

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE FEDERAL RESERVE MOVES FOR MORE POWER

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve Banking System, a private financial money monopoly, now seeks to extend its reserve control over all U.S. banks.

The action would give greater control to the Fed through its "open market operations" in the regulation of the money supply and permit dictatorial power over implementation of its monetary policies.

Instead of Congress extending the Federal Reserve monopoly over non-Federal Reserve banks, it is past time for Congress to regain control of our money as provided in the Constitution. That is why I introduced H.R. 351 to buy back Federal Reserve Bank stock and restore control of our money to Congress under the pressures of concerned citizens rather than the secret control of our people's wealth by internationalists.

I include a newsclipping and the text of my H.R. 351, as follows:

## FED SEEKS EXPANDED CREDIT ROLE

(By James L. Rowe Jr.)

The custodian of the nation's money supply is seeking legislation to give it increased control over the credit policies of the nation's financial institutions.

The Federal Reserve Board urges Congress in a report issued yesterday to make all institutions handling checking accounts subject to the Fed's reserve requirements on such accounts.

The reserve requirement, one of the Fed's tools for regulating the money supply, forces a bank to set aside a certain percentage of its assets as a "reserve" against its checking accounts—called demand deposits. There is a similar reserve requirement for savings, or time deposits.

By varying the reserve requirements, the Fed can either loosen or tighten the nation's credit policy. For example, if it raises the reserve requirement, member banks are forced to keep more deposits "on hand," reducing the amount they can lend.

Currently only banks that are members of the Federal Reserve system are subject to the Fed's requirements. While fewer than half the nation's banks belong to the system, they account for the bulk of U.S. banking assets.

As of March 31, 5,754 of the country's 13,700 banks were members of the system. But Fed member banks had deposits totaling \$386.7 billion, about 80 per cent of the nation's banking total of \$482 billion.

The legislation the Fed requests in its 1970 annual report would put not only non-member commercial banks under its reserve requirements, but also any other institutions that offer checking accounts. While nearly every checking account in the country currently is offered by a commercial bank, a Fed spokesman said there are a few mutual savings banks that offer such accounts.

Also, he said, there are bills before a number of state legislatures, primarily in New

England, that would give mutual savings banks authority to handle checking accounts.

"The reasons for that change in the structure of reserve requirements have become stronger with the passage of time. . . ." the report says.

"Because demand deposits held by any institution are part of the country's money supply just as are those in member banks, applying the same demand-deposit reserve requirements to all such institutions would facilitate the effective implementation of monetary policy," the Fed's report says.

Reserve requirements may be varied within a range set by Congress. Currently, the range spreads from 12½ per cent for "country" banks with assets under \$5 million to 17½ per cent for "reserve city" banks with assets over \$5 million.

Changing reserve requirements, however, is a technique the Fed uses infrequently in its attempts to control the money supply. The tool the Fed uses the most is its "open-market operations." Through open-market operations the Fed, with the New York Federal Reserve Bank as its agent, sells government securities to contract the money supply, or buys them to expand it.

By selling securities, the Fed soaks up funds which banks might otherwise lend, or vice versa.

The Fed also recommends that the geographical limits on its ability to set reserve ratios—the reserve city bank-country bank dichotomy—be changed so that reserve requirements "would be based on the amount of an institution's deposits, without regard to the location of the institution."

The Fed again is pleading for legislation to give the government standby authority to guarantee private loans to firms "when such assistance appears to be the only practical way of avoiding a national financial crisis or of enabling such firms to continue activities essential in the national interest."

The White House has sent legislation to Congress seeking approval to guarantee \$250 million worth of bank loans to the ailing Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

## H.R. 351

A bill to vest in the Government of the United States the full, absolute complete, and unconditional ownership of the twelve Federal Reserve banks

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized and directed forthwith to purchase the capital stock of the twelve Federal Reserve banks and branches, and agencies thereof, and to pay to the owners thereof, the par value of such stock at the date of purchase.*

(b) All member banks of the Federal Reserve System are hereby required and directed to deliver forthwith to the Treasurer of the United States, by the execution and delivery of such documents as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, all the stock of said Federal Reserve banks owned or controlled by them, together with all claims of any kind or nature in and to the capital assets of the said Federal Reserve banks, it being the intention of this Act to vest in the Government of the United States the absolute, complete, and unconditional ownership of the said Federal Reserve banks.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

## A TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

## HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, May 29, 1971, would have been the 54th birthday of our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I think it is fitting and proper that we take time today to honor his memory and to reflect on his life and its meaning for America.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Mass. He was the son of Joseph Patrick Kennedy and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy.

As a boy, John Kennedy attended public and private schools in Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut. In 1940, he graduated from Harvard University cum laude. He also attended the London School of Economics and Stanford University.

During World War II, John Kennedy served in the Navy as a PT boat commander in the Pacific, and was decorated for heroic conduct in saving the lives of three members of his crew. He was also awarded a Purple Heart for a back injury which plagued him for the rest of his life.

After the war, Kennedy worked for a short time as a newspaper correspondent. In 1946, at the age of 29, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from the 11th District of Massachusetts. Six years later, Kennedy defeated Henry Cabot Lodge for the U.S. Senate. He was reelected to the Senate in 1958.

Prior to the 1960 Democratic National Convention, Senator Kennedy announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President. He took his case to the people and won primary election victories in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Nebraska, and Illinois.

Senator Kennedy won the Democratic nomination for President on the first ballot, defeating his closest rival, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas. The theme for Kennedy's acceptance speech was "The New Frontier," and he promised to get America moving again.

In one of the closest, hardest fought political campaigns in American history, John F. Kennedy defeated his Republican opponent, Richard M. Nixon, by a narrow margin and became the 35th President of the United States. He was the first Roman Catholic and the youngest man elected President in our Nation's history.

The Kennedy administration was marked by some mistakes and failures as well as some successes. Few of his successes with Congress were 100 percent. Compromises often had to be made be-

fore his legislative programs could be enacted into law.

In international affairs, the Kennedy administration successfully negotiated a limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. The Cuban missile crisis was brought to a satisfactory and peaceful conclusion. In response to the Russian launching of sputnik, President Kennedy accelerated the American space program. He predicted that we would land a man on the moon by 1970, and we did. He channeled America's idealism and know-how into the Peace Corps. Most significant was the Kennedy administration's overall efforts to effectuate a thaw in the cold war atmosphere that existed in the 1950's.

In domestic affairs, the Kennedy administration took two important initiatives. First, President Kennedy proposed a broad tax-reform program to the 88th Congress which was designed to reduce the tax burden on low- and middle-income families and to spur the economy; and second, President Kennedy began moving the country toward racial equality. He declared that it was the policy of this administration to assist blacks and other minorities in the struggle for their rights. In June 1963, President Kennedy sent a special message to Congress asking Congress to pass what was described as the most sweeping civil rights bill since Reconstruction days.

Accompanied by his wife, Jackie, the President journeyed to Texas in November 1963, to fulfill a speaking engagement. While greeting the enormous crowd which lined the route of his motorcade, President Kennedy was shot and killed by an assassin in downtown Dallas on November 22, 1963. Profound shock and grief extended out from the Capitol of the United States around the world. Dignitaries from 92 countries joined in the requiem for the fallen President. He was buried on November 25, 1963, in Arlington National Cemetery.

In 1960, America issued a "call to greatness," and John F. Kennedy answered that call. He provided the inspirational leadership that America and the world so desperately need. He was a man who valued courage above all the other virtues; and a man who won the hearts of Americans and people the world over with his quick wit and warm sense of humor. His close friends and associates most admired the tremendous capacity for growth he demonstrated while holding the office of President.

It is difficult to speculate on what President Kennedy would or would not have done if he had lived. But one thing is certain: President Kennedy exemplified all that is best in America. His leadership, his compassion, and his sense of humor are sorely missed.

#### ALASKA ASKS STUDY OF CANAL

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the growth of the southwestern part of Alaska is

greatly dependent on accessibility of the deepwater seaport in that area. Presently the Yukon River is without a seaport at its mouth and Bethel on the Kuskokwim River is the best developed and most accessible deepwater seaport in the area. However, this is not enough to insure economic growth in southwestern Alaska.

The construction of a Yukon-Kuskokwim Canal would greatly enrich the economy of Alaska by making the products and resources of the Yukon and Kuskokwim River Valleys available to all markets.

Presently, there are no plans to build this needed canal. However, the Alaska State Legislature and the Governor have requested that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers initiate a study and prepare a report on the feasibility of the construction of the canal between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. I am including into the RECORD for your information a copy of the joint resolution passed by the Alaska State Legislature:

#### ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE, 1971—HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 42

(Relating to a feasibility study for a canal between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers)

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas the Yukon River is without a seaport at its mouth; and

Whereas Bethel, on the Kuskokwim River, is the best developed and most accessible deep-water seaport in western Alaska; and

Whereas construction of a Yukon-Kuskokwim canal would greatly enrich the economy of Alaska by making the products and resources of the Yukon and Kuskokwim River Valleys readily available to world markets; and

Whereas a canal linking the two rivers would greatly aid development, not only economic, but otherwise, of the region;

Be it resolved by the Alaska State Legislature that the Governor is respectfully requested, with the cooperation of the United States Army Corps of Engineers, to initiate a study and prepare a report on the feasibility of the construction of a canal between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers.

#### TRIBUTE TO ZENON C. R. HANSEN

### HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to a constituent, Zenon C. R. Hansen, who on May 5, 1971, received the Human Relations Award of the Automotive and Allied Industries Division of the American Jewish Committee Appeal for Human Relations.

A brilliant executive committed to public service, Zenon Hansen is indeed well-deserving of this award. Aside from his outstanding record as president and chairman of the board of Mack Trucks, Inc., he has been a leader of many philanthropic, civic, and cultural programs. Mr. Hansen has been an outstanding industrialist committed to the improvement of human relations as well as to the growth of his business. His career, both public and private, is a fine example for others to follow.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the award and the testimonial remarks made by Phillip I. Berman, President of Hess' of Allentown, with respect to Zenon Hansen's extraordinary talents and the achievements and goals of the American Jewish Committee.

The material follows:

#### THE AUTOMOTIVE AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES HUMAN RELATIONS AWARD TO ZENON C. R. HANSEN

The Automotive and Allied Industries Division of the American Jewish Committee is privileged to pay tribute to Zenon C. R. Hansen, a brilliant executive who has made commitment to public service a cornerstone of his distinguished career.

Chairman of the Board and President of Mack Trucks, Inc., his 44-year career has been marked by innovative ideas and dedication to the advancement of excellence that have made him one of the most respected and eloquent representatives of the automotive industry.

At the same time, his love of country and his devotion to his fellow human beings has been expressed through leadership of scores of philanthropic, civic and cultural endeavors. Among these are: The Boy Scouts of America, the American Humanics Foundation, the Allentown Art Museum and the Allentown Symphony, as well as many patriotic organizations, colleges, universities and schools and enterprises promoting communal betterment. He has been honored by numerous organizations including the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom and B'nai B'rith which in 1970 presented him with its Humanitarian Award. He has also been associated with voluntary organizations overseas including Noar L'Noar, an Israeli youth organization.

These are but a small sampling of this extraordinary man's activities in behalf of the common good. His business and public career have set standards for others to follow. His principles and achievements have been an inspiration to all who know him or have worked with him. The American Jewish Committee is proud to have its name linked with his.

#### PHILIP I. BERMAN TESTIMONIAL TO ZENON C. R. HANSEN—HUMAN RELATIONS AWARD DIN- NER, MAY 5, 1971

This is indeed a happy occasion.

All of us are pleased for this opportunity to pay tribute to Zenon Hansen, a distinguished leader whose business career and community activities are affirmations of man's capacity to do good. His sense of responsibility has been channeled into literally scores of effective causes. As a resident of Allentown, I know the respect and esteem he commands and I know how well-deserved is his reputation. I am honored to share this platform with him tonight and to participate in this event which gives him public recognition.

Tonight we are also affirming our support for the American Jewish Committee, a cause which for more than sixty years has claimed the devotion and commitment of men and women of many religions and from many walks of life. I know that some of you are familiar with AJC and many of its programs, while others may not be so informed. What I would like to do in the next few minutes is to give you a brief picture of what the committee has done, is doing, and hopes to achieve in the future.

A number of years ago, I was a member of a six man AJC Team which visited four countries in South America: Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru. We established a dialogue with the political leaders, the cardinals and papal representatives in each of these countries. This group was sent by the AJC to

represent the liberal point of view for the Second Ecumenical Council. I have been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee which has been active in the rights of many minorities in countries all over the world. Not only was I able to bring my resources to the committee's effort, but I became a more informed person through this involvement. Whatever I had to offer was better utilized through these channels. I mention my involvement in the committee, not so much to indicate what I have done, but rather to indicate what I have learned by working with it.

The AJC fights bigotry—its violent eruption and its causes. It was AJC research that first exposed the bigot as a twisted personality—as a man in need of psychiatric help.

It was the committee that launched the self-studies of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious texts which resulted in revised materials cleansed of derogatory statements about other groups. This continuing program will eventually bring revised religious texts into the hands of three-hundred-million people throughout the world.

It was AJC that first focused world attention on Soviet anti-semitism . . . on the plight of the blue-collar worker . . . on the need for a more effective coalition to examine the criminal justice system in our urban centers . . . and so much more.

Jews are human beings who wish to live as free people, and to build a decent society. For us this is not easy. In the Soviet Union, we see trials that are rigged against Jews. We see official scapegoating of Jews for everything from internal economic ills to world tensions. We see Russia cynically using its 3,000,000 Jewish citizens as political hostages in its power game in the middle east.

You can't live in Russia as a Jew, and you can't die in Russia as a Jew. Russia consists of about 109 ethnic groups. Each ethnic group may keep its identity. Each one is considered a national group, and has a territory where it can live & its nationality be identified. Even the Jews are the 11th largest ethnic group in all of Russia, they are the only group that does not have its own territory in which to live and allow its identity & culture to flourish. Between 1961-64, there was persecution because of economic failures which the government could not admit. There were approximately 750 executions for so called "economic crimes." 50% of the victims were Jews.

The American Jewish Committee, which was founded many years ago, in response to crimes against Jews in Russia, was the first organization to expose & document Soviet Anti-Semitism. It is still in the vanguard as spokesman for 3,000,000 persecuted human beings, still living there.

On its own, and through the American conference on Soviet Jewry, we continue to focus the harsh light of world opinion on Soviet opportunism & the Russian's never-ebbing campaign to destroy Jewish life & tradition in that country. During the many protests over Soviet anti-Semitism—such as the one which resulted in the commutation of the death sentence for two Jews accused of a hijacking conspiracy which never even took place—the AJC played a major role in marshaling world opinion, in seeking diplomatic moves by our nation and others, and in securing help from Protestant & Catholic leaders.

Jews are a universal minority, through our long experience, we learn what creates and what destroys. We have learned many lessons which can serve the United States. Here in our own Nation we are experiencing a time of rapid social upheaval. Americans' responses demand the highest qualities of wisdom & reason. Yet in all too many instances, we have failed to meet the challenge—behaving less like a cohesive nation & more like a number of unrelated racial, religious & ethnic groups—each distrusting, and indeed, fearing, the motives of the other.

It is in this kind of atmosphere that AJC continues its efforts to promote solutions rooted in moderation. It is not an easy role. Immobilizing dissent & iron-fisted repression are much easier commodities to sell—and they are being sold by medicine men whose cure could kill the patient.

If we would keep America a nation that can produce social change through consensus, we must produce new approaches to our problems.

Just last year this American Jewish Committee launched its "Shaping Safer Cities" program. Briefly, it is a new kind of coalition of more than 50 national and local organizations which seek to reorder and streamline the law enforcement and the criminal justice systems in our urban centers.

The committee was the first agency to bring to national attention the plight of the white blue-collar worker—his frustrations and his feelings of being abandoned to the interest of others. Above all, we pointed out that to call him a damned racist was an untrue generalization which only succeeded in driving him toward backlash. Today this subject of backlash is high on America's agenda. In fact recently, the Ford Foundation gave AJC a grant of \$250,000 to continue its work in this particular area.

In urban ghettos, the tensions between the police and residents have been the sparks which, in many cases, ignited into conflagrations. AJC's specific remedy has been a series of workshops for law enforcement officials. The pioneer effort has become standard operational procedure in New York, Philadelphia and other cities throughout the Nation.

In still another area, the committee has run conferences on the relationship between the mass media and race relations. These were attended by top media executives and representatives of minority groups. These conferences have become models for similar give-and-take sessions which have led to better understanding and impressive results in many cities.

Israel is of great concern to AJC. Surely the situation in the Middle East is of concern to all of us. I know that Mr. Hansen has done much to support the cause of Israel, and I am sure that he is in the mainstream of thinking Americans who consider it our Nation's moral responsibility to support and strengthen the only democracy in the Middle East.

Surely no American—Jew or non-Jew—can stand idly by while forces in this country seek to weaken Israel's strength by preventing American support for a nation which has the same aims and goals as our own.

The American Jewish Committee is committed to a nationwide educational program which explains Israel's peaceful and democratic aims. We present Israel's case where it matters most:

To opinion-molders in the United States Government.

To the general American public.

And to the leadership of the Christian church.

From my experience, I have found the American Jewish Committee to be flexible in the face of rapid change. So many institutions seem to be bewildered by the shock of change which is not only inevitable, but comes at such a rapid pace. I believe that AJC is responsive to society's needs and tries to meet these needs with a mature sense of responsibility.

The problems of change must be met by our American system, that is, by the institutions that make up the American way of life. The greatness of this Nation is found, in large measure, in the systems which it created to deal with this change. The AJC understands that laymen and professionals can form a partnership to keep institutions sensitive and responsive.

The American Jewish Committee functions through this partnership of professionals on the one hand, who are able to communicate their ideas and research, and in-

telligent laymen on the other hand, who, in concert with the professionals, form a wonderful combination of dialogue. The tradition of research on the problems of human attitudes and behavior about the reconciliation of the races, is done thoroughly and courageously through scholarship, scientific methodology, and understanding of human beings, the committee has established many of the landmark studies about bigotry, religious and racial prejudice, and the responsibility of society and government for the rights of all people.

The high level of professionalism, commitment, and integrity, have attracted to the committee, gifted people who are willing to give generously of their talent, time, and means, toward the perfection of American society.

These professionals and laymen recognize their obligation to work for the good of this Nation through the existing institutions. It is to the credit of the laymen who work on the committees, that they have seen fit to attract and inspire these professionals in the field of human relations who often disagree with each other and hold conflicting ideas. They sit in the same room with laymen who also may hold conflicting ideas, but who have less evidence and data about particular problems. Together, through dialogue, they hammer out ideas and directions which government and civic leaders, college professors, and businessmen all accept as valid and significant.

AJC is one of those rare organizations which quietly and effectively demonstrates faith in America to make order out of chaos. It provides one necessary reservoir of facts and ideas which leaders need to make government, business, religion, and education responsive to the needs of America's future.

I am proud to be part of so vital an organization, and thank you for supporting it so generously tonight.

"WE LOVE AMERICA DAY" IN  
CLINTON, MO.

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 at Clinton, Mo., which is the county seat of Henry County and a part of the Fourth Congressional District, which it has been our honor to represent these past dozen years in Congress, Mayor Gus S. Wetzel proclaimed that day "We Love America Day."

The spark for the drive that resulted in the proclamation by the mayor, came from members of the freshman class at Clinton Junior High School. Way back on May 12 the students commenced their work. They were helped along by a most interesting news story in the Clinton Daily Democrat of that date. These young people then asked Clintonians to put a circle around May 21 on their calendars. They asked that everyone participate in the patriotic theme by flying flags at their homes and wearing clothing that contained our beloved colors of red, white, and blue.

It is my privilege to report to my colleagues in the Congress that this fine group of young people, not yet old enough to attend senior high school, did such a good job of making this day a success that they placed posters in businesses around the courthouse square

and distributed handbills throughout the entire community.

The leaders of this effort then proceeded to schedule an assembly which was held at the Clinton Junior High School on Friday, May 21. The program of the assembly included short talks on patriotism by several junior high school students. One of the finest literary efforts that I have read recently, was the wording of the proclamation, signed by the mayor, which was prepared by these same junior high school students. Without quoting from the proclamation verbatim, the principal idea was, while we have problems in this democracy, we also possess the opportunity to solve these problems peacefully without revolution. The resolution went on to recite that working together in a free society is one of the greatest opportunities to be found anywhere on earth. Certainly we should be proud of the fact that we enjoy this opportunity.

There is enough plaudits for everyone to share but I would be remiss if I did not mention the idea for "We Love America Day" originated in the American history class of Mrs. Julia Cary and was taken over as a project by a committee composed of: Glenda Arwood, Gloria Mintum, Debbie Thompson, Vencie Morgan, Kathy Ross, Melinda Gaspy, Lynn Barbee, Danny Gaspy, Murray Jennex, Judy Johnson and Vic Titus.

The event of May 21 was under the sponsorship of all of the 178 members of the Freshman Class buttressed by enthusiastic backing of Principal Jim Phillips as well as co-chairmen, Danny Gaspy and Kathy Ross.

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to add my salute to these young Americans of Clinton Junior High School who on their own decided on a project, then named it, and took the time and effort to carry it to a successful conclusion. By their hard work "We Love America Day," was a great success. Remember these are young people who had an idea and then proceeded to encourage their parents and other adult citizens to support a day set aside to recognize the freedom and rights that our country offers and which stands as a symbol throughout the world.

Activities of this kind by the youth of Clinton, Henry County, Mo., stand out in such a sharp contrast from what happened in the city of Washington on May 1st through the 5th of this very same month of May 1971.

The event of May 21 in Clinton, Mo., proved that while the freaks, the weirdos and crazies may be a much publicized aspect of American youth, I am convinced they are only a minor aspect compared to the great majority of our young people who are the kind that sponsored "We Love America Day" in Clinton, Mo. Its "hats off" with a standing salute from their Congressman and from everyone who recognizes the real worth of what they proceeded to accomplish on May 21 of this year. I am sure that I speak for all others who observed their fine efforts. We all hope they will not omit to repeat this effort next year.

### SHRINER'S HOSPITAL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

#### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 16, 1971, the Shriners celebrated the 49th anniversary of the opening of their first orthopedic hospital for crippled children. The Salaam Temple, of which many of my constituents are members, take an active part in this worthwhile project which provides care and treatment for children whose parents are unable to afford the expensive treatment necessary.

At the present time five young children from my own district are undergoing treatment which their parents could otherwise not afford. I am very proud of this tremendous effort on the part of the Shriners nationally and am especially proud although not surprised that Shriners in my district take such an active part in this crucial program.

At this time I would like to insert into the Record some additional information prepared by the Shriners regarding their program. I commend the information to the attention of my colleagues.

The information follows:

#### WHAT ARE THE FACTS ABOUT THE SHRINERS HOSPITALS FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN?

##### 22 SHRINERS HOSPITALS

The first Shriners Hospital For Crippled Children was opened in Shreveport, Louisiana, September 16, 1922. As the need increased, more Units were added until today there are 22 Units throughout the United States, Canada and Mexico. These Units of the Shriners Hospitals For Crippled Children represent a construction investment of many, many million dollars. It is not hard to realize the huge operating cost of these 22 Units when you consider that Shriners Hospitals actively care for approximately 30,000 patients each year (in and out-patients); that 8,000 of these patients are treated as in-patients, with an average days' stay of 45 days in the Orthopedic Units and 57 days for acutely burned children in the Shriners Burns Institutes; and that there are more than 66,000 out-patient clinic visits each year. Since the first hospital opened in 1922, more than 160,000 children have been treated, with 180,000 admissions to the hospital, and nearly 2,000,000 clinic visits to the out-patients' dept. Shriners Hospitals For Crippled Children have provided more than 14,000,000 Orthopedic patient days since the first Unit was opened in 1922, and Shriners Burns Institutes have provided nearly 100,000 patient days since the first Burns Unit was opened in Galveston, Texas, March 20, 1966.

The Burns Institutes of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children have a three-fold purpose—to save children's lives and restore their bodies through intensive care to prevent the crippling effects of severe burns, to undertake research in burns therapy, to advance medicine's ability to care for and treat children with burns, and to instruct medical personnel in the care and treatment of burned children.

The Shrine chose "Children's Burns" as an extension of the Shriners Hospitals For Crippled Children, because it was felt that severe burns in children, unless properly treated,

are our country's greatest unmet medical need. Some authorities call burns the largest single hazard of childhood.

#### WHAT IS SO UNIQUE ABOUT A SHRINERS BURNS UNIT?

For one thing, special equipment and facilities enable the staff to provide superior care for severely burned patients. Patients are under visual observation at all times and electronic monitoring devices attached to a patient under intensive care transmit heart-beat, temperature, blood pressure and respiration to a central station. Special beds facilitate handling the patient when necessary. Laboratory teams constantly evaluate the patient's condition. The research program studies ways to improve the treatment of all types of burns. Special precautions are taken in treating burns because infection is one of the serious hazards, and unusual features for its control are used in the Burns Institutes.

What is the cost of patient care? It has been estimated that the cost of treatment for a severely burned patient may be more than \$10,000. In addition to this, massive amounts of blood—often as much as 100 pints—are also needed.

As in the case of the Orthopedic Units, admission standards for the Shriners Hospitals For Crippled Children, Burns Institutes, are that a child must be fifteen years of age or under, and his parents or guardians are unable to pay for treatment. All patients are admitted regardless of race or creed.

#### TRANSFORMING VICTORY INTO DEFEAT

#### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Epictetus said:

The appearance of things to the mind is the standard of every action to man.

In no area of public opinion is the influence of the mass media so far reaching and profound as in that of foreign affairs. This is primarily due to the fact that virtually the only contact an individual has with those subjects on which he is forming an opinion comes through media channels.

This dependency makes balanced and accurate news coverage of foreign events essential for a correct general public understanding.

A recent Lou Harris poll dealing with Southeast Asia has confirmed beyond a shadow of a reasonable doubt that in at least one area of foreign news coverage blatant misrepresentation by large segments of the American media is taking place.

Having access to official fact sheets detailing the results of the South Vietnamese thrust into North Vietnamese Communist controlled areas of Laos last February, I was personally stunned when confronted with the results of this poll. The particular Harris poll question and response, which confirmed that misinformation is being distributed by the media under the cover of "news," was as follows—a cross-section of 1,580 households was asked between April 12 and April 15, 1971:

Do you feel the recent South Vietnam move into Laos was a success or a failure?

[In percent]

Success .....	24
Failure .....	45
Neither .....	8
Not sure .....	23

Assuming that very few of the 1,580 people polled had actually been on hand to witness the South Vietnamese operation, the appearance of failure, held by a margin of nearly 2-to-1 over success, must have been conveyed by the mass media.

Was it a failure? The South Vietnamese forces suffered losses of 1,400 killed and 4,700 wounded, while the Communist forces incurred 13,000 fatalities and tens of thousands of wounded. Four South Vietnamese battalions were put out of action as compared with 13 enemy battalions rendered ineffective.

Of the 40,400 U.S. helicopter sorties flown to support our allies, losses ran about 2 percent. This compared quite favorably with World War II daytime bomber losses over Nazi Germany which ran around 4 percent.

Enemy logistical losses were astronomical. There were 4,900 individual weapons, 1,900 crew-served weapons, tons of ammunition and other supplies either captured or destroyed. There were 100 enemy tanks put out of action, 300 enemy trucks destroyed by South Vietnamese ground forces and 4,300 trucks destroyed by U.S. air power flying missions over a greatly compressed trail area. Several enemy oil lines running south all the way from Haiphong Harbor in North Vietnam were cut and, when set afire, burned for several days.

The flow of enemy supplies for future military operations against the South Vietnamese and Cambodians was severely disrupted, giving these two nations more time in which to strengthen their forces. The North Vietnamese must now devote more resources to protecting former sanctuaries against the possibility of a demonstrated South Vietnamese capability to carry on an offensive against what was, until this operation, a secure area.

And yet only 24 percent of the people polled by Harris thought that this operation was a success. A successful military operation in Southeast Asia was turned into a psychological defeat in the United States, courtesy of our own informed media. Victory in the field was transformed into a club to smash American morale at home.

Someone once made a quip about snatching defeat from the jaws of victory. Perhaps this is what he meant.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, JIM FARLEY

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on next Sunday, the 30, one of the outstanding figures of this century will celebrate his 83d birthday. I refer to the Honorable

James A. Farley, former distinguished Postmaster General and model chairman of the Democratic National Party. The legendary accomplishments of this truly heroic man need no exposition here. Yet, as effectively active as Jim Farley has been in his event-filled lifetime, he still thrives on his work as chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., and looks to the future with enthusiasm a 20-year-old could envy.

Rather than just pay tribute to another milestone in the life of a great man, I insert into the RECORD an account of a recent interview of Jim Farley which appears in the current edition of the monthly magazine "Harvest Years." Even as he used to point out how elections could be won, how legislation could be enacted, Jim Farley now points out how to enjoy the later years. Some may try to delay their entrance into that period of life but those later years do come, to us all. If we can follow his "Five Point Program," those years can be as fruitful for us as they are to Jim Farley.

The interview follows:

BY HALL OF FAME: JAMES A. FARLEY

Who set the pace for us yesterday and is still setting it today?

Many folks would single out James A. Farley, former U.S. Postmaster General and leader of the Democratic Party, who celebrates his eighty-third birthday on May 30. "Genial Jim" still has the physique of a man who can't be pushed around, the diamond-sharp eyes that "never forgot a face," the smile that can melt a Republican, and the voice of an Irish tenor on Saturday night.

Sitting in his office (he's chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp.) surrounded by mementos of the past (photos of seven presidents he's known; autographed pictures from Roosevelt, Churchill, three Popes and Cardinal Spellman; pictures and souvenirs from countless trips) this 6 ft. 2½ in. 188-lb. dynamo dominates the room. We asked:

What advice can you give our readers on enjoying the later years?

"I don't know that I follow any regular program, but my philosophy, if you will, could break down into five points. The first point might be:

"Exercise regularly. Whenever the weather permits and the distance isn't too great, I make it a point to walk to wherever I'm going. It's a rule with me to walk every morning from my apartment to my office several blocks away. Since 1920 I've always taken a Turkish bath once or twice a week. I sleep well but only require about 6½ hours. I eat regularly and I've kept the promise I made to my mother when I was twenty-one—I don't smoke or drink."

But how do you stay so trim? We understand that for years you attended over 100 banquets and 75 to 80 business or civic luncheons a year.

"While it's true I probably attended more banquets and luncheons than any other citizen, I eat very little at public meals—maybe just a little meat and, of course, my favorite dish—ice cream. And I also keep fit by following my rule number two: "Keep busy at what interests you."

Mr. Farley, who was once known as "Three-Job Jim" (simultaneously Postmaster General, National Democratic Chairman, and Democratic Chairman of New York State) says that he is always in the office at least by 9 A.M. and works through to 5 or 5:30 P.M. Even on Saturdays when he's in town he goes to the office to answer mail and make telephone calls. Last summer he visited fifteen countries and thirty cities in six weeks, calling on Coca-Cola bottlers and

other members of his organization. He also visited numerous ambassadors he knows personally, former King Umberto of Italy, and had an audience with His Holiness Pope Paul VI, accompanied by his two teen-age granddaughters, Carole and Gail Montgomery.

When he returned to New York, he personally dictated (and signed in his trademark green ink) over 400 letters to members of the Coca-Cola organization he'd called on, and answered hundreds of other letters that had piled up in his absence.

How can you keep track of so many people? Is it true you never forgot a face?

"When I was in politics I worked hard at getting to know people and places. In fact, in 1930 and 1931—long before the age of jet travel—I journeyed approximately 50,000 miles to personally see every Democratic state and county chairman in the country. I've always enjoyed traveling (two trips around the world, visits to all continents). There are few prominent people or places I haven't seen."

Experts say that Mr. Farley can still link up more names and faces than half the hostesses in Washington. "Big Jim" also admits to a bit of luck that helped his reputation for a fabulous memory. One famous story centers around Franklin D. Roosevelt's first whistle-stop campaign through the West. Mr. Farley was campaign manager, and at the end of one of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, somebody in the crowd yelled, "Hello, Jim!" Farley roared back, "Hello, Frank!" making a lifelong friend of a local citizen who bragged that he "knew" Jim Farley. It seems that Farley had been corresponding with a railway clerk in that area, and even though he hadn't met the man, he took a wild chance that the voice belonged to his "pen pal." Sure enough, Frank wrote a delighted "thank you" letter.

In your book, the Jim Farley Story, you talk about looking forward to retirement. Is this still true?

"Frankly, I'd be bored to death if I wasn't active. I've always done everything to justify my existence in whatever job I held. If I couldn't make a contribution, I wouldn't want to be around. But while I'm still in good health and can travel, I feel I'm worth my salt, whatever my age. Also, I believe that everyone should have some activity to enjoy outside of work. Which brings me to my point three:

"Seek recreation you enjoy. If I'm in town and if the Yankees or Giants are playing, I usually go to the game. I take in an occasional boxing match in Madison Square Garden. I've never been much of a fisherman, but the last time I went fishing in Miami I hooked one of the largest barracuda ever caught in those waters up to that time—the fish was put on exhibition. Also, I've been active in the Elks since 1914 and have been at most Grand Lodge meetings since 1918, when I've been in the country. I'm also active as a member of the board of directors of the Boys Club of America."

"Big Jim" also spends time socializing with his two daughters, son and ten grandchildren, two of whom accompanied him to Europe last year. And during the "sweet corn season" he frequently dines at his daughter's home in Scarsdale, N.Y. His wife, the former Elizabeth Finnegan to whom he was married in 1920, died in 1955.

Do you still get to Washington to see former associates?

"I'm always invited to the annual Gridiron dinner and I've made several visits during the Johnson and Nixon Administrations. I was an honored guest when President Nixon signed the bill creating the new Post Office agency."

When you were Postmaster General you campaigned for many improvements like air mail service. What do you think of the Post Office reorganization?

"Frankly, I'm not too keen about the bill

finally enacted into law. I always felt that down through the years the post office people were among the most loyal and dedicated I ever met. If Congress gave the Post Office enough money to build facilities and provide adequate service, there wouldn't be need for any reorganization."

*We hear you put a lot of stock in loyalty. Could you explain?*

"My fourth point might be: Live by a buoyant philosophy. Loyalty is part of this philosophy, because if you don't have loyalty, you don't have anything. You owe loyalty to your church, your country, then to your family, your business, and your party. Loyalty and truth are the most valuable attributes you can possess and you're not entitled to any credit for them."

To his credit, no one has ever accused Jim Farley of taking a dollar or telling a lie. And even after his famous break with Roosevelt over the third-term issue, Farley remained loyal and worked behind the scenes to assure the re-election. On the Saturday preceding the election he wired 11,000 Democratic committeemen in New York State urging them to support Roosevelt. This demonstration of loyalty was printed on the front pages of most Sunday newspapers and was helpful in the Roosevelt victory.

Mr. Farley adds: "I don't think we now see the loyalty and devotion to party that we used to have. Now, reform elements talk in disparaging terms about the 'bosses' of yesterday. But I always thought the old-time bosses did a lot of good. These men supplied discipline, loyalty, and devotion to their people and the party. The Big Boss often went to bat in criminal cases, to help a working family and a problem son. But he never, never tinkered around suits between citizens and he never took money for helping a poor family in trouble.

"What finished the bosses was they did their job so well that the immigrants didn't need them after the first generation. The blast furnace of the American Melting Pot is the public schools; now the Welfare Department do all the things the Big Bosses used to do."

*Are you still active in politics?*

"Yes—and that touches on my fifth and final point—to Look to the Future. In my case, it's still politics and the success of my party. I made speeches in 1968 for Humphrey-Muskie. Incidentally, I've known Muskie since 1936 when he was head of the Young Democrats at Cornell University. He is a strong possibility for the presidency, having made an extremely good impression in 1968, and enhanced it. He is knowledgeable and a good public speaker, excellent on TV and at press conferences. He never makes extravagant statements."

Mr. Farley then mentioned another 1972 presidential possibility. "If Lyndon B. Johnson indicated that he had an interest in seeking the presidential nomination, he'd be a formidable contender in 1972.

That's really "looking ahead." And with his five-point program of regular exercise, busy interests, enjoyable recreation, uplift philosophy and looking to the future, Jim Farley, at eighty-three, continues to set a fast pace to follow.

#### "EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED: COMMUNITY ATTITUDES"

### HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the pleasure of visiting with a charming young lady from my district who won third place in the na-

tional "Ability Counts" contest sponsored by the President's Committee and the Governors' Committees on Employment of the Handicapped.

Miss Jeri Hoffman of Green Bay researched and wrote an especially meaningful essay on community attitudes toward the handicapped. While we have accomplished much in the area of aiding the handicapped in finding jobs, there is much more left to be done, as pointed out by Miss Hoffman.

I am inserting the text of Miss Hoffman's essay in the RECORD and I would hope that my colleagues would take the time to read it and to seriously consider the points it makes.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED: COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

(By Jeri Ellen Hoffman)

"Few community endeavors are as visibly rewarding or poignantly satisfying as the rehabilitation and employment of even one neighbor."<sup>1</sup> This attitude toward the disabled has prompted in Green Bay another "team effort" for tackling problems.

Players need coaching; various agencies in my community prepare the disabled for useful roles in society. Ft. Howard and Howe Schools' provisions for the blind, deaf, and orthopedic, special education classes at all secondary schools, and the Northeast Wisconsin Technical Institute provide learning opportunities. Community Service Center, a regional facility for the mentally retarded, offers pre-school evaluation and post-school habilitation and vocational training. Curative Workshop, Sheltered Industries, and Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services—Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and Services to the Blind, provide occupational therapy and placement. Assisting in this latter task is an active district office of the State Employment Service. Abreast of the employment situation, it has an important awareness of job openings, needs, and trends and is knowledgeable about general skill levels and potentialities of the community's handicapped population.

Equally important is the cheering section: enthusiastic employers and concerned citizens. Green Bay employers find hiring the handicapped is good business. In my survey of 40 employers, 70 percent stated they are willing to employ handicapped persons "who have the qualifications to meet the job requirements and are able to safely perform the work involved." Sixty percent said they now have disabled persons in their employ or have had in the past. In all but one instance their performances were rated as "more than satisfactory."

Concerned citizens agree that the employment of those disabled among us is in the public interest. Without jobs, they cost tax dollars; with jobs they become taxpayers. But more important, with jobs, the disabled develop self-respect and become self-reliant, a status everyone seeks. Interested citizens, desirous of lending support, have formed voluntary public relations type groups, such as Brown County Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. Through cooperation of local news media, public service announcements like the "Hire the Handicapped" messages are aired at no charge. Soon the Leon Phillips Public Library Facility for the Handicapped will open in our city, and "architectural barriers to the handicapped are being programmed out of the new central library building now being designed for the greater Green Bay area."

My community has made good yardage, but the championship is not yet ours! Lest we become smug and complacent, let us analyze some of the hurdles that jeopardize victory.

Unfortunately, only a fraction of the handicapped are now being adequately served.

Charitable and tax-supported agencies are always inhibited by financial resources. Trained workers—therapists, nurses, and special teachers—are in short supply. Job placement at present is limited primarily to the office forces in clerical, technical, or drafting positions. Cal Strombeck<sup>2</sup> expressed the fear of many employers: "Placement of handicapped into the hourly labor force is restricted because of very real dangers inherent in the equipment necessary to manufacture paper products. Safety is essential; yet, I cannot help but urge local employers to consider employment statistics and performance records of disabled employees at Lockheed Aircraft or Westinghouse Electric for the assurance that the handicapped can perform a greater variety of jobs.

Furthermore, how many employers advertise positions which can be filled by handicapped applicants? How many announce training programs designed for disabled workers? In 14 days of reading "help wanted" ads in the *Press Gazette*, I found none!

Prejudice remains in my community. Employers are sometimes hesitant to hire another handicapped person if they've had a bad experience with a former disabled employee. "The same thing might have happened with a non-handicapped person, but this fact is often overlooked," comments Thomas Stout.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, finding acceptance and earning respect from one's co-workers is a challenge to any employee, but it remains an even greater task for the disabled. Community attitudes have not been effectively developed until each individual citizen demonstrates it is ability, not disability, that counts.

Winning the game brings team glory, but, more importantly, it develops rapport built on faith amongst its members. Paraphrasing psychologist Dr. John Salazar: "Not only the handicapped benefit when a community gets interested in rehabilitation. Something about working with the disabled makes all people more tolerant of each other. They discover love cures people—those who receive it and also those who give it."<sup>5</sup> Green Bay citizens have discovered this truth and are continually striving to "champion" the cause of hiring the handicapped.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "What Can We Do For the Handicapped?" *Platform*, February 1953, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald A. Somers, Director, Brown County Library, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

<sup>3</sup> General Supervisor of Employee Relations, American Can Company, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

<sup>4</sup> Employment Consultant, Services to the Blind, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

<sup>5</sup> "So You're Going to Hire the Mentally Restored," President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, Washington, D.C.

#### THE SHAH OF IRAN SPEAKS ON THE FUTURE OF THE PERSIAN GULF

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been increasing interest and concern about the future of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, particularly in view of the projected British withdrawal from that area by the end of this year.

Iran, as a state on the littoral of the Persian Gulf, is intimately involved in the events taking place there and the Shah of Iran will undoubtedly be an important figure in determining the future developments in that area.

It was, therefore, with particular interest that I read Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell's recent interview with the Shah on the problems and prospects of the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell, director of research at the center for strategic and international studies of Georgetown University interviewed the Shah of Iran in St. Moritz, Switzerland, on March 8, 1971. This report was published in the April issue of the periodical, *New Middle East*.

Because of the relevance of the Shah's comments to foreign policy decisions now being deliberated by our own Government, I include Dr. Cottrell's interview at this point in the *RECORD* and recommend the article to the attention of my colleagues:

**SHAH OF IRAN CONCERNED OVER SAUDI ARABIA'S FUTURE—TRADITIONAL ARAB REGIMES ON THE GULF FACE YEARS OF CRISIS AND TURMOIL**

The statement made on March 1, that the Conservative Government of Britain will implement the Labour Government's decision announced in January 1968, to withdraw its military protection from the Persian Gulf by the end of 1971, has quite naturally focused much attention on this oil-rich and trouble-laden area. This waterway, not more than 600 miles long and 185 miles across at its widest point in the Southern Gulf, contains two-thirds of the world's proven oil resources and one-third of its present production.

Further attention centered on the area as the Shah of Iran assumed the leadership in the negotiations for a five-year oil agreement with the principal western oil companies on behalf of the six OPEC nations of the Persian Gulf, Abu Dhabi, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia; (see article by Peregrine Fellowes in the February issue of *New Middle East*). The significance of the Shah's role as principal negotiator has more than merely economic significance, since it demonstrated that the other nations were prepared to accept his role as the leading participant in the negotiations.

Iran, moreover, is the most powerful country in the Gulf militarily (the army consists of 164,000 men organized into seven infantry divisions) and demographically—with a population which was said to be approaching 30 million. There can be little doubt that the Shah expects and intends to replace the British as the protector of the Gulf. The oil agreement called for an increase in payments to the Gulf states of between 10 and 11 billion dollars over the next five years. The Shah's role here is significant, since it marks his emergence in an active sense as the principal local ruler in the Gulf who can stand up to major western interests.

It was in the aftermath of these successful negotiations that the Shah spoke to me very candidly of the future of the Persian Gulf following Britain's final withdrawal. It is quite obvious, as has already been said by other commentators and analysts, that he intends to be the dominant power in the Persian Gulf.

His attitude is one of optimism and self-confidence in his own ability to be the leading power in the Gulf, and some pessimism with regard to the future of the Sheikdoms and other states on the Arabian side of the Gulf.

As is well known, there are a number of outstanding claims and disputes which may not be resolved by the time of Britain's departure. Among the many serious issues which affect the Shah's relationship with the Arab states in the Gulf is the dispute over the Shatt-al-Arab, which is formed by the confluence of the Tigris, Euphrates and Karun Rivers at the head of the Gulf, and has long been a source of contention be-

tween Iraq and Iran. In my conversation with him the Shah discussed this dispute with Iraq and dismissed it, saying that he had often denounced the Treaty of 1937 which reaffirmed Iraqi sovereignty over the waterway and that he intended to ignore the Treaty, since he believed that it was no longer valid. He would send his own ships up the waterway, flying the Iranian flag, and without any regard to the provisions of the Treaty which gave Iraq sovereignty.

He considered this a closed matter, but of course it must be remembered that the problem of demarcation of undersea oil boundaries between Iran and Iraq has not yet been settled, although a paper agreement has been reached between Iran and Kuwait.

The Shah expressed Iran's continuing anxiety about the Iraqi claim to Kuwait. It should be recalled that Iraq, under the Kassim regime, threatened to occupy Kuwait in 1961, and was forestalled only by the landing of a British brigade group. He indicated, of course, that it is always possible that this claim could be reasserted at any time, but seemed confident that Iran possessed adequate military power, if left alone by outside powers, to cope with this situation.

The most serious outstanding issue threatening stability in the Gulf, however, is the Shah's claim to the three small and relatively uninhabited islands inside the Gulf near the Strait of Hormuz, approximately 50 miles from the Trucial Coast, the two Tumbs which are under the control of the Sheikdom of Ras-al-Khaimah, and the island of Abu Musa, which is under the control of the Sheikdom of Sharjah. It is worth noting, however, that the island is also reported to be claimed by the Sheikhs of Umm al-Qawain and Ajman. Iran claims these islands, and when the Shah relinquished his long-standing claim to Bahrain in May 1970, it was widely assumed in diplomatic circles that a tacit understanding had been made to let the Shah have the three islands in return for relinquishing his claim to the island of Bahrain.

Whether these rumours were true or not, the issue of the islands has still not been resolved, and the Shah made it quite clear to me that unless he could reach a negotiated settlement for the possession of the islands, Iran was prepared to consider the use of force to take them. The Shah's fear is that the islands could not be adequately defended against a determined aggressor by any of the Trucial Sheikhs.

At this point I raised the question of the future of the Federation of Arab Emirates. The Shah did not venture a prediction of its success or failure, but did say it could not succeed without his support, and it is well known that he will not support the Federation unless he gets the three islands. One of the arguments generally advanced is that the Sheikdoms involved, Ras-al-Khaimah and Sharjah, would be willing to sell or cede the islands to Persia, but that they have been restrained because they require King Faisal's consent in order to permit the islands to be brought under the sovereignty of a non-Arab country.

The Shah dismissed this idea as somewhat incomprehensible to him, since, as he pointed out, the islands are in no way under the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia. Presumably, if he should decide to take over the islands, this would follow the end of British protection which would be terminated at the end of 1971. For the present, the situation remains somewhat embarrassing since Britain still has control over the external affairs of the Trucial Sheikdoms until her protection is withdrawn.

The Shah spoke quite openly about the situation in the Arabian Peninsula, and it is my opinion that the Iranian Government is pessimistic about the future of the traditional régimes—Iraq being the only non-traditionally ruled state on the Persian Gulf.

Many western observers have expressed the optimistic hope that the two largest powers of the Gulf—Iran and Saudi Arabia—might join together in maintaining the stability in the area, but it is quite clear that the Iranian Government is not particularly optimistic about the long-term prospects for the present Saudi régime, although it is acknowledged in Teheran that some progress towards modernisation has been made.

Should King Faisal's régime be replaced by a revolutionary officer *coup*, the Iranian Government is well aware that the position of all the sheikdoms of the Southern Gulf would rapidly become untenable. The principal fear is that of an officer *coup* somewhat like the one which was carried out in Libya, although it is, of course, recognised by the Iranian Government that the situations are by no means exactly analogous. In fact, the Shah made a strong point of mentioning the *coup* in Libya, and commented with astonishment that he did not quite see how the United States and Britain were apparently caught so completely offguard.

We discussed the question of the nature of the officer corps in Saudi Arabia, and the Shah pointed out that many of the officers who were antirégime were educated in the West, particularly in the United States. This officer corps, particularly in the Army, tends to be middle class and it has, interestingly enough, not been, in the Iranian Government's view, sympathetic to the continuation of traditional rule of the kind which exists in Saudi Arabia and throughout the other traditionally ruled Gulf states.

Together with the possible changes in government on the Arabian side of the Gulf, the Shah discussed the oil agreement, which contains a provision in it regarding leap-frogging, i.e., a Gulf country going outside the Gulf area and joining with other countries, for example, Libya in the Mediterranean or elsewhere to raise oil prices. The agreement includes provisions that, for the duration of the settlement, no Gulf state which has the agreement will seek to increase government income nor will it impose further financial obligations on oil companies over and above those which have been accepted.

The Shah stated: "I certainly have no intention of leap-frogging," and said that he was sure that the other countries would not do so either, as long as they were under the present forms of rule. He did indicate that he could, of course, not guarantee what would happen if revolutionary forces overthrew the system of traditional rule on the Arabian side of the Gulf and in the Sultanate of Oman. Referring to the *coup* which brought about a change of leadership in Muscat and Oman from the old Sultan Bin Taimur to his 28-year-old Sandhurst-educated son, Qabus, he expressed a cautious optimism that this would improve the situation in Oman and that perhaps they would be able to deal with the threat of the revolutionary Dhofar movement known as the "People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf."

Iranian foreign policy has hitherto been almost completely preoccupied with the Gulf. The Shah said, however, that he was now thinking in policy terms which were considerably broader than just the Gulf. He said that he was now seriously considering and actively pursuing a Gulf of Oman policy. Part of Persia, he pointed out, extends into the Gulf of Oman. He was also talking with the Sultan of Oman on this matter and he hoped that he could establish some policy for joint naval defence in this area. It is worth noting that Iran has plans for a naval base at Jask in the Gulf of Oman. The Shah went on to say that he would inevitably have to begin thinking in terms of an Indian Ocean policy. He is already much concerned about the developments in Eritrea and indeed the whole Horn of Africa, and

the threat which these developments pose to the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea.

Here he spoke at some length about Iran's need for improved naval forces. He already has the largest modern navy of the littoral Gulf states, and also the most powerful air force of any of the Gulf states. Navy personnel total about 6,000 men. The Navy consists of approximately 30 vessels—minesweepers, patrol boats, destroyer escorts and several amphibious landing craft.

The principal combat ship is a destroyer that has been transferred from the British Royal Navy. The Iranian Air Force already has over 100 F5s. The Shah stated that Iran also has three squadrons of Phantoms with five more squadrons still to be delivered before 1975.

With regard to his Navy, he said that he would like to obtain some more modern naval vessels in the 3,000 ton class, and he also expressed interest in a helicopter-type carrier of the 25,000-ton Russian *Moskva* class. He made the important point that helicopters would be extremely valuable in a small, land-locked area of the Persian Gulf.

The Shah discussed at some length the role of the great powers in the area. He said that he had always favoured the British withdrawal and was implacably opposed to any reversal of the Labour announcement to withdraw by the end of 1971, because Britain's presence now was an anachronism and would, in this day and age, only be a continuation of imperialism.

He then discussed the U.S. presence in Bahrain which, as is well known consists of a converted seaplane tender and two ancient destroyers. He said that he considered this presence to be of little value as a deterrent force and yet it was adequate in providing a rationale for the Soviets to maintain a presence of their own in the Gulf, perhaps based on an Iraqi port. He seemed to be suggesting that it was worth seeing whether the Gulf could not be kept free of great power naval deployments, except for occasional and limited visits.

The Shah agreed, however, that if the Soviets maintained a presence in the Indian Ocean, then the United States would be foolish not to maintain one, too. He was aware of Soviet activities on Socotra and expressed interest in my remarks that many thought the reported landing of Soviet marine forces suggested the possibility that Moscow was attempting to train troops for tropical deployment. He repeated also what he has told other interviewers—that he would be very happy to conduct joint naval manoeuvres with British and U.S. forces either under the auspices of CENTO or otherwise.

Speaking of CENTO, he said that he did not wish to see it dissolved, although he seemed to discount its local security value. He said he would prefer to do business on a bilateral basis rather than rely on the CENTO type of treaty arrangement for the provision of local security.

As has been reported, Pakistan has been seeking to encourage Iran, and perhaps even Turkey, to withdraw from CENTO. The Shah, although not placing complete reliance on the agreement, is opposed to withdrawing from it. Although he did not say so, the reason Pakistan has apparently sought to have Iran withdraw from CENTO is that, while Pakistan has wanted to leave the Alliance for some time, she does not wish to do so unilaterally.

The Shah strongly believes that the Soviet Union is becoming a more conservative, i.e., traditional great power and gave me the impression that this was an important development because Soviet policy was no

longer motivated primarily by communist ideology. In other interviews the Shah has been at pains to draw a careful distinction between a policy of good neighbour relations with the Soviet Union and unrelenting hostility to the machinations of international communism. There seems to be little doubt that while the Shah is still apprehensive about the Soviet intentions, he feels less threatened by them and thus more free to turn his attention to the Persian Gulf and adjacent areas.

Indeed, he said with much force that if any foreign power threatened Iran's territorial integrity, then the people of his country would fight. There was mention made of the Indian-Pakistani war of 1965, which did so much to damage Iran's relations with the United States, and it is clear that the U.S. failure to support a CENTO ally, or even let the Shah support his friend Ayub Khan, was a major turning point in the Shah's thinking.

From that moment onward, he became convinced that he could place little reliance on Western defence agreements in local disputes, and that if hostilities occurred with Iraq or elsewhere in the Gulf, Iran would have to defend herself, alone if necessary. He is confident he can do this if outside forces do not interfere, and this explains his desire to exclude the great powers from the Persian Gulf.

The Shah's main aim is not one of domination; it is rather the realistic aim of attempting to limit, in the interest of all the Gulf states, the number of contending forces. After speaking to him, I am in no doubt as to his determination and sincerity on this question.

He discussed the local military balance in the Gulf and simply questioned whether any other state had adequate forces in the area except Iran. This led to a discussion of the effectiveness of any Saudi Arabian contribution to the defense of the Gulf.

As is well known, the Shah has been accused in the past of being unduly obsessed with the threat from Nasser's Egypt. He suggested, however, that the new Egyptian régime may be more preoccupied with problems at home following Nasser's death, and that concentration on affairs closer to home was evident even before Nasser's death.

The Shah's apprehensions seem to arise more from revolutionary threats to the other traditionally ruled states in the Gulf, but it should be emphasised that these apprehensions are overshadowed by his confidence that Iran has adequate forces for the task of protecting the Gulf if outside powers can be excluded.

Turning to more general issues, the Shah felt that too much attention, particularly in the United States, was given to the Arab-Israeli dispute, and that this preoccupation distracted western attention from vital interests in Iran and its Northern Tier neighbours.

The overwhelming impression after such a detailed and frank discussion is of a ruler who has considered carefully all the possibilities and whose foreign policy is based both on a careful calculation of national interest and a realistic appraisal of great power policies. The Shah's concern with the Persian Gulf is based upon Iran's economic interests. It is not aimed at conquest of territory nor at the exercise of exclusive domination. It is, however, an attempt to insulate one vital area of the world from the vicissitudes of great power rivalry. The Shah has come to realise that in local matters Iran must be capable of self-defense and here her interests, certainly in the maintenance of the oil trade, coincide with those of the western powers.

SST TURNDOWN—JUST HOW WISE?

## HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the unusually erudite editor of the Glasgow, Ky., Daily Times, Mr. Carroll Knicely, has written an editorial which I feel would be of interest to the Members of this body.

Yesterday, the Tupolev, Russia's supersonic jet landed at Le Bourget Airport in Paris. At approximately the same time, the British-French supersonic jet, the Concorde, flew from Toulouse to Dakar in Senegal, both at speeds of approximately mach 2.

By canceling our SST contracts, the \$800 million invested by our Government was irretrievably lost, the leadership to aeronautics was surrendered, and thousands of our people were thrown out of work. Our supersonic transport was conceived years ago during the Kennedy administration. In all probability it would have been far superior to both the Russian and the British-French counterparts.

The wisdom of this action of the Congress, as this editor points out, will be determined within the immediate future. I commend his article for your appraisal:

### SST TURNDOWN—JUST HOW WISE?

In "The History of Invention," Egon Larsen recounts what happened when plans were announced to build the world's first long-distance passenger and freight railroad, between Manchester and Liverpool.

"A great campaign of abuse began. It was claimed that the terrible spectacle of a locomotive rushing by would affect people and animals: Ladies would have miscarriages, cows would cease to give milk, hens would lay no more eggs; the poisoned air from the engines would kill the livestock in the district as well as the birds in the trees and houses along that line would be set on fire by the sparks.

People back in the 19th century were silly and superstitious, of course. They had never even heard of skin cancer or sonic booms.

Yet if the English entrepreneurs had been prevented from building their railroad, other men in other countries would eventually have done so. The same is true of the supersonic transport.

Britain and France are going ahead with their Concorde and Russia with its TU-144, and in a few years we shall begin to find out how valid were the arguments of the opponents of the American SST—that it would upset the environment, that it would create annoying if not destructive sonic booms, that it would turn out to be an economic white elephant.

Generally, history has been against the doom-predicters. Every advance in transportation has been greeted with cries that it would wreak havoc with the environment or would be dangerous to life and limb, or simply wouldn't work.

But perhaps the SST is an exception. If it is, if the Concorde and TU-144 fail, then those who opposed the American SST will be remembered as the wise men of the century. If not—well, the catastrophes foreseen by

the pro-SST forces need not come true, either.

At worst, the United States will have lost a number of years of leadership in aviation, have lost an unknown number of billions of dollars worth of business it might have had, have suffered unnecessary dislocation in the aviation industry.

As of now, however, the defeat of the SST presumably stands as an expression of popular feeling. For once, human values have been given precedence over the blind advance of technology.

Rejoice. But remember that the Manchester-Liverpool railroad was built, and hens are still laying eggs.

## OUR VIETNAM VETERANS: NEITHER FORGOTTEN NOR FORSAKEN

### HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, today in Boise, Idaho, the Honorable Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, is delivering some timely remarks at a meeting of the Greater Boise Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Johnson's address, entitled "Our Vietnam Veterans: Neither Forgotten Nor Forsaken," is evidence of the total commitment to our returning servicemen by the VA and by the Nixon administration to boost morale, to enhance the opportunities for meaningful employment and for continued education and training, and to provide the most comprehensive services and benefits possible to our Nation's war veterans, particularly in the area of quality health and medical care.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the text of the VA Administrator's remarks in the RECORD, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE DONALD E. JOHNSON, ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS, AT THE GREATER BOISE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON, BOISE, IDAHO, MAY 26, 1971

Chairman Ganz, President Anderson, Mayors Amys, distinguished officers, members and guests of the Greater Boise Chamber of Commerce: I am indeed happy and honored to be with you today.

Customarily, I understand, your luncheon guest speakers who are not fortunate enough to be residents of the Gem State's capital city demonstrate that they have done at least some homework by citing one or more vital facts relative to the 86-year history of your 1,400-member organization.

I wouldn't be so obvious.

However, I do appreciate Boise's magnificent, modern airport, for which you are largely, if not solely, responsible. Were it not for this facility . . . and considering the location of the old airport . . . I would be a Boise State College drop-in.

It is true, of course, that one of my principal tasks as Administrator of Veterans Affairs is reaching and persuading Vietnam era veterans who have dropped out of school to get back in school.

But by conventional means.

Senator Jordan didn't get beyond his first fact before he had convinced me that there was indeed more than enough reason for me to visit our great state and to meet with your distinguished Idaho citizens and leaders.

That reason is Idaho's nearly 100,000 veterans who, with their dependents and the survivors of deceased Idaho veterans constitute approximately one-half of the state's entire population.

It was unnecessary, of course, for Idaho's distinguished former governor to note that this audience, and the people of Idaho, are not only interested in but are entitled to know how and why the Veterans Administration spends more than \$38 million annually here in Idaho and nearly \$11 billion nationally for veterans' benefits and services.

Some weeks ago in response to the request of your very able executive vice president, Roger McGinnis, I suggested as a tentative title for my remarks today:

"Our Vietnam Veterans: Neither Forgotten Nor Forsaken."

Let me assure you here and now that while this suggested title implies a VA emphasis on benefits and services for five million Vietnam era veterans including nearly 20,000 here in Idaho who are now back in civilian life, the 23 million living veterans of the Korean Conflict, World War II, World War I, and the Spanish-American War and their families who are equally entitled to our concern and our care have not been forgotten and will never be forsaken.

The fact remains, however, that our Vietnam era veterans now back home and the millions who will be returning are America's NOW veterans.

They are the veterans NOW most in need of our help and NOW entitled to the most VA benefits.

Not only because their period of eligibility is still in force, and will remain in force for years to come, but because their nation is especially indebted to them.

Why?

I think that you know the answer.

Having fought not only the longest but the loneliest, most widely reported but least understood war in American history . . . they have come home.

To what?

To brass bands and parades and a hero's welcome?

Perhaps a few have. For most, however, their return has been distinguished only by indifference and even hostility. Regrettably, their readjustment has been further roadblocked by a lack of jobs resulting from the difficult transition from a wartime to a noninflationary, peacetime economy.

In view of these circumstances, I think you will agree that the emphasis we in VA are now giving to serving our Vietnam era veterans is as deserved as it is needed.

Before getting into specifics, however, permit me to comment briefly on a subject directly related to the Vietnam war and a subject of vital concern, indeed, of lifelong concern to me and, I am sure, to you and all thinking Americans.

I'm talking about America's Armed Forces, their morale and their effectiveness now and in the future, and thus our nation's security today and tomorrow.

I do not pretend to speak as an expert in military affairs, although I thought that I was one of the best when I served as an Infantry Sergeant in World War II, and I did note that Armed Forces Day was observed, albeit more quietly than in the past, on May 15th.

But I do speak with considerable knowledge and grave responsibility concerning America's veterans, and what they need and deserve in the way of benefits and services.

And how they came to be.

One need not be an expert in military affairs to know that wars and only wars produce war veterans.

And one need only recall recent history—the dark days before World War II, the "peace in our time" Munich Conference—to

understand that weakness and unpreparedness invite war, if, in fact, they do not make war inevitable.

I tell you today as Administrator of Veterans Affairs, as the father of nine children—and my oldest son returned only recently from combat service in Vietnam—and as a concerned citizen, I tell you today that no one more fervently hopes and prays that the day will come, and soon, when the Vietnam war will be over; when any war, as an instrument of international policy, will be abandoned; when we need not add any more war veterans to the VA's rolls; and when we will find an America and a world at peace.

Until that day dawns, however, and I can assure you that no American President has ever worked harder than Richard M. Nixon to make it a reality, it is incumbent upon you and me and upon all Americans who care . . . who worry about . . . and who are willing to sacrifice for our national security, it is incumbent upon us to determine and then do what must be done to restore respect for our Armed Forces.

It is imperative that public confidence and pride in the integrity and decency, the unselfishness and courage, of the men and women who wear the uniform of our country be rebuilt and strengthened.

Service in our Armed Forces must once again become the hallmark of honor, not a stigma of shame.

You who wore our country's uniform with dignity and pride and thus served America and its people honorably and well—you know that this cause and effect relationship has not changed and can never change unless and until human nature itself changes.

We delude ourselves . . . worse, we compromise our nation's security . . . if we proceed to a zero-draft defense posture on the assumption that a sufficient number of young Americans will voluntarily enter and effectively perform in a profession, essential though it is, which is demeaned and degraded and downchecked at every turn by their families and friends and fellow citizens.

If the American people really want an adequate, effective, all-volunteer Armed Forces, then their attitude toward military service and those in service must change.

Not radically, but at least enough to merit the dedication, and devotion and unselfishness which General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., the Commandant of the Marine Corps, asked of this year's graduates of the Virginia Military Institute.

General Chapman said . . . and I quote:

"Now, more than ever before, the profession of arms in the United States is an honorable calling—a needed service. And it demands all of the professional virtues of devotion to honor, duty, and country. But it also demands fundamental beliefs, firm and solid beliefs in the destiny and intentions of our country.

"No matter what is said in the form of modern rhetoric we must remain firm in these beliefs; and we must assure the people we serve—the American people—that we will maintain these beliefs in faithful service to them."

Unquote.

Those who may harbor an anti-military attitude need not abandon their anti-war principles.

I submit that there is nothing inconsistent with a desire for peace . . . a prayerful yearning for peace . . . by all 206 million Americans, and an intelligent realization of the need for adequate, effective Armed Forces to ensure and enforce that peace.

Nor is there anything inconsistent with the earnest desire of all Americans to bring to an honorable end to the war in Vietnam, and genuine gratitude to the brave young Americans who serve honorably and well in that difficult conflict.

Fortunately for these veterans, especially the amputees, the spinal cord injury patients, and the other severely disabled, the overwhelming majority of the American people publicly acknowledge their sincere gratitude to our Vietnam veterans for their courageous, unselfish, and uncomplaining service and sacrifice.

This gratitude to them and to 23 million living veterans of earlier wars has been given meaningful expression through the programs of benefits and services provided our Nation's veterans, primarily by the Veterans Administration.

In his kind letter of invitation Mr. McGinnis pointed out, most diplomatically, I might add, that you like to adjourn your luncheons no later than 1:30 p.m.

Certainly I do not want to be the first to spoil your unsullied record of translating this desire into reality.

So I won't attempt a review today of all of the major benefit programs administered by VA from the more than \$6 billion we pay out each year in service-connected disability and death compensation and nonservice-connected disability and death pension checks to G.I. Bill education and training benefits, G.I. home loans, government insurance coverage and guardianship care.

But I would like to tell you a little bit about the most visible and, I hasten to add, the most complex benefit and service provided America's veterans by VA.

I mean the nation's largest and in my judgment the nation's finest hospital and medical care program.

With a capital "P."

Not because of the size of this program, but to underscore the four "p's" that make up the prescription labeled "VA Medicine."

P for People.

P for Past Performance.

P for Present Progress.

P for Exciting Potential.

First and most important are people. More than 136,000 skilled, dedicated, compassionate, hard working doctors, dentists, nurses, and other medical and para-medical personnel, including 254 full-time and 25 part-time employees at our VA hospital here in Boise, who are the VA's Department of Medicine and Surgery.

People, more than 2,300 Idaho veterans among the 843,000 veterans, the greatest number in history, who will be cared for in VA's 165 hospitals this year.

People, nearly 22,000 Idaho veterans among a record-high total of almost 7 million who will receive treatment at our 202 outpatient clinics or at private facilities reimbursed by VA.

People—thousands of other veterans cared for this year in VA's 76 nursing homes or in state and local public and private homes with VA per diem support.

As to Performance . . . VA medicine's record speaks for itself.

As often as I cite this record, and I do so at every opportunity, I find the following performance facts truly exciting. I think that you will, too.

VA medicine is primarily, if not solely, responsible for the elimination of tuberculosis as a killing and crippling disease.

VA medical research is responsible for the Pacemaker, the now well known electronic device that helps a cardiac patient by initiating, or continuing, a normal heart rhythm when the heart's controlling mechanism slows or fails.

With their successful kidney transplants, VA doctors helped pave the way for the world's famous heart transplants. A large percentage of the kidney transplants performed in this country were done by VA doctors. The world's only successful liver transplants were performed by a Denver VA hospital-university team.

Hemodialysis treatment of kidney diseases was pioneered by VA medicine.

I could go on to cite such now familiar medical developments as the laser cane for the blind, cobalt treatments . . . intensive care coronary, surgical and medical units . . . and psychotropic drugs that have virtually revolutionized the mental health profession, to name but a few of VA medicine's exclusive or cooperative performance highlights.

But I know the time factor involved.

So let me continue by acknowledging that my verbal assignment of VA hospital and medical programs facts to past, present or future time frames is arbitrary, at best.

In truth, of course, many facts that I might list under VA medicine's present, on-going progress had their genesis in the past and must play an indispensable role if VA medicine is to realize its vast potential.

For example, for the past quarter of a century the VA hospital system has been a principal source of training for the nation's future doctors and nurses. In fact, each year half of the third and fourth year students in the nation's medical schools receive part of their training in our VA hospitals and through instruction provided by our 2,500 VA professionals who hold medical school faculty appointments.

In the coming fiscal year we will train 53,000 persons, the greatest number in the history of VA medicine, in 60 different categories of health services. And this number will increase in the years ahead.

You would be correct whether you put this fact under the heading of on-going progress or potential . . . or both.

Let me go one step further and say that the entire VA hospital and medical care program merits commendation for its progress as well as performance, and very careful consideration for its potential.

For the VA hospital system can provide not only a model for other systems that may be developed by the Health Maintenance Organizations, Health Care Corporations or by whatever name, but can also contribute to those new systems.

All of us are concerned, of course, personally or professionally, with the critical problem of quality health care—a problem that so concerns President Nixon that it was the subject of one of the most comprehensive Presidential messages ever sent to the Congress of the United States.

Quality health care for all Americans is not only essential, it is also possible. And it is possible, I tell you, largely because of VA medicine.

I am sure that all of you who have had an opportunity to study the National Health Strategy which the President proposed to the Congress will agree that it indeed takes a confident Administrator of Veterans Affairs, one who knows well the enormous potential of the VA hospital and medical care program, to submit, as I do here and now, that VA medicine can become and, in fact, is now ready to be:

A major factor in supplementing the facilities in which health care is provided for all of our citizens.

A resource for developing the manpower necessary to provide that needed and deserved health care for all of our people.

A means by which an equitable distribution of both facilities and manpower can be achieved.

And a laboratory in which new concepts for quality health care, and the cost of this care can be studied.

I don't want to anticipate the documentation of my case which I am confident the President will give me the opportunity to present.

But the following facts are hardly a secret.

By virtue of the locations of VA's hospital and medical facilities within 100 miles or two hours drive for 90 percent of America's 28 million living veterans, and in view of the broad range of services they provide, the

VA hospital system has the potential for its own effective regionalization.

In short, the VA hospital system can be the kind of organization which the President had in mind when he pointed out in his health message that the consumer should not be forced to thread his way through a complex maze of separate service and specialists but, instead, should have a full range of resources available through a single organization.

More than this, the Veterans Administration hospital system, the nation's largest, by virtue of the sharing law, can also become actively engaged with all elements of the private sector in all forms of organizational, professional and functional regionalization.

Yet another fact.

Because of the extent of its already established relationship with medical, dental, nursing, pharmacy and schools of allied health sciences throughout the country and at last count, including 74 graduate departments of psychology, these totaled nearly 600 because of this relationship, and our medical training program which I mentioned a moment ago, VA is now ready to be a major source wherein the development and production of needed health manpower for the total health care system can be expanded.

I will conclude by citing a final example of VA medicine's truly exciting potential.

In his health message the President said that sickle-cell anemia, which almost always occurs in the black population, should be a targeted disease for concentrated research.

I have written the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare advising that approximately 17 percent of our hospitalized veterans are black, that in any given year we see approximately 116,000 Negro-Americans in our hospitals, that because a significant percentage of our hospitalized veterans are black, a number of our clinicians and researchers have long had a rightful interest in sickle-cell anemia and that eight VA hospitals are actively involved in research directly related to sickle-cell anemia, and the Hematology Sections of many other VA hospitals are conducting a research which has some bearing on this disease.

In summary, with additional funding and in his health message the President said that "this Administration is increasing its budget for research and treatment of sickle-cell disease fivefold, to a new total of \$6 million" with additional funding a number of additional worthwhile studies could be carried out by our research and clinical staffs.

Because government today is truly the responsibility of all Americans, not just those who have been elected or appointed to office, I have presumed on your hospitality to discuss some of the problems now confronting you and your government.

Obviously these problems are not going to be solved overnight. But I am confident that informed, concerned Americans such as you will ultimately find the wisest, most effective and most equitable solutions to these and all of the challenges we face.

Thank you for the privilege of being with you today.

ISRAEL—A NATION WITH MANY CHALLENGES TO FACE

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, Israel has now begun its 24th year as an independent nation. No doubt 1971 will be among the

most challenging years that this small nation will have to face.

Israel has had to confront many difficulties in the past, and her brief history has been punctuated with many crises. But the greatest danger to Israel today is that she will be forced to accept a one-sided settlement. Only the creation of defensible borders will offer Israel some reasonable hope that hostilities will not resume as soon as the Arabs feel they are ready for another round.

Many residents of the 27th Congressional District, like people from all across America, are continuing to express very great concern about the fate of Israel. I would like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues one letter on this important subject that I recently received. I believe that the author of this letter, Rabbi Aaron Dector of Temple Beth Torah in Upper Nyack, N.Y., has eloquently expressed the feeling that many Americans have about the situation in the Middle East:

TEMPLE BETH TORAH,  
Upper Nyack, N.Y., May 13, 1971.

Congressman JOHN DOW.

DEAR SIR: On the eve of the twenty-third anniversary of Israel's emergence as a nation (May 14, 1948), I am moved by the stirrings of many mixed emotions to write to you in order to sensitize your constituents to the unusual place that Israel has in the hearts and minds of the Jewish people as well as its centrality to Jewish theology and religion.

As Israel enters its twenty-fourth year, we are heartened by the recent visit of our Secretary of State William Rogers to the Middle East, which has not consummated peace, but has intensified the dialogue rather than confrontation between Israel and the Arab states.

Both President Nixon as well as Mr. Rogers recognize the need to continue supplying Israel with arms and other military "hardware" of the most sophisticated nature, because it is to the best national interests of the U.S. to maintain parity and balance in view of the vast outpouring of Soviet weapons to all of the Arab belligerents.

We hope that Mr. Rogers has arrived to a more understanding view of Israel's position. It is important that American citizens understand it as well. So, I write to you, as a Jew, who has served our country as a Chaplain under Generals Eisenhower and Patton.

The following points must be kept in mind if we are to maintain a rational approach to the problem of the Middle East:

1. The continued presence of 30,000 Soviet troops, pilots and experts in the most sophisticated weaponry poses a continued threat to the possible withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai and the Suez canal.

2. That nation most likely to benefit immediately from the reopening of the Suez Canal to Soviet Russia whose merchant ships and armadas could then dominate the Red Sea, the Gulf of Ellat, the Indian Ocean and the Far East, as they are, the Mediterranean Sea.

3. By its control of the sources of oil and transportation, Soviet Russia could then strangle economically the free Western World that depends on these sources of energy, as well as threaten the U.S. and Japan, our strongest ally in the Far East.

4. Israel is the only road block to such domination, and remains the chief champion of the free world preventing Russia from making all of these waters a "mare nostrum" (our lake)

5. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rogers are not naive. They oppose those careerists in the State Department who are Arabists and who, by selling out Israel, will also betray the best

interests of the U.S. The President and the Secretary of State are fighting for time. Hence, their efforts for the continuation of dialogue not confrontation, in the hopes that some accommodation will be reached and that the attrition will wear out Russia, especially with the new mood of "dissent" in the young generation of Russian intellectuals, technologists, as well as among the Russian masses.

6. As for the actual territories involved, the Sinai did not belong to Egypt. It was "acquired by conquest" by the Egyptians in 1948, as East Jerusalem was conquered by Jordan in the same year. But Israel's reluctance to relinquish territory on the East side of Suez, again is bound up with the "Russian presence" and the Israeli suspicions of Egyptian (read Russian) "credibility." I am not asking anyone to strain their historic memory. You need not possess the historic perspective that brings you back to the Bible or the Jewish Commonwealth in Judea; nor even to the Holocaust; nor the Mandate after World War I; nor the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947; nor even the defeat of Egypt by Israel in 1956 when Israel reached the Suez, only to relinquish it at the request of President Eisenhower whose guarantees were not backed up in 1967.

No, all I ask my fellow Americans to do is to recall August 1970 less than a year ago, when the cease-fire initiated by President Nixon took effect. The Egyptians (please read the Russians) immediately violated the agreements, a violation confirmed by American intelligence.

7. To indicate that they are not recalcitrant, Israel is willing to accede to America's suggestion that they withdraw sufficiently to permit the re-opening of the Suez Canal. But Israel insists that no Egyptian nor Russian troops occupy the East Bank of the Suez. Israel will "accommodate" by permitting an Egyptian "presence" on the East Bank—that is, Egyptian patrols.

8. Israel insists on strong American guarantees on the security and inviolability of its borders. Why deny Israel the opportunity to negotiate from strength not vulnerability?

9. Israel is not prepared to capitulate nor to abdicate its position as protector of the free world in the Middle East. God and History have willed, and the Israelis have reaffirmed their determination that Jewish blood is not cheaper than oil; that Jews are not expendable; that Jewish genocide will not be repeated; that "Masada will not fall again."

10. Israel believes that her destiny as a nation is the fulfillment of God's promise to His people as documented in the Bible.

11. Finally, the Israelis believe that despite the brutality of war for the past 23 years, Israel reflects man's hope for free and creative development. Because Israel was born out of the pain and anguish of our people during the Nazi Holocaust, Israelis and Jews all over the world, believe that Israel is an "affirmation of man's will to live." But they not only wish to live but to sustain man's faith: man's faith in God, in human dignity; in himself.

12. There are no longer military solutions to the problems of our day. The Israelis want peace because they believe in it, and they need it, as the whole world needs peace.

13. Israel and her Arab neighbors will come to terms, and they must do it by face to face negotiation. Jordan and Lebanon present no real problem. Even the problem of the so-called "Palestinian refugees" and the "fedayeen" fade into insignificance, when contrasted with the "real problem" that the whole world and the United Nations must contend with.

That is the problem of the containment of the expansionism of Soviet Russia and its threat to peace and man's freedom.

Hence I call upon all Americans who believe in freedom, and justice and peace, to

support our great ally, Israel and its gallant and courageous people. Israel is committed to a vast program envisioning the collaboration of its Arab neighbors in redeeming the Middle East from endemic disease, poverty, ignorance, dictatorship and feudalism. Israel is dedicated to the "conquest of the desert" from aridity and to the harnessing of the hatred in the wilderness of man.

