an individual to him, except medical data. They do not, however, have to let a person see his file. Most will read the material or provide a written summary.

If a person's credit application is rejected, or he is turned down for insurance or employment because of an adverse report, he must be told the name and address of the agency involved. The agency does not have to reveal the names of people providing it with hearsay information, but provisions exist for obtaining the names through court action.

Credit agencies must reveal to whom they have provided credit information in the previous six months and what potential employers have received reports in the previous two years.

Credit agencies must recheck disputed information "within a reasonable period of time," but not if they have "reasonable grounds to believe that the dispute by the consumer is frivolous or irrelevant." If derogatory material is removed from a file, an agency, upon request, must notify anyone receiving a credit report within the previous six months or an employment report within the previous two years. If an agency refuses to remove information, a person may include a 100-word statement, giving his side. This must be included in future reports.

When someone asks for a report on an individual's character and reputation, the subject must be told.

The law limits the circulation of adverse information more than 7 years old, except bankruptcies, which may be included for 14 years. No limit exists, however, for persons who seek loans or life-insurance policies over $50,000, or who seek jobs with annual salaries over $20,000.

Credit agencies can be used if they willfully circulate false data with a malicious intent to harm someone, And if an agency violates the Fair Credit Act and causes an individual financial harm, it can be used. Both, however, are difficult to prove.

With some 2,500 agencies preparing credit reports, learning exactly who has files on you is hard. The Yellow Pages list 28 entries under "Credit Rating & Reporting Agencies" covering Washington, D.C., and its suburbs. Some of the larger agencies—Retail Credit Co., Hooper-Holmes Bureau, Inc., and O'Hanlon Reports, Inc., for example—are not among them.

ANNIVERSARY OF WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING, APRIL 19, 1971

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the tragic stories of the persecution of Jews continue to be carried by the world's news media. Today, it is the Soviet Union, yesterday it was Poland, and tomorrow it could be any country in the world except perhaps Israel. So frequently do these stories arise, it might be expected that the world would become callous and show little reaction to the plight of Jewry in areas wherein they still face oppression. But that is not so because free peoples everywhere have a great compassion for the Jewish people who for centuries have been forced to bear the shackles of oppression and submit to the basest types of persecution.

Within the lifespans of all Americans of all ages pogroms and ghetto atrocities have occurred with sufficient frequency as to make all of us sadly aware of the plight of Jews throughout the world.

Mingled with these stories of persecution there are frequent gratifying stories of successful Jewish resistance, stories of the great courage and valiant attempts of the Jews to rise up against their oppressors. One historic instance of such heroism occurred 28 years ago on April 19, 1943, in Warsaw, Poland.

Free men the world over were thrilled with the news on that day that the Jews living in the Warsaw ghetto suddenly lashed out with a violent attack against their Nazi oppressors. It was on this day that Mordecai Anzelewicz and his Jewish combat organization—ZOB—met the Nazi troops head-on using guns against guns. But the might of Hitler's forces was too much for these courageous Jews and on May 8 the last ZOB outpost was captured.

During those few weeks of bitter fighting over 800 acres of the ghetto were completely devastated—gone were the homes and shops of thousands and thousands of Jews. Gone, too, were more than 56,000 Jewish men, women, and children captured or killed by the Nazis. Other unknown thousands of Jews perished in the firing of the ghetto.

But, Mr. Speaker, not gone and not dead is the memory of the Jewish fighters who challenged the Nazi military might. Not gone or destroyed by the awful fires is the evidence of equally outstanding courage shown by the survivors who mourned both the loss of loved ones and their homes. These survivors pooled their pitiful resources and succored the homeless, the orphans, and the aged. Many of them subsequently found a new life in Israel where at least some of the horrors of the ghetto uprising could be erased from their daily thoughts and their nightmarish dreams.

May our Jewish friends and neighbors gain renewed faith and restored courage from their observance of the anniversary of this historic event. May all of us renew our determination to do everything in our power to end for all peoples of all races, of all faiths and of all creeds the types of oppression and persecution which have for so long a time and over so wide an area beset the Jews of the world.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. PAUL S. SARBANES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 29, 1971

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, this month citizens across the Nation will pay tribute to Poland's role as one of the pioneers of democracy. It was on May 3, 1791—just 2 years after the adoption of the U.S. Constitution—that Poland adopted a constitution which peacefully transformed its government from a monarchy to a democracy.

The annual celebration of this event will be held on Sunday, May 2, by the Polish American Congress, a national organization with chapters in all major cities in the United States. In Maryland the anniversary will be marked by our distinguished Polish community at the Polish Home Hall in Baltimore. Three of our city's most respected Polish-American citizens, John Pasko, Melvin Lasz-

czynski, and John Krysiak, have taken the lead in planning for this event.

The history of the Polish people is one of courage and tragedy. In existence for over 1,000 years, the Polish nation has long been admired for its chivalry and heroism, for its strength and compassion, and above all for its love of liberty which led thi. ancient land to champion the cause of freedom, carrying on its banners the motto "For Our Liberty and Yours." It is one of the great tragedies of history that time and time again the freedom-loving Polish people have seen their beloved country attacked and occupied by aggressive neighbors bent on the subjugation of this great nation.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the Polish people's quest for independence and freedom began in 964 when the North Slavic tribes united under the leadership of the Piast family to form the independent state of Polska with Prince Mieczyslaw as its first ruler. During the following three centuries Poland was engaged in repelling aggression culminating in the invasion of Europe in 1250 by Genghis Khan. It was Poland that finally stopped the Mongul invasion and turned back the tide of barbarism.

During the bitter and divisive religious wars of the Reformation, Poland remained at peace. It proclaimed religious freedom and accepted thousands of victims of religious persecution.

Again in 1683 Poland rescued Europe from impending invasion. In that year Vienna was besieged by half a million Turks. Abandoned by Emperor Leopold I, it was in imminent danger when Pope Innocent XI called upon Poland's King Jan Sobieski to come to the defense of Vienna and Europe. Sobieski led 45,000 Polish troops to Vienna where he assumed command of the Allied forces, and, on September 13, 1683, led his gallant troops in an attack on the Turks which routed the invaders.

This proud history reached its zenith in 1791. It was in that year that Poland's last King, Stanislaw August, brought about the adoption of a new constitution. Exhorting the deputies of the Polish Diet to accept the Constitution as a means of strengthening the country, King Stanislaw succeeded in gaining passage of a document which abolished class distinction, established absolute religious toleration, and declared the equality of all citizens under law.

The Constitution was enthusiastically acclaimed by the Polish people. Tributes from abroad were equally favorable. It was praised by Edmund Burke, the English statesman, and in the new American Republic by President George Washington. Since then historians have concurred with this contemporary opinion in deeming the Constitution of the 3d of May as one of the great achievements in Polish history and as one of the great democratic documents of history.

Hardly had the Constitution been signed, however, when Russia, Prussia, and Austria invaded and partitioned the country in 1793. Despite the heroic efforts of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the great Polish patriot who served as a general in the American Revolutionary War, valiant Poland was overcome in 1795 by her predatory neighbors. In 1919, through the valiant efforts of Jan Paderewski, supported by our great President Woodrow Wilson, Poland again gained its independence. The newly formed Republic of Poland followed the basic ideas of the original Constitution of 1791 whose fundamental concepts were still valid after more than a century.

As we all know this new freedom was brought to an end in 1939 by Hitler's invasion of Poland. For 6 weeks the Polish people tenaciously resisted Nazi military might but finally succumbed when Russia invaded from the east thereby placing Poland under attack on two fronts. Even so, Poland's brave sons fought on with the Allies in England, North Africa. Italy, Belgium, France, and Germany. It is one of the great tragedies of history that Poland's freedom was not restored at the end of World War II and that the great rights contained in the Constitution of 1791 do not exist in that country today.

This May 3 all Americans can with gratitude salute the Polish nation and pray for the ultimate triumph of justice—a free Poland once more able to follow its own destiny. In the words of Poland's national anthem "Jeszcze Polska Nie Zginela"—"Poland is not yet lost"—nor will she ever be.

NEW YORK CITY WELFARE FAMILIES ON FREE SKI TRIPS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 30, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Chicago Tribune recently published an excellent editorial criticizing the practice of sending New York City welfare families on free ski trips.

This editorial, which was reprinted in the Indianapolis News on April 12, makes note of remarks of mine on the subject of ski trip programs.

It should be noted that since this editorial was written, and following my protest, the ski trip program has been terminated.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial "Say It Again" be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SAY IT AGAIN

Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, the new watchdog of the Treasury, charged that $30,000 in tax funds had been diverted from a New York Model Cities program to send welfare recipients on ski trips to Massachusetts, Vermont and upstate New York. WCBS radio of New York said that 600 reliefers had been given ski outings through the Bronx Model Cities program.

Byrd said he had requested verification of the facts from George Romney, secretary of housing and urban development, but that Romney had proved reticent.

"These funds come from hard-working American taxpayers," said Sen. Byrd. "They are a public trust. To use public funds for frills such as ski trips is to take money away from people truly in need."

Byrd said that HUD was not alone in squandering tax dollars. He recalled that in January a mother and her four children were put up at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York at a cost to the taxpayers of $76 a day with the full approval of welfare officials, and that a man in Pennsylvania earning $21,853 a year qualifies for a monthly welfare grant of $250.40 under a loophole in state law.

"I think the American people are getting fed up with this kind of abuse of trust by public officials," Byrd said. He can say that again.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Monday, May 3, 1971*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.—Matthew 11: 28.

Almighty and Eternal God, who art the refuge and strength of all who put their trust in Thee, grant that as we enter another week with its perplexing problems we may be conscious of Thy presence and obedient to the leading of Thy Holy Spirit. May we give expression to the kind of leadership which continues the efforts of our fathers to build on these shores a nation resting on moral and spiritual foundations with liberty and justice for all.

Help us to daily yield ourselves to Thee whose guidance is available, whose strength is sufficient, whose love is inexhaustible, and whose truth endureth through all generations. And to Thee be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A 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 amendment of the House to the bill (S. 70) entitled "An act to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to provide an additional source of financing for the rural telephone program and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 575) entitled "An act to authorize funds to carry out the purposes of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, as amended," agrees to a conference requested by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. COOPER, Mr.