As an American and as a Jew, I bespeak your help and support in this great human adventure that spells a beacon to the world, a "light unto the nations" and a hope for the redemption of all mankind.

Faithfully yours,

RABBI AARON DECTOR.

UPPER NYACK, N.Y.

### THIS I BELIEVE

## HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. Speaker, I was very proud to learn that a young man who goes to school in my congressional district is the State winner in the Tennessee Optimist oratorical competition.

The winner is Jerry Goodman, a sophomore at Doyle High School in Knox County.

I would like to place in the RECORD Jerry's speech for the pursuance of the readers of this document:

JERRY GOODMAN: THIS I BELIEVE

(Jerry Goodman, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Goodman, Monticello Estates, Seymour, represented the South Knoxville Optimist Club in state Optimist Oratorical competition at Kingsport and emerged the state champion. He is a sophomore at Doyle High School, plays basketball and golf and dabbles in electronics. He has won the Zone competition twice out of four attempts. Jerry's "This I Believe" winning speech follows:)

At the beginning of the last decade John Kennedy told this nation that we must look to a new frontier and for the few brief years that he was our president, Americans once more held the hope and assurance that a new frontier would be the fulfillment of the American dream.

But with John Kennedy's death and the years of turmoil that followed—years of violence and mistrust—we lost sight of the vision which held for us so much promise. I believe that it is important for us to understand why the catch phrase "New Frontier" had the power to briefly revitalize a nation that had grown weary during the fifties.

The people who settled this country, the Pilgrims at Plymouth, were people who sought a new frontier. They sought escape from oppression, and in fact, sought escape from a society they felt had somehow failed them.

MANY SEEK ESCAPE

From its birth, American history has been filled with people seeking escape and renewed promise in the frontierland. From the Alleghenies to the Rockies to the Great Pacific. Americans created for themselves new frontiers.

When the geographical frontiers of this continent had been exhausted by the beginning of the 20th century, a new area of endeavor called, an area that had been little explored by the United States until that time. The rugged terrain of international politics.

And now, after two world wars and many smaller conflicts, Americans wish to escape this frontier for once again they feel trapped by the entanglements of civilization. The

only wilderness that Americans can see today is one covered with concrete and inhabited by too many people. Americans have reached all the borders and like rats in a maze have turned back in confusion.

#### WHERE IS IT?

East has finally met West in a place called Vietnam. Civilization has circled the earth. Where in the world is the new frontier that Americans need to renew the promise of the American dream? Some people think the new frontier is not in this world at all but in the vast realm of outer space. Certainly it appears to us that our solar system is unencumbered with civilization's complexities. But the question, the grim question we must ask ourselves is this: Can we reach the new frontier before the old frontier dies?

In 1971—an age in which communities are growing into cities and rural areas are lit by neon, our very future, much less our next frontier seems in danger. We are on the brink of killing the human race in a number of highly sophisticated ways. We may choke to death on the byproducts of our progress.

We may starve to death because we have not learned to stop reproducing. Or, perhaps we may completely destroy the earth and her people in a nuclear holocaust. This is the old frontier and the new frontier is a million miles away. What do we do now?

#### OBVIOUS MISTAKE

When we hear the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden it's hard not to think of them with some contempt. Their mistake was so obvious, and it seems to us, could have been so easily avoided. Yet, so much of what we consider our progress—so much of our sophistication intellectually has been used to bring about the death of the earth. It is ironic that Adams, whom we laugh at, lost his garden by simply eating an apple while we have worked so hard at losing our garden.

I believe, I sincerely believe, if we are to have both a renewed frontier and a renewed future that we must stop running from ourselves. We must stop trying to escape the complexities of society. We must accept the challenge of living together. We must accept the challenge of the old frontier. Americans, indeed all the citizens of the world, must see how grand an opportunity it is to save the earth and ourselves. We lost one Eden. Will we lose another?

Jerry Goodman now will compete against 38 other speakers at the Optimist International Convention in Minneapolis, Minn., starting June 27. A total of \$5000 in scholarships will go to the top four winners.

#### VIETNAM PERSPECTIVE

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the debate over Vietnam continues to rage and, unfortunately, is being used by the political opportunists of this country in a manner that I believe is not in our long-term national interest nor that of the free world.

In an effort to direct public attention to the logic of President Nixon's position and to the fact that the war in Vietnam is caused by Communist aggression, I believe the column by Dumitru Danielopol, in the Joliet Herald News of May 17, is especially pertinent.

The article follows:

#### DUMITRU DANIELOPOL—VIETNAM PERSPECTIVE

PARIS.—Any American abroad this spring is caught up in a storm of confusion over U.S. policy in Southeast Asia and the results of the South Vietnamese military strike into Laos.

Traveling through Africa and Europe, and forced to rely only on reports from Washington foreign correspondents or the violently anti-Nixon International Herald Tribune, I was left with the distinct impression that not only did the Laos operation collapse but that the South Vietnam army is in shambles and that the President's "Vietnamization" program was a flop.

"This is a completely erroneous picture," says Roger Massip, senior foreign editor of "Le Figaro," one of Paris' most powerful newspapers.

"In fact the operation in Laos was a success. Our correspondents in Saigon, Mas Clos, and a military expert, M. Pouget, went to look at things on the spot."

No one would have dreamed two years ago, says Massip, that the South Vietnam army could undertake such a difficult task by themselves in heavily fortified enemy territory.

They ran into unexpectedly heavy resistance, but gave an excellent account of themselves under very difficult conditions, said the French editor.

That kind of appraisal in Paris is worth noting. Conscious of their own failure in Indochina, the French give credit grudgingly.

There has been a deliberate effort to confuse the objectives of the Laos operation, Massip charges. He pointed out that President Thieu himself called it "limited in time and place."

"Most of the objectives were achieved despite very heavy opposition from the enemy," Massip said. "The results will be seen later."

He believes that the Communist forces suffered very heavy casualties both in men and supplies and that the operation helped blunt the North Vietnamese offensive strength.

Unfortunately, he adds both the American and French press preferred "pessimistic accounts of the operation."

This point of view is echoed by serious British analysts.

"The South Vietnamese army showed that it was capable of launching an attack outside its own borders," writes the London Economist "—during the period of the operation—when six (South Vietnamese) divisions were out of the country—there was almost no activity by the Viet Cong in any part of South Vietnam—very heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy—and contrary to press reports, the operation boosted morale (both civilian and military) in South Vietnam generally—"

Both opponents and members of the Thieu government, says the British paper, affirm that the foreign press, by misrepresenting the results of the operation handed Hanoi "as big a propaganda victory as it had in the TET offensive in 1968."

"If the North Vietnamese inflicted such a defeat on our forces, why didn't they follow it up?" asks a South Vietnamese diplomat. "Why didn't they chase them all the way. If it was a rout, why didn't they finish us off and win the war? Why didn't they do it?"

The South Vietnamese in Paris have become resigned to a largely unsympathetic Western press.

"They have constantly predicted disasters for us," said the diplomat. "They said the TET offensive had been a serious setback, when in fact it proved to be a catastrophe for the North Vietnamese. They said the same about the Cambodian operation, and again they were proven wrong. I think we should wait a while before judging the Laotian operation."

"There is a radical change in the situation since two years ago," says Massip. "The North Vietnamese aren't making any headway anywhere despite American withdrawals."

The answer, according to Massip's explanation, is that the Reds have been severely hurt, their capabilities blunted. With the rainy season upon them Massip believes, the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese in South Vietnam find themselves in an awkward situation and short of supplies.

"Vietnamization is a reality. It works, and it works well," he says.

"Why isn't the good news reported?" I asked.

"It is difficult for newsmen who want to be fair to report this war differently than the current trend of opinion among newsmen in Saigon," says a correspondent of the London Sunday Times, "Some correspondents found the going rough when they didn't follow the majority who have been hostile to the Saigon regime and opposed to the U.S. involvement."

Maybe that's one of the answers in Indochina.

#### DISPATCHING OF DEEDS

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BEGICH, Mr. Speaker, many communities in the Kuskokwim-Yukon area have been incorporated into fourth class cities and have been surveyed by the Bureau of Land Management. For the past 8 years, the residents of these communities were assured by the Bureau of Land Management that they would receive individual deeds to their property. As of today, many residents have not as yet received their deeds.

Because the residents do not have deeds to their land, many are unable to sell their property or obtain small business loans. Needless to say this hinders the progress and growth of the communities involved.

The Alaska State Legislature has requested that the Bureau of Land Management immediately dispatch deeds to the residents of the affected communities in the Kuskokwim-Yukon areas. I strongly support this resolution and I include it in the record for your consideration.

The resolution follows:

STATE OF ALASKA HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION  
No. 32

Relating to the dispatching of deeds by the Bureau of Land Management to persons in Alaska

Be it resolved by the legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas many communities in the Kuskokwim-Yukon area have been incorporated into fourth class cities and have been surveyed by the Bureau of Land Management; and

Whereas residents of these communities were assured by the BLM at the time of incorporation that they would receive individual deeds to their property; and

Whereas some of these communities were incorporated and surveyed as long ago as 1964; and

Whereas residents of these communities have not received deeds to their property as of this date; and

Whereas this lack of individual deeds hin-

ders progress in these communities and prevents residents from obtaining small business loans without great difficulty;

Be it resolved by the Seventh State Legislature that the Bureau of Land Management is respectfully requested to immediately dispatch deeds to the residents of the affected communities in the Kuskokwim-Yukon and other areas in Alaska.

CFR ON GERMAN TROOP REDUCTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, recent efforts to reduce U.S. troop strength in Germany were severely castigated by the news media. Some opinion molders such as Time magazine even equated congressional consideration of troop reduction in Europe to a new attack on Presidential power—not as to troop withdrawal from Vietnam—but limited solely to Europe.

Influential bipartisan support was recruited from top name "policymakers" in America not to support the President or the American people but to defeat any withdrawal of U.S. manpower from Germany.

Of the 24 identified experts and authorities on international relations recruited to do battle for the new cause celebre, 21 are members of that international cult known as the CFR, Council on Foreign Relations.

Continued German occupation by U.S. troops was a command decision by the unelected leadership of our country.

Germany is just too close to the Middle East for the CFR to permit any military reduction.

I ask that several newsclippings and a letter to the editor by Father Dismas Tredor of Pulaski, Wis., be inserted in the RECORD.

The material follows:

[From the Green Bay Press Gazette, May 16, 1971]

NIXON CONDEMNS PLAN TO CUT FORCE IN EUROPE

KEY BISCATNE, FLA.—President Nixon made his first personal statement Saturday condemning proposals to cut U.S. troops in Europe in half—and drew a statement of total accord from former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Nixon also produced a bipartisan list of 24 former top officials who back his stand.

Nixon's statement had been shown to Johnson and prompted another from the former chief executive, which was released through the Florida White House:

"I have seen the President's statement opposing at this time a unilateral reduction of military forces maintained in Europe for the common defense. I am totally in accord with that statement.

ENCOURAGED RECONCILIATION

"American steadiness in support of NATO for more than 20 years has not only helped to bring security and progress to the North Atlantic community, it has also encouraged movement toward reconciliation with those toward the east. Unilateral reduction of our military forces in Europe would endanger what we have achieved in the past and shatter our hopes for the future."

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Nixon's own statement said:

"At this point in time, it would be an error of historic dimensions for any of the North Atlantic Treaty allies to reduce unilaterally the military forces maintained in Europe for the common defense.

"As the most powerful member of the alliance, the United States bears a responsibility for leadership.

"Let us persevere to carry forward the policy of this nation under five successive presidents representing both political parties, confident that our united strength will promote the enduring peace we seek."

AIMED AT MANSFIELD

The Nixon statement was aimed point blank, without actually saying so, at a proposal by Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, who has submitted, as amendment to a bill that would extend the draft for two years, a proposal to slash the U.S. troop level in Europe from 300,000 to 150,000. The issue is slated for a Senate showdown vote Wednesday.

Nixon's statement was supplemented by a rundown of 24 big-name supporters who had held top defense, diplomatic and foreign posts in the administrations of Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Democratic administrations of Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Johnson.

The issue has become the hub of perhaps the most intense lobbying of the administration.

The administration maneuvers blossomed from a conference at the Washington White House Thursday. At the time, officials made it clear that those present were being encouraged to lobby.

A White House official said that as far as he knew former President Truman had not been approached for support.

SEVERAL SAID "NO"

Several former officials who were sounded out said "no."

One of these was former Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford and another was former Deputy Secretary James Douglas. In addition, former Secretary Robert S. McNamara declined comment because of his position as head of the World Bank. The White House said, however, that McNamara did not want his abstention interpreted as nonsupport of the Nixon statement.

These are the backers listed by the White House:

Former Secretaries of State Dean Acheson and Dean Rusk; former Undersecretaries of State James Webb, Robert Murphy, Livingston Merchant, Douglas Dillon, George Ball, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; former Defense Secretaries Robert Lovett, Neil McElroy and Thomas Gates; former deputy secretaries of defense, Roswell Gilpatrick and Cyrus Vance.

FORMER COMMANDERS

Former supreme allied commanders in Europe: Matthew Ridgway, Alfred Gruenther, Lauris Norstad, Lyman Lemnitzer; former U.S. ambassadors to NATO Charles Spofford, W. Randolph Burgess, Thomas Finletter and Harlan Cleveland; and former military governors or high commissioners for Germany Lucius Clay, John McCloy and James Conant.

Mansfield told a reporter in Washington Saturday he is unwilling to compromise. Win or lose, he said, he expects the attempt to have a beneficial impact, including, possibly, a U.S. troop reduction. He said he has made no head count for his proposal.

[From the Green Bay Press-Gazette, May 21, 1971]

PEOPLE'S FORUM

THE NIXON ADVISERS

EDITOR, PRESS-GAZETTE: So President "Nixon Condemns Plan To Cut Forces in Europe" (Press-Gazette, 5/16/71). What could be his motives, and who are his supporters? I felt

a little reluctant to write about this, but happily I overcame it easily.

President Nixon claims our 300,000 troops are still in Europe "for the common defense." If the purpose is defense, we must assume there is an enemy. Could it be communism? Hardly. Ex-president Johnson and President Nixon favor increased trade with Russia and her Eastern-European satellites.

Haiphong harbor is being spared to allow 80 per cent of the supplies to reach North Vietnam—much of it on ships of our allies, mostly English. No wonder our soldiers in South Vietnam become discouraged and—lacking patriotic inspiration—turn to drugs.

Very recently President Nixon indicated the possibility of increased trade with Red China. Judge for yourself whether communism is really our enemy. Rather, isn't the entire affair a vast and tragic pretense, hoax and fraud?

If any big-shots still claim we are fighting communism, they can try telling it to someone still poorly-enough informed to believe it. They'd waste their efforts on me.

It is a quite well-known fact that the presence of a large contingent of United States armed forces in Europe and a lot of our foreign aid (much of which is used to bolster communism) figure heavily in the dollar crisis right now in Europe. Have we anything to gain by these disastrous policies?

Next, let's look at President Nixon's supporters in his opposition to Senator Mansfield, about pulling at least half our troops out of Europe. Ex-president Johnson is "totally in accord" with Mr. Nixon. His accord doesn't affect me at all. If it might, it would be extremely unfavorable.

The article in the Press-Gazette lists the 24 supporters of President Nixon. As I read the names, dark memories loomed up. Believe it or not, out of the 24 supporters, 21 are members of the Council on Foreign Relations—all except James Webb, Robert Lovett and Neil McElroy. For the remaining 21, check your Press-Gazette.

The CFR is not a branch of the federal government. It is a private, subversive organization (proof can be supplied) with only about 1,500 carefully selected members. But they are extremely influential. They have infiltrated the government. President Nixon has surrounded himself with at least 99 CFR members. This alone shows where President Nixon looks for guidance.

It is very worthwhile to watch the activities and pronouncements of CFR members. Be on the lookout for these: Henry Kissinger, Paul McCracken and Arthur F. Burns. The above three are extremely prominent CFR members. I have a list (dated June 30, 1969) of all the members.

I realize that many happy-go-lucky citizens are not even aware of the existence of the CFR—still less know the names of the members and their influence for evil. That is why I am so anxious to share my knowledge.

Reverend DISMAS TREDOR,  
Assumption Friary, Pulaski, Wis.

[From Time Magazine, May 24, 1971]

THE NEW ATTACK ON PRESIDENTIAL POWER

The congressional challenge to the President's foreign policy reached a new intensity last week. The Senate began a lengthy debate on whether to give Nixon a two-year extension of the draft; many argued strongly against it. Senator John Stennis, conservative chairman of the Armed Services Committee and a loyal supporter of Administration military policies, introduced a resolution that would curtail presidential power to make future wars. After years of objecting to the heavy U.S. troop commitment in Europe, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield took decisive action: he introduced an amendment to the draft bill that would compel the Administration to reduce American forces in NATO by one-half.

It was the Mansfield move that most alarmed the White House. The dollar crisis in Europe had underscored Mansfield's complaint that the troop commitment was too costly for the U.S. The amendment, which comes to a vote this week, picked up considerable support. The Administration reacted vigorously claiming that it would lead to collapse of the Atlantic Alliance. Said a White House aide: "There is no fall-back position on this. We are going to fight it like hell, and we may lose. But there is no alternative."

Asinine. The President called on some notably big guns to help in the fight. He summoned foreign policymakers, past and present, Democratic and Republican, to a hastily convened conference at the White House. NATO Commander General Andrew Goodpaster and Robert Ellsworth, U.S. Ambassador to the Atlantic Alliance, arrived from Europe. Also on hand were George Ball and Dean Acheson, John J. McCloy and Henry Cabot Lodge, General Lucius Clay and General Alfred Gruenther—a reunion of the old U.S. foreign policy establishment. After the meeting, they presented a solid phalanx of support for the Administration. Snapped Acheson: "It is absolutely asinine to reduce forces unilaterally." Later in the week, even Lyndon Johnson weighed in with a stern warning against troop withdrawal.

The Administration also got an unexpected assist from, of all people, Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev, who gave a speech at Tiflis, in Stalin's Georgia homeland, recommending that the Soviets and the NATO powers start talking about mutual troop reductions in central Europe. Brezhnev challenged the U.S. to get serious about the subject. He asked rhetorically: "Don't these curious people resemble a person who tries to judge the flavor of a wine without imbibing it?"

Brezhnev's intervention further complicated an already intricate debate. Seizing the opportunity, Administration spokesmen spread the plausible message that it would be ridiculous to withdraw U.S. forces when there was a chance to use them to strike a bargain with Russia.

#### STRICT CONSTRUCTIONISM

While fighting off unacceptable amendments, the Administration had its hands full trying to salvage the draft bill itself. For the first time since 1940, when President Franklin Roosevelt persuaded an isolationist Congress to renew Selective Service, the Senate seriously considered whether to have a draft at all. Viet Nam, of course, was the reason. Some Senators argued that abolishing the draft would bring the war to a speedier conclusion.

Perhaps more important in the long run than the skirmishes over the draft bill was the defection of Senator Stennis. His resolution struck at the heart of the President's war-making powers. Not that he meant to be as unkind as he seemed. As the Senate sponsor of the draft-extension bill, he wanted to separate the problem of war making from the draft. But as a strict constructionist who opposed the Viet Nam War in the first place, he felt that the time was ripe to rein in the President's power to involve the nation in an undeclared war. His proposal would not apply to the Viet Nam War, but in the future it would allow the President to commit troops only in the case of an imminent or outright attack on the U.S., or if American citizens or armed forces were endangered abroad. He would then be permitted to use troops for a period of 30 days without congressional consent. In any other kind of conflict, only Congress could authorize going to war.

#### ENCROACHMENT

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State William Rogers replied that such a bill would be an unconstitutional encroachment on the

President's powers. Said Rogers: "To circumscribe presidential ability to act in emergency situations—or even to appear to weaken it—would run the grave risk of miscalculation by a potential enemy regarding the ability of the U.S. to act in a crisis."

Beyond question the President needs freedom to act in an emergency, but that is not the issue that Congress is now pressing. While the Stennis resolution exempted Viet Nam, it was clearly the Indochina war that had prompted him and animated his supporters. Very little in that war has required instant presidential decision; the vital choices have been made only after weeks or even months of mulling over by the commanders in Viet Nam, the civilian chiefs at the Pentagon, and the President and his men at the White House.

#### THE PROS AND CONS OF NATO TROOP WITHDRAWAL

Although the distinctions tend to fade in the heat of debate, the battle over the Mansfield amendment is being waged on three fronts—military, economic and political. According to both opponents and proponents, there is much more at stake than just the withdrawal of half of the 300,000 troops that the U.S. maintains in Western Europe. Some of the more telling arguments on both sides:

The heart of Mansfield's case is the huge cost—\$14 billion annually—of the country's NATO commitments and its deleterious effect upon the U.S. balance of payments and the stability of the dollar. He points out that the U.S. annually incurs such NATO expenses as \$2.9 billion in land taxes on bases in Great Britain and Germany and \$265 million for the employment of European nationals by U.S. forces. "In other words," he says, "we are paying them to stay there and defend them."

What happens when the U.S. comes up against a financial crunch while the economy is suffering? "They can give us a run on the dollar," Mansfield says. "They can make it difficult for us by increasing prices on American products exported to Europe. My amendment is designed to bring about an early relief to our pressing payments deficits abroad. If these troops that will be returned are disbanded upon their return to the U.S., it will represent a further gain for our budget as well as our balance of payments. The financial savings in that case could well be as high as \$1.5 billion."

Secretary of State William Rogers holds otherwise. In economic terms, he argues, the amendment would have only "minimal benefits." Under present Pentagon plans, the troops would not be disbanded on their return, and the cost of maintaining those forces, Rogers says, would be about the same in the U.S. as in Western Europe. He does concede that bringing the troops home would improve the balance of payments picture, perhaps by as much as \$700 million. But he also hints that the U.S. is trying to get West Germany to increase the offset payments that already counterbalance much of the cost of keeping U.S. troops in Europe.

The Pentagon is quick to argue the impact of withdrawal on NATO combat effectiveness. The five-division equivalent force now in Western Europe, says one general, could hold at the beginning of a conventional war for nearly a month, while waiting for reinforcements to mobilize. "But should that force be cut in half," he says, "we would lose that option, and it would be retreat, surrender or nukes." His assessment is presumably based on the near parity in peacetime troop strength—approximately 1,105,000 NATO to 1,270,000 Warsaw Pact—of the opposing European alliances. Should the U.S. withdraw 150,000 men, the Pentagon claims, this balance would be tilted.

Mansfield retorts that "our forces in Europe have been inflated and musclebound,

with far more logistical than combat capability." He notes that among U.S. troops with NATO in Europe, there is one general or flag officer for every 2,343 men, whereas when he served in the Army, he says, the average ratio was one colonel for every 3,000 men. Mansfield's point is that the U.S. military in Europe has grown top-heavy. "It is my conviction," he says, "that trimming away the fat in the form of excess supplies and headquarters will result in a leaner, more mobile and more efficient combat force." Besides Mansfield has persistently argued that although the deployment of American troops in Europe shows the flag and acts as a trip wire to Warsaw Pact aggression, this could be accomplished just as readily with a greatly reduced force.

The real difficulty, according to Rogers, is the long-run diplomatic consequence of Mansfield's proposal. Any unilateral and massive troop withdrawal, he contends, would lead the Soviets to believe that "we're leaving the world," and create among Western Europeans a tremendous crisis of confidence in the U.S. It would, Rogers says, be a "major disaster for this country to let down NATO, which is as essential to our defense as to Western Europe's." He claims that the one thing forcing the Soviets to settle the Middle East question through diplomatic means is their knowledge that the U.S. will not pull back. He echoes the argument, made by the President, that any unilateral reduction of forces would "completely eliminate the possibility" of a negotiated mutual-reduction agreement with Russia.

Congress has drawn a bead on the issue of its own prerogatives. "Do you question Congress's right to bring back forces from Europe?" Senator William Fulbright demanded of Rogers at one point last week. "We're opposed to arbitrary limits," Rogers replied. Nixon in turn is opposing withdrawals partly as a matter of presidential pride and power. But the issue goes far beyond that.

Congress has been restive about the size of the U.S. military presence in Europe for at least five years. The general antiwar mood caused by Viet Nam has reinforced that feeling. But the issues are entirely different; far more is at stake in Europe.

The argument that the Western Europeans should pick up more of the burden is valid. It is incongruous for the U.S. to maintain 300,000 troops in Western Europe 25 years after World War II; obviously, there should be a reduction. The Administration, in essence, agrees. But Nixon has a strong case for calling the Mansfield amendment precipitate. The U.S. cutback need not be as abrupt as Mansfield would have it; preferably, the President should be free to execute it at his own pace, winning whatever concessions he can from the East bloc.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS WORD

#### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States withdrew an additional 3,200 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today, there are 259,300 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

THE 1971 BURKE QUESTIONNAIRE

**HON. J. HERBERT BURKE**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, late in March I sent out my annual questionnaire and today I would like to publish the results in the RECORD. More than 241,000 questionnaires were mailed to homes in the 10th Congressional District, which includes North Dade and Broward Counties of Florida.

This year I received a record number of responses—46,000—to the major issues of the day. As in the past, the results of this questionnaire will help to determine my votes on future legislation.

I feel that this is one of the best methods available to a Congressman for ascertaining the opinions of his constituency, and I would like to share my findings with you:

THE 1971 BURKE QUESTIONNAIRE

Results

1. Do you consider the ABM system:
  - (a) necessary? 71
  - (b) unnecessary? 29
- Do you consider the SST:
  - (a) necessary? 38
  - (b) unnecessary? 62
2. What policy do you favor:
  - (a) not admitting Red China to the U.N.? 22
  - (b) admitting Red China to the U.N. instead of Nationalist China? 6
  - (c) admitting both Red China and Nationalist China to the U.N.? 52
  - (d) opening diplomatic and trade relations with the government of Red China without recognizing it formally? 20
3. What is the best U.S. policy for Vietnam:
  - (a) increased military effort to achieve a military victory? 11
  - (b) the President's policy of withdrawing U.S. troops by stages while strengthening the South Vietnamese to assume responsibility for their own security? 55
  - (c) withdraw all U.S. troops immediately? 21
  - (d) publicly setting an absolute date for withdrawal, regardless of events in the meantime? 13
4. Regarding national health insurance, which do you favor:
  - (a) a program financed and operated by the federal government? 27
  - (b) a federally operated program financed by employer and employee contributions? 26
  - (c) income tax credits for the cost of purchasing private health insurance? 24
  - (d) complete reliance on the private health insurance structure? 6
  - (e) expansion of health maintenance plans? 8
  - (f) no new legislation in this area? 9
5. With respect to raising an army to defend the nation, which one of the following do you favor:
  - (a) abolishing student and job deferments? 30
  - (b) continuing the lottery in its present form? 34
  - (c) replacing the draft system with an all-volunteer army? 36

	Yes	No
6. To fight inflation and unemployment, which actions are you willing to have the Federal Government take:		
(a) Control wages and prices?	75	25
(b) Spend less on domestic programs?	43	57
(c) Spend less on national defense?	54	46
(d) Raise income taxes?	14	86
(e) Establish public service employment programs to create obs?	65	35
(f) Adopt the President's full employment budget with its deficit?	38	62
7. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal to make the Federal Government more efficient and responsive to citizens by reorganizing the executive branch, abolishing 7 cabinet level departments and creating 4 new ones in their place?	82	18
8. Do you favor returning a share of Federal tax revenues to State and local governments to help solve local problems?	84	16
9. To fight pollution, would you support:		
(a) Enactment of the President's \$10,000,000,000 clean water program?	81	19
(b) Spending even more money and passing even stricter laws?	73	27
(c) Requiring manufacturers to prevent pollution even if it means that they charge higher prices for their products?	87	13
(d) Enactment of user fees and/or taxes on all polluters and users of water in order to fully finance Federal water pollution abatement programs?	86	14
(e) Leaving the problems up to the States?	27	73

SUN-SENTINEL EDITOR COMMENTS ON DEMONSTRATIONS

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, the recent so-called "peace demonstrations" in Washington during which radical and militant elements in our society sought to close the normal business and governmental functions in our Nation's Capital are the subject of an editorial by Mr. William A. Mullen, editor, the Sun-Sentinel, Pompano Beach, Fla.

I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

HOW LONG WILL ANARCHY BE LABELED DISSENT?

The contrast between the massive but generally peaceful protests against the Vietnamese war over the past weekend and the abuses currently being inflicted upon the Capitol by radical groups makes one wonder how long the representatives of American people will tolerate anarchy disguised as dissent.

The areas for the people to address themselves to their government are clearly spelled out in the Constitution of the United States, particularly in the First Amendment.

This, as is universally known, guarantees freedom of the press, which logically would include underground newspapers that do not violate the laws of libel, slander and obscenity; freedom of speech, which also has its compensating limitations within the law; the right of the people to peaceably assemble, which does not mean roving bands of looters, arsonists and maulers, and then petitioning of government for a redress of grievances.

This last-mentioned point allows no license for roving through the offices of our senators and representatives and damaging and defiling them as a self-righteous group of young people did to the offices of Sen. Barry Goldwater. The group indulged in the utterly childish gambit of firing a toy machine gun then splattering bags of red paint against the walls.

The point to be dramatized, as the permissives say, was the "massacre" of the war. The sheerest of nonsense.

What damage these young people inflicted was not to the office of a U.S. senator, but to the property of the people. For occupancy depends upon the sanction of that section of the electorate represented by said office. Thus, no group nor any individual has the

right to deface nor to bomb public property in the name of dissent.

Nor does a trio of young girls, apparently enjoying fun and games as a news photo shows, have the right to invade the property of the secretary of defense to implant a Viet Cong flag as an anti-war protest.

This, along with the other examples, demonstrates how the entire movement leans toward an anarchy that parallels conditions which prompted reaction against similar abuses nearly 200 years ago.

Heed these reasons:

"The history . . . is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states . . ."

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people . . ."

"He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within . . ."

And on and on the bill of particulars reads, including the efforts to arouse insurrection, to use mock trials to absolve the guilty, to obstruct justice by refusing to assent to laws; to deprive in many cases trial by jury—all intended to destroy the order and structure of existing society.

These items may be used against any of the leaders of the radical groups who have the avowed intention of bringing federal government to a grinding halt and to make the majority of this land subservient to the despotism of the few.

These are excerpts from the Declaration of Independence, a document signed by a handful of men determined to preserve the freedom of their fellowmen and an orderly system of society even if it meant their very lives.

All too clearly a similar declaration again is needed from our government leaders whose risk primarily will be the alienation of political forces that would destroy them anyway if their radicalism prevails.

A THANK YOU

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to com-

mend and thank three companies who have been of great assistance to some people in my home State of Florida.

George and Rosemary Collett and their daughter, Janice, operate the Casa de Felicidades—Happiest House—a wildlife refuge in Venice, Fla., for more than 200 wounded or orphaned animals. The food bill for these victims of man and nature is \$2,500 per year, which the Colletts had managed entirely out of their own pockets until three companies, Borden, Inc., the Gaines Meal Division of General Foods, and Hartz Mountain offered their help.

The donations of foodstuffs so generously made by these firms could very well cut the Collett's food bill in half and I know I speak for the Colletts and animals lovers all over the country in expressing my gratitude for these contributions.

#### RECOGNITION TO TOMORROW'S SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my distinct privilege on May 17 to have attended the 1971 awards banquet of the Tomorrow's Scientists and Engineers program. I was particularly proud that among the winners was a young man from my own district of West Allis, Wis., Jerome A. Johemko, a student at Nathan Hale High School. Accompanying him to Washington for the award presentation ceremony was his teacher sponsor, Mr. Bruce McKay.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the "Tomorrow's Scientists and Engineers" program was established to encourage interest in science and engineering by recognizing and rewarding student research activities. The National Science Teachers Association, the Engineers' Council for Professional Development, Scholastic Magazines, Inc., and Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, realizing the necessity for encouraging this type of independent investigative research on the junior and senior high school level, have joined forces in sponsoring and conducting this program.

Recognition is provided on a broad base to students who complete an experimental or investigative project or extensive field study and submit reports of their work in written form to teams of regional judges for evaluation. Students are encouraged to conduct their work in a manner that closely approximates the procedures and activities used by practicing scientists or engineers. To insure wide recognition, 900 awards are distributed in equal numbers in grades 7-8, 9-10, and 11-12 in each of 12 geographic regions.

Recognizing the desirability of providing added motivation, encouragement, and recognition for outstanding students, "Tomorrow's Scientists and Engineers" also grants 10 \$6,000 scholarships to national winners selected from among the regional winners in grade 12. These are

the 10 young men who were honored at the banquet dinner on May 17.

Mr. Speaker, I know you share with me the pride and satisfaction of seeing these young people excel in the important area of science and engineering. In order to share with my colleagues the accomplishments of these young award winners, I am pleased to place in the RECORD at this point their names: James T. Bennett, Benjamin Franklin Senior High School, New Orleans, La.; David H. Braun, Joliet Township West High School, Joliet, Ill.; Robert M. Hackman, Gateway Senior High School, Monroeville, Pa.; Martin E. Hicks, Joel E. Ferris High School, Spokane, Wash.; Jerome A. Johemko, Nathan Hale High School, West Allis, Wis.; James H. King, Minnechaug Regional High School, Wilbraham, Mass.; Michael J. Momenee, Cardinal Stritch High School, Oregon, Ohio; Mitchell S. Raps, Francis Lewis High School, Flushing, N.Y.; Gary Vitale, Miami Norland Senior High School, Miami, Fla.; David M. Wall, Arlington High School, Arlington, Tex.

It is also my honor to share with my colleagues the remarks of Dr. Robert Q. Marston, main speaker at the award banquet and Director of the National Institutes of Health. His speech, "Maintaining the Momentum of Science," follows:

#### MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM OF SCIENCE

(By Robert Q. Marston, M.D.)

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to take part in these ceremonies and to offer my very hearty congratulations to the winners of the Tomorrow's Scientists and Engineers Awards Program. I want also to congratulate the sponsoring organizations whose representatives are at the head table. Your combined effort serves as an inspiration not only to talented young people everywhere but to those of us on the other side of the generation gap who are interested in the future of science in a dynamic society.

This award program comes at a time when we are in a nation-wide ferment about the uses, the meaning, and the promise of science in our society. All of science is being asked a basic question—how can science and technology be applied most effectively to solve the problems of man?

But the question has a special urgency for the health sciences. The general perception of a "crisis in health care," a "crisis in health manpower," and a "crisis in medical schools" constitutes a significant consideration in the outlook for biomedical research in the decade of the 1970's. And, of course, it has a special relevance for an agency such as mine whose sole reason for being is the improvement of the health of the American people.

The years since World War II have witnessed a remarkable growth in American science. I would like to trace that growth very briefly, with respect to biomedical science in general and the National Institutes of Health in particular, and then pose some questions which the young winners and their colleagues will be grappling with in the years ahead.

Perhaps the single most significant impetus to American science was the publication 25 years ago of Dr. Vannevar Bush's remarkable and precedent-setting report, *Science, the Endless Frontier*. Dr. Bush's volume set off a chain of developments that are still in motion today. For example, his principal recommendations concerning medical research—Federal financial support for research projects, for research training, and for the institutions which conduct re-

search—set the pattern which has been followed with great success for a quarter of a century.

The growth of both Federal and national expenditures for research and development was gradual until fiscal 1957, when a sudden expansion brought NIH research support to \$125 million. Then, Federal support began to accelerate as Sputniks I and II gave a spurt to all U.S. science.

By 1967—ten years later—Federal support of biomedical research was twice the non-federal, or about \$1.5 billion.

The rapid growth in Federal medical R & D tapered off in the years from 1967 to 1970. There was a plateau in NIH funding, or a decline, estimated as high as 25-30 percent, in terms of program support. This was not compensated by additional support from the private sector. The 1971 budget, however, checked this downward drift by maintaining present program levels and allowing for inflation. It also provided for substantial increases in selected areas such as reproductive biology, environmental health sciences, and cancer, heart and dental research.

A quarter of a century later it can be said that most of the proposals of the Bush report have been carried out with a success exceeding the fondest dreams of those days. But what can be said of the increase in knowledge for the improvement of human health which was the reason for the whole biomedical effort? Quickly and somewhat simplistically, we can answer:

Dramatic success in the control, prevention, and cure of acute biological events and diseases, such as the whole range of infectious diseases;

Progress in surgery and related fields; Short-term control of physiological and biochemical processes at a very sophisticated level;

Significant but much more modest success in chronic diseases, and in problems of human development and behavior;

Provision of a sound scientific capability base for the future.

At the very least the accomplishments of biomedical science in this brief time have changed our whole concept of health and disease, have revolutionized the practice and teaching of medicine, and have raised the level of expectations of the people to a very high point indeed. Yet, the dangers of overpromise are so real that a candid view of the future requires some caution.

#### THE BIOMEDICAL SCIENCE FRONTIER TODAY

Many of the changes that civilization has witnessed in our lifetime have derived from the application of general laws of the physical sciences discovered, applied, and tested by brilliant and creative intellects. In contrast, biomedical science is still only "a scanty patchwork of basic principles that are truly known"—in the words of Paul Weiss, Professor Emeritus of the Rockefeller Institute.

What are today's prospects of biomedical research for attaining a consistent and comprehensive understanding of the phenomena of life? Reviewing the advances of the past in the unraveling of the genetic code, in protein synthesis, in virology, in cell biology and other fields, one can speculate on how long it will be before we can make broad generalizations about the nature of living things.

Such generalizations, however, will almost surely require major achievements in the pursuit of long-sought goals in biological research—ranging from cell differentiation to an understanding of the basic mechanisms of immunity.

In the biosciences, we may have to continue for many years to advance problem by problem and step by step, only rarely rewarded by a discovery as noteworthy as penicillin for infectious diseases or the decoding of DNA as a basis for progress in genetics. I would assert that, in either case,

the biomedical frontier today is immensely more promising than 25 years ago. The prospect of using these sciences to improve further the health of mankind is bright indeed.

#### BASIC QUESTIONS REEXAMINED

Vannevar Bush's report focused not only on opportunities for science but on the national role in fostering science for social purposes. His charge was, "With particular reference to the world of science against disease—what can be done now to organize a program?" And secondly, "Can an effective program be proposed for discovering and developing scientific talent in American youth?" These questions have a familiar ring today. Despite the fact that programs have grown rapidly and scientific accomplishment has been dramatic, questions continue to arise regarding public policy in the support of biomedical research and the nature of the central organization of science.

The policy issues have been sharpened with the passage of years and more recently by the sense of impending change in national health programs. Any serious consideration of biomedical research policy must examine three related areas: the impact of such policies on health generally; their impact on the universes of science; and their impact on the institutions of higher learning, especially the medical and dental schools.

Let me focus on three issues which are still unresolved:

1. What is the nature of the decision-making process for a biomedical research program for the future?
2. What are the best mechanisms of support?
3. What should be the relationship with medical and other health educational schools?

There has been considerable discussion recently—both within the scientific community and in the halls of government—about the direction of research, the setting of priorities, the matter of "social relevance", and on how best to meet the needs of society. Some have viewed this increased questioning of the substance and direction of scientific research by non-scientists as a call for more emphasis on targeted versus fundamental research, on short term versus long term investment.

I believe on the contrary that these questions have a much more profound basis—that the public cares little how we weave our magic but only that we continue to do it. I believe society is quite as prepared as scientists to accept uncertainty where knowledge is lacking if they are so told. But many scientists—believing increasingly that only the short term, the immediate, has value in America—continue to promise unselectively that success is "just around the corner." The response often is, here's another \$1 million, \$10 million, or even \$100 million to get us to the corner sooner.

Twenty-five years ago the problem in this country was to develop a national capability of excellence and effectiveness. That ambitious goal has been achieved so that today scientists and non-scientists see:

The biomedical sciences seem uniquely ripe for vigorous exploration;

We as a nation seem to be about to undergo major changes in our health delivery systems;

Today the question is raised with increasing urgency. How do we arrive at decisions in the use of this biomedical research capability? How best to apply the great potential of dedicated scientists and resources in the health field to grave national health problems?

I believe that we should maintain a position of flexible diversity. We should not tie ourselves to one course of action.

To make this possible, we need a portfolio of mechanisms for supporting science in this country. We should maintain as a backbone of this portfolio our regular research grants,

now constituting somewhat more than half of the total expenditures of NIH. They represent the clearest and most effective mechanism to focus our resources on the most creative scientists with the best ideas. They constitute a powerful monitoring and evaluative device. These grants are distributed after successive review by two nonfederal groups—the study sections and the councils. In addition, however, training grants, fellowships, institutional support mechanisms, center grants, contract funds, and intramural programs all have an appropriate place in our total national endeavor.

Because biomedical research depends on the colleges and universities of this land, NIH has always had close ties with the academic community, first through individual project grants and later through institutionally oriented grants.

Here, too, we must maintain a kind of flexibility which will guarantee the independence and viability of the nation's colleges and universities, and at the same time help meet the national need for health manpower. The Administration's proposals in the health manpower field were designed with these purposes in mind.

The final issue I wish to pose is a question of priorities in the general allocation of resources. What is the place of biomedical research vis-a-vis the organization and delivery of health care and other national obligations? This issue is sharpened greatly by the contrast of rapidly escalating health costs at a time of severe budget constraints. Inevitably research has to compete with other national needs, both in health and in other areas of life.

Of great importance as this country seeks to provide a more rational health system for its people is the likelihood that biomedical research will be challenged as a less effective means of achieving that goal, at least in the short-run, when compared with other means. At a time of major national change in the health field, it is inevitable that the question of the relevance of research will be raised. Answers must be given in terms of national need, not defense of the status quo. A convincing case can be made that health care in the future, as in the past, will depend primarily on the knowledge base from which it is practiced.

History provides not only striking evidence of the high social yield growing out of biomedical science, but also of how, in time of greatest stress, nations have recognized the importance of basic research. Lady Florey, with whose husband, Howard Florey, I worked almost 25 years ago, visited us recently, and we discussed the wisdom of wartime England's allowing the continuation of studies of natural antagonisms which led to a reexamination of Flemming's mold and the production of penicillin. This activity was continued in the face of possible invasion. Indeed, several members of the laboratory had the mold sewn in the lining of their clothes, so that if England were invaded, those who escaped would still be able to continue the work.

Florey's 100 percent fatality of untreated mice and 100 percent survival with penicillin required little explanation. The applicability of the results of much of today's research is not as clearcut. There are benefit-risk ratios inherent in many modern discoveries which must be evaluated. I need only mention the antidiabetic drugs and the oral contraceptives to make the point. The character of this issue suggests that the biomedical sciences of the future will offer not only the challenges of probing the basic life processes which I mentioned earlier, but will test severely our ability to make sound judgments in applying the results. The use of the results from the application of scientific experiments must increasingly be weighed against social, economic, political and behavioral beliefs and desires in the population. For this reason

alone, the biomedical science frontier is more challenging and more demanding than it was 25 years ago.

I believe the science teachers of this nation, and programs such as the one we are celebrating tonight can help the American people recapture the spirit and the flavor of Dr. Bush's vision of an "endless frontier." With public support based on this kind of understanding, our future is bounded only by our own creativity and will.

I would end by quoting three sentences from the Oxford History of America:

"America was discovered accidentally by a great seaman who was looking for something else: when discovered it was not wanted; and most of the exploration for the next fifty years was done in the hope of getting through or around it. America was named after a man who discovered no part of the New World. History is like that, very chancy."

Since the nature of biomedical research is to provide the unknown, we should not be surprised that predictions about the future are also chancy.

Again, let me congratulate the award winners and express my appreciation that some of the group will be visiting the NIH reservation tomorrow. You will receive a warm welcome, I assure you, and I hope your exposure to our scientists and their investigations will serve to increase your already keen interest in a career in biomedical research—a career which, in my opinion, cannot be matched for its personal satisfaction and its contributions to the welfare of mankind.

#### BOLIVIA AND CHILE

### HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago it was reported that Bolivia wants our Peace Corps in that country to pack up and go home within 90 days. Then we learned that the government of Chile is about to take over El Teniente, the world's largest copper mine which is U.S. owned, as part of President Salvador Allende's program to nationalize U.S. privately owned copper interests.

It is logical to believe that Allende's next step will be to notify our Government that it wants members of our Peace Corps in that country to get out, too.

Shortly after Allende, a dedicated Marxist, was elected in Chile, I publicly urged that we promptly withdraw the corpsmen from that country. After all, I do not believe the average taxpayer in this country is too anxious to provide technical aid, financed by them, to a Marxist regime. Hence, the departure of the Peace Corps from Bolivia brings me no great personal remorse but I would certainly like to see us move the Peace Corps out of Chile before we get an engraved invitation to depart at the request of the Allende government.

I do want to invite the attention of my colleagues to the fact that Bolivia has received \$532,400,000 in foreign aid from the United States since World War II and Chile has received \$1,376,500,000 during the same period.

Inasmuch as we had to borrow this \$1,908,900,000 before we could make it available to Bolivia and Chile, we must add half again as much for interest. Ironically, this makes a total of \$2,863,-

350,000 that we have spent to buy friends in Bolivia and keep Chile from going Communist.

POSITION PAPERS AND ABSTRACTS  
ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, no problem facing our Nation today is more serious than that of pollution and the preservation of our environment. And no group is more aware of the gravity of this problem, and is doing more to help solve it, than the youth of America. Conscious of the delicate balance of this planet, they are in the forefront of our battles to halt pollution, preserve our wilderness, and stop the mindless advance of raw technology from drowning us in waste of water or choking us to death in exhaust fumes.

No better example of this concern, dedication, and willingness to strive for the cause of our environment can be found than that of the environmental control class of Roslyn High School, located in the Third Congressional District of New York.

That a high school would conduct such a class is in itself highly commendable. But the students in that class, and their teacher, Mr. Murray Kaufman, went further. They compiled over some months a series of position papers on the Federal Government's environmental programs and how they can be improved. These papers cover a wide range of topics—water, air, and noise pollution, solid waste disposal, mass transit, population problems, pesticides energy production—and all of them show not only sophistication in concept, but also firm grasp of the essential factors needed for effective action.

But they did not stop there. In the highest traditions of our democratic government, these students and their teacher traveled to Washington to present their papers, and their case, to representatives of the Federal Government. For several days, they visited with their Representatives in the Congress and with key personnel in the executive branch to present and discuss their ideas.

Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to represent such young men and women in the Congress, and I am proud to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD three of the papers prepared by this class, and abstracts of the others:

ABSTRACT: THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS  
AND THE ENVIRONMENT

This paper discusses the history and organization of the Army Corps of Engineers. Then the relationship with Congress is explored and the nature of the "pork barrel" phenomenon described. Examples of the ill effects of determining policy by "pork barrel" are given and then a discussion of the economics (or lack of them) in the Corp's operations. The conclusion is that neither the Corps' cost figures, benefit figures, or benefit-cost ratio are accurate, and

that, due to the "pork barrel", it doesn't matter in the passage of certain projects. Several examples of the Corps' deprivations on the land are given, including the cases of the Everglades, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, and the Rampart Dam.

The conclusion of this paper is that while the Corps has done many fine things for the country, the management of our resources should be shifted into the sphere of comprehensive planning rather than single project building. This would be best accomplished in the Department of the Interior after a clear break has been made from the old "spoils system". Our water is too important to be political prize money.

POSITION PAPER ON THE U.S. ARMY CORPS OF  
ENGINEERS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The Army Corps of Engineers is the largest construction company in the world. Their annual budget is \$32.3 billion; they are involved in close to 4,000 civil works projects distributed among 11 divisions and 38 districts.<sup>1</sup> Within the Corps, the work is done by 200 army officers, traditionally drawn from the top of the West Point classes, who supervise 40,000 civil employees.<sup>2</sup> Their civil work extends throughout the country and they have worked in many foreign areas as well.

The history of the Corps of Engineers is long and, in the balance, their efforts have greatly advanced this country. The Corps originated in the Act on March 16, 1802 which established a Corps of Engineers consisting of five officers and ten cadets to be stationed at West Point, New York, and to "constitute a Military Academy." Within a few years the headquarters of the Corps was transferred to Washington, but West Point remained under the Corps' control until 1866.<sup>3</sup> Initially their civil responsibility was confined to navigation along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. They also built the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the continuation of the Cumberland Road. In 1852 rivers and harbors work was placed generally under the Army Corps;<sup>4</sup> in 1899 the responsibility to issue permits for dumping of refuse into waterways;<sup>5</sup> and in 1917, the 1852 act was expanded to apply also to works of improvement for flood control. The power to work in flood control for the nation as a whole was more explicitly established in the Flood Control Act of 1936.<sup>6</sup> The Corps has taken part in some of our most successful national enterprises—it built the Panama Canal, and it opened the West. But it is now necessary to examine its role in a changing society.

The Corps asserts that placing the maintenance of civil navigation in the hands of the Army is invaluable to national security. Some problems do arise on the assumption of such a large responsibility. The first is in terms of military effectiveness, their primary function. While their budget has trebled in the last 15 years, their work in Vietnam has not been completely satisfactory. This is due to a combination of factors, including the difficulties in dealing with climate and topography. However, the increasing commitment of the Corps to civil works of ever-increasing scope has also acted as a drain and a distraction from the primary responsibility of the Army Corps—their military endeavors.<sup>7</sup>

A large bureaucracy is necessary to sustain the Corps' national activities, and to keep their complex procedures running smoothly. At this point it would be fruitful to examine just how their civil projects are selected, planned, and financed. The Corps will be quick to say that they do not initiate any projects. This is true. First, local interests have to approach the Corps with a plan. They are referred to their local congressman or senator, who asks the Public Works com-

Footnotes at end of article.

mittee to include an allocation for a preliminary examination in an appropriations bill. If this is passed, the Corps can then make a preliminary investigation to determine whether a full scale, expensive survey is indicated. In almost all cases, the District Engineer first calls for public hearings to obtain the views of interested parties. This is followed by field reconnaissance.

The report of the preliminary examination either concludes that the data available is sufficient to show that improvement is not justified, or that prospects for justified improvements are such that a full survey is warranted. The District Engineer submits his report to the Division Engineer. If he disagrees in whole or part, the report may be returned to the District Engineer with suggestions. He need not revise his views. The report of the Division Engineer consists of an endorsement with only those details as are essential to explain any difference of opinion. When the Division Engineer submits an unfavorable report he must issue a public notice of his recommendations so that all interests have the opportunity to appeal to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, the next higher step. The Board passes on all reports and advises the Chief of Engineers. If the Division Engineer's report was favorable, and the Board's unfavorable, another public notice must be released, and the Board will reconsider in the light of response. The Board then passes along the whole file to the Chief of Engineers for the final recommendation. If the Chief of Engineers agrees to a favorable recommendation, a survey is authorized. It does not have to be submitted to any other bodies as the project is still under consideration. If the report is unfavorable it must be submitted to Congress through the President's office (Bureau of the Budget). Congress can recommend that the report be reconsidered after a year period, and the Corps also preserves this option by only commenting on *Current* justification of the project. Any review is conducted in the same manner as the original investigation.

The purpose of the survey is to determine more in-depth suitable plans and the economic justifications. If the economic justifications (cost-benefit ratio) appear favorable, considerable in-depth surveys and sub-surface investigations are made. The progress of the survey report is much the same as that of the preliminary examination report. If the Bureau of the Budget decides that the project is not in accord with administration policy it can still be submitted, with that opinion included in the file. Then it must be authorized by both houses of Congress. After authorization there are four additional steps. The first two concern preparation of plans and specifications, and preparation and awarding of bids. Then a definite project report must go through the Division Engineer and the office of the Chief of Engineers. The fourth step is the appropriation. Appropriations are estimated on the basis of the costs of the preliminary examinations, surveys, and the big capital lay-out for the authorized project.<sup>8</sup>

The reason for the inclusion of this information is that it becomes obvious on reviewing the Corps' procedures that there is very little executive control over their actions and that the real relationship of the Corps to any other branch of government is to the legislature—which brings up the topic of "pork barrel". Senator Paul Douglas stated in 1956, and it remains true today, "I think it is almost hopeless for any senator to try to do what I tried to do when I first came to this body, namely, to consider these projects one by one . . . Any member who tries to buck the system is confronted with an impossible amount of work in trying to ascertain the relative merits of a given projects."<sup>9</sup> The essence of "pork barrel" is that everyone wants something for his own constituency

and therefore cannot risk alienating any possible future support. Thus, everyone gets his own pet project, the Corps goes on, and very little comprehensive regional planning is done.

As an example, the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1965 authorized fifty-three new projects in twenty-three states. There was little in the way of planning or of setting national priorities. To be fair, many of these projects were as much Congress' fault as the Army's. According to the Corps, between 1910 and 1968, it recommended against construction on 4700 of the studies that Congress assigned it to make, and favorably on 3400.<sup>10</sup> There have been cases where the Corps was very unenthusiastic but still was ordered ahead. One such project was a plan to connect the Tennessee and Tombigbee rivers in Mississippi and Alabama with a navigable channel 253 miles long and with ten locks providing a total lift of 341 feet. The most favorable benefit-cost ratio the Corps could arrive at was 1.24 to 1. With the benefits of wages to workers on the canal, wildlife "enhancement", and free recreation stripped away, the ratio became 1.01 to 1 over 50 years. The Chief of the Corps said that the ratio of 1.24 to 1 made it economically justifiable. The Secretary of the Army, who reviews these reports, said he thought it was only "marginally" justified. His opinion was not even taken to the floor of the Congress as the appropriation sailed through the "pork barrel."<sup>11</sup>

Another example of the power of "pork" is the canal the Corps dug between the San Francisco port and Sacramento. Even at that price it was calculated that the benefit-cost ratio was about even. Although the Bureau of the Budget recommended that the project be turned down, it was passed, and in 1949 the first funds were appropriated. The price had gone up to \$16 million. Six years later it had gone to \$35 million. Still the Corps said the ratio was even. An independent study by the Stanford Research Institute calculated the ratio at .83 to 1. By 1966 the channel had cost \$41 million.<sup>12</sup>

Congressional "log-rolling" goes on virtually unchecked by the executive. Because appropriations are presented in a lump sum in one bill, the president cannot veto one without vetoing all. On occasion this has occurred. Senator Ellender of Louisiana, the Chairman of the Public Works Committee, had this to say, "I will never forget the year when President Eisenhower gave us a challenge that if we put in the bill any new starts, he would veto them. He vetoed them, but fortunately Congress slammed him down, and I am proud to have led the fight to do just that."<sup>13</sup> On another occasion, President Johnson tried a different approach. In 1965 he asked for nine new starts and got 50.

Thus, the executive has virtually no control over this aspect of the public works program. The legislature and the Corps have worked out a comfortable symbiotic relationship which admits no interference from the administration. It is true that the report of the Chief of Engineers must go through the Secretary of the Army and the Bureau of the Budget, but I have given examples where this review was ineffectual. In addition, the civil works program must be examined in perspective to the function of the government. The Secretary of the Army is mainly concerned with military affairs, including the affairs of the bulk of the 1100 members of the Corps of Engineers.<sup>14</sup> And even the billion dollar budget of the Engineers is relatively insignificant to the Bureau of Budget.

To wind up the discussion of "pork barrel", one organization should be considered, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress—senators, construction people, congressmen, and representatives of the Army Corps and the Bureau of Reclamation. This organiza-

tion plans the major appropriation campaigns. Most of their judgments are based on the Army's benefit-cost ratio. They also deal with other projects in the water resource development field. The Corps is not the only organization at work. Others include the Tennessee Valley Authority, Bureau of Reclamation, and Soil Conservation Service. The work of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress is to help the Corps and other organizations in their effort to spread the bounty.<sup>15</sup>

So far much has been said about the determination of the benefit-cost ratio. This is one of the areas where reform is most needed. Elizabeth Drew observes, "It has been remarked that the measurements are pliant enough to prove the feasibility of growing bananas on Pike's Peak."<sup>16</sup> Part of this is due to the inclusion of benefits difficult or impossible to assign a monetary value to, and part is due to the consistent miscalculation of the costs. Some of the benefits include the profits of the businesses which might be drawn, the lower price to shipper by barge rather than rail, and the enhanced land values (often the land which was under water and has been exposed—to the delight of speculators who bought it when it was still submerged). Flood control is one of the most popular benefits. And in the years since the flood control act, annual flood losses (in adjusted dollars) have increased. Power is another benefit, and it can be provided more cheaply. Pollution treatment, of "low-flow augmentation", the dilution of wastes with controlled flow from a dam or reservoir, is also considered a benefit although more effective methods of pollution control exist. There is no "market value" for the wilderness, although apparently there is for the man-made lakes that the Corps makes—even though they insist that the recreation remain free. The recreation benefits are therefore added in terms of what people would pay if they had to pay and they do not take into account the loss of the wilderness values.<sup>17</sup>

Costs, on the other hand, are consistently underestimated. The Trinity River project is another fine example of mistaken cost analysis. This project is intended to make Fort Worth, Texas, which is 400 miles away from the sea, into a seaport. The project was authorized on the calculation in 1962 of a cost of \$790 million. The estimate now is well over \$1 billion, and construction has not yet begun.<sup>18</sup> The project was originally justified in terms of shipping wheat. Now it is justified on the grounds of shipping gravel, although there is some question as to the necessity of shipping gravel from one end of Texas to the other.<sup>19</sup>

There is a long history of reports on the Corps' faulty economic analyses. The Hoover Commission of 1955 on reorganizing government stated, "If the Corps of Engineers adopted a policy of exerting more rigid requirements to determine economic benefits you could expect a reduction in the number of favorable reports."<sup>20</sup>

This criticism was echoed by Senator William Proxmire after a study of 380 Corps projects. "I consistently found that projects with an alleged benefit-cost ratio of less than two to one provide returns less than their cost. Costs of public works are invariably much greater than originally estimated because of poor estimates and inflationary pressures."<sup>21</sup>

Thus far I have considered only the economic and organizational problems in the operations of the Corps. If these were the only problems with the Corps, then there would be little distinction between it and any other government agency. However, the Corps is different. Its actions permanently change the face of the land. Its jurisdiction is nationwide. It has the power to alter almost anything.

What has the Army Corps of Engineers done to our land, what are they in the proc-

ess of doing, and what do they plan to do? To begin in a small matter, note the conflict in policy between what the Corps does and the rest of the administration plans. The major beneficiaries of the Corps' flood control and irrigation projects are the large landholders in areas such as the Mississippi Delta and the San Joaquin Valley.<sup>22</sup> The Corps goes in and develops a new watering system. Then the landholders are paid not to grow crops on the land the Corps has made arable. The federal government, i.e., all of us, has paid for new irrigation and is now paying the farmers not to use it. The farmer pays nothing.

In larger matters of more than fiscal interest the Corps is playing a negative role. Because of the Corps, the Everglades, an environmental area unique in all the world, is threatened. The Corps constructed a series of dams and ditches at Lake Okeechobee, the source of the sometimes 90 mile-wide river which is the Everglades, and managed the water flow with the point of view of the farmers in mind. If the water level in the lake rose, water was sent to sea through the St. Lucie Canal so as not to flood the farmland. If the water level fell, the farms had first claim on what water there was. The park stands last in the water line. Finally, early in the '60's came four years of drought, the worst in a generation. Disaster areas were declared. Fires swept the river Everglades. Sloughs and ponds dried up. Park naturalists estimate that 90% of the alligator population died.<sup>24</sup>

This problem which the Corps brought about has been referred back to the Corps for solution. Their original prediction that all of Florida's water needs could be solved at \$208 million was typically inaccurate. By the 1960's the cost had doubled. With the addition of the \$76 million they estimate for correction it will hit the half billion mark.<sup>25</sup> Their solution of the problem also leaves some real questions.

But first there is the matter of canal C-111. This was a canal originally meant to carry overflow from the farms out to sea. But then Aerojet General moved in to manufacture solid fuel for the space program. Rocket motors would be barged down from Philadelphia—only the transportation inland remained a problem, and it would be no problem if canal C-111 became big enough to handle the barges. So the Corps dug the canal leaving one plug. And before they could pull it there was a public outcry. The canal would allow salt water into the fresh water Everglades. The canal was stopped.<sup>26</sup> It is now to be a part of the huge network of ditches the Corps has to dig to manipulate the water back down to the national park. It is interesting that the salt water intrusion barrier that the Corps denied the necessity for, has not been placed in the cheapest, most logical place, (which happens to be in full view of the highway) but hidden around a bend in the canal.<sup>27</sup> The Everglades are not saved yet. The water can always be shut off, and with the Corps playing "pork barrel" politics with Florida farmers and industrialists there is always a chance that it will be.

The problem with the Everglades is not the only problem plaguing Florida and the Corps of Engineers. There is the small matter of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, a 107 mile waterway from Jacksonville to Yankeetown. It is estimated at \$177 million. The first 27 miles have been completed with two dams and a reservoir. It will flood 13,000 acres of forests in the Oklawaha River basin. It is another unique area—home of alligators, panthers, and wild turkey. It is based on the alternating wet and dry states of the river basin. Once it is completely and permanently submerged, this ecosystem will be gone. This is not the only thing the canal may do. It is situated four miles to the north of the famous Silver Springs and may pollute the

Footnotes at end of article.

groundwater. The Corps claims it will have many advantages in boating, swimming, fishing, etc., but already there are log jams and weed clogs above the dams. To combat the weeds the Corps sprayed a herbicide. Now, they are rotting and lethal effects are predicted for the fish. In addition, a citizens group has picked up the Corps' age old problem and are making a suit on the basis of the fact that the operation of the canal may not be economical—that the benefit-cost ratio is unfavorable. They contend that the locks are too small.<sup>28</sup>

Here we have two examples of what the Corps is currently engaged in. In both cases an irreplaceable natural area is being threatened. In each case the Corps' economic analysis has been faulty. And in each case the Corps is serving a relatively small number of interests while damaging the greater common interest.

The Corps claims that it is becoming more environmentally aware. General William Cassidy, Chief of the Corps from 1964 to 1969 even institutionalized it in the form of a regulation. He states that the Corps will carry out a project "only when convinced that the sum of the prospective economic and esthetic gains would exceed the sum of the economic cost and esthetic losses."<sup>29</sup> It would seem that in this case too, the Corps uses faulty accounting. It would be interesting to discover under what system the Everglades loss would be a smaller loss than the gain of a barge canal.

The actions the Corps is publicizing now include the addition of biologists, ecologists and landscape artists to the staff. Lt. General Clarke, now Chief of the Corps, has also appointed an Environmental Advisory Board of six citizen conservationists. There are new laws requiring the Corps to consult the Interior Department before issuing dredge and fill permits, and to submit their plans as they affect the environment to the Environmental Protection Administration for review.

However the engineers continue to bear out the statement Senator Gaylord Nelson made while taking the unusual step of opposing a dam in his own state. "The Corps of Engineers is like that marvelous little creature, the beaver, whose instinct tells him every fall to build a dam wherever he finds a trickle of water. But at least he has a purpose—to store up some food underwater and create a livable habitat for the long winter. Like the Corps, this little animal frequently builds dams he doesn't need, but at least he doesn't ask the taxpayer to foot the bill."<sup>30</sup>

It is apparent that the Corps is not really mending its actions, just putting on a new face to suit a new time. The Oakley Dam is a good example of a combination of economic manipulation and ecological damage. The dam, to supply water for Decatur, Illinois, is filling with silt. So the Army has dusted off a 1939 plan to provide flood control, recreation, and incidentally water. The benefit-cost ratio came out wrong so "low-flow augmentation" was added. The dam would back water into Allerton Park, a 1500 acre natural park of Illinois University. An engineering report by an independent firm disclosed an underground water supply, and proved that advanced water treatment is more effective than "low-flow augmentation". These two solutions are not in the Corps' jurisdiction and the important difference (besides the fact that it would have a natural park) is that Decatur would have to pay for the underground water solution, while the Federal Government would pay for a dam.<sup>31</sup>

The Corps has various other plans in the offing. They plan to dam big Walnut Creek, a tributary to the Wabash River, which would flood one of the few remaining virgin forests in the Mid West. In Arkansas the state's own senators are proposing the declaration of the Buffalo River is forever wild

to block dam construction. The last remaining stretch of natural river on the Columbia River is also being threatened.

All of this is hardly evidence of any new look on the part of the Army Corps of Engineers. This is the same kind of thinking that killed 90% of the alligators in the Everglades and may have injured the park forever. But the real big one is still around. Rampart Dam in Alaska, a plan to build a dam across the Yukon and create a lake larger than Lake Erie or the state of New Jersey. According to the Fish and Wildlife Service, 12,000 moose depend on that area. Taken together, the waterfowl coming south each year from the Yukon Flats comes to 1.5 million. About ten thousand cranes nest where the lake would be. About ten thousand geese also live there. In addition, The Yukon, denied its periodic flooding, would become less and less suitable for wildlife. Then there are the fish migrating beyond the dam—20,000 chinook, 50,000 coho, and 200,000 chum. Building the dam would also displace 1200 Athabascas Indians. The plan was shelved—not by the Corps, but by the Interior Department. And former Senator Gruening is still predicting that some day Rampart will be built—even though there is no market for the power, even though the power can be produced half as expensively, even though it would wipe out a priceless wild area.<sup>32</sup> And who will build Mr. Gruening's dam? The Army Corps of Engineers.

What we have here is an organization that has done much for this country. They have made our great rivers navigable, built our harbors. They dug the Panama Canal. They worked on the Capitol and the Washington Monument. But they are also the organization who could draw up plans for a billion dollar dam that would flood irreplaceable wilderness, or parch a unique park. What should their role be? Should their function be expanded to include sewage disposal and anti-pollution devices? As Elizabeth Drew writes, "Making anti-pollution part of the 'pork barrel' may be just what it needs."<sup>33</sup> Or should their civil functions be transferred to another agency?

In this paper it has been shown that the problems of the Army Corps have included the unfortunate tendency to get the economics wrong, a lack of national view of goals and priorities, and the determination of project by "pork barrel." I do not believe that expanding the Corps' influence further will help to eliminate these problems. The Corps should return to its military duties and return civil construction to civil authorities. Our way of dealing with public works must change. The Corps' functions must not evolve upon some agency as the Bureau of Reclamation, which is as guilty as the Corps in many areas. The development of water resources should be assigned to one agency with the directive that a national strategy must be worked out, and that future water resource planning should go on at a regional, watershed, level. The obvious department that this falls under is Interior, or whatever department takes up environmental questions if the cabinet is reorganized.

There is no doubt that the Corps has done great service in the past, but there is equally little doubt that the present haphazard system of developing our water resources must be changed. The only way to take it out of the hands of the "pork barrel" politicians is to disrupt their tight little arrangement. Already the loss of estuarial land is alarming and the wild, clean river is a rarity. It's a trend that cannot be allowed to continue. The recommendations of this paper are simply that the Corps be taken out of Public Works, thereby hopefully to break up the tight little circle, and that the civil functions of the Corps be assigned to some new agency created by a synthesis of the

existing water programs and under the control of the Department of the Interior. It is to be hoped that in this way the effects of our actions are carefully analyzed in the light of our environmental needs.

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Michael Frome, "Dam the Rivers, Full Speed Ahead—Part I", *Field and Stream*, Oct. 70, Vol. 75, no. 6, p. 59
- <sup>2</sup> George Laycock, *The Diligent Destroyers*, Audobon/Ballantine, New York, 1970, p. 9
- <sup>3</sup> Arthur Maass, *Muddy Waters: The Army Engineers and the Nation's Rivers*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1951, p. 20
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21
- <sup>5</sup> Michael Frome, "Dam the Rivers, Full Speed Ahead—Part III", *Field and Stream*, Dec. 70, Vol. 75, no. 8, p. 17
- <sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* Maass, p. 21.
- <sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Frome, Part I, p. 59
- <sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, Maass, pp. 24-36
- <sup>9</sup> Elizabeth B. Drew, "Dam Outrage: The Story of the Army Engineers", *Atlantic*, April, 1970, Vol. 225, no. 4, p. 55
- <sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, Laycock, p. 30
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33
- <sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, Frome, Part I, p. 59
- <sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, Drew, p. 53
- <sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, Frome, Part I, p. 128
- <sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, Drew, p. 56
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57
- <sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, Frome, Part I p. 128
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, Drew, p. 57.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61
- <sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, Laycock, p. 47
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51
- <sup>28</sup> "Cloudy Sunshine State", *Time*, 13 April 70, p. 48.
- <sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, Frome, Part I, p. 128.
- <sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, Drew, p. 51.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- <sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, Laycock, pp. 75-78.
- <sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, Drew, p. 62.

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POSITION PAPER ON WATER POLLUTION LAWS:  
THE SEARCH FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

## ABSTRACT

- I. Water pollution is harmful and will eventually destroy us.
  - A. We are running out of oxygen.
  - B. We are running out of water.
  - C. Water pollution causes and aggravates many diseases.
- II. There are certain barriers against anything but Federal control.
  - A. Pollution crosses political boundaries.
  - B. States cannot raise the funds to control pollution.
  - C. States are in competition for industry.
- III. All pollution laws enacted should have pollution control standards set nationally.
- IV. All pollution control laws should have provisions to ease the process of updating standards.
- V. All existing agencies with jurisdiction in the environmental problems should be eliminated and replaced with one "super"

agency restricted to protecting our living environment.

VI. All laws should have fines enacted with a minimum fine and a maximum fine that would serve as a real deterrent.

- A. Fine of a percentage of net daily profit.
- B. Effluent charge.

#### THE SEARCH FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

Like those wanderers in centuries past who tilled and grazed land to exhaustion and then moved on, we in this century have too long and too casually abused our diminishing environment. The time has come when no longer can we sit back and wait for someone else to repair the damage already done and establish new standards to guide us in the future. One of those plots that we too frequently take for granted is our diminishing water supply. The convenience of turning on our faucets and receiving water has too often led to the fallacy that our water supply is infinite. And too often, we tend to believe that the water that comes out of our faucets is pristine. But no longer can we enjoy these fallacies without ultimately facing destruction. It is now the time to take action against environmental massacres and the agency that must lead the nation in this task is the Federal government.

#### BACKGROUND: THE PROBLEM

Seventy-five percent of the earth is made up of water bodies and of this, ninety-seven percent are the oceans.<sup>1</sup> Ninety-seven percent of the water, therefore, must be desalinated before it can be used for most purposes—a process far more expensive than even purifying our dirty water.<sup>2</sup> But what about the other three percent of our waters? Of this, glaciers and icecaps hold the largest share of fresh water and with present technology, we haven't started to tap these sources yet.<sup>3</sup> Thus, three percent of the earth's waters are fresh water and a major portion of this cannot be used. The amount of fresh water today is substantially the same as it was hundreds of thousands of years ago and yet the demand upon this water has increased at an alarmingly progressive rate with the increase in population. But running out of water is only one of the threats to human life in this area. By polluting our waterways, we could also run out of oxygen soon. Water plants are major producers of oxygen and by killing these plants, we are choking ourselves.

"By 1980 our effluents would be sufficient to consume all the oxygen of all the flow in dry weather of the twenty-two river basins in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

By consuming all this oxygen, we would eventually kill off all higher forms of life on earth. But consuming all our water and air is not the only threat of water pollution. Many diseases are both caused and aggravated by water pollution. Among these are cancer, genetic diseases, typhoid fever, fungus diseases, cholera, dysentery, hepatitis, polio, and diphtheria. Many of the new types of viruses are probably spread in this fashion.<sup>5,6,7</sup> These water pollution problems are all capable of being solved with the proper legislation, enforcement, money, technology, and most crucial, the will to act to save our water—now.

#### THE LAWS

Among the various laws applicable to cleaning up our environment are many that specifically refer to our waterways. These include: The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899, the 1899 Refuse Act, the Water Resources Act of 1964, the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965, the Water Quality Act of 1965, the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, and the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969. Others have been passed and many more have been proposed. In addition to these federal laws, many states possess water pollution laws but it is the Federal government that must be the leader in legislation. There are certain barriers against most laws under state aus-

pices that don't exist on the federal level. These are:

(a) pollution crosses political boundaries. Under Federal control there are fewer boundaries.

(b) states cannot raise the funds to control pollution.

(c) states are in competition for industry.

It is for these reasons that I shall turn my attention to Federal laws. The fact that we have as many laws as we do, and that we are proposing as many as we are, is encouraging. The laws on the books now are a start but we must go further. The concept of setting standards to control pollution is the proper attitude, but neither programs to control pollution nor enforcement of extant programs can be left to state governments. This policy leads to ineffective and inconsistent laws. For example, some states on opposite sides of a river have set different standards for thermal pollution. On the Ohio River, Kentucky set the maximum temperature at 93° while Indiana's was 90°F. Ohio set a limit of 93°F. while West Virginia, across the same river, chose 86°F.<sup>8</sup> Thus, when Federal legislation proposes to put the burden of control back in the hands of the states, you once more run into the three barriers. Therefore, I will propose: "that all pollution laws enacted should have pollution control standards set nationally."

Thus, even though Minnesota might have different conditions from California, both would have to conform to certain standards although both could enact stricter controls within the state.

Another serious fault in the present water pollution laws is in their failure to be able to be updated without having to go through the whole lengthy procedure of amending present legislation or enacting new legislation. Laws must have built-in provisions to facilitate updating of standards. If, for instance, a law required new standards be set every ten years, becoming more strict within the limits of technology and research, then as we gained new information, we would be able to mandate its use without having to pass a new law.

"Today's solution for a given problem may have to be modified tomorrow by the environmental consequences of today's decisions. Thus, we introduce the first cardinal necessity: constant surveillance of the environment for the ecological effects of our activities."<sup>9</sup>

My second proposal, therefore, is: that all pollution laws have provisions written into them that would facilitate the updating of standards without having to go through a lengthy legislative procedure."

Of the many existing laws that I have studied, such provisions were never included and therein lies one of the faults of these laws.

The most poorly developed part of our laws is the enforcement. First, we run into the problem of bureaucracies trying to enforce the laws. There are, it is estimated, thirty-eight agencies controlling water pollution in the Federal Government alone.<sup>10,11,12</sup> Included in these agencies are some working under a conflict of interest. For example, the AEC is in charge both of encouraging the development of nuclear energy and of protecting people and the environment.<sup>13,14</sup> My third proposal, therefore, is: that all existing agencies with jurisdiction in the environment be eliminated by congressional legislation or any other means necessary and that they be replaced by one "super" agency restricted to protecting our living environment."

The recently formed EPA only coordinates all the bureaucracies and does not circumvent them. By having only one agency, it is possible to eliminate many administrators. Then, the extra funds from their salaries could be used to pay the salaries of enforcement agents. Another problem under enforcement, is the system of fining industries

that pollute. Most laws containing any fines restrict these fines to a maximum civil fine of up to \$10,000 daily. Some laws just specify that the fine is per violation and a company could, conceivably, pollute for three days and get fined as one violation. But even daily fines at these figures are not impressive. If an industry were to be fined the maximum fine for every day of the year, this would total \$3.65 million. This is impressive as a fine until you realize that it is usually only the major industries—that gross \$2 billion or more—who would receive these fines. And this figure is at a maximum fine for every day of the year. It is not conceivable that our court system, which is usually lenient, would impose the maximum fine over such a lengthy period, nor is it conceivable that it is possible to collect proof that an industry pollutes every day of the year. Thus, my fourth proposal is: "that in all future laws and where possible to amend existing laws, fines be enacted with a minimum fine (for example, \$10,000) and a maximum fine that would act as a real deterrent."

This might not be a preset figure but instead, might be conceived of as a percentage of a polluting industry's net daily profit. By using an industry's net daily profit, the money to pay the fine would not be taken from personnel salaries. Thus, instead of charging one set fine which could be ineffective against one industry and could destroy a smaller industry, the industry would pay a fine based upon realistic abilities. Another system of fines would be an effluent charge. An industry in this system would be charged in relation to the extent of its pollution. Under any system of fines, the fine must not be a fee paid to allow an industry to pollute but must be a genuine deterrent against pollution. We must insure that it is costlier to pollute than to prevent pollution.

"The economic cost of polluting can be made as high as the profit accrued from pursuing policies which show little regard for the preservation of the environment."<sup>15</sup>

We must at all costs protect our environment and ourselves.

What of existing laws? I have mentioned several in this paper that already exist. We have recently passed many fine laws, but the 1899 Refuse Act is the finest environmental law yet written. It is fine because it is a workable law and not only can, but has worked. Because it allows dissatisfied citizens to carry through on litigation, it insures some results. Often, the Federal government, far removed from an area, does not prosecute a violator of Federal statutes. But a citizen who must live in the stench of an industry has the motivation to prosecute. Congressman Reuss summed it up well when he said, "Other state and Federal laws on industrial water pollution are full of holes and hopelessly inadequate."<sup>16</sup>

In summary, here are the proposals of this paper:

(1) that all pollution laws enacted should have pollution control standards set nationally.

(2) that all pollution laws have provisions written into them that would facilitate the updating of standards without having to go through a lengthy legislative procedure.

(3) that all existing agencies with jurisdiction in the environment problem be eliminated by congressional legislation or any other means necessary and that they be replaced by one "super" agency restricted to protecting our living environment.

(4) that in all future laws and when possible to amend existing laws, fines be enacted with a minimum fine (for example, \$10,000) and a maximum fine that would act as a real deterrent.

These proposals have been based upon extensive research. Our present government should be commended on its present efforts

but it should not pat itself on the back vigorously that it loses sight of its goal. Like our ancient wanderer, our interests are aroused again and we are moving forward to a new plot.

"Realizing that our water and other resources are not limitless, that our environment is threatened, have we the will to solve these problems? We find ourselves on a frightening frontier—not one to be readily conquered, but one which could conquer us."

The right to a clean environment is an inalienable right of all men and it is a right we must begin to claim. Will we wanderers have the courage and will to take action on our dying plot of land called earth to protect and preserve her for our future generations; for our children?

#### LAWS AND THEIR FINES<sup>15 16 17</sup>

1899 Refuse Act: Not exceeding \$2,500, nor less than \$500.

Water Quality Act of 1965: Up to \$10,000 per day.

Amendment to Federal Water Pollution Control Act (S. 3471): Up to \$10,000 daily; (S. 3470): None.

Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969 (H.R. 4148; S. 7): Up to \$5,000 civil; up to \$14 million to clean.

Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899: None.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The University of the State of N.Y., *Water Pollution*, Albany, 1967, Introduction

<sup>2</sup> Harvey Lieber, "Water Pollution", *Current History*, July 1970, p. 29

<sup>3</sup> *Op Cit*, SUNY, introduction

<sup>4</sup> *Waste Management and Control*, A report to the Federal Council for the Sciences and Technology by the Committee on Pollution, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council

<sup>5</sup> *Op Cit*, SUNY, p. 10

<sup>6</sup> *Op Cit*, Harvey Lieber, p. 26

<sup>7</sup> Gerald Leinwand, *Air and Water Pollution*, New York Washington Square Press, 1969, p. 32

<sup>8</sup> Gene Bylinsky, "The Limited War on Water Pollution", *Fortune Magazine*, February 1970, p. 197

<sup>9</sup> Allen C. Nadler, "Environment Undivided", *Air Pollution*, N.Y., Science Institute For Public Information, 1970, p. 4

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3

<sup>11</sup> *Op Cit*, Harvey Lieber, p. 27

<sup>12</sup> Senator Edmund Muskie, "Fresh Water: A Diminishing Supply" *Current History*, June 1970, p. 367

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 366

<sup>14</sup> *Op Cit*, Allen C. Nadler, p. 3

<sup>15</sup> *Current History*, ed., "Federal Penalties for Polluters", August 1970, p. 84

<sup>16</sup> "Water Quality Improvement Act of 1969", H.R. 4148 (S.7), p. 54

<sup>17</sup> The Library of Congress, *Legislative Reference Service*, 91st Congress, Second Session, Final Issue, pp. 27-46

<sup>18</sup> Senator George McGovern, "The Federal Government and The Environment", *Current History*, August 1970, p. 83

<sup>19</sup> Congressman Reuss, "The 1899 Refuse Act Provides Citizen's Handy Kit For Fighting Industrial Water Polluters" *Congressional Record—House*, vol. 116, pt. 8, p. 10040.

<sup>20</sup> *Op Cit*, Senator Muskie, p. 368

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#### ABSTRACT: A NEW FEDERAL ROLE IN SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

I. New Priorities—The Solid Waste Management Field desperately needs funds to rehabilitate old facilities and implement new techniques. Over half the federal budget is spent on defense, yet we are unable to defend ourselves from garbage. As Vietnamization of the War proceeds, less money should be spent on defense and this money must go to trash treatment.

II. Incineration and Landfilling—Some areas are now being treated by adequate incineration and landfilling operations. These facilities are to be left alone for now, but the residue of incineration can be recycled. Some landfilling areas are running out of acreage, and in these areas few programs must be initiated.

III. Recycling—Recycling, or reclaiming of refuse for further usage, must be implemented. Houston, Texas has already been operating a recycling plant for over six years. The necessary technology has already been developed. Federal grants should go towards the construction of reclamation centers in urban areas, where the problem is worst.

IV. Composting—A great portion of Solid Wastes is organic material, which can be graded, and then shredded and cured to produce a fertilizer or soil treatment. This is a valuable method of reusing the organic materials from nature. The composting technique has also been tried, and the necessary technology is ready to be applied. Government subsidies should not be granted to farming operations not using compost as a soil treatment.

V. Tax Proposals—Automobile Disposal Tax—A deposit would be made on all cars bought in the United States. This fee would be refunded to the final owner of the car, if he returned the vehicle to the proper reclamation center. This would encourage the returning of cars, and would help to set up a new waste psychology.

Deductions—Companies allotting funds for research and development in the Solid Waste field should be allowed to deduct such amounts from their corporate tax payments.

#### A NEW FEDERAL ROLE IN SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

Garbage has been a concern of man since his earliest history. The same techniques of burning, burying, or carting garbage away from the community are still being used today, as they were thousands of years ago, with some minor twists. With increasing population, greater concentration in urban areas, and drastic consumption of material goods, these methods will not be adequate.

The severity of the problem is made clearly evident by a check of the increasing rate of

pounds per person of Solid Waste produced per day. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recently printed that 2.75 pounds of waste was collected per person in 1920. That figure has increased to 5.3 pounds today, and H.E.W. estimates that 1980 will see the figure leap to 8 pounds per day.<sup>1</sup> Under the management of present techniques, such a capacity of refuse would pile up in infectious mountains all across our country.

The actions of the government in this field are far from commendable, in reality they are less than satisfactory. The Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965 called for improved sewer treatment facilities, continued possible alternatives. The Resource Recovery Act of 1970 calls for deeper research into reclaiming wastes and recommends possible implementation. Unfortunately these acts omit beginning the operation of some already tested recycling systems.

At the present rate 200 million tons of trash, about one ton per person, are collected annually in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Despite this the entire budget for the Office of Solid Waste Disposal in the Department of H.E.W. is 41 million dollars. Whereas a recent proposal for Supersonic Development requested 190 million dollars, and in 1969 President Nixon redressed Congress for 662 million dollars for support of the SST,<sup>3</sup> 41 million is an incidental amount of money. Without increased finances for solid waste treatment, projects like the SST will be able to transport Americans from one garbage dump to another.

Suggested in the following are various programs, that if implemented or planned for in the near future by our federal government, would help to set straight our solid waste crisis.

#### A NEW SYSTEM OF PRIORITIES

One of the primary purposes of a new Solid Waste Program is to gradually affect a new order of priorities. The grossest inadequacy of the federal solid waste program has been the inappropriate amount of funds granted to the Office of Solid Waste Management. Whereas garbage is one of the fastest growing and most threatening problems we now face, a budget of 41 million dollars will not help to alleviate this crisis.

Government leaders have asked Congress to appropriate millions of dollars which would have gone to an SST project, and half our federal budget is spent on our defense. The defense budget is designed to protect Americans from enemy forces in Southeast Asia, but the budget for the Office of Solid Waste Management is designed to protect Americans from themselves. Americans, as a country, are exhibiting poor economic techniques in the solid waste protection field. Finances for this vital circumstance existing today must be increased, as we move to a new knowledge of how to protect ourselves from ourselves. As Vietnamization of the War in Indochina progresses as our President has scheduled, funds for defense will decrease. A great portion of these newly available funds ought to be devoted to solid waste control, as new facilities require.

#### PRESENT INCINERATION AND LANDFILLING TECHNIQUES

Present proper techniques of incineration and sanitary landfilling should continue at their present rate of disposal. Unfortunately landfilling is a giant consumer of land. New York City has been using land at a rate of 200 acres a year. Landfilling can be a very useful operation when only unrecyclable materials are used. Fossil-fuel mining pits can be restored—an undeniable aid to the environment. Los Angeles has filled pits and gullies, upon which has been constructed

a botanical garden and golf courses. Virginia Beach, Virginia has built a 60 foot trash hill which will see the construction of an amphitheatre, a soapbox derby run, and a winter sledding run. Landfilling is the least expensive process now being practiced. Incineration costs 3 to 10 dollars a ton, but landfilling costs only 1 to 3 dollars a ton.<sup>5</sup> In places where present landfilling areas are being exhausted, the new recycling system (discussed in a later section) can be instituted.

The incinerator faces other obstacles besides cost. Increasingly rigid air pollution restrictions and corrosiveness of flue gases produced by plastics may help to make the incinerator an obsolete incineration or disposal method.

In the areas where improper incineration and unsanitary landfilling or dumping are being practiced (an estimated 77% of all collected solid waste is deposited in over 14,000 open dumps throughout the country, 13% finds disposal in properly operated sanitary landfills, and nearly all of the remaining 10% is burned)<sup>6</sup> new measures for efficient and improved disposal must be instituted.

#### RECYCLING

Simply considered, recycling is a method of reclaiming garbage and using it over and over as an ore, or as a material with which to manufacture new high quality products, with benefits to society and our natural resources.

Where incineration plants now in use cannot be rapidly switched to the new system proposed in the following, recycling of the incinerator's residue can be practiced. The end product of incineration is a residue of mostly glass, ash, tin cans, and other iron and steel. The United States Bureau of Mines has developed a processing unit (mainly screens and magnetic devices) which will separate the major portions of the residue. A high intensity magnet can separate the different colored glass (iron containing) from the clear glass. Costs of operating such a process is estimated to be about 4 dollars per ton of residue.<sup>7</sup> The products of the separating process can be forwarded to the proper recycling industry (discussed in a later section).

Various attempts at establishing economically profitable recycling operations have met mediocre success. A plant in Houston, Texas has been operating for six and a half years.<sup>8</sup> The plant processes 25% of the solid waste product in Houston. The machines working inside the plant separate the garbage into paper, and a combination of crushed glass, yard refuse, and food waste. The most important aspect of this pioneering attempt at recycling was that it exhibited that the necessary technology is already for application.

Recycling has three powerful supporters. The amounts of solidwastes can be heavily diminished, credit towards the management of the wastes can be obtained, and pressure on the virgin resource can be reduced.

The Federal Government should sponsor the construction of accessibly located reclamation centers. The first of these projects should be in America's major urban areas, where the crisis has already reached striking proportions. Each reclamation center, staffed by civil service employees, would receive the solid wastes of its surrounding communities, businesses, and industries by two methods of collection. One would be by direct method. The community would be urged to separate their garbage into various groups (Aluminum cans, paper, glass, etc.). Every citizen would receive a specific amount of money for each pound of a recyclable material turned in. Aluminum which has already seen its first usage is worth 200 dollars a ton.<sup>9</sup> If a portion of this value was offered to the community through this method,

public interest in separating and returning a vast percentage of their garbage would be increased. This would lower the amount of money needed for the normal collection and transportation of solid wastes to a disposal site.

The second method of collection would be by normal solid waste transportation vehicles. The vehicle would dump its normal load at the center. The load would then be processed by shredders, incinerators, poly-sis units, and a paper fiber reclamation system, as well as a newly developed Bureau of Mines recovery unit for metals, glass, and sand.<sup>10</sup> The end products of passing through this system would be aluminum, other non-ferrous metals, sand and steel, iron and steam, (all of which could be sold to recycling industries).

The money saved by community separation and transportation of their wastes would be used to finance the transportation of the separated materials to the proper industry site.

#### PAPER

Perennially 55 million tons of paper and paperboard are produced in the United States. About 20% of this is made from waste paper. Unfortunately, the waste is not forwarded from trash, but commercial use. 70% of it consists of corrugated board, newsprint, or what is called No. 1 mixed.<sup>12</sup> Most of this is low grade paper collected from office buildings and similar establishments. The paper collected regularly as community wastes should also be incorporated into a paper recycling campaign. A tree contains 50% cellulose fiber, about the same percentage as a truckload of urban trash.<sup>13</sup>

Last year the Black Clawson Company<sup>14</sup> a papermaking equipment manufacturer, announced a new system for recycling paper. The process involves pulping raw trash inside a device resembling a kitchen blender. A series of mechanical separators (screens and centrifugal devices) remove nondispersing objects (cans, shoes, bones, glass). A fine screen catches the cellulose fiber. Half of the cellulose fiber can be reclaimed at a product value, according to company officials, of about 25 dollars a ton.

This process will soon be used in a plant in Franklin, Ohio. The construction of the institution was and is being aided by federal grants, which should be larger, and more readily available.

#### Iron and Glass—

The previously mentioned Black Clawson system will also separate the metal and glass from the trash. In conjunction with the Black Clawson system, metals can be reclaimed by use of magnets. Sorting glass by color is the most difficult part of recovery. The U.S. Bureau of Mines uses a very high intensity magnetic field to separate colored glass according to iron content, which is related to color. Another device diverts glass into individual bins depending of the color of light transmitted by the fragment.<sup>15</sup>

A tremendous obstacle to the recycling of cans is the tin covering on metals used for can production. This tin coating is difficult and expensive to separate from the aluminum, copper, etc. Technology has developed a new coating system (TFS or tin free steel cans) of chromium and resin film, which is directly acceptable to the steel furnace.

It is questionable whether reclamation, separation, and transportation of trash glass is economically acceptable in some areas, since it is valued at about 15 dollars per ton.<sup>16</sup> Where it isn't economically possible the trash glass can be crushed and used in a blacktop aggregate "Glasphalt" has been used by the Owens Illinois Company to pave a street.<sup>17</sup> Though the value of the glass is reduced to that of sand or crushed rock, the elimination of transportation and disposal costs for the trash glass will save valuable funds.

Footnotes at end of article.

## ESTABLISHING RECYCLING INDUSTRIES

The economic system under which Americans live operates on the principle of "supply and demand," where there is a demand for a product, a business will be established to meet that demand. It is the responsibility of the federal government to make a demand for products containing recycled materials—to create a new market.

The Federal Government orders tons of paper yearly for office use, for publishing governmental reports and activities, and many other uses. If the government specified that all the paper it orders contained 50% recycled fibers (where performance will not be affected), a booming business to produce paper from recycled fibers would rise. State governments, industries, naturally as well as other business' would follow the example of their Federal Government, and soon market size for recycled paper would be paramount. This same procedure could be followed in contracts for motor vehicles, food, glass, along with many other positive specification actions.

If the government were to follow such a program, it would be leading the way to a new waste psychology. It is a common (too common) American belief that only products made of virgin materials are valuable, and after one usage, a product must be discarded to be replaced by a new product. This is a conviction which has helped to thrust the United States into the solid waste disaster we face. It is the obligation of the United States government to show Americans that products of recycled materials are as useful as any other.

In effect today is a 10% depletion allowance that provides a tax break to growers of timber. This measure acts as a clear deterrent to recycling of paper. If this depletion allowance was abandoned, the recycling cause would be aided, and in turn the plight of every American producing garbage would be aided. Freight rates work with such depletion allowances to hamper the emergence of recycling. Freight rates for iron ore and pulpwood are lower than those for scrap metal and scrap paper. These measures must be changed to encourage rather than deter people from recycling. To serve the public best these regulatory proposals must be enacted.

## COMPOSTING

Permitting organic solid waste to biologically oxidate is an advantageous method of disposal of portions of municipal, agricultural, and industrial wastes. Phoenix, Houston, and St. Petersburg have all attempted composting. Composting can be accomplished by grinding or shredding organic wastes and allowing it to cure in windows occasionally turned, for several weeks, or in a giant slowly rotating cylinder for three to five days. Most previous attempts at composting have failed because there was no market for their decayed waste fertilizer.

Milwaukee has been a pioneer at composting their sludge into usable fertilizer.<sup>18</sup> It began in 1926 with a product whose brand name is Milorganite. Selling for \$3.95 per 50 pound bag, it has reduced Milwaukee's sludge disposal to a very low seven dollars a ton. The success of the operation is attributable to a market for the material. To encourage more such investments, the government must work to create a market for composted fertilizers.

The government should persuade agriculturalists across the country to use composted fertilizers as alternatives to chemical fertilizers. This can be done by taxing the production and sale of chemical fertilizers, making them less economical to use. The government should make farmers aware that after 1973 no federal subsidies will be granted to farming operations not treating its soil with compost. The government should specify that all food orders for Army or any other governmental regulated use must be grown in soil treated with composted fertilizers.

## TAX PROPOSALS

The following tax proposal should be enacted to collect funds for financing previously enumerated plans, and to help change the attitude of Americans towards their solid wastes.

## Automobile disposal tax

In purchasing any automobile in the United States, the consumer pays a fee called the Automobile Disposal Tax. This money would be a deposit on the car. When the final owner of the vehicle is ready to discard it, he would be returned the fee, if he returned the car to the proper scrap metal or reclamation center. This would create an incentive for the public to properly dispose of their cars. That portion of the taxes collected and not remitted to the car owner would be added to solid waste management funds. The funds no longer needed to transport and dispose of junked cars would as well be added to the cause.

## Corporate deductions

All corporations allotting funds for environmental research and development should be allowed to deduct, with total governmental approval, such amounts from their federal corporate tax payments. Such a policy would permit government to encourage industries to control their pollution without unnecessary interference. This tax deduction should take effect on the first day of 1972. In 1975, a six-man board, composed of three prominent industrial leaders, three officers of the Department of H.E.W., three officers of the Department of the Interior, and for Congressmen, three representatives would sit on the board. This board would determine the results of these tax proposals, their accomplishments and demerits. They would recommend to Congress any changes or possible alterations, or even the abolition of the taxes.

## Find new offices

An Office of Solid Waste Research and Development should be established in the Department of H.E.W. This office will scrutinize the policies of this report and all others instituted by the government during the Office's existence. From the in-depth studies of this office will come recommendations for changes in existing programs, and suggestions for new projects.

The most burdening obstacle standing between garbage dumps infested with disease and an efficient Solid Waste Management Program is leadership. Much of the necessary technology has already been developed, and funds can be found if the leadership exhibits the necessity for them. With expert leadership, this technology and finances can be properly applied. This leadership will stimulate further research and will help us to acquire all the necessary properties to attain a disposal system complementary to all facets of American life. It is the role of the United States government to assume its proper leadership position and adopt the proposals made within this report. Once the government moves in the right direction, the majority of American people will join in on this battle and we can conquer an ugly opponent—Garbage.

## FOOTNOTES

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<sup>2</sup> Grinstead, Robert R., "The New Resource," *Environment*, Vol. 12, No. 10, December, 1970, Page 4.

<sup>3</sup> Stille, Brenn, "The SST", *The Environmental Handbook*, Ballantine Books Inc., 1970, Page 178.

<sup>4</sup> Grinstead, Robert R., op. cit., Page 3.

<sup>5</sup> Engdahl, R. G., "Solid Waste Processing," Report SW-4C, U.S. Bureau of Solid Waste Management, Page 16, 1969.

<sup>6</sup> *Environmental Quality*, The first annual report of the council on Environmental Quality, 1970, page 110.

<sup>7</sup> Stanczyk, M. H., "Beneficiation of metals and Minerals in Incinerators Residues," Proceedings of the Second Mineral Waste Utilization Symposium, Illinois Institute of Technology, Research Institute, Chicago, Illinois, Page 225, 1970.

<sup>8</sup> Gumpert, David, "Reclaiming Refuse," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 23, 1970, Page 1.

<sup>9</sup> Grinstead, Robert R., op. cit., Page 7.

<sup>10</sup> "Non-returnable but recyclable aluminum strikes back," *Investors Reader*, February 17, 1971, Page 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> Bergstrom, D. W., "Economics of Secondary Fiber Usage," Technical Assoc. of the Pulp and Paper Industries Journal, April, 1968, Page 76A.

<sup>13</sup> Grinstead, Robert R., op. cit., Page 15.

<sup>14</sup> William, Ward C., "Use it-Reuse it," Pulp and paper, Sept. 1970, Page 61.

<sup>15</sup> Abrahams J. H., Jr., "Packaging Industry Looks at Waste Utilization," "Glass Containers as a Factor in Municipal Solid Waste Disposal," *The Glass Industry*, May 1970, Page 216.

<sup>16</sup> "Waste Recovery: Big Business in the 70's," *Chemical and Engineering News*, March 2, 1970, Page 14.

<sup>17</sup> Abrahams, J. H., Jr., "Utilization of Waste Container Glass," *Waste Age*, July-August, 1970, Page 9.

<sup>18</sup> Segerberg, O., "Dollars From the Dump The Glop Crop: From Sludge, a Harvest," *N.Y. Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1970, Page 50.

## ABSTRACT: ENVIRONMENTAL ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM

Precise and planned action must be effected in order to help solve the environmental problems. The Environmental Achievement program hopes to be an organization that will be an action force for the environment by precise planning of pro environmental campaigns to educate mankind to take an active part in the fight against pollution. The program will consist of local, federal and regional chapters. Their efforts will try to incorporate environmental education in the school curriculum and to teach the problems and reasonable solutions within the grasp of the ordinary person.

## ABSTRACT: THE DEMISE OF THE SST—AVIATION'S WHITE ELEPHANT

1. The SST is extremely detrimental to the environment.

2. Now that the United States' SST project has been halted, we must pass laws in Congress which would prohibit foreign SST's from landing here or flying over the United States.

3. A sonic boom is a sudden shockwave created when a plane surpasses the speed of sound.

4. The bang-zone is the area of earth which would be hit by sonic booms during flight of the SST.

5. The SST must be prohibited, since it will: (a) cause increased noise pollution and annoyance (b) increase air pollution (c) produce climatic change.

6. The funds proposed for the SST should be used to develop an effective mass transit system. We must reorganize our priorities.

## ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Section 1. The environment shall be protected from improvident destruction and degrading.

Section 2. The public wilderness will be kept forever wild and shall be protected.

Section 3. Environmental resources which all belong to the people will be preserved for the life, liberty and happiness of the people.

Section 4. The maintenance of ecological balance and a quality environment takes precedence over individual interest.

Section 5. The Congress shall have the

power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### ABSTRACT ON PESTICIDES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Although pesticides have greatly helped to create the spectacular advance in American agricultural efficiency, they are also helping to destroy our environment, and us. It is of the utmost necessity that the federal government take steps to safeguard the American people from the use and misuse of these dangerous chemicals:

1. Federal registration must require testing of the impact of insecticides on the insect communities to which they are applied, or their potential for triggering pest resurgence and secondary pest outbreaks.

2. All chemical pesticides must be labeled as to their exact impact on the environment. Their killing capacity must be noted, as well as the specific uses.

3. The man who analyzes pest problems and recommends the chemicals to be used must be required by law to demonstrate his professional qualifications, as well as possess a federally issued license.

4. The federal government should underwrite some of the developmental costs of selective chemicals by supporting studies concerned with analysis of the material's health hazards, and its effect on the environment.

5. The federal government must consider enforcing a law which would prevent interstate commerce of pesticides.

6. The federal government must research and publicize biological methods of pest control. These methods must be used where and when possible.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION ABSTRACT:

Why?

1. Out of ignorance many Americans are unknowingly adding to the problem of pollution

2. In order to cope with coming ecological crises, the next generation must be prepared

How?

1. An environmental studies course in all public high schools.

2. Government supported teacher training programs

3. An administrative environmental education agency

When?

Now.

#### ABSTRACT: THE UNITED STATES POPULATION CRISIS

The absolute population and the population growth of the United States is increasing.

The ecology of this nation—and planet—cannot accommodate itself to this rising rich population. Because of this increase in this nation's population, valuable resources are being depleted, air and water is being polluted, problems of solid waste are being exacerbated, and tension due to overcrowding is being increased. This nation's population increment and a likely decrease in agricultural production might cause widespread hunger in this nation by or soon after the year 2000.

Population redistribution is not a solution to this crisis.

Families in this nation must average no more than two children. This goal cannot be accomplished by family planning of programs directed only at the poor.

Population control methods must include the repeal of restrictive contraceptive laws, the encouragement of voluntary sterilization by means of government bonuses and tax reductions, the repeal of all abortion laws and the encouragement of abortion by government bonuses, and the encouragement of marrying at a late age.

#### ABSTRACT: POSITION PAPER ON THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN UTILIZING TECHNOLOGY

The utilization of technology has resulted in both benefits and harms to the society at large. As the rate of technological implementations increases with time, we are falling further and further behind in our efforts to control the negative effects of these implementations. As a result, we now face a major environmental and societal crisis. Existing institutions are unable to cope with these harms accrued from technological implementation. To fill in the deficiencies existing in the status quo, a comprehensive interdisciplinary agency needs to be formed in order to help with the management of technology for the social good.

#### ABSTRACT: POWER PRODUCTION FOR THE FUTURE

Presently the United States is facing a power crisis and methods for producing power in the future must be developed. Present day fossil fuel plants should be used until these new methods are developed but devices such as electrostatic precipitators and scrubbers should be installed on these plants.

Nuclear power is not the answer for our power crisis. Vast amounts of radioactive wastes must be disposed of if this is used and this poses a grave problem. Thermal pollution is also another problem posed by nuclear power and can cause irrevocable damage to the environment.

The Federal Government must give huge grants to organizations to research alternatives for producing electrical power. Such processes as fusion power show promise for the future and are safer than nuclear plants. Garbage burning plants show promise in the future as supplementary power plants. Only with research now will we be assured of adequate power for the future.

#### ABSTRACT: POSITION PAPER ON MASS TRANSPORTATION

In many of our cities, our society is facing the undesirable effects of the present transit systems which have been inadequately addressed for the past few decades. The near strangulation of traffic in our metropolitan areas has cost billions of dollars through delays in the delivery of goods and the performances of services. Even optimists do not believe that the transportation crisis will get much better in less than five years. In reevaluating our mass transit system we urge that:

1. In the older and larger cities which already have an extensive rail system, the federal government must see that these facilities are satisfactorily operated.

2. In newer cities, rail buses must be instituted to insure efficient mass transportation without the threat of air and noise pollution.

3. Studies to better the integration of different means of transportation must be promoted by the federal government.

4. Efforts to prevent an imbalance in favor of the private car must be taken by the federal government. The federal government must give its full support to proposals to:

A. Increase tolls on entry to cities over bridges and through tunnels;

B. Restrict cars on certain main streets of the city, and in all the downtown areas;

C. Attempt to make bus travel more desirable by featuring exclusive buslanes on express and highways.

5. The funds of the Highway Trust Fund must be equitably distributed, and redirected into a general transportation fund.

#### ABSTRACT: PROTECTING OUR COASTAL RESOURCES

I. Sewage:

A. Legislation requiring secondary treatment.

B. Federal aid for planning, financing, and construction of secondary treatment plants.

II. Industrial pollution:

A. Rewrite Federal Refuse Act of 1899, providing for larger fines.

B. Oil companies:

1. restrictions on drilling sites.

2. rewrite Water Quality Improvement Act of 1970, providing for larger fines.

3. set up a government agency dealing with oil spills.

a. regional emergency centers.

b. research methods to control oil spills.

c. be able to use volunteer civilian and military groups to clean up spills.

III. Prohibit land-fill and dredging, except in special cases.

IV. Shipping:

A. Commercial shipping:

1. improve enforcement of laws prohibiting pumping bilges and dumping wastes near shore.

2. Prosecute offenders under updated version of Federal Refuse Act of 1899 (see II A, above).

B. Pleasure boating:

1. require pollution controls on new marine engines.

2. marine toilets:

a. require holding tanks on all marine toilets.

b. require inexpensive pumping stations at marinas.

c. insure that sewage receives secondary treatment ashore.

#### ABSTRACT: POSITION PAPER—NOISE POLLUTION

A. Noise may be our most dangerous pollutant.

1. Noise level is twice as loud today as it was fifteen years ago and will probably double by the end of the seventies again.

2. Finding quiet and privacy is becoming impossible.

B. Cost of Adaptation.

1. Physical damage:

A. Hearing loss.

B. vasoconstrictive reflexes and cardiovascular dysfunction.

C. gastro-intestinal disorders.

D. endocrine and metabolic effects.

E. hypertension.

F. damaging to human fetus.

2. Psychologically:

A. induces tenseness and neurosis.

B. vertigo, hallucination.

C. interferes with dream process.

D. paranoia.

E. suicidal and homicidal impulses.

F. noise can not be gotten used to.

3. Some of our nation's gravest social problems and a great amount of disease and unhealthfulness are connected with the fantastic amount of noise that we are subjected to.

C. Sound can set bodies vibrating and with the proper combination of acoustic energy and frequency can crack windows, destroy rock formations and induce serious structural damage.

D. Millions of dollars are lost as a result of the damage that noise causes to buildings, equipment, and human beings.

E. Noise control in the U.S. is totally inadequate. Other countries, including Russia, have surpassed us in the area of noise abatement.

F. What must be done:

1. Recognize the actual danger and magnitude of the problem.

2. Noise must become an important consideration in the design of appliances, machinery, vehicles, and transportation planning.

3. Government should encourage manufacturers to make noise a consideration in the design of their products.

4. Establish an accrediting board to test and approve products.

5. All products must have decibal emissions displayed on them.
6. Government funding of testing labs.
7. Automobiles should be inspected periodically for noise output.
8. Elimination of SST.

## ROCK CREEK CONTAMINATION

## HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, on April 22, 1971, the Washington Post ran a story by Thomas Grubisich giving special attention to some positive efforts some Washington area students are making toward cleaning up our polluted environment.

Mr. Gary Stanton, a student at the University of Maryland, and Mr. Richard Lohmeyer, a student at Montgomery College, in Montgomery County, Md., have worked to obtain the necessary funds for the project, which involves a study of the sources of pollution of Rock Creek, which runs through the Washington metropolitan area.

These students were successful in getting the needed funds through a grant from the National Science Foundation. As a result, they will inaugurate their study on June 1, 1971.

I want to congratulate all of the students who will devote their time and energy to this worthwhile study. While most of us have neither the training nor facilities necessary to undertake a scientific study of this type, I believe that these college students, who have translated dedication into practical action, have set an example for all. These students will use their education and particular circumstances, applying them to a problem in need of a solution, to the benefit of an entire community. Their efforts are commendable and we owe them our thanks.

The Post article describes the project in more detail and the benefits we will all derive from their dedication and involvement.

The article follows:

## THIRTY STUDENTS TO PROBE SOURCES OF ROCK CREEK CONTAMINATION

(By Thomas Grubisich)

The signs in Rock Creek Park say the creek is so polluted it is unfit for human contact. But no one has ever pinpointed the major sources of pollution in the creek's 77-square-mile watershed.

That task will soon be undertaken—not by any of the government agencies responsible for that body of water, but by 30 students from the University of Maryland, Montgomery College and other area schools.

The students have received a \$26,120 grant from the National Science Foundation for their study, which will begin June 1 and continue for 12 weeks. The University of Maryland will provide free use of laboratories and equipment and faculty supervision.

Richard Lohmeyer, a 21-year-old student at Montgomery College, who is one of the two coordinators of the study, said he hopes the research will provide the data that government agencies can use in drawing up recommendations to clean up Rock Creek.

"If the study has a good design plan," said an official at the water quality branch of the U.S. Geological Survey, "if the work is done carefully, if there is no contamination and if there is a good analytical procedure, I see no reason why it shouldn't be first class."

"If this study is carried out with the enthusiasm and intelligence its leaders have already shown, I am hopeful that something very worthwhile will result," said George Carley, director of the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin.

Until the 1940s, Rock Creek ran relatively pure. President Theodore Roosevelt compared it favorably to the wild streams in the White Mountains of New Hampshire, where he used to go on climbs. For years the creek was a favorite—and safe—swimming place for children, even within the District.

At its headwaters near Laytonsville, Md., in Upper Montgomery County, the creek is as clear as a spring, which it is at that point. But as the creek runs its 30-mile length to the Potomac River, it collects a variety of pollutants—sediment, human and animal wastes, fertilizers, pesticides, chemicals and garbage. But no one knows the exact point of origin of many of these pollutants, or even if the worst offender is the urban areas or the farms.

"There has been a lack of money and manpower to get the research done and a lot of legal ramifications," said Carley.

Much of the property that drains into the creek is private, and researchers would have to seek permission to gain entry. Lohmeyer said the research group will ask owners of private land to cooperate with the study.

An official at the water quality branch of the Geological Survey said any attempt to trace all the major pollutants would be an enormous task.

"You have such a diversity of sources of contamination, complicated by the occasional overflow of combination storm and sanitary sewers, that it may be difficult for this survey to do more than past studies."

Lohmeyer said there is divided scientific opinion on this point. He said "zone sampling" techniques should isolate the sources of the pollutants. He also said water samplings will be taken during storm runoff.

The students' study will be based on the "Standard Methods for the Examination of Water and Wastewater," prepared and published by the American Public Health Association, the American Water Works Association and the Federation of Sewage and Industrial Wastes Association.

The most recent study on Rock Creek was done by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission during the summers of 1969 and 1970. But that study states: "Many factors influencing the quality of the waters studied were not included in this investigation due to time, staff and equipment limitations. . . . Data on turbidity, settleable solids, rate of flow, drainage patterns, biological oxygen demand, productivity, bacterial counts, organic and inorganic pollutants and bio-assays would be most useful."

The students' Rock Creek Study Project will provide data on settleable solids, bacterial counts and organic and inorganic pollutants.

The idea for the study came from Richard Lohmeyer. After last April's Earth Day, he decided to try to get a National Science Foundation grant under the Student Originated Studies (SOS) program for a study of Rock Creek.

He discussed the possibility with officials at Montgomery College, but because the institution, as a two-year school, was ineligible to be host under the SOS program, Lohmeyer took his plan to College Park. He won enthusiastic support in the microbiology de-

partment, and the university decided to become sponsor.

Most of the 20 student researchers who will be paid a stipend of \$80 a week during the 12-week project are from College Park. Volunteers will be recruited from other area schools.

Faculty adviser for the study is Dr. Zigfridas Vaituzis, assistant professor of microbiology at Maryland.

## NEW JERSEY STATEWIDE RECYCLING SYSTEM UNDERWAY

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, recycling is a concept of resource and solid waste disposal conservation that has been long heralded as a necessary tool to keep us from burying ourselves. And while the gestation period for translating this idea into reality has stretched over a number of years, the time of birth of a New Jersey statewide recycling system is now underway.

The State plan, to be submitted to EPA shortly for Federal funding, will propose the establishment of 25 regional centers at a cost of approximately \$1 million each.

New Jersey's plan is the most comprehensive in the Nation, and when New Jersey's environmental protection commissioner, Richard Sullivan, submits the proposal to EPA I look forward to swift and favorable Federal action. This whole area of resource reclamation is long overdue and deserves, I believe, priority attention and priority funding.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, May 2, 1971]

## RECYCLING: JERSEY CAN AID ECOLOGY AND SAVE MONEY, TOO!

(By Gordon Bishop)

New Jersey is burying millions of dollars worth of metals and materials in its garbage dumps each week at an incredible expense to the taxpayers—and the state has done nothing to halt this wasteful and destructive practice.

But these vast and vanishing resources could be easily recovered, at the same time reducing the soaring costs of garbage disposal.

For the first time, the state can greatly improve the environment and properly utilize its billion dollar resources, making a significant contribution to both the endangered ecosystem and the economy.

Last year, New Jersey generated nearly 75 million pounds of wastes each day. By 1985, the volume will far exceed 100 million pounds a day, more than half of it valuable materials that can be easily reclaimed.

The Garden State could become the first in the nation, or in the world, to develop and operate a complete recycling system as a successful environmental-economic venture, according to Thomas M. O'Neill, executive assistant to Commissioner Richard J. Sullivan of the State Department of Environmental Protection.

The initial investment for New Jersey would be an estimated \$6 million, with the federal government paying three-fourths of the \$25 million undertaking, or \$19 million.

And once the system goes into operation, it would begin to reduce today's staggering costs of garbage removal.

Essentially, the system involves separation of refuse at the source (the home, apartment, factory or store) with raw garbage being deposited in one can or bin, and recyclable materials (glass, metal, paper, etc.) in another.

There would then be separate collections, trucks picking up only garbage or only recyclables. The recyclables would be taken to regional reclamation centers.

The garbage can be taken to sanitary landfill sites already in operation throughout the state, or brought to regional composing centers, where the garbage would decompose back into the earth, thus closing the ecosystem: From the earth, to the consumer, and back into the land.

The garbage also can be incinerated, or pyrolyzed, a method of destruction without oxygen which reduces wastes to inert ash. Pyrolysis is the method now being developed by the federal government and industry as the alternative to incineration, which contributes to air pollution and makes heavy demands on the oxygen supply.

The economic and practical benefits of recycling far surpass the current methods of solid waste disposal, says O'Neill.

From the standpoint of the earth's disappearing resources, recycling offers the only practical and ultimate solution to saving the world's greatest, growing asset—garbage.

As the most urbanized state in the nation (more people and cars per square mile), New Jersey is fighting an uphill battle against population growth and development—and land becomes more and more valuable and scarce each year.

Sanitary landfill sites (garbage dumps) are costing much more to operate, and as the land is rapidly developed, the price for dumping our valuable resources will double and eventually triple.

"This utterly wasteful and expensive practice can and must be stopped immediately," declared Commissioner Sullivan, who puts recycling on the top of his environmental priorities.

"We're throwing away the only hope we have," Sullivan said. "At the rate we're gobbling up our natural resources and glutting our land with garbage, there won't be much left for future generations to enjoy."

Last year, the State Legislature declared that a "solid waste crisis" exists and vowed to resolve it immediately by empowering the Department of Environmental Protection to "undertake a program of research and development for the purpose of determining the most efficient, sanitary and economical way of collecting, disposing and utilizing solid waste."

The environmental department, however, can do little to enforce that law because the state this year cut the department's only funds—\$250,000—to develop an effective utilization system.

"If we can present the federal government with a comprehensive master plan on a total, state-wide recycling system, it would cost New Jersey just about \$6 million—less than a dollar per resident to save the environment," O'Neill explained. "It's a tiny price to pay when the end results will benefit everyone, especially the environment, which supports all life on the planet."

The proposed method of recycling separation at the source would be only an interim step until technology currently being developed is ready for installation. Then, all refuse will be able to be processed at reclamation centers equipped to do complete separation.

"The proposed approach is a natural to the ultimate method, which could take years and years to implement at a much greater cost," O'Neill said.

In preparation for the ultimate recycling system with its latest technology, O'Neill strongly believes the job can begin this year with the cooperation of all citizens.

Before an interim system can be set up, however, two new laws would be needed to make it work effectively. The first would make it mandatory for everyone to sort refuse into two separate cans—one for garbage, one for recyclables.

The second law would establish uniform collection and disposal, in which garbage would be picked up separately from the recyclables.

The State Public Utilities Commission (PUC) last year was empowered by the legislature to regulate only private scavengers and the state's more than 300 garbage sites, of which only 32 are deemed "satisfactorily sanitary."

Municipal operations, such as the City of Newark, now are handled by their own departments of public works, over which the PUC has no control.

For the recycling system to work satisfactorily, one law must be able to deal adequately with both the private and public solid waste operations.

Once these two laws go into effect, the system can be established. It would require about 25 reclamation centers throughout the state, O'Neill estimates, each costing about \$1 million. That would amount to the \$25 million, of which the state would fund about \$6 million.

The reclamation centers would receive all the recyclables—steel and aluminum cans, glass bottles, paper products, rags and even the indestructible synthetics, which can be converted into building blocks having three times the strength of concrete.

New Jersey residents also would be required to stack their newspapers and magazines separately, as many already are doing.

The reclamation centers would be responsible for separating the sundry recyclables and transporting them to the industries that are now paying for these secondary materials—\$200 per ton for aluminum, \$20 to \$25 per ton for paper and glass, and \$10 per ton for tin cans.

The money from the sale of the used materials would pay for the cost of the recycling operation.

O'Neill expects the system eventually would lower the present costs of the overall solid waste program . . . and, if it becomes extremely efficient, perhaps even realize a profit.

One immediate benefit of such a system—without having to stress its environmental importance—is the reduction of the rate at which garbage dumps are now rapidly filling up.

The Solid Waste Industrial Council (SWIC), which represents the state's private garbage contractors, has warned that sanitary landfill sites are nearly exhausted, especially in North Jersey. Contractors now pass the weighty costs of landfill operations on to the taxpayer.

So desperate is the current situation that contractors are pleading with their commercial customers (department stores, business, industry) to install costly compactors (\$6,000–\$9,000 per unit) in a seemingly futile effort to slow down landfill operations. A compactor compresses wastes from one-half to one-third their size, and the average commercial establishment needs at least two to handle all their refuse.

Through recycling, today's landfill sites can last twice as long, or longer, O'Neill figures.

Essex County exemplifies the immense problems encountered by a congested area trying to manage today's mountainous volumes of solid waste in the most urbanized state.

The major dumping grounds for Essex County (and most of North Jersey) are the Hackensack Meadows to the east and the Great Swamp in Morris County to the west.

The meadows and the swamp are also

the battle grounds of the ecologists versus the developers. The conservationists are demanding an end to all dumping because it contaminates the waters in the marshes and swamp, threatening the environment of the entire region.

The development of the meadowlands and the outlying suburbs in the northern counties will drastically reduce the available land for final deposit of solid waste and hence an increase in hauling garbage to undeveloped areas, according to the New Jersey Solid Waste Management Plan published last year.

The state's 21 counties operate in much the same way as Essex County. There are 22 municipalities in Essex and all but one—Caldwell—have twice-a-week collect service. Caldwell has a weekly pickup.

All but four of the Essex communities utilize private contractors to haul the bulk of their solid waste to the meadows or the swamp.

The large Oak Island garbage site in Newark is publicly operated. It is located on a marsh, tideland or flood plain and is locked in by land zoned for industrial development. The Oak Island dump is of "dubious sanitary quality," reports the State Bureau of Solid Waste Management.

Opened in 1965, Oak Island consists of two parcels of land, one 23 acres, the other 15 acres.

Last year, the 23-acre dump was filled to capacity, and the life expectancy of the remaining smaller tract is less than three years.

A total of 118 municipalities in eight counties now send their wastes to the meadowlands, dumping more than 25,000 tons each week, an additional 3,000 tons coming from out-of-state. Few of the meadowlands' dumps can "truly be termed sanitary," the Bureau of Solid Waste notes.

Seven municipalities now haul their garbage to the Great Swamp. The condition in Morris County is much more critical since all landfills will probably be closed within two years due to pollution hazards to the Great Swamp, which harbors a National Wildlife Refuge.

No proposals have yet been made for the disposal of these wastes once the Great Swamp is closed. And no official action has been taken to save both the land and the resources.

Official warnings, however, are a matter of record:

"It is now evident that the industrial economy of the United States must undergo a shift from a use-and-discard approach to a closed cycle of use and salvage, reprocess and reuse . . . or else faces the dire consequences of a congested planet that has turned into a polluted trash heap, devoid of plant and animal life, depleted of minerals, with a climate intolerable to man"—the U.S. Senate Public Works Committee.

"We must find a different way to live in the future. We can't afford to be a nation without trees (paper products, wooden houses, etc.) and buried in trash"—Virginia Knauer, President Nixon's adviser on Consumer Affairs.

Last year, the United States spent more than \$4.5 billion to dispose of 350 million tons of garbage by crude methods that damaged the environment and destroyed valuable natural resources, charged the Federal Environmental Protection Administration.

Municipal refuse alone contained more than a billion dollars worth of minerals and the equivalent of more than a billion trees. At that rate, by 1980, there will be more trees used than can be grown, the EPA has calculated.

If secondary paper were used in equal quantities with virgin pulp, for example, the result would be the preservation of a forest of a half-billion trees covering an area the size of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

If scrap copper and lead had not been recycled during the past 20 years, the United States would have long ago depleted these precious mineral resources, according to the National Association of Secondary Material Industries. And despite these salvaging efforts, only half of these minerals were recovered.

The reason? The majority of convenience-oriented people would rather toss away their wastes, than make a voluntary effort at recycling.

That is why New Jersey's environmental officials are seriously considering mandated recycling. It's the only approach—and hope—left, they say.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger,  
May 3, 1971]

#### OHIO TOWN "CLEANS UP" ON RECYCLING (By Gordon Bishop)

Recycling resources is not only good citizenship—it's a money-maker for one growing suburb in Ohio.

Fed up with unsightly garbage dumps and the mounting costs of waste removal, the suburban community of Franklin, Ohio, last month began its first recycling operation. And the residents of Franklin (pop. 14,000) are learning that garbage disposal can be made to pay.

Concerned over air pollution from incineration of garbage and the increasing scarcity of landfill sites, Franklin officials decided to spend a half-million dollars of local funds to recycle their wastes, with the Federal Bureau of Solid Waste Management picking up most of the \$2 million tab.

In time, Franklin's mayor and council hope their new recycling plant will be able to pay for itself and even show a sustained profit while converting a nagging municipal liability into a real economic asset.

A 1,000-ton-a-day recycling plant, for example, can produce 370 tons of industrial materials worth \$8,600 at prevailing prices. The daily cost of operating such a plant is \$2,900, or \$2.90 per ton.

A breakdown of projected income from a 1,000-ton-a-day recycling plant includes:

200 tons of paper fiber at \$25 per ton—\$5,000.

80 tons of ferrous metals at \$8 per ton—\$640.

80 tons of glass cullet at \$12 per ton—\$960.  
10 tons of aluminum at \$200 per ton—\$2,000.

Using these figures, based on present recycling technology, New Jersey's 37,000 tons per day of solid waste have an estimated market value of \$318,200.

Today, practically all of the Garden State's waste winds up in the garbage dumps, less than 10 per cent (or \$30,000 worth of paper, metals, glass, etc.) being recycled.

The New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, however, is currently developing a statewide master plan for recycling, the largest such undertaking in the nation. Three-fourths of it would be financed by the federal government, the balance, or \$6 million, by the state.

It would be an interim operation leading to a completely automatic reclamation program similar to the one in Franklin, Ohio.

In the Franklin operation, all refuse is collected as is and taken to the reclamation plant for separation.

As an interim step, New Jersey would have separation of refuse at the source with raw garbage being returned to the earth and the recyclables returned to the production line.

Once New Jersey's interim recycling program, if adopted, becomes effectively established, then regional automated reclamation centers can be developed. The need for separation of refuse at the source would terminate as each automated plant is installed.

The cost of total automation for New Jersey is estimated at \$300 million, which

amount can be paid off from the nearly half-million dollars a day from the sale of reclaimed materials.

In the long run, a complete recycling system could realize a profit, while saving the environment and the planet's disappearing resources, the state's environmental officials believe.

"Instead of a profitless investment in a dead-end installation (garbage dump or incinerator), recycling plants can yield valuable materials that have a ready market," remarked a Franklin engineer and landfill specialist.

The complete cycle of converting garbage and refuse into reusable materials now takes about 90 minutes. The method is described as "economic-ecologic perpetual motion."

In addition to its separation technique, the recycling plant also produces a soil conditioner of "proven excellence" and which can easily become available to farmers.

The system, designed by the Black Clawson Co. of Ohio, is considered "as the basis for a business to produce raw materials for industry rather than just a method for solving a disposal problem."

Some federal and state officials however, expressed concern over the ability of the "open market place" to absorb the new generation of secondary materials.

The Federal Environmental Protection Administration is looking at the possibility of stockpiling America's newly-found resources, so they'll be there in the event of a materials shortage.

"As long as the exploitation of natural resources is more profitable than recycling, even if it means in some instances taking the last drop of minerals out of the earth, there'll remain this hue and cry over the use of secondary materials," explained Matthew J. Mighdoll, executive vice president of the National Association of Secondary Material Industries.

"We can no longer enjoy the luxury of contenting ourselves solely with the familiar surroundings of supply-demand relationships, production schedules and cost control," Mighdoll said.

"We're a nation that exploits as if there's no tomorrow. And when the trees or the mines or the land become depleted, we move on—to new forests, new ground. But nothing is forever," Mighdoll continued.

"Time has run out for voluntary action. Either industry or government must step in and reverse this destructive trend. But government cannot be too quick to act. Instead of banning the one-way bottle or can, as they're now talking about, leave the containers alone—just recycle them. Recycling is the solution—not bans on whole segments of a business community.

To stimulate the growth of new markets for secondary materials, scores of consumer action groups across the country are now demanding that all products be identified by content, clearly stating what percentage of recycled materials each product uses.

Environmental and consumer groups want at least 50 to 60 per cent of recycled materials in all packaging.

Newsletters are being mimeographed by the thousands by activists alarmed over the rapid deterioration of both the environment and the resources.

At the College of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, for example, Cyn Geerloofs, editor of the "Medwifery" newsletter, is busy crusading for consumer awareness of recycled products.

Mrs. Geerloofs has even gone so far as to urge her readers (doctors' and interns' wives) to select paper over plastic packages because the latter are not biodegradable.

"At least paper that's not recycled can decay and go back into the soil," Mrs. Geerloofs says.

Not to be left out, big business already has begun to bring together the frag-

mented nuts and bolts of recycling technology.

In addition to Black Clawson Co., the giant Monsanto Co. also is responding to the environmental crisis. As one of the world's largest manufacturers of synthetics, Monsanto has shifted its priorities to cleaning up the mess created essentially by industry.

Monsanto Enviro-Chem Systems has been working on a new technique for municipal wastes. Since late 1969, Enviro-Chem has been operating a 35-ton-per-day demonstration plant in St. Louis.

Monsanto's "Landgard" (so-named because it guards the land from the assaults of garbage) recovers iron and activated carbon from the residue of wastes.

(Interestingly, from filthy garbage comes activated carbon, which is used to treat and purify waste water.)

The flexible Landgard is totally adaptable to recycling, as any new separation and recycling techniques can be added to the front of the system.

Those materials not recovered are pyrolyzed in a furnace that "bakes the wastes" through thermal decomposition of combustible materials. Pyrolysis needs no oxygen to combust materials into burnable gases and inert residue. The residue is innocuous, odor-free and will not contaminate ground waters or attract vermin.

Furthermore, it is possible to generate steam and electric power using heat from the pyrolytic process.

The U.S. Bureau of Mines, under the Department of Interior, has successfully conducted pilot projects of pyrolysis destruction at a Pittsburgh facility. Government and industry are developing similar techniques simultaneously, so the competition will be keen to deliver the biggest and best system at the lowest possible price.

By the end of the year, several major corporations are expected to jump on the recycling bandwagon before it passes them by.

Recycling is currently an \$8 billion-a-year industry . . . and still only in its infancy.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, May 4,  
1971]

#### RECYCLING: LONG BRANCH IS TRYING TO WASTE NOT, WANT NOT

(By Gordon Bishop)

After three years of research and planning, and with a volunteer task force of 1,000 citizens, the Jersey Shore community of Long Branch has been able to achieve a 7 per cent level of recycling of all municipal wastes.

The mayor of Long Branch calls it "unprecedented results" in municipal recycling.

Mayor Henry R. Cloffi happens to be right, at least in New Jersey, because no other community has tackled the reclamation job with such zeal and optimism.

While Long Branch's attack on solid waste has been commended, it points up the desperate need for a regional recycling system capable of achieving 90 or even 100 per cent reclamation, and with fewer people and less efforts involved.

For all of Long Branch's work, 93 per cent of its valuable resources—metals, glass, paper, etc.—still are buried in garbage dumps every day.

After 21 weeks of "increasingly successful and continuous operations," municipal employees and nearly 1,000 residents managed to salvage a half-million pounds of secondary materials. They sold them for \$5,000.

Cloff says he is now convinced the ultimate method can best be developed through regional reclamation centers.

Long Branch is currently seeking, together with surrounding communities, state and federal support in establishing the first regional reclamation center.

A plan under consideration by the state calls for approximately 25 regional centers, but the sites have not yet been selected.

The key to reclamation is education. Long

Branch has made a concerted effort to enlighten its residents to the value of recycling. Of the 31,000 residents, 1,000 are actively involved in the program.

Public symposiums on reclamation are held every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock in Long Branch City Hall.

In addition to observers from other states, more than 50 communities in New Jersey have sent delegations to Long Branch to join in continuing studies of recycling potentials, together with various industrial and civic leaders.

More than a dozen communities are seriously cooperating in reclamation of their discarded refuse jointly with Long Branch.

At least two nearby municipalities—Manasquan and Brick Township—have received wide citizen support in launching their own limited recycling programs.

"But much remains to be done," says Cioffi. "We must strive for 100 per cent reclamation of all waste material—and terminate all pollution of land, water and air."

Last week, Long Branch collected 50,000 tin cans, 17,000 aluminum containers, 34,600 pounds of glass and 16,240 pounds of paper.

"Thus a small forest of 138 trees was saved from cutting by this paper reclamation in one single week—and with only 7 per cent of the refuse reclaimed," Cioffi adds.

More than two glass containers, nearly two tin cans and better than half an aluminum can were recovered for every one of the 31,000 men, women and children residing in Long Branch.

Cioffi also has attracted the Easy Rider set. This Saturday, members of the Highwaymen Motorcycle Club of the Shore will be on their hands and knees cleaning up public property at the southeast corner of Morris and Second Avenues in Long Branch.

Roger Wemsek, a Monmouth County road inspector and vice president of the cycle club, said his group volunteered to become a "Special Task Force" for the Long Branch Reclamation Project because "we seek to gain public respect and to be allowed to continue our enjoyment of motorcycling as a sport."

Wemsek said, "We know we must work for good purposes and we must prove our sincerity—that is why we volunteered our services in what we know to be the best of good causes."

Mayor Cioffi said after the cyclists prove themselves he will present each rider with an insignia for his jacket and machine, "setting them apart from useless idlers."

Long Branch, however, is an exception to the recycling rule. Most volunteer projects collapse uneventfully after a few weeks or months.

Such was the case in Metuchen. Glass recycling in a borough pilot area was discontinued April 15 because of "poor response from the people in the pilot area and the high cost of labor involved in separating the glass into the three color groups."

Sponsored by the Metuchen Jaycees and the local department of public works, the pilot project ended abruptly with a "Dear Citizen" letter:

"The experimental glass collection is over. Your glass will no longer be picked up by the borough sanitation department as a separate collection."

"Project Do Something" began Jan. 16 with on-curb pickups of glass, separated into three colors. Collections were made by the garbage men every other Wednesday.

Response from the outset was listless, the Jaycees said. The program was losing \$60 per pickup. Even a central collection program, suggested as an alternative, was abandoned as "not feasible."

In a more successful attempt, the State Department of Environmental Protection began a glass recycling program last summer in all state forests, parks and recreation areas.

Though it will cost more to separate the glass from other litter in the huge trash barrels, the price paid by the glass manufacturers—\$20 per ton—more than makes up the difference, according to Joseph J. Truncer, director of the Division of Parks, Forestry and Recreation.

The state litter now goes to three sites for separation. The project was launched by Commissioner Richard J. Sullivan of the Department of Environmental Protection.

Sullivan is currently seeking total state-wide recycling as the "only sound method of managing solid waste." His attention is now focused on Princeton, where, he says, he would like to establish a complete recycling system this summer.

Ultimately, the state will be forced to get into the recycling business simply as a way to hold back the staggering costs of garbage removal, predicts Sullivan's executive assistant, Thomas M. O'Neill, the state's chief authority on the planning and economics of reclamation systems.

So far, Sullivan and O'Neill have been getting scant environmental tokenism from the state, which this year cut out the only funds available for developing a recycling system. The amount needed was only \$250,000.

The State Legislature is also languishing over the "solid waste crisis." The senate passed a bill April 27, which would give priority to recycled materials in all state purchases. The bill is in committee in the Assembly "for review and study."

Ecologists complain the bill is "vague and ineffectual" because it does not specify exactly what percentage of recycled materials the state will set for all goods it purchases.

Because more than half of all household refuse constitutes paper products, conservationists are demanding that at least 50 to 60 per cent secondary materials be used in all packaging.

By 1980, the demand for paper will exceed the supply and conservationists are worried that national forests will be razed during the coming paper crisis.

"Why wait till it's too late," asks the forceful Sierra Club. "Recycle now—while there's still a chance to save our forests, and resources."

The federal government offers no relief either. The newly-organized Environmental Protection Administration has failed to move Congress or the White House in providing a recycling bill similar to New Jersey's.

Environmental Protection Administrator William Ruckelshaus, a former assistant attorney general, warns that "our resources are not infinite in this country," but then dashes all federal hope by declaring, "We are going to wait until we really find out how far we are going to have to go before we do anything."

Ruckelshaus says the federal government—the world's largest single consumer—must begin to buy recycled products, but no bill has been authorized to back up that statement.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, May 5, 1971]

**RECYCLING: YOUR OLD TIRE DESERVES A SECOND GO-ROUND**  
(By Gordon Bishop)

The present hit-and-miss collection of cans and bottles is not the answer to either litter or solid waste, the container and bottling industries are the first to admit.

Less than 10 per cent are recovered by today's fragmented, voluntary programs.

In fact, those industries responsible for stamping out the billions of cans and bottles in the United States every year welcome total recycling systems, even if it requires laws to make it possible.

"The idea of mandated separation sounds as practical as anything I've heard," replied Jack M. McGoldrick, director of Corporate

Environmental Affairs for the American Can Company, in response to New Jersey's approach to the recycling dilemma.

The New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection is considering the first state-wide recycling program in the nation, in which all refuse would be separated at the source—the home, apartment, business, or store. Garbage would be picked up separately from recyclable materials—metal containers, glass, paper, rags, textile, plastic, etc.

The Carbonated Beverage Container Manufacturers Association, which represents all the can industries, is anxiously awaiting the outcome of the Garden State's recycling proposal.

"Regional sanitation facilities will have to be constructed that can separate and salvage a wide variety of materials," stated Richard S. Gilbert, vice president of CBCMA.

"There are over 90 solid waste management systems now being developed—both through private industry and government funding—to do just this," Gilbert disclosed.

CBCMA is a member of the newly-established National Center for Solid Waste Disposal in Washington, a nonprofit organization designed to research and develop solid waste disposal systems.

The philosophy of the center is to utilize a total systems development approach, embracing reclamation and reuse of products, changes in distribution and marketing patterns, and development of new packaging materials.

Alcoa Aluminum already has solved the "ring-around-the-neck" nuisance, the metal ring on the necks of bottles that had to be snipped off before the glass reclamation centers would take them.

The new twist-off caps—called "Encore"—have begun to replace the old ring ones.

The glass and can people regard their current reclamation efforts as merely an interim measure to focus public attention on the vital need for recycling.

Proceeds from the sale of recycled containers are returned to the various environmental programs in the communities where the cans were originally collected.

The can companies are donating the promotion costs, the sites, the sorting, the preparation labor, and the freight charges to forward the cans to metal processors.

On March 20, New Jersey's Coca-Cola bottling plants began accepting Coke containers on Saturdays between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. Coca-Cola pays five cents for each of its own bottles, and a half-cent for any bottle or aluminum can brought in.

The bottles, however, must be separated into three color groups—green, amber or clear.

The objective of the glass container industry is to salvage an estimated 11 billion bottles a year.

As a result of the demand for more recycling, a new industry has evolved. "Glasphalt" is the latest word to get into the eco-glossary. It means an asphalt aggregate of crushed bottles and jars.

The University of Missouri crushed 720,000 bottles and jars to make a 600-foot long strip of roadway, 20 feet wide. It is now being tested for its skid resistance and durability under normal traffic and weather conditions for at least two years.

Other uses for recycled glass are in the production of home-building materials—bricks, building blocks and glass wool insulation, as well as sewer pipe, reflector material for signs, glass beads and even as grit for chickens.

One of the most persuasive arguments for paper recycling has been published by Kimberly-Clark Corp., one of the largest paper producers in the world.

Referring to paper as "forever new," Kimberly-Clark cited the four basic reasons why recycled paper must be used, "even if forests were inexhaustible";

Paper with recycled content is more relaxed, physically more uniform.

Less mineral filler is required to provide a given level of opacity.

Quality can be tailored to the sheet—and at a lower cost to both producer and user.

And not least important—the environmental problems are reduced by the re-use. Otherwise paper would have to decompose through burning or burying to the carbon dioxide and water which form the basis of new growth of cellulose fiber. This would be a long-term cycle.

One industry's pollution can be another industry's resources. So it is with Con Edison and Port Authority. The power company's flyash residue from coal burning is the source material for PA's airport runways.

The 8,200-foot long runway at Newark Airport is the waste material from Con Ed's operation. Mixed with water and lime, the flyash aggregate is "stronger per dollar than any pavement material now in use," Port Authority claims.

A cubic yard of the flyash mix costs PA \$3.80, as against \$5 to \$6 per cubic yard for crushed stone, and \$12 per cubic yard for lean concrete.

PA presently uses all the flyash Con Ed can generate in its incinerators. Millions and millions of tons have been used in the last three years at Newark, Kennedy and La Guardia Airports. The Newark runways alone took 800,000 tons.

The rubber industry is equally concerned over its role in contributing to the environmental blight across the country.

Last year, the rubber industry consumed over three million tons of rubber—less than 10 per cent in reclaimed rubber. Most tires are tossed on the garbage heap or nearest vacant lot, where they become breeding grounds for rodents and vermin.

The U.S. Bureau of Mines, an arm of the Department of Interior, is working with several tire companies to develop a destructive distillation technique (carbonization) which reduces old tires to liquid oils, gases and carbon black, a source of material for new tires. This method results in the production of a high quality rubber granulate which can be used for a variety of products, including carpet underlays.

Reservoir linings also can be made from reclaimed rubber. Other uses can be for foundations, sea walls, culverts and drainage ditches to contain water and reduce soil erosion.

Industrial leaders are expressing grave concern over the quality of life on the planet—mankind's only home. They now realize that unless industry and the inhabitants on this planet change their destructive habits, life on earth will become increasingly intolerable during the next 20 years.

David P. Reynolds, executive vice president of Reynolds Aluminum, summed it up this way:

"Mankind's supply of breathable air, water, foods and important minerals and fuels is not boundless. Our environment is not a limitless receptacle for wastes. Earth's expanding population is aggravating the problem. We cannot go on indefinitely clogging our atmosphere, our waters or our land with increasing quantities of waste.

"Like the astronauts, we have to develop recycling systems—the conversion of wastes into usable materials."

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, May 23, 1971]

#### RECYCLE CENTER PLANNED

(By Gordon Bishop)

The state's first regional reclamation center is expected to be established in Mercer County sometime this summer, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection disclosed yesterday.

The state considered Mercer as the first regional project because several municipalities there already are engaged in successful recycling operations.

The initial regional program would take in Princeton, Hightstown, East Windsor, West Windsor and Roosevelt, all of which are currently conducting recycling operations on a voluntary basis.

Once the regional program gets under way, other Mercer communities will be tied into the network, according to Thomas M. O'Neill, executive administrative assistant to State Environmental Commissioner Richard J. Sullivan.

In a series of articles in The Star-Ledger earlier this month, a statewide regional reclamation system was proposed, involving separation of refuse at the source—home, factory, store, business, apartment. Recyclable materials—glass bottles, metal cans, paper products, etc.—would be collected separately from raw garbage.

It is this approach the state has adopted in setting up a working regional reclamation system. Separation of refuse at the source eventually would be phased out as technology capable of sorting all waste is instilled at the regional reclamation centers.

The overall system—the first of its kind in the nation—would consist of 25 regional centers, each established at a cost of about \$1 million. The state will seek federal matching funds as soon as the reclamation plan is fully developed. New Jersey would pay only \$6 million, and the federal government the balance, or \$19 million.

The proposal will be submitted to the federal Environmental Protection Administration (EPA) in conjunction with the Mercer County project, O'Neill said.

The state is now looking at several machines capable of sorting the recyclables to be collected in the Mercer communities and trucked to the regional center. The regional site has not yet been selected.

The Mercer program will be the model for other regional reclamation centers throughout the state, O'Neill said.

"Right now we're looking at some inexpensive separators which will be able to sort the recyclables that are picked up, probably once a week," O'Neill explained. "At first we're going to have to improvise a little, making do with some makeshift equipment just to get the job done. We'll have time to improve on the system, but we want to get it operating as soon as possible."

O'Neill said the department is also looking at a "magical mystery machine" capable of sorting everything. Such machines are in the experimental stage, but they may be ready for installation by the state as early as next year, O'Neill noted.

Eventually, the state plans to develop fully-automated regional reclamation centers in the coming years at an estimated cost of \$300 million. Federal matching funds also will be sought for the final phase, expected to be implemented by 1975. The state hopes the final system will be financially self-supporting through the sale of recyclable materials.

Rep. Peter W. Rodino (D-10th Dist.), the dean of New Jersey's congressional delegation, said his office will do "everything it can" to help the state win federal funds for "this historic environmental program."

When the state submits its application for recycling funds, Rodino said he will rally congressional support for it. The application is expected to be presented to the EPA in Washington around July.

While Mercer County leads the recycling race, seven other New Jersey counties are moving ahead on reclamation programs.

In Monmouth County, Long Branch is also seeking to become a regional reclamation center. That Jersey Shore community has been in the "recycling business" more than

six months, relying on some 1,000 citizen volunteers to sort all the cans, bottles and paper once a week in the rear yard of City Hall.

Long Branch is selling its recyclables to the Monmouth Township. Monmouth Processing is equipped to handle separated waste.

Volunteer recycling campaigns have been gaining momentum in Morris, Somerset, Hunterdon, Union, Essex and Bergen counties during the past year.

The state is considering regional reclamation centers in the coming months for Hunterdon and Somerset counties, in addition to the Long Branch-Monmouth program.

In Hunterdon, a growing number of residents in Flemington, Frenchtown and Milford are removing their cans, bottles and paper from garbage.

In Somerset, the suburban communities of Bedminster and Far Hills are recruiting legions of housewives and husbands for a continuing and expanding recycling project.

Initiative at the local level will be a prerequisite for creation of a regional reclamation operation. Those that receive increasing response and cooperation from a recycling endeavor will be the first to be considered for regionalization, O'Neill indicated.

In Union County, solid waste disposal has reached "crisis proportion" and the Board of Freeholders is trying to establish a regional system which would include recycling.

"A crisis arose about a year-and-a-half ago that resulted in the mayors of 17 municipalities passing resolutions pleading with the freeholders to assist them in the disposal of solid waste," said Union Freeholder William J. Maguire.

Since then, Union has come up with a regional solid waste plan, the central site to be in Linden. The mayors are scheduled to meet at 8 o'clock Tuesday night in the freeholders' public meeting room to discuss what course of action to take: Adopt the regional plan, or wait for a state program.

Arthur Price, chief of the State Bureau of Solid Waste Management, will present the Union County mayors with the latest developments from the Department of Environmental Protection.

A State Solid Waste Management Plan, unveiled last year as a "guideline for regional action," has not yet been adopted by any county government.

The state had hoped that county governments would utilize the solid waste plan, which called for regional disposal centers.

The plan is flexible enough, O'Neill believes, to incorporate recycling. But so far, local and county officials have not given it much attention.

"That's one of the reasons why we're trying to institute recycling programs immediately, as one way of reducing the tremendous amounts of solid waste," O'Neill said.

Moreover, the state, he added, is concerned about burying a billion dollars worth of resources in garbage dumps every year at a staggering expense to the taxpayers.

"If we can pull out the valuable minerals and paper, we'll be cutting the amount of solid waste to be disposed in half," O'Neill said.

"Everyone seems to want recycling now, and we must try to deliver an economically feasible system right away," he said.

[From Newark (N.J.) Evening News, May 24, 1971]

#### PAPER RECYCLING UNDER WAY

(By Brian Smith)

Talk about ecology turned into action in Newark's South Ward yesterday when several tons of old newspapers were collected for recycling in a project aimed at cutting down the volume of the city's solid waste.

The program, a pilot project called Newark Environmental Waste Salvage (NEWS), be-

gan auspiciously as hundreds of South Ward residents turned over bags of old newspapers to a group of volunteers who spent five hours touring neighborhoods.

The newspaper collection drive is run by the city in cooperation with the Evening News and the Garden State Paper Co. of Garfield, subsidiaries of Media General Inc. of Richmond, Va. The reclaimed old newspapers are to be recycled into newsprint.

Yesterday's collection was the first in the drive to be conducted in the South Ward through November.

The drive got underway last Sunday when bags were distributed to South Ward homes. The residents were asked to put old newspapers in the bags and place them at the curbside for collection yesterday.

The effect of cooperation by residents was stated in bold print on the outside of the distributed bags: "Save newspapers in this bag. Five bags full will save one tree. Support recycling. Keep Newark clean." The bags themselves can be recycled.

**BAGS FOR FUTURE**

The collection yesterday began about 9:30 a.m. when five Evening News trucks, manned by volunteer drivers and about 20 members of the Rutgers Community Ecology Academy, began touring the South Ward. Where full bags were picked up, empty ones, provided by the National Newark and Essex Bank, were left for future collections.

In some cases, the volunteers had to ring doorbells to obtain the bags from residents who had not placed them at curbside.

**\$200 EARNED**

By 2:30 p.m., several tons of newspapers were gathered and delivered to the Carter Paper Supply Co., a black business venture sponsored by The Evening News, The Carter firm, in turn, will bale the paper and sell it for recycling to mills, including Garden State.

William E. Hancock, director of paper stock procurement at Garden State, who helped to coordinate yesterday's collection, said the exact tonnage will be known later this week. But, he added, he expected the Rutgers volunteers to have earned about \$200, or \$10 a ton, for their efforts.

Seven other local organizations have been enlisted to take turns collecting the papers on a once-a-month basis. They, too, will receive \$10 a ton for the papers collected from Carter Paper Supply. The next collection will be held June 27 by the South Ward Little League.

Hancock described yesterday's collection as "more successful than we had originally expected."

He commended the Rutgers volunteers, particularly Bill Wallace and Blerles Boston, both executives, for their work. He said Joseph Epps, assistant supervisor for sanitation in Newark, had canvassed the South Ward in a municipal station wagon and picked up about 1,400 pounds of newspapers. During the collection, Samuel Friscia, public works director, and William Tedesco, supervisor of sanitation, cruised the South Ward, offering assistance and evaluating the program.

Hancock said he and Friscia will meet later this week to smooth any problems that may have developed yesterday.

**CANCEL WORLD-CIRCLING TRIP**

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, by a vote of 201 to 88, the House approved a study by the Committee on Post Office

and Civil Service of the postal services of the United Kingdom, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Australia.

Mr. Speaker, I voted against that resolution.

It is commendable that the honorable members of the committee should want to make this world-circling trip to study the postal services of these countries.

However, I would like to suggest that as long as they are traveling around the world, they would include our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District in their study.

This week of May 25, our Washington office received newspapers of May 6, 13, and 20 in the same mail delivery. Some of our May 6 newspapers have not yet reached us.

Many of our office routines are based on information gleaned from our newspapers and to receive the papers 3 weeks after publication is to negate much of their usefulness.

I have been trying to find answers for this delivery delay, but so far the Post Office Department has not been able to give me a satisfactory explanation.

I have always sought lean and efficient operation of our Federal Government. I suggest to give lean and efficient management of the Post Office Department, the committee could well set the example by canceling this world-circling trip.

**ALASKA COMMENDS U.S. ARMY EFFORTS**

**HON. NICK BEGICH**

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest problems plaguing the rural areas of Alaska is the inadequate medical services available to the residents of this area. I have addressed myself to this issue many times on the floor of the House of Representatives and I intend to do so many more times until medical services in the bush area can be improved.

Many emergencies in the Alaska bush areas have been greatly alleviated by the continued vigilance, perseverance, and self-sacrifice of the U.S. Army in Alaska. Maj. Gen. James F. Hollingsworth has been most cooperative in lending the services of his helicopter medical division to the people of the area.

I wish to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to General Hollingsworth and the men at Fort Richardson, Alaska, for their invaluable service. I wish to include for the RECORD a copy of a resolution passed by the Alaska State Legislature expressing their thanks to Major General Hollingsworth and the U.S. Army in Alaska.

The resolution follows:

**HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 10**

Resolution commending U.S. Army efforts in the bush areas of Alaska

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives:

Whereas, it is universally recognized that emergency conditions in Alaska's bush areas

have been greatly alleviated by the continued vigilance, perseverance, and self-sacrifice of the U.S. Army in Alaska; and

Whereas, nothing typifies these efforts more than the provision of vital medical services to needy outlying villages; and

Whereas, illustrative of the recent medical effort is the design and employment of a helicopter "medical pod", a virtually complete medical facility in mobile form, designed and employed through the concerned efforts of Major General James F. Hollingsworth;

Be it resolved that the House of Representatives sincerely commends the general continuing efforts by the U.S. Army in Alaska to alleviate bush medical conditions and particularly acknowledges and commends the efforts of Major General James F. Hollingsworth in bringing the helicopter "medical pod" into Alaskan operation.

**PUBLICATION FROM COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY**

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Council on Environmental Quality publishes monthly the "102 Monitor" reporting on activities of the Council and providing information on environmental impact statements filed with the Council.

So that my colleagues and others will have access to this information, I insert the text of the May 1971 issue of the 102 Monitor at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

**CEQ'S REVISED GUIDELINES TO BECOME EFFECTIVE JUNE 30**

On April 23 the Council on Environmental Quality formally issued revised guidelines to Federal agencies on how to handle the environmental impact statements that they must prepare on any major action or legislation they propose that would significantly affect the environment. The new guidelines will apply to agency actions on which draft statements are filed after June 30. Agencies must update their existing procedures to incorporate the new requirements by July 1. (Many agencies have, in fact, already done so.)

The major innovations of the revised guidelines, as first proposed in January, have been retained. Draft statements must be available to the public for 90 days before an administrative action is taken (i.e. agency actions other than proposals for, or reports on, legislation). Final statements must be available for 30 days prior to such action.

The revised guidelines integrate the requirements of both Section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act and Section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended. (The latter calls for public comment by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency on proposed legislation, regulations or agency actions affecting the EPA's areas of jurisdiction, i.e. water and air quality, solid waste, pesticides, radiation and noise.)

**REVISED CEQ GUIDELINES ON ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS PREPARED UNDER SECTION 102(2)(C) OF THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT**

(Memorandum from Russell E. Train to the heads of agencies)

Attached are the Council's Revised Guidelines on environmental impact statements prepared under Section 102(2)(c) of the National Environmental Policy Act as pub-

lished in the Federal Register. Also included (see section 8) are the Environmental Protection Agency's interim procedures under Section 309 of the Clean Air Act which requires review and public comment by EPA on certain proposed legislation and agency actions and regulations affecting EPA's areas of responsibility (air quality, water quality, solid waste, pesticides, radiation standards, noise).

The revisions in CEQ's guidelines apply to proposed agency actions for which draft environmental statements are circulated after June 30, 1971. Agencies are requested to update their procedures for handling environmental statements to take account of the revised CEQ guidelines prior to July 1. These updated agency procedures should be made available to the Council for consultation prior to formal issuance (Attention: General Counsel). The Council will invite the participation of OMB and EPA in this consultation.

In updating your Agency's procedures, your attention is directed in particular to the following:

(Section 3)

Agency procedures should provide guidance in identifying:

Those types of agency actions requiring environmental statements.

The appropriate time prior to decision for the interagency consultations required by Sec. 102(2)(C).

The agency "review process" for which the final environmental statement and comments are to be available.

Agency procedures should assure that advance comment from the Environmental Protection Agency is requested on proposed legislation, regulations, new construction projects and major actions significantly affecting the environment in the areas of EPA's jurisdiction (i.e. air and water quality, solid waste, pesticides, radiation standards, noise) (See section 8).

(Section 6)

(1) Environmental statements must include an adequate description of the proposed action to permit a careful assessment by commenting agencies.

(ii) The comment of EPA on water quality aspects should be requested in addition to any State or interstate certification on this aspect under Section 21(b) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

(Section 8)

Agency procedures will need to take account of requirements for obtaining EPA comment under Section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended. Where an agency is filing an environmental statement which will be referred to EPA for comment, no change is required. In the case of proposed legislation or regulations where the matter affects the areas of EPA's jurisdiction and no environmental statement is going to be filed, such matters now must be referred to EPA for comment.

(Section 10)

Agency procedures must assure that, to the maximum extent practicable, the minimum 90 day and 30 day periods of public availability for draft and final environmental statements on administrative actions are observed. As noted, these periods may overlap. Agency procedures should also respond to the requirement that they "insure the fullest practicable provision of timely public information and understanding of Federal plans and programs with environmental impact in order to obtain the views of interested parties." These procedures should include, where appropriate, provision for public hearings and availability of draft environmental impact statements in advance of such hearings. Updated agency procedures must also facilitate public access to draft and final environmental statements and the comments received.

Recent lower court decisions involving the National Environmental Policy Act (e.g. *EDF*

*vs. Corps of Engineers*, D., Ark., LR-70-C-203, 1971; *EDF vs. Hardin*, D., D.C., CA 2319-70, 1971) indicate courts will require an adequate compliance with Section 102(d)(C) and that this process envisions that program formulation will be directed by research results rather than that research programs will be designed to substantiate programs already decided upon. . . . The [environmental] statement must be sufficiently detailed to allow a responsible executive to arrive at a reasonably accurate decision regarding the environmental benefits and detriments to be expected from program implementation. The statement should contain adequate discussion of alternative proposals to allow for program modification during agency review so that results to be achieved will be in accordance with national environmental goals.

Although the Supreme Court has not yet construed the Act, there is ample evidence in its treatment of Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act in the *Overton Park*\* case that it also will enforce compliance with the necessary procedural requirements.

We invite the earliest possible adjustment of your agency's environmental statement procedures to reflect the new requirements in the Council's guidelines and the rigor expected by Congress, the courts and the public in our implementation of the National Environmental Policy Act.

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,  
Chairman.

Attachment.

[From the Federal Register, Apr. 23, 1971]  
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY—  
STATEMENTS ON PROPOSED FEDERAL ACTIONS  
AFFECTING THE ENVIRONMENT  
GUIDELINES

1. *Purpose.* This memorandum provides guidelines to Federal departments, agencies, and establishments for preparing detailed environmental statements on proposals for legislation and other major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment as required by section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act (Public Law 91-190) (hereafter "the Act"). Underlying the preparation of such environmental statements is the mandate of both the Act and Executive Order 11514 (35 F.R. 4247) of March 4, 1970, that all Federal agencies, to the fullest extent possible direct their policies, plans and programs so as to meet national environmental goals. The objective of section 102(2)(C) of the Act and of these guidelines is to build into the agency decision making process an appropriate and careful consideration of the environmental aspects of proposed action and to assist agencies in implementing not only the letter, but the spirit, of the Act. This memorandum also provides guidance on implementation of section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1857 et seq.).

2. *Policy.* As early as possible and in all cases prior to agency decision concerning major action or recommendation or a favorable report on legislation that significantly affects the environment, Federal agencies will, in consultation with other appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies, assess in detail the potential environmental impact in order that adverse effects are avoided, and environmental quality is restored or enhanced, to the fullest extent practicable. In particular, alternative actions that will minimize adverse impact should be explored and both the long- and short-range implications to man, his physical and social surroundings, and to nature, should be evaluated in order to avoid to the fullest extent practicable undesirable consequences for the environment.

\* *Citizens to Preserve Overton Park vs. Volpe*, 1 ELR 20110 (March 2, 1971).

3. *Agency and OMB procedures.* (a) Pursuant to section 2(f) of Executive Order 11514, the heads of Federal agencies have been directed to proceed with measures required by section 102(2)(C) of the Act. Consequently, each agency will establish, in consultation with the Council on Environmental Quality, not later than June 1, 1970 (and, by July 1, 1971, with respect to requirements imposed by revisions in these guidelines, which will apply to draft environmental statements circulated after June 30, 1971), its own formal procedures for (1) identifying those agency actions requiring environmental statements, the appropriate time prior to decision for the consultations required by section 102(2)(C), and the agency review process for which environmental statements are to be available, (2) obtaining information required in their preparation, (3) designating the officials who are to be responsible for the statements, (4) consulting with and taking account of the comments of appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies, including obtaining the comment of the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, whether or not an environmental statement is prepared, when required under section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended, and section 8 of these guidelines, and (5) meeting the requirements of section 2(b) of Executive Order 11514 for providing timely public information on Federal plans and programs with environmental impact including procedures responsive to section 10 of these guidelines. These procedures should be consonant with the guidelines contained herein. Each agency should file seven (7) copies of all such procedures with the Council on Environmental Quality, which will provide advice to agencies in the preparation of their procedures and guidance on the application and interpretation of the Council's guidelines. The Environmental Protection Agency will assist in resolving any question relating to section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended.

(b) Each Federal agency should consult, with the assistance of the Council on Environmental Quality and the Office of Management and Budget, if desired, with other appropriate Federal agencies in the development of the above procedures so as to achieve consistency in dealing with similar activities and to assure effective coordination among agencies in their review of proposed activities.

(c) State and local review of agency procedures, regulations, and policies for the administration of Federal programs of assistance to State and local governments will be conducted pursuant to procedures established by the Office of Management and Budget Circular No. A-85. For agency procedures subject to OMB Circular No. A-85 a 30-day extension in the July 1, 1971, deadline set in section 3(a) is granted.

(d) It is imperative that existing mechanisms for obtaining the views of Federal, State, and local agencies on proposed Federal actions be utilized to the extent practicable in dealing with environmental matters. The Office of Management and Budget will issue instructions, as necessary, to take full advantage of existing mechanisms (relating to procedures for handling legislation, preparation of budgetary materials, new procedures, water resource and other projects, etc.).

4. *Federal agencies included.* Section 102(2)(C) applies to all agencies of the Federal Government with respect to recommendations or favorable reports on proposals for (i) legislation and (ii) other major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment. The phrase "to the fullest extent possible" in section 102(2)(C) is meant to make clear that each agency of the Federal Government shall comply with the requirement unless existing law applicable to the agency's operations expressly prohibits or makes compliance impossible.

(Section 105 of the Act provides that "The policies and goals set forth in this Act are supplementary to those set forth in existing authorizations of Federal agencies.")

5. *Actions included.* The following criteria will be employed by agencies in deciding whether a proposed action requires the preparation of an environmental statement:

(a) "Actions" include but are not limited to:

(i) Recommendations or favorable reports relating to legislation including that for appropriations. The requirement for following the section 102(2)(C) procedure as elaborated in these guidelines applies to both (i) agency recommendations on their own proposals for legislation and (ii) agency reports on legislation initiated elsewhere. (In the latter case only the agency which has primary responsibility for the subject matter involved will prepare an environmental statement.) The Office of Management and Budget will supplement these general guidelines with specific instructions relating to the way in which the section 102(2)(C) procedure fits into its legislative clearance process;

(ii) Projects and continuing activities: directly undertaken by Federal agencies; supported in whole or in part through Federal contracts, grants, subsidies, loans, or other forms of funding assistance; involving a Federal lease, permit, license, certificate or other entitlement for use;

(iii) Policy, regulations, and procedure-making.

(b) The statutory clause "major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment" is to be construed by agencies with a view to the overall, cumulative impact of the action proposed (and of further actions contemplated). Such actions may be localized in their impact, but if there is potential that the environment may be significantly affected, the statement is to be prepared. Proposed actions, the environmental impact of which is likely to be highly controversial, should be covered in all cases. In considering what constitutes major action significantly affecting the environment, agencies should bear in mind that the effect of many Federal decisions about a project or complex of projects can be individually limited but cumulatively considerable. This can occur when one or more agencies over a period of years puts into a project individually minor but collectively major resources, when one decision involving a limited amount of money is a precedent for action in much larger cases or represents a decision in principle about a future major course of action, or when several Government agencies individually make decisions about partial aspects of a major action. The lead agency should prepare an environmental statement if it is reasonable to anticipate a cumulatively significant impact on the environment from Federal action. "Lead agency" refers to the Federal agency which has primary authority for committing the Federal Government to a course of action with significant environmental impact. As necessary, the Council on Environmental Quality will assist in resolving questions of lead agency determination.

(c) Section 101(b) of the Act indicates the broad range of aspects of the environment to be surveyed in any assessment of significant effect. The Act also indicates that adverse significant effects include those that degrade the quality of the environment, curtail the range of beneficial uses of the environment, and serve short-term, to the disadvantage of long-term, environmental goals. Significant effects can also include actions which may have both beneficial and detrimental effects, even if, on balance, the agency believes that the effect will be beneficial. Significant adverse effects on the quality of the human environment include both those that directly affect human beings and those

that indirectly affect human beings through adverse effects on the environment.

(d) Because of the Act's legislative history, environmental protective regulatory activities concurred in or taken by the Environmental Protection Agency are not deemed actions which require the preparation of environmental statements under section 102(2)(C) of the Act.

6. *Content of environmental statement.* (a) The following points are to be covered:

(i) A description of the proposed action including information and technical data adequate to permit a careful assessment of environmental impact by commenting agencies. Where relevant, maps should be provided.

(ii) The probable impact of the proposed action on the environment, including impact on ecological systems such as wildlife, fish, and marine life. Both primary and secondary significant consequences for the environment should be included in the analysis. For example, the implications, if any, of the action for population distribution or concentration should be estimated and an assessment made of the effect of any possible change in population patterns upon the resource base, including land use, water and public services, of the area in question.

(iii) Any probable adverse environmental effects which cannot be avoided (such as water or air pollution, undesirable land use patterns, damage to life systems, urban congestion, threats to health or other consequences adverse to the environmental goals set out in section 101(b) of the Act).

(iv) Alternatives to the proposed action (section 102(2)(D) of the Act requires the responsible agency to "study, develop, and describe appropriate alternatives to recommend courses of action in any proposal which involves unresolved conflicts concerning alternative uses of available resources"). A rigorous exploration and objective evaluation of alternative actions that might avoid some or all of the adverse environmental effects is essential. Sufficient analysis of such alternatives and their costs and impact on the environment should accompany the proposed action through the agency review process in order not to foreclose prematurely options which might have less detrimental effects.

(v) The relationship between local short-term uses of man's environment and the maintenance and enhancement of long-term productivity. This in essence requires the agency to assess the action for cumulative and long-term effects from the perspective that each generation is trustee of the environment for succeeding generations.

(vi) Any irreversible and irretrievable commitments of resources which would be involved in the proposed action should it be implemented. This requires the agency to identify the extent to which the action curtails the range of beneficial uses of the environment.

(vii) Where appropriate, a discussion of problems and objections raised by other Federal, State, and local agencies and by private organizations and individuals in the review process and the disposition of the issues involved. (This section may be added at the end of the review process in the final text of the environmental statement.)

(b) With respect to water quality aspects of the proposed action which have been previously certified by the appropriate State or interstate organization as being in substantial compliance with applicable water quality standards, the comment of the Environmental Protection Agency should also be requested.

(c) Each environmental statement should be prepared in accordance with the precept in section 102(2)(A) of the Act that all agencies of the Federal Government "utilize a systematic, interdisciplinary approach which

will insure the integrated use of the natural and social sciences and the environmental design arts in planning and decisionmaking which may have an impact on man's environment."

(d) Where an agency follows a practice of declining to favor an alternative until public hearings have been held on a proposed action, a draft environmental statement may be prepared and circulated indicating that two or more alternatives are under consideration.

(e) Appendix 1 prescribes the form of the summary sheet which should accompany each draft and final environmental statement.

7. Federal agencies to be consulted in connection with preparation of environmental statement. A Federal agency considering an action requiring an environmental statement, on the basis of (i) a draft environmental statement for which it takes responsibility or (ii) comparable information followed by a hearing subject to the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, should consult with, and obtain the comment on the environmental impact of the action of, Federal agencies with jurisdiction by law or special expertise with respect to any environmental impact involved. These Federal agencies include components of (depending on the aspect or aspects of the environment):

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.  
Department of Agriculture.  
Department of Commerce.  
Department of Defense.  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Department of the Interior.

Department of State.

Department of Transportation.

Atomic Energy Commission.

Federal Power Commission.

Environmental Protection Agency.

Office of Economic Opportunity.

For actions specifically affecting the environment of their geographic jurisdictions, the following Federal and Federal-State agencies are also to be consulted:

Tennessee Valley Authority.

Appalachian Regional Commission.

National Capital Planning Commission.

Delaware River Basin Commission.

Susquehanna River Basin Commission.

Agencies seeking comment should determine which one or more of the above listed agencies are appropriate to consult on the basis of the areas of expertise identified in Appendix 2 to these guidelines. It is recommended (1) that the above listed departments and agencies establish contact points, which often are most appropriately regional offices, for providing comments on the environmental statements and (ii) that departments from which comment is solicited coordinate and consolidate the comments of their component entities. The requirement in section 102(2)(C) to obtain comment from Federal agencies having jurisdiction or special expertise is in addition to any specific statutory obligation of any Federal agency to coordinate or consult with any other Federal or State agency. Agencies seeking comment may establish time limits of not less than thirty (30) days for reply, after which it may be presumed, unless the agency consulted requests a specified extension of time, that the agency consulted has no comment to make. Agencies seeking comment should endeavor to comply with requests for extensions of time of up to fifteen (15) days.

8. *Interim EPA procedures for implementation of section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended.* (a) Section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended, provides:

"Sec. 309. (a) The Administrator shall review and comment in writing on the environmental impact of any matter relating to

duties and responsibilities granted pursuant to this Act or other provisions of the authority of the Administrator, contained in any (1) legislation proposed by any Federal department or agency, (2) newly authorized Federal projects for construction and any major Federal agency action (other than a project for construction) to which section 102(2)(C) of Public Law 91-190 applies, and (3) proposed regulations published by any department or agency of the Federal Government. Such written comment shall be made public at the conclusion of any such review.

"(b) In the event the Administrator determines that any such legislation, action, or regulation is unsatisfactory from the standpoint of public health or welfare or environmental quality, he shall publish his determination and the matter shall be referred to the Council on Environmental Quality."

(b) Accordingly, wherever an agency action related to air or water quality, noise abatement and control, pesticide regulation, solid waste disposal, radiation criteria and standards, or other provisions of the authority of the Administrator if the Environmental Protection Agency is involved, including his enforcement authority, Federal agencies are required to submit for review and comment by the Administrator in writing: (1) proposals for new Federal construction projects and other major Federal agency actions to which section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act applies and (ii) proposed legislation and regulations, whether or not section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act applies. (Actions requiring review by the Administrator do not include litigation or enforcement proceedings.) The Administrator's comments shall constitute his comments for the purposes of both section 309 of the Clean Air Act and section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act. A period of 45 days shall be allowed for such review. The Administrator's written comment shall be furnished to the responsible Federal department or agency, to the Council on Environmental Quality and summarized in a notice published in the Federal Register. The public may obtain copies of such comment on request from the Environmental Protection Agency.

9. *State and local review.* Where no public hearing has been held on the proposed action at which the appropriate State and local review has been invited, and where review of the environmental impact of the proposed action by State and local agencies authorized to develop and enforce environmental standards is relevant, such State and local review shall be provided as follows:

(a) For direct Federal development projects and projects assisted under programs listed in Attachment D of the Office of Management and Budget Circular No. A-95, review of draft environmental statements by State and local governments will be through procedures set forth under Part 1 of Circular No. A-95.

(b) Where these procedures are not appropriate and where a proposed action affects matters within their jurisdiction, review of the draft environmental statement on a proposed action by State and local agencies authorized to develop and enforce environmental standards and their comments on the environmental impact of the proposed action may be obtained directly or by distributing the draft environmental statement to the appropriate State, regional and metropolitan clearinghouses unless the Governor of the State involved has designated some other point for obtaining this review.

10. *Use of statements in agency review processes; distribution to Council on Environmental Quality; availability to public.*

(a) Agencies will need to identify at what stage or stages of a series of actions relating

to a particular matter the environmental statement procedures of this directive will be applied. It will often be necessary to use the procedures both in the development of a national program and in the review of proposed projects within the national program. However, where a grant-in-aid program does not entail prior approval by Federal agencies of specific projects the view of Federal, State, and local agencies in the legislative process may have to suffice. The principle to be applied is to obtain views of other agencies at the earliest feasible time in the development of program and project proposals. Care should be exercised so as not to duplicate the clearance process, but when actions being considered differ significantly from those that have already been reviewed pursuant to section 102(2)(C) of the Act an environmental statement should be provided.

(b) Ten (10) copies of draft environmental statements (when prepared), ten (10) copies of all comments made thereon (to be forwarded to the Council by the entity making comment at the time comment is forwarded to the responsible agency), and ten (10) copies of the final text of environmental statements (together with all comments received thereon by the responsible agency from Federal, State, and local agencies and from private organizations and individuals) shall be supplied to the Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President (this will serve as making environmental statements available to the President). It is important that draft environmental statements be prepared and circulated for comment and furnished to the Council early enough in the agency review process before an action is taken in order to permit meaningful consideration of the environmental issues involved. To the maximum extent practicable no administrative action (i.e., any proposed action to be taken by the agency other than agency proposals for legislation to Congress or agency reports on legislation) subject to section 102(2)(C) is to be taken sooner than ninety (90) days after a draft environmental statement has been circulated for comment, furnished to the Council and, except where advance public disclosure will result in significantly increased costs of procurement to the Government, made available to the public pursuant to these guidelines; neither should such administrative action be taken sooner than thirty (30) days after the final text of an environmental statement (together with comments) has been made available to the Council and the public. If the final text of an environmental statement is filed within ninety (90) days after a draft statement has been circulated for comment, furnished to the Council and made public pursuant to this section of these guidelines, the thirty (30) day period and ninety (90) day period may run concurrently to the extent that they overlap.

(c) With respect to recommendations or reports on proposals for legislation to which section 102(2)(C) applies, the final text of the environmental statement and comments thereon should be available to the Congress and to the public in support of the proposed legislation or report. In cases where the scheduling of congressional hearings on recommendations or reports on proposals for legislation which the Federal agency has forwarded to the Congress does not allow adequate time for the completion of a final text of an environmental statement (together with comments), a draft environmental statement may be furnished to the Congress and made available to the public pending transmittal of the comments as received and the final text.

(d) Where emergency circumstances make it necessary to take an action with significant environmental impact without observing the provisions of these guidelines concerning minimum periods for agency review and ad-

vance availability of environmental statements, the Federal agency proposing to take the action should consult with the Council on Environmental Quality about alternative arrangements. Similarly, where there are overriding considerations of expense to the Government or impaired program effectiveness, the responsible agency should consult the Council concerning appropriate modifications of the minimum periods.

(e) In accord with the policy of the National Environmental Policy Act and Executive Order 11514 agencies have a responsibility to develop procedures to insure the fullest practicable provision of timely public information and understanding of Federal plans and programs with environmental impact in order to obtain the views of interested parties. These procedures shall include, whenever appropriate, provision for public hearings, and shall provide the public with relevant information, including information on alternative courses of action. Agencies which hold hearings on proposed administrative actions or legislation should make the draft environmental statement available to the public at least fifteen (15) days prior to the time of the relevant hearings except where the agency prepares the draft statement on the basis of a hearing subject to the Administrative Procedure Act and preceded by adequate public notice and information to identify the issues and obtain the comments provided for in sections 6-9 of these guidelines.

(f) The agency which prepared the environmental statement is responsible for making the statement and the comments received available to the public pursuant to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (5 U.S.C., sec. 552), without regard to the exclusion of interagency memoranda when such memoranda transmit comments of Federal agencies listed in section 7 of these guidelines upon the environmental impact of proposed actions subject to section 102(2)(C).

(g) Agency procedures prepared pursuant to section 3 of these guidelines shall implement these public information requirements and shall include arrangements for availability of environmental statements and comments at the head and appropriate regional offices of the responsible agency and at appropriate State, regional, and metropolitan clearinghouses unless the Governor of the State involved designates some other point for receipt of this information.

11. *Application of section 102(2)(C) procedure to existing projects and programs.* To the maximum extent practicable the section 102(2)(C) procedure should be applied to further major Federal actions having a significant effect on the environment even though they arise from projects or programs initiated prior to enactment of the Act on January 1, 1970. Where it is not practicable to reassess the basic course of action, it is still important that further incremental major actions be shaped so as to minimize adverse environmental consequences. It is also important in further action that account be taken of environmental consequences not fully evaluated at the outset of the project or program.

12. *Supplementary guidelines, evaluation of procedures.* (a) The Council on Environmental Quality after examining environmental statements and agency procedures with respect to such statements will issue such supplements to these guidelines as are necessary.

(b) Agencies will continue to assess their experience in the implementation of the section 102(2)(C) provisions of the Act and in conforming with these guidelines and report thereon to the Council on Environmental Quality by December 1, 1971. Such reports should include an identification of the problem areas and suggestions for revision or clarification of these guidelines to achieve effective coordination of views on environ-

mental aspects (and alternatives, where appropriate) of proposed actions without imposing unproductive administrative procedures.

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,  
Chairman.

APPENDIX I

(Check one) ( ) Draft. ( ) Final Environmental Statement.

Name of Responsible Federal Agency (with name of operating division where appropriate).

1. Name of Action. (Check one) ( ) Administrative Action. ( ) Legislative Action.

2. Brief description of action indicating what States (and counties) particularly affected.

3. Summary of environmental impact and adverse environmental effects.

4. List alternatives considered.

5. a. (For draft statements) List all Federal, State, and local agencies from which comments have been requested.

b. (For final statements) List all Federal, State, and local agencies and other sources from which written comments have been received.

6. Dates draft statement and final statement made available to Council on Environmental Quality and public.

APPENDIX II—FEDERAL AGENCIES WITH JURISDICTION BY LAW OR SPECIAL EXPERTISE TO COMMENT ON VARIOUS TYPES OF ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

AIR

*Air Quality and Air Pollution Control*

Department of Agriculture—  
Forest Service (effects on vegetation).  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

Environmental Protection Agency—

Air Pollution Control Office.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Mines (fossil and gaseous fuel combustion).

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (wildlife).

Department of Transportation—

Assistant Secretary for Systems Development and Technology (auto emissions).

Coast Guard (vessel emissions).

Federal Aviation Administration (aircraft emissions).

*Weather Modification*

Department of Commerce—

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Department of Defense—

Department of the Air Force.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Reclamation.

ENERGY

*Environmental Aspects of Electric Energy Generation and Transmission*

Atomic Energy Commission (nuclear power).

Environmental Protection Agency—

Water Quality Office.

Air Pollution Control Office.

Department of Agriculture—

Rural Electrification Administration (rural areas).

Department of Defense—

Army Corps of Engineers (hydro-facilities).

Federal Power Commission (hydro-facilities and transmission lines).

Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).

Department of the Interior—(facilities on Government lands).

*Natural Gas Energy Development, Transmission and Generation*

Federal Power Commission (natural gas production, transmission and supply).

Department of the Interior—

Geological Survey.

Bureau of Mines.

HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES

*Toxic Materials*

Department of Commerce—  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

Environmental Protection Agency.

Department of Agriculture—

Agricultural Research Service.

Consumer and Marketing Service.

Department of Defense.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

*Pesticides*

Department of Agriculture—

Agricultural Research Service (biological controls, food and fiber production).

Consumer and Marketing Service.

Forest Service.

Department of Commerce—

National Marine Fisheries Service.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Environmental Protection Agency—

Office of Pesticides.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (effects on fish and wildlife).

Bureau of Land Management.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

*Herbicides*

Department of Agriculture—

Agricultural Research Service.

Forest Service.

Environmental Protection Agency—

Office of Pesticides.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

Bureau of Land Management.

Bureau of Reclamation.

*Transportation and Handling of Hazardous Materials*

Department of Commerce—

Maritime Administration.

National Marine Fisheries Service.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (impact on marine life).

Department of Defense—

Armed Services Explosive Safety Board.

Army Corps of Engineers (navigable waterways).

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—

Office of the Surgeon General (Health aspects).

Department of Transportation—

Federal Highway Administration Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety.

Coast Guard.

Federal Railroad Administration.

Federal Aviation Administration.

Assistant Secretary for System Development and Technology.

Office of Hazardous Materials.

Office of Pipeline Safety.

Environmental Protection Agency (hazardous substances).

Atomic Energy Commission (radioactive substances).

LAND USE AND MANAGEMENT

*Coastal Areas: Wetlands, Estuaries, Waterfowl Refuges, and Beaches*

Department of Agriculture—

Forest Service.

Department of Commerce—

National Marine Fisheries Service (impact on marine life).

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (impact on marine life).

Department of Transportation—

Coast Guard (bridges, navigation).

Department of Defense—

Army Corps of Engineers (beaches, dredge and fill permits, Refuse Act permits).

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
National Park Service.

U.S. Geological Survey (coastal geology).

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (beaches).

Department of Agriculture—

Soil Conservation Service (soil stability, hydrology).

Environmental Protection Agency—

Water Quality Office.

*Historic and Archeological Sites*

Department of the Interior—

National Park Service.

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).

*Flood Plains and Watersheds*

Department of Agriculture—

Agricultural Stabilization and Research Service.

Soil Conservation Service.

Forest Service.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

Bureau of Reclamation.

Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife.

Bureau of Land Measurement.

U.S. Geological Survey.

Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).

Department of Defense—

Army Corps of Engineers.

*Mineral Land Reclamation*

Appalachian Regional Commission.

Department of Agriculture—

Forest Service.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Mines.

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

Bureau of Land Management.

U.S. Geological Survey.

Tennessee Valley Authority.

*Parks, Forests, and Outdoor Recreation*

Department of Agriculture—

Forest Service.

Soil Conservation Service.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Land Management.

National Park Service.

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife.

Department of Defense—

Army Corps of Engineers.

Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).

*Soil and Plant Life, Sedimentation, Erosion and Hydrologic Conditions*

Department of Agriculture—

Soil Conservation Service.

Agricultural Research Service.

Forest Service.

Department of Defense—

Army Corps of Engineers (dredging, aquatic plants).

Department of Commerce—

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Department of the Interior—

Bureau of Land Management.

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

Geological Survey.

Bureau of Reclamation.

NOISE

*Noise Control and Abatement*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

Department of Commerce—

National Bureau of Standards.

Department of Transportation—

Assistant Secretary for Systems Development and Technology.

Federal Aviation Administration (Office of Noise Abatement).

Environmental Protection Agency (Office of Noise Abatement).

Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban use aspects, building materials standards).

## PHYSIOLOGICAL HEALTH AND HUMAN WELL-BEING

*Chemical Contamination of Food Products*

Department of Agriculture—  
Consumer and Marketing Service.  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Office of Pesticides (economic poisons).

*Food Additives and Food Sanitation*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Office of Pesticides (economic poisons, e.g., pesticide residues).  
Department of Agriculture—  
Consumer Marketing Service (meat and poultry products).

*Microbiological Contamination*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).

*Radiation and Radiological Health*

Department of Commerce—  
National Bureau of Standards.  
Atomic Energy Commission.  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Office of Radiation.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Mines (uranium mines).

*Sanitation and Waste Systems*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—(Health aspects).  
Department of Defense—  
Army Corps of Engineers.  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Solid Waste Office.  
Water Quality Office.  
Department of Transportation—  
U.S. Coast Guard (ship sanitation).  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Mines (mineral waste and recycling, mine acid wastes, urban solid wastes).  
Bureau of Land Management (solid wastes on public lands).  
Office of Saline Water (demineralization of liquid wastes).

*Shellfish Sanitation*

Department of Commerce—  
National Marine Fisheries Service.  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Office of Water Quality.

## TRANSPORTATION

*Air Quality*

Environmental Protection Agency—  
Air Pollution Control Office.  
Department of Transportation—  
Federal Aviation Administration.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.  
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
Department of Commerce—  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (meteorological conditions).

*Water Quality*

Environmental Protection Agency—  
Office of Water Quality.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
Department of Commerce—  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (impact on marine life and ocean monitoring).  
Department of Defense—  
Army Corps of Engineers.  
Department of Transportation—  
Coast Guard.

## URBAN

*Congestion in Urban Areas, Housing and Building Displacement*

Department of Transportation—  
Federal Highway Administration.  
Office of Economic Opportunity.

Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

*Environmental Effects With Special Impact in Low-Income Neighborhoods*

Department of the Interior—  
National Park Service.  
Office of Economic Opportunity.  
Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).  
Department of Commerce (economic development areas).  
Economic Development Administration.  
Department of Transportation—  
Urban Mass Transportation Administration.

*Rodent Control*

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).  
Department of Housing and Urban Development (urban areas).

*Urban Planning*

Department of Transportation—  
Federal Highway Administration.  
Department of Housing and Urban Development.  
Environmental Protection Agency.  
Department of the Interior—  
Geological Survey.  
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.  
Department of Commerce—  
Economic Development Administration.

## WATER

*Water Quality and Water Pollution Control*

Department of Agriculture—  
Soil Conservation Service.  
Forest Service.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Reclamation.  
Bureau of Land Management.  
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.  
Geological Survey.  
Office of Saline Water.  
Environmental Protection Agency—  
Water Quality Office.  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Health aspects).  
Department of Defense—  
Army Corps of Engineers.  
Department of the Navy (ship pollution control).  
Department of Transportation—  
Coast Guard (oil spills, ship sanitation).  
Department of Commerce—  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

*Marine Pollution*

Department of Commerce—  
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.  
Department of Transportation—  
Coast Guard.  
Department of Defense—  
Army Corps of Engineers.  
Office of Oceanographer of the Navy.

*River and Canal Regulation and Stream Channelization*

Department of Agriculture—  
Soil Conservation Service  
Department of Defense—  
Army Corps of Engineers.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Reclamation.  
Geological Survey.  
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
Department of Transportation—  
Coast Guard.

## WILDLIFE

Environmental Protection Agency.  
Department of Agriculture—  
Forest Service.  
Soil Conservation Service.  
Department of the Interior—  
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.  
Bureau of Land Management.  
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

## FEDERAL AGENCY OFFICES FOR RECEIVING AND COORDINATING COMMENTS UPON ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
Robert Garvey, Executive Director, Suite 618, 801 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20006, 343-8607.

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Dr. T. C. Byerly, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D.C. 20250, 388-7803.

## APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

Orville H. Lerch, Alternate Federal Co-Chairman, 1666 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20235, 967-4103.

## DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (CORPS OF ENGINEERS)

Col. J. B. Newman, Executive Director of Civil Works, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, D.C. 20314, 693-7168.

## ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

For nonregulatory matters: Joseph J. DiNunno, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20545, 973-5391.  
For regulatory matters: Christopher L. Henderson, Assistant Director for Regulation, Washington, D.C. 20545, 973-7531.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Dr. Sydney R. Galler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20230, 967-4335.

## DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Dr. Louis M. Rousselot, Assistant Secretary for Defense (Health and Environment), Room 3E172, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301, 697-2111.

## DELAWARE RIVER BASIN COMMISSION

W. Brinton Whitall, Secretary, Post Office Box 360, Trenton, N.J. 08603, 609-883-9500.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Charles Fabrikant, Director of Impact Statements Office, 1626 K Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20460, 632-7719.

## FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Frederick H. Warren, Commission's Advisor on Environmental Quality, 441 G Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20426, 386-6084.

## GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Rod Kreger, Deputy Administrator, General Services Administration-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405, 343-6077.

Alternate contact: Aaron Woloshin, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, General Services Administration-ADF, 343-4161.

## DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Science Affairs, HEW North Building, Washington, D.C. 20202, 963-4254.

## DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Charles Orlebeke, Deputy Under Secretary, 451 Seventh Street SW., Washington, D.C. 20410, 755-6960.

Alternate contact: George Wright, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary, 755-8192.

## DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Jack O. Horton, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Programs, Washington, D.C. 20240, 343-6181.

NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION  
Charles H. Conrad, Executive Director, Washington, D.C. 20576, 382-1163.

## OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Frank Carlucci, Director, 1200 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20506, 254-6000.

## SUSQUEHANNA RIVER BASIN COMMISSION

Alan J. Summerville, Water Resources Coordinator, Department of Environmental Resources, 105 South Office Building, Harrisburg, Pa. 17120, 717-787-2615.

Footnote on following page.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Dr. Francis Gartrell, Director of Environmental Research and Development, 720 Edney Building, Chattanooga, Tenn. 37401, 615-755-2002.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Herbert F. DeSimone, Assistant Secretary for Environment and Urban Systems, Washington, D.C. 20590, 426-4563.

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

Richard E. Sliotr, Assistant Director, Office of Tax Analysis, Washington, D.C. 20220, 964-2797.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Christian Herter, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary for Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520, 632-7964.

[FR Doc. 71-5705 Filed 4-22-71; 8:50 am]

FOOTNOTE

<sup>1</sup> Contact the Deputy Under Secretary with regard to environmental impacts of legislation, policy statements, program regulations and procedures, and precedent-making project decisions. For all other HUD consultation, contact the HUD Regional Administrator in whose jurisdiction the project lies, as follows:

James J. Barry, Regional Administrator I, Attention: Environmental Clearance officer, Room 405, John F. Kennedy Federal Building, Boston, MA 02203, 617-223-4066.

S. William Green, Regional Administrator II, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, NY 10007, 212-264-8068.

Warren P. Phelan, Regional Administrator III, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, Curtis Building, Sixth and Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106, 215-597-2560.

Edward H. Baxter, Regional Administrator IV, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, Peachtree-Seventh Building, Atlanta, GA 30323, 404-526-5585.

George Vavoulis, Regional Administrator V, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60601, 312-353-5680.

Richard L. Morgan, Regional Administrator VI, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, Federal Office Building, 819 Taylor Street, Fort Worth, TX 76102, 817-334-2867.

Harry T. Morley, Jr., Regional Administrator VII, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, 911 Walnut Street, Kansas City, MO 64106, 816-374-2661.

Robert C. Rosenheim, Regional Administrator VIII, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, Samsonite Building, 1051 South Broadway, Denver CO 80209, 303-837-4061.

Robert H. Baida, Regional Administrator IX, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, Post Office Box 36003, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-556-4752.

Oscar P. Pederson, Regional Administrator X, Attention: Environmental Clearance Officer, Room 226, Arcade Plaza Building, Seattle, WA 98101, 206-583-5415.

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL FROM APRIL 1 THROUGH APRIL 30, 1971

To obtain a copy of a statement, contact the person whose name is listed directly below the title of the particular agency involved. Telephone numbers refer to Washington, D.C., area code 202, unless otherwise indicated. Draft statements are not listed after final statements have been received on a proposed action previously covered in a draft statement.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Contact: For Non-Regulatory Matters: Joseph J. DiNunno, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20545, 973-5391; For Regulatory Matters: Christopher L. Henderson, Assistant Director for

Regulation, Washington, D.C. 20545, 973-7531.

Draft

Title, description, and date

Proposed operation of Surry Power Station Units 1 & 2 by the Virginia Electric and Power Co. This nuclear plant is located on Gravel Neck in the James River about 25 miles northwest of Norfolk. Heated water will be released into the river. Very small quantities of radioactive materials may reach the environment. Dockets Nos. 50-280, 50-281, March 31.

Maine Yankee Atomic Power Station: Wiscasset, Maine. The Maine Yankee Atomic Power Co. has applied for a license to operate this pressurized water reactor. Impact: release of small amounts of radioactivity and discharge of heated condenser cooling water to Bailey Cove. Construction is mostly complete, April 13.

National Accelerator Laboratory, Batavia, Illinois. Comments on this statement from the EPA (draft was dated February 1, 1971), April 15.

Underground test programs for FY 1972, Nevada Test Site, covering tests of one megaton or less in the weapons and peaceful nuclear explosions programs. Statement covers need for testing, environmental setting, impact on environment (ground motion, radioactivity, hydrology) etc. Possibility exists that released radioactivity will be detectable offsite, April 15.

Newbold Island Nuclear Generating Station, Units 1 & 2: Bordentown Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. Statement outlines environmental impact of this station. The Public Service Electric and Gas Co. has applied for a license to build it. Operation of the plant will involve some thermal and radioactive discharges. Dockets Nos. 50-354, 50-355, April 20.

Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory Plutonium Facility, New Mexico. Prepared in support of the AEC's proposal for legislative authorization covering design and construction of this facility. Statement describes planned precautions for handling potentially harmful materials as well as the impact of the facility itself on the environment, April 22.

Rocky Flats Plutonium Recovery Facility: 12 miles south of Boulder, Colorado. Operated by Dow Chemical Co. for the AEC. More space is needed to meet increased production demands. Plans are to either make present 18 year old facility safer or to replace it. Very small amounts of plutonium are released to the environment. Report describes precautions taken to keep discharges within safe limits, April 28.

DELAWARE RIVER BASIN COMMISSION

Contact: W. Brinton Whitehall, Secretary, P.O. Box 360, Trenton, New Jersey 08603, 609-883-9500.

Draft

Title, description, and date

Amico Sand and Gravel Co.: dredging of 440,000 cubic yards of sandy material from the Delaware River 0.5 mile downstream of the Burlington-Bristol Bridge, Bristol, Pennsylvania, April 14.

American Dredging Co.: construction of dikes and filling in of area of 100 acres for eventual use as a deepwater marine facility. Project located in the Delaware River 650 feet downstream of the new Chester Bridgeport bridge. Bridgeport, New Jersey, April 14.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Contact: Dr. T. C. Byerly, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D.C. 20250, 388-7803.

Consumer and Marketing Service

Draft

Title, description, and date

Proposed revision of regulations governing the inspection of poultry and poultry products (some 1,200 poultry processing establishments must meet the standards of Sec-

tion 21 (b) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.) Authorities can refuse or withdraw inspection when environmental requirements are not met, April 14.

Forest Service

Draft

Title, description, and date

Castaic-Haskell power transmission line. Issuance of a preclosure special use permit (to allow construction prior to issuance of FPC license) for right-of-way through Angeles National Forest. Length of line: 11.3 miles (3.3 miles through national forest). Purpose: to complete 2 of 4 circuits by July 1971 to enable water delivery through the Castaic Power Plant to Southern California water agencies. California, March 30.

Six Rivers Timber Management Plan, Six Rivers National Forest, California. Plan is based on even-aged management (clearcutting) to produce a maximum of wood products. Over a period of 10 years some 206.4 million board feet will be harvested. Statement discusses impact on soil, water, wildlife, fish, etc. Thought had been given to making Six Rivers National Forest a Wilderness area, April 5.

Proposal to designate the Sawtooth Wilderness and add it to the National Wilderness Preservation System. Hearings were held May 3 and 4. 185,368 acres of the Sawtooth Primitive Area plus 13,902 acres of contiguous National Forest land are involved. South Central Idaho, April 14.

Aqua Tibia Wilderness: Cleveland National Forest, Southern California. Proposed classification of 7,774 acres as Wilderness of what is now a Primitive Area. (Declassification of an added 9,719 acres of Primitive Area is recommended so roads, powerlines and a campground can be built), April 16.

Proposed Gallatin land exchange Nos. 2 and 3 with Burlington Northern Inc., Montana. These exchanges are part of a larger ongoing land exchange program as authorized by the General Exchange Act of 1922. These particular exchanges will result in the U.S. receiving private inholdings totalling 21,479 acres that are of value in establishing the integrity of Yellowstone National Park, the Spanish Peaks Primitive Area, the Hyalite Basin, and other areas within the Gallatin National Forest. In return, the Forest Service will relinquish title to 10,243 acres of land within Gallatin National Forest, all of which is located on the West Fork of the Gallatin River west of U.S. 191 between Bozeman and West Yellowstone. Some of the land forfeited by the U.S. will involve acreage to sold for the "Big Sky" development by Chrysler Realty Corp. Some details of this proposed development are included.

Final

Title, description, and date

Construction of two 500 kv powerlines across National Forest land by the Arizona Public Service Co. Lines will run from the Navajo generating plant to Phoenix, Arizona. (Between 265 and 300 miles, depending on which route is chosen.) The Forest Service must approve plans that involve their land, April 13.

Construction of a 345 kv powerline across Forest Service land by the Tucson Gas and Electric Co. Line will run between the Waterflow Power Plant (on the Navajo reservation) and Tucson, Arizona. (Between 365 and 419 miles in length, depending on which alternate route is selected), April 13.

Rural Electrification Administration

Draft

Title, description, and date

Electric generating station, unit No. 3 (135,000 kv: Mooreland, Oklahoma. Statement relates to a loan application from the Western Farmers Electric Cooperative of Anadarko; to enable them to build this unit. Environmental impact of this addition to

the station: small amount of water will be discharged to the North Canadian River, fossil fuel burning will release nitrogen oxides to the atmosphere, April 6.

Proposed revised use of funds previously loaned to the Arizona Electric Power Cooperative, Inc. by the R.E.A. Suggests funds be used for the construction of a 35.5 mile 230 kv transmission line between Saguaro and Three Points, Arizona, April 21.

*Soil Conservation Service*

Draft

*Title, description, and date*

Work plan for Union Creek Watershed, Union County, South Dakota. Land conservation treatment of 12,000 acres (terracing, contour farming, permanent grass cover for hay and seed production, crop residue use, farm ponds, 4 dams, 13 grade stabilization structures, 1.6 miles of stream channel enlargement). Purpose: prevention of flood damage, April 8.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Contact: Dr. Sydney R. Galler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20230, (967-4335).

Final

*Title, description, and date*

Legislative proposal H.R. 650: turning over surplus Liberty ships to the States for sinking and use as offshore reefs. (The theory is that many marine animals need solid substrates to complete their life cycles, and the hulks would provide this. They would also provide shelter, etc.), April 13.

*National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration*

Final

*Title, description, and date*

Tropical Cumulus Cloud Modification Project, Southern Florida, during summer season. Began in May, 1968. Clouds are seeded with silver iodide to encourage rain. Purpose: to learn feasibility of alleviating drought situation in this area. (Early experiments indicate rainfall may be increased by as much as 20-30%), April 6.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—DEPARTMENT OF AIR FORCE

Contact: Colonel Whitehead, Room 5E 425 The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20350, OX 7-1147.

Draft

*Title, description, and date*

New helicopter training mission at Hill Air Force Base, Utah. All Air Force helicopter training will be consolidated here, including combat crew training, air rescue, recovery, aircraft fire and rescue training. Fire training will involve open burning of jet fuel—this will result in some smoke and unburned jet fuel, April 21.

DEPARTMENT OF ARMY

*Corps of Engineers*

Contact: Francis X. Kelly, Assistant for Conservation Liaison, Public Affairs Office, Chief of Engineers, Forrestal Building, 1000 Independence Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20314, 693-6329.

Draft

*Title, description, and date*

Flat Rock Creek local flood protection project, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Involves straightening and enlarging about 7,300 feet of the creek's channel, and about 4,600 feet of its tributary, Valley View Creek, March 19.

Clinton Lake project, Wakarusa River, Kansas. Involves construction of a dam and lake. Inundation of 7,000 acres of wildlife habitat and farmland and 50 miles of free-flowing intermittent streams. Purpose: to provide increased water supply and quality control, flood control, fish and wildlife enhancement, recreation, etc., March 26.

"S" Street channel improvements, Needles,

California. Involves constructing 3,160 feet of concrete channel, and associated diversion structures. Purpose: to protect residential, commercial and public properties against floods and debris, March 30.

Rowlesburg Dam and Lake project, West Virginia. Dam will be on the Cheat River at Rowlesburg. Reservoir will have maximum pool of 7,175 acres (34 miles of the upper Cheat River, 400 villages and farm houses, including historic St. George, will be inundated. Purpose: flood control, hydroelectric power, low flow regulation, etc., March 30.

Klutina River flood control project: Copper Center, Alaska. Involves 4,400 feet of earthen levee, construction of an access road to a borrow pit, etc., April 1.

San Antonio Channel improvement project: San Antonio River and tributaries, Texas. Involves about 33 miles of channel rectification (excavation of 9 million cubic yards of material, paving open channels, construction of 5 railroad bridges and 100 new highway bridges, etc.) About 21 miles are complete or under construction, April 6.

Clayton Lake, Jackfork Creek, Oklahoma. Construction of an earthen dam and reservoir for flood control, water supply, recreation, etc. Capacity of reservoir is 11,300 acres. Archeological survey to be conducted as sites near project may contain historically significant artifacts, April 6.

Las Cruces local protection project, Las Cruces, New Mexico. Construction of Las Cruces Dam east of the city, diversion ditch between the Las Cruces and Alameda Arroyos, etc. Purpose: to provide flood protection for urban, suburban areas and adjacent agricultural lands, April 6.

Park River Conduit, Hartford, Connecticut. Expansion of present conduit system to enclose 3,716 feet of the river and a pumping station. Also planned is a junction structure, and a headwall on the North Branch. An auxiliary conduit 9,100 feet long is proposed to extend from the junction structure to the Connecticut River. A pumping station is also proposed. Purpose: flood control, water quality, etc., April 7.

Phillips Dam, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Part of a flood control plan for N. Nashua River Basin. Construction of dam (1,700 feet long, 48 feet high) and reservoir (surface area of 105 acres at peak) on Phillips Brook. Purpose: retention of flood waters in spring, April 7.

Skiatook Lake, Hominy Creek, Oklahoma. Involves construction of a rolled earthen dam about 3,590 feet long and 143 feet high, a reservoir and other facilities for flood control, water supply, water quality control, recreation, etc. About 20,000 acres of land will be involved. The lake will inundate about 26 miles of natural stream, April 7.

Dam and reservoir, Whitmanville Lake, North Nashua River Basin, Westminster, Massachusetts. Dam (1500 feet long) will be on the Whitman River. About ¼ mile of brook-type fishing and 75 acres of woods will be inundated. Purpose: flood control, industrial water supply, April 7.

San Leandro Creek flood control project, Alameda County, California. Construction of a trapezoidal earth channel and a rectangular concrete channel with rip rap transitional sections in between etc. Project about 2 miles long, from San Leandro Bay upstream to the Southern Pacific Co. railroad bridge. Purpose: to control flooding of this reclaimed marshland area, April 8.

Fowl River navigation project, Mobile Bay, Alabama. Dredging of 2.6 miles of channel from Ship Channel into and up Fowl River. 30 acres of marsh will be filled. Purpose: to allow unrestricted use by commercial and recreational boats, April 8.

Dog River navigation project, Mobile, Alabama. Dredging of an 8 by 150 foot channel from 3000 feet east of the Mobile Bay Ship Channel to and up Dog River (total distance of 26,200 feet). Also: 6 by 100 foot spur chan-

nels to the mouths of the Perch and Halls Mill Creeks. Overall length: 7.8 miles. Filling of 30 acres of high marsh will limit use by small animals and birds. Purpose: to permit full use of Dog River by commercial and recreational boats, April 8.

Navigation project for a small boat harbor on the Mississippi River at Pepin, Wisconsin. Involves an additional 434 foot long sand-filled breakwater, a 60 inch pipe culvert. Purpose: protection from wave damage and maintainable aeration facility, April 9.

Ipswich River, northeastern Massachusetts, navigation project. Involves dredging 6 foot deep channel 3 miles long, and construction of breakwater. Will be some destruction of shellfish habitat. Purpose: facilitate small boat navigation and provide mooring space, April 9.

Nookagee Dam, Westminster, Massachusetts project. Involves an earth-fill dam, 2,150 feet long and a reservoir that will cover 316 acres. Purpose: flood control, water quality improvement by low flow augmentation, etc., April 14.

Saxonville, Massachusetts, local flood control protection project. On the Sudbury River. Project involves 2,900 feet of earth dike, 750 feet of concrete floodwalls, straightening of 1200 feet of the river channel, etc., April 14.

Arkansas-Red River chloride control project, part I, Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas. Construction of 3 low-flow dams and 2 brine storage dams, other facilities for water quality control, etc. Purpose: to control brines entering Lake Kemp, so the water can be used for irrigation. 19,000 acres will be used, April 14.

North Nashua River channel improvement project, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Involves rehabilitation and reconstruction of 5 miles of walls, cribs and grouted rip-rap. Also involves about 2,600 feet of channel excavation and removal of obstructions and depositions, April 14.

Rockfish Creek flood control project, Duplin, Pender, Sampson counties, North Dakota. Project includes 5.7 miles of clearing and snagging and 20.7 miles of deepening and widening (some of this on Doctors Creek). Spoil will be placed on one or both banks. It will be shaped and seeded. Construction will result in loss of about 80% of the standing crop of fishes in the reaches to be excavated, April 15.

Flood protection project, Hogtown Creek, Gainesville, Florida. Construction of a levee, pumping station, gravity structure to remove interior runoff, etc. Purpose: to protect a residential area (levee will be 2.5 miles long), April 15.

Beach erosion project, Oak Bluffs Town Beach, Massachusetts. Consists of beach raising and widening and construction of a stone groin at the southern end. Purpose: to provide a greater beach area and protect it from erosion, April 15.

Bristol Harbor navigation project, Rhode Island. Consists of an offshore breakwater 1600 feet long. Purpose: to protect vessels and shore facilities from storms, April 15.

Hurricane protection project, Westerly, Rhode Island. Involves raising and widening 17,000 linear feet of beach, constructing a dike, erecting 3 long groins, dredging Winnapaug Pond, etc. Purpose: hurricane protection and correction of beach erosion problem, April 15.

Lagoon Pond navigation project, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Dredging a channel 100 feet wide and 8 feet deep and extending a stone jetty 200 feet. Purpose: to provide adequate access to a deep water mooring basin, April 15.

Navigation project, Red Brook Harbor, Bourne, Massachusetts. Involves dredging to make an entrance channel 6 feet deep, 100 feet wide. Purpose: to improve public navigation and mooring capacity of Red Brook Harbor, April 15.

Lapwai Creek, Culesac, Idaho. Stream channel shaping and construction of a levee. A rock quarry would be created in the process. Purpose: flood protection. April 20.

El Dorado Lake, Walnut River, Kansas. Construction of a 9,650 foot dam and conservation pool (that will inundate 8,000 acres of productive agricultural land). The greater prairie chicken (an endangered species) is found in the project area. Purpose: flood control, water supply, water quality control, recreation. April 21.

Wilson Harbor navigation project, New York. Involves dredging a 6-foot channel through Tuscarora Bay, and disposing of dredged materials on State Park land. When sufficiently dry, the dredged materials will be used for park purposes. Channel will enable recreation craft to use the Bay. April 22.

Local flood protection project for Jackson, Minnesota, on the west fork of the Des Moines River. Involves 1.4 miles of earthen levee, .1 mile of concrete floodwall, a 4.5 acre ponding area, etc. April 23.

Diked Disposal Area No. 2, Buffalo Harbor (Times Beach) New York. Project to complete stone dike enclosure to be used as a place to deposit polluted dredged materials from the harbor. Requires 46 acres. Dredged materials cause a mild "non-pungent" odor. Project area has been designated by law as a public park and recreation site. Statement implies that it will be eventually used for a park. April 23.

## Final

## Title, description, and date

West Tennessee Tributaries (Obion and Forked Deer Rivers) project. Construction has been underway since 1961. Work has been suspended pending determination of environmental impact. The Fish and Wildlife Service and the Tennessee Fish and Game Commission feel the amount of forest acreage recommended for acquisition in the mitigation report (2/3) is inadequate, March 31.

Rahway River New Jersey (East Branch), South Orange, New Jersey local flood control project. Construction of levees, flood walls, flume section, channel enlargement, one and a half miles of clearing and excavation, etc. Some trees over 100 years old would be removed. Construction will begin in September, 1971. No draft statement received, March 31.

Lahaina light-draft Harbor, Maui, Hawaii. Involves replacement of the existing harbor with a larger harbor 2000 feet to the northwest, construction of an entrance channel, access channel and turning area, off-shore breakwater, wave absorber, etc. Purpose: to accommodate 380 small craft (present harbor's capacity is 80). Lahaina is an historic whaling community. No draft statement received, April 14.

San Francisco Harbor Project—main ship channel (San Francisco Bay) California. First phase of San Francisco Bay to Stockton project. Four and a half miles will be dredged to a depth of 55-57 feet (present depth is 50 feet). Spoil would be deposited on the Bar south of the main ship channel. No draft statement received, April 14.

Falls Lake, Neuse River, North Carolina. Includes construction of an earthdam and a reservoir with a surface area of 12,490 acres (a lake about 20 miles long). Dam will be one mile above Falls. Purpose: flood protection, water supply, water quality control, etc. Land acquisition to begin in May, 1971. No draft statement received, April 15.

Trumbull Pond Lake, Trumbull, Connecticut. Includes concrete dam and storage reservoir (that will extend 2.5 miles up the Pequonnock River). Purpose: flood protection, municipal water supply, recreation, etc. An Indian relic site is located within the proposed reservoir area. Construction to begin in May, 1971. No draft statement received, April 15.

Wishart Point, Virginia, navigation project. Improvement along 2 mile reach of the bay. Involves dredging a channel 6 feet deep, 60 feet wide. About 4.2 acres of oyster grounds will be destroyed. Purpose: enhance recreational boating, spur crab harvest, provide harbor of refuge.

Blue Marsh Lake project, Tulpehocken Creek, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Includes dam 98 feet high, 1,775 feet long and creation of a lake with a surface area of 900 acres. Purpose: flood control, recreation, supply of industrial water and domestic water. Arsenic content of water a possible problem. No draft statement received.

Beach erosion control and navigation project, Atlantic coast of Long Island, Fire Island Inlet, and Shore Westerly to Jones Inlet, New York. Involves dredging clean sand and using it for beach replenishment, creation of a littoral reservoir with a capacity of 1,200,000 cubic yards, etc. Purpose: increased commercial fishing, better recreational opportunities, decreased vessel damage, prevention of damage to parkways and buildings, increased commerce, etc. No draft statement received.

Updating of summaries of coordination for projects included in the Rivers and Harbors Flood Control Acts of 1970. (final statements dated 11/16/70), April 19.

Views of interested state and federal agencies on the following projects are included: Blue River Basin, Missouri and Kansas.

Calcasieu River at Devil's Elbow, Louisiana.

Corpus Christi Beach, Texas.

Eastern Rapides and South Central Avoyelles Parishes, Louisiana.

Fort Chartres and Other Drainage Districts, Illinois.

Marion, Kansas.

Running Water Draw, Plainview, Texas.

Steel Bayou Basin, Mississippi.

Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, Alabama and Mississippi. Plans for a 253 mile long project in three sections: river, canal and divide. Construction will take at least 9 years. Raising of water surface level may waterlog some local areas near the project and will make some important paleontologic sites unavailable. 70,000 acres of forest or agricultural land would be committed to the project. About 170 miles of tributary streams and 140 miles of the Tombigbee River would lose their identity as free-flowing streams. The impact that the 175 deep foot cut through the divide (in northeast Mississippi) will have on the water table is discussed. Future commercial, residential and industrial development along the waterway would have an additional environmental impact. Purpose: to provide a more direct connecting waterway between the eastern Gulf Coast and much of mid-continental U.S., April 20.

Elizabeth River, New Jersey, flood control project. Involves construction of levees, flood walls and flume, channel deepening, widening and realignment, bridge construction, pump stations, etc. Along the river for about 4 miles from its mouth at the Arthur Kill. Adverse environmental effects will result from the disposal of dredged material on marshland or flatland, development of marshland, etc. Construction will begin in July, 1971. No draft statement received, April 20.

Flood control project, East Grand Forks, Minnesota. Involves raising and widening 7,600 linear feet of earth levees, 1,500 feet of concrete floodwall, three pumping stations, etc. 40-50 trees would be removed, an acre of park property would be altered. No draft statement received, April 21.

## DEPARTMENT OF NAVY

Contact: Charles III, Room 4C713, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20350, OX 7-9100.

## Draft

## Title, description, and date

Use of target-ship hulls in exercises at sea, over 50 nautical miles from the U.S. coast. Only conventional explosives are used in warheads. 10-15 hulls are sunk annually. Involves possible damage to marine life from petroleum residue products in some hulls. Purpose: to evaluate weapon systems effectiveness, April 5.

Land acquisition at the Naval Submarine Base, New London, Connecticut. Acquisition of 36 acres for safety zone around expanded ammunition storage site. Present land use (swamp, woods) will remain unchanged, April 22.

Construction of the Defense Office Building Complex, Washington, D.C. To be located on 114.67 acres of Bolling Air Force Base, and will provide office space for 10,000. Major impact will be a socio-economic one on southeast Washington, April 23.

Land acquisition for the Naval Security Group, Homestead, Florida. Purchase of 568 acres of swampland to be used as a buffer zone. Purpose: to prevent site degradation by industrial and commercial encroachment (facility is an electronics operation). No change in land use expected, April 23.

## DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Contact: Charles Orlebeke, Deputy Under Secretary, Washington, D.C. 20410, 755-8192.

## Draft

## Title, description, and date

Operation Breakthrough: attempts to demonstrate that many environmental problems can be solved by planning quality community environments. Another facet of this operation is an effort to accelerate the application of technological advances in building homes, etc. Will demonstrate advanced housing, total energy and solid waste disposal systems. Many environmental planning techniques are used on the sites. (Program is too complex to adequately outline here. Specific projects are not covered in detail in the statement), April 9.

## DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

Contact: Office of Information, Public Queries, 18th and C Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, 343-3172.

## Bureau of Reclamation

## Draft

## Title, description and date

San Juan-Chama project, Colorado-New Mexico. Collection and Diversion Unit (a participating project of the Colorado River Storage Project). 110,000 acre-feet of water will be diverted annually from the upper tributaries of the San Juan River. Three diversion dams will be built: on the Rio Blanco, Little Navajo, and Navajo Rivers. 27 miles of concrete-lined tunnels will be constructed. Nearly 6,000 acres of land that serves as a winter range for elk and deer will be inundated. Purpose: dependable water supply for Albuquerque and irrigation water for the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, etc., March 26.

Pecos River Basin water salvage project: New Mexico and Texas. Involves clearing saltcedars and other undesirable phreatophytes (they absorb a lot of water). Estimated acreage still to be cleared is 34,000. Clearing is done with chemical sprays and by mechanical means. A major concern is the disruption of nesting areas for the mourning dove. Construction began in 1966, is now about 60 percent complete, March 31.

Hungry Horse Project in seeding clouds (with silver iodide), western Montana. An operational adaptation research project. Location chosen because of Bonneville Power Administration's concern over inadequate water supplies in Hungry Horse Reservoir. Project began in 1966. So far only very mod-

est precipitation increases have been observed, April 2.

Monmouth-Dallas Division, Willamette River Project, Oregon. Involves: Johnson Hill Pumping Plant, 3 relief pumping plants, 34 miles of main channel, 60 miles of unlined canal and low-head pipe laterals, 76 miles of open ditch drains, etc. Purpose: to change present land use from production of dry land crops to higher value irrigated crops. 87,000 acre feet of the Willamette River will ultimately be diverted.

Navajo-Phoenix Transmission System, Navajo Project, Arizona. (Revised draft—first draft transmitted January 13, 1971.) Involves: design, construction and operation of two 500,000-volt transmission lines by the Arizona Public Service Co. The lines would link the Navajo project near Page with the Phoenix area, Arizona, by way of Moenkopi Switchyard near Cameron. Total length 250 miles. Between 43 percent and 52 percent of this project is on Federal land (excluding Indian land), April 9.

Mountain Park project, southwestern Oklahoma. Construction of dam and reservoir on Otter Creek, a diversion dam on Elk Creek, a 10.8 mile canal in between, an aqueduct system, etc. About 6,700 acres of wildlife habitat will be inundated. Purpose: provide water to Altus, Frederick, and Snyder. Also flood protection, etc., April 13.

Cosumes River Division, Central Valley Project, California. Comments on draft (transmitted 2/19/71) by Army, HEW, DOT, Regional Office of HUD, Cities and County of San Joaquin Advisory Planning Association. Also comments by USDA, April 15. Several agencies say more information is needed, April 22.

Navajo-Black Mesa Coal Haul Railroad, Navajo Project, Arizona. (Revised draft—first draft transmitted 1/13/71.) Railroad will haul coal to the Navajo Generating Station (about 5 miles east of Page) from Black Mesa lands, in Navajo County (jointly owned by the Navajo and Hopi tribes). Preferred route is 78 miles long. An electric railroad is planned, April 20.

Overland Ditch and Reservoir Company application for a loan and grant to replace an unstable dam on Cow Creek, Delta County, Colorado (this would enlarge the surface area of the reservoir from 220 to 370 acres); make minor improvements on Hubbard Creek Dam; and rehabilitate the 2 mile long Upper Overland Ditch, April 22.

Huntington Canyon generating station and transmission line. The Utah Power & Light Co. plans to build a coal-fired thermal-electric generating plant to be constructed at Huntington Canyon, Utah. The company will be provided with some of the water they need by the Emery Water Conservancy District. Statement includes description of proposed plant and nearby coal mine, the 365-mile Camp William-Four Corners transmission line and sketches the considerable impact this facility could have on the environment. (For example, company does not plan to choose SO<sub>2</sub> removal equipment in time to have it installed when first unit goes on line. Sulfur oxide can cause "early aging" in vegetation. A natural forest is just to the west of the plant site, April 23.

Garrison Diversion Unit, Missouri River Basin Project, eastern and north-central North Dakota. Features include Lonetree Reservoir, Audubon Lake (a subimpoundment of the Snake Creek arm of existing Lake Sakawea). Shallow alkaline lakes and marshes will be adversely affected. These areas provide habitat for migrating sandhill cranes and other birds. Construction begun in 1968 and expected to continue for 10 more years. Purpose: delivery of Missouri River water for irrigation of 250,000 acres, municipal and industrial water supply, to develop and enhance fish and wildlife values of the state, to restore the levels and quality of the Devils Lake chain, etc., April 23.

Loan and grant application by Yolo Coun-

ty, California, Flood Control and Water Conservation District. Comments on draft (2/24/71) by the Corps of Engineers, EPA, California State clearinghouse, the Resources Agency of California, April 26.

Comments on draft (2/12/71) on the Tehama-Colusa Canal of the Central Valley Project, California. Comments by USDA, Corps of Engineers, EPA, the County of Yolo, the Glenn County Board of Supervisors, April 26.

Brantley Project (a dam and reservoir) on the Pecos River in Eddy County about 20 miles upstream from Carlsbad, New Mexico. Surface area of reservoir would peak at 11,700 acres. Major Johnson Springs, an historic area, would be inundated. Purpose: replace irrigation storage being lost at McMillan Reservoir which is filling up with sediment, April 26.

Jordan Aqueduct, Bonneville Unit, Central Utah Project. Involves burying a precast concrete pipeline 20.8 miles long along west side of Salt Lake County, and rehabilitation of Provo Reservoir Canal (work scheduled to begin in 1974). Purpose: to deliver imported water from Provo River to Salt Lake County, April 29.

#### Bonneville Power Administration

##### Final

##### Title, description and date

Bonneville Power Administration's statement in their Fiscal Year 1972 proposed program. This hefty report covers the construction and maintenance aspects (mainly for high-voltage main-grid transmission facilities necessary to connect generation sources to major load centers in the Pacific Northwest. In 1972, plans include beginning construction on 141 miles of new lines and 8 substations, etc. Critical comments from agencies, departments and individuals are included. Many are concerned about open burning. No draft statement received, April 6,

##### Office of the Secretary

##### Final

##### Title, description, and date

Proposed legislation "to establish a national land use policy and authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to encourage and assist the States in the preparation and implementation of land use programs for the protection of areas of critical environmental concern and the control and direction of growth and development of more than local significance," etc., April 29.

#### DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Contact: Martin Convisser, Director, Office of Special Projects, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20590, 426-4357.

##### Draft

##### Title, description, and date

Airport project, Ryan Airport, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Runway extension, overlay and parallel and connecting taxiways. Purpose: to meet jet aircraft needs, March 29.

Airport project at Broken Bow, Nebraska. Acquisition of 42 acres in fee simple title, construction of runway extension and turnaround, etc. Purpose: to accommodate twin engine general aviation aircraft, March 31.

Airport project at Hastings, Nebraska. Involves acquisition of land, construction of a NE/SW runway and taxiway, etc. Purpose: to accommodate twin engine general aviation aircraft, March 31.

Airport project at Rexburg, Idaho. Comments on draft (3/2/71) by Corps of Engineers, March 31.

Comments by Interior, April 7.

Airport project at Colby, Kansas. Runway extension and improvements to accommodate larger planes, April 1.

Airport project at Pierre, South Dakota. Construction of runway and taxiway extensions, land acquisition, easements and grading for instrument landing system, etc., April 1.

Airport project at Livingston, Montana. Involves extension of runway, new lighting, etc., April 5.

Comments on draft by USDA, April 28.

Airport project at Lancaster, South Carolina. Expansion of runway, construction of taxiway and turn-around, April 5.

Airport project at Ortonville, Minnesota. Realignment, extension and resurfacing of NW/SE runway, etc. Purpose: to change air traffic pattern and to help community's economy, etc., April 5.

Airport project at Grand Canyon, Arizona. Comments on draft (3/25/71) by Albuquerque Regional Office of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, April 5.

Comments on draft by Geological Survey, April 13.

Airport project at Gettysburg, South Dakota. Runway extension and resurfacing, purchase of 7.6 acres of land, etc., April 6.

Airport project at Anaconda, Montana. Construction of a turf runway. Purpose: to provide a crosswind runway for small general aviation aircraft, April 6.

Comments on draft by USDA, April 28.

Airport project at Clearfield, Pennsylvania. Development of a privately-owned airport into a general aviation airport. Involves construction of a paved runway, apron and connecting taxiway, etc. Site is on an abandoned mine, April 6.

Airport project at Allentown, Pennsylvania. Involves extension and improvement of runways, taxiways, aprons, etc. Purpose: to assure continued use by major commercial airlines, April 6.

Airport project at Wahoo, Nebraska. Involves acquisition of land in fee simple title, paving NE/SW runway, turnaround and taxiway, etc. Purpose: to provide safer, all weather airport for general aviation traffic, April 6.

Airport project at Minot, North Dakota. Involves extension of runway, addition of high intensity lights, acquisition of 440 acres of land, etc. Purpose: to accommodate jets, April 6.

Airport project at Reedsville, Pennsylvania. Involves runway extension and widening. Purpose: to accommodate increasing number of larger corporate aircraft, April 6.

Airport project at Pickens, South Carolina. Construction of 1,600 ft. by 100 ft. extension of runway, etc., to accommodate small business and executive jets, April 6.

Airport project at Iowa Falls, Iowa. Involves land acquisition, runway and taxiway construction, etc. Purpose: to provide an adequate public airport for Itawamba County and Fulton, April 7.

Airport project at Iowa Falls, Iowa. Involves widening and extending the NW/SE and N/S runways, paving taxiways and aprons, etc. Purpose: to accommodate twin engine planes and to make it an all weather airport, April 7.

Airport project at Loa, Utah. Involves runway extension, acquisition of land for airport development and clear zone, etc., April 12.

Airport project at Tecumseh, Nebraska. Involves acquisition of land for a limited airport, including clear zones, NNW/SSE runway, etc., April 12.

Airport project at Albert Lea, Minnesota. Involves extension of existing N/S runway, construction of a new NE/SW runway and taxiways, lighting and installation of Visual Approach Slope Indicators, etc. Purpose: to accommodate corporate turbo-jet planes, April 12.

Airport project at Mankato, Minnesota. Involves construction of cross-runway, taxiways, lighting, etc., April 13.

Airport project at Dothan, Alabama. Construction of runway extension, supporting taxiways, lighting system. Purpose: to permit full load usage of DC9-31 planes, C141 to land in dry weather and T-1A planes to land in all weather, April 16.

Airport project at El Dorado, *Arkansas*. Runway and parking ramp extension. Purpose: to accommodate jet aircraft, April 16.

Airport project at Williamston, *North Dakota*. Runway extension and widening, etc. Purpose: to accommodate industry-owned planes, April 16.

Airport project at Goldsboro, *North Carolina*. Expansion of parking apron, construction of taxiways, installation of Visual Approach Slope Indicator System, etc., April 16.

Airport project, Ogden, *Utah*. Construction of runway extension and lighting, parallel taxiway, etc., April 20.

Airport project, Mosinee, *Wisconsin*. Involves construction of parallel taxiway, cross-runway, runway extension, at Central Wisconsin Airport. One farmer is concerned about the effects of noise on the milk production of his dairy cattle, April 21.

Airport project at Henryetta, *Oklahoma*. Involves runway and lighting extension, construction of taxiways, etc., April 23.

Airport project at Chesterfield, *Virginia*. Development of a general utility-type airport with a 3,700 ft. paved runway to accommodate single engine and light twin engine aircraft. (Ultimately will be expanded to accommodate business jets, etc.), April 27.

Airport project at Sidney, *New York*. Involves land acquisition, construction of runway, taxiway, apron, parking area, perimeter fencing, installation of medium intensity lights, etc. Will allow business jets to land, April 27.

Airport project at Mt. Pleasant, *Tennessee*. Involves runway and apron extension, installation of lighting, etc. Purpose: to accommodate corporate jets, April 27.

Airport project at New Holstein, *Wisconsin*. Runway extension and overlay with bituminous concrete, etc. Slightly larger planes will be able to use the airport, April 29.

#### Final

#### Title, description, and date

Airport project, Walker Field, Grand Junction, *Colorado*. Runway extension, installation of high intensity lights, taxiway extension, etc. Purpose: to remove most weight restrictions and allow additional types of planes to use the field. Noise levels will increase, but no dwelling structures are in the area, March 29.

Great Falls International Airport project, *Montana*. Involves runway extension and reconstruction, acquisition of 30 acres for clear zone, etc. Purpose: to increase safety, to move air traffic under instrument landing conditions farther away from populated areas, etc., April 6.

Reidsville Airport project, Reidsville, *Georgia*. Construction of a general aviation airport involving land acquisition, a runway, stub taxiway, apron, April 6.

Airport project at Alma, *Georgia*. Involves expansion of runway and pavement overlay. Purpose: to accommodate executive jets, April 6.

Fostoria Metropolitan Airport project, *Ohio*. Construction of a new airport consisting of a paved runway, taxiway, apron, access road, etc., April 6.

Memphis International Airport project, Memphis, *Tennessee*. Runway and taxiway expansion. Purpose: to permit airplanes flying non-stop from Memphis to Los Angeles to carry a maximum load of passengers and cargo in 90° temperature, April 7.

Ogallala Airport project, *Nebraska*. Construction of a new airport involves acquisition of 285 acres, paving runway, taxiway, etc., April 8.

Airport project, Loup City Municipal Airport, *Nebraska*. Development of a new airport at site that includes present facility. Involves acquisition of land for development and clear zones, construction of NW/SE runway, taxiway, etc., April 20.

Kent County Airport, Grand Rapids, *Michigan*. Involves building a 1000 ft. by 100 ft.

runway extension and parallel taxiway, additional high-intensity lights, etc., April 20.

Russell Field Airport project, Rome, *Georgia*. Runway extension to enable corporate jets to have greater margin of safety, April 20.

#### Federal Highway Administration

#### Draft

#### Title, description, and date

Route 60: Butler-Stoddard Counties, *Missouri*. From Poplar Bluff urban limits to Route 51 east of Flisk and Route 67 east to Route T. Project's purpose is to locate Route 60 to relieve congestion, upgrade it to a dual lane limited access facility. Project F-60-4(13), March 21.

US-76: widening of highway to make it a 4 lane facility. Begins at S-83 in Timmons-ville, *South Carolina* and ends at Jefferies Creek near Florence. Length of project is about 8 miles, March 26.

Route C(106): construction of a bridge over Current River in Shannon County, *Missouri*. Also construction of bridge approach fills above flood stage. Present traffic uses toll ferry. Documentation required under Section 4(f) submitted to DOT on 2/11/71 because National Park Service land and Missouri Conservation land is needed for right-of-way. Project RS-726(2), March 29.

US-280: upgrading and realigning road between Opelika and Phenix, *Alabama*. Length of project is about 2 miles. Some controversy over which alternative for the route should be chosen. Federal Project No. 422( ), March 29.

New secondary road. Sac County, *Iowa*. Grading, draining and temporary granular surfacing from Lake View north for 4.5 miles. Would require 1.03 acres of Tomahawk Marsh. Purpose: to eventually provide direct connection between Lake View, Blackhawk Lake State Park and US-20. Federal project S-1706. County project K-4S-71, March 29.

I-295: Henrico and Hanover Counties, *Virginia*. From I-95 south of Richmond to Route I-64 west of Richmond (about 37 miles). Route crosses Hoke-Brady Battlefield Park and a mill race. Explanation of 4(f) action is including. Purpose: part of circumferential by-pass of Richmond. Projects I-295-3(2), I-295-3(1), I-295-3(3), March 29.

Federal Aid Secondary Route No. 3704: Jefferson County, *Alabama*. Construction of a 490 foot bridge across Locust Fork of the Warrior River. Purpose: replacement of dilapidated bridge, March 30.

I-40 (Ashfork-Flagstaff Highway): Coconino County, *Arizona*. Construction work on Supal Section in Kaibab National Forest between Pine Springs and Williams. Involves relocation and paving, grading and drains, building game fences, setting up water collecting system. Purpose: to remove a water producing well for median area, etc. Project I-40-3(19), March 30.

Route 1: San Luis Obispo County, between Baywood Park undercrossing and Route 101, *California*. Construction of 7.9 miles of freeway on new alignment (most of project will consist of conversion of existing expressway to freeway). Construction planned for 1976. Project SLO-1-101-P.M. 16.4/27.9, March 30.

State Highway 55 extension: Boise metropolitan area, *Idaho*. Construction of 6.5 miles of highway on new location from Overland Road north to Beacon Light Road. Federal project F-3271(16), March 30.

Correction to Highway Location Study Report. Idaho State Highway 55 extension: Ada County, *Idaho*. One possible corridor goes from S.H. 55's junction with Beacon Light Road southerly to a new interchange on I-80N, then southerly to Overland Road. Another follows existing S.H. 55. Project F-3271(b), April 15.

Freeway 518 and Iowa 1, Johnson County, *Iowa*. Freeway 518 from south of proposed interchange with US-218 (2 miles south of

Iowa City) to the I-80 and I-380 interchange. Iowa 1: from west of County Road W-62 to Orchard St. Project is a bypass southwest of Iowa City, Projects F-518-4, F-1-4, March 30.

US-67: reconstruction of highway between junctions with 37th Avenue N. in Clinton, *Iowa* and County Road E-50 (distance of about 6.3 miles). A 4(f) determination is attached because project requires about 10 acres of Eagle Point Park. The Secretary of HUD has not given approval for transfer of this land to other use. Such approval is required for land purchased under the Open Spaces Program. Project F-67-2, March 30.

Route B: Cole County, *Missouri*. From Ellis Blvd. in Jefferson City to Wardsville. On new location, about 4 miles in length, controlled access. Present Route B will be retained. Project CO26-B(2), March 30.

US-169: construction of freeway on new alignment from Owasso to Collinsville, *Oklahoma*. State project F-267, March 30.

Connecting road between S.R. 170 and US-278, Beaufort County, *South Carolina*. Construction of new road on new right of way (will cross 1 mile of marsh land). Also involves construction of 3 bridges, etc. Total length of project is 7 miles, March 30.

South Carolina Route 11 Extension: construction of about 20 miles of highway on a new location from S.C. Route 28 at West Union, *South Carolina* to I-85 near Fair Play. Purpose: to provide a scenic route through Oconee County as well as provide a primary access route from I-85 to completed portion of S.C. Route 11. Project APL-5007(001), March 30.

US-321: widening road (4-lane) from I-20 to point near Crane Creek Elementary School. Length of project 2.7 miles. Richland County, *South Carolina*, March 30.

I-85 to US-123 Connector: Anderson and Pickens County, *South Carolina*. Construction of a new, two lane road (distance of about 6 miles). Plans include the acquisition of a large enough right of way for an eventual expansion to 4-lanes. March 30.

8052: Tipton County, *Tennessee*. Widening, resurfacing, etc. of 11.35 miles from S.R. 54 near Covington to the Haywood County line. FA Project S-8-52 (14), March 30.

US-287: Hardeman County, *Texas*. Construction of 2 additional lanes from the Childress county line, southeast to a mile west of Acme (a distance of 10.7 miles). Texas F 533, March 30.

Chippewa River Bridge, Rusk County, *Wisconsin*. Replacement of existing bridge and approaches with a new structure at a location approximately 2,300 feet to the east. Project 8798-0-00, March 30.

Ocala National Forest Road 23: Marion and Putnam Counties, *Florida*. Length not stated, but appears on the map to be roughly 20 miles. Purpose: to give paved access to northern part of the forest for hunting, fishing, camping, timber removal, etc. It is estimated that an annual average of 2 million board feet will be removed via F.H. 23. Project FH 23-1(1), State jobs 36519-1601, 76502-1601, March 31.

Loop 256: from State Highway 155, north of Palestine, west and south to US-79. Anderson County, *Texas*. Construction on new location of an ultimate 4-lane highway. On map provided, project looks to be a little over 1 mile in length. Purpose: bypass of Palestine. Texas S 2479, March 31.

Talladega Scenic Drive: Cleburne County, *Alabama*. Construction of 2-lane road southward for 2.6 miles from where last section ends. New road will be south of present S.H. 49. Project will enter eastern boundary of Cheaha State Park. Purpose: to serve local area, Cheaha State Park and provide access to planned Forest Service recreation areas. Project APL-1278(001), April 1.

North Spokane Freeway: construction of a freeway on the Nevada-Helena Corridor. Spokane, *Washington*. Begins at I-90 continuing to State Routes 2 and 395 near the

Little Spokane River. Length of project about 10 miles. About 610 families must be relocated, April 1.

US-231: widening, realigning, and grading of 3.2 miles of highway in Troy, Alabama. Part of over-all project to improve highway between Dothan and Montgomery. Project F-219(6), April 1.

I-59: construction of a rest area and welcome station on south bound lane just south of the Georgia State Line. DeKalb County, Alabama. Project I-59-2(24), April 1.

Eastern Bypass and US-80: Montgomery County, Alabama. Construction of a diamond interchange, relocation of existing frontage roads along Eastern by-pass. Federal project F-352(5), April 1.

I-65: Jefferson County, Alabama. From near the North Birmingham Golf Course to a point near 5-Mile Creek. Projects I-65-2(22), I-65-3(51), April 1.

Springerville-Clifton Highway (Sycamore Gulch-Silver Creek Section). Also known as Duncan-Alpine Highway (US-666) "Coronado Train". Present US-666 is being displaced by expansion of the Morence open pit mine. Involves construction of 1.93 miles of 34 ft. wide roadway. Arizona. Federal project F-051-2(2), April 1.

East First Street Extension: 1.57 miles of realignment and upgrading, partly on new location. From intersection of S.R. 53 and Ross to Church St. Rome, Georgia. Project SU-1778(1), April 1.

Northern Parkway: Baltimore, Maryland. Bellona Avenue to the Alameda. Requires 1.1 acres from Chanquapin Park. Will be replaced with 1.9 acres in immediate vicinity. Project US-1022(19)-BC-244-10-815, April 1.

S.R. 57: between S-10 and US-90 in Jackson County, Mississippi. Upgrading of existing route from 2 to 4 lanes. Project S-0119(12) A, April 1.

South Carolina Route 56 at Spartanburg. Multilane widening from east Main St. Southeasterly to Secondary System Road S-88. (About 4.3 miles.), April 1.

S.R. 3: construction of a new by-pass east of Dyersburg, Tennessee. Location of this route will also influence future location of I-555 and S.R. 20. Project F-003-4( ), State project 23004-0205-04, April 1.

S.R. 34: widening of route on south side between point near Thompson Creek and Jaybird Road. Hamblen County, Tennessee. Length of project approximately 1 mile. FA project F-034-1(37), April 1.

Alabama S.R. 50: Lafayette, Alabama. Construction of 2.13 miles of highway from 500 ft. west of US-431 south of Lafayette to Alabama Highway 50, .06 mile east of eastern city limits. Project S-263-B, April 2.

Route 65: Taney County, Missouri, Boone County Arkansas. Involves improving alignment and surface of existing road from Route 165 8.6 miles to the Arkansas line (includes 2000 feet of construction in Arkansas). Missouri project F-6501(16), April 2.

Route 61: Lincoln County, Missouri. Widening 8.5 miles of the present road (from 2 to 4 lanes) between Bowling Green and Troy, April 2.

Route 61-54: Pike County, Missouri. Involves upgrading 8.1 miles of road to dual lane, controlled access, facility. From north of Bowling Green to south of Bowling Green. Purpose: relieve congestion, provide for future traffic. Project CO82-61(6), April 2.

Route BB: Rolla, Missouri. From 10th St.-Elm St. to Iowa St. Will connect 10th St. over the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad. Purpose: to give Route BB traffic a continuous direct route to Route 63. Missouri project US-USG-1176(4), April 2.

State Route 151: Harrison County, Ohio. Construction of 2-lanes from junction of S.R. 212 and S.R. 152, to 0.9 mile east of Scio (a distance of 7.5 miles). Purpose: replace present road that cars cannot safely exceed 35 mph on. Ohio project S-780(8), April 2.

US-176: Spartanburg County, South Carolina. Widening about 5 miles (from 2 to 4 lanes) from Spartanburg to Paolet, April 2.

Secondary Route 6371: Rutherford County, Tennessee. Upgrading 2.5 miles from Sulpher Spring Rd. to S.R. 10. Last segment of route to be upgraded. Will provide direct access between US-41 and US 231, and will open large section of the county for industrial and residential development. Federal project S-6371(2) State project 75-78-1301-03, April 2.

US-377: Denton, Texas. Re-routing of about a mile from existing US-377 north along Carroll Street to Hickory Street. Purpose: efficient, rapid traffic flow, April 2.

State Route 291: Campbell County, Virginia (west of Lynchburg). Also known as Northwest Expressway. Construction of 4-lane divided highway on new location from junction of Routes 297 and 126 north to Route 460. Purpose: relieve congestion on present 2-lane facility, etc. Federal project F-038-1(6). State projects 0291-015-102, PE-101, RW-201, C-501, April 2.

I-90: Involves widening of existing highway (construction of 6 new lanes from S.R. 5 to West Shore of Mercer Island, Seattle, Washington). Also involves building a tunnel through Mt. Baker Ridge and a floating bridge. Project I-90-1, April 5.

Washington Avenue extension: Jonesboro, Arkansas. Construction of a route from Jonesboro to US-63 By-Pass. Federal project S-1262(1), Job C-16-11, April 5.

Interstate H-2: West side of Pearl City, Oahu, Hawaii. Construction of 4.4 miles of highway from Waihole Ditch to Waikakalaua Gulch. Will be parallel and supplementary to existing Kamehameha Highway. Purpose: fast, safe transportation and reduction in travel time between defense installations, April 5.

I-459: Pump House road interchange with US-280. Jefferson County, Alabama. Construction of multi-lane limited access highway from I-59 south of Bessemer (near 5-mile Creek) to a northeasterly point south of US-11. Pump House Road will be widened to 4 lanes along its present alignment. Four private lakes will be affected. Project I-459-4(11), S-3712(103), April 6.

I-40: (Kingman-Ashfork Highway) Yavapai County, Arizona. Three projects, covering a total distance of 16.79 miles, are involved: Mohave County Line-East, Juniper Mountain section and Juniper Mountain-Chino sections. Project will reduce grazing for cattle and wildlife. Purpose: rapid movement of national, state, and local traffic, etc. Arizona project I-40-2(53), (56), (59), April 6.

I-40: Navajo County, Arizona. Route to bypass city of Winslow on the north. Will alleviate congested condition. Project is 8.4 miles in length. Project I-40-4(60) Unit I, I-40-4(61), Unit II and I-40-4(81) Unit III, April 6.

State Highway Route 169: Yavapai County, Arizona. Upgrading, realignment from Dewey to I-17. Two segments of the Prescott-Camp Verde Corridor are included: the Yarber Wash-Hackberry Wash section, and the Hackberry Wash to I-17 section. About 10 miles of construction are involved. Projects S-447-504, S-447-503, April 6.

State Highway Route 260: Clay Springs and Pinedale section, Navajo County, Arizona. These two projects lie about halfway between Heber and Show Low and comprise a total distance of 10.87 miles. Alignment will be improved, etc. Projects F-053-2(9), F-053-2(10), April 6.

US-67: White County, Arkansas. Construction of US-167 on new location from south end of present Search Bypass to junction with existing US-67-167 north of Bald Knob. (Length not stated, but map indicates preferred route involves about 12 miles of 4-lane highway). Federal projects F-021-3(15), F-021-3(24). Jobs 5562 and 5619, April 6.

K-10: Douglas and Johnson Counties, Kansas. Upgrading of 12 miles of highway to 4-lane freeway, to relieve present congestion. Projects 10-23 F-078-6(18), 10-46 F-078-6(19), April 6.

Kentucky Route 54: Parrish Ave., Owensboro, Kentucky. Widening existing road from 2 to 4 lanes between the Owensboro Interchange Limits and Bosley Rd. (1.05 miles), April 6.

SA-1: Lyndon, Vermont. Slight realignment to provide safe intersection with US-5. Involves rerouting of vehicular traffic around covered bridge to be retained for pedestrians. Project S 0245 ( ) SA & SAB 7101, April 6.

State Highway Route 64: (Williams-Grand Canyon-Cameron Highway (Dead Indian Canyon Section) Coconino County, Arizona. New alignment of 2 miles as part of facility providing access to the south rim of the Grand Canyon from the east. Some scarring of natural landscape will occur. Project FLH-033-1(2), April 7.

Route 13: Polk and Greene Counties, Missouri. From Bolivar to Springfield. Purpose: to provide dual lane limited access facility for Route 13 (present road is 2 lanes). Missouri projects F-13-2(8), (9), (10), (11), (12) and U-13-2(13), April 7.

Route 54: Miller County, Missouri. Upgrading of present road to dual lane limited access facility from one mile west of Route FF to Cole County. Project F-54-3(22), April 7.

US-50: relocation of about 10 miles to provide high type limited access facility, connecting I-275 with Columbia Parkway and the proposed Red Bank Connector Expressway. Hamilton and Clermont Counties, Ohio. HAM-US-50-29.63/31.10 (unprogrammed). HAM-US-50-32.10/0.00 (unprogrammed), April 7.

South Carolina Route 9: 4-lane widening of 24 miles of highway between S.C. 265 near Ruby, and Bennettsville. On Market Street in Cheraw the grassy plots between the street and sidewalks would be used. South Carolina projects F-094-2, U-035-3(50), F-094-3, April 7.

Southeastern Beltway. Richland and Lexington Counties, South Carolina. Proposed multi-lane freeway from I-26 (just south of US-321) to an interchange with S.C. Route 555 (about 19 miles). Purpose: a circumferential freeway around the Columbia area. Impact: about 157 residences would have to be removed (2/3 are mobile homes) and about 40 businesses. May be property value depreciation in some middle and upper middle class neighborhoods. Project U-045-1, April 7.

Secondary Route 4306: Hamilton County, Tennessee. Upgrading of 1.23 miles of highway from Austin Road in Hixton to Middle Valley Road. Purpose: alleviate dangerous railroad overhead and bridge. Federal project SU-4306(7). State project 33055-1305-03, April 7.

Secondary Route 4340: Hamilton County, Tennessee. Reconstruction from Hixon Pike to the new Sequoyan stream plant access road (about 2.3 miles north of New Salem). Federal project S-4340(1). State project 33064-1303-03, April 7.

Secondary Route 2624: Roane County, Tennessee. Construction of 1.22 miles of highway from 1 mile east of Post Oak to S.R. 61. Federal project S-2624(1). State project 73-068-032-03, April 7.

Secondary Route 4343: Hamilton County, Tennessee. Improving and straightening 1.2 miles from FAS 4427 at Ooltewah-Ringgold Rd. to Collegedale, April 7.

I-80: (Cheyenne-Archer portion) Laramie County, Wyoming. Construction of about 7.5 miles of highway. Rerouting of Bureau of Reclamation power lines is still open to suggestion. Project I-80-6(3), April 7.

US-31: Widening, etc., of .66 mile. Project is located where US-31 intersects with Federal Road. Purpose: to eliminate hazardous

intersection. Lowndes County, Alabama, April 8.

S.R. 49: Tallapoosa County, Alabama. Construction of a rural type 2-lane facility. Length of project 1.72 miles. Involves relocation of section over the Central of Georgia Railroad, S-6203 ( ), April 8.

U.S.-98: Upgrading and widening highway. Begins in Mobile, Alabama and continues for 5.29 miles in the direction of Natchez, Mississippi. Project F-210 ( ), April 8.

U.S.-89: (Hickenburg-Prescott Highway). Proposed corridor relocation and improvement between Congress and Yarnell, Arizona. Length of project 4.5 miles. Projects F-025-1(9), Unit 1, F-025-1(10) Unit 11, April 8.

Boring Road Section, Mt. Hood Highway, Oregon. Proposal to build a freeway type interchange and grade separation structure over Mt. Hood Highway to improve safety, April 8.

Delaware Expressway (L.R. 1000, Section B), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Plans for a 6-8-lane divided highway from Queen Street in a northerly direction 2.15 miles to Frankford Avenue. One hundred and thirty businesses and thirty residences must still be relocated. Project 1-1000-4-006-065, April 8.

S-2216: Replacement of existing county road with an all-weather paved road. Elbert County, Georgia. Federal Aid Highway Project S-2216(2). April 8.

I-70: Reconstruction of a 40-mile section between intersection with I-79 and the Pennsylvania Turnpike, Washington and Westmoreland Counties, Pennsylvania. Involves widening to accommodate 4 directional lanes with a wide median and berms, upgrading, interchanges, etc., April 8.

Innerbelt Freeway: Would connect James Island with North Charleston, South Carolina. Construction of 18 miles of multi-lane freeway. It would encroach on some marshland. Homeowners have objected to some alternative routes that would divide their communities. Letters of protest about other possible routes have also been received, April 8.

US-76: Widening from 2 to 4 lanes between Marion and Mullins, South Carolina (about 8.6 miles), April 8.

Road S-145: (Burtons Lane) Upgrading .3 mile of road in northern section of the Charleston Peninsula, South Carolina, April 8.

State Routes 8 and 111: Sequatchie County, Tennessee. Upgrading of highway (better alignment, etc.) from 2.5 miles south of Cagle to the Van Boren County line (a distance of 7.77 miles). Federal projects APD-067-1( ), APD-10-1( ). State projects 77002-0219-64, 77005-0204-64, April 8.

State Route III, White County, Tennessee. Project is a north-south bypass, 3.4 miles in length of Sparta. It will be a 4-lane divided highway. Federal project APD-100-1(1). State project 93052-1201-04, April 8.

State Route 61: Anderson County, Tennessee. Upgrading, realignment of 4.7 miles of existing S.R. 61, from 1000 feet northeast of Clinch River Bridge, northeasterly to S.R. 71. Purpose: safety, efficiency, improved access to state parks. Federal project F-079-1, April 8.

US-67: From 1 mile north of Midlothian to Dallas County line, Texas. Length—3.2 miles. Continuation of an existing multilane facility, April 8.

US-302: (The Barre-Montpelier Expressway) Berlin and Montpelier, Vermont. Construction of about .7 mile of 4-lane divided highway. Involves relocation of 1600 feet of the Winooski River. Project U 026-1(10), April 8.

International Airport Road, Anchorage, Alaska. Plans for a 4-lane divided facility from the airport terminal easterly for 2.4 miles. Project F-042-1(32), April 9.

US-80 to Junction I-10 Section of the Gila Bend-Buckeye Highway, Maricopa County, Arizona. Construction of two 38 foot divided roadways to serve as a connecting link between Buckeye, Arizona, and I-10. Length of

these two combined projects is about 4.3 miles. Projects F-FG-023-1(2) and F-023-1(3), April 9.

North Platte Valley freeway corridor study. Wyoming state line to Broadwater. Sioux, Scotts, Bluff, Banner and Morrill counties, Nebraska (about 75 miles). This project represents one of 11 study route alternates. Nebraska Project F-300(15), April 9.

US-69: from Armstrong in Bryan County, northeasterly 27.2 miles to Atoka in Atoka County, Oklahoma. Involves relocation and development to freeway standards. Project requires 14 acres from the Durant Fish Hatchery. A 4(F) determination is attached. Highway will provide good access to the hatchery. Oklahoma project F-219, April 9.

Secondary Route 2591, Knox County, Tennessee. Construction of about 2 miles of proposed John Sevier Parkway from S-2591 near Neubert Springs Road to S.R. 71, April 9.

State Route 8: Hamilton and Sequatchie Counties, Tennessee. Improving alignment from 1 mile south of Sequatchie County line to S.R. 28 south of Dunlap. Purpose: improve safety, travel time, promote industrial and recreational growth. Federal project ADP-028-1( ). State projects 3301-0203-64 and 77001-0212-64, April 9.

S.R. 668: expansion and upgrading of highway from intersection of Secondary Route 633 near Hurt, Virginia to intersection of Secondary Route 640 near Grit. Project S-387 ( ), April 9.

State Route 6: Goochland County, Virginia. Widening of 5.6 miles of present road from 2 to 4 lanes. From the Henrico-Goochland County line west. Project S-528( ). State Proj. 0006-037-108, PE-101, RW-201, G-501, April 9.

US-13: Safety improvements (eliminating some median cross-overs, adding deceleration and acceleration lanes, etc.) from Delaware 10 to Coopers Corner, Kent County, Delaware. Project F-106(18), April 12.

Delaware Route 4: (Newark Beltway) Construction of 7.7 miles of multi-lane highway from Ogetown to New London Road. New Castle County, April 12.

Kentucky 17 and 467: Bridges and approaches at Grassy Creek (Pendleton County). Replacement of temporary bridges that are unusable during high water, April 12.

US-31: relocation from the Indiana-Michigan state line to north of Niles, Michigan, April 12.

Route M: Iron County, Missouri. Construction of 4.3 miles of highway (2 miles over an existing country road) from the stub end of Route M west to Route 4, April 12.

Ky-80: (Somerset-London Road) Construction of a multi-lane highway, including river crossing from Stab to point on river 2 miles downstream of existing Rockcastle River Bridge, Pulaski County, Kentucky. Purpose: to replace a segment with an unusually high accident rate. Project AP 100-95-61, APD 195(24), April 12.

I-670: Kansas City, Missouri. Construction of 0.9 mile of 6-lane freeway, mainly elevated, from intersection of I-29 and 35, to I-670 in Kansas. Will require 1.1 acres of West Terrace Park, April 12.

Loop 375: from I-10 to US-62-180. El Paso County, Texas. Involves construction of 7.3 miles of highway across desert terrain. Texas S 615, April 12.

I-65: Mobile-Baldwin Counties, Alabama. Projects I-65-1 (84) (85) (87). The last gap to be closed in I-65 between Alabaster and Mobile. Route will bridge many rivers, lakes, and streams in an area with much wildlife. It will provide bypass of Bay Minette. Project begins near US-43 (at end of construction on project 1-65-1(56) and goes to Project I-65-1(55) near Alabama 225, April 13.

S.R. 101: (Evergreen Parkway) Construction of 4-lane parkway from existing S.R. 101 northerly to Evergreen State College, Washington. Length of project 1.92 miles. Project FAS-1069, April 13.

Jefferson Freeway (Jefferson County, Kentucky), F 552 (8), SP 56-468-16L10. This short freeway segment will run from 3500 feet south of Louisville-LaGrange Road to 1123 feet south of Westport Road. Recommended location would divide Winchester Acres subdivision, April 13.

Topics Street 11: in Laredo on Washington St. between Santa Rita Ave. and Pinder Ave., Texas. Construction of a railroad overpass and approaches to serve as entrance to the old Fort McIntosh area. Length: 0.3 mile. Texas: T-T6 9012(2), April 13.

FAP Primary Route 24: Nansemond County and city of Chesapeake, Virginia. Widening existing section to six lanes. Project extends 2.962 miles west and 1.637 miles east of the West Corporate Limits of Chesapeake. Project runs through Dismal Swamps (one of largest swamp lands on east coast). Virginia projects F-024-3 ( ) and U-131-1 ( ), April 13.

Hood Canal Bridge Viewpoint, near Port Gamble, Kitsap County, Washington. Construction of access road connecting to S.R. 3, parking areas, rest room building, viewpoint platform. Site is bordered by State Routes 104 and 3. Project F-011-1. April 13.

S.R. 8: Construction of a rest area on the westbound lane identical to rest area on eastbound lane. Grays Harbor County, Washington. Project F-010-1. April 13.

S.R. 97: (Lincoln Rock Viewpoint), Chelan County, Washington. Construction of two-lane roadway, left turn channelization on S.R. 97, etc. Purpose: to provide safer access to Swakane Canyon Rd. and to provide a point from which to view Lincoln Rock. Project F-029-1. April 13.

S.R. 20: Reconstruction of 3.22 miles of 2-lane roadway, etc. from S.R. 153 to Beaver Creek. Okanogan County, Washington. Project F-052-3. April 13.

STH-69: (Illinois State Line-Monroe Road) Reconstruction of 5.6 miles of road between Wisconsin-Illinois state line and Monroe, Wisconsin. Involves relocation of 1.2 miles. Project requires 156 acres of agricultural land. Project F 032-1(21), April 13.

USH 151: (Fond du Lac-Peebles Road) Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin. Reconstruction of USH 151 for 4 miles between Fond du Lac and Peebles. Purpose: reduce accidents, etc. Wisconsin Project T 035-2(16), April 13.

Kodiak Naval Air Station Highway Improvement, Alaska. Construction of 9.5 miles of two 12-foot lanes, all within the Naval Station. Purpose: to provide safe, efficient travel from Kodiak to the commercial air terminal on the Naval Station. Projects S-0391(4) and F-011-1(9), April 14.

US-80: Construction and surfacing of new roadway parallel to and 50 feet north of existing highway connecting Douglas and Bisbee, Arizona (about 8.5 miles). Purpose: to handle traffic between Cochise College, the Phelps Dodge smelter plant and Douglas. Federal project F-016-1(17) Unit I, F-016-1(18) Unit II Cochise Junior College-Douglas, F-106-1(19), April 14.

US-666/180: Proposed corridor relocation and improvement of 8.21 miles (Nietrosio-Alpine section in Apache County, Arizona. Road will be widened 12 feet, etc. Arizona project F-051-2(9) Unit 1 & (12) Unit II, April 14.

Pomona Freeway: Proposed widening from Mednik Ave. to 0.2 mile east of Rosemead Blvd., Los Angeles County, California. Project will provide 5 to 6 lanes in both directions, April 14.

U 280: (Davison Freeway), Highland Park, Michigan. Expansion and replacement of 1.3 mile length between the Lodge-Davison Interchange to the Chrysler-Davison Interchange, April 14.

US-49: construction of 25 miles of 4-lane highway from Jackson, Mississippi to 2 miles north of Benton. With exception of the location of road through Flora and Benton,

the existing two lane road will be used. Projects SP-0008-3(8), SP-0008-3(9), and SP-0008-4(7), April 14.

I-280: construction of highway from east end of Stichel Bridge in Harrison, to Route I-95 in Kearny, *New Jersey* (2.3 miles), April 14.

S.R. 14: realignment and upgrading of highway from a point 8 miles south of Tijeras, *New Mexico* to a point 4 miles south. Seventy percent of land adjacent to the project lies within Cibola National Forest. Project S-1500(11), April 14.

US-277 and US-240: Eagle Pass, *Texas*. Relocation of these routes through the city, to handle more traffic. *Texas* S 752, April 14.

S.R. 28: construction of 2600 feet of 2-lane frontage road on both sides of S.R. 28 from Grant Road in East Wenatchee and running southerly. *Washington*. *Washington* F-030-1, April 14.

Bagdad-Hillside Highway, Yavapai County, *Arizona*. Realignment and widening of the section designated as Bagdad-Junction S.R. 97. Length of project approximately 4 miles. Project S-370-501, April 15.

S.R. 95 to Blaine Avenue SR-US-30S to Blaine Avenue. West side of Marion, *Ohio*. Replacement of 2-way roads with multiple lane highway and separation of major railroad crossings. Between 99 and 134 residences will be taken. MAR-95-11.54. MAR-30S-15.22, MAR-30S-15.82, April 15.

S.H. Loop 9: Dallas County, *Texas*. Construction of 22.9 miles of controlled access highway from I.H. 20 north to Denton Tap Road. Purpose: to handle anticipated traffic between Dallas and Fort Worth. Eighty-four families, 2 businesses and a church will be displaced, April 15.

I-90: Kittitas County, *Washington*. Improvement of 5.25 miles from top of Easton Hill to point just east of Easton. Involves construction of additional lanes (some of new alignment), interchanges and frontage roads, additional on and off ramps, etc. Attached is 4(F) report as project (West Easton Interchange) takes approximately 13 acres of Lake Easton State Park. Project I-90-2, April 15.

S.R. 20: improvement from Mazama to Winthrop—a distance of 14 miles. Involves widening, better alignment, by-pass of Winthrop. *Washington*. F-05203, April 15.

I-65: northern Shelby and southern Jefferson Counties, *Alabama*. Construction of 4-6 lane highway. Generally parallel to and east of US-31. These two projects represent 2 of the 3 remaining projects needed to complete the 13.7 mile gap between Alabaster and Hoover. Project I-65-2(31)(32), April 16.

US-80: Lowndes County, *Alabama*. Construction of 2 additional lanes from 1 mile west of Big Swamp Creek to beginning of existing 4 lanes toward Montgomery (on attached map it looks like roughly 11 miles). Project F-139(6), April 16.

US-43: Bypass of southwestern Winfield, *Alabama*. Construction of 1.9 miles of highway. Project F-437, April 15.

Haines Highway: *Alaska*. Reconstruction of 40 miles from Haines to Canadian border. Crosses areas where salmon spawn, Bald Eagles, moose, and Brown Bears live. Project F-095-10(4), April 16.

State Highway Route 169: Del Norte and Humboldt Counties, *California*. Between Route 101 near Klamath and Route 96 near Weitchep. Improvement of 41.9 miles of 2-lane road, April 16.

K-10: Johnson County, *Kansas*. Realignment of 7 miles  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile south of DeSoto east and southeast to K-7 (part of a connection between Kansas City and Lawrence). Project 10-46 F-078-6(16), April 16.

U.S. 24: Kansas City, *Kansas*. Widening of 0.472 miles to 4-lanes from 385 feet east of the intersection with 43rd St., east to 36th St. Project 24-105 U-072-1(22), April 16.

Paducah-Tennessee State Line Road: Mc-Cracken County, *Tennessee*. Construction of

4.07 miles of 4-lane controlled-access highway. Begins .36 miles southeast of U.S. 60 continuing through an interchange between U.S. 62 and 45 and ending just southeast of Kentucky Highway 994. Construction also of east and west connectors with U.S. 60 and 45. Purpose: to provide a link with I-24, provide a bypass around Paducah, etc. April 16.

Route 24 and Route C, Randolph County, *Missouri*. Upgrading of 7 miles of narrow road to a modern 2-lane facility, designed to be expanded in future. From west of Huntsville to east of Moberly. Project will require land from Rothwell Park. Missouri project F-24-2-(1) and C088-24(5)U, April 16.

Hampton Bypass, Greenville, *South Carolina*. Proposed 8.5 miles of expressway from I-385 east of Greenville north to U.S. 29 near Taylors.

S.R. 195: Palouse County, *Washington*. Construction of 2-lane road from Pullman to Wawawai Road. Will bypass Pullman and relieve congestion. *Washington* F-037-1( ) L-3875, April 16.

I-10 (Ehrenberg-Phoenix Highway): Maricopa County, *Arizona*. Statement covers 3 sections: Tonopah-Buckeye, Buckeye-Cemetery, Cemetery-Perryville. Construction of grade and drain for new 4-lane highway across 21.9 miles of scenic desert. Plan to relocate major specimen ocotillo and Saguaro cacti presently in path of construction. Federal projects I-10-2(16), I-10-2(28), I-10-2(31), April 19.

Kingman-Ash Fork Highway (I-40): Mohave County, *Arizona*. Two sections are covered: Lookout Wash and Yavapai County Line. New alignment for I-40 between Kingman and Ash Fork. Involves construction of 9.68 miles of 38 foot wide road across prime antelope and deer country. (Will replace dangerous section of U.S. 66). Federal projects I-40-2(41), I-40-2(44), April 19.

Holbrook Interstate Freeway, Unit I: Navajo County, *Arizona*. First of 2 projects which will replace U.S. 66 through Holbrook. From Leroux Wash 2 miles west of Holbrook to just west of 8th St. on the north side of town. Project I-40-4(30), April 19.

Route 25: Litchfield, *Connecticut*. Realignment of  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Purpose: improve sight line at intersection with Maple St. State project 73-126, April 19.

Old Spartanburg Road (S-94): Greenville County, *South Carolina*. Widening 4.2 mile segment from S.C. Route 29 in Greenville, northeasterly to Brushy Creek Rd., April 19.

U.S. 17: Georgetown, *South Carolina*. Multi-lane widening of 6.8 miles from near Botts St. southerly to Secondary System Road S-23, April 19.

Bridge and approaches, Rivermont Ave. over Norfolk and Western Railway and Blackwater Creek, Lynchburg, *Virginia*. Purpose: replace deteriorating bridge, April 19.

U.S. 460: Giles County, *Virginia*. Involves construction of segment of a planned partial bypass of Pearisburg and the Ripplemead community. Project AC-ADD-02301(35), F-023-1( ), April 19.

I-8 (Yuma-Casa Grande Highway) Yuma, *Arizona*. Surfacing of 1.5 mile segment of interstate highway, from 4th St. to 16th St. (railroad underpass). Federal project I-IG-8-1(62), April 20.

I-15: Mohave County, *Arizona*. From Littlefield to the Utah state line. Four projects are involved: Littlefield traffic interchange—I-15-1(21); Cedar Pocket T. I. rest area—I-15-1(30); Littlefield to Cedar Pocket surfacing—I-15-1(27); and Cedar Pocket to Utah surfacing—I-15-1(29), April 20.

State Highway Route 177: Pinal County, *Arizona*. (Winkelman-Superior Highway, Superior south section.) Replacement of 3 miles, from U.S. 60 south, of old stretch of S.R. 177 that has poor horizontal and vertical alignment. Project falls within the boundaries of the Tonto National Forest. Arizona non-Federal-aid project S-316-505, April 20.

Santa Cruz Wash-Junction 1-10 section, of the Junction 1-10—Casa Grande-Picacho Highway: Pinal County, *Arizona*. Construction of 5.7 miles of 4-lane highway, with fenced right of way, etc. Construction will be along existing highway or right of way. Project F-014-1(5), April 20.

I-10: Ehrenberg-Phoenix Highway (Perryville Rd. to Bullard Rd., Bullard Rd. to 107th Ave., 107th Ave. to 67th Ave.). Maricopa County, *Arizona*. Involves construction of 14.8 miles of 4-lane highway through desert, agricultural and rural residential areas. Projects I-10-2(34), I-IG-10-2(37), I-10-2(40), April 20.

SR 115: Duval County, *Florida*. About 2.4 miles of 4-lane highway are planned between Trout River and the proposed interchange on I-295. Would replace 2-lane rural type highway, April 20.

S.R. 30 (U.S. 98): replacement of 2 existing bridges over the Carrabelle River with a single concrete steel structure. Some dredging and spoiling of the Crooked and Carrabelle Rivers and marshlands. Franklin County, *Florida*. Project F-017-2(27), April 20.

SR-331: Alachua County, *Florida*. Involves upgrading 2.75 miles of 2-lane rural highway to 4-lane divided highway. From State Road 329 to State Roads 20, 24 and 26. Federal job no. US-703(1), April 20.

Route I-44: Pulaski County, *Missouri*. Replacement of substandard road with dual lane highway for distance of 4.7 miles. Purpose: safety, efficiency. Missouri project I-44-2(32), April 20.

State Route 5 (Trenton bypass): Gibson County, *Tennessee*. Relocation from north of Trenton to north of Dyer (about 7.35 miles). Purpose: to bypass Trenton. Project F-04401( ), April 20.

Loop 335 around Amarillo, *Texas*. Section from U.S. 60 and 66 to U.S. 87 and 287. Improvement of existing roads to 4-lane facility, April 20.

STH-72 (Ellsworth-Elmwood Road). Reconstruction of existing road between Cave Creek and a point near the junction with STH 183 at Waverly, *Wisconsin*. Realignment of a portion of the road near Cave Creek requires 28 acres of tillable land. Project FAS 075( ), April 20.

I-17: Yavapia County, *Arizona*. (Copper Canyon to McGuireville section of the Cordes Junction to Flagstaff Highway.) 5.4 mile project crosses northwest corner of Montezuma Castle National Monument. Involves building a new road for northbound lanes, etc. Project I-17-1(48), April 21.

U.S. 17, SR 15, 20 and 100: St. Johns River Bridge at Palatka, Putnam County, *Florida*. A high level 4-lane structure is planned. Some realignment of the river channel will be needed, April 21.

U.S. 220: construction of a bridge over the C&O and B&O railroad. Bedford and Frederick Streets, Cumberland, *Maryland*. Maryland project U 907-1(2), April 21.

I-5 (Pacific Highway): redevelopment from a 4-lane to a 6-lane highway between the South Tigard Interchange and Tualatin River on I-5. Tigard and Tualatin, *Oregon*, April 21.

KY-54-Parrish Avenue: widening existing road from 2-lane to 4-lane curb and gutter section with a 20 foot median. Length: 1.05 miles. Owensboro, *Kentucky*, April 22.

U.S. 17: relocation of highway to bypass Edenton, *North Carolina*. Length: 6.6 miles. Project F-75(9), April 22.

Secondary Route 4431: Putnam County, *Tennessee*. Construction of 1.2 miles of highway from Willow Ave. and 12th St. to State Route 135 on new location. Project S-SU-4431(6). State project 71027-1310-03, April 22.

State Route 61: Clinton, *Tennessee*. From intersection with Hillcrest St., northeasterly about 3 miles to S.R. 61 near the Clinch River Bridge. Will improve capacity, safety, efficiency. Will not follow present path of

S.R. 61. Project F-079-1( ). State project 01005-0207-04, April 22.

I-20: 2 construction projects between Irondale and Leeds, *Alabama*. Along with a third proposed project, these projects will complete a 9.6 mile gap between I-59 in Birmingham and the Georgia state line. Purpose: to provide a bypass around suburban area of Irondale and East Birmingham. Projects I-20-1(30), I-20-1( ), April 23.

U.S. 31: Escambia County, *Alabama*. Replacement of 2-lane highway with what will ultimately be a 4-lane highway, on new location from one-half mile east of Canoe on U.S. 31 easterly for 4.7 miles. Purpose: safer, more comfortable travel. Projects F-226(6) and F-96(19), April 23.

U.S. 43: Clarke County, *Alabama*. Improving this highway to 4 lanes from Grove Hill to Thomasville (about 13.03 miles). Project F-231( ), S-1080-F, April 23.

I-19. Santa Cruz County, *Arizona*. (Otero-Carmen section of the Nogales-Tucson Highway.) Construction of 4.8 miles on highway. Study now in progress of where highway should be located in vicinity of Josephine Wash. Project I-19-1(25), April 23.

Route 110: Jefferson County, *Missouri*. Improvement of 5.2 miles of highway between Desoto and Route 67. It will be a 4-lane arterial highway. Purpose: safety. Old road (Route 110) will be maintained as service route. Missouri projects S-140(1), S-140(3), April 23.

Route 50: Cole County, *Missouri*. About 5.7 miles of highway will be upgraded to a dual lane facility, from Moreau River to west of Osage River. Present route has poor alignment, and is overloaded, April 23.

State Route 5 (Humboldt Bypass): *Tennessee*. From 500 feet northwest of Sugar Creek to SR-76. Length: 2.6 miles. Construction of 4-lane divided highway (only 2 lanes would be built at present). Project F-012-2( ), April 23.

U.S. 17: construction of 24 foot pavement parallel to the existing road, making a 4-lane divided facility. Starts about 2 miles east of the Caroline-Spotsylvania County line, *Virginia*, and ends about 1 mile west of this county line. Total length: 4.82 miles. Project F-012-2( ), April 23.

U.S. 36: bypass of Greeley on the east. *Colorado*. From the South Greeley interchange of U.S. 34 and U.S. 85, easterly and south-easterly for about 11 miles to a point on present U.S. 34. Purpose: to continue the U.S. 34 bypass, improve safety. Project F-034-2(1), April 26.

KY-11 and KY-1325: bridges and approaches over Licking River and Flat Creek. Fleming and Bath Counties, *Kentucky*. Purpose: replacement of 2 weak bridges (one is a covered bridge), April 26.

State Route 13 in Lamar and Pearl River Counties between the N.O. & N.E. Railroad in Lumberton to the S.R. 13 interchange on I-59. *Mississippi*. Reconstruction of narrow, deteriorating section. Project F-023-1(27), April 26.

I-76: Camden, *New Jersey*. Statement covers section from Atlantic Ave. to a point south of Morgan Blvd. About 1.6 miles. It lists grade separation structures, streets that will be terminated, April 26.

Project will take 2.3 acres from Staley Park (an additional city park is under construction to replace it).

Route 460 (Farmville Bypass), *Virginia*. Construction of a 4-lane facility on new location from just west of intersection of Routes 15 and 460 west of Farmville, to a point east of Farmville. Length: about 8.48 miles. Federal project F-04-1(40)&(41). State project 7460-073-101, C-501, C-502, April 26.

C.T.H. "F": Taylor County, *Wisconsin*. Reconstruction from Lubin northeasterly 3.1 miles to the junction of STH 64. Wisconsin project S-052(17), April 26.

Kodiak, *Alaska*. Construction of 3.7 miles of 2-lane gravel road. Purpose: provide an

all-weather road to the watershed of Monashka Creek, where a city water supply reservoir will be built. Project S-0391(2), April 27.

Homer East Road: Homer, *Alaska*. From junction with Sterling Highway northeasterly along existing route for 8.3 miles (will be a 2-lane concrete highway—it is now gravel). Project S-0414(2), April 27.

Fairbanks to Nenana Highway: *Alaska*. From 25 miles west of Ester to 7 miles west of Ester, along existing road. Then across new location to a point just east of Ester. Purpose: replace substandard road. Project F-037-1(25), April 27.

Appalachian Route 2697 (001). Bartow County, *Georgia*. Highway construction from the Cartersville-Rockmart Highway (S.R. 113) at a point north of Richland Creek, easterly to S.R. 293. Purpose: bypass Cartersville. Georgia project APL 2697(001), April 27.

Carroll County, *Georgia* (partly in Carrollton). Construction of a road from a point on S-835 (0.25 mile east of west city limit) northeast to S.R. 1, U.S. 27 (about 1.25 miles from city limit). Purpose: to open area to industrial development. State project APL 8009(001), April 27.

Lumpkin County, *Georgia*. Replacement of an unimproved county road between Lumpkin Park Road and State Route 60 with an all-weather paved road. Project S-2576(1), April 27.

State Route 15 (*Mississippi* Highway): relocation of highway between interchange with I-20 and a point on S.R. 15, 3.5 miles south (around the east side of Newton), April 27.

U.S. 45: Lee County, *Mississippi*. From the Chickasaw-Lee County line to U.S. 78, U.S. 45 Bypass at E/Main St. in Tupelo. Relocation and reconstruction as a 4-lane divided highway. Project F-002-5(2)(1), April 27.

U.S. 45: Noxubee County, *Mississippi*. (Around the east side of Macon.) Relocation from 3 miles south of Macon, bypassing Macon to the east, to a point about 4 miles north of Macon. Length: about 9 miles. Project SP-002-03(4), April 27.

State Route 101: Widening of road between Deer Park Rd. and Fairview Rd. Realignment of a small section near Bagley Creek. Clallam County, *Washington*. Project F-007-4, April 27.

Route H: Boone, Callaway Counties, *Missouri*. Road construction from Route H east to Route J, partly on new location. Project will require land from Cedar Creek Management Area. Purpose: provide an all weather crossing of Cedar Creek, etc., April 28.

U.S. 69: *Oklahoma*. Relocation—construction of freeway from Summit northeasterly 20.9 miles to S.H. 51 at Wagoner. State project F-593, April 28.

I-182: Franklin County, *Washington*. Construction of 1.5 miles in vicinity of junction of S.R. 12 and S.R. 395, April 28.

FHWA 4(f) Statements: The following are not 102 statements. They are explanations of the Secretary of Transportation's approval of projects to be implemented under Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act. 49, U.S.C. Section 1653 (f).

#### Title, description, and date

U-001-7(37): highway construction will take .16 acre from Blount Mansion National Landmark, Knoxville, *Tennessee*, April 20.

I-80: highway construction requires use of 4.29 acres of Kimball County Recreational Area, *Nebraska*, April 20.

U.S. 2: Devils Lake, *North Dakota*. Highway improvement will take 2.8 acres from Roosevelt Park, April 26.

I-95: Palm Beach County, *Florida*. The close proximity of this proposed project to Lake Ada Park may affect the park. The statement concludes that this is not a true 4(f) matter, and asserts that the park and

highway will compliment one another, April 26.

I-83 and I-695: highway interchange construction will require 5.46 acres of Seminary Park Recreation Area, Baltimore County, *Maryland*. Federal Project I-83-2(68). April 26.

U.S. 160: highway project requires over 36 acres from Mesa Verde National Park, *Colorado*. Federal project F 160-1(7), April 26.

#### U.S. Coast Guard

Contact: William R. Riedel, DOT Coordinator, Water Resources, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20591, 426-2274.

#### Draft

#### Title, description, and date

Bee Line Expressway extension: construction of fixed dual highway bridges over the St. Johns River between Brevard and Orange counties, *Florida*. Includes 2 approach causeways through St. Johns River marshlands. The major concern is the impact on the Dusky Seaside Sparrow, an endangered species that lives in the marsh, April 19.

#### Urban Mass Transit Administration

Contact: Same as for FAA.

#### Draft

#### Title, description, and date

Early action program for a rapid transit system in Allegheny County, *Pennsylvania*. The Port Authority of Allegheny County has applied for on-going federal assistance to design, engineer and construct the following:

- (1) the South Hill Transit Expressway Revenue Line.
- (2) the South Patway, for mass transit buses.
- (3) the East Patway.
- (4) rehabilitation of rolling stock and fixed facilities for trolley routes 35 and 43.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Contact: Chuck Fabrikant, Director of Impact Statements Office, 1629 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20460, 632-7660.

#### Water Quality Office

#### Draft

#### Title, description, and date

Sewerage project, eastern Lake County, *Illinois*. Application by the North Shore Sanitary District of Waukegan. Plans call for the construction of a new treatment facility at Gurnee, and expansion and renovation of present plants at North Chicago, Waukegan and Clavey Road. These plants will feature tertiary treatment and nutrient removal capacities. Main adverse impact will result from the open retention basin at the Clavey Road Plant (nearby homeowners object), April 22.

#### Office of the Administrator

#### Final

#### Title, description, and date

Legislation: Comments of Federal agencies and departments on EPA's proposals for water pollution control (statement dated March 13), April 13.

Legislation: Noise Control Act of 1971. Part of the President's environmental program. Bill would give EPA authority to coordinate Federal noise programs, would give additional authority to regulate major noise sources and authorize noise labelling for them, and would direct all Federal agencies to administer their programs in a manner to minimize noise.

#### FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Contact: Frederick H. Warren, Commission's Advisor on Environmental Quality, 441 G Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20426, 386-6084.

#### Draft

#### Title, description, and date

Middle Snake River: recreational use plans for 3 reservoir areas related to existing

dams—Brownlee, Oxbow and Hells Canyon. (Project No. 1971.) (This project should not be confused with other license applications pending for proposed hydroelectric developments on the Middle Snake River.) *Idaho & Oregon*, April 12.

Pacific Gas and Electric Company's application for renewal of license to operate a hydroelectric power plant at Battle Creek, northern *California*. Includes four plants built 60-70 years ago. Describes plans to replace these plants with modern generating facilities, and future plans to develop recreation facilities, April 29.

*Statement withdrawn*

Applicant's Statement—Oak Grove Hydroelectric Project, FPC License No. 135, *Oregon & Docket No. R 398, Part 2*. (Listed in 102 Monitor Vol. 1, No. 1, pg. 47.) Withdrawn by FPC in accordance with Order 415, as amended.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Contact: Rod Kreger, Deputy Administrator, General Services Administration-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405 (343-6077).

Alternate Contact: Aaron Woloshin, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, General Services Administration-ADF, 343-4161.

Draft

*Title, Description, and Date*

Sewart Air Force Base, Smyrna, *Tennessee*. Plans for disposal of this 2,332 acre property as follows: 1) 1,709 acres for an airport, 2) 12 acres for educational purposes, 3) 147 acres for housing, 4) 459 acres for industrial development, 5) all utilities for county use, April 2.

Modified draft statement (addendum to draft of 1/14) for the Border Field, San Diego County, *California*. Involves assignment of 322 acres to the DOI for use as a park and recreational facility, April 6.

Proposed negotiated sale of 143,014 acres (remainder of Bonne Esperance and Estate Slob, St. Crois) *Virgin Islands* to the government for use as a park, cemetery, zoo, etc., April 8.

Arkabutla Reservoir, Coldwater, *Mississippi*. Plan for sale of five non-contiguous parcels totaling 25.25 acres to the public for commercial uses, April 14.

Former U.S. Naval Retraining Command, Camp Elliott, San Diego, *California*. GSA proposes to dispose of 2,690.61 acres of this land as follows: 1) 219 acres to NASA (who will sell it to real estate investors) in exchange for 55.5 acres adjacent to their Moffett Field facility, 2) exchange of 1,074.61 acres for 30,000 acres of land in Joshua Tree National Monument, 3) 730 acres to DOI for park and recreation use by San Diego, 4) sealed bid sale to public of 667 acres, April 20.

Proposed sale of Upper Bethlehem, Fredensborg and Slob (247 acres) to the Government of the Virgin Islands for various purposes including housing and a commercial area, April 20.

Disposal of Red Bluff Air Force Station, Red Bluff, *California*. Approximately 35.04 acres are involved of which small portion is assigned to FAA. The rest to be disposed of by sealed bids, April 28.

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY AND WATER COMMISSION—UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

Contact: Joseph F. Friedkin, Commissioner, (915) 532-5476.

Alternate contact: T. M. Martin, ARA/Mex., Department of State, Room 3906A, Washington, D.C. 20520, 632-1317.

Final

*Title, description, and date*

Presidio-Ojinaga International Flood Control Project and the Presidio-Ojinaga International Channel Relocations Project. The latter is necessary to accomplish the objectives of the Boundary Treaty. The former is a complementary project needed to provide protection to the remaining U.S. lands in the Presidio Valley. Comments from the Texas State Historical Survey Committee indicate that the project will damage and destroy some important historic and prehistoric sites. Archeological reconnaissance will be requested of the National Park Service, April 1.

Late comment on the above final statement was received from the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, April 28.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

Contact: Ralph E. Cushman, Special Assistant, Office of Administration, Washington, D.C. 20546, 962-8107.

Draft

*Title, description, and date*

Global atmospheric research program. An international, cooperative effort to understand the circulation of the atmosphere and to establish the physical and mathematical bases for long-range predictions. Small amount of pollution from launch vehicles (range in size from Scout to Titan IIIC), April 19.

TIROS Operational Satellite program—a joint, continuing effort of NASA and DOC to provide systematic, global, cloud-cover observations. Adverse environmental impacts are largely limited to that caused by launch vehicle, April 19.

Physics and astronomy sounding rocket, balloon, and airborne research programs. Programs involve about 150 launches per year carrying experimental payloads in the

disciplines of planetary atmospheres, particles and fields, ionospheric and radio physics, galactic and radio astronomy and solar physics. Atmospheric measurements are conducted using balloons, April 19.

Main potential environmental impact is from small amount of combustion products from sounding rocket launches. Another potential source of pollution is the release of chemicals (sodium lithium, cesium, etc.) to study the atmosphere and the earth's magnetic field.

Earth resources technology satellite program. Goal is to design, develop, launch and test spacecraft to conduct experiments that will test the utility of the application of space borne sensors to natural and cultural resource problems. Two satellites will be launched, the first in 1972. Burning of propellants in launch vehicles will cause small amount of air pollution, April 19.

Earth resources aircraft program. Involves development of remote sensors for use in aircraft and spacecraft. Four aircraft are used to collect Earth Observations data (example: detecting corn leaf blight), April 19.

Nimbus program. Goal is to develop a better meteorological satellite. Includes development, launch and operation of a series of satellites. Adverse environmental effect limited to that from launch vehicles (range in size from Scout to the Titan IIIC), April 19.

OFFICE OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Contact: Mr. David Freeman, Director, Environmental Policy Staff, Washington, D.C. 20506, 395-3136.

Final

*Title, description and date*

Legislation: Power Plant Siting Act of 1971. Key provisions of this proposed Act would require rolling 10-year projections of power needs, etc., and review of tentative sites for power plants 5 years prior to beginning construction, April 6.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Contact: Dr. Francis Gartrell, Director of Environmental Research and Development, (615) 755-2002.

Draft

*Title, description, and date*

Yellow Creek Port Project: on the Yellow Creek Embayment of Pickwick Reservoir, Northeast *Mississippi*. Involves building a river port terminal and related industrial complex. A 15-mile rail spur will also be built. Environmental effects include possible temporary increased turbidity in the water during dredging and construction, and shifts in land usage from forest and rural to industrial. Purpose: to spur economic development of a depressed area, April 23.

SUMMARY OF 102 STATEMENTS FILED WITH THE CEQ THROUGH APRIL 30, 1971 (BY AGENCY)

Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received	Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received
Agriculture.....	26	51	77	Housing and Urban Development.....	3	1	4
Appalachian Regional Commission.....	1	0	1	Interior.....	35	19	54
Atomic Energy Commission.....	31	15	46	International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico.....	2	1	3
Commerce.....	0	2	2	NASA.....	20	0	20
Defense.....	3	2	5	National Science Foundation.....	2	0	2
Air Force.....	1	0	1	Office of Science and Technology.....	0	1	1
Army.....	1	0	1	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	4	0	4
Army Corps of Engineers.....	66	163	229	Transportation.....	358	34	392
Navy.....	4	0	4	Treasury.....	2	0	2
Delaware River Basin Commission.....	3	0	3				
Environmental Protection Agency.....	1	5	6	Total.....	580	298	878
Federal Power Commission.....	4	4	8				
General Services Administration.....	13	0	13				

14(1) statements received from DOT are not included.

SUMMARY OF 102 STATEMENTS FILED WITH THE CEQ THROUGH APR. 30, 1971 (BY PROJECT TYPE)

	Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft statements, for Federal actions have been received		Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft statements for Federal actions have been received
Aircraft.....	0		1	New communities.....	0	1	1
Airports.....	50	28	78	Nuclear industry.....	2	2	4
Beach erosion.....	2	13	15	Forestry.....	4	3	7
Buildings/property.....	9	1	10	Nuclear research.....	2	0	2
Bridges.....	7	2	9	Nuclear testing.....	3	1	4
Civilian waste disposal.....	1	0	1	Oil.....	1	2	3
Defense systems.....	2	0	2	Parks wildlife refuges.....	3	2	5
Environmental research.....	6	0	6	Pipeline (oil).....	1	0	1
Flood control.....	46	92	138	Power (nuclear).....	23	12	35
Food inspection.....	3	0	3	Power (non-nuclear).....	11	3	14
Natural gas transportation.....	0	1	1	Power transmission.....	4	4	8
Housing/urban problems.....	4	0	4	Radioactive waste disposal.....	1	0	1
Hurricane protection.....	2	0	2	Railroads.....	2	0	2
Insecticides/herbicides.....	2	1	3	Resource hauling.....	1	0	1
International boundary.....	1	1	2	Roads (excluding 4(f)'s).....	299	2	301
Irrigation.....	6	0	6	Sewerage.....	1	0	1
Land acquisition/disposal.....	8	0	8	Space programs.....	14	0	14
Legislation.....	2	11	13	Water resources.....	16	9	25
Mass transit.....	2	0	2	Watersheds.....	10	42	52
Military disposal.....	3	1	4	Weather modification.....	5	1	6
Mining.....	5	2	7				
Navigation.....	16	60	76	Total.....	580	298	878

**THE MILLS PACKAGE—AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD**

**HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, the monumental effort of the Committee on Ways and Means—as presented in the now-completed H.R. 1—has been attacked, predictably enough, by both the left and right in recent days. On the one hand, many are arguing that the new Federal floor for minimum welfare income is stingy and cruel; and that revisions in the medicare program will result in an undue hardship for many of our elderly citizens. On the other hand, many are complaining that the bill is not restrictive enough in the health benefits field, and that the Federal welfare floor constitutes another major welfare giveaway that does not square with their conception of the American way.

How refreshing, then, to see the New York Times give the proposal a healthy endorsement. The editors are not entirely happy with the proposal—and I suppose that we could all find something in it which we would have done differently—but they do correctly acknowledge that major reforms such as this are always compromises. And, more importantly, they unequivocally state that H.R. 1 is “a substantial improvement over the present system.”

I hope that a majority of my colleagues in the House recognize this important fact, and vote accordingly when given the opportunity. The full text of the editorial follows:

**THE MILLS PACKAGE**

Like most major pieces of legislation, the welfare bill worked out in the House Ways and Means Committee under the leadership of Representative Mills of Arkansas is a compromise. It costs more than conservatives would prefer and is less generous than liberals would like but, on balance, it deserves support as a substantial improvement over the existing system.

After the public controversy of the last eighteen months, it is easy to lose sight of the important advances which this bill would achieve. It makes the administration of welfare a Federal responsibility, establishes a uniform national standard of basic financial support for the impoverished, and erases the distinction between the unemployed and the working poor by bringing the latter group within the scope of the program.

The bill has two major defects. An annual income of \$2,400 for a family of four is too low for the poor who live in the cities of the North and West. In the rural South, this minimum would represent a distinct improvement over existing welfare payments, but why pretend that rent and the cost of living are the same in New York City as they are in rural Arkansas? If the bill passes the House in this form, the Senate should add provision for Federal payment of increments above this national minimum based upon regional variations in living costs.

The bill's second defect is its failure to provide adequate financial relief for the states which have been making the greatest financial effort in behalf of the poor. As Mayor Lindsay has correctly pointed out, New York would gain relatively far less than certain Southern states which have been doing the least.

For the long term, however, this bill holds out hope for states in New York's situation. It takes them off the welfare escalator which has seemed to be unending. Beginning in 1972, if welfare caseloads increase, the Federal Government will pay for the additional persons coming on the rolls. Thus, state welfare expenditures would be stabilized at the level reached this year. Moreover, the sharp rise in welfare benefits in the rural South should slow the migration of the poor to the North.

The work requirements to be imposed on welfare recipients are desirable in goal but unrealistic in terms of accomplishment. They presuppose that manpower programs exist everywhere to train the disadvantaged, that jobs exist for those who complete the training and that day care centers exist for the children of mothers who take jobs. In many communities, the training, the jobs and the day care centers are all nonexistent. But, for that very reason, critics of the bill would be wrong to exaggerate the potential onerousness of these work requirements. They have more importance in the political calculations of Congress than they would have in the actual operation of the program.

In a welfare reform which was originally designated the “Family Assistance Plan,” it is ironic that an aged couple would receive exactly the same stipend—\$200 a month—as a man and wife with two children. The elderly are not so well treated as they should be but they are still the politically favored poor. Families with dependent children are the politically unpopular poor, and Congress penalizes them accordingly.

Yet the nation can work its way out of the welfare morass only if the dependent children of today become the independent adults of tomorrow. Society ought to be placing its bets on these youngsters rather than punishing them for what it regards as the unsatisfactory morals of some of their parents.

A welfare family, like a wheat farmer in Kansas or an airplane manufacturer in Georgia, is both a national problem and the recipient of a subsidy. No one argues that the State of Kansas should pay the cost of stabilizing the price of wheat or that the State of Georgia should underwrite the loan to Lockheed.

Yet an ex-sharecropper from Mississippi who takes a bus to Chicago and winds up on the relief roll there is regarded as a purely local Chicago responsibility. A genuine, comprehensive reform of welfare would make the whole cost of welfare a Federal responsibility like any other national subsidy. This bill does not do that, but it is a move in that direction. In the present political context, some forward motion is better than a continued downhill slide.

**MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?**

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 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?

## VETERANS OF THE OSS

**HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 27, 1971*

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, yesterday evening it was my privilege to attend the annual reunion dinner of the Veterans of the OSS. At the dinner, a very distinguished American and himself a veteran of the OSS, Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, was awarded the General Donovan Award for distinguished service to this country.

In addition to honoring Ambassador Bruce, a well-deserved tribute was paid to some very distinguished Europeans who were present and addressed the large crowd that was present. We salute these brave and intrepid defenders of freedom for their contributions to the common defense of the free world, and we are honored here in our Nation's Capital by their presence in our midst.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the names and a very brief sketch of these distinguished men of valor:

## NAMES AND BRIEF SKETCH OF DISTINGUISHED MEN OF VALOR

Major General Andre Guerisse, under the name of Pat O'Leary, was the most famous and effective organizer of escape lines. He laid the foundation for what ultimately became an organization of hundreds of couriers and thousands of homes in Holland, Belgium and France which brought back to England over 3,000 allied airmen who were shot down over Western Europe. Captured in 1943, he organized the International Prisoners' Association from a concentration camp at Dachau. The activities of this organization in Dachau saved 5,000 lives and averted the massacre of 35,000 prisoners which had been ordered by Himmler when the allied forces crossed the Rhine. General Guerisse is now President of the Fraternelle des Anciens Agents Parachutistes—the organization of Resistance Veterans in Belgium.

Knut Haukelid was responsible for destroying the inventory of heavy water and the heavy water plant which the Germans were bringing from Norway to Germany in an effort to build an atomic weapon. The combined Chiefs of Staff learned that the Germans were working on a heavy water method of building an atomic weapon and determined that the only source of heavy water in Europe—the Norsk Hydro Plant in Norway—had to be destroyed. First, British Special Forces sent 40 men on two gliders to destroy the plant. They were all lost. Then, Haukelid with several others parachuted into Norway, skied down to the plant at Vermok and dynamited the plant. Within several months, the Germans had rebuilt their facilities. The American Air Force then sent 120 flying fortresses over to bomb the plant. This raid succeeded in interrupting production for only a short time, but the Germans, nevertheless, decided to bring both the plant and the inventory of heavy water into Germany. The combined Chiefs of Staff set the highest priority on preventing this—issuing orders to Haukelid, the only one of the original sabotage team who had remained in Norway, and to the R.A.F. to attack the shipment as it crossed the North Sea. Haukelid personally put a time explosive in the hold of the ferry which was to carry the shipment over Lake Tinjen on its way to a port in Southern Norway. The plant wound up at the bottom of this lake and that was the end of German efforts to

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

build an atomic bomb by the heavy water method.

Svend Truelsen organized intelligence networks in Denmark which produced the earliest information on the V-1 rockets and continuously valuable order of battle information. He was one of the prime movers moving 8,000 Jews across the Sound to Sweden over a weekend. Going to London, in early 1944, he guided the use of Danish intelligence and resistance forces in the hostilities on the Continent.

Dr. C. C. van den Heuvel is President of the Veterans organization of the Netherlands Resistance.

## NATIONAL MARITIME DAY

**HON. NICK BEGICH**

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 27, 1971*

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I join with my colleagues in celebrating National Maritime Day.

The observance has become an annual occasion to commemorate the sailing of the steamship *Savannah*, the first transoceanic steamship, which sailed from Savannah, Ga., on May 22, 1819, on her historic transoceanic voyage. From colonial times to the present, the U.S. merchant marine has played a vital role in the development of our Nation. Maritime Day is an occasion for recognizing the fundamental importance of our merchant marine.

The colonists and citizens of the young Republic were well aware of their dependence upon the merchant marine. For the Nation as a whole, development of other industry and expansion of the country has tended to obscure somewhat the role of the merchant marine in our national well-being. Periodically, our merchant fleet has come near the vanishing point. Several times, usually because of a war, economic stimulus has brought it back to the size needed to furnish protection for our national heritage, only to be all but forgotten after the emergency had passed.

In recent years, for example, our merchant fleet has been decreasing at an alarming rate. Moreover, most of the ships in our merchant fleet are of World War II vintage and are becoming obsolete. It was with these facts in mind that the 91st Congress took action to rebuild our merchant fleet with the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970.

This legislation was the first major piece of legislation affecting the merchant marine since the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Basically this new legislation is designed to build 300 highly efficient new-type ships with Government aid in the coming decade. From 1965-70 we were contracting an average of 10 new ships per year. Under the Merchant Marine Act of 1970, however, we will increase the average to 30 per year between 1971-80.

This new fleet will give the U.S.-flag carriers three to four times the capacity they now have. Currently, we are hauling well under 10 percent of our foreign trade, but the new legislation should en-

*May 27, 1971*

able us to carry approximately 17 percent by 1980.

Thus May 22, 1971, is especially worthy of celebration since it denotes the start of a decade of new life for the U.S. Merchant Marine.

## HONORARIA SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

**HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 27, 1971*

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, the honoraria survey that was conducted by the House Committee on Internal Security and printed after enjoining all persons from interfering with the printing of the same is still being discussed in legal, academic, and journalistic circles. My objection to the high fees paid revolutionary ideologies has never gone to speech but to the abuse and misuse of student activity funds to which I personally contribute.

Among the critical letters concerning the survey that were printed was one dated October 27, 1970, sent to the New York Times signed by Mr. Jerome Weidman as president of the Authors League of America. Mr. Weidman's letter, although not printed by the New York Times was published in the November 19, 1970, issue of the Village Voice. In his letter, Mr. Weidman attacked the committee's survey for its alleged encroachment on the first amendment freedoms of speech and press.

Of particular interest, Mr. Robert Leigh James, of Chevy Chase, Md., who is also a member of the Authors League of America, furnished me a courtesy copy of a letter he had written in reply to Mr. Weidman's letter. Mr. James, in a particularly reasoned and succinct reply to the criticism of the Committee's survey made by Mr. Weidman, points out that parents with college age children are deeply concerned because it appears that college student funds for speakers are not being used to bring a fair cross-section of opinion to our campuses. Mr. James said that he believes in the first amendment for all, including the House Committee on Internal Security.

I wholeheartedly agree with Mr. James' comments. The first amendment protection for freedom of speech and press is, in my opinion, the most treasured amendment in our Bill of Rights. However, the American public is becoming increasingly disenchanted with the theory that constitutional rights and privileges are the exclusive prerogatives of malevolent elements in our society. Mr. James concludes by declaring that he wants to be disassociated from the effort of the President of the Authors League of America to suppress information with which he disagrees.

As I feel that many of my colleagues as well as members of the public will benefit from Mr. James' analysis of Mr. Weidman's criticism, I am inserting in the RECORD the text of Mr. Weidman's

letter from the Village Voice along with a copy of Mr. James' reply.

The letter follows:

THE VILLAGE VOICE OF NOVEMBER 19, 1970

"On October 14 the House Internal Security Committee branded 65 individuals as 'radical' speakers at college campuses. On October 15, the Times compounded this blatant infringement of constitutional rights by publishing the list in full—the names and alleged affiliations of the 65.

"As Nat Hentoff, one of the victims, reported in the Village Voice (October 22), the Times did not first check the veracity of the accusations with the accused. (Mr. Hentoff notes he was falsely charged as being affiliated with three organizations.)

"Even more significant than these lapses in fair reporting is the fact that the Times published the 'blacklist'. As the Times emphasized in its editorial of October 24, the Committee's promulgation of the list violated the First Amendment freedoms of speech and press. The purpose and effect of the list are to intimidate universities into closing their doors to those on the list; to deny the accused the right to speak at educational institutions; and to deny students and faculties the right to hear them.

"The blacklist is also a warning to others not to utter viewpoints inimical to the Committee's political philosophy at pain of being listed in the future. Its effect, as always, is to suppress freedom of expression and also, not insignificantly, to punish those listed, without trial or hearing. The Times owes the First Amendment more than the lip service paid in editorials. It also owes the affirmative loyalty not to serve as an instrument to suppress the rights of free speech and press. By broadcasting the Committee's blacklist, the Times has struck a heavy blow against those rights, and the 65 individuals who were pilloried by the Committee. The Times was not faced with the choice of burying the story or printing the names. It could have reported the Committee's action in violation of the District Court's temporary injunction against the publication without printing the blacklist itself."

The letter is signed by Jerome Weidman, President, the Authors League of America.

DECEMBER 15, 1970.

Mr. JEROME WEIDMAN, President,  
The Authors League of America, Inc.,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. WEIDMAN, your letter of October 27, 1970, to the *New York Times* signed by you as President of The Authors League of America is very disturbing to me for the same reason the list of the House Internal Security Committee, of which you complained, is very disturbing to you, i.e., it attributes to me as a member of The Authors League of America the same views you express as its President. You are concerned about the guilt by association implied in the Committee's list. I am concerned about my association through membership with your views.

Of course, I disagree with you. Many of us with college age children are deeply concerned because it appears that college student funds for speakers are not being used to bring a fair cross section of opinion to our campuses. The bias in the use of these funds at many institutions appears to favor the radical left. In turn, the fees support the political activities of the speakers. I am among those interested to know if these concerns are well founded. When you attack the *New York Times* for printing the Committee's list, you are advocating the suppression of vital information. Is it your position that the public has no right to know who spoke to their children on the campuses of the nation?

As to political labels, I am certain that I was as disturbed by the activities by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early fifties

as you were, but I think you are now being overzealous. Perhaps some of the speakers listed by the Committee do not wish to be called "radical" or "revolutionary" just as other speakers dislike to be called "fascists" or "right wing extremists", but such terms are within the context of political comment. Those who seek a public forum must be prepared to take some small part of what they give, even to the extent of enduring a political label they dislike. And, if there is libel, there are libel laws for redress.

In short, I believe in the first amendment for all of us including the House Internal Security Committee. Freedom of the press and freedom of information is freedom of the press and freedom of information no matter how it cuts. Therefore, I very positively wish to disassociate myself from your effort as President of The Authors League of America to suppress information with which you disagree. It is not a role in which any author should be comfortable and I think it a most inappropriate one for The Authors League of America.

Sincerely,

ROBERT LEIGH JAMES.

FOR THE HEINOUS CRIME OF  
BEING A JEW

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, throughout history there runs an irrational streak in some men and women that makes them persecute other men and women, mainly innocent, for some belief or desire they cherish against all challenges.

No single group of human beings have been on the receiving end of more vilification and violence for a set of beliefs than the people we know as Jews. Their persecutors are conveniently known as anti-Semites.

History records that Jews have usually been abused and terrorized for two major ideals and goals in recent eras. The first one is traditional; their unwavering persistence in following the religious beliefs of their fathers. As a result of such faith and accompanying rituals, they have been discriminated against, beaten, boiled, butchered, and tortured by a variety of methods, culminating in the organized genocide of the Hitler era. Each passing period of history has witnessed a variety of such agonies at the hands of a series of tyrants. Today's persecutors carry the names of Russian Communists. Their terror is more subtle, but their aim remains the same. To them, the Jews gives an ages-old response; a quiet, brave determination to live their Judaism and practice their rituals.

The second major article of political faith for which these same people have been abused consists of their hope for a homeland for their tormented brethren. Known as Zionism, it enshrines as a central ideal the concept of a refuge for Jews of all lands, should they require it, in the shape of a modern political state, with its own territory, institutions, and rituals. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that within its boundaries no Jews would be subject to harm of any type because of his antecedents or religion. On this basis

the nation of Israel was founded and has survived any and all attempts to extinguish it. These have been three in number. All have failed, despite vicious attacks, boycotts and enemies in powerful quarters.

The British sought to aid the Arabs in wiping out the fledgling State of Israel in 1948. They failed. In 1956, the scenario was different, but the aim was the same. That also failed. In 1967, the Soviets backed a combined Arab assault on Israel, ending in the stunning Israeli victory of the 6-day war.

Nasser's dreams and those of the Kremlin mingled in the bitter disappointment of defeat. So both dream and nation lived on, more alive than ever. All the combined efforts of oil companies and Arab States failed to dislodge the reality of the State of Israel. And that little country became a beacon of light to persecuted Jews the world over, particularly in the confines of the Soviet Union.

In the past, persecutions of helpless Jews could be carried out with impunity. No one cared, much less did anything about organized programs and murders aimed at Jews, especially in Russia and Eastern Europe. Now there is a nation that cares, and acts accordingly. Not only will Jews not go away, but in fact they even persevere, and the Soviet monolith is afraid of them.

There are at least 3 million Jews in Russia today. Many are Zionists, in that they would eagerly emigrate to Israel if they were allowed to do so. This the Russian Government has been loath to allow. The Soviet regime, true to the old Russian tradition of anti-Semitism, has sought to stamp out Jewish faith in Russia's empire. It has forbade printing of Jewish prayer books and hindered baking of Passover matzo's. It has sought to prevent new rabbis from being trained. In a thousand ways it tries to strangle Jewish religious life. All such efforts have failed. So it was understandable that this frightened Soviet ruling clique was taken aback by the vast surge of new Jewish activism across Soviet Russia.

Young Jews in hordes turned their back on Communist indoctrination, embracing publicly the concept of Zionism and Yiddishkeit; heinous crimes in the Russian lexicon. Some of them grew so desperate at denial of their repeated requests to migrate to Israel that they took desperate steps. Standing up to the regime and its police apparatus was one way. Seeking to flee the Soviet Union was another. For these horrible crimes in the eyes of the Russian state, several groups of such Jews have been brought to trial publicly. One such trial concluded in Russia on May 20. Twelve people were convicted in a 10-day charade. All were sentenced to jail. Their crime was in seeking to travel to Israel in order to live their faith freely and openly without persecution. Heinous crimes, indeed.

Today they all rot in Soviet prisons. Their spirits and ideals, however, soar as high as the seat of God himself. They will never die in the hearts of all men who yearn for freedom. Their ideals are as alive as those of the first martyrs to persecution.

The Assyrians are gone. The Babylonians and Persians are dust. Rome's grandeur has faded to ruins. The medieval nobility that slaughtered Jews of their time is but an occasional line in a musty library tome. The Inquisition is a horror in the minds of thinking men. Persecutors of Albert Dreyfus are remembered only as illustrations of grand villainies. Hitler and his cohorts are bywords for barbarism. Their monuments are rubble. The czars have gone to their just reward, partly because of their hatred of and persecution of these same Jewish people. Their heirs betray their self-proclaimed ideals and the Russian nation itself by persisting in pursuing the same anti-Semitic policies of those who were overthrown because of heartless despotism.

History pronounces a terrible, merciless verdict upon those who trample upon innocent people whose sole crime is to want to live and work in a certain way dear to them.

These dictators too shall pass, joining all others from Ozymandias and Nebuchadnezzar to Gamal Abdel Nasser and Adolf Hitler. There is an enduring curse upon the heads of such dictators, and the forces of history bring them low.

Mr. Speaker, Martin Luther King, Jr. said that "No man is free until all men are free." He was so right. We are not free until these people are able to live and travel where they please, particularly to Israel, land of their fathers.

When will man ever realize he shows both childishness and barbarism most when he continues to vilify, torment, and persecute the same people he has done these things to for 20 centuries?

When will we finally rid ourselves of this eternal accursed desire to punish a human being because of his religious faith or desire to live in a given place?

Perhaps it is too much to hope for. Certainly, as of today, it is too much to ask of the presently constituted Government of Soviet Russia.

#### THE PRISONERS OF WAR

### HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a poem written by George A. Elliott III, legislative assistant to Representative MARGARET M. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Elliott expresses so eloquently his thoughts about the more than 1,600 Americans held captive in Southeast Asia.

The poem follows:

#### THE PRISONER OF WAR

(By George A. Elliott III)

In the rot and discomfort that is my fate, I grow weary, afraid that I may die before light comes.

Have I been forgotten?

Awakening to another gray and hopeless dawn, I hear the barked command—one, two, assemble; my body and soul aching, infinitely weary.

Have I been forgotten?

How, in a prison camp, does one scratch out a moment of relief from misery? Remember? Yes, we remember a child, a woman, a fruit tree, something called home.

But have I been forgotten?

In the cruel eyes of my tormentor, my captor, I see the beastliness of a devil nation. Shall I forsake all hope? There is no light visible.

Have I been forgotten?

I am a prisoner in a half-remembered war. Has it ended? Who is to tell me?

I kneel and pray, but there are only a series of bleak tomorrows in grim procession.

Have I been forgotten?

#### NUCLEAR ENERGY: ARE THE ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS REAL OR FANCIED?

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday I addressed the Southern California Planning Congress at California State Polytechnic College at Pomona on the relationship of nuclear energy to the environment. The following is the text of those remarks:

#### NUCLEAR ENERGY: ARE THE ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS REAL OR FANCIED?

I will admit that shooting neutrons at uranium atoms to make heat is not a game for children. When you have worked and lived with atomic energy for as long as I have, you develop both a healthy respect for its fantastic potential and a reasonable frame of mind toward its possible dangers. The fission process and ionizing radiation should not be trusted to anyone except those carefully trained and skilled in their use and control.

By the same token, society applies similar ground rules to anything involving the public health and safety, be it driving a bus, filling a prescription or piloting a 747 airplane. But given a healthy respect and regard for public health and safety, and with sensible public understanding of the inescapable need for vast amounts of energy in an industrial society such as ours, there is no reason why we cannot continue to enjoy the wide range of social benefits consequent from the peaceful use of the atom.

A few shrill voices of atomic alarm would have us believe that the entire process is part of some sinister plot, conceived by the dreaded Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, perpetuated upon an unknowing and unwilling public by the secret Atomic Energy Agency—hidden somewhere in the bowels of Washington—and controlled by five shadowy commissioners who possess not a shred of public conscience. The heinous plot of Dr. Strangelove Seaborg and his four co-conspirators is alleged to be poisoning our air, boiling our rivers, lakes and oceans, killing our men, lighting up our women like electric eels and mutating our innocent babies.

Strident anti-nuclear voices accuse the entire nuclear community—government and industry—of blindly reaching for nuclear developments with total unconcern for the alleged horrors they are committing on man, his heritage and his environment.

Let us look at what this so-called dreaded Juggernaut has achieved in the 25 years of its existence:

Fact 1: The Atomic Energy Commission,

the Joint Committee and the nuclear industry have demanded and achieved a level of public safety never before attained in any industry at any time at any place.

Fact 2: The procedures and protections developed and enforced by the AEC are such that atomic energy is recognized by the National Safety Council as one of the safest fields in American industry.

Fact 3: We have been designing, building and operating commercial nuclear power plants in this country for 17 years, and no member of the public has ever been killed or even injured as a result. Similar nuclear safety records have been achieved abroad on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Fact 4: Malfunctions and breakdowns have occurred in nuclear plants—just as they occur in any industrial operation—but built-in, in-depth safety features have prevented harm from happening either to the public or to atomic industrial workers.

Fact 5: In its radiation control systems, AEC has developed the world's first comprehensive and effective environmental protection program. As a result, there is more detailed scientific knowledge about radiation than any other environmental pollutant.

Opinion: Based on the health and safety statistics of 25 years' experience, we may conclude the following about atomic energy:

1. It is safer than flying in an airplane to visit Grandma.
2. It is healthier than overeating—even than eating many foods, at all.
3. It is healthier than jogging for your constitution.
4. And it is safer than going to church, particularly if you drive your car.

"Safety," "public health" and "a clean environment" are not absolutes. Instead they are values in our society which we equate as relative to other desirable objectives. Consequently there is room for honest disagreement over such topics as "How safe is safe?" and "How clean is clean?" I would like to discuss and hopefully dispel some of the old wives' tales associated with the atom and the environment. I hope the result will be less mystery about the atom and greater acceptance for what it is—a clean, efficient and safe way to produce the electrical energy so vital to every member of our modern industrial society.

#### IS THE PEACEFUL ATOM WORTH THE RISK?

There are five common fears about atomic power. The first is that a power reactor might accidentally explode like a bomb. I won't even discuss that one because it is a physical impossibility. The second fear is that an earthquake might tear a reactor apart and spread radiation over the countryside. Third, that normal radiation releases from a reactor are harmful; fourth, that thermal pollution will disrupt the ecology; and fifth, that radioactive waste products present a public health hazard.

First, let's talk about earthquakes. Could an earthquake breach a reactor and result in radiation leakage over the area? Theoretically this is possible; but because of the way reactors are designed and the integrity of their containment systems, it would be highly unlikely. In seismic areas like California, reactors are specifically designed to withstand the varying amounts and directions of ground motion likely to be encountered. A severe earthquake might conceivably damage some of the reactor internals, but reactors are designed automatically to shut down under this kind of stress. The strong probability is that a reactor would still be standing—and operating—even if everything else were leveled. But since seismology is a very imprecise science, and because earthquake design is still undergoing technological change, the AEC is working to develop even higher levels of protection from earthquakes. Meanwhile we design into our reactors containment systems and multiple defenses in depth

against the possibility of any member of the public ever being injured by this cause.

Are normal radiation releases dangerous? In a word, No! Today's typical light water reactor, like the Southern California Edison plant at San Onofre, actually releases less material than that corresponding to one millirem per year of radiation exposure at its site boundary. A millirem is one one-thousandth of a rem, which is the standard measure of radiation dosage. By comparison, residents of a sea-level city like Los Angeles normally receive around 100 millirem per year natural background exposure from outer space, the earth itself and other natural sources. High-altitude residents receive up to 250 millirem exposure per year. Consequently, it should be clear even to the most nervous and excitable amongst us that one millirem per year one way or the other isn't worth getting excited about.

Recently I conducted a radiation survey of the U.S. Capitol to see what levels were being emitted from the granite and other stone there. I discovered, for example, that the entrance to the Rayburn Building, where my office is located, has a radiation level about 237 millirem per year above naturally occurring background. The entrance to the New Senate Office Building is 324 millirem per year above background.

All this, of course, leads to the question of whether the Capitol itself is a radiation hazard—and whether the exposure to this radiation accounts for some of the weird, weird things which occur on Capitol Hill. How else can one explain the strange reversal by the House on the SST, for example? Furthermore, considering some of the people in the neighborhood, there is the distinct possibility that if the Capitol were a reactor, the AEC wouldn't even license it considering the fact that their maximum allowable exposure is 170 millirem per year above background to the general population.

Will thermal pollution kill the fish and harm the ecology? The answer is also "No." In the first place, getting rid of the waste heat from reactor-cooling water is a simple matter of engineering and economics. There is no reason that the heat has to be released back into an adjacent water body if there is reason to believe that it might cause unacceptable ecological changes. We have alternatives such as cooling towers, cooling ponds, channels and a variety of mixing schemes to call upon if necessary to protect the local ecology if, in fact, in a particular instance damage might result.

This is not always the case. For instance, the most exhaustive study to date, by a biologist from Yale University, showed that the thermal effects from the Haddam Neck nuclear plant on the Connecticut River actually improved the aquatic environment. And I quote from an article in *Scientific American* (Vol. 22, May 1970):

"The levels of heating we are encountering may even turn out to have beneficial long-range results. In such circumstances, the term 'thermal pollution' . . . is misleading because it suggests that any amount of heating is harmful."

Here in California, where the vast, cool Pacific Ocean provides an enormous heat sink, the issue of thermal pollution should be essentially nonexistent so long as we are sensible about the points at which we introduce thermal discharges into the sea. To the contrary, heated water can be of significant benefit to both our commercial and our sports fishermen.

Fifth question: Doesn't radioactive waste pose a health hazard? The answer here is "Yes"—unless it is done with the utmost care and safety and under strict government regulation. You cannot be reckless with this stuff any more than you can be reckless with dynamite or cyanide or sulphuric acid. Since the beginning of the atomic age in the early 1940's these wastes have consistently been managed with no adverse public health consequences. Of course, as more reactors are

built, more waste is generated, compounding the problem. But it is by no means so serious a matter as to warrant abandonment of the program.

The AEC will soon receive funds to demonstrate the feasibility of burying high-level radioactive wastes 1,000 feet below the ground in an abandoned salt mine in Kansas. The Commission feels—and the National Academy of Sciences concurs—that this offers an effective way to isolate the wastes from the environment for as long as necessary. It may be that a better alternative for permanent disposal will arise in the future, and the Commission's research program is still working in this area, but for the present and the immediate future, salt mine burial represents a very good answer to the problem.

#### THE RISK-BENEFIT DETERMINATION

Among many critics of nuclear power—grasping at straws to bad mouth the atom—a new issue has arisen recently; namely, who should decide whether the benefits of nuclear power outweigh the risks. It has been suggested that the public ought to vote on whether or not a particular nuclear power plant should be built.

This argument is specious because society subjects us all to a variety of risks in our day-to-day life. It's one of the little inconveniences of our form of government. Nowhere, for example, can I remember being asked to vote on whether I was willing to take the risk of having airplanes fly over my house or other people driving around in their automobiles.

Society entrusts the job of providing electricity to the local power company, subject to regulation by the Public Utilities Commission, State laws and local ordinances. As a result, we have effectively prohibited construction of any new fossil-fueled generators in the Los Angeles basin because of their contribution to our air pollution problem. But we didn't have to vote on it.

But aside from that, the decision as to what kind of power plant gets built—as distinguished from where it is built—is left to the utility. Neither the AEC nor the reactor manufacturers force anything on anybody. Whether the benefits of nuclear power outweigh the benefits of burning gas or oil or coal is determined by the power company.

The ultimate decision might be based on the fact that nuclear plants don't pollute the air. It might be primarily an economic decision based on studies showing nuclear kilowatts are cheaper than natural gas kilowatts. It might be based on the availability or nonavailability of gas, oil or coal or a desire to avoid the problems of transporting them. But whatever bases are used, we largely leave the "benefits" decision up to the utilities.

If a nuclear plant is chosen then it is the AEC that makes the "risks" decision. This boils down to one ultimate question: Is there reasonable assurance that this reactor is designed and will be constructed and operated so as to prevent accidents from happening and to mitigate their consequences if they do. Yes or No?

It is the AEC's responsibility to make that decision—not the utility's, not the public's, and not the Sierra Club's. That's the way the law is written and that's the way it should be. If any person or group feels that something is unsafe, they are entitled to participate in a public hearing where their case is given the attention it deserves. But just as the ultimate responsibility for assuring airplane safety lies with the Federal Aviation Agency, the responsibility for reactor safety lies with the AEC. And to say that this responsibility is exercised with great caution is a significant understatement.

#### CANNIKIN AND THE ECOLOGY

In closing, I would like to discuss one other facet of the Atom vs. the Environment debate, and that is nuclear weapons testing. As you may be aware, the AEC is planning a large, fully contained underground nuclear

test this October on Amchitka Island in the Aleutians. A campaign to force abandonment of this test is being mounted by various anti-war and environmental groups.

They are predicting and postulating many dire consequences if the test is conducted, such as misery for flora and fauna, earthquakes, tsunamis, interference with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Russians and so on. In this latter case, the theory that cancelling the test might somehow improve the chances for a comprehensive test ban treaty. I won't go into the international diplomatic implications and why this is a false and misguided hope—that's a separate speech and the Russians themselves are doing the same yield tests, anyway—but I do want to discuss briefly the environmental argument.

The Commission conducts these tests as a necessity of our national security. They are not done for fun nor to keep atomic scientists out of the headlines. They are done to enhance our chances of survival on this hostile planet and they are conducted with every possible care and consideration for the ecology.

In cooperation with the Defense and Interior Departments and the State of Alaska, the AEC has devoted four years to comprehensive bioenvironmental studies of Amchitka, including seismology, hydrology, geology, bird lore, sea otter survival, radiation effects, archaeology, and other pertinent subjects. The result is that Amchitka holds no secrets from an overall environmental point of view.

Not one of these studies points to a probability of irreparable ecological damage to the island or earthquakes or tsunamis or radiation discharges, or any of the other horrors predicted and paraded by the prophets of doom. These same charges were leveled prior to the big Milrow test on Amchitka in October 1969. But that shot came off precisely as the Commission scientists said it would—with no aftershocks, little damage to the island itself, none to the surrounding area, and only a localized water ripple just a few inches high.

For the Cannikin test, the Commission has postulated a ground shock equivalent to a magnitude 7.0 on the Richter scale—Milrow was 6.5. This is not expected to generate either a secondary earthquake or tsunami. In fact, shocks close to this magnitude are almost daily occurrences in the Aleutians, which is one of the most seismically active areas in the world.

What we know is this: the test is vital to our security as a nation. Our best evidence from our best scientific experts indicates that the chance of any significant environmental or ecological impact is essentially nil. Therefore, neither the scientific nor the political objections for this shot are valid.

In closing, let me say this: Mysterious new technologies have always been subject to public fear and opposition. It was true with the automobile, the airplane, alternating current and the steam engine. It is true now with atomic energy, which is probably the most studied and best understood new technology in the history of the world.

Nuclear science is to be respected and handled carefully but not feared. Its potential benefits—not only for power production but in medicine, industry, agriculture and elsewhere—are too vital to be ignored.

THE JULIA BELLE SWAIN

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a new new chapter in the book of history on inland

river steamboating was begun on Saturday, May 8, 1971, at Peoria, Ill., with the christening of the S.S. *Julia Belle Swain*, a 400-passenger authentic steam-powered sternwheeler. The *Julia Belle Swain* has been the dream of Dennis Trone and his family for some years, and has now taken its place on the Illinois River to revive the days of steam river vessels. The 146-foot excursion steamer has a capacity of 400 persons, and carries rebuilt steam engines and steering wheel from the old *City of Baton Rouge*, Mississippi River car ferry. This metal hull packet design sternwheeler is richly furnished in the riverboat tradition and boasts a 32-whistle steam calliope which can be heard for many miles on the river. Capt. Dennis Trone is president of the Dubuque Boat & Boiler Co., which built the *Julia Belle Swain* as a part of its centennial celebration, and along with his brother, Robert Trone, and other family members, operates the Sangamon Packet Co., which maintain two other period sternwheel river boats, one on the Sangamon River adjacent to the historic New Salem State Park where Abraham Lincoln lived and worked as a storekeeper.

I know that the people of west central Illinois join me in wishing the S.S. *Julia Belle Swain* the best of luck as it brings to life again the steamboat tradition on the Illinois River.

#### DIALOG WITH PEKING

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the President, in response to a question posed during his press conference of March 5, 1971, stated that—

I understand the apprehension in Taiwan, but I believe that apprehension insofar as Taiwan's continued existence and as its continued membership in the United Nations is not justified.

In light of the President's statement as contained in the state of the world message of February 25, 1971, that "we are prepared to establish a dialog with Peking," and our subsequent overtures to Red China, I feel compelled to protest the slightest accommodation of this most oppressive of all governments in the world today.

In a recent issue of Human Events, there appeared a thought-provoking article outlining the perils of our "Peking diplomacy." I would like at this time to include it in the RECORD:

[From Human Events, May 8, 1971]

#### NIXON'S PEKING DIPLOMACY IMPERILS SOUTHEAST ASIA

We do not claim to know precisely what the Administration is up to in the current courting of Red China, but whatever the reason, it is beginning to look as if the game is not going to be worth the candle.

Perhaps, as the insiders will tell you, we are engaged in a devious plot to drive a wedge between Moscow and Peking. That, of course, is the probable explanation for what's happening, but such intrigue will

hardly be time well spent if we also succeed in driving a wedge between ourselves and our Asian allies. And it is this latter possibility that appears far more likely—and ominous—at the moment.

Keeping our alliance together in Southeast Asia has to be considered far more important than initiating some desperate Machiavellian maneuver—with no assurance whatever of success—that may encourage the two Communist superpowers to leap at one another's throat.

The Sino-Soviet quarrel, we might also note, blossomed rather fully without any concerted outside interference on our part. Indeed, the argument could be made that the friction between Moscow and Peking has lessened as we have warmed up relations with Mainland China. Franz Michael of the Sino-Soviet Institute, in fact, has documented the gradual easing of tensions between the two Red powers during the Nixon Administration.

The spirit of détente between America and Peking, however, has clearly caused a deep uneasiness among some of our Asian friends. At the 16th annual ministerial conference of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in London last week, the six foreign ministers attending issued a communiqué that was striking for its omission: There was no mention in the 10-page document of Peking or the recent overtures made by the Red Chinese government.

"The omission," reported the New York Times, "reflected a skepticism shared by several of the Asian members of the alliance about the true motives behind the Chinese gestures toward improved relations with the United States."

This skepticism was voiced by Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas of the Philippines, secretary-general of the organization, who said that it was still too early to tell whether Mao's China had eliminated her "well-known sinister ways" in dealing with Southeast Asia. "We are still waiting for some concrete indication of change."

Austrian minister Leslie Bury also sounded a note of apprehension. "To those of us who are more nearly China's neighbors," he said solemnly, "there is as yet little to inspire confidence that Peking has in fact abandoned those policies which have prevented her from being regarded as a responsible member of the family of nations."

Even more disturbing has been the almost frantic reaction in Thailand. In the wake of our diplomatic overtures to Peking, Thailand, itself, is now rushing to develop contacts with both Red China and North Viet Nam. Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman suggested that his country is moving toward a rapprochement because it no longer trusts the United States to come to its defense. The Nationalist Chinese, of course, are also alarmed by our diplomatic games.

Not only do they fear we may let Red China into the United Nations, but they are now wondering what we plan to do with their future. Incredible as it may seem, the State Department last week even questioned the "legal status" of Taiwan, suggesting that the island might be part of Red China after all.

Especially in view of the wary reaction among our anti-Communist allies, we can see no legitimate reasons for recognizing Peking or allowing her into the United Nations.

Despite all the lavish hospitality bestowed on our table tennis team, Red China has by no means reformed. She is still an outlaw in the family of nations. She was a clear aggressor during the Korean War and she is still calling for South Korea's violent overthrow. She wrestled territory away from India and she flattened Tibet. Tenzing Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, wrote only two months ago from India that the Chinese "have launched a veritable reign of terror" in his country.

Mao and Chou have stirred up revolutionary activity in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They are not only a major supplier of North Vietnam, but they are conducting insurgency schools for revolutionaries from many Southeast Asia countries, including Malaysia, Burma and Thailand. Just last month, in fact, Radio Peking called upon "the Thai peasants to actively participate in the armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist party of Thailand. . . ."

Yet the Red Chinese are also actively trying to stir up revolution in this country. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover wrote in 1970: "During the past year . . . we have experienced a definite increase in our Chinese investigations due to the stepped-up intelligence activities on the part of the Communist Chinese aimed at procuring highly technical data, both overtly and covertly, and the efforts of Chinese Communists to introduce deep-cover intelligence agents into this country."

Mao has lent his support to the Black Panther party and other revolutionary groups, including Progressive Labor. For years Red China harbored Robert Williams, an American now back in this country, who urged U.S. Negroes to rise up and revolt.

Walter Judd, chairman of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations, cannot understand this great drive to recognize Red China. While there is great pressure to "trade" with Peking, says Judd, her greatest exports are "communism" and "heroin." Great Britain, he points out, recognized Mao's mainland in January 1950 in order to reap supposed trade benefits. "What has she gotten in return? Imprisonments, beatings, storming of British Embassies and people and no increase in trade.

De Gaulle showed his defiance of us by recognizing Red China. And it was the Chinese Communists who organized the great [Paris] riots in the spring of '68, a major factor in overthrowing de Gaulle. Israel made overtures way back 20 years ago toward Red China. And it was the Communists from China who organized and trained the Palestinian guerrillas which almost blew up into an all-out war against Israel last fall.

"I would think people would see what's happened when folks have followed these policies of softness toward communism and be wary."

#### TENNESSEE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OPPOSES BIG BUS BILL

### HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received the following resolution from Representative Victor Ashe, a member of the Tennessee House of Representatives:

#### HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 140

A resolution to urge Congress not to authorize an increase in the width of buses.

Whereas, there is much concern for safety on our nation's highways; and

Whereas, there is legislation pending in the United States Congress to authorize an increase of six inches in the width of buses—legislation which the Department of Transportation has failed to endorse; and

Whereas, an identical measure was rejected two years ago by the Congress; and

Whereas, the bill, if passed, would increase by twelve inches the required effective, usable width of our nation's highways and might possibly force reconstruction of some

bridges and tunnels in Tennessee and other states; and

Whereas, this matter merits further study; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Eighty-Seventh General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, the Senate concurring, That the United States Congress is urged to postpone consideration of the subject of wider buses to allow for further study so that the public safety will be adequately protected.

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to President Richard M. Nixon; Secretary of the Department of Transportation, John Volpe; and to all members of the Tennessee congressional delegation.

ARMS SALES TO LATIN AMERICA

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, I commend our colleague from Florida (Mr. FASCELL) for the initiative he has taken with regard to the rather sudden, and I believe precipitous, change in the U.S. policy of making arms and other military equipment available to Latin American nations. The distinguished chairman of the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee has raised some very pertinent and important questions concerning the President's ill-advised decision to exceed the \$75 million ceiling which the Congress set in 1967 on U.S. arms aid to Latin America.

Mr. FASCELL's concerns are well-founded and I believe that the administration's ill-conceived policy could easily lead to an arms race in the Western Hemisphere. Not only is such an arms race not in the best interests of the United States, but the very scarce resources used to purchase this military hardware would be diverted from urgently needed economic and social development programs.

Mr. Speaker, earlier this week an editorial appeared in the New York Times in which it is aptly observed that this hemisphere's security could be threatened by such an arms race. This is a development in which we must take a close and penetrating look and I commend this editorial to the attention of our colleagues. I am pleased to submit it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1971]

ARMS RACE IN LATIN AMERICA?

President Nixon's bid to increase arms aid to Latin America will no doubt be welcomed by military men in the Latin capitals and in the Pentagon and by private American arms merchants. But it is not at all clear that the President's reversal of a four-year-old policy of restraint in providing arms to the southern hemisphere will advance American interests, as the Administration claims.

It is argued that additional arms aid is needed to restore this country's diminishing influence among the military men who increasingly control Latin governments. But such aid in the past has been no guarantor of friendship. It has not insulated recipients from the wave of nationalism that has swept the continent, with the United States as a prime target. At any rate, it is certainly not in this country's long-range interest to be-

come closely identified with military regimes that employ American arms to suppress their own people.

Secretary of State Rogers has defended the President's waiver of a \$75-million ceiling on Latin arms aid on the ground that it "diminishes the prospects of any powers unfriendly to the United States advancing their influence and objectives in this hemisphere." But the principal rivals to the United States as arms suppliers to the Latins are Britain, France, West Germany and Italy, all allies of the United States. Their competition may be annoying to American arms manufacturers, but such competition in itself poses no threat to American security interests.

What does threaten the security of all of the hemisphere is an incipient Latin arms race that will divert scarce resources from desperately needed development efforts, strengthen antidemocratic regimes and increase the danger and potential magnitude of local conflicts. The United States may be powerless to prevent this madness, but there is no good reason why the American taxpayer should be asked to help finance it.

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH  
SPEAKS IN DETROIT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the RECORD a speech given by an old friend and former colleague, a distinguished past national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a good friend of most of us here in the House, the Honorable Richard L. Roudebush, at the 25th anniversary of the Sgt. Stanley Romanowski Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich. on May 8, 1971. The speech follows:

REMARKS BY HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

My Comrades, Sisters and friends. It's been a long time since I visited your Post.

It's real good to be back. When I was last here—I believe in 1958, I recall your wonderful hospitality, your friendship, your comradeship. So, when my good friend, John Kulick, called to extend the invitation to address you tonight, I was delighted to accept. After all, it's like "coming home."

25 years is a long time. Many Posts founder long before they celebrate their 25th year. I want to warmly congratulate you on a successful 25 years, and I know the future holds great promise of success.

We live in times of great and radical change. Most of you are familiar with the fact my home is in Indiana. When you are around a Hoosier for more than 10 minutes—it's inevitable that you will be informed of this fact. I guess we're sort of "low key" Texans in regard to pride in our state.

I was born and raised on a farm—in an atmosphere of  
Love of Country  
Love of God  
Love of family  
Love of all  
the "American way of life".

Therefore, many changes that I witness are most disturbing to me. I worry about my Country. The attack on all these things that I hold dear... the bizarre behavior of some of our citizens! And, I might add—bizarre mode of dress.

We, who work in Washington, certainly have an expertise with demonstrators. Con-

trary to public opinion, the Vietnam war isn't the only protest.

I work at the Veterans Administration—one block from the White House. We have two parks in the vicinity of our Building. I've seen a regular panorama of demonstration.

On one day I witnessed:

- (1) A Women's Liberation Movement
- (2) An anti-war group
- (3) A group of folks against poverty
- (4) And some ecologists.

I might say for the record that these are four things it would be hard to be against.

- (1) We all love the ladies!
- (2) I don't know anyone who opposes war more than someone who has fought one
- (3) We all dislike poverty
- (4) And "clean water" and "clean air" are pretty basic.

I guess then, the real contention is how we achieve these goals. Personally, I dislike "revolutionary change". I prefer rather "evolutionary change".

Let's analyze our System—keep an open mind to needed corrections, but defend with great diligence those things that are good.

You sure as hell don't achieve anything by destroying the system that makes all these wonderful things possible!

- (1) The right to protest
- (2) The right to be heard
- (3) The right to assemble
- (4) The guarantee of personal freedom!

Some of those who protest should try such activity in Hanoi or Moscow. I'm afraid they would find themselves in jail with a broken head. Or, maybe on the way to the "cold country".

Some who carry the placards should realize that a great number of Americans died—to protect their right to carry these signs.

A few moments ago, I told you that former soldiers all deplore war. I think this is especially true of the combat soldier. According to Department of Defense figures—something over 3 million Americans have served in Southeast Asia.

About two and a half million have seen service in Vietnam alone. I'm sure they have been subjected to many tragic experiences—just as their Comrades of World War I and World War II and Korea have been so subjected.

About 800,000 of the Vietnam Veterans have joined the various Veterans' Organizations.

Our Commander in Chief Rainwater—has publicly declared that more than 400,000 are in the ranks of the VFW.

It is my understanding that we have the largest enrollment of any Veterans' Organization. I am so very proud of the VFW—and the outspoken way our Commander in Chief has conducted himself.

I suggest that in doing so—he has had a great effect on the morale and effectiveness of our Armed Forces. And thus our Nation's security.

I don't pretend to be an expert in military affairs—although as Staff Sergeant in World War II—I thought I was one of the best. One need not be an expert in military affairs to recall those dark days before World War II.

The "peace in our times" conference at Munich. We must understand that weakness and unpreparedness invite war. In fact, they make war inevitable.

It is imperative that public confidence and pride in the integrity and decency, the unselfishness and courage, of the men and women who wear the uniform of our Country be rebuilt and strengthened.

Service in our Armed Forces must once again become the hallmark of honor—not a stigma of shame. You simply can't have it both ways. There is little use of providing the great machines of war—unless we honor those who operate these machines.

I was in Congress a long time! I guess the folks in Indiana thought—too long.

I know of cases where young men were

discouraged from going to Service academies. I know of great colleges and universities that have dropped ROTC from their campuses. We speak of an all-volunteer Army. Who is to man this Army? Who is to provide the officer candidates? Young men and women have got to volunteer for such service. And why should the young men volunteer for service—if such service is not respected—by those he attempts to protect? If we're not proud of what he is doing.

My Comrades of Sergeant Romanowski Post—you wore our Country's uniform with dignity and pride. But what man could wear the uniform and serve effectively if that service is downgraded and demeaned by the same citizens that he attempts to protect? I say to you tonight that the future security of our nation depends for a great part on the attitude of the public towards our Armed Forces.

This past week we have been subjected to considerable anti war activity in Washington. There is a growing anti-war sentiment. The war is 10 years old—our people are tired and discouraged.

I looked over the groups that came to Washington. I was in their encampments. I talked to them. I observed their actions. The display of the Viet Cong flags. The desecration of our own flag. The portraits of Mao Tse-Tung. I got the feeling that a great number of these people were more interested in the destruction of our Capitalistic system than they were in Vietnam and the war there.

I didn't see a damned soul that I would trust our nation's foreign policy to. But I submit—there is nothing inconsistent with a yearning for peace! And a proper military preparedness.

In the same vein I am concerned about our Vietnam veterans. They have fought the longest war in our history, and the loneliest war as well. Many feel that their service and sacrifices are unappreciated by our people. Their return home has been marked—not by parades—but often by indifference—and in a few cases by open hostility.

Admittedly—"open hostility" is evidenced by a tiny minority of our citizens. However, "indifference" is a trait of a great many of our people!

80,000 of these young men are discharged each month. This totals about one million per year. Many have had great difficulty in finding work. About 372,000 are unemployed. This unemployment average 10.8% of the total of all Vietnam veterans. And as high as 14.6% among the younger veterans age 20-24.

It is a real paradox to realize that unemployment is greater among veterans than it is with non-veterans of the same age group. I recall no time in history that this has been true. Indifference! There must be!

Just this week, I received a profile on those men separated from service in 1970.

64% were high school graduates;  
17% were college graduates, or had some college;

65% were 22 years of age or younger;  
9% were 20 years of age;  
29% were 21 years of age;  
27% were 22 years of age; and  
Only 5% were 26 years of age or older.

So, we have young men well educated, with maturity, with ambition, with skills.

It is difficult to realize why some employers do not find them most attractive.

Certainly the biggest individual problem facing the Vietnam veteran is unemployment.

I will state, that for the past four months, we have dedicated a great deal of effort to this problem. I hope that real progress will soon be made in solving it.

There is great awareness of the problem, and our cities and states, veterans groups and civic organizations are becoming deeply involved.

Well, this was a great dinner, and a great meeting. I am very happy that I could be here to help celebrate your 25th anniversary.

I might say there is considerable doubt whether I'll be available as your speaker for your golden anniversary. But, maybe I will! I'll only be 78 when that day arrives. It's good to be with you—to see old friends. It's good to say "well done" . . . to a fine Post. Dobra!

God Bless you—Good night—and Good-bye—my dear friends.

### SPACE SHUTTLE—KEY TO ECONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY IN FUTURE SPACE OPERATIONS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the decisions on our national space program for this coming fiscal year, it is important to recognize not only the significant achievements of the past, but also the potential for proposed NASA programs of the future. Because of the significance of some of these programs I am including in the record an analysis of the space shuttle. This is probably the most significant program for space utilization and exploration for the 1970's. The analysis of the space shuttle follows:

#### SPACE SHUTTLE—KEY TO ECONOMY AND FLEXIBILITY IN FUTURE SPACE OPERATIONS

Our ability to predict the future with any degree of certainty is remarkably limited. When we discuss space operations with the space shuttle we are discussing the decades of the 1980's and 1990's, and anyone who will predict in detail the course of space activity or any other of man's activities this far ahead is indeed a brave man. To get a perspective of this, back off mentally to 1940 and try to predict the actual happenings of the 1950's and 1960's. With this in mind can we confidently predict a peaceful two decades for the end of the twentieth century or may we be involved in yet another war? To what extent will the pressures of world population growth and the determination of the underprivileged sector of this population to enjoy a better life combine to threaten the environment of spaceship earth, elevating problems from today's nuisance level to the level of threatening mankind's survival?

Obviously, the role of seer is a difficult one. The only safe prediction is that we face a future of novel and serious problems. We can intuitively predict that space operations will play a significant role in the solution of these problems, and we can examine trends in space operations with a view to understanding how the space shuttle system will impact future space operations.

While many of use have traditionally subdivided space operations into categories such as science, applications, military, etc., it is possible to consider space activity as consisting of two major elements, the pioneering element and the operational element. Columbus' voyage to America was pioneering. Pan Am's operations across the Atlantic are operational. In similar pioneering fashion Explorer I showed that we could place a system in orbit. Intelsat IV is an operational system. How does the shuttle impact this situation? In today's operations both the pioneering and operational systems share a common attribute, they are expended (destroyed) when they are used. Launch vehicles plunge back into the atmosphere and burn up. Spacecraft (with comparatively few exceptions, e.g. the manned entry vehicles) stay in orbit unattended until they die, which may be several years after launch or several minutes. Then they drift around the

sky as pieces of space junk. Even Columbus managed to get two of his three ships back to base, but we operate in a mode equivalent to Pan Am solemnly setting fire to each 747 after each Atlantic crossing.

The shuttle introduces the obvious missing ingredient to space activity, namely reuse. Reuse of launch vehicles—made possible by the basic design of the launch vehicle, the space shuttle itself. Reuse of spacecraft—made possible by the ability of the space shuttle to haul payloads from orbit to earth with even greater facility than from earth to orbit.

The fundamental differences between pioneering and operations is that the pioneering effort is a short term single expedition into the unknown, the operational activity extends over a relatively long period of time and deals with the known. While the shuttle offers benefits to both forms of activity it may well offer its major advantages to the operational mission.

First let us discuss pioneering. By definition the pioneer is not sure of what he wants to do; for example, a pioneering scientific space flight may involve uncertainties with respect to quantities to be measured, range of measurements and so on. This kind of uncertainty is not a major problem in the laboratory on earth, as the scientist merely adjusts his instrumentation as his knowledge increases. With today's space systems the opportunity is a one shot affair, and the scientist had better be right before he even measures anything. With the shuttle, however, we can fly both scientist and the related portion of his laboratory into space in a shuttle sortie mode, with a laboratory unit occupying the shuttle's payload bay. The advantages of having the scientist's instant feedback to the unexpected are obvious.

Now the operational mission. We want to keep a satellite in operation over a period of years, maybe a decade. Today we launch a satellite, watch it degrade, launch a replacement when the degradation becomes unacceptable, and so on and so on. With the shuttle we put up the initial satellite, refurbish it periodically, in all probability while it remains in orbit, and once in a while return it to earth for a major overhaul and systems update, so that we can take advantage of advances in the state-of-the-art as time passes. If we can accept a period without the capability offered by the satellite we fulfill our requirements with a single unit. If continuous service has a high enough value, we have two satellites, one to take over as the other is undergoing overhaul. In either case the service is available at a substantially reduced cost when compared to today's approach.

We have tried to quantify the economics of this revolution in space operations. We have predicted traffic models and estimated their costs using today's types of systems and using the shuttle system. We find that the direct cost using the shuttle, encompassing both launch and spacecraft system costs, comes out consistently at around half of the equivalent cost using today's systems. We are almost certainly wrong because we are calculating what the costs would be to use the shuttle to carry on space activity as we know it today. In the real world we won't operate in the same way with a shuttle because our ingenuity will reveal ways in which we can get an even greater return for even lower costs. These will only become apparent when we tackle each space objective in turn. They will be significant.

The latter years of the twentieth century pose a new problem to mankind. Throughout recorded history we have lived in capital, the capital represented by the wild animals we slew for food when we lived by hunting, the land we exhausted in our agricultural era, the waterways, fossil fuels and even the atmosphere that we are consuming and despoiling in our industrial phase. The post-industrial society will have to live more and more on income and less and less on capital.

We will have to recycle our national wealth over and over again, and the competence of our technology will be the key to our survival. The space shuttle is a modest step along the pathway to the future. It will assuredly permit space activity to make a major contribution to the solution of the problems of the troubled future that we see today.

THE GENERAL GRANT REVENUE  
RETURN ACT OF 1971

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I join with 13 distinguished Members of the New York delegation in the introduction of the General Grant Revenue Return Act of 1971. On behalf of my colleagues, I wish to express my gratitude for the aid in preparation of this measure which has been rendered by all of the Members involved, particularly Mr. CELLER and Mr. KOCH and staff personnel in many of our offices.

This bill is offered as a preferred system of distributing Federal revenue grants to State and local governments. The bill differs in many important ways from other similar measures which are generally referred to as revenue sharing, revenue shifting, tax credits, and so forth. This bill tries to recognize the realities of the severe fiscal crisis which exists in all too many of our State and local governments.

We could discuss at length why these jurisdictions are joining to meet a common crisis and we would have to be aware in that connection of the Federal indifference to urgent domestic problems in the urban area and a lack of attention to the needed change in priorities to relieve this crisis. However, such discussion would not lead to the immediate solution which these local and State governments clearly need and deeply deserve if they are to fulfill their function of service to all our citizens.

Suffice it to say that the crisis of local and State finance is of historic dimension which demands urgent and timely massive Federal assistance.

Our legislation is based on two important principles:

First, because the size of the local deficits and State demands differ greatly the degree of assistance should be geared to these factors.

The Federal Government must provide additional financial assistance to those hard-hit areas, States, and localities which are carrying excessive burdens in meeting problems which are truly national in scope. These problems are wide-ranging, but in principle, they are welfare resulting from unemployment, lack of education, lack of housing, lack of adequate health, lack of adequate personal security in terms of law enforcement, fire protection, and sanitation. Our bill aims and directs funds to specific areas according to a stress formula which follows the important principle of "distributive justice," that is, to gather from all according to their means and dis-

tribute to each in accordance with his needs.

A second most important feature of our bill is that States and localities would be held fully accountable and subject to carefully designed audit and planning in the use and implementation of our revenues and grants from the Federal Treasury.

I wish to stress that this bill is a revenue return plan using the device of general grants within specific program areas. Our bill enumerates broadly defined documented need programs which are capable of being administered by State and local governments. Some of these would be additive to present categorical aid programs but not necessarily an alternative for such categorical aid programs. This is due to the fact that such national goal programs are aimed at countrywide or regional target and impact areas such as higher education, vocational education, mass transit, area-wide housing, urban growth, transit environmental measures, and a series of national priorities that are generally within the Federal accountability and beyond the administrative and jurisdictional scope of local and State governments.

This bill is not, therefore, a substitute for national efforts that must continue if local efforts are to succeed at all. It does little good to talk of additional revenue to solve local problems with 2.6 percent of the Federal tax base if we do not continue to rework our priorities and undergird clear-cut areas of need with the remaining 97.4 percent of the Federal budget. The whole notion of substitutions, therefore, of this plan or any similar revenue distribution plan for Federal programs now in effect is a fiction which has no part in our consideration. This plan, rather, seeks to augment that kind of responsible Federal effort which will allow States and localities to concentrate on their most pressing problems with additional Federal aid in solution of these problems.

We are aware that a great variety of so-called revenue-sharing bills have been introduced and sponsored by many of our colleagues here in the House as well as in the other body. We have carefully studied all of these bills. From among the good points we found in many of them, we have tried to incorporate the best ideas available to us. Specific objections which we found quite evident in a number of bills, we have sought to cure in the following ways:

We believe that adequate safeguards must be provided. We have specifically delineated in our bill the planning, audit, and report and trust fund concept which we believe are the minimum measures necessary for sound accountability. We involve the Comptroller General in order that we, as that power in the Government responsible for the general welfare, would not acquit ourselves of that responsibility by simply turning over Federal moneys to other elected officials without the oversight necessary to assure effectiveness and economical use of all Federal funds.

We define broadly the areas of allowable use for Federal funds because we

believe such definition should be the function of the Congress. At the same time we reserve to the State and local governments the freedom to determine the proper application of grant funds within these defined areas. With care and diligence we assure civil rights compliance on a continuing and reviewable basis so that this bill would not reverse the progress we have made in the field of civil rights but would, indeed, help to accelerate this progress as an appropriate use of the Federal power of expenditure.

I believe that a brief summary of the points in our bill will indicate how its provisions correct the shortcomings of other bills and address themselves to the task in hand in providing fiscal relief to all the governments in the Federal system. In the first year of operation the General Revenue Return Act would make available an estimated \$10 billion of grants to State and local governments. This is twice the amount proposed in the administration's revenue-sharing plan. The amount to be made available would be equal to 2.6 percent of the total taxable income reported on Federal individual income tax returns. The amount would be authorized each fiscal year and would tend to increase each year as the economy expands, subject to the will of Congress. This method is not subject to those kinds of fluctuations which would perpetuate the great difficulty that States and localities now encounter in attempting to forecast Federal revenues and at the same time, effectively plan for the utilization.

Such plans are impossible to administer effectively when they are neither concrete nor foreseeable on a year-to-year basis given the fact that legislatures and State governments are never in a position to really ascertain what Federal moneys they will be called upon to match or spend.

Other bills fall far short in providing the kinds of aid that really would be adequate to meet the crisis in the Federal system as we know it to be. It would be a cruel blow to those who propose we have sharing in a new Federal partnership if the very device that is suggested, that is, revenue sharing, were to become a total failure because it would discharge an insufficient amount of money in so many different directions that its impact would not be measurable. If we cannot demonstrate a significant impact then taxpayers would have the right to feel that we utilize their tax dollars in a frivolous way.

Our suggested figure, on the other hand, of \$10 billion is not taken as a result of some figure in speculation but rather is the amount which Governors, mayors, and respected bodies outside government have recommended as a minimum amount needed at this time to begin to reverse the process of decay and deterioration in the federal system at local levels.

After the amount of moneys to be distributed we come to the all important method of distribution. One-half of the distribution is based upon population and distribution is on a per capita basis. This might be termed the first platform

or basic level. The second level or platform is a need formula which we have detailed as follows:

Mathematically we take into consideration the key factors which determine State revenue raising efforts, and those burdens which are out-stripping the tax resources of States and localities. Specifically, we compute the expenditures for elementary and secondary education borne by the State and its political subdivisions, public assistance costs—excluding medical expenses—borne by these jurisdictions and the amounts collected from State and local income taxes imposed upon individuals. I think it most important that any distribution formula give equal weight to these factors. To fail to do so would mean that States which now are not utilizing their tax resources would share equally well with States that are taxing themselves up to the hilt and indeed beyond their means.

First, we are told by experts that there is as much as \$18 billion of available unused State and local revenues that could be brought to bear upon clear-cut needs if all States made at least a moderate effort for the use of these revenues. Second, if all of the States were to receive the same distribution without the need factor it would perpetuate and aggravate the "soft-touch" areas of our country to which industry migrates seeking to escape taxes by building run-away plants in areas which present more wholesome tax and wage pattern accommodations. These accommodations should not be made even more enticing by the utilization of new Federal revenues through a per capita sharing system which does not call upon the State and locality to make at least some effort consistent with that of the States which have been forced to exhaust all sources of revenue.

Our bill has one detail which some may consider to be provincial and local because it gives a slight added benefit to cities that have more than 1 million population. These might be called the cities of the "multimillion epidemic." What is the epidemic? Total loss of new housing, high prime interest rates, worst possible conditions of health, and an educational system about to collapse. Hence some special increment to the cities is justified and included in this bill.

Prohibitions against discrimination are specifically provided for in this bill. Prescribed judicial procedures are set out in section 5 so that any person adversely affected by the action of an official of a State or political subdivision thereof may bring a civil action for relief on his behalf or on behalf of a class of persons similarly situated.

Unlike the administration's revenue-sharing plan, the grants provided for in this bill are not "untied, no-strings" aid. States would have to submit plans in accordance with guidelines established by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller General. These grant funds could be spent only for programs in the areas of education, health, housing, law enforcement, fire protection, public transportation, government restructure, public sanitation, environmental protec-

tion, improvement of correctional facilities, manpower training, or welfare. In addition the State plan must give adequate assurances that there will be an overall maintenance of tax effort by the State and its local governments, and that no part of the State payment will be used to reduce such overall tax effort.

Section 6 of the General Grant Revenue Return Act of 1971, provides for the creation of a Federal-State Local Income Tax Commission. The Commission also shall consider the feasibility and desirability of coordinating the collection of Federal, State, and local income taxes through a unified tax system.

We believe that the establishment of this commission would be timely and economical. There are many parallels and redundancies in tax collections now since almost all jurisdictions throughout the country are imposing identical or similar taxes, sales, income, estates, and so forth. There is no reason why we could not make a modest contribution to eradicate the perils of pollution by cutting down the paper work, excessive bureaucracy, and the additional mail cost brought upon the Government and the individual taxpayer. In addition this multiplication of tax systems may be about to destroy our principal tax resource—the taxpayer himself—by driving him away since he must financially support the inefficiencies of our present tax collection system.

It is about time that we use some measure such as this to give the taxpayer some assurance that we will simplify his problem as we attempt to solve our own.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point a short summary of the bill:

#### ANALYSIS OF THE DELEGATION BILL

##### 1. GENERAL PURPOSES

The Bill would establish a new and continuing broad Federal grant out of Federal revenues for specific State and local needs and services.

##### 2. AMOUNT

2.6% of individual income tax base, or \$10 billion for the first full year. The State and local government share increases in direct proportion to the growth of the U.S. economy.

##### 3. ALLOCATION

A. Payments to States:  $\frac{1}{2}$  population (per capita basis) and  $\frac{1}{2}$  need.

The Need Formula is based on—

1/6—All State and local costs of public elementary and secondary education.

1/6—All public assistance payments made by State and local governments (not including medical expenses).

1/—All State and local income taxes.

Thus, all States receive a share; the neediest States receive more than the less needy.

B. Pass-through to local governments:

The State will transfer to each of its local governments which imposed a local income tax on an amount which bears the same ratio to that portion of the State payment as net collections from income taxes by such local government bear to the aggregate net collections from the individual income taxes of the State and by all of its local governments. The division among the local governments will be made on the basis of the resident population of each local government; except that if the resident population of any such government exceeds 1,000,000 individuals, each individual in excess of 1,000,000 shall be counted as two individuals for purposes of the division.

#### 4. ACCOUNTABILITY TO CONGRESS

A. *Limits*—To provide direct accountability to Congress, the bill regulates and limits the purposes for which this Federal money may be spent: education, health, housing, law enforcement, fire protection, public transportation, government restructure, public sanitation, environmental protection, improvement of correctional facilities, manpower training, welfare.

B. *Flexibility*—At the same time, each State and local government retains considerable flexibility in using the federal money received under this program.

C. *Safeguards*—The Comptroller General is to oversee the spending of this Congressional grant. If there is a violation by any State or local government on use of Federal money under this grant, the Comptroller General may suspend further payments to that State or local government.

#### 5. PUBLIC DISCLOSURE

Each unit of government receiving Federal money must publish annually an audit and accounting of how the money was spent.

#### 6. CIVIL RIGHTS

The Comptroller General shall suspend payments to any State or local government not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

#### 7. FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL INCOME TAX COMMISSION

The Commission is created, for not longer than one year, to study the need for a single, co-ordinated Federal income tax system.

Benefits through the Delegation bill, compared with the other revenue sharing bills, are indicated in attached table.

### THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CHARGES

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Attorney General Mitchell and other members of the administration have leveled some grave charges concerning the recent anti-war demonstrations here in Washington. The following editorial, from the May 23 Milwaukee Journal, puts such freewheeling accusations in their proper perspective:

#### MITCHELLISM A LA MCCARTHY

Atty. Gen. Mitchell says that overseas Communist contacts and funds helped bring anti-war demonstrators to the nation's capital. He added that his comments applied to "every one of these large demonstrations that have come to Washington."

This is a serious charge of subversion, of accepting funds from Communist sources for the purpose, as Mitchell sees it, of undermining the federal government. If he has facts to support the charge he has a duty to produce them and indict those he claims to be the tools of external Communists. If he doesn't have facts he is making a very grave charge with no basis but prejudice—something no attorney general, most of all, has a right to do.

Mitchell ought to put up or shut up. Unless he does, he deserves no more attention than the late Sen. Joe McCarthy should have got when he stood up in 1950 and said that "I hold in my hand the names of 205 Communists" in the State Department. He never proved it, but his unsubstantiated charges embroiled the nation.

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN MEETING  
CONSUMER INSURANCE NEEDS

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, despite great handicaps and limitations, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has been administering a Federal program of insurance, authorized and funded by legislation enacted in 1968 of which I was very proud to be a cosponsor.

Although there are budgetary and other restrictions, HUD is pioneering the provision of basic insurance that would not be available otherwise.

Recently, Mr. George K. Bernstein, Federal Insurance Administrator, gave an enlightening and informative speech before the Association of the Bar of the city of New York.

I would like to share Mr. Bernstein's remarks with my colleagues. His speech is as follows:

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN MEETING CONSUMER  
INSURANCE NEEDS

(By George K. Bernstein)

The very existence of a Federal Insurance Administration is evidence of the failure of the property insurance industry to meet the basic insurance needs of our citizens. Part of this failure can be attributed to a lack of will; part to an inability to operate effectively under internal and external structures. All of it, to a greater or lesser degree, represents a stodginess, a lack of creative innovation, and a relatively low quotient of courage and responsibility.

I submit that unless there are major reforms within and by the property insurance industry, producing meaningful structural changes—not the usual patchwork of band-aids or cosmetic non-actions—insurance as a function of private enterprise will not long survive.

In recent months there has been much concern in the insurance industry, in Government, and on the part of the general public with a wide range of specific insurance questions: no-fault auto insurance, mass merchandising, federally mandated universal health insurance. During this period there have been increasing demands for further Federal intervention to assure the availability of essential property insurance. All the debate, the research, and the resultant proposals in these areas are desirable. They should benefit the consumer.

But neither singly nor together are these proposals, or any similar responses to particular problems, likely to produce more than temporary respite from the deterioration of the property insurance situation. None of them, with the possible exception of no-fault auto insurance, addresses itself to the underlying reasons for lack of insurance availability and ever-increasing cost. And, while I endorse the principle of no-fault, I fear that even the more extensive no-fault proposals will not, in the absence of other basic reforms, produce lasting cost reductions.

Many of the factors which have resulted in restrictive insurance markets and frequently prohibitive prices are beyond the direct control of the insurance industry. Until drunk and reckless drivers are barred from the road, personal injuries and deaths and their costs will increase; until automobiles are built to withstand more than a kick in the tire, repair costs will continue to skyrocket; until hospital and medical

costs are restrained, there will be no end to the spiraling price of health protection; until crime is reduced, the costs of insuring against it will continue to mount; and, until there is greater control over inflation in general, the debilitating effect of these costs will intensify.

We must increase our efforts to deal effectively with these social responsibilities, but they are external to the insurance system. We must at the same time address the internal breakdown in the insurance mechanism and restructure it accordingly.

A first step is public awareness and acceptance of the incredible fact that too many insurance companies do not want to write insurance. It is this phenomenon, of an industry in large measure abandoning its inherent role, that should have alerted us to the seriousness of the disease. Yet, tragically, even when there was a recognition of the symptoms, the responses were often inadequate or simply wrong. To a considerable extent, it was the palliatives adopted, with great fanfare, which led us to where we are today. Our present sorry state is a combination of mounting indignation and rueful acceptance of such arbitrary and repeated industry acts as the cancellation or nonrenewal of an insured's coverage after he had paid the premiums for many years, as a result of a minor collision or burglary claim, or the deterioration of a neighborhood.

In a vital and responsive free enterprise private insurance system, these rather visible absurdities would have produced broad-based remedial action. What is occurring, however, to the contrary, is the accelerating withdrawal by the insurance industry from the insurance business. Whether these withdrawals occur from the inner city, the suburbs, rural areas, or along our coast lines—whether they represent a reluctance to write fire, crime, auto, windstorm, or liability insurance—is less important than that collectively they represent a serious loss of protection and the disintegration of our private insurance system.

The governmental response to this situation, although laudable in assisting the consumer victims of the deteriorating insurance market, has proven hardly less disorganized than the performance of private enterprise. The States, with remarkably rare exceptions, have merely reacted—rather than acted—and have treated symptoms rather than causes. The Federal Government, in recognition of the traditional responsibility of the States for regulation of insurance, has been reluctant to step in, except as a last resort after a problem has reached crisis proportions. Nevertheless, in the last few years, in the face of inaction or inadequate action on the part of the industry and the States, the Congress has established three new Federal programs to make available essential coverages—the Urban Property Protection and Reinsurance Act of 1968, the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968, and the Crime Insurance Act of 1970. These programs are administered by the Federal Insurance Administration within the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Let us briefly examine these programs and the reasons for them.

With exceptions that are too minor to be relevant, flood insurance has never been written in the United States. Its absence represented not an unwillingness but an apparent inability of the insurance industry to provide a particular type of disaster coverage generally desired only by those with a known exposure and a relative certainty of loss. Not only did flood insurance involve the catastrophic potential of the hurricane-type loss, but an absence of a spread of risk, and therefore an inadequate premium base. A major contributing factor was the increasingly unwise use of the flood plain and the absence of adequate restrictions on locations and types of structures to preclude

those that would surely be subject to flooding.

The Congressional response was the enactment in 1968 of the National Flood Insurance Act. Under this program, in return for the local adoption of land use and control measures to reduce future flood losses, through wiser locational and structural building decisions, the Federal Government, through an association of private insurers, now writes flood insurance. The Federal share of potential losses, funded through tax dollars, is currently approximately 90 percent, with the industry group bearing the balance. In the last year and a half, the program, which was expanded by statute to include protection against mudslides, has grown rapidly and currently covers 511 communities in 39 States, offering protection to thousands of property owners. By December 31 of this year, each of these communities—and any other that wishes to avail itself of the Federal coverage—must enact land use and control provisions consistent with criteria established by the Federal Insurance Administration to take into consideration the flooding problems of the particular community.

The program provides low-cost, subsidized coverage for existing private structures and small businesses. With respect to all construction started after the area of special flood hazard is identified, actuarially established rates must be charged. This provides a further incentive to individuals and communities to build in a more prudent manner.

Recently, there have been suggestions that the Federal Flood Insurance Program should be expanded to include other natural disasters, including earthquakes. Without regard to the fact that land use restrictions appropriate to earthquake are much more extensive than those related to flooding; and ignoring, for the moment, the hundreds of schools and hospitals already located along the San Andreas Fault; and without weighing the economic and political pressures against the effective implementation of an earthquake land use program in those areas where entire communities are subject to potential destruction. I submit that before we expend more taxpayers' dollars for another Federal disaster insurance program, we should ascertain whether the price required under the flood insurance program—land-use and control measures—will in fact be paid.

If communities are unwilling to adopt and enforce meaningful land use and control measures with respect to flood-prone areas, the Federal Flood Insurance Program will not have served its purpose. Worse, it may have encouraged new building in flood-prone areas. In such an event, it should be abolished. Certainly, no new Federal disaster program patterned on the carrot-and-stick approach of Federal insurance in return for local land use and control measures should be enacted until we see whether or not the one that we already have works.

With the flood insurance program, the Congress also enacted the Urban Property Protection and Reinsurance Act of 1968. This Act followed the report of the National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas, the Newark and Detroit riots of 1967, and the widespread riots of 1968 after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Although the Congress recognized the financial strains that could be imposed on an insurance company by a major riot or civil disorder, only Rip van Winkle could believe that the chronic unavailability of fire and extended coverage insurance in our urban areas resulted primarily from the 1967 and 1968 riots. We are all aware of the difficult market situation that existed for many years in New York and in most other large cities throughout the United States.

Prior to its reports on fire insurance availability in 1967 and 1968, the New York Insurance Department, for a number of

years, had attempted to deal with the increasing withdrawal of insurance companies from the urban markets. These efforts did not prove successful until the enactment in 1968 of the Department-recommended legislation under which every insurable risk unable to obtain coverage in the voluntary market must be written through the FAIR Plan.

The Federal Act provided that the Federal Government would offer riot reinsurance to any insurer participating in approved FAIR Plans, similar to the New York pool. Since 1968, 27 other States, including Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia, have established and are operating such FAIR Plans. As of year end 1970, these 28 Plans have issued some 500,000 policies, with insurance coverage in force of approximately \$14 billion and in many States, such as New York, the FAIR Plan has become the largest insurer of fire and extended coverage. In both the District of Columbia and New York State the Plans provide 25 percent of all fire and extended coverage insurance written. The New York FAIR Plan, the largest in the country, had written 150,000 policies and had an estimated volume of insurance in force of \$6 billion as of November 30, 1970.

This high utilization of the FAIR Plans is growing proof of the reluctance of insurance companies to voluntarily write insurance. And while the FAIR Plan program has, to a great extent, made fire and extended coverage insurance available, there is a real question of whether the newly achieved availability has been accomplished satisfactorily and at reasonable prices, particularly in light of sharply rising premium rates.

Premium rates are a product of experience and there should be no criticism of rate increases which reflect valid losses and expenses. While rate adequacy, alone, has never proven to be the solution to unavailability of insurance in what the companies treat as residual markets—Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and Watts—the politically motivated denial of justified rate relief has undoubtedly been a factor in reducing the availability of needed coverages.

The public does have a right, however, to object to unwarranted rate increases in an artificially created atmosphere of company martyrdom. With respect to FAIR Plan business—and as regards fire and extended coverage generally in urban areas—there has been, nationwide, failure by the insurance industry to prove its public claim that it is subsidizing bad risks and social responsibilities.

It is rare to pick up a newspaper or trade journal without reading of a property insurance executive bemoaning the huge losses allegedly sustained by the FAIR Plans and the injustice of the companies having to write "social insurance." The most significant issue is not whether these statements are made to justify rate increases or whether they are made to demonstrate that those who had to resort to the FAIR Plans are in fact poor risks and that the companies were justified in not writing them voluntarily. What is important is that with minor exceptions there has been no actuarial evidence that the companies have been losing money on FAIR Plan business.

Authoritative industry statements allege that the companies lost \$50 million writing FAIR Plan business throughout the country in 1969 and 1970 combined. Our office has reviewed the very questionable statistics submitted by the industry. The loss and expense data are either invalid or an admission of industry incompetence and poor service to FAIR Plan insureds.

Most disturbing with respect to industry claims that it is subsidizing the ghettos, is that in the same two years in which they alleged \$50 million in FAIR Plan losses, the companies were receiving, in the form of riot and civil disorder loadings in 28 States, a

minimum of \$110 million. These loadings—in the form of an additional 2 or 4 percent, depending on where you live in a State—have been added to the premiums paid by most property insureds in these States to encourage the companies to write voluntarily in urban areas.

That these loadings have not achieved their purpose is evidenced by the incredible growth of the involuntary FAIR Plans. Furthermore, even if their FAIR Plan losses in this same period were the \$50 million claimed by the companies—and I question this—and even if their insured riot losses were as high as \$40 million, which is probably an outside limit, these combined losses total only \$90 million compared with the \$110 million taken in through riot loadings. That leaves a \$20 million overall profit before investment income and taxes.

As further evidence that FAIR Plan business may not be so bad, the total operating ratio for fire and extended coverage insurance, which includes losses and expenses in the FAIR Plan States for voluntary as well as involuntary business, shows a profit of 7.1 percent before investment income and taxes in 1969, and that's a pretty good profit margin. It is particularly good when compared with non-FAIR Plan States where similar data shows an operating loss of 4.3 percent.

What this means in bread-and-butter terms is that urban fire and extended coverage insurance has been more profitable than such coverages in other areas. And, as long as the industry employs its convoluted and intricate classification and territorial rating system, these statistics impose a heavy burden on it to justify rates based on that system. Is the private dwelling, the apartment house, or the small business in the inner city in fact producing worse underwriting results than the bowling alley, the hotel, or the restaurant outside the city? Is there any justification for the already burdened city dweller paying what may in fact be a hidden subsidy to his less-taxed and less-imposed-upon rural counterpart? How long can we, or will Congress, permit the industry to continue its careless and unwarranted course of action?

These unanswered questions are some of the reasons that despite the main thrust of the 1968 Federal Act towards availability, our office is paying increasing attention to the reasonableness of the cost of the coverage provided. We have testified on these issues before the Congress and have urged the insurance industry and the National Association of Insurance Commissioners to take action so that new Federal legislation will not be needed. Unfortunately, there has been relatively little initiative on the company level and little disposition by Insurance Departments to give adequate attention to regulation of FAIR Plans, apparently because of a complacent belief that the fire and extended coverage insurance availability problem has been met.

A third area of insurance responsibility now vested in the Federal Insurance Administration pertains to crime insurance such as burglary and robbery coverages. The unavailability of this coverage in our urban areas has long been evident. The problem has been amply documented, and in its July 1970 report the Federal Insurance Administration analyzes the causes and suggests certain solutions.

Many are unable to obtain and continue crime insurance at all. Even those urban businessmen and residents who are able to purchase the coverage find themselves faced with mounting premium costs. Although, as with all lines of insurance, crime insurance rates are generally a product of experience and increasing crime losses result in increasing premiums, this offers little comfort to the grocery store owner in the Bronx who must pay \$531 for \$1,000 of broad form storekeepers' coverage. Such a rate is representa-

tive of the situation nationally. In recognition of this problem, the Federal Insurance Administration's 1970 report urges that while efforts to reduce crime remain a first priority, steps should be taken through the insurance mechanism to minimize the financial impact upon its victims.

Within six months of the issuance of that report, the Congress enacted the crime insurance title of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970. It gave the States with a critical problem of insurance availability and affordability until August 1 of this year to remedy the situation. In such States where inadequate action is taken by August 1, the Federal Government will itself provide crime insurance at affordable rates.

On the basis of indications to date, it is unlikely that more than a handful of States will be able to solve their own crime insurance problems. Although we would prefer effective State action, certain benefits may result if the Federal Government enters the crime insurance area. For years the insurance industry has utilized an outmoded method of interrelating territories, classifications, and rates. Under the Federal Act, the new program can reflect experimentation and innovation. We hope to make significant improvements in crime insurance methodology to enable crime insurance to become available on an affordable basis. If this approach succeeds, meaningful lessons can be drawn for other lines of insurance.

It is unfortunate that the public must look to the Federal Government both for innovation and to perform insuring functions which traditionally have been performed by the private sector under State regulation, but it is becoming clear to everyone that in many areas the private industry and the States have failed to do the job. Nor is there any indication that they are yet taking steps to deal with basic problems to avoid the need for further Federal action in other insurance areas.

There are bills in the Congress which would involve the Federal Government in additional fields of insurance operation and regulation. Too many observers in and out of the insurance industry are resigned to such an increasing Federal role, and many members of the public endorse and urge it. The mere replacement of the private sector by Government, however, does not necessarily hold out greater assurance of long-term success in meeting the public's needs for insurance at a reasonable price than the meager efforts of the insurance industry. Too frequently we forget that tax-funded programs to meet public needs are not free. The taxpayers across the Nation provide the subsidy required by the flood insurance program. Tax dollars will make up any deficits in the crime insurance program, and tax dollars will be required to support future Federal insurance programs for which the premium rates charged do not prove adequate.

I submit that rather than abandon private insurance to its own deficiencies and replace it with a Federal bureaucracy, which in so many cases becomes an end in itself, a more appropriate Federal role would be to require the insurance industry and the States to restructure the insurance mechanism so that it can again serve the public and return a profit.

Perhaps the most basic principle of insurance upon which it grew, but which in recent years has been in large measure abandoned, is the need to spread the risk. Effectively implemented, the principle of insurance requires the placement of a large number of risks in a single category in order for classification and territorial rate-making to produce sound results. Industry survival is unlikely if it continues to pursue an abortive law of small numbers. And yet, rating territories and classifications continue to multiply. Whereas the cities once were eco-

nomically balanced economic units, they now are often economically monolithic. Logic would tell us that, in order to restore a rating base to spread the risk, fewer and larger territories should be established. The industry reaction? Further fragmentation!

In automobile insurance alone, most States have approved an 11,000-class classification system, which when multiplied by the approximately 650 rate-making territories in the United States produces over 7 million potential slots into which an insured might fall. When we find that two-thirds of all drivers fall into only two of the 220 base classifications, we recognize the absurdity of the system. In fire insurance, while there are far fewer classifications than for auto, in New York alone there are 6,000 potential slots into which an insured might fall. The same trend is present in other lines of insurance; we need only recall the genesis of Blue Cross and Blue Shield, with its community rating concepts, and compare it with today's system with its experience rating and multi-classifications to see how far we have departed in just a few years from the concept of spreading the risk.

The stampede to more and more rating refinements, subtler classifications, and more territorial distinctions, as well as variations in policy provisions that confound the most learned, results, of course, from the efforts of the industry to isolate the so-called less desirable risk and thus maximize profits. The industry claims that this is necessary to get the proper rate for the high risk assureds and thereby enable the underwriter to serve all risks. The phenomenal growth of the high risk pools and the residual market belies this claim.

In the fire and extended coverage area, this form of enforced isolation has contributed to the segregation, in some areas, of over one-third of the insureds as FAIR Plan business. In automobile insurance, the population of the assigned risk plans has grown—despite the implementation of open competition—to the point where about 10 percent of all automobile insureds in New York State are now in the assigned risk plan. It is difficult to question in theory that a certain degree of selectivity and recognition of unique characteristics is appropriate to the underwriting process, but what has occurred in fact is an extreme over-utilization of this concept. And it has failed abysmally.

To the extent that the insurance industry does not voluntarily acknowledge the need for a broader system of classifications for rate making and underwriting purposes, State Insurance Departments must exercise their authority to require this return to basic insurance principles. If the industry continues to indulge its mania for subclassification, and the Federal Government is forced into new areas of insurance operations, we will be faced with the irony that the Federal funding mechanism will have to look to the broadest of all classification systems, its general tax revenues.

We find a similar fragmentation problem today with respect to policy coverage. Instead of seeking to meet the varied needs of our citizens through truly comprehensive coverage, even the limited package policies offered are sold only to a chosen few, while the rest of the population has to shop, often unsuccessfully, for separate coverages. If industry's claim of overall unprofitable underwriting experience is taken at face value, this fragmentation of coverage has not proved successful even by its own standards. Yet we still see increasing restrictions in the types of coverage offered.

Not only should classifications of insureds and territories be broadened but so too should coverage through the development of an all risk policy offering full protection against a broad range of hazards. Under such a policy, all insureds could receive the same enumerated protections against such perils as natural disasters, fire and theft. The Gulf Coast resident would receive protection

against his much-needed hurricane exposure on the one hand and his less-needed crime insurance and earthquake exposure on the other; similarly, the mid-west resident could be protected against tornadoes and fire and also against his moderate crime exposure. The eastern urban dweller would, under the same policy, be protected against his serious exposure to crime, fire and riot, and also have earthquake and windstorm protection. The west coast resident would have needed earthquake protection as well as mudslide and crime insurance. All of these residents would be paying for coverages they might not ordinarily purchase, but would be assured of receiving the essential protections that today are inadequately available to them. The pennies paid by policyholders for relatively unessential coverages would create a sufficient premium spread to enable insurers to cover the hazards they currently claim to be uninsurable.

Under such an all-risk concept, all State regulators, in order to assure an adequate spread of risk, would have to require the companies to offer relatively uniform minimum coverages. These minimums should be low enough to encourage competition among companies for additional coverages, but high enough to offer all insureds basic all-risk protection.

All-risk coverages could be provided privately and without Federal involvement or State or Federal tax subsidization, if insurers doing business country-wide were content to absorb losses in one jurisdiction in recognition of profits in another, with overall experience as the determining factor. However, as long as the industry insists on profitability on a line-by-line, class-by-class, territory-by-territory basis, and as long as State regulators refuse to recognize valid regional or national risk factors, such a comprehensive approach is not possible through the private sector. But as consumers and taxpayers, we have the right to demand those reasonable adjustments to "business as usual" that are required in the interests of efficiency, equity and basic insurance protection.

Another needed reform would be directed to a return to the basic insurance tenet that the consumer should use his limited insurance dollars to buy catastrophe protection initially, and only later—if practicable—to seek first or full dollar coverage. It is almost self-evident that first dollar coverage requires disproportionate expenses and thus drives up price. Unfortunately, the use of realistic deductibles today is the exception rather than the rule, despite the fact, for example, that a \$100 automobile liability property damage deductible would enable either a 25 percent rate decrease or, for the same rate, a top limit of \$200,000 in lieu of \$5,000. Deductibles and other streamlined cost saving devices within their reach continue to be ignored by the industry. One might almost conclude that the industry is really more interested in cash flow than in sound insurance principles and business-like standards of profit and loss.

A more obvious aberration of the insurance system today, affecting millions of insureds, is its treatment of the so-called residual risk. Any insurance system, however well run, must recognize and react to the existence of certain insureds who statistically can be shown to be least desirable. There is a better way of handling such risks than the multiplicity of involuntary pools and assigned risk plans abounding today with their invariably adverse social implications.

We have auto assigned risk plans, fire and extended coverage FAIR Plans, windstorm pools, school insurance facilities, State workmen's compensation funds, Federal flood and crime programs, and many others. Even if the FAIR Plans and other pools were run efficiently, their separate responsibilities for different lines of coverage multiplied on a multi-State basis assures the greatest in-

efficiencies of scale. And yet, the only solutions receiving serious consideration at the State level today are the creation of more such involuntary facilities for more of the unavailable lines of coverage.

There is no shortage of insurance company capacity to write those lines of property insurance in demand today. What we are witnessing is the refusal of the companies to utilize their capacity, and, except to the extent that the involuntary pools compel participation, the companies continue to avoid writing insurance. Ironically, and counter-productively, the very mechanisms we have established to make more insurance available provide that the less insurance a company writes voluntarily the less it is required to write in the involuntary pools, regardless of the size of its assets, its surplus, or the non-insurance uses to which it is putting its capital. This relationship, incidentally, has not escaped the attention of certain companies which, entirely consistent with existing rules, have adjusted their voluntary underwriting practices accordingly. Thus the cycle of unavailability compounds itself.

Furthermore, millions of dollars have been paid by insurance companies in dividends to parent holding companies and others in the last two years for diversification into non-insurance fields, thus reducing actual capacity as well as utilization of existing capacity. As company officials have succeeded in convincing themselves that they are losing money in the insurance business, often against preponderance of contrary evidence, there is an ever increasing desire to utilize their assets in greener pastures. An observer cannot help but wonder why the lack of success in one's chosen field of expertise holds out promise for more success elsewhere.

It cannot be denied, of course, that there are some very real pressures on insurance company profits. These include spiraling losses and expenses in most lines of business, growing pressures by the public for coverage in areas shunned by the industry, and legislatively imposed limits on the degree of selectivity which a company may indulge in refusing or accepting a risk. That's what insurance is all about, and the companies who have written insurance at a profit for years should not complain. Unfortunately, these pressures have been accompanied by a marked tendency to political rate-making and artificial depression of rates in certain areas which has intensified the exodus of insurance availability from many States. Once such a climate is created, it is difficult to overcome. Furthermore, an increased public awareness of the insurance mechanism has taken most of the aura of mysticism from the insurance transaction which had previously isolated the industry from public scrutiny. In the face of these mixed pressures, it is essential to encourage, not discourage, voluntary writing of essential coverages.

Therefore, I recommend that the States, and, if necessary, the Federal Government, require participation by the insurance industry in a totally different approach to the residual market. Instead of establishing or continuing separate assigned risk pools for each line of insurance, all insurance companies licensed to do business in a jurisdiction should be required to write every insurable applicant for coverage at the same rate charged every other similar risk.

If a company concluded that a particular risk possessed certain characteristics which made him potentially unprofitable in its eyes, it would be permitted to reinsure percentages above a minimum retained amount with a single pool comprised of all insurers doing a property insurance business in the State. Such an approach, which is already being tried in Canada with respect to auto insurance, could cover fire insurance, extended coverage, crime insurance, work-

men's compensation, automobile, and every other appropriate property insurance line.

Under such a system, an insured would not be characterized as a second-class citizen on the basis of the whim of some junior company underwriter. If a risk in Harlem sought automobile or fire insurance coverage, any insurance company to which he was directed by his agent or broker, or to which he came directly, would be required to provide adequate coverage unless he were found to be totally uninsurable, based on explicit, objective, and relevant criteria. In turn, however, that company could lay off or reinsure with the pool everything above the minimum percentage of that risk that it would be required to retain.

There would be only one pool and there would be only one transaction as far as the insured was concerned; the risk would be equitably shared by all property insurers licensed in the State. To avoid excessive use of the pool which could unduly burden particular insurers, the sharing ratio should not be based solely on the voluntary premium writings of the insurer, but also on other objective and meaningful criteria (including unutilized capacity and excessive reinsurance with the pool). This change would be dovetailed with open-competition rating laws and with a requirement that the rates be established in light of the insurer's overall book of business—in and out of the pool.

This approach would assure overall rate adequacy and ultimately lead to less utilization of the pool as time goes on and jittery company executives realize that a return to sound insurance principles can lead to a return to profitability. To the extent that broader-based coverages, classes, and territories were utilized, such an approach would not only return to the traditional concepts of insurance but would eliminate the duplication, waste, and stigma of current assigned-risk operations.

In the absence of internal and external reforms along these lines, if the Federal Government is required to fill the availability void left by company action, it seems likely that we will see the government in a very different role than that it currently occupies. It will be forced to become a competitive insurer, not limited in its operations to the so-called residual market. To permit the insurance industry to skim only the "good business", while saddling the Federal taxpayer with everything else, would be consistent neither with the principles of insurance nor of our free enterprise system. It would simply be bad business.

There must be prompt and drastic internal and external reformation of the insurance system in which no current tenet should be deemed sacred. The alternative to such reforms to meet the consumer's insurance needs more equitably is an ever-increasing Federal involvement. While such involvement would, at least in the short run, be far superior to a continuation of the current dilemma, there is still time for private enterprise to act, either along the lines I have suggested or in some other manner not yet explored. There is room in the insurance system for both public satisfaction and private profit, but if these ends are to be achieved, it will require considerably more courage and innovation than we have seen to date.

#### AMERICA'S GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today we should take note of America's great accomplishments and in so doing

renew our faith and confidence in ourselves as individuals and as a nation.

Theodore Roosevelt had a ready answer to the prophets of doom. He said that America does not owe its greatness to the critics. Roosevelt said:

America owes its greatness to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat; who strives valiantly; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions and spends himself in a worthy cause.

#### SENIOR CITIZENS MONTH

### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, May is designated as Senior Citizens Month—a time to examine the needs of the elderly. Too often, we forget about our older citizens and lose sight of the many contributions they have made throughout their lives and can continue to make, if only given the opportunity.

We must recognize the debt which we owe to our older citizens and honor our obligations to them. In response to this commitment, I have authored various pieces of legislation that will hopefully repay some of that debt.

For example, I have introduced a bill—H.R. 7401—to exempt citizens who are 65 years of age or over from paying entrance or additional fees to our national parks and other recreation areas operated by various agencies of the Federal Government.

I have spoken with constituents who have told me that, prior to retirement, they did not have the time to enjoy our national parks, and now that they are retired they cannot afford to visit the parks on their low, fixed income.

Being a camping and outdoors enthusiast myself, I sympathize greatly with their desire to spend as much free time as possible enjoying the beauty and splendor of our parks and wilderness areas.

Although the fees charged for entry to these recreation areas are relatively small and seem entirely reasonable to most of us, this small amount is more than many of our senior citizens can afford. Living on a fixed income in the face of ever-rising costs of living puts a real burden on these citizens. Particularly because of the high cost of living in this area, our senior citizens in their retirement years are having to forgo many of the pleasures of life to pay their property taxes, buy food and clothes, and pay their medical insurance and bills. Recreation expenses are among the first to be cut from the budget.

Although the Golden Eagle passport, the entry-fee program to our national parks instituted in recent years, now costs only \$10 annually and can be used without limitation for the period of a year, in many areas there are additional user fees for camping and other activities. I am fully aware of the benefits to be realized to our parks and recreation system through the Golden Eagle program and have supported legislation authorizing

it. However, I do feel in all probability that very little of the money obtained through this program is received from senior citizens. While little would be lost in the way of financial support of development of our parks, a great deal would be gained by our Nation's 20 million or more senior citizens on fixed incomes, who would be encouraged to avail themselves of the beauty and recreation to be found in our national parks.

Mr. Speaker, I have mentioned the fixed income of the senior citizen. I believe we have a commitment to extend programs designed to aid our elderly and favor the complete elimination of income limitations—or at least an increase of those limits—on those senior citizens who are able to work. A bill I have sponsored would provide a 10-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits with the minimum benefit being \$100. This legislation also would increase to \$2,400 annually the amount of outside income permitted without a reduction in benefits.

Another piece of legislation designed to aid retirees would exempt the first \$3,000 of an individual's civil service or other Federal retirement annuity from income tax.

Further, I support giving men the same option to retire at 62 as women now enjoy, and giving widows 100 percent of the benefits to which their deceased spouses would have been entitled.

Through my assignment to the Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee I have been in a good position to help eradicate some of the inequities facing those who have retired from Federal service.

Finally, I support automatic cost-of-living increases for beneficiaries on social security. These practices are all necessary in order to help our senior citizens keep pace with the rising cost of living.

These actions should not be thought of as special privileges to be bestowed on our senior citizens. Merely, they are the harvest of an affluent society which the elderly themselves helped to create. The contributions these citizens have made to our Nation should have earned for them now a life filled with security, dignity, and independence.

#### GEORGIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY— MAY 26, 1918

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, Georgia is a little known, beautiful and scenic country in the Caucasus, and its present inhabitants constitute one of the most independently minded people in the whole region. Of all the peoples living in the area, Georgians alone had managed to retain their independence until the end of the 18th century. Then very early in the next century they were brought under the imperial Russian rule, and they lived under the oppressive czar-

ist regime for more than 100 years. But they continued their fight for freedom and independence, and they attained it toward the end of the First World War.

After the collapse of Russia's autocratic regime the peoples of the Caucasus—Georgians, Armenians and the Azerbaijani Turks—all three proclaimed their national independence. The Georgians were the first to do this on May 26, 1918, when they established their own republican form of government. This was duly recognized by several major governments, and the Georgians worked hard to safeguard what they had gained in their historic homeland. But they themselves alone were too weak to withstand the onrush of Russian communism, which was prepared to crush all forms of freedom in all parts of the Caucasus. When Armenia and Azerbaijan were overrun by the Red army late in 1920, Georgia was surrounded, and finally it too was overwhelmed. Since then the country has been one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union, and its 4 million inhabitants have been unwilling subjects of the Soviet regime. But the spirit of freedom and independence is not dead among the Georgians, and they are still struggling for the attainment of their national goal. On the observance of their Independence Day we wish success to the gallant Georgian people, and peace in their homeland.

**CONGRESSMAN KOCH ATTACKS DEFENSE BY ARON VERGELIS OF SOVIET UNION'S TREATMENT OF JEWS**

**HON. EDWARD I. KOCH**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 of this year, a statement by Mr. Aron Vergelis appeared in the New York Times. In that statement Mr. Vergelis defended Soviet policy toward the Jews. He said there was no discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union and denied that they were prohibited to emigrate.

Earlier this year, I was in the Soviet Union during which time I met with Mr. Vergelis and other Soviet Jews. I have written to Mr. Vergelis now answering his statement and disputing his position. The original was sent to him in the Soviet Union today. The text of the letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1971.

ARON VERGELIS,  
Editor in Chief, *Sovietisch Heimland*,  
Moscow, Russia.

DEAR MR. VERGELIS: I was not astonished by your statement which appeared in the New York Times of May 21 defending Soviet policy toward the Jews.

I can understand why you do what you do. It is without malice that I say you are the "house Jew." Every few years I re-read John Hersey's *The Wall* in which he portrays the Warsaw ghetto policed by Jewish militia appointed by the Nazis. He describes how one Jewish militiaman, refusing to go to Umschlag Platz, which meant certain death, sought to send his parents in his place.

You will recall that earlier this year I was in the Soviet Union. I met with a number of Soviet Jews in addition to you. We discussed two questions. First, why every nationality, and there are more than 100 in the Soviet Union, have schools in which they can teach their children in their national language except the Jews. You answered that the parents of young Jews did not wish to have their children taught in the Yiddish or Hebrew languages because it would limit their scholastic achievement in institutions of higher learning which teach in Russian. When I asked, if you do not permit an all day school in the Yiddish language, why not allow Yiddish schools to exist after the regular day for those who want it in addition to their regular school. You replied by saying that it would be divisive if Jews went to Jewish schools—yet, it is apparently not divisive for Uzbeks to attend their own schools.

Then I asked you why the Soviet Union refuses to permit Jews who wish to emigrate to do so. Your reply was that anyone can freely leave the Soviet Union. I said, Mr. Vergelis, that is simply not true. There are tens of thousands of Jews who wish to leave and who are not permitted to go. It is true, you said, there is a little delay. The delay is due to the fact that the Soviet Union wants to make certain every Jew who leaves for Israel is aware of the physical danger to him and his family there, and secondly the Soviet Union does not wish to give Israel a military advantage by allowing emigration to that country.

Your complacent attitude toward your fellow Jews contrasted sharply with my experience at the Moscow synagogue where I attended services. I spoke with a number of the congregants and when I told them I was a visiting American Congressman they pleaded in Yiddish with tears streaming down their cheeks, "Help up, help us." And when the words "Jerusalem, Jerusalem" were uttered during the service, all around me people whispered "Yerushalayim, Yerushalayim, we want to go to Yerushalayim, help us."

To read your article, one would believe there is no special discrimination against the Jews of Russia. There are others more able than I who can document the religious and cultural harassment against Jews, yet to cite just a few illustrations in addition to what was raised in our conversation: Russian Universities have Jewish quotas, other religious groups such as the Russian Orthodox Church train religious leaders in seminaries yet Jews may not. With an estimated population of over three million, there are only about one dozen aged rabbis who can minister to the spiritual needs of the Jews.

As I said earlier, I visited with other Jews besides yourself while I was in the Soviet Union. I met the wives of Lassel Kaminsky and Lev Yagman, two of the defendants in the recently concluded Leningrad trials. The families of these two men met with me before the trial knowing the dangers that were involved for them and said the only hope that they had was if world opinion spoke out forcefully so as to cause the Soviet Union not to proceed with the trials. What were the anti-Soviet acts of these defendants and the others convicted in a closed trial? They translated from Russian textbooks into Yiddish and Hebrew, and then reproduced them so as to teach their children in those languages. And they sent a petition to the United Nations requesting assistance to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel where they could live as Jews.

Lassel Kaminsky and Lev Yagman have been sentenced to five years for their so called crimes.

Mr. Vergelis, God will forgive you because the flesh is weak and He knows it. Many of your brethren whose lot you have made even more difficult, will not.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

WEEP

**HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I point out to my colleagues a recent article in the New York Times about a new work requirement being instituted by the town of Union Social Services Department in my congressional district. Clarence Sackey, the capable and experienced commissioner of social services has dubbed his new effort, WEEP—standing for work, ecology, and environmental program. It is designed to put welfare recipients in the town to work on local projects to improve the environment. The workers' first task was to clear brush and dead trees from the banks of the Susquehanna River; and there will be other projects along the same line.

Mr. Sackey has the right idea, in my opinion. Since there are so many unmet needs in every community, and since the economic problems of the Nation have created a larger and larger number of unemployed welfare recipients, it seems only logical that those collecting public money during their extended period of unemployment should be required to contribute something in return. The full Times article reads as follows:

RELIEF RECIPIENTS GO TO WORK UPSTATE

(By Martin Arnold)

ENDWELL, N.Y., May 6.—Amid the jabber and song of the birds along the Susquehanna this springtime there is the drone and rasp of the buzz saw clearing away the dead trees and brush of the riverbank here.

The work is being done by welfare recipients under a new program in the Town of Union that requires some able-bodied recipients to earn their keep or forfeit their benefits.

This is not a new concept in upstate New York, for state law has long given municipalities the power to make those in the home relief category work or get off welfare. But in the past it usually has been less costly for the community to pay for welfare than to pay for work.

JOBLESS RATE HERE 7.5 PERCENT

Now there is recession along much of the state's Southern Tier and unemployment in this area has climbed to nearly 7.5 per cent. Consequently, welfare has nearly doubled in the last year.

Now there are about 5,000 cases in this country, Broome receiving some form of public assistance, including Medicaid and food stamps. A case most often involves more than one person.

In the Town of Union, which includes Johnson City, Endicott and Endwell and has a population of 70,000 persons, there were 211 cases of home relief, at the start of April. Home relief is given to single persons or families in which the father cannot get a job. The state and locality share the payment.

On April 7, the Town Board approved the new work program.

Now there are 151 cases of home relief. "Just the psychology of the announcement was enough," said Clarence H. Sackey, Social Services Commissioner of the town. "As soon as it was known that they might have to work, a lot of people called in and said they no longer needed assistance."

On Monday the work program started. Thirty-four able-bodied men on home relief

were ordered—after having passed a physical examination—to report to the Town Parks Department or Public Works Department. Six did not show up. If it is found that they did not have a good excuse, they will be dropped from home relief.

Among those who did show up—they work as many hours as necessary at \$1.85 an hour to cover the amount of their welfare checks—the idea of working was greeted with some pleasure.

#### FAVORABLE COMMENT

One 20-year-old recipient, a migrant from New York City, where he drove a motorcycle for a messenger service, said:

"I enjoy this outdoor work. I'm helping clean up the riverbank and I'm doing something for land—getting rid of these old trees so that new ones can grow. I'd like this job permanently."

One of the problems here is that many of the welfare recipients are young men, who must cope with both the recession and their lack of even a high school education. "We have a lot of high school dropouts," said Mr. Sackey. "They were taking vocational training in high school, but the equipment was poor, outdated stuff, and the school system treated them like second-class citizens. So they quit. Now they're the first to be fired."

The International Business Machines Corporation is the major industry in this area, but it is no longer hiring. The General Electric Company and the GAF Corporation have laid off workers. And the Endicott Johnson Corporation, the shoe manufacturer, which used to employ 15,000 people, now employs 5,000.

Clyde Merwin, 26, and the father of three children, had been working as a pants presser, but he was laid off. A high school dropout, he found, he said: "I can't get jobs that pay good enough."

For his welfare work project, he clears away brush on the river bank, a job he does not particularly like, "but at least it's doing something."

Donald House, 21, who is married, has been unable to find steady work since he dropped out of school five years ago. He is hoping, he said, to be able to work permanently for the Public Works Department.

"I like the outdoors—I like this kind of work," he explained. "The Susquehanna is beautiful, and look how much better it looks now that we started cleaning up the sides."

As Commissioner Sackey sees it, one of the virtues of the program is that the work he envisions being done by the welfare recipients is work that is needed to preserve and beautify the countryside and, therefore, being assigned to it bears no touch of indignity.

There are three welfare departments in the county—one for the Town of Union, one for the City of Binghamton and one for the county's 15 other towns.

#### COUNTY'S PROGRAM

Binghamton so far does not have a work program, but Broome County does. Since mid-March, the Broome County department has sent notices to 47 able-bodied men telling them to report to work, according to the Social Services Commissioner, Carrol Smythe. Of that number, six immediately phoned in to say they had found jobs, six refused to work and were removed from the rolls and the remainder were put to work picking up litter from highways and in parklands.

"Can you imagine what could be accomplished all across the country with a program like this?" said Mr. Smythe. He added:

"I've coined a term that hasn't exactly met with favor among the workers—I call it 'WEEP—Work, Ecology, and Environmental Program.'"

In large cities, such work relief programs are not entirely practical. Jule M. Sugarman, New York City Human Resources Administrator, said.

#### RETURNING VETERANS NEED HELP

### HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, as this Nation begins to disengage itself from the war in Southeast Asia, we should be concentrating on solutions to the problems our young veterans face in the aftermath of war. The administration has not shown at this point that it is providing such direction, for it has done nothing to reach and cure those young men who have become drug addicts while serving in Southeast Asia, it has done nothing to improve medical care for them after their release, and is even proposing cutbacks in services at Veterans' Administration hospitals. Coupled with unemployment which is affecting young veterans with alarming severity, these problems constitute barriers difficult to surmount by the young veteran returning to the pattern of civilian life.

To this pattern of neglect, we can add another misjudgment by the administration, for at a time when more and more young veterans are returning to this country with hopes of building or buying a home, the administration is actually phasing out the very successful direct Federal loan program to help veterans who reside in rural communities build or buy homes. Since this program was begun in 1945, the Federal Government has actually gained about \$218 million from loan repayments, yet the administration, in an ill-considered cost-saving move, has decided to eliminate this program on the grounds that such loans are now available through the private lending market.

This phasing out began in February and already it portends difficulties to our veterans, especially the 53,000 young veterans from West Virginia, a largely rural state in which, as the recent census showed, there is an acute need for better housing.

The Veterans' Administration made 209 direct housing loans to veterans in West Virginia in 1970 and some 37 during the first 3 months of this year before the de facto cancellation of the program was ordered. Since March, 43 veterans applied for direct Federal housing loans, and, under the new policy, they were informed that loans were readily available from private lenders and the Federal Government would guarantee such loans. But as of May 20, only six of those 43 applicants have successfully gained housing loans from private institutions.

One might argue that this policy is affecting only a handful of veterans, 37 in fact, but I say this figure represents the early impact of an ill-advised policy upon the veterans in a small State, which, if left to continue, will eventually reach proportions of callous neglect across the Nation.

I urge that this policy cease and that we in the Congress provide adequate funds for this program over the short-sighted requests of the administration.

#### AGGIE ARMADA

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the most landlocked institutions in the country, Texas A. & M. University, College Station, Tex., is the operator of one of the largest seagoing institutions in the country.

The oceanographic fleet of vessels belonging to the Texas A. & M. University comprise one of the finest groupings of research facilities within the sea grant program. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the Sunday supplement section of the Houston Post for May 9:

#### AGGIE ARMADA

Texas A&M University, a land-locked institution some 100 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, operates seven sea-going vessels.

It's no Aggie joke.

Established as a land-grant school nearly a century ago, A&M has been directing its attention to the sea since 1949, when it became the fourth university in the nation to establish an oceanography department. It strengthened its water studies in 1962 with the creation of a maritime academy and again in 1966, when it initiated a water management project in Galveston Bay and the Houston Ship Channel.

The university's armada to carry out these programs includes:

The *Alaminos*, a 186-foot converted Army freighter.

The *Orca*, a 100-foot, steel-hulled vessel.

The *Leprechaun*, an 82-foot converted Navy PT boat.

The *Texas Clipper*, a 15,000-ton converted ocean liner which was loaned to the state of Texas by the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Maritime Administration.

The *Excellence*, a 55-foot Chris Craft Constellation.

The *Duet*, a 62-foot houseboat.

The *Mariner*, a 50-foot, twin-diesel Chris Craft.

Four of the ships—the *Alaminos*, the *Orca*, the *Leprechaun* and the *Clipper*—are berthed near the Aggies' newest campus, 100-acre Mitchell Campus on Galveston's Pelican Island, where the Moody Maritime Institute, a complex which includes the Texas Maritime Academy, the Marine Laboratory and other oceanographic installations, is being built.

The smaller boats—the *Excellence*, the *Duet* and the *Mariner*—are docked at Anchor Boat Works at Morgans Point.

The *Alaminos*, largest of the research vessels operated by the Oceanography Department and a sister of the USS *Pueblo*, which was captured by North Korea, is outfitted for long-duration, deep-water studies. The converted freighter, which has seven general laboratories and a central electronic lab where environmental data is recorded automatically, has quarters for a ship's crew of 17 and a scientific party of 18.

The ship, which normally has a 20-day expedition duration, recently completed the longest research cruise in the 22-year history of the A&M Oceanography Department—a three-month trip into the north Caribbean to take core samples from the ocean's floor.

The *Orca*, used primarily for research along the continental shelf, was built in 1920 as a Coast Guard icebreaker on Lake Erie. Later

it became a private yacht before being purchased by the Scripps Institute of Oceanography from which the university obtained the ship. An \$88,000 grant from Galveston's Moody Foundation paid for the purchase and installation of oceanography instruments and laboratories aboard the craft.

The *Orca* can accommodate up to nine scientists and a crew of seven and has a cruise duration of a week although its captain, Paul J. Gennusa, estimates that expeditions have averaged five days since the school acquired the vessel last year.

The *Orca* also is used in the university's Sea Grant program, a National Science Foundation-funded program to advance the development of marine resources.

The *Leprechaun*, a sleek boat which will share in the shallow offshore water research with the *Orca*, is a new gift which has yet to be outfitted with oceanographic equipment. Built as a patrol torpedo boat, the *Leprechaun* in 1959 was converted to a pleasure boat and used for charter trips into the Bahamas. The boat, currently equipped with radar, automatic pilot and depth recorders, was a donation by Emmet Vaughey of Jackson, Miss., through Houstonian E. L. Wehner, an A&M graduate. Once remodeled, the boat will accommodate 15 persons.

The mammoth *Texas Clipper* is the training vessel for the 135 cadets enrolled in Texas Maritime Academy, which offers a four-year program leading to a bachelor of science degree in either marine engineering or maritime transportation.

Presently, the *Clipper* is serving as dormitory, dining hall and laboratory for the cadets until the academy building is completed on the Mitchell Campus. During summer months the *Clipper* becomes a floating classroom for the cadets, who learn about its operation during three summer cruises, and for about 100 high school graduates who participate in "Summer School at Sea."

Boys in the latter program earn six college credits in English, algebra and American history while visiting foreign ports with the cadets. Charged \$650 for the two-month summer school, the students do the KP duties and galley work, freeing the cadets for technical studies.

Constructed in 1943 as a troop ship and named the *Queens*, the vessel was converted to a cargo-passenger ship after the war, named the *ESS Excambion* and operated by American Export Lines. From 1959 until 1962, when Texas A&M became one of the six major maritime facilities in the nation and acquired the *Clipper*, the ship was in dry dock.

A new feature of the training ship is the sewage waste treatment system it received in September, making the *Clipper* the only known ship in the nation—and one of few in the world—with pollution-control facilities. The \$100,000 system was designed for 250 men by Bio-Pure, Inc., of Oregon. This A&M project has led to a proposed research program for merchant vessels which normally flush raw sewage into harbors, bays and seas.

Of the three vessels assigned to the Civil Engineering Department at A&M, the *Excellence* operates as the backbone of a water pollution study being conducted by the department.

About once a week the *Excellence* is taken up the Houston Ship Channel to the turning basin. At two-mile intervals it charts water temperature, conductivity, salinity and dissolved oxygen content. This information, which is being put into a mathematical equation, will be used to describe what's happening to the water in the channel. Scientists propose to use this data to control the quality of the estuarine systems and possibly convert waste in the water into food energy for marine life.

The *Excellence*, which was formerly owned by Houston oilman, H. Merlyn Christie, has research equipment aboard valued at about \$30,000. It carries a crew of three, a scien-

tific party of four and a varying number of graduate students who are working on the project.

The *Duet*, a recent gift to the Civil Engineering Department by Dallas industrialist Austin Stenton, is awaiting conversion to a scientific vessel. Its inboard-outboard drive will take scientists into shallow bays and rivers not accessible by the *Excellence*.

The *Mariner*, previously owned by Galveston Community College, has been stripped down for use as a work boat for biological studies—mainly shrimp and fish. The boat was given to the A&M Sea Grant Program, which assigned it to the Civil Engineering Department.

Dr. Roy Hann, of Texas A&M's Environmental Engineering Division, explains the role of the armada:

"Texas A&M is an institution which for years has dealt with the relevant problems of our state and nation. In keeping with this tradition, our efforts have been increasingly directed to the coastal zone and the Gulf of Mexico and to the opportunities and problems which exist there.

"Developing the vessel capability to collect data for research, exploring the coastal zone for problem areas and acquainting and training our students in marine technology are important parts of this effort."

Dr. Jack Williams, president of Texas A&M, sees the ocean as one of the last frontiers that man must conquer and points with pride to what the university is accomplishing in that direction.

"Clearly we have a jump in this," he says. "In addition to our capable faculty, we have a new 15-story oceanography building on the College Station campus. Its laboratories and classrooms are sophisticated beyond anything you'll find elsewhere and certainly we have the facilities necessary to operate both in the Gulf of Mexico and the high seas.

"We feel our program is an interesting and valuable undertaking for Texas and hopefully for the entire country."

#### MAY—SENIOR CITIZENS MONTH

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the month of May has been dedicated as Senior Citizens Month. This is the time we honor those who have helped make this country what it is today. It is the time we stop to recognize that the efforts and skills of elderly persons have enabled Americans to live in the wealthiest and most respected Nation in the world. Mr. Speaker, we all realize the month of May comes and goes quickly. And that it is all too easy to recall the accomplishments of our elders for a short period and then let their achievements pass into memories and become obscured by more glamorous issues.

I want to awaken the Congress to the clear and simple fact that retirement brings a new way of life to senior citizens—one that offers challenges and one that, unfortunately, brings problems never previously experienced by most individuals. Most elderly people are not prepared to meet their new life style. Furthermore, this country is not ready to accept the challenges retirement offers. Elderly people need our help now. We must be aware of their needs.

We only have to cite existing statistics to show the immediacy of their wants. The aged have less than half the income of their younger counterparts. Nearly one-fourth, almost 5 million, live below the poverty level. Many older people do not become poor until they are forced to live on fixed incomes. Older people are subject to more disability, see physicians more often, and have more and longer hospital stays than any other age group. Moreover, they are least able to pay for health care. They spend proportionately more of their incomes on food, shelter, and medical care, but still there are necessities which they cannot afford. Older people cannot keep pace with rising property taxes, and are often forced to sell their homes. Many prefer to live in retirement apartments which have facilities designed to meet their special needs, but these are nonexistent in most communities. Older people want to become involved in educational projects and in improving their talents, yet doors to education, volunteer opportunities and part-time employment are usually locked or nonexistent. Furthermore, these problems are intensifying. A growing number of elderly people are leaving the labor force involuntarily at younger ages and are accepting reduced social security benefits.

Something must be done to overcome these existing problems. We have the resources to resolve them. We can and we must improve existing programs and enact significant new ones. Let us seriously consider pertinent bills pending before the Congress which offer concrete solutions to the problems of senior citizens. I have cosponsored two such bills which I feel deserve mention at this time. One bill I have cosponsored would cover prescription drugs under the medicare program. If we are to make the medicare program relevant to the needs of older people, we must provide adequate coverage for costly drugs. Senior citizens are in need of them more than any other age group, yet, they are least able to afford them. Prescription drugs represent an enormous economic loss for those depending on limited incomes.

I am also proud to cosponsor a bill which would establish a committee on aging within the House of Representatives. This committee would enable the House to study problems confronting the elderly in a comprehensive and unified manner. I strongly believe this method would greatly improve our existing approach to solving the elderly's problem with fragmented legislation which has little or no regard to its related issues. My proposed committee would have the advantage of enabling the Congress to comprehend the problems of the elderly in their entirety as well as giving older people an opportunity to participate in the decisions affecting their own lives.

Growing old is not a partisan issue. It is a matter that concerns all of us. It is a matter which demands the continual recognition and concern of the Congress of the United States and of the Nation. During this Senior Citizens Month let us pledge bold and imaginative support on behalf of bettering the lives of older people.

GENERAL GRANT REVENUE RETURN  
ACT OF 1971

## HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining with my colleagues from New York, Messrs. CAREY and KOCH, in co-sponsoring the General Grant Revenue Return Act of 1971. I am thoroughly in accord with the general thrust of the bill, which is to the effect that substantial additional Federal revenues in the form of broad grants must be made available to the States and cities based on a formula which reflects need as well as population. The amount of such assistance proposed in this bill is \$10 billion, or about 2.6 percent of Federal receipts from income taxes, which I regard as a modest sum given the magnitude of the financial crisis facing our States and cities.

The needs in my own State and city of New York are absolutely critical, especially in fields such as education, police protection, housing, and mass transportation. These needs are not being met by funds currently available from combined State, local, and Federal grant funds. State and local jurisdictions have reached the limit of their revenue-generating capacity. The only feasible source of needed additional revenues is the Federal Government.

I have, for some time, urged in legislation I have introduced that the Federal Government assume the entire burden of the welfare system. I continue to believe that should be done. But even Federal assumption of welfare costs would not meet the financial needs of the States and cities. The assistance provided in the General Grant Revenue Return Act is acutely needed over and above the amount that would be provided if the Federal Government were to assume the entire welfare burden.

I am not satisfied, however, with the degree of control over the expenditure of funds provided by this bill. It is not sufficient, in my view, to require, as this bill does, that the States and cities spend the funds in any proportion they see fit for a variety of stated purposes subject only to a postaudit. This, in my view, does not adequately carry out the responsibility of the Congress to the taxpayers of this Nation to administer and regulate the expenditure of public funds.

Similarly, I have reservations about the areas of expenditures approved by this bill. The list seems generally arbitrary, and suffers from what I regard as serious weaknesses both of omission and commission.

Accordingly, I hope that during consideration of this legislation in committee and on the floor, additional standards and guidelines for the expenditure of these funds will be incorporated. This, I am confident, can and must be done without distorting the essential purpose and general effect of the bill, with which I am in full accord.

AGRICULTURAL TRADE WITH  
CHINA

## HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal reasons President Nixon's commendable initiatives in regard to trade with the Peoples Republic of China have been so well received is the promise they hold for enlarged markets for American farmers.

China represents a splendid potential market especially for American wheat, as the varieties we produce are more suited to Chinese needs than the Canadian varieties.

Chinese planners will quickly find it economically desirable to purchase the lower priced U.S. wheat rather than the more expensive Canadian-Manitoba wheat. At the conclusion of my remarks I am placing in the RECORD a study of wheat trade prospects and the Chinese market prepared by Prof. Stephen C. Schmidt of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture.

China has every reason to become a permanent importer of U.S. wheat on a substantial scale, provided of course we give it the opportunity.

President Nixon will soon announce his decision as to which items to place under general license for export to China. One alternative before him would exclude all grain, including wheat, from general license authority.

In my view, exclusion of grain from general license would be a mistake of very grave proportions.

In terms of our national security interests, it would risk the scornful reaction of China. Peking might well respond that the exclusion of food grain shows the U.S. trade initiative to be empty.

It would also hurt market prospects for America's farmers, who already face a cost-price squeeze and European market difficulties.

Finally, on a purely partisan basis, it would have grave political implications for all Republicans in 1972. The reversals our party suffered in the 1970 congressional elections were the greatest in wheat-producing areas.

I realize the dilemma President Nixon faces in regard to grain trade with Communist nations. The cargo preference restriction established by President Kennedy in 1963, in connection with the wheat sales to the Soviet Union, still remains in effect. Under this restriction, half of grain shipments to Communist countries must go in U.S. vessels. Its purpose was primarily to placate U.S. labor and shipping interests, but labor surely now realizes that its gains no advantage. Because shipping costs in U.S. vessels are much higher than those of other countries, the cargo preference restriction has had the effect of barring U.S. grain from Soviet and Eastern European markets. Many other farm commodities, like soybean meal, are exempt from cargo preference, and sell well in these same coun-

tries. This is a hardship on farmers and provides no real advantage to U.S. maritime interests, including labor.

If it is applied to grain shipments to China, it will just as effectively bar grain trade with that country.

The cargo preference restriction is the only major obstacle to including grain for general license to China. This restriction hurts American farmers, American labor, and American business. The time to remove it is now.

Taken together, the termination of this outdated restriction and the general licensing of grain to China would represent a major advance in relations with that country, would open expanded farm product markets in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as China, and would give Republican prospects in 1972 a richly deserved boost.

Text of Professor Schmidt's study follows:

WHEAT TRADE PROSPECTS AND THE  
CHINESE MARKET

(By S. C. Schmidt)

## WHEAT CLASSES

Five distinct classes of wheat are grown in the United States: (1) hard red winter, (2) hard red spring, (3) soft red winter, (4) soft white, and (5) durum. Production of the types or classes of wheat tends to be concentrated in certain parts of the country.

Hard red winter wheat is native to the southern Great Plains states of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Colorado.

Hard red spring wheat is produced in the northern Great Plains states of North and South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota.

Soft red winter wheat is predominant in the eastern half of the United States, particularly lower Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kansas, central Texas, and Missouri.

Soft white wheat is produced in the Pacific Northwest, New York and Michigan.

Durum wheat (spring wheat) is raised mainly in the hard red spring areas.

Each class of wheat has different flour-making characteristics and has a distinctly different use or demand.

Hard red spring wheat has the highest protein content and is used for breads and rolls and blended with lower quality hard wheats to raise protein content. Hard red wheat is used primarily for baker's breads and rolls. Hard winter and spring wheats are mixed or used separately, depending on price differentials, location, protein content and the end product desired.

Flours from soft red winter wheat and soft white wheat are used in making waffles, muffins, quick yeast breads, pastry, crackers, biscuits, and cakes.

Because of its defective baking qualities, little durum wheat is used for bread in northern Europe and North America. However, its amber color, high gluten and low moisture content, the hardness and vitreousness of the grain make it preferred to other high grade wheats for the manufacture of alimentary pastes such as macaroni, spaghetti and vermicelli.

## INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Canadian wheat consists mainly of the hard red spring varieties that compete with US hard red winter and hard red spring wheats. Canadian wheat is characterized by high protein, strong gluten and uniform consistency. It has become the basic wheat for blending in Britain, and enjoys a favorable position in the Japanese and EEC markets. Manitoba Nos. 1 to 4 top the official list of quality wheats issued by the Committee of

the EEC, followed by US and Argentine varieties. Argentine wheats are roughly comparable to US hard and soft red winter wheats. Australian wheats compete with US high-protein spring wheats as well as soft white wheats. French wheats compete with our soft and red winter wheat.

World wheat trade in the 1960s has been characterized by (1) increased exportable supplies in Canada, Australia, Argentina and France; (2) the USSR returning to a net export position in recent years; (3) expansion of wheat production in a number of countries such as Sweden, Greece, Spain, Romania, Mexico and Bulgaria; and (4) the reduction of shipments to developing countries. US wheat exports did not keep pace with those of other exporters and, as a result, their share in world trade declined. Thus, in 1968, the US share in world wheat exports had fallen to 28.7 percent, in contrast to 35.1 percent in 1958.

The outlook for a significant expansion of exports of either hard or soft wheats is not bright because of continued decline in consumption and increased supplies the world over. In the EEC unrealistic price levels have led to a buildup of record-high carryover stocks of soft wheats. While the EEC has become a net exporter it remains deficient in hard wheats that need to be imported. Among developed countries only Japan is expected to moderately increase takings of wheat, reflecting an upward trend in per capita consumption. Exports to COMECON countries are matters of great uncertainty, resulting mainly from weather-induced poor crops in the USSR.

Prospects for increased exports on commercial terms to developing countries are equally unpromising. Production in many of these countries is expected to grow rapidly enough to meet basic requirements. This can be attributed to a combination of more widespread use of new high-yielding varieties, expanded wheat acreage, increased acreage under irrigation and greater use of fertilizer. In 1968-69 the new wheat varieties (Mexican) were used on almost all of Mexico's wheat areas and occupied about 16 percent of the wheatland in the developing countries of Asia. It is within the realm of possibility that most of the major developing countries of Asia will become self-sufficient in food grains by the early 1970s. It is unlikely, however, that these countries will be able to enter the world market as substantial exporters. Producer prices in most of these countries are above export price levels, a situation that necessitates export subsidization. Clearly, these countries are in no position to assume such extra financial burden.

Because of the excess of supply over effective demand, U.S. wheat and flour will continue to face increased competition in traditional markets. Technological progress in the baking industry may further change the demand situation. Introduction of new automated baking processes make it possible to drastically reduce the amount of hard wheat required in the blend, without significantly changing the type of bread produced.

THE CHINESE MARKET

**Production aspects.**—Human power is China's greatest resource. Her population in 1949 was estimated at about 540 million and in 1967 it was estimated to be 797 million.

The land area of Mainland China is 3.7 million square miles, slightly larger than the US and much smaller than the Soviet Union. China's population problem is aggravated by the fact that 66 percent of China's land consists of plateaus and mountains, 9 percent hills, 15 percent river basins and 10 percent alluvial plains. Thus, much of the land is not suitable for agriculture. As a result, until 1957 less than 12 percent of total land area was under cultivation and according to some estimates no more than 20 percent

seems cultivable. These data suggest that in relation to her population, China's agricultural land resources are severely limited.

China's agricultural production is intensive and is concentrated upon crops of high energy and yield. Farm products of prime importance in Chinese agriculture are: rice, wheat, soybeans, and cotton. Rice is the sta-

ple food in southern China and wheat the staple food in the north. Soybeans are a main source of fats and protein and constitute the principal export crop. Cotton is the most important industrial raw material of agricultural origin. Millet and kaoliang are frequently consumed instead of wheat in the north.

WHEAT AND FLOUR EXPORTS TO MAINLAND CHINA<sup>1</sup>

[In million bushels]

Country of origin	Average, 1960-61-1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70 <sup>2</sup>
Canada.....	54	37	118	75	92	50	78	67
Australia.....	65	95	84	76	83	90	43	93
Argentina.....	2	36	22	82	12			
Subtotal.....	121	168	224	233	187	140	121	160
European community.....	21	8	18	5	9	13	11	29
U.S.S.R.....	4	1	2	4	11	5	1	27
Subtotal.....	25	9	20	9	20	18	12	49
Romania/Bulgaria.....	1							N.A.
Spain.....								N.A.
Mexico.....		12						N.A.
Greece.....				3	1			N.A.
Sweden.....								N.A.
Subtotal.....	1	12		3	1			N.A.
United States.....								
All others.....								
Total.....	147	189	244	245	208	158	133	209

<sup>1</sup> Exports to North Korea, North Vietnam, and Mongolia are included under exports to Mainland China.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary.

<sup>3</sup> North Korea and North Vietnam.

Note: NA-Not available.

Sources: The World Grain Trade (FAS M-180 and FAS M-53), FAS circulars, and International Wheat Council publications.

**Trade policy orientation.**—In the 1960s, China became a substantial importer of wheat from Canada, Australia, Argentina and France. Her wheat and flour imports absorbed about 9.0 percent of total world shipments in the 1960-63 period and 10 percent in 1960-70. It should be emphasized, however, that imports of wheat into China represent only a small proportion of total need. China produced an estimated 8.2 billion bushel (22,300 million tons) of wheat in 1969-70 and imported 152 million bushels of wheat. This is equivalent to only about 1.9 percent of its wheat production. As shown in the table below, China became an important customer of Australia, Canada and the EEC. Shipments to China during July-June 1969-70 accounted for the following shares of major exporting countries: Australia, 35.1 percent; Canada, 20.1 percent; and EEC, 11.2 percent. In past years, Canadian sales to China have been for 25 percent cash at time of shipment with balance plus interest in 18 months.

Until now, China's wheat imports were guided mainly by political rather than economic considerations.<sup>1</sup> Common sense suggests that Chinese planners will find it economically desirable to purchase lower-quality (and higher-yielding) American wheats, the types China requires, rather than the more expensive and higher-quality Canadian (Manitoba) wheats.

Also, from a purely economic standpoint, it would appear profitable for China to import wheat and to export rice that can be

<sup>1</sup> Since 1955, China has actively pursued trade relations with a number of less developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In many of these cases, the motivation seems to have been at least as much political as economic or commercial. Similar motives are reflected in China's aid program to developing countries.

sold for a much higher price in world markets.

Considering the size and the expansion of population (estimated to be at the rate of 20 million persons per year) the People's Republic of China shows every sign of becoming a permanent importer of wheat on a substantial scale.

GUN CONTROL

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of May 21 in my district, Police Officers Waverly Jones and Joseph Piagentini were viciously gunned down as they emerged from a routine call at Colonial Park Houses, 159th Street and Harlem River Drive. Several eyewitnesses say that two men simply walked up behind these patrolmen and shot them in the back. There was no provocation or exchange of words.

Just 2 days earlier, on May 19, Police Officers Thomas Curry and Nicholas Binette were seriously wounded by bullets as they stopped a car going the wrong way on a one-way street near 160th Street and Riverside Drive.

These tragic and senseless dramatically underscore the need for effective control of handguns. Notwithstanding statements of some Federal and local officials to the contrary, there is very little prospect of halting this carnage

without effective gun control laws. According to the latest uniform crime reports, in the period between 1960 and 1968 firearms were used in 96 percent of all police killings and 76 percent of these firearms were handguns. In calendar year 1969 some 86 policemen were killed and in calendar 1970 at least 100 were killed, a 16-percent increase. Despite our State and Federal gun laws, police deaths by firearms continue to increase.

It is already illegal under Federal law for felons, mental deviates, addicts, and minors to have handguns. The time has come now to do the remaining job that needs to be done: To tighten up the easy sale and transfer of handguns. More than half of all handguns are acquired second hand. Current licensing and restrictions on the sale of new handguns have not done the job. Handguns still play the major role in the commission of homicide and other violent crimes.

The time has come to ban handguns from all persons except members of the Armed Forces, law enforcement officials, and pistol clubs licensed by the Secretary of the Treasury. I have cosponsored H.R. 3980, a bill designed to achieve that purpose.

I think it is time for Congress to respond to these deplorable attacks on police in a meaningful manner. I urge my colleagues to enact speedily legislation which will realistically and effectively curb fatal attacks on our policemen. Officer Jones and Officer Piagentini deserve nothing less.

HEALTH AND LIFE INSURANCE  
WEEK: A SPECIAL TRIBUTE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to pay tribute today to the health and life insurance industries which are so vitally important to our Nation's well-being. In the United States today the great majority of health care is financed through a broad network of private health insurance. Health insurance has become a basic part of the Nation's economic and social fabric. In 1969, over 175 million Americans were protected by one or more forms of private health insurance, representing benefits paid by insurance companies were over \$7¼ billion in 1969, an increase of 13 percent over the previous year.

The continuing development of a growing range of health insurance coverages to meet the changing needs of the American public can be expected to go on as changing public needs develop. Already, health insurance explorations have been begun in such areas as vision insurance, group travel insurance, and special risk insurance. As insurers gain more experience and knowledge in these and other fields, even more diverse forms of coverage may be expected to evolve.

The importance of life insurance and the life insurance industry to our economy cannot be over emphasized. In 1969

more than 130 million policy holders, or nearly two out of every three people in the country, were insured with legal reserve life insurance companies. Benefits payments, including annuities, also rose in 1969 reflecting a wider use of life insurance by a growing population.

A recent survey indicates that a majority of the population, although knowledgeable about life insurance, would like to become better informed. It was also acknowledged that the life insurance agent is the person best qualified by education and experience to provide this information.

More recently the life insurance industry has been involved in the Nation's growing concern with the quality of the lives led by its citizens. There are two ways in which the contribution of a business or industry to quality of life can be measured, namely the character of its usual services and the extra effort it may undertake beyond its customary services and the extra effort it may undertake beyond its customary services, in the public interest. In the spring of 1969, the life insurance industry pledged a second billion dollars in loans to help improve the lives of families living in the ghetto areas of the cities. These loans, as with the first billion dollars in 1967, were intended for housing, and to stimulate job-creating business or community enterprises for central-city residents.

One could go on and on extolling the contributions of the life and health insurance industries to the American people; so it is very appropriate that we designate May 9 through 15 for this very purpose.

WHY IS HEALTH A LUXURY?

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is suffering a crisis in health care, and nowhere is the problem more acute than in New York City.

I have been keeping a close personal watch on the situation there, especially in the Queens area. On June 5, I will hold a full day of hearings on the quality of medical care in my district and ways of improving it.

The hearings will be held at the Queens County Medical Society Building, 112-25 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, starting at 9:30 a.m.

Someone else who has been observing the health care crisis in New York is Reporter Jack Newfield. Writing in the May 6, 1971, Village Voice, he takes a penetrating look at the problem, and focuses on the city's Health and Hospitals Corp. His article follows:

[From the Village Voice, May 6, 1971]

WHY IS HEALTH A LUXURY?

(By Jack Newfield)

The three least humane municipal institutions are probably the jails, the courts, and the municipal hospitals. These also happen to be the three service systems whose constituencies are almost exclusively the poor and the powerless, systems unlike fire, sanitation,

police, and education that still hold white, middle-class hostages against total breakdown.

No "enlightened" citizen or institution any longer makes any defense of the treatment low-income people receive in city hospitals; they just act like no one is responsible.

Ten years ago the Daily News and World Telegram published devastating exposes of conditions in city hospitals. In 1966 Queens State Senator Seymour Thaler made headlines with carefully documented charges of cruel treatment, high costs, and immense waste. At the same time Martin Tolchin wrote an excellent series of articles in the Times. By late 1967, public medical care was so bad in the city that six different committees and commissions had been appointed to investigate and draft the usual literature of crisis. The most thorough of these reports—by the Piel Commission—concluded that "conditions in city hospitals are not only deplorable, but under existing arrangements, are irremedial."

Today everyone who cares knows that people die in emergency waiting rooms, that clinics are over-crowded, impersonal, and have no continuity of care, that there is a 50 per cent shortage of nurses, that almost no preventive medicine is practiced in the slums, that drugs and hospital costs are soaring out of reach. (Last month at Ted Kennedy's health hearings in New York one woman testified she was asked to immediately write a check for \$500 or be thrown out of her hospital bed, and another witness displayed a bill she received for \$319 after her child spent six hours in a city hospital.)

Today no one denies that the municipal hospitals are physically deteriorated and bereft of adequate X-ray, life-saving, and lab equipment, that ambulance service is slow, and that consumers and communities have no voice in the running of the hospitals.

And no one denies the central injustice—the maintenance of a segregated, two-class hospital system: inferior city hospitals for the poor, and elite voluntary and private hospitals for those who can afford to pay for health and life.

Today all the concerned citizens admit the existing health care system literally kills people in New York City each month; former Health Commissioner George James estimated five years ago that 13,000 poor people die here every year because of inferior medical care.

Two weeks ago Mayor Lindsay testified before Kennedy's health subcommittee in Washington, and sounded like he was a radical intern with no responsibility for the existing system. "In my city, and in every other city," Lindsay said, "the quality of medical care for the poor is uneven, uncertain, and frequently inhuman. In my city, and in every other city, hardworking middle-income Americans are reluctant to seek care because they worry about the costs . . . I can tell you that in New York the human price of a failing health system is far too high . . . Failure on this scale is intolerable."

Since early 1968 the Lindsay administration's only consistent policy on the hospital crisis has been to form a new Health and Hospitals Corporation to replace the old Department of Hospitals. In public speeches and private meetings the Mayor argued that the basic problem with the hospitals was "inefficiency and red-tape," and that the solution was "modern management techniques."

On December 12, 1968, the Mayor's office distributed a press release that began: "Mayor John V. Lindsay announced today that he will ask the 1969 state legislature to permit total re-organization of municipal health services and complete revision of management methods for operation of municipal health facilities. . . . The underlying concept of the proposed legislation is to create a management corporation. . . . Most of the problems of the municipal hos-

pitals that have existed over the past several decades can be traced to inadequate local management."

There was only token opposition to the corporation plan. Herman Badillo warned it was just another layer of bureaucracy that would not improve the actual delivery of services. Mario Procaccino and Carol Greitzer made the same point. But Lindsay, the private hospital interests, former Hospitals Commissioner Joseph Terenzio, and the New York Times pushed hard for it. A Times editorial endorsed the corporate notion because it would provide "modern management," and attacked "militant medical leftists who favor a single system embracing both municipal and voluntary hospitals."

All through 1969 a task force appointed by Lindsay met in private to design the structure of the new corporation. The task force, which held not public hearings, included systems analysts and program planners from the Bureau of the Budget, and Carter Bales of the McKinsey Management Company, which over three years would receive more than \$1 million in consulting fees from the city. It did not include any consumers of health care—no blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, blue-collar whites. It included only technocrats.

On April 27, 1969, the state legislature, with almost no debate, passed the enabling legislation for the corporation. The vote in the Senate was 52-4, and in the Assembly, 119-17.

The Health and Hospitals Corporation has now been in business for 10 months, and so far it must be judged a serious mistake of analysis and policy. It is bankrupt; members of the staff and board of directors who have access to the records say it is \$130 million in debt, although the press office admits to only a \$20 million budget gap. The promises of community participation have not been kept. The staff is demoralized, uptight, and busy circulating job resumes to other city agencies. The corporation's president, Joseph English, the highest paid city official at \$65,000 a year, has proven to be an ineffectual, remote administrator. Except for incremental improvements in recruitment of nurses and in security, the day-to-day care in the city hospitals remains wretched. And English warned last month that unless the state legislature restores its Medicaid and other budget cuts, the city may have to close down eight of the 18 municipal hospitals, which are the only doctors most poor people have.

(It is significant that English did not threaten to cut off the payments of over \$100 million the city makes to voluntary hospitals and medical schools under the affiliation contracts signed during the Wagner administration. By these payments, and by taking in all the non-paying patients the voluntary and private hospitals refuse to admit, the city, in a sense, subsidizes the elite half of the two-class system.

Dr. Edmund Rothschild is one of the five members of the 16-man corporation board of directors who was not appointed by Mayor Lindsay (although Lindsay told me he is "a good man"). He is a talented doctor and researcher who was basically apolitical until he was named to the board by the Manhattan city councilmen. Now he says the corporation is "covering up a gigantic scandal," and is "on the verge of collapsing."

"The whole financing of the corporation," Rothschild told me, "from the start, was deceptive and fraudulent. The city lent the corporation \$130 million in accounts receivable when we started last July 1. A lot of that money doesn't exist in reality, it is just paper. Also, the anticipated revenue figures in the corporation's budget are inflated and phony. On top of that, the corporation's collections system from Blue Shield, Blue Cross, Medicare, and Medicaid is incompetent. Now the corporation wants to borrow more money from the city on a pretext, without appro-

prate financing behind it, without admitting to the public that we have at least a \$130 million cash deficit. The books are now being juggled on the dishonest basis of accounts receivable that don't exist. We need more money. If things don't change, the corporation will probably be short \$100 million in real money by July."

Rothschild explains that the corporation's board of 16 is dominated by city officials who have been appointed by the Mayor, and are loyal to the Mayor, not to the sick and the poor. HSA Administrator Gordon Chase, Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello, HRA Administrator Jule Sugarman, and Health Commissioner Mary McLaughlin "can push through any policy the Mayor wants."

"And they are willing to cut services, to reduce the number of beds, to cut staff, to protect Lindsay and the Bureau of the Budget. I want the board to be independent of City Hall, to fight the legislature and the Mayor and the Budget Bureau for more funds, to tax the insurance companies and banks to pay for medical care for the poor."

(Gerard Piel, publisher of Scientific American, who chaired the prestigious 1967 commission that first recommended a public corporation be formed, agreed with Rothschild that it should have been independent of City Hall. "We had a radically different concept of the corporation than the way it came out," Piel told me. "We wanted a corporation without city commissioners on it, that was dominated by consumers and health professionals. But the administration wanted to keep control. We also wanted to abolish the differences between public and voluntary hospitals. . . . I had serious differences with the administration over this issue, and I was not involved in the designing of the existing Health and Hospitals Corporation.")

Although the Health and Hospitals Corporation is a child of "modern management" it is failing even in its own cost effectiveness terms. Although the corporation was fashioned by economists, computers, consultants, and systems analysts, it has been badly staffed, it has wasted funds, and it has set foolish priorities.

Almost all of the corporation's policy-making staff are white, middle-class males with little feel for New York City. Several are systems analysts with backgrounds in Robert McNamara's Pentagon, rather than in health care or hospitals.

These brash young technocrats moved into 125 Worth Street last summer and totally ignored the older, career civil servants. The 40- and 50-year-old professionals from Queens and Brooklyn were excluded from meetings, deleted from memo lists, given no work to do, and now can be seen sitting at their desks reading magazines and newspapers all day. These civil servants, although they may lack formal education and a diploma from Harvard Business School, know more about the bureaucracy of hospitals than the new Pentagon whiz kids. But their concrete knowledge, acquired over many years, is not called on.

A second problem is that none of the policy makers who have the most direct control over the corporation have much experience with New York City. They all come out of the Washington bureaucracy with spectacular reputations.

Corporation President Joseph English worked in the Peace Corps, then OEO, and then HEW all through the 1960s. When he was first interviewed for the job he was asked by Dr. Rothschild, "Do you know where the Grand Concourse is? The answer was no.

HSA Administrator Gordon Chase worked on McGeorge Bundy's national security staff in the White House from 1962 until 1966. He then joined the Agency for International Development (AID) whose former director, Dr. John Hannah, has admitted it was a "CIA cover" since 1962. Chase's job at AID was formulation of the agency's \$2.5 billion budget.

Edward Hamilton, the city's Budget Di-

rector, who controls the Health and Hospitals Corporation's budget, worked for Walt Rostow in the White House, for the Federal Bureau of the Budget and for the Brookings Institution until he came to New York last year.

Twenty-nine-year-old Paul Kerz is the corporation's senior vice-president for program analysis. He is a graduate of the Defense Department.

And the three top administrators in the old Department of Hospitals who helped set up the new corporation are all gone: former Commissioner Terenzio and his deputies Henry Manning and Robert Derzon, resigned last summer.

A third administrative weakness of the corporation has been its tendency to pay deskbound bureaucrats excessive salaries while compiling and covering up a budget deficit and failing to improve health services.

Since last July 1, the corporation's staff salaries have skyrocketed from \$1,882,000 to a current \$4,361,000. This has happened despite the Mayor's order for a job and wage freeze for city employees. And this money has not gone for doctors, nurses, or para-professionals, but for executives and managers.

English, with a salary of \$65,000, earns \$15,000 more than the Mayor. Three corporation vice-presidents make over \$50,000 annually, 10 staff members top \$30,000, and 169 earn more than \$20,000.

According to Comptroller Abe Beame, who is conducting an audit of the corporation's complicated, books there has been, in 10 months, a 125 per cent increase in the number of inside employees making over \$20,000. Also, the corporation has spent approximately \$1 million to re-furnish and re-model its executive offices on Worth Street, while the waiting rooms in most municipal hospitals remain dirty, dingy, and depressing.

Congressman Herman Badillo has been perhaps the most consistent political critic of the corporation concept, first as Bronx Borough President, and then briefly as a member of the corporation's board, until he quit without much publicity early in March.

Last week, while driving from his Bronx district office to Manhattan, Badillo talked about the corporation's failure to keep its pledge on community control.

"First you have to understand, he began, "that the idea behind setting up the Hospitals Corporation was to get Lindsay off the book on health care. Now Lindsay can say it is not his responsibility because there is a corporation. So the effect of the corporation, and the intent, was to place another layer of bureaucracy between City Hall and the poor."

"The idea of community advisory boards for each of the 18 hospitals was written into the law creating the corporation. But it's a joke. Community advisory boards do not exist. There is absolutely no community participation, much less community control. There is no community input into the making of the corporation's budget." (Dr. Rothschild told me the board of directors only saw the proposed budget for 1971-72 a few hours before it was submitted to the Mayor.) "The Hospitals Corporation functions just like the Port Authority or the MTA. It is totally removed from the public. The decision to set up the corporation this way guarantees lousy health care because there is no mechanism for the people to influence the budget process."

"I believe community advisory boards should have as much power in managing municipal hospitals as boards of trustees have in the running of the voluntary hospitals. The community boards should be elected. Now Joseph English is talking about having hospital administrators appoint community boards. That would be a hoax."

I asked Badillo whether he thought the absence of community control is a matter of philosophy by English and Chase, or just a function of inept administration.

"I'll tell you a story," he said. "Recently

I tried to start a new community hospital in the Bronx, the Soundview Hospital, which would have also served the slums in Hunts Point. It would have been a true community hospital, owned by the community, with a community board with real power. I had financing from state programs all arranged. This would have been a fair test of community control. This hospital would have permitted community doctors to practice in a community hospital, something the city doesn't allow today. So I went to Gordon Chase (HSA Administrator) and asked him to get the city to guarantee the contingent liability (underwrite the state's bonds in case of default) so the hospital could be built. And Chase wouldn't do it. He had a chance to test real community control in a new institution, where it would have been easier to test than in an old institution, and he said no."

The city's three-year-old hospitals policy has failed because it has been based on technocratic premises. The pivotal problem with the municipal hospitals was not "inadequate management," as Lindsay said back in 1968. It was never the kind of problem that could be solved by cost accountants, consultants, and computers designing a new bureaucracy that snubbed the civil service.

The core of the hospital crisis was always an economic problem, a problem of class injustice, a problem of the poor getting inferior treatment in Lincoln or Harlem Hospital, and the affluent buying better treatment in Montefiore or Einstein Hospital. (Management was bad but that was a secondary problem.)

The formation of a management corporation, with the attending imagery of health care as a commodity rather than a basic right, was a doomed policy from the start because it was another way of avoiding putting some real money into one of those institutions that only serve the poor.

As John Kenneth Galbraith put it in his superb pamphlet, "Who Needs the Democrats?": "... Having contemplated all other remedies for urban decay, we must now try using money. We must stop using sociology as a substitute for taxation. . . . But the money should be given (from the federal government) on terms that require the cities to tax their own rich. . . . Before John Lindsay is given final credentials as a Democrat, he must be required to make rich New Yorkers complain more about their taxes and less about their services."

Lindsay's economic ideas seem to run in the opposite direction, away from populism and toward management consultants from Rand and McKinsey, soulless McNamara-type technocrats like Edward Hamilton, and corporate smoothies like Charles Luce of Con Edison.

Lindsay's policies in many areas seem intellectually grounded in the mischievous theory popularized by Professors Daniel Bell and S. M. Lipset during the dog days of the '50s, the theory that ideology was dead, that any talk of re-distributing wealth was old-fashioned Marxism, and that the modern sophisticated way to be a "problem-solver" was for government to adopt the latest business and scientific techniques.

But the heart of the health problem (and the housing problem, and the poverty problem) is the old, boring idea of unequal distribution of power and wealth. International drug corporations like Eli Lilly and Pfizer make millions of dollars in profits each year from illness. So do the major insurance companies like Blue Cross, and so do health bureaucrats and administrators. The trustees and administrators of voluntary hospitals have tremendous political power. And so does the AMA.

These interlocking interests do not want to end the two-class system. They do not favor building new community hospitals run by community boards of the type Congressman Badillo tried to start in the Bronx.

In the long run, part of the remedy is the Martha Griffiths-Ted Kennedy bill (S.3 and H.R. 22) for comprehensive national health insurance that covers everybody, includes preventive and ambulatory care, as well as the cost for prescription drugs.

But more immediately, and more locally, what is needed is more money for municipal hospitals, more community control, an end to the two-class system, and recognition of the Hospitals Corporation's fiscal and intellectual bankruptcy.

Until that happens, the poor will get sick, the sick will get poor, and Pfizer, Blue Cross, and Joe English will get rich.

FINANCING THE HOSPITALS

To understand some of the problems associated with the current fiscal crisis of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, one must unravel a tangled web of past and present budget requests, executive budgets, comptroller's reports, etc. Since adjustments are made for a number of years after any given fiscal year, there is a two to three year lag in the final fiscal data. Hence the best we can do for background is to look at the years 1965-66, 1966-67, and 1967-68, which are final, and examine the patterns that emerge:

	[In millions]		
	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Budget as adopted:			
City tax levy.....	195	176	183
Other (Federal, State, etc.)	74	124	180
	(88)		
Total.....	269	300	363
Final adjusted budget:			
City tax levy.....	170	110	58
Other (Federal, State, etc.)	80	138	211
Total.....	250	248	269

Thus it appears that while the announced budget for the old Department of Hospitals was increased each year by the Mayor, City Council, and Board of Estimate, the amount of money actually expended during that year was considerably less and almost constant. Also, the amount of city tax levy money used to pay the bills for the year decreased with time and was considerably less than that committed to the municipal hospitals in the original budget.

Alternatively, one could question the whole bookkeeping procedure, and assume that hospital care dollars actually spent were closer to the adopted budget, and an increasing hidden deficit was being incurred by the hospitals each year. It is also clear that the collections process is such that moneys collected from other than city sources in subsequent years were applied to balance previous years budgets, whether or not the income collected really should have been credited to that year.

The only fact that can be confirmed is that at the end of June 1970, the Department of Hospitals was behind at least \$130 million in non-city money collected. This fact is reflected in the deal made with the HHC to buy for this amount the "accounts receivable" of the old Department of Hospitals, this sum to be paid off over the next 10 years. It is also becoming apparent that there is probably considerably less than \$130 million in collectable dollars (possibly half as much or less). That the city sold the corporation an over-valued asset is beyond question; that the city should have collected this amount and more in the past is also clear.

This brings us to the question of why money due to the municipal hospitals from third party payers (including state, federal, and insurance companies) was never collected. The answer to this largely lies in the incompetence of the Department of Hospitals in getting the paper work done when the patient was admitted and discharged,

paper work necessary to collect these moneys. The voluntary hospitals have been able to do this because they have had to survive and maintain up-to-date standards. The municipal hospitals failed on both accounts, and the Corporation has continued to fail to collect what it should. Furthermore, the money paid by governmental and insurance agencies for care in the municipal hospitals is considerably less than that in the better voluntary hospitals. This rate issue should have been resolved in favor of the municipal hospitals a long time ago; it has not been because of a combination of lack of effective cost accounting and political muscle.

Against this background, let us look at this year's budget ('70-'71) for the NYC Health and Hospitals Corporation.

	Million
Total approved budget.....	\$618
Minus mental health expenses (absorbed by city and state).....	58
Total.....	560
Plus 10 percent of 130 owed to city.....	13
Total budget need.....	573
Minus city tax levy.....	264
Funds needed.....	309

Thus if the Corporation spends its total budget, then it needs \$309 million from non-city tax levy to break even. These sources are primarily Medicaid, Medicare, and Blue Cross, etc. The Corporation's best official estimate of these payments is \$239 million, leaving a deficit of at least \$70 million (309 minus 239 equals 70). The 239 figure is probably a gross overestimate of collectible money from this year's operation. The cash figure may well approach this number, but it will in part reflect some of the \$130 million in old paper, \$117 million of which the Corporation still owes the city.

Conclusion: The Health and Hospitals Corporation, as the Department of Hospitals before it, is developing an increasing real deficit. This is due to chronic under-financing by all levels of government and by the private insurance companies, coupled with naive estimates of revenue sources and the lack of modern reasonable cost accounting and billing procedures. Unless major immediate changes take place in all these areas, the municipal hospitals cannot survive.

IDAHO'S SAWTOOTH COUNTRY—AN OPEN LETTER FROM ALASKA CONGRESSMAN NICK BEGICH

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BEGICH, Mr. Speaker, in response to the "Dear Colleague" letter from the Idaho House delegation which proposes legislation to provide Federal protection for parts of the Sawtooth country in southcentral Idaho, and in response to the brochure attached which pictures this and other areas of Idaho, let me say the following.

Those of us who have the privilege to live amid Alaska's scenic beauty and its expanse of wilderness have high standards for measuring the attributes of other States but, gentlemen, I am persuaded. The Sawtooth is a magnificent area. Add my name to H.R. 6957.

**NATION'S BUSINESSMEN FAVOR CURTAILING FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES NOT CONTROLLING CAMPUS DISORDERS**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, taxpayer resentment and demands for stronger action have been provoked by riots and havoc caused by a small number of students on college campuses. The disruption of classes by such disorders is an injustice to the serious student whose education is interrupted and to the taxpayer whose taxes help support centers of higher learning.

I have proposed a bill, H.R. 359, providing that Federal financial assistance be stopped to those colleges which fail to take adequate measures to curb the disorders and that financial aid be suspended to those teachers taking part in campus disruptions.

The National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., 150 West 20th Ave., San Mateo, Calif., having a present membership of 291,841—the largest individual membership of any business organization in the United States—has informed me of its strong support for my bill.

The results of the latest poll conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., show that 83 percent of the businessmen favor legislation which would halt Federal education aid to colleges which do not take measures to bring campus disorders under control and would also suspend such Federal aid to teachers taking part in disruptions. The Federation found only 14 percent opposing the bill and 3 percent with no firm opinion.

So that our colleagues may know of the thinking of businessmen on this issue, I insert at this point in my remarks a breakdown of the figures by States:

STATE BREAKDOWN FIGURES—END FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES WHICH DO NOT TRY TO CONTROL CAMPUS DISORDERS

State	Percent in favor	Percent against	Percent undecided
Alabama	87	8	5
Alaska	88	8	4
Arizona	88	8	4
Arkansas	84	11	5
California	85	10	5
Colorado	87	9	4
Connecticut	89	6	5
Delaware	87	12	1
Florida	86	10	4
Georgia	87	9	4
Hawaii	90	7	3
Idaho	85	10	5
Illinois	87	11	2
Indiana	86	10	4
Iowa	86	10	4
Kansas	84	10	6
Kentucky	85	11	4
Louisiana	87	8	5
Maine	85	8	7
Maryland	87	10	3
Massachusetts	86	10	4
Michigan	88	8	4
Minnesota	86	10	4
Mississippi	86	9	5
Missouri	87	9	4
Montana	86	9	5
Nebraska	86	11	3
Nevada	89	6	5
New Hampshire	87	8	5
New Jersey	84	9	7

State	Percent in favor	Percent against	Percent undecided
New Mexico	89	9	2
New York	86	9	5
North Carolina	86	10	4
North Dakota	88	8	4
Ohio	87	9	4
Oklahoma	86	8	6
Oregon	85	11	4
Pennsylvania	86	9	5
Rhode Island	86	4	10
South Carolina	86	10	4
South Dakota	84	12	4
Tennessee	90	8	2
Texas	85	12	3
Utah	88	9	3
Vermont	87	7	6
Virginia	87	10	3
Washington	88	9	3
Washington, D.C.			
West Virginia	87	11	2
Wisconsin	85	10	5
Wyoming	86	9	5

\*Returns incomplete, May 31, 1971.

**RICHARD G. CAPEN, JR., RECEIVES CITATION FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN DOD**

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago Richard G. Capen, Jr., received a citation for his distinguished service in the Department of Defense as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and as Assistant to the Secretary for Legislative Affairs.

Many of our colleagues came to know Mr. Capen during his service in Washington and know that the following article from the San Diego Evening Tribune will be of interest to them.

Also, I include a copy of the citation he received since it describes the outstanding job he performed while serving the Secretary of Defense. The material follows:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune, Apr. 27, 1971]

**CAPEN JR. HONORED FOR DEFENSE SERVICE**

WASHINGTON.—Richard G. Capen Jr. of La Jolla, who will leave office Saturday as assistant secretary of defense for legislative affairs, yesterday was awarded the Defense Department's highest civilian decoration.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird presented Capen with the department's Distinguished Civilian Service Medal in a ceremony.

Capen is resigning his position with the department to return to California as a vice president of The Copley Newspapers. He had been with the newspapers for eight years before he joined the Pentagon in January 1969.

Laird praised Capen as "the man who changed our policy on prisoners of war and brought the weight of world public opinion to bear on North Vietnam."

Capen convinced him, Laird said, as well as other Defense Department leaders, the National Security Council and the highest levels of government that the United States should undertake an aggressive program to point out to the nation and the world the unjust treatment of Americans captured by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

Laird also said that Capen brought "the highest sense of duty" to his Pentagon post and that Capen "deepened public and congressional understanding of the complexities of the nation's defense."

**PLAYED PROMINENT ROLE**

Since Capen took over his legislative affairs duties in February, 1970, Laird said, "the department of defense hasn't lost a single roll call in Congress."

Capen, 36, was joined at the ceremony by his wife, the former Joan Lambert; their son, Christopher, 6, and daughter, Kelly, 3.

Also attending the ceremony were Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard; Rep. Edward Hébert, D-La., House Armed Services Committee chairman; Rep. George Mahan, D-Tex., House Appropriations Committee chairman; Rep. Gerald Ford, R-Mich., House Republican Leader; Rep. Leslie Arends, R-Ill., GOP Whip; Rep. Bob Wilson, R-San Diego; Rep. Jack Kemp, R-N.Y.; Adm. Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, and Gen. Leonard Chapman, commandant of the Marine Corps.

**SUCCEEDED BY LAWYER**

Capen will be succeeded in the Defense Department by R. A. Johnson, a Nebraska lawyer and former manager of government affairs for the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.

A native of Hartford, Conn., Capen was graduated from Columbia University in 1956. He served in the Navy aboard a destroyer in the Western Pacific from 1956 to 1959, and was released from active duty with the rank of lieutenant junior grade.

He was named San Diego's "Outstanding Man of the Year" in 1967, and in 1969, the California Junior Chamber of Commerce designated him one of the five outstanding men in the state.

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO RICHARD G. CAPEN, JR.**

For distinguished service in the Department of Defense from January 1969 to May 1971 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs and as Assistant to the Secretary for Legislative Affairs.

Dick Capen's energy, intelligence, and good judgment have been a primary stimulus for positive results in numerous defense programs. In particular, his relations with members of the Senate and the House of Representatives have won broad congressional support for the critical defense legislative programs. During a particularly challenging period of reduced military spending, changing priorities, and shifting world affairs, he has deepened public and congressional understanding of the many difficult and complex issues faced by the Department of Defense. His dynamic and positive attitude coupled with a warm and sensitive personality have enabled him to perform with rare distinction duties of the greatest importance in maintaining our national security posture. His perception and accurate evaluation of congressional attitudes have made it possible for him to provide invaluable advice to senior officials of the department.

His high sense of duty and loyal and dedicated service have been an inspiration to all with whom he has been associated. It is with great pleasure and deep appreciation that I award to Richard G. Capen, Jr. the Department of Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Medal.

MELVIN R. LAIRD,  
Secretary of Defense.

**NATIONAL RADIO MONTH**

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, May is National Radio Month. The influential role

of radio in American life makes this medium of crucial importance to us all.

The ability of broadcasting to communicate with the public and instantly relay what's happening is an amazing feat. When I think of people all over the country—in their cars, at the beach, waiting for the dentist, on a picnic—simultaneously receiving the message that a man has landed on the moon, it almost seems unbelievable.

From our vantage point of highly sophisticated equipment, which not only sends and receives messages all over the world, but also transmits to and from other planets, the first, simple wireless invented by Guglielmo Marconi seems almost like a child's toy. But imagine conceiving the idea of sending sounds through the air and recapturing them at the other end.

Most radio stations are very responsive to the needs of their public. Informing the people is an extraordinary task to undertake, but the dedicated announcers, reporters, technicians and other personnel do an outstanding job.

Many radio stations offer editorials that move legislators and executives and promote community involvement. Instant news dissemination results in the listener being able to have a greater understanding of what's going on in this world.

The many public services offered by radio are so numerous, but yet so taken for granted.

Therefore, I take this opportunity to salute the men and women in all phases of radio work who make it possible for us to tune in to the world at the flip of a knob.

#### HEARINGS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH REORGANIZATION

### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Government Operations, which I have the honor to chair, will hold hearings next Wednesday and Thursday, June 2, and 3, 1971, on President Nixon's proposals to reorganize the executive branch of Government. The hearings will be held in our Full Committee hearing room, 2154 Rayburn House Office Building, commencing at 10 a.m. each day. The hearings will be conducted by the Subcommittee on Legislation and Military Operations.

The President proposes to abolish seven Cabinet departments: Agriculture; Interior; Commerce; Transportation; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Housing and Urban Development. Their functions would be redistributed in four new departments: Natural Resources; Economic Affairs; Community Development; and Human Resources. A total of 325,000 employees and budget outlays of nearly \$100 billion are involved in the proposed reorganizations.

This is the most far-reaching reorganization of the executive branch that has ever been proposed by a President of the United States. It places an unprece-

dent legislative task upon the Committee on Government Operations.

The first round of hearings will be devoted to an overview of the reorganization proposals. These have been embodied in four bills—H.R. 6959, 6960, 6961, 6962—which I have introduced by request. The Minority Leader of the House, Mr. Ford, and the ranking minority member of our committee, Mrs. DWYER and the ranking member of the subcommittee, Mr. HORTON have introduced identical bills providing for the establishment of the four departments.

Administration witnesses will include, the Honorable George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Mr. Roy L. Ash, Chairman of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization. They will explain the philosophy and rationale of the President's reorganization proposals and respond to questions by subcommittee members.

Additional hearings will be scheduled, and the legislative bills embodying the President's proposals will be carefully examined. Committee chairmen and Members of Congress who have an interest in this subject and wish to testify before the subcommittee should notify me, so that their appearances may be scheduled. It is apparent that the proposed reorganizations, if enacted into law, would have a significant impact on existing committee jurisdictions and legislative responsibilities.

The subcommittee also will hear all individuals and organizations having a legitimate interest and a special competence in the Government activities and operations proposed to be reorganized. I have assured the President that his reorganization proposals will be accorded full and fair hearings by this committee, and that commitment will be faithfully discharged.

#### SIERRA CLUB SUPPORTS NATION-WIDE BAN ON STRIP MINING

### HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, sooner or later there will be an effective nationwide ban on the strip mining of coal, make no mistake about it. We can achieve balanced economic growth, expand employment, and at the same time protect the land, streams, forests, and hillsides which is now being devastated by strip mining. There are those who cry "energy crisis" whenever any steps are taken to protect the environment, with the implication that human beings are prisoners of a system which must inevitably result in pollution and more pollution.

We are masters of our destiny, and we can take the initiative to make those decisions necessary to make life better on earth.

I am proud to say that the Sierra Club has spoken out clearly, forcefully and unequivocally in support of a national ban on the strip mining of coal. Earlier

this month, the board of directors of the Sierra Club at its quarterly meeting in San Francisco adopted the following resolution:

#### SURFACE MINING OF COAL

In view of the irreversible environmental damage caused by surface mining and the ineffectiveness of regulation to mitigate the environmental impact of surface mining, the Sierra Club advocates a total and immediate ban on all surface mining of coal, in conjunction with appropriate steps to prevent any compensating increase in other environmentally disastrous methods of obtaining or transporting fuel.

The Board of Directors of the Sierra Club recognizes the extreme importance of the problem posed by surface mining of coal, and formally places the abolition of this practice on the Club's list of priorities. It requests all units of the Club to treat this matter with high priority, and directs the staff to act appropriately.

#### NEW INSIGHT INTO THE CALLEY CASE

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, for the past several months a great deal of attention has been focused on the background of the charges brought against Lt. William Calley and his court-martial and conviction. The Calley case has created many heated debates and has resulted in a virtual plethora of commentary and opinion.

However, a unique and incisive insight into the Calley affair was furnished earlier this month in a sermon delivered by Dr. Ernest T. Campbell, senior minister of the Riverside Church in the city of New York. Dr. Campbell's message is one of the most thoughtful and thought-provoking statements I have seen on the Calley case and I am anxious to share it with our colleagues. Therefore, I am pleased to present Dr. Campbell's sermon herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

#### NO-FAULT MORALITY

(By Dr. Ernest T. Campbell)

No-fault automobile insurance appears to be the coming thing for the American motorist. Any measure that can cut costs and speed up payments to accident victims ought to have our blessing.

No-fault divorce laws are gradually replacing statutes that made it necessary to fix blame and determine a guilty and innocent party when a marriage went sour. This is a stride towards honesty, and we should be grateful for it.

But my subject today is not automobile insurance or divorce. My subject is America's drift into a "no-fault" morality as evidenced by reaction to the Army's case against Lt. William L. Calley.

The Calley case made us overnight into a nation of moralists and jurists. Once the soldier from Columbus, Georgia was found guilty of murdering twenty-two civilians in My Lai voices cried, editorial ink flowed, politicians screamed, coalitions formed, people of every rank and file declared themselves.

The dominant mood expressed initially was one of outrage at the verdict. Twenty-two people dead, among them women and chil-

dren, and millions rise up to proclaim, "We find no fault in him."

What assumptions form the basis of this astounding reaction? One is the assumption that everyone's guilt is no one's guilt. Responsibility for Calley's atrocities rests on many shoulders, so the argument runs. Implicated are his superior officers, the government of the United States, and the citizens who put that government in power. Because the blame is so widely scattered one individual should not be punished. *The attempt to equalize guilt tends to eliminate guilt.*

Dean Francis Sayre of the Washington Cathedral was the most winsome spokesman for this point of view. He wrote, "Calley is all of us. He is every single citizen in our graceless land . . . Who, whether hawk or dove, military or civilian, is exempt from some share, some obedience or lazy acquiescence in the faceless slaughter, not only of human life but of almost all we have been wont to count as precious in this world."<sup>1</sup>

"Calley is all of us." Potentially, yes, we are all Calleys, but not actually. It is true that anything any other man ever did I could do under similar opportunity and provocation. But "could do" and "did do" are not the same. History turns on the actual not the potential. "Calley is all of us." Is he now, indeed? Calley is not the brothers Berigan. Calley is not the thousands of COs who have steadfastly refused to bear arms. Calley is not even all of his fellow soldiers in Vietnam, the overwhelming majority of whom would not knowingly open fire on women and children.

The upshot of such wooly thinking is to transform a murderer into a national hero. The gunner of My Lai becomes a likeable "fall guy!" Poor Rusty, we find no fault in him.

The second assumption at work here is that bad systems excuse bad conduct. This is the trap into which religious and political liberals are likely to fall. Admittedly and assuredly the war in Indo-China is a colossal misadventure. The way in which trainees for that war are taught borders on the barbaric. I am told by those who have been there that it is not fashionable in Vietnam to direct our men to "kill." Too many of them have been reared in the Judao-Christian tradition. They recall the sixth Commandment and react negatively to the thought of killing. So we attempt sanctification by semantics. Our boys are not told to "kill," they are told to "destroy" or "waste." To legitimize these commands the enemy is dehumanized and spoken of as "dinks," "gooks" and "VCs."

Last December a war crimes hearing was held in Washington, D.C. Among those testifying was Dr. Gordon Livingston, a resident psychiatrist at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, who amazed the assembled guests with this prayer: "Help us, O Lord, to fulfill the standing order of this regiment. Give us the wisdom to find the bastards—and the strength to pile it on."<sup>2</sup> When pressed as to where this prayer came from he replied that he had learned it in 1968 as a regimental surgeon with the 11th Armored Cavalry, in Black Horse, Vietnam. It was known as the Prayer of the Body Count and was offered up by the Regimental Chaplain!

However diabolical the system, and it is more diabolical than most of us suspect, I contend that to lay the blame for human failure at the feet of the system is to abandon the Biblical view of man. The Bible offers a more hopeful view of man than this. It is of Freud and not of Scripture to believe that man is a helpless victim of social conditioning and inherited instincts.

Eric Hoffer was cutting through a maze of nonsense when he said, "There is no telling to what extremes of cruelty and ruthlessness a man will go when he is freed from the fears, hesitations, doubts and the vague

stirrings of decency that go with individual judgment. When we lose our individual independence in the corporateness of a mass movement, we find a new freedom—freedom to hate, bully, lie, torture, murder and betray without shame and remorse."<sup>3</sup>

Granted, the conditioning to which Calley was exposed was severe and demonic. Still I cannot bring myself to believe that this man had no alternative but to squeeze the trigger. What of his residual humanity? It belongs not alone to the religious, but to people of ordinary decency to rise up and say "no" in the face of such an immoral command. It is a "cop-out" of the first order to assign blame to a faceless, impersonal abstraction like society and to say of Calley, "We find no fault in him."

The other assumption that I should like to deal with is this: *Some situations are so bad that moral distinctions within them are unavailing and well-nigh impossible.* Billy Graham was the herald of this unwisdom. His utterance on My Lai, in my judgment, was his darkest day in print. Because he is taken by many to speak for Protestants in this country I should like publicly to disassociate myself, almost entirely, from his position. The celebrated evangelist said: "We are learning one thing—that Sherman was right, 'War is hell.' I have never heard of a war where innocent people were not killed.

"We have all had our My Lais in one way or another, perhaps not with guns, but we have hurt others with a thoughtless word, an arrogant act or a selfish deed.

"When the religious leaders were about to stone the adulteress who had been convicted and tried Jesus said, 'Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.' If that were the law of the world today, never a stone would be thrown, for the Bible says, 'We have all sinned and come short of the glory of God.'"<sup>4</sup>

Yes, Billy, we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. But we have not all sinned in the same way or to the same degree! And the differences involved matter much. There is no exegete or expositor of the New Testament that I have ever read who dared to suggest that Jesus' response to the woman in adultery was to be taken as an eternal dictum on justice. It is naive to a fault to infer that because Jesus forgave this woman and dismissed her accusers no judge should ever don his robe and preside at a bar of justice. To follow the evangelist's logic all the way would be to close down every courthouse in the country by night-fall.

Fundamentalism has always had trouble taking the relatively right seriously. But we had better begin to take the relatively right seriously—for that's the only kind of right most of us bump into through our lifetime. Of course war is hell. But even within that hell there are standards worth contending for. We do not believe that a Red Cross ambulance should be bombed. Or that a UN inspection team should be fired upon. Or that prisoners of war should be summarily killed. Or that civilians should be lined up, tossed into a pit and slain.

Justice deals with the *probably right*, the *relatively right* in a given situation. If we Christians are to be helpful in a less-than-perfect world we must learn to be fluent in two languages—love and justice. It does not belong to justice to say of Lt. Calley, "We find no fault in him."

I have chosen to preach on the Calley case not to criticize but to clarify. I am not keen on finding or fixing blame in order to vindicate a theological perspective, although I agree with an observer who wrote in the "London Times" a while ago that "the doctrine of original sin is the only empirically verifiable doctrine of the Christian Faith."<sup>5</sup>

I am keen about the subject because I

believe that justice partakes of the divine order. That it is not ours to manipulate. That justice is a lot more than man-made house rules or organizational by-laws. That it has a durability, an eternal quality about it.

I have long since given up golf. It is sour grapes with me, I admit. The game was getting the better of me every time out. I confess though to remembering rounds of golf with friends who were exceedingly generous. If I shanked a shot or dubbed one they would say, "Shoot again. We won't count that one." Desperate that I was, I would. Then mutual grace would exceed all bounds when we finally arrived on the green. One man would be lying seventeen feet from the cup. His friend would say, "I'll give you yours if you'll give me mine." They would look around quickly to see if heaven were watching and say, "It's a deal!"

My friends, there are duffers all around this country who take mulligans on every hole and "gimmes" on every green and think they are playing golf. But the question that keeps surfacing is this: "Who speaks for par?" Is there not a very real sense a "third" involved when I play golf with a friend? Is it altogether mine and his to determine how many strokes we will count. Does "mutual consent" in sexual perversity make the action right?

Because we might happen to feel that yellow-skinned people are inferior to white, and that the imperial role of the United States in Vietnam is beyond question—is it then our prerogative to free a man with innocent Asiatic blood on his hands? Can justice be domesticated? Only sheer sentiment would keep us from identifying mass murder for what it is.

Most of all I am keen on the subject because I see no way out for Calley or for us unless we recover a sense of accountability. "If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." (I John 1:8) The gates of mercy swing on the hinges of contrition. "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." (I John 1:9)

CLOSING PRAYER

O God of men and nations, whose will for us is peace,  
Have mercy upon us that we have bungled things so badly and drenched the earth in blood.

Keep us from succumbing to the notion that we are helpless pawns on the board of life.

Fill us with a sense of worth and accountability and a steady loyalty to truth and justice.

For Jesus' sake—and our own. —Amen.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *The New York Times*, April 5, 1971
- <sup>2</sup> Higgins, James, "Horror Takes The Stand," *The Nation*, p. 6, January 4, 1971
- <sup>3</sup> Richard Linger's review of *White Terror*, by Allen W. Trelease, *The New York Times*, May 8, 1971
- <sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, April 9, 1971
- <sup>5</sup> Fisher, Wallace, E., *Can Man Hope To Be Human?* p. 22, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1971

GASP—PITTSBURGH'S ENVIRONMENTAL CHAMPION

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, which are no strangers to pollution problems, re-

cently received an award from the National Association of Counties for their efforts in air pollution control. Our anti-pollution code that went into effect barely a year ago is one of the toughest in the Nation.

Largely responsible for this award is GASP—Group Against Smog and Pollution—an active citizens group which has been able to mobilize the voluntary efforts of 80 scientists, 40 attorneys, and the backing of the Allegheny County Medical Society. A GASP representative—usually an attorney and/or scientific expert—sits in on every variance board hearing.

Under the dynamic leadership of its president, Mrs. Henry R. Madoff, GASP reports 80-percent compliance as a result of public pressure on polluters.

GASP has been filmed as part of a French TV show for distribution in 80 European countries; their activities have been detailed in the Evening Chronicle of Manchester, England; they have been interviewed by Japanese Environmentalists; and have recorded for the Voice of America.

At this point in the RECORD I introduce for the attention of my colleagues articles which have appeared in the Wall Street Journal, and, more recently, in Topics, the U.S. Information Agency magazine, concerning this tough and successful citizens group of which I am very proud:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 2, 1970]

#### WILL ANTI-POLLUTION LAWS STICK?

(By Thomas Lindley Ehrlich)

PITTSBURGH.—The environment's long trek from befouled to clean, as with most basic social changes, will go slowly and in stages. The first stage, of course, is talk, and there's currently plenty of it.

But when the rhetoric and breast-beating have passed, the war on pollution will come down to hundreds of little moves, by thousands of obscure public officials, corporate executives and citizens. The millennial orations of today will give way to intense corporate pressures for slow enforcement, bewildering technical arguments and the nagging shortage of public funds. The vocabulary of this lower level will be microns, wet scrubbers, tons per square mile per month, and dozens of other hard-to-grasp measurements and terms.

It's hard to predict what will happen when this action stage is reached. But at least some environmentalists fear that the potential benefits of broad pro-environment legislation could be undermined in a long, largely unnoticed series of individual decisions to go easy on specific polluters. They fear that polluting industries, who are proclaiming high-priority concern for the environment now, will win a leniency in backroom bargaining with enforcement bureaucrats that they would never dare seek in public.

But it doesn't seem to be working out that way here in Pittsburgh, a city that is no stranger to pollution problems. Efforts of local officials and concerned citizens have resulted not only in a tough new anti-pollution law, but in tough and novel enforcement methods. As with any anti-pollution law, certain exceptions will have to be granted as a practical matter. But to prevent this from becoming a menacing loophole, no exception will be made except after public hearings, where arguments for leniency are balanced by anti-pollution pleas, and where the glare of publicity is kept focused on polluters.

#### A TOUGH NEW CODE

Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh and surrounding communities, has a tough new anti-pollution code that nominally went into effect Jan. 1. But it's only now that the county has begun the first crucial step—acting on requests for variances from the law. In a variance appeal, a company or municipality seeks permission to continue its pollution activity, usually until a specified date. The reason may be delayed shipment of a control device, or an equipment failure. It may involve the gap between enthusiasm for clean air and water and the technology to achieve it. Or it may be the appellant simply wants to initiate an indefinite series of delays.

The Allegheny County code specifically includes provision for variances, and it's expected that enforcement of the Federal Air Quality Act will make a similar provision. The aim is to avoid inflexibility and to provide for a balancing of interests.

Pollution fighters fear, though, that stiff anti-pollution laws may be nibbled to death in variance proceedings. While industry hasn't openly opposed the setting of stiff air quality rules, it has an obvious economic interest in avoiding big and sudden expenditures for control devices. In private bargaining between industry and bureaucrats passing on variances, environmentalist forces worry, polluters may be able to avoid such expenditures, or at a minimum, to make compliance subject to their convenience.

Here in Allegheny County, more than 200 variance petitions have been filed since Jan. 1. Duquesne Light Co. alone has filed more than 20 variance appeals. A host of municipalities want to continue open burning of refuse, saying they have no other way to dispose of waste. U.S. Steel Corp. and Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. have asked exemption of two facilities they plan to close down within the next 18 months. But U.S. Steel also wants exemption for nearly all its basic steel making operations in the county, and J&L wants a blanket exemption for all its sources of emission.

#### BACKPEDALING UNLIKELY

It seems unlikely there will be any quiet backpedaling here, however. County officials were not only appointed a variance appeals board with an admitted pro-environmental bias, but have chosen to make the appeals process not a quiet, closed-door affair, but a sort of public adversary proceeding. Citizens groups are encouraged to participate as direct parties in the public hearings. Pollution-control experts from county agencies and private groups are brought in to offer technical advice and to question applicants closely on technical matters.

The result is a barrage of tough, informed questions, aimed at the appellants, who sit in the middle of a long curved witness table, flanked on one side by environmentalists and on the other by county health officials. Corporate officials who once scoffed at the "emotional," uninformed citizen-environmentalists, aren't scoffing now. Instead, appellants show up with four and five-man teams, extensive briefs, slides and charts. Even then, the board often sends them back to get more information.

In the past industry representatives always have been the knowledgeable ones, says Michelle Madoff, the peppery president of GASP—Group Against Smog and Pollution, the citizens' organization that has more or less taken command of the environmentalist effort here. GASP has a scientific adviser at every hearing, and often an attorney as well. Mrs. Madoff says, "The citizens no longer are ignorant."

Clearly, the citizens' groups, and the board itself, are in no mood to accept, at least at face value, the traditional arguments: "It costs too much" or "We can't do it." Nor is

industry's implied threat of plant shutdowns and unemployment getting much sympathy. At a recent hearing, a U.S. Steel official pointedly reminded the board that a facility under consideration does employ "more than 3,000 workers." Immediately, an environmentalist, Thomas Horrocks, fired back: "In order to avoid putting 3,000 people out of work, you're going to penalize many more thousands in Allegheny County."

Robert Broughton, chairman of the variance board (and former counsel for GASP), thinks the participation of citizens' groups and the adversary format could prove crucial. The format, he says, is based on the growing belief that administrative agencies can't be expected to fully represent public interests. "The only thing they ever hear is the evidence from one side, so they tend to identify with that side," says the Duquesne University law professor. By providing "some cross-examination and some expertise," he says, the citizens "keep us honest."

#### "FOUR OUT OF FIVE"

It's important in this regard, he adds, that the variance board, unlike other pollution boards in Pennsylvania, isn't weighted with industrial representatives. Besides the former GASP attorney, the board includes a sulphur dioxide expert from the U.S. Bureau of Mines, a hospital pathologist, a self-employed chemical engineer and a long-time member of a previous pollution-control agency. The county commissioners had sought recommendations from citizens' groups, and GASP's Mrs. Madoff says proudly, "We got four out of five."

"We do start out with a kind of bias," says Mr. Broughton. "It will take a lot more convincing for this board than for a board composed of industrial interests."

In making these appointments, other county commissioners were influenced by the efforts of Commissioner Thomas P. Forester, a long-time advocate of stricter pollution control. Also, public hearings on the proposed code last fall produced an impressive public turnout, with hundreds of citizens showing up to demand stricter curbs.

The tough approach may also be an outgrowth of officials' consternation over industry's failure to live up to previous self-regulatory promises. Industrial leaders here took the lead during the 1940s in cleaning up the smoke that had become so thick downtown streets were literally dark at midday, but since then such efforts have been disappointing. In 1960 the county and steel companies negotiated a "gentlemen's agreement" setting a 10-year timetable for cleaning up the mills, but some officials say this has been largely ignored or met with halfway measures.

The environmentalist leanings of the variance board, Mr. Broughton notes, may help win greater public acceptance for variances that are granted, and this boost to acceptability may be needed. The board hasn't released any major decisions yet, but Mr. Broughton indicates the likely course won't be the simple yea or nay sought by the contending parties. Instead of punishing polluters, as suggested by some of the citizens' representatives, the board will try to encourage a faster cleanup pace by "making it really expensive" to continue polluting operations.

This might entail use of the \$1,000-a-day fine available to the variance board. More likely, the prod will be some strict conditions governing continued operation of a source of pollution. The prod, it's hoped, would achieve some alleviation of pollution while also putting a squeeze on the polluter's pocketbook.

Mr. Broughton concedes that even a full year of fines, amounting to as much as \$365,000, might be a bargain for some big polluters compared to the cost of pollution control. But here, he says, the public hearings and the continued participation of citizens may play

another important role. How much bad publicity, he asks, will polluters be willing to take?

In fact, concern for the corporate image may well prove the decisive factor. When the variance process is conducted in the public spotlight as it is here, corporations making grand promises on one level will feel far more pressure to back them up with prompt and meaningful action at the nuts-and-bolts level. Primarily because environmentalist forces feel this public spotlight is such a potent force they view the Allegheny County procedures with the highest enthusiasm. GASP's Mrs. Madoff says, "We're going to win this time."

#### ENVIRONMENTAL WATCHDOG

Standing guard over the industrial city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and over a growing number of American urban centers are these 20th-century sentinels designed by men to monitor the air they breathe—to find out whether it is, indeed, breathable.

These sensing devices are part of the monitoring networks that measure the major air pollutants: carbon monoxide, sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons and what is known as particulate matter (soot, smoke and other particles) resulting primarily from transportation (especially the automobile), fuel combustion for power and heating, industrial processes and solid-waste disposal. In Pittsburgh's Allegheny County, data from sensors like these, located in key areas, is fed into a central computer that can alert officials to violations of the county's new air pollution control code and to the need for emergency procedures when pollution levels are dangerously high.

Throughout the United States—and in many other parts of the world—the ingenuity that invented the machines of industry is now turned to the task of cleaning up the air that industry has contaminated, before it is too late. Lined up to wage the war against dirty air is a formidable array of sophisticated devices that can collect, measure and evaluate major pollutants. New laser-ray equipment, for instance, can photograph invisible smog. A detector has been developed so sensitive that it can spot mercury pollution in air and water to within 10 parts per million.

The list of devices to pinpoint areas, types and levels of pollution is impressive testimony to man's inventive genius. But the real environmental watchdogs are people themselves—ordinary citizens who are concerned about the quality of the world they live in and the world they will pass on to their children. The achievement of clean air in each region of the country, declares The Conservation Foundation, "depends largely on the stringency of the air quality standards adopted and on the effectiveness of the plans for implementing and enforcing them. And it is now clear that these, in turn, are directly related to the degree of citizen concern and pressure in each region."

People do care—and they are voicing their concern in growing numbers. One angry young Pittsburgher took pen in hand to protest: "I am 10 years old, and if I get married when I grow up, I won't want my children to live or die in polluted air." A sixth-grader wrote: "I know I can't influence the whole state but I would like to do my part as a young citizen. I want to know just how I can stop pollution. I am 12 now."

These letters—and many more like them—are part of the life story of GASP (Group Against Smog and Pollution), a Pittsburgh organization that is remarkable but by no means unique. Its counterpart can be found wherever nature's environment is endangered and people care. GASP's guiding spirit and president is Mrs. Henry R. Madoff; its solid backbone is a determined band of thousands of citizens in Allegheny County who decided it was time they took a stand for clean air. The country's air pollution con-

trol code which became effective on January 1, 1970, is one of the strictest in the nation. Its provisions cover all sources of air pollution, from backyard burning of leaves and trash to water-quenching of steel-mill slag. Fines of up to \$1,000 per violation per day may be imposed and court injunctions used to shut down plants completely for certain violations of pollution laws.

More than 3,000 citizens—students, housewives, labor leaders, lawyers and physicians—had a hand in formulating the new regulations. Many thousands more have given their support. A law on the books will not clean the air; government officials must enforce it and citizens must obey it. Monitoring devices, too, are no guarantee of pollution control; but they are an essential prerequisite for those who must effect the environmental cleanup.

Allegheny County's million-dollar, federally funded air pollution control program for 1971 includes an expanded staff of engineers, chemists and technicians to provide round-the-clock surveillance and to maintain the air pollution monitoring stations. Also planned are several radio-equipped pollution patrol cars to cruise the county, make inspections, look for violations and respond to complaints.

Air quality monitoring has become a big business in itself. The National Air Pollution Control Administration (NAPCA) supports some 2,000 state and local monitoring stations and operates its own program involving more than 1,000 air-sampling devices at stations across the country, including six continuous monitoring stations in major cities.

The worldwide significance of air pollution testing is underlined by a decision of the World Health Organization (WHO) to set up an international network for monitoring and studying air pollution. The network, which will supply information on levels of air pollution caused by sulfur dioxide and dust particles, will have international centers in London and Washington, regional centers in Moscow, Nagpur (India) and Tokyo and 20 laboratories in various parts of the world. The monthly reporting of pollution-level averages, says WHO, will make it possible to observe and compare trends in various countries and to issue warnings where it becomes necessary.

The WHO action marks the first practical step toward treating air pollution as an international problem. The goal: to make the earth's air breathable again.

#### SOVIET JEWS RELIEF ACT OF 1971, H.R. 5606, AS AMENDED

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to note that the Soviet Jews Relief Act of 1971, which I originally introduced on March 4, is now cosponsored by 109 Members of the House. An identical measure in the Senate, S. 1872, has 27 sponsors.

H.R. 5606—as amended—is a simple bill, but behind it stands a noble American principle—that this Nation has always been and should always remain a haven for the oppressed of other lands. The bill authorizes 30,000 special visas outside the regular immigration quota system for Soviet Jews who are permitted to leave the Soviet Union and wish to come to this country.

Up through the earlier part of this cen-

tury, the United States had no restrictions on immigration, and every schoolchild can recite the successive waves of persecuted minorities who sought our shores and enriched our national life—Pilgrims, Huguenots, Catholics, Quakers, Germans, Italians, Irish, Slavs, and many other national groups. Even with our immigration laws we have preserved this tradition. Special legislation permitted more than 30,000 Hungarian refugees to settle here after the suppression of their 1956 revolution. Similarly since 1968 over 10,000 Czechoslovakian refugees were assisted in coming to the United States. It should be remembered that more than 565,000 Cubans have made the United States their new home through exemptions from the immigration laws.

I think it is important to enact a bill for the relief of Soviet Jews at this time, even though I recognize that they may be prevented from availing themselves of it. Soviet leaders, and the Jews behind their guarded borders, must be told that Americans of all faiths, acting through their elected Congress, deplore Soviet persecution of a proud minority and will make them welcome here. Enactment of H.R. 5606—as amended—then, is both an invitation and an expression of conscience. And in a real sense it is a challenge to the Soviet Union to open wide her doors and permit the Jews who are vilified there to leave. It will contrast sharply with the neglect of the Jews by mankind 30 years ago when so many countries, ours included, refused sanctuary to many of those Jews who escaped or would have been permitted to leave Nazi Germany through negotiations had visas been available.

The adoption of this bill will be more than just an American gesture. I hope it will spark men in other nations—Great Britain, France, Italy, Australia, and for reasons of history, West Germany—to enact similar legislation. Such a worldwide movement will have practical value in encouraging the Soviet Union to permit the emigration of those Jews who wish to leave. And hopefully, the symbolic value of this offer of sanctuary will not go unheeded in Moscow.

The special refugee quota of 10,200 available under present law for refugees from the Eastern Hemisphere, has been oversubscribed for the past 2 years and would not meet the need if the Soviet Union were to open her doors and permit the emigration of Soviet Jews on any modest scale.

Of course many Soviet Jews who are permitted to leave will choose to go to Israel. This will be their choice but the enactment of this bill at this crucial time will remain always an act of American generosity in a time of need.

PAUL E. LILLEY

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, occasionally those of us in public life and working with one of those rare breed are accorded the privilege of meeting

of men whose prime motivation in life is to serve the public interest. Such a man was Paul Lilley, investigative reporter for the Cleveland Press. Paul knew well the workings of government, and he had some definite ideas on how it should operate to serve the people. Nothing offended him more than incompetence, mediocrity, or dishonesty on the part of those who had been entrusted with public office. He exposed many examples of such conduct, and even at the time of his death, he was diligently pursuing several investigations.

But Paul was not content merely to root out the bad in our Government; he also offered strong and unfailing support to those programs he considered to be necessary and worthwhile. Among his many endeavors, he will be remembered as one of those integral to the effort to create an urban renewal program in Cleveland.

In order for democracy to work properly, there must always be a group of dedicated citizens willing to take on the burden of constantly probing, questioning, and studying the actions of their government. Paul Lilley so labored for the people of Cleveland, and he will be sorely missed by the community he served so well.

I would now like to commend to my colleagues the resolution of the City Council of Cleveland honoring the memory of Paul Lilley.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

(By Mr. Garofoli)

Whereas, the sudden death of Paul E. Lilley has saddened and stunned the many persons of this community who knew him as an intense, probing reporter, quick with a question and quick with a quip; and

Whereas, this Council remembers Paul best for the 21 years he was at the Hall from 1944 to 1965 during which time he was named "the Councilman from Ward 34" who would seat himself at the committee table and furnish questions to be asked of the Administration, who would plead successfully for the construction of the "Lilley Ponds"—neighborhood walk to swimming pools and who would excuse a neophyte councilman's mistakes for the first two weeks of his term but no longer; and

Whereas, a hard working, tough, persistent reporter who was at the Hall long enough to know City government and City employees Paul would differentiate between the vast majority of dedicated public servants whom he praised and "the phoney" whom he would search out; and

Whereas, while there are many ways that the life of a person may be evaluated, the true measure of a man is the respect he earns from his fellowman and the esteem which his colleagues have for him and in this regard Paul E. Lilley was truly a giant among men; and

Whereas, Council which knew and respected him, desires to honor and record the memory of this truly outstanding reporter; now, therefore

Be it resolved, That Council honors the memory of Paul E. Lilley and expresses its deepest sympathy to his bereaved family, his colleagues on the Cleveland Press and the many persons who mourn his loss.

Be it further resolved, That the Clerk of Council be and she hereby is requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to Council President Anthony J. Garofoli for presentation to the decedent's family.

VIOLENCE AND DEATH IN  
GUATEMALA

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, Latin American politics have frequently been stereotyped by kidnappings and assassinations and, during the past several years, we have witnessed the growth of urban terrorism. Open warfare has developed between elements of the political right and left and shootings and bombings have almost become commonplace.

Guerrilla activity has been a particularly violent form of urban insurgency since its inception in the cities of Guatemala. Although the government attempts to dismiss these murders and kidnappings as the acts of extremists, current information reveals that many of these incidents have the tacit support of governmental officials. Some of the victims have been prominent Guatemalans including law professors, congressmen, a labor leader, a wealthy industrialist, and a radio station owner. Although arrests have not been made—even though a state of siege exists in Guatemala—the terrorist acts have reportedly been committed by bands of vigilantes who apparently do not approve of opposition to the current regime, as the victims had all been critical of President Arana and his policies.

A number of Guatemalans report that many of the murders were directly committed by certain factions of the army, which controls all police activity under the state of siege. What is especially troublesome, Mr. Speaker, is the possible involvement of our Government in supporting these terrorist activities through military and police training activities. Under the U.S. public safety assistance program, almost 300 Guatemalan policemen have received American training and much of the equipment being used by the police and armed forces was either donated by or purchased from this country.

This very disturbing situation was recently examined in a very well-written and perceptive article by Mr. Norman Gall which appears in the May 20 edition of the New York Review of Books. In this timely and penetrating piece, Mr. Gall describes the gruesome murders and almost countless kidnappings which have occurred in Guatemala over the past 4 or 5 years and raises some serious questions as to the U.S. assistance activities. Both in his introductory essay and in a review of a recent study by Richard N. Adams, Mr. Gall discusses the motives behind the vigilantes' terrorist activities as well as the oppressive and static atmosphere which currently exists in this Central American nation.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we should be fully aware of these developments in Latin America, particularly as this country's assistance program may be being misused. I am sure our colleagues will find Mr. Gall's shocking but important report to be of great interest and I am

pleased to present it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

SLAUGHTER IN GUATEMALA

(By Norman Gall)

Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944-1966, by Richard Newbold Adams. University of Texas, 533 pp., \$10.00.

One of the most gruesome slaughters of this century in Latin America has been taking place in Guatemala during the past four years, and it has increased radically in recent months. This nation of ancient Mayan highland culture and rain-soaked hills and savannas is suffering a reign of terror that has claimed several hundred lives in the past few months alone, and thousands since it began in 1967, with U.S. support, as a counterinsurgency operation to destroy a rapidly expanding guerrilla movement. Only rarely have the victims been members of the guerrilla bands, which are based primarily in the capital and in the dry, hungry hillbilly country of the Guatemalan Oriente. More often the victims have been peasants, students, university professors, journalists, union leaders, and congressional deputies, who have been killed for vaguely leftist political associations or because of personal grudges.

The case of Guatemala is only the most lurid example of the kind of paramilitary violence that emerged in Latin America during the late 1960s as a recurrent method of managing intractable social and political problems. It is also prevalent in Brazil and Santo Domingo, for example. In Guatemala only a part of the killing of dissidents has been done by the government's official forces. In 1967 more than twenty right-wing paramilitary terrorist groups went into action with weapons supplied to the Guatemalan army under the U.S. military aid program. The groups used names like the White Hand, the Purple Rose, the New Anti-Communist Organization, etc. They first circulated leaflets carrying the names and sometimes the photographs of their announced victims, whose corpses—and those of many others—were later found grotesquely mutilated: dead men with their eyes gouged out, their testicles in their mouths, without hands or tongues, and female cadavers with their breasts cut off.

In early 1967 a Guatemalan army source gave me an estimate of some 2,000 persons killed by vigilante groups in the Oriente, while other estimates for the 1967-68 period have run between 3,000 and 6,000. In May, 1967, Guatemala's Catholic bishops declared: "We cannot remain indifferent while entire towns are decimated, while each day leaves new widows and orphans who are victims of mysterious struggles and vendettas, while men are seized in their houses by unknown kidnappers and detained in unknown places or are vilely murdered, their bodies appearing later horribly disfigured and profaned." But the killing continues.

Since last July the President of Guatemala has been Col. Carlos Arana Osorio, the slow thinking, slow speaking former commander of the Zacapa army base in the guerrilla zone and executor of the counterinsurgency operations during the terror of 1967. "If you want to have a real understanding of the international communist conspiracy," Arana told me at that time, "you should read two books: *The View from the Fourth Floor* by Earl Smith (former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba) and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*." In a subsequent interview the US military attaché in Guatemala City called Arana "the best officer they've got in this man's army. Indeed, he would be a credit to any army."

Footnotes at end of article.

Arana has been advised by US army officers returned from Vietnam who spent much of 1966 and 1967 in the Guatemalan Oriente ostensibly organizing "civic action" projects of social assistance to *campesinos*. During the terror Arana undertook a highly successful campaign of making secret contact with guerrilla collaborators, offering them amnesty in exchange for information and active participation in the vigilante groups. Soon former guerrillas donned black hoods and boarded trains and busses with army patrols to point out other members of the guerrilla organization. The most famous guerrilla collaborator who switched sides was a young Zacapa landowner, Oliverio Casteneda, who, with support from Arana, became the leader of the White Hand and of a private army of between 200 and 400 men who used Casteneda's farm as their headquarters.

Arana remained in command of the counterinsurgency operations in the Oriente until two spectacular crimes were committed by the vigilante groups. In January, 1968, the naked and severely mutilated corpse of Miss Guatemala of 1963, a student named Rogelia Cruz Martinez who was a known guerrilla sympathizer, was found on a bridge near the town of Esquintla. She had been raped by several men. Two months later the White Hand shocked the country by kidnapping the Archbishop of Guatemala. These crimes led to the ouster, under pressure from the U.S. Embassy, of the defense minister and the national police chief. Arana was appointed ambassador to Nicaragua, where Dictator Anastasio Somoza, Jr., had been protecting and supporting the operations of Guatemalan right-wing organizations.

The terror in Guatemala, while barbaric in some of its manifestations, is the product of a sophisticated political strategy. At the height of the 1967 terror I spoke with Mario Sandoval Alarcón, one of the organizers of the CIA sponsored invasion of Guatemala in 1954, later private secretary to President Carlos Castillo Armas until Castillo's assassination in 1957, and since then secretary-general of the extreme right-wing *Movimiento de Liberación Nacional* (MLN). In 1966 and 1967 Sandoval had raised large sums from wealthy planters and merchants to combat the guerrillas.

"We of the *Liberación* were the vanguard group that got this started," he told me in an almost inaudible whisper; he has a throat tumor that has increasingly impaired his speech in recent years. "The arm was demoralized by the guerrillas last year until we organized the White Hand. When our actions began in the guerrilla zone the army found itself with peasants willing to serve as guides, militiamen, and *comisionados militares* [military constables]. In the systematic elimination of the guerrillas a series of injustices apparently have been committed. Several hundred persons have been killed, but between January and March [1967] the guerrillas have almost been completely eliminated from the Guatemalan Oriente. The terrorism of the guerrillas, which has resulted in the death of many of our [MLN] people, has forced the government to adopt a plan of complete illegality, but this has brought results."<sup>2</sup> Today Sandoval is president of the Guatemalan Congress, where his party has a two-thirds majority.

Arana returned to Guatemala as the MLN presidential candidate in the March, 1970, elections. What was striking about those elections, apart from the killing and terror in rural areas which accompanied them, was that districts which had voted heavily for leftist candidates four years before this time voted even more heavily for the extreme right. The *comisionados militares*—the

army's civilian agents in each town and village who provided intelligence and recruited for the right-wing vigilante organizations—threatened to burn down villages that did not vote overwhelmingly for MLN candidates.

A month after Arana's election, in which he gained 42 percent of the popular vote, the guerrillas kidnapped the West German ambassador, Count Karl von Sprei, in a desperate move to exchange him for some forty guerrilla prisoners before Arana was to take office; they feared, with good reason, that when Arana took power, these prisoners would be killed. Before the German ambassador was assassinated by the guerrillas, Arana pressured the outgoing president, Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro (1966-70), who had become a puppet of the military, not to give in to the guerrillas' demands because it would set a bad precedent for Arana's own government. Besides, several of the imprisoned guerrillas had already been killed.

The guerrillas' worst fears were fully justified. Today Oliverio Casteneda, Arana's chief lieutenant in the Oriente, is an MLN congressional deputy. Casteneda still commands his followers in the White Hand and in other vigilante groups, who have been put on the government payroll as bodyguards and policemen. They have continued to act as death squads under a state of siege decree, which was declared November 13, 1970. In the following two months these squads, a high government source privately admitted, committed 700 "executions."

Richard Adams' valuable book, *Crucifixion by Power*, a history of Guatemala in the two decades following the 1944 revolution which overthrew the thirteen-year dictatorship of Jorge Ubico, gives us a coherent setting for understanding the violence and degradation of the past few years. The trappings of this study—the legion of graduate students with their questionnaires, the pageant of institutional sponsors,<sup>3</sup> the inevitable power-flow charts in the opening theoretical chapter—tend to disguise what is in fact a personal and authoritative analysis by an anthropologist who has spent two decades studying Guatemalan society, and who attempts to expand the scope of anthropological study from that of the small community to that of a complex and strife-ridden nation of four million people.

Most of the book is about the politics of revolution and counter-revolution and the unsuccessful struggle of insurgent social classes for more power and wealth. It is better in many ways than any other general work on contemporary Guatemala I know of in English or Spanish. But it would have been an even better book if it had given more attention to highland Indian culture, which provides the ethnic base of Guatemalan society. In his earlier work Adams strikingly contrasted the patriarchal Indian family with the matriarchal *ladinos*, the Spanish-speaking people of the cities and lowlands.<sup>4</sup> It is unfortunate that he did not go on to show how the family instability and fragmentation in *ladino* areas such as the Oriente, along with nomadic, slash-and-burn agricultural methods, seem to rob people of the social allegiances and self-restraint that might have curtailed or prevented the hideous slaughter of recent years.

Of the revolutionary governments of the 1944-54 period Adams writes:

"President Juan Jose Arevalo (1944-50) began a broad series of social reforms that included a social security program, a government office to foment production, the encouragement of syndicalism, the strengthening of the position of the military, the expansion of rural education, agricultural extension and public health, and the attempt to promote cooperatives. Of cardinal importance was the reintroduction of open elections, but

with the difference that there were serious contenders. The university was granted autonomy, an industrial development law was passed, as well as a law . . . that prohibited share-cropping and profiteering on the rental of agricultural lands to peasants. . . .

"Under President Jacobo Arbenz (1950-54) further measures were taken, but unquestionably the most important was the agrarian reform decree and the dismissal of supreme court judges who contested its constitutionality. Others of relevance were the efforts to build a highway to the Atlantic and the utilization of the communists as political support."

These last two measures had a direct impact on the operations of the United Fruit Company in Guatemala. The work on the Atlantic highway was begun in order to break the stranglehold of the narrow-gauge railroad owned by United Fruit—the only transportation route between Guatemala City and the country's main port. The communists in the agrarian reform organization encouraged strikes and invasions of the United Fruit plantations, which provoked a sharp reaction from Washington and weakened the Arbenz regime's military support.

"Realizing this," Adams writes, "elements in the Arbenz government hoped to arm the (peasant) agrarian committees in order to neutralize the military, just as the work of the agrarian committees had been weakening the local landholders and upper class. Had this been successful, the agrarian committees would have taken over the major position of power in the revolution."

It is fair to ask what would have happened if this process had been allowed to continue. These agrarian committees were similar to the peasant *sindicatos* which were armed and organized in the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, and which have remained more or less intact since. Although the Bolivian peasants, newly freed from serfdom, were often exploited by their own *sindicato* leaders, their new organizations have proved to be effective instruments of grassroots pressure on the national government. Peasants tend to vote with their bodies and take great risks when life-and-death questions of land are involved, as shown by the Indian land invasions that have taken place in the Peruvian sierra in recent years.

In Guatemala, however, in May, 1954, a shipment of weapons from Poland intended to arm the peasant militias was seized by the army after being unloaded at the United Fruit Company dock in Puerto Barrios, the country's only port facility for large ships. A month later Castillo Armas's "Liberation Army," backed by the CIA, crossed over from Honduras. It was stopped after a series of skirmishes near the town of Chiquemula in the Oriente. However, the regular army commanders refused to arm the peasant militias to defend the regime and the military command asked Arbenz to resign. They were prompted to do this by John Peurifoy, the US ambassador to Guatemala who was also working for the CIA and who had been sent to Guatemala to organize the 1954 coup. Arbenz was an army colonel himself. He exasperated his civilian followers by agreeing to resign, and a decade of social revolution in Guatemala thus came to an end.

One major consequence of the counterrevolution was the return to the old landowners of 1.5 million acres of land that in less than eighteen months of agrarian reform had been distributed to between 80,000 and 100,000 peasants. To my knowledge, this is the only occasion in Latin American history in which a major land redistribution was reversed. This fact is a key to the hatreds that have since poisoned Guatemalan society.

One can almost speak now of a condition of "structural violence" between irreconcil-

Footnotes at end of article.

able elements of the right and left in which the United States has been implicated by supporting a backward landlord class that long ago would have been swept away by social revolution were it not for repeated US intervention. In 1954 the CIA plotted the overthrow of Arbenz, and in 1960 Cuban exile units training for the Bay of Pigs invasion intervened to help put down a barracks revolt against President Miguel Ydigoras by junior army officers. From this group the leaders of the guerrilla movement of the past decade emerged.

Respected members of the democratic opposition now charge that the death lists of "communists" published by right-wing terrorist groups carried names originally given to Guatemalan army intelligence by US Embassy sources, and that the apparatus of repression has been strengthened greatly under the AID public safety program. (Both procedures are normally part of US government operations in Latin America; it is not unusual for AID public safety officers to serve five years in a post, as compared with the normal diplomatic tour of two or three years. The AID men maintain offices in the national police headquarters and enjoy considerable influence because of the equipment, foreign travel, training, and technical advice offered by their agency, whose programs are similar to those of the US military aid missions.) The US ambassador to Guatemala, John Gordon Mein, and two US military advisers were assassinated by guerrillas in 1968 in response to the right-wing terror.

According to Adams, who is cautious in expressing his own political views:

"The changes that were actually accomplished during the revolutionary decade . . . include the learning that had taken place in the entire population, the "sociological awakening" that could not be forgotten within the generation, the fact that organizing had been learned, and the awareness that the United States had intervened at the international level to stop the organization process. This last could not be easily accepted even by nationalistic Guatemalans antagonistic to Arbenz, and it signaled the operation of legitimate cold war activities at the international level."

Would it have been less costly, in the long run, for the US to have allowed these social movements to run their course?

Recently the terror against opponents of the regime has been appalling. The Guatemalan press reported 103 political assassinations in the three months immediately following President Arana's inauguration last July 1. These killings coincided with the appearance of a new right-wing vigilante group, *Ojo por Ojo* ("An Eye for an Eye"), to which were attributed twenty-seven killings between Ambassador von Spreti's assassination and Arana's presidential inauguration, and which has since become the most prominent vigilante group in Guatemala. Arana had barely completed his first hundred days in office when he delivered a surprise radio-television address declaring a state of siege, and paternally scolded the Guatemalan people as follows:

How difficult you are! How demanding and how intolerant of others! Each one has the solution, and wants his own way of thinking or acting to be followed by everyone. Otherwise, there is implacable criticism. You sacrificed a little money and one day to give your vote, and you elected Arana and Caceres Lenhoff [the vice-president], giving them a mandate: pacify the country and terminate the wave of criminality. You didn't set conditions or say how. . . . The government that you elected made a promise which it will fulfill at all costs, even if it means

resorting to drastic measures to save the country. . . .<sup>5</sup>

The state of siege imposed a nightly curfew from 9 PM to 5 AM, during which time all traffic of vehicles and pedestrians—including ambulances, fire engines, and physicians—was forbidden throughout the national territory. Later, the MLN majority in Congress artificially declared a "state of civil war" in order to give unlimited powers to the government for an unlimited time. Newspapers and radio stations were prohibited from publishing news of crime and violence, except for the texts of bulletins issued by the public relations office of the army. Three journalists who violated this ban—Enrique Salazar Solorzano, Luis Perez Diaz, and Lorenzo Montufar Navas—were kidnapped some time between November 24 and 26, and have not been heard from since. According to a report from Guatemala published last February in the Venezuelan *Jeune magazine* SIC:

These drastic measures have created a system of institutional terror. . . . The specific zone of terror embraces all opposition groups, democratic or not. There is a directorate composed of three cabinet ministers and the President of Congress (Sandoval Alarcón) who plan, initiate, control, define and justify the terror.

On an intermediate level are the "agents of violence," two Congressional deputies who had directed the White Hand in 1967-68 and a military officer with a black personal record in past right-wing regimes who today is chief of immigration.

Finally, there are the "knives of the king," the execution squads, drawn from various police forces, especially the secret police, and specially-trained groups recruited as politicians' bodyguards, and from military police units in the interior.<sup>6</sup>

The list of the accomplishments of these terror forces is a dreadful one. Some examples:

At 3:30 PM on November 26, 1970, a Communist law professor at the University of San Carlos, Julio Camey Herrera, was driving through a residential neighborhood of Guatemala City. While he waited for a red light to change, a small blue car drew up alongside and a young man got out and shot Camey through the windshield. The newspaper *El Imparcial* reported that "the attacker returned to his car, where other men waited, and escaped, taking advantage of the fact that the light had turned green." The next day the public relations office of the army issued a communiqué saying, "The Government of the Republic laments the murder of Julio Camey Herrera. It informs the people that this shameful deed is another maneuver of the extremes to create problems for State institutions, sowing confusion and doubt."<sup>7</sup>

On November 29 Humberto Gonzalez Juarez, a leftist radio station owner who at one time was said to have given funds to the guerrillas, disappeared while driving to the Pacific coast with an architect friend, Armando Braun Valle, and Braun's secretary. On December 8 their corpses were found at the bottom of a 300-foot-deep sewage canal, when the waters had receded. The army's public relations office announced that "according to the medical examiner's report, these persons died as a result of bullet holes in various parts of the body. . . . The Government of the Republic laments what has happened and presents its condolences to their survivors and to the guild of radio announcers and owners to which señor Gonzalez Juarez belonged."<sup>8</sup>

At 8 PM on November 30 Alfonso Bauer Paiz, a well-known leftist writer, politician, and law professor, was shot four times and left for dead after leaving a cocktail party

in downtown Guatemala City. Bauer was able to recognize one of his attackers as a congressional bodyguard; he is expected to be paralyzed for life.

On the night of April 6 a young reporter for "Radio Guatemala Flash," Ricardo Castro, was kidnapped while on his way home from work, shot in the neck, and left for dead on a road outside the capital. "I recovered consciousness," he said, "and was taken back to town in a milk truck." Both Bauer and Castro had been attacked by terrorists before.

At the end of April, an execution squad came to the house of Diego Leon Pu, an Indian and a Christian Democrat who lived in the department of Quiché and had been organizing cooperatives among the Indians there. He was not at home. The terrorists kidnapped his wife, who was later found dead.

On November 25 the army's chief of public relations, Col. Virgilio Villagrán Bracamonte, announced that in the two weeks since the state of siege and the all-night curfew were decreed roughly a thousand persons had been arrested. He dismissed higher published estimates as obviously based on conjecture.<sup>9</sup> The terror is rationalized as a social as well as a political prophylaxis: the claim is that recidivist criminal offenders are hunted down and killed. In some cases prisoners were taken from jail and shot, their names appearing later on army bulletins as the casualties of clashes with guerrilla bands. As happened during the 1967-68 terror, peasants in the Oriente observed military planes at night flying out to sea to dump corpses. Within a three-day period in early March, sixteen corpses were discovered by workmen dredging the Rio Montagua.

During the state of siege, in the hours in which Guatemalans were permitted to walk the streets, hundreds of persons desperately roamed among the jails and hospitals and courthouses and police stations in the capital in search of missing relatives. Each day, mutilated, unidentified corpses were displayed in the amphitheater of the General Hospital of Guatemala City before a gallery of people seeking members of their families.

Three weeks after the journalist Enrique Salazar Solorzano was kidnapped, his father went to the hospital amphitheater to see if his son was among the three bullet-ridden corpses just brought in. "My son is not there," he said. "What should I do? Who should I talk to if the President says my son is not a prisoner? I would like to remain here and wait for the arrival of more cadavers."<sup>10</sup> A few days later thirteen corpses were discovered near the crater of the Pacaya volcano in the municipality of San Vicente Pacaya, near where the government ran a prison camp. When asked by journalists at the press conference if Salazar Solorzano's was among them, Col. Villagrán Bracamonte, the chief of army public relations, answered curtly: "If it was, so what?"

On December 18, a week after the MLN-controlled Congress extended the thirty-day state of siege for an indefinite period as a consequence of the president's decree of a state of "civil war," the MLN deputy and labor leader, Arnaldo Otten Prado, was machine-gunned to death as he drove away from his house in the early morning.<sup>11</sup> Five days later another veteran union official, Jaime Monge Donis, was killed in his car while delivering Christmas cards.<sup>12</sup> Both labor leaders had incurred the hostility of right-wing extremists for their attempts to influence President Arana by organizing a pro-government labor confederation.

When the state of siege came up for extension by Congress on December 11, the only opposition to the government's policy came

Footnotes at end of article.

from the Christian Democratic bloc of four deputies. By far the most vehement and persuasive of these was a short, paralytic lawyer and university professor, Dr. Adolfo Mijangos López, who argued on the floor of Congress:

"The majority of anti-communist sectors applaud the use of murder as a political weapon and as a system of repression, and their applause is published in the daily press. If their congratulations to the murderers is publishable, this is most serious. These congratulations are most alarming because they appear next to the Government's expressions of condolences when these corpses are discovered. . . .

"We are slipping into the realm of arbitrary acts where there is no control at all. Only they can define what is subversion of public order, and from that point there is just a millimeter of distance to the dissolution of the city council or the university or the *sindicatos*. One thing is to enthusiastically support a program of pacification, and another thing is to approve hastily and without study [state of siege] decrees without even having copies distributed to members of Congress to read."<sup>13</sup>

At 7 PM on January 13, the night before congressional debate was to resume on the government's emergency decrees, Adolfo Mijangos López was machine-gunned to death in his wheel chair as he left his law office after work. The government said in a communiqué: "The Public Relations Department of the army laments this cowardly deed that casts the family of Guatemalans into mourning."<sup>14</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Some readers may not remember that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is an anti-Semitic tract from Czarist Russia in the form of a fake document prescribing alleged Jewish blood rituals such as the sacrifice of Christian children in order to use their blood to make matzo and a plot to take over the world hatched by Jewish financiers.

<sup>2</sup> See my "Guatemala: Death in the Hills," *The Economist*, June 10, 1967, and "Guatemala Guerrillas Slaughtered: Church Objects to Bloodbath," in *The National Catholic Reporter*, June 7, 1967, and the exchange of letters, June 28, 1967. This anti-guerrilla strategy was more formally elaborated in a fourteen-page mimeographed MLN tract, "*La Guerrilla y Anti-guerrilla en Guatemala*," which was given to me by one of Sandoval's aides.

<sup>3</sup> The Ford Foundation, AID, the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, the Guatemalan Government's Economic Planning Council, and the *Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca*. Separate essays on *campesino* organizations and the urban poor were written by two of Adams' younger colleagues, Brian Murphy and Brian Roberts respectively.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Encuesta sobre los Ladinos de Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1956) and his "An Inquiry into the Nature of the Family," in *Essays in the Science of Culture in Honor of Leslie A. White*, edited by Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960).

<sup>5</sup> From "*Mensaje del Presidente Arana a su pueblo*," in *La Nación*, Guatemala City, November 21, 1970.

<sup>6</sup> See "*El Terror Institucionalizado en Guatemala*," in *SIC*, No. 332, Caracas, February, 1971, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *El Imparcial*, Guatemala City, November 27, 1970.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, December 8, 1970.

<sup>9</sup> *La Nación*, Guatemala City, November 25, 1970.

<sup>10</sup> *El Grafico*, December 18, 1970. In the first three months of the state of siege, habeas corpus petitions had been filed on behalf of 483 persons who had disappeared (*El Imparcial*, January 16, 1971). A month later, leaders of the University Students Associa-

tion handed President Arana a list of eighty-three persons who were arrested and twenty-three others who had disappeared (*El Grafico*, February 28, 1971, p. 2).

<sup>11</sup> *Prensa Libre*, Guatemala City, December 18, 1970.

<sup>12</sup> *El Imparcial*, December 23, 1970.

<sup>13</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones del Congreso de la Republica de Guatemala*, December 11, 1970, p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> *El Grafico*, January 14, 1971.

## RURAL FREE DELIVERY—R.F.D.—IS 75 YEARS OLD

## HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the silver anniversary of the rural free delivery—better known to the general public as R.F.D.

R.F.D. was established in 1896 and has made a vital contribution to our Nation's welfare through its daily mail service to those who live outside the densely populated areas.

The anniversary will be celebrated August 8 to 13 in Portland, Oreg., at the 67th Annual Convention of the National Rural Letter Carriers Association.

The actual birthday is October 1 for the service which originally was considered merely an experiment and there were sincere doubts it would survive.

Although the R.F.D. became a reality during the administration of Postmaster General William L. Wilson of West Virginia in 1896, considerable credit for the achievement goes to his predecessor, John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, the founder of the department stores that bear his name.

## TRIAL RUN IN WEST VIRGINIA

The trial run for rural delivery was made in Jefferson County, W. Va., the native county of Postmaster General Wilson. Arrangements were made by the Chief Clerk of the free delivery system of the Post Office Department in Washington.

R.F.D. soon became an accepted way of life for our rural citizens and has contributed much to the development of our Nation during the past three-quarters of a century.

In connection with the silver anniversary this year, the National Rural Letter Carrier, a publication of the National Rural Letter Carriers Association, has published a series of articles titled "The RFD Diamond Jubilee." These have been written by Gwendolyn M. Aaberg, assistant editor.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include the excellent series by Mrs. Aaberg:

## I—PRIDE IN OUR POSTAL SERVICE

(By Gwendolyn M. Aaberg)

From earliest colonial times, Americans have cherished a great sense of pride in "our postal service," even a real affection for it. To the colonists it was a part of their hard won freedom, sought by those brave pioneers founding a new nation.

In its limited form of the day, colonial postal service was older than our nation. The early settlers scarcely glimpsed the fact,

but their postal system was destined to become the one federal government activity most directly affecting every American. Moreover, as the years went by, Congress would write more detailed legislation regarding postal service than for any other branch of the government, or even dozens of federal agencies. No other federal bureau would have more detailed rules and regulations, as now set forth in *The Postal Service Manual*, successor of the *Postal Manual*, the *Postal Guide* and the *Postal Rules and Regulations*.

It was, of course, beyond the imagination of the colonists to foresee the vastness of the postal system in years to come. Today, it is one of the largest business operations in the world, as well as the world's largest postal organization.

It employs more people than any other non-military agency of the United States government. The Post Office Department hires 24% of all government workers (of which there were 2,829,495 in September, 1970, according to the Bureau of Manpower Information of the U.S. Civil Service Commission). It is one of the largest civilian employers in the world.

On any typical day, the Post Office Department of the United States processes as much mail as the rest of the world combined. The Christmas mail alone exceeds the entire volume in many foreign countries for as long as a month.

Millions of pounds of mail were flown to servicemen and women from the USA, during the first weeks of November, 1970. Many items were Christmas gifts and greetings.

It is said, perhaps apprehensively by those who handle the mail, that if there were no delivery of it for two weeks, there would be enough to reach the moon and back! In this age, when great emphasis is placed on going to the moon, it can be said realistically that rural carriers travel 1,977,344 miles a day, which equals approximately four round trips to the moon. Moreover, they claim kinship with the mail carrying astronauts who delivered a letter that went to the moon!

## NEED FOR SERVICE CONTINUES

As large a group as they are, postal employees need to be the same dedicated staff of workers they have always been. There is still the same need for the good work of all postal people. We must have that extra measure of care, that willingness to do a little more than is called for, so ably expressed in the rural carrier theme song, "Service with a Smile," credited in the 1920's to Mary Lee Andrews, daughter of Rural Carrier and Mrs. Lucian Andrews of White-wright, Texas.

In his Message to Congress on April 16, 1970, President Nixon titled one of his concluding sections, "Towards Postal Excellence," and stated:

"Laws do not move the mail, nor do dollars. What moves the mail is people—People who have the will to excel, the will to do their work to the very best of their ability.

"The United States is fortunate to have such people in its postal system today. As the Postmaster General has urged, these people must be retained; in the years ahead more like them must be recruited. . . .

"Enactment of the legislation that I now propose would give our postal employees the means to attain a goal they have never before had the means of attaining—the goal of building, in America, the best postal system in the world.

"That is a goal worth striving."

## MILESTONES IN POSTAL HISTORY

In its long, eventful history, there have been many guldeposts in the Post Office Department, and many still lie ahead. The latter part of the 20th century finds many branches of the Post Office Department and government in general entering a period of seniority:

**Postage stamps.**—The first U.S. stamps for prepayment of postage were issued on July 1, 1847, on a permissive basis, to become compulsory in 1856. On July 1, 1970 some 32,000 post offices (including one appropriately named Stamps, Arkansas) celebrated the official birthday of postage stamps. It is significant to notice that in the first year, 1847, a total of 860,380 postage stamps were produced. Today, the total is about 25 billion annually.

**Pony Express.**—It is well over a hundred years since the dramatic Pony Express had its short-term career in the 1860's.

**Parcel Post.**—In the early part of the century, in 1913 to be exact, parcel post appeared on the scene, and continues to be an indispensable service.

**Air Mail.**—Five years after parcel post, air mail made its debut, thus celebrating its 50th anniversary on May 15, 1968.

**The U.S. Civil Service Commission.**—established on May 22, 1920, observed its 50th anniversary in 1970.

**United Nations.**—reached its 25th year on November 20, 1970.

**Women's Suffrage.**—dating from the ratification of the 19th Amendment, 50 years ago, was honored with a commemorative postage stamp, issued on August 26, 1970, in Adams, Massachusetts, birthplace of Susan B. Anthony, a pioneer crusader for women's rights.

**The Weather Services.**—of the U.S. marked their 100th anniversary on Sept. 1.

**The Landing of the Pilgrims.**—300 years ago, was observed with a commemorative stamp on November 21, 1970, at Plymouth, Massachusetts.

**The United States.**—will honor its 200th anniversary in 1976, while America will reach its 500th year in 1992.

**75th Anniversary of the R.F.D.**—On October 1, 1971, there will be another milestone, for Rural Free Delivery will observe its 75th birthday and celebrate its Diamond Jubilee. It will enjoy a nationwide birthday party, and as it lights its seventy-five candles throughout the nation, it can be proud of having outlived the rigors of seven and a half decades and emerged a vigorous and healthy part of America. At first considered a mere experiment, doubtful of survival, the R.F.D. is now an accepted and established part of our American way of life.

#### GIANT OVERHAUL IN PROCESS

However, in the interval of some 180 years since the Constitution was adopted and the United States Post Office Department established in 1789, its unprecedented growth has resulted in the need for postal reform in many ways. Necessary legislation, Public Law 91-375, the Postal Reorganization Act was enacted on August 12, 1970.

Under the provisions of this new law, the Post Office Department will become the United States Postal Service; all postal affairs will be administered by a governing board of eleven members.

In the Foreword of the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1969, submitted on January 5, 1970, by Winton M. Blount, President Nixon stated:

"Total reform of the Nation's postal system is absolutely essential. The American people want dependable, reasonably priced mail service, and postal employees want the kind of advantages enjoyed by workers in other major industries."

#### R.F.D. ENTERS A NEW ERA

Thus, shortly before its 75th birthday, in the period of postal reform, The R.F.D. is destined to enter upon a new era. As important as it still is, the past becomes prologue to an entirely new chapter in postal history, to be written day by day in our modern world, so unlike the horse and buggy days or the time of the horseless carriage, when Rural Free Delivery was young . . . but the ideas of postal excellence and pride in our postal service are to remain, as fundamental

concepts, enlarged and enhanced if anything by the changing times.

#### II—SUPERLATIVE SERVICE, A POSTAL GOAL

The idea of excellence for the American postal system is older than the Post Office itself, for it goes back to the days of Benjamin Franklin and his colonial policy. Far-seeing as he was, even he could not have envisioned the staggering growth of the postal organization of the future. As a young man of 31, and postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737, he was soon given the additional assignment as Deputy Postmaster General for the Colonies to regulate the activities of the entire Colonial Postal Service. The delivery of mail to the colonists was even then seriously in need of the guiding hand of a practical and resourceful man, and Benjamin Franklin was ideal for the job.

There was some kind of a loosely knit postal organization dating back to the 1600's. There had been the "ships' letters," flown from England to coffee houses located in early ports; the horseback riders who served postal routes, on a contract basis once a month between New York and Boston; the weekly mail delivery from Philadelphia to New Castle; the efforts of Virginia to unite with some sort of postal system from north to south.

By 1700 the British government had set up a continental postal system, under Colonel John Hamilton of New Jersey, but it was canceled in 1710, when in the reign of Queen Anne, a national postal system, which included the American Colonies, was established.

Things had begun to improve, for there was by that time weekly mail delivery between Boston and Maine, and fortnightly between Boston and New York. By 1717 Virginia realized her ambition of mail service between New York and Williamsburg, also serving Philadelphia en route. By 1727 there was a fortnightly postal service between Philadelphia and Annapolis, Maryland. A Deputy Postmaster General was appointed for the American Colonies and reported directly to the Postmaster General in London.

In 1753 Franklin and another man named William Hunter was appointed jointly as Deputy Postmaster General. No one knew the hardships and hazards of delivering the mail to colonists better than the wise and practical Benjamin Franklin, who could see many ways to improve upon the crude and cumbersome methods of his time. However, because of his very liberal ideas and sympathies he finally incurred the wrath of the British Crown and was relieved of his post in 1774. A year later though he was appointed Postmaster General by the Continental Congress and served 16 months in his Federal position, thus becoming the first Postmaster General of the United States. Richard Bache of Pennsylvania, his son-in-law, succeeded him.

#### FRANKLIN APPROACH CONTINUES

Even after the Revolution, however, the pattern for American postal service continued along the lines of Franklin's thought, so that he well deserved the title of "Father of the United States Postal Service." The design of the "wrong way" postal rider was believed to have originated with Franklin.

From Benjamin Franklin, the first Postmaster General, on down to the present time, each man at the helm of the Post Office Department has had his own individual plan for the betterment of the postal service. In the best tradition, it was considered an honor to become a Postmaster General. Under the colonial system, he was a peer of the realm, a member of the Privy Council and a Cabinet Minister. The dignity of the postal service was placed on a par with that of other important branches of the government. The newly formed Federal organization was destined to rise to a comparable place.

In a rapidly developing nation, over the

years ahead the postal service promised to spread from coast to coast, and to grow into such dimensions that constant adjustment was necessary to keep pace with the demands of the times. Fortunes rose and fell in the revenues received, especially for the period from 1782 to 1789, when the Constitution was adopted. Postmasters General struggled heroically oftentimes trying to uphold the ideals of the service in the face of growing difficulties financially.

In the intervening years since Benjamin Franklin's day, there have been 59 individuals occupying the chair of the Postmaster General, including Winton M. Blount, who on January 13, 1971 became the first Postmaster General under the U.S. Postal Service, to hold office for an indefinite term.

Between the establishment of the Rural Free Delivery in 1896 and the present time, no less than 23 people have assumed the post of the "General" of the Post Office Department. They and their associates have taken great pride in their unique relationship with the public. They have guarded and strengthened it with scrupulous care, so as to preserve its responsiveness to the public need.

#### EACH MAKES CONTRIBUTION

Postmasters General come and go, each making his own contribution to the development of the postal service and trying to solve its increasing problems.

Carrying out the high ideals of the Post Office, in a statement before a House subcommittee on May 9, 1967, Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien stated in part: "The American people are entitled to no less than the finest mail service in the world. . . My dream of the postal service of the future is one that I am sure that I share with every Member of the Committee: a postal service that operates at the very minimum cost and at the maximum efficiency; a postal service of which we can all be proud."

Later that year, in August, at the 63rd Annual Convention of The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association in Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. O'Brien recalled that when he responded to President Johnson's request in 1965 and as Postmaster General moved up Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House to the Post Office Department, he promised to have one goal: superlative mail service. Later, in 1967, it was Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien who introduced the idea of the corporation plan for the Post Office.

"Superlative Postal Service" was the theme chosen for the keynote of the First National Postal Forum, held in Washington, D.C., on September 14-15, 1967. It was highlighted in the address of Deputy Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen, who said in part:

"The spirit of joint enterprise and interdependence between the post office and its users will lead to the Superlative Postal Service of the future."

#### FACING THE CHALLENGE

To be more than a beautiful sentiment, however, the innate desire to promote a "superlative postal service" needs to keep pace with the times. The rapid growth of the Post Office Department must not outdistance improvement in methods. Expansion must not exceed scientific development. From earliest times though, the Post Office was held back by a shortage of money appropriated for it by Congress.

In a book, entitled "The Story of Our Post Office," written by Marshall Cushing in 1893, three years before the advent of Rural Free Delivery, it is stated:

"There is no doubt the American postal system is the greatest in the world. It cannot be prevented from growing, and any American citizen is proud to have it the greatest in the world, and likes to see it grow. Yet this immense machine, this stupendous, delicate, all-pervading business, is everywhere impecunious and restive. The Post Of-

Post Office Department never has money enough to work with. . . . The fact is that the American postal service, while today the greatest business in the world, is today (1893) the worst conducted—the best conducted under the circumstances, but the worst conducted, under the lack of means to work with."

Mr. Cushing, a very observant writer of his time, had put his finger on a problem to remain for many decades to come, in fact, one of the main objectives of Postal Reform seventy-five years later, and part of President Nixon's endeavor to place the U.S. Postal Service on a sound financial basis.

### III—A LANDMARK IN POSTAL HISTORY

Long before the establishment of the Rural Free Delivery, there were, of course, in the United States a diversity of services performed in the complex system of delivering the mail, such as: railroad mail routes, steamboat mail routes, mail messenger routes, running from railroad stations to post offices located but a short distance from the station (usually within two miles), but which the railroad companies were not required to supply; and the regulation "wagon routes," a service performed in the larger cities between the main post offices, sub-offices, and railroad stations for which a particular style of wagon was used. They were lumbering, red, white and blue express wagons, costly to maintain, and requiring frequent painting as well as repair to keep them presentable and serviceable. There were also "special routes," established for the temporary supply of new post offices not on existing contract routes, plus the so-called "star routes."

#### STAR ROUTES

"Star routes" were authorized in 1845—over fifty years before the R. F. D., when an Act of Congress provided for the awarding of contracts to bidders who transport the mail with "celerity, certainty and security." To avoid the continued use of that long phrase, these routes were designated in the records by three asterisks or stars (\* \* \*), and thus became known as "star bids." Those awarded contracts were required to furnish bonds; and oftentimes the contracts were sublet.

Although it was not anticipated at the set, star routes were rivals of the rural service, especially from 1902-1914.

In our time, most star routes provide for inter-city highway transportation of the mail. A separate type of star route, however, provides for box delivery, collection and other services similar to those furnished by rural carriers of today.

Postmaster General Wanamaker, who assumed his office in 1890, thought that the "star routes were performing a very useful service." In his time there were some 17,000 star routes, aggregating 240,000 miles in length and over 100,000,000 miles in annual travel. He encouraged the continuance of star routes and observed:

"It is believed that if letter boxes for the collection of mail were put up at central points in farming, lumbering and mining communities, the mail could be collected from them and properly disposed of by the contractor" (evidently referring to star routes), but later on he referred to the "extension of the free delivery by carrier to villages and rural communities. . . ."

#### PMG WANAMAKER'S DREAM

While the R. F. D. became a reality during the administration of Postmaster General William L. Wilson of West Virginia, in 1896, considerable credit for the achievement goes to his predecessor, John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, the same man who founded the famous Wanamaker stores.

His rare aptitude for business brought him great prosperity, and later his activities took him into politics. He has been encouraged to run for Congress or to become Mayor, but when President Harrison appointed him Post-

master General, he considered it a very great honor, indeed, and accepted.

A man of great wealth, imagination and very progressive ideas, Mr. Wanamaker helped mold the future of the Post Office Department in various ways. He took an interest in every detail, including publications for postal people. There was the *Daily Bulletin*, started in 1880, which was a Railway Mail Service paper; and the *Postal Guide*, a monthly publication, which contained information supplemental to the *Annual Guide*. The *Guide* was designed especially for postmasters, but was so dull and uninteresting that it was scarcely ever noticed or read. Postmaster General Wanamaker tried in vain to improve it, by infusing current information on postal subjects, but it was to no avail, and its appropriation was eventually cut down.

Someone with a sense of humor tried to invent a so-called set of postal rules, in a lighter vein, some of which read as follows:

1. Feather beds are not malleable.
2. A pair of onions will go for two cents.
3. A stamp of the foot is not sufficient to carry a letter, and other "regulations" taking a gentle gibe at the Postal Service, but it took more than horseplay to save the doomed old *Postal Guide*.

#### BIRTH OF RURAL MAIL SERVICE

As stated in an article entitled, "The Birth of the R.F.D. Mail Service," by Dr. Millard K. Bushong, which appeared in *Valleys of History*, published by the Potomac Edison Company, and later published in part in the *Appendix of the Congressional Record* of March 9, 1967):

It was Wanamaker's idea to begin his experiment in small towns first and then gradually extend the system to include outlying farms. One of his earliest recommendations to Congress was in this connection, and on October 1, 1890, that body passed a joint resolution embodying his plan. He was authorized to test in small towns and villages the practicability and expense of the free delivery system then enjoyed exclusively by larger cities. In response to Wanamaker's declaration that no person should be penalized for living in the country and that he believed the Post Office Department should deliver mail to those to whom it was addressed. Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the experiment."

Postmaster General Wanamaker, a practical man, enlisted the support of several farm organizations, including the National Grange, National Farmers' Congress, and State Farmers' Alliance, so that more support was gained for the idea of rural free delivery. According to the article by Dr. Bushong, some experiments were conducted in extending the delivery of mail into sparsely settled regions between February 1 and September 3, 1891.

On January 5, 1892, Representative James O'Donnell of Michigan introduced "A Bill to Extend the Free Delivery System of Mails to Rural Communities." This bill asked for an appropriation of \$6,000,000, but did not pass.

A month before Mr. Wanamaker retired from office, another bill was proposed by Representative Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, and became law on March 3, 1893.

The story goes that Representative Watson, known to all Georgians as "The Father of Rural Delivery," was aided in drawing up his bill by Congressman Charles L. Moses, who himself lived on a rural route served by his nephew, Rural Carrier Talmadge Moses of Turin, Georgia. As things developed, Congressman Watson did not return to Congress the next term, and actually, it was Mr. Moses who introduced the Watson bill making the R.F.D. a permanent organization.

Congress granted another sum of \$20,000 on July 16, 1894, but Wanamaker's successor, W. S. Bissell, did not see fit to use the money, so nothing further was done about

rural free delivery until Postmaster General William L. Wilson was appointed by President Cleveland.

Dr. Bushong states that "Wilson, too, agreed with his predecessor that the proposal was impracticable, but added that "if Congress made the money available for the fiscal year 1897 he would attempt the experiment. Congress replied by appropriating another \$10,000 on June 9, 1896, which added to the previous amounts, made \$40,000 available."

#### BIRTHPLACE OF THE R.F.D.

Postmaster General Wilson favored his native county of Jefferson, in West Virginia, as the scene to try out rural delivery. On September 17, 1896, Col. Thomas B. Marche, chief clerk of the free delivery system of the Post Office Department, came to Charles Town to arrange the details at a meeting held in Rouss Memorial Hall to discuss the proposed system. The meeting was attended by several prominent residents of the area, and it was the unanimous opinion of those assembled that the experiment had every chance of succeeding.

Captain George H. Flagg, postmaster of Charles Town, was requested by Col. Marche to select the carriers for the new routes, and he chose Harry C. Gibson, Frank Young, and John W. Lucas. Those selected for the routes from Halltown and Uvilla were I. Keyes Strider and Melvin T. Strider. The five carriers were each to receive a yearly salary of \$200. They were all appointed on the same day, but Harry C. Gibson claimed to be the first rural carrier, due to the fact that he had served a number of days without pay, on a volunteer basis, to try out the experiment.

#### STORY OF FIRST RURAL CARRIER

Mr. Gibson set out on the first expedition on his bicycle, pumping his way over the hilly ground, no doubt wondering as he went what kind of a reception would be his. At first some people were skeptical of him, but worst of all, the dogs along the way were most unfriendly. Some of them bit him savagely; others he was able to win over gradually to become his friends.

Some of the patrons accepted his proffered service grudgingly, but after a few days they began sending a letter back to the post office with him for mailing. There still remained some people though who simply did not entrust him with their mail.

One of the problems was that of opening and closing farm gates. Young Mr. Gibson estimated that in one day's travels he had to deal with at least 63 such gateways! At night, after his arduous journey, he would write a diary of his experiences, later to be comprised in a report to Postmaster General Wilson.

The project went on for a number of days, and began to look favorable. People were expressing their approval more frequently, and the critics were not as vigorous in their disapproval. The report was going to read rather well.

Postmaster General Wilson was encouraged to go ahead with his plans. With a modest outlay of money, \$40,000 in all, to devote to the cause, he went ahead and authorized the first experimental rural service from Charles Town, Halltown and Uvilla, West Virginia, on October 1, 1896. Thus under very unpretentious circumstances, and with very little fanfare, indeed, a great American Institution and a Landmark in Postal History came into being.

#### IV—BLENDING IN WITH AMERICA

The establishment of the Rural Free Delivery was no accident. It appeared on the horizon only after a great deal of patient work, not only in Congress and the Post Office Department, but among farm organizations and farm people as well.

Seeing the benefits of rural mail service

in the United States, Canadian farmers were "crying for R.F.D." according to the *Petersborough* (Ont.) *Examiner* in 1903. It was established in Canada on a contract basis in 1908.

In England some kind of mail service had been in existence, but no distinction was made between town and rural carriers until about 1883, when parcel post was introduced in the British Isles. Those delivering the mail were simply referred to as mail carriers, but by 1903 Great Britain was experimenting with "automobile mail wagons", and carriers, who were then as in America, civil servants, were classified either as Rural Carriers or Town Carriers. Today, all mail service in England is maintained under the corporation system. In 1969 members of Congress and high ranking postal officials from the United States went to study the British postal corporation system. Undoubtedly, the British plan influenced the thinking of those interested in postal reorganization for the United States.

While the English pattern seemed to be working with a high degree of smoothness and efficiency, it is significant that in 1971 England experienced her first postal strike, with some 210,000 postal workers off the job for over seven weeks ending March 7. Throughout it all, however, the British automatic dial phone system, with minor exceptions, continued to work. A multitude of private delivery services sprang up, such as "England's Pony Express", which went into operation three days after the strike, under the guidance of Rex Martin and his two sisters of Southampton. And, reminiscent of days of yore, in some instances pigeons carried mail on microfilm!

In certain "villages" in Hawaii as early as 1903, there was a form of rural mail delivery. The system was still in effect when Hawaii became a state in 1959, and today there are six rural routes in Hawaii. Alaska has two.

The idea of rural mail service was not entirely original in the United States nor confined to its boundaries, for it had made its appearance in other parts of the world. It was established in America at a time when life was utterly different from what it is today.

#### CATALOG MIRRORS GOOD OLD DAYS

The first Sears, Roebuck catalog of 1897, now republished in book form by Chelsea House, shows an array of articles in vogue when the R.F.D. was young. There were, for instance, buggy whips, blacksmiths' anvils, surries with fringe on the top, all at unbelievable prices, not to mention various and sundry items such as butter churns, "talking machines," ventilated garters, frog spears, all-silk stockings for ladies, and other items now to be found only in museums.

Professor Fred Israel of New York's City College says, "If all the records for the 1890's should be lost, a scholar in the remote future who stumbled upon this book could obtain an accurate description of American life during the last decade of the nineteenth century."

It was published originally during "The Good Old Days," when housewives filled the kerosene lamps, trimmed the wicks, and washed the glass chimneys every morning . . . when you had to allow an extra ten minutes for fastening those highlaced shoes . . . when you shaved a cake of soap into the washbowl to soak the white clothes on top of the kitchen range. . . .

About the same time as the beginning of the rural mail service, the horse-drawn wagon of the tin peddler was a well known sight, in addition to scissor grinders and umbrella menders. There were farmers who delivered such products as whole corn or horse radish in town. There were traveling theatrical groups, presenting Uncle Tom's Cabin and other plays on stage at Grange Halls or other meeting places.

#### WHEN R.F.D. WAS "NEW THING"

A rural carrier from Turin, Georgia, Talmadge Moses, who retired in 1955, after a long period of service beginning in 1905, recalled that he began his postal career when daily mail in the country was a new thing.

"You could tell a mailman as far as you could see his horse or hear its hoofbeats, for it (the horse) had learned that it had to travel at a jog trot over the entire route," according to author Willard Neal in his article about Mr. Moses entitled "You Wouldn't Like the Good Old Days," published in *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* magazine on August 13, 1961.

Mr. Moses recalled that his heating system was a heavy laprobe around his feet and a jug of hot water.

"Mule power was pretty expensive," Mr. Moses reflected. "For economy's sake in 1907, I (Mr. Moses) appealed to the Post Office Department and got special permission to buy a motorcycle for the route. It was a one-cylinder, belt-driven Wagner. It was a lot faster than a mule and it didn't get tired. I could make the whole round on a gallon of gas, which cost nine cents before gasoline taxes were invented."

#### BEFORE THE MAIL CAME TO THE DOOR

A patron from Alabama, living on the route served by Rural Carrier James Tesney, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, described the coming of the R.F.D. in her locality in a poem written in February, 1969, when she was approximately 85 years of age. Having lived through all the history of the rural service to that date, she reminisced:

#### IN APPRECIATION OF OUR POSTMAN

(By Celeste R. Maxwell)

What would we do without him?

How long the days would be

If we did not have a "Postman"

For true to his route is he.

He is ever ready and willing

To oblige any way he can.

He brightens the day for his patrons,

He is just that type of man.

My thoughts revert to my childhood,

I recall other days of yore

When we drove many miles to the office,

No mail ever came to our door.

By horseback or by buggy

'Twas the only way to go.

No "horseless carriage" had we

In those days of long ago.

But today we watch for his coming;

The "Postman" will come, we know!

For he never fails his patrons,

Come rain, come hail, come shine or snow!

So here's to the Postal Service,

To its postmen wherever they be,

Who serve a grateful people,

For truly grateful are we!

FEBRUARY 1969.

For many years the use of the mails had been precarious business. America had need of a rural postal service, one that would not be too costly, but which would be reliable.

An example of this is a letter now on file, written over 100 years ago, on April 27, 1863, by a man of the medical profession to his patrons, giving the following advice on how to order remedies:

"Every person sending for Remedies must give us their nearest Express Office. Those that are so far from an Express Office that it would be very inconvenient to obtain a package from such office, must send us fifty cents extra, in stamps, to pay the postage on the package here, and we will have it so prepared that it can come by mail, *although it is much more expensive for us to do so.*"

#### STRANGE OPPOSITION TO R.F.D.

Stamps were first sold in the United States in 1847, some 49 years before the advent of the R.F.D., but, of course, until the "Gay

Nineties", there were no rural mail carriers with "post offices on wheels", from whom to purchase stamps or stamp supplies each day.

When the time came for postal service on the country lanes, many considered it a boon, but not everyone was pleased by any means with the establishment of the rural mail project. The National Grange had advocated it for several years prior to its becoming a reality, but met with curious opposition from many who feared that such a plan would bankrupt the country and make taxes unbearable. Businessmen felt that delivery of merchandise by parcel post would be disastrous.

While the rural free delivery of mail was to change the way of life for hundreds, or in fact, thousands of people, the idea was not endorsed unanimously by either elected officials or the farmers.

One member of the House said, "The delivery of mail by this government to the doors of the farms will destroy the rural life of which America is so proud."

Some people doubted its necessity and value, saying farmers' mail was not important enough to justify the effort and expense. One farmer said he opposed the service because it would eliminate his excuse for a daily trip to town for a drink!

Senator Mat Quay of Pennsylvania thought it was a "socialistic" scheme which would destroy rural life, since people would no longer gather at the post office, and it would destroy a social custom.

Some postmasters were worried for they feared the R.F.D. would do away entirely with the services of their little crossroad post offices. Most of them, especially in fourth-class post offices, were also storekeepers, and they also feared the loss of trade. Their qualms were justified, and in the course of time some 30,000 such post offices were discontinued.

On the other hand, in the 1890's, it was a time when many were leaving the farms. Introduction of the rural mail delivery served to relieve the isolation of farm life and to keep people in the country.

As stated in an editorial written some years later, when the R.F.D. was more generally accepted:

"In those days the farmer led an existence of almost complete isolation. Farmers had comparatively little communication with their neighbors or the outside world, except that derived from weekly trips to town to get the mail, which consisted of a few letters and seldom more than a weekly newspaper, but today we find that farm mail consists of one or more daily papers and several farm journals, the latest magazines and many other educational periodicals.

"The Rural Carrier is the farmer's post office, and his agent. Through him he conducts transactions for the sale of his stock and grains, from the carrier he buys stamps and pays his bills by money orders. In short, the Carrier is the medium that has transformed the once secluded habitation of the rural district into a cosmopolitan citizen, conversant with the current affairs, and occupying a larger place in the destinies of this great nation."

#### V—BRANCH OF WORLD COMMUNICATIONS

The reason may have been twofold for the scarcity of records of the first years of the Rural Free Delivery. The pioneer carriers, weary at night from their arduous labors, were no doubt too tired to keep a diary of the day's events, or to describe their experiences. Secondly, the whole project was considered something of an experiment anyway. Little did they realize that a few decades hence such records would have been considered invaluable.

Strangely enough, the "Progressive Farmer," a champion of the rural people, took no note of the actual beginnings of Rural Delivery Service until 1899, when

Clarence Poe became editor. Then, according to a study made by the Historical Committee of the North Carolina Rural Letter Carriers' Association, there were several editorials concerning the history, desirability and growth of the Rural Delivery Service during the year 1901.

#### THE R.F.D. NEWS

About that same time Mr. H. H. Windsor of Chicago, who published several magazines, including "Popular Mechanics," still found on the news stands of today, saw an opportunity to add to his list a publication for rural mail carriers. He made an offer of a free mail wagon to rural carriers in return for their organizing groups of subscribers to *Popular Mechanics*. Eighty subscribers at \$1.00 earned a mail wagon. Evidently it paid off, for one way or another Mr. Windsor built up a circulation of 50,000 in 21 months.

During the time that rural carriers were allowed to solicit subscriptions for *Popular Mechanics*, Mr. Windsor became acquainted with many of them, learned something of the work on the route, hardships, losses and meager compensation of the carriers. As he said, "at that time there was no paper to lift up its voice and compel the public to listen to the tales of distress which were universal among the carriers and the families dependent upon them." The idea appealed to him to start a paper which would champion the cause of the R.F.D.

By January 30, 1903, a monthly magazine known as "*The R.F.D. News*", forerunner of *The National Rural Letter Carrier*, was being published by Mr. H. H. Windsor of Chicago. The cost was fifty cents a year. There were testimonials regarding the value of "*The News*"; news items concerning the rapidly expanding rural mail service, as well as carriers' letters about their problems and needs, plus their growing consciousness of the need for an organization to represent them.

"The News" carried advertising. In 1904, the Hessler Company offered a "Riley Special" mail box for one dollar, or at the reduced rate of \$8.00 per dozen to would-be agents.

Prices on buggies were as follows: open model, \$19; top buggy, \$24; surrey (presumably with the fringe), \$42.90; and a spring wagon, \$30.

Montgomery Ward offered a catalog free of charge, while Sears Roebuck advertised a line of stoves, heaters, wood or coal, \$3.98; cook stove, with oven, \$4.85.

There were ads for patent medicines, and Drakes Palmetto Wine (a tonic); real estate exchanges; a trip to the Holy Land or Europe; a handbook on carpentry; or how to make electrical appliances; also alluring ads for "gold filled" watches.

Boyd's Syllabic Shorthand was offered in a 30-day course by the Chicago Correspondence Schools; and "His Master's Voice" was featured by the U.S. Gramophone Company, also of Chicago, in a trademark ad which has continued ever since, showing the little dog listening to the talking machine. However, in the spring of 1969, it was announced with nostalgia that the little dog would no longer appear on any advertisements!

#### A CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

In 1903, after launching the rural carrier magazine, Mr. Windsor also conceived the idea of a national convention, and was largely responsible for a group of rural carriers meeting at the Sherman House of Chicago, in September of that year for the purpose of forming an association.

He acted as master of ceremonies at the meeting until there could be elected a group of temporary officers to take charge from there on. It was his idea that the first step was to organize the county rural carriers, and when their groups were well established to proceed with the formation of state R.L.C.A.'s. The district groups were a later development, not included in the original setup.

#### RAILROADS OFFER REDUCED RATES

By 1903 the rural carriers were receiving \$600 a year, or \$50 a month, which would not allow for extensive travel or for a very pretentious convention. The officials of the railroads were consulted, to see if there might not be a reduction in railroad fare, provided the first national convention could be held in Chicago. The answer was that if 100 or more attended, from points where the fare to Chicago was over 50 cents, the railroad company would offer to make a return rate of one-third the regular fare.

At this time there were in the United States 15,000 rural carriers. Rural service was becoming widely known by the press, so offers were made in Oregon, Colorado, Georgia, and perhaps a few other states, by publishers of daily newspapers to defray the traveling expenses of delegates to the first national convention.

The rural service was now seven years old. Although early records differ on the point, it may be stated that fourteen states were represented at the first national meeting, and 84 ballots cast. In writing of the calibre of the delegates, Mr. Windsor states: "It was a body of men of which any profession might feel proud."

Although the exhibits at the first national rural carrier convention were not numerous, they were exceedingly interesting. The largest items displayed were two mail wagons, the "Postman" and the "Carrier Pigeon", sent by the Terre Haute Carriage & Buggy Company of Terre Haute, Indiana. Other entries were the Hessler mailbox, manufactured in Syracuse, New York; a mailing device invented by a fellow rural carrier; and of all things—an "electric whip"; also a Clark Heater, with requisite fuel (prepared coal). A sign read: "No carrier ought to ride in a cold wagon or carry any dangerous, unsightly and explosive coal oil lantern when a Clark heater costs so little and is so safe and satisfactory."

#### SETTING THE PATTERN

In the absence of the mayor, who was out of the city, the postmaster of Chicago, the Hon. F. E. Coyne, extended a welcome. Mr. Windsor, acting as chairman, pending the election of a chairman pro tem, stated that it was probably the most important gathering ever to be held by rural carriers. He noted that there would undoubtedly be questions of great moment for future conventions to consider. Mr. Windsor admonished the delegates that it called for their best efforts, for theirs was the responsibility of laying the foundation, in order that the superstructure of the days to come might be strong and lasting. There was also the responsibility of drafting a Constitution for a national association, a document which down through the years has changed but little.

There was no doubt about it, the affairs of the young, faltering rural carrier organization were in the hands of an experienced and capable person, who laid the groundwork for future years, and in grateful appreciation, the rural carriers presented him with a silver urn. Mr. Windsor described it as an honored heirloom for his family.

#### R.F.D. IS RECOGNIZED

It was Mr. Windsor's desire to start publicity nationwide, and he must have been very gratified when the U.S. Department of Agriculture in its Yearbook for 1903-4 commented on The R. F. D. It was stated that since the Rural Free Delivery had been accepted by Congress, the Post Office Department and the country as a permanent and indispensable feature of the post office administration, "contributions for the continuance and extension" of the R. F. D. were progressing at a rapid rate.

Just to get things rolling, Mr. Windsor started a column entitled, "Convention

Echoes", and published quotes from leading newspapers over the country.

The hard work of the *R.F.D. News* was beginning to bear some fruit, and henceforth the voice of the rural letter carrier would have a channel through which it could be heard, for it had become a part of the world communication system.

#### VI—GRASS ROOTS OF AMERICA

While the Rural Free Delivery was established to bring mail to the country people, it was soon apparent that it had other inherent functions. It was entrenching itself in the very soil of the nation and becoming part of the Grass Roots of America. Someone has said, "We live in a generation that wants the fruits without the roots—we are a cut-flower civilization—the flowers are here, but the roots are dying." It is, therefore, very heartening to realize that the founders of the Rural Free Delivery planted their roots deep enough to withstand all droughts, and to continue growing in spite of all obstacles.

In his Annual Message for 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt, referring to the R.F.D., said in part:

"No governmental movement of recent years has resulted in greater immediate benefit to the people of the country districts."

#### DISTRIBUTION OF WEATHER REPORTS

Since the 1870's, the Post Office Department has cooperated in various ways with the Weather Bureau. At the turn of the century rural carriers' services were requested in distributing weather reports throughout the countryside, in an effort to place daily forecasts in agricultural districts.

In his report for 1902 the Secretary of Agriculture stated:

"The past year affords gratifying evidence of the weather bureau in saving life and property. Ample testimony is afforded that the value of property thus saved from loss amounts to many times the cost of maintaining the bureau."

The Secretary urged the desirability of extending the distribution of daily forecasts coextensively with the Rural Free Delivery routes. Of the 10,000 rural routes existing August 1, 1902, it had been found possible only to serve 1,000. To make the distribution coextensive with the Rural Free Delivery he estimated it would cost about \$100,000, but observed that: "There is nothing too good for the patrons along the R.F.D. routes."

#### WEATHER CARDS, OR FLAGS, GIVEN TO RURAL CARRIERS

In the early 1900's flags, indicating the prevailing weather of the day, were given rural carriers to display on their wagons, at the request of local postmasters.

After some experience with the flags getting wet in rainy or snowy weather, a carrier on Route 3, Guthrie, Oklahoma, invented a sheet iron flag with space for the weather indications to be inserted very easily. A typical weather flash might have read as follows: FAIR AND SUNNY. The invention was advertised in 1903, in Volume I of *The R.F.D. News*.

A very comprehensive study of the rural carrier's role as weatherman is set forth in an article entitled, "1870—U.S. Weather Watch—1905," by Edith R. Doane, and published in the Thirty-Fourth American Philatelic Congress Book of 1968.

An exhibit of the U.S. Weather Watch was featured by the Smithsonian Institution, Museum of History and Technology, from June 30, 1970 throughout that summer.

This cooperation between the rural carriers and the Weather Bureau lasted about four years, from 1900-1904, when other means of disseminating weather predictions, so valuable to the farmer and his crops, were becoming available.

## AID IN AGRICULTURAL SURVEYS

As time went on, the rural carriers were to become the aides of the Department of Agriculture. In April, 1922, rural carriers distributed the first livestock survey cards along the rural routes of 18 states, asking patrons for information about their hog production. Other surveys included reports on crop acreages and condition of growing crops; production of crops and livestock reports; stocks of products on and off farms; numbers of livestock and poultry on farms; livestock feeding operations; farmers' intentions to plant crops or breed livestock; use of products on the farm; prices received for farm products; prices paid by farmers for things they buy; farm wage rates; people working on farms; interest and tax payments; farm machinery information; land values; and population movements to and from farms—just about every detail that can be imagined with regard to farm acreages.

## RESPONSIBLE FOR GOOD ROADS

While the early carriers walked, rode bicycle or went horseback, the later use of mail carts and wagons, followed by the automobile, made it necessary to improve the roads. In 1912 Congress appropriated the sum of \$500,000 for the improvement of a limited number of post roads, and again in 1916 passed the historic Federal Aid Highway Act, which provided that the government "would aid the States in the construction of rural post roads and for other purposes."

Most of the roads were dirt roads, although as early as 1907 macadamizing was used in New York State. One carrier there wrote that he had all macadam roads on his route, with nothing to complain about in that respect, but he was an exception, for more rural carriers complained of stony, hilly, sandy, and muddy stretches, which were sometimes almost impassable. It was not unusual for a horse to become completely mired in the mud. Some carriers experimented by using bicycles.

In the 1890's dirt roads were the fashion, and it was not until the early 1900's, when the automobile furnished the incentive for a higher type of surfacing, that much was done to improve the highways. Prior to that time oils, tars, asphalt and salt solution had been used as dust prevention, the application being made on old surfacing.

It was at this point that rural carriers assumed responsibility for the country roads, or back roads they had to travel. They donated their labor, free of charge, in many cases to improve road conditions. Patrons as well as rural carriers often repaired bridges and bay holes. They appointed road committees, and worked with the American Road Builders' Association.

The needs of the early rural carriers were largely responsible for the great system of highways spider-webbing America today. It was stated in the very first volume of *The R. F. D. News* that "the rural carrier did more for the cause of good roads than all the other 'good roads' people combined."

## HIGHWAY LEGISLATION

The nation was becoming road conscious. In 1912 the legislation was introduced creating the Lincoln Highway, from Washington, D.C. to Gettysburg, Pa. The states were slowly creating highway commissions, following the example of New Jersey, where such a department was established in 1891. By 1912 all but six states had set up some type of highway bureau.

In 1912 there were 60 bills introduced in Congress, each attempting to provide some kind of federal aid for roads, but it was not until 1913 that the Post Office Appropriations Act was passed, providing \$500,000 to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperation with the Postmaster General, to improve the condition of roads selected by them over which rural delivery was or might be established thereafter. Legislative efforts

continued, but the war was about to break, and the road program had to be postponed until war clouds dispersed and the new Federal Highway Act of 1921 could be passed.

## COLLECTING CENSUS DATA

It is said that the government traditionally looks to the postal service whenever there is a big job to do, and postal employees have been called the "Marines of the Civil Service." In 1970 the federal service called out its "Marines" again, this time for one of the biggest jobs ever undertaken—the Census Bureau's decennial count of every human being in the Nation. Rural carriers performed their part in this giant undertaking by delivering the questionnaires to the rural and urban communities.

While *The R.F.D. News* was busy promoting various causes benefiting rural carriers at the early stages of the rural service, in 1914 it took time out to describe the new post office of the capital city. Convinced that the City of Washington, D.C., should have a post office of its own, Congress appropriated \$3,000,000 for its construction, requiring three years. Among the architectural beauties there were to be 64 huge, granite pillars, costing \$1,000 each, as well as many marble pedestal lamps.

In harmony with the ideal superlative service, the new city post office when completed in the nation's capital in 1914, was described in *The R.F.D. News* as "The Perfect Office, and it was emphasized that it was adjacent to Washington's new Union Station—the big, massive pile of white marble."

While no longer considered the most up-to-date by any means, it is to be observed that the Washington, D.C. post office is still functioning, while the Union Station is probably on its way to becoming a glorified tourist center.

## CAPITAL'S OLD POST OFFICE

Another landmark in postal history and an architectural monument to the best in the postal service was the old Post Office Building, erected during the Administration of President William McKinley (1897-1901). Its imposing tower added a touch of dignity to Pennsylvania Avenue and many a young Washingtonian learned to tell time by its immense clock, high above the traffic.

Today, with the program of Urban Development in Washington, D.C. challenging many such historic structures as the old Willard Hotel, a few blocks away, the fate of the venerable building is uncertain. However, lovers of history, postal people in particular, hope to preserve this guidepost of the Post Office Department.

As the R.F.D. approaches its 75th milestone, it can look back with pride to the important part it has played in the development of our Nation. It has not forgotten how our forefathers hewed this country out of wood and stone and built us a nation. In the spirit of the pioneers, the rural mail service has worked creatively, on the edge of tomorrow.

## REPORT ON THE SIGNING OF THE CONVENTION ON PSYCHOTROPIC DRUGS

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to attend the United Nations Conference on Psychotropic Drugs in Vienna and to witness on February 21, 1971, the signing of the Convention on Psychotropic Substances, the result of the

conference which convened to consider the adoption of an international agreement on the control of these severely abused drugs. This convention was originally drafted in response to the growing international awareness of the need to place restrictions on the production and movement of the psychotropic drugs such as LSD, amphetamines, and barbiturates among countries around the world.

I am pleased today to read into the RECORD the detailed letter I have received from John Ingersoll, the enormously capable Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, outlining and interpreting the convention and the U.S. delegation's role in developing the document in its final form. Further, this material discusses legislation which will be needed to enable the United States to comply with the convention.

The misuse of the psychotropic drugs is a rapidly growing problem on a national and on an international scale, though the legal machinery to regulate them on a worldwide scale has not been developed until now. We in the United States have recently passed legislation to deal with this problem on a national level, with the enactment in October 1970 of Public Law 91-513, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. It should be mentioned that the narcotic drugs, mainly opium, and certain nonnarcotic drugs such as marihuana and cocaine have been under international control since 1961 when the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs was drawn up.

The draft protocol for this convention, considered at the recent conference, was the result of many meetings on the subject of international control of psychotropic drugs, culminating in a special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs held January 12-30, 1970. The United States took an active interest in writing this convention, and representatives of the United States contributed greatly to the effort. One of the most active participants was Mr. Ingersoll, who spoke at the outset of the 1970 commission meeting and ably led the U.S. delegation to the Vienna Conference, acting as the effective spokesman for the United States on technical as well as political issues. His role was outstanding; his leadership was inspiring and productive. Another notable participant was Donald E. Miller, Chief Counsel at the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. The members of the U.S. delegation, each of whom contributed invaluable to the success of the mission were: Mr. C. I. Bevans, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State; Mr. H. R. Wellman, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Narcotics Matters; Senator HAROLD E. HUGHES; Senator CHARLES MATHIAS, JR.; Dr. R. Blum of Stanford University; Mr. W. P. Clarke, legal counsel to the Special Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics and Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate; Mr. L. H. Hoover, Jr., legal officer, U.S. Mission in Geneva; Mr. J. Jennings, Associate Commissioner for Medical Affairs, Food and Drug Administration, H.E.W.; Dr. S. N. Kieffer, Associate Director of the Na-

tional Institute of Mental Health; and Dr. A. Lande, legal consultant of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association.

During the conference, which convened on January 11, 1971, more than 250 delegates and advisors from 71 countries, plus observers from four states, and representatives from the World Health Organization, International Narcotics Control Board, and three non-governmental organizations participated to produce the final document. Twenty nations, including the United States signed the convention, subject to ratification. In it, 32 psychotropic drugs are identified and classified into four schedules with varying degrees of control, ranging from prohibition except for very limited scientific and medical purposes for the substances in Schedule I, mainly LSD, to varying licensing requirements and import and controls for the substances in Schedules II, III, and IV.

Mr. Speaker, this convention is an important step toward the proper control of these dangerous drugs which have already taken such a toll among the people of our Nation and of the world. I urge all Members of Congress to become familiar with the convention to insure that the scourge of these drugs can be vanquished throughout the world:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
BUREAU OF NARCOTICS AND  
DANGEROUS DRUGS,  
Washington, D.C.

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HALPERN: In view of your interest in the matter, I want to report that on Friday, February 19, 1971, the United Nations Conference at Vienna concluded its work and adopted the Convention on Psychotropic Substances. On Sunday, February 21, 1971, as the designated Representative of the United States, I signed the Convention subject to ratification. A copy of the Convention is enclosed.

In the Preamble to the treaty, which has been entitled "Convention," the Conference noted the public health and social problems resulting from the abuse of certain psychotropic substances and at the same time took cognizance of the suggestion of the United States Delegation that the use of psychotropic substances for medical and scientific purposes is indispensable and that their availability for such purposes should not be unduly restricted.

The United States Delegation was particularly concerned with Article 2 dealing with scope of control of substances. The Article provides that if a Party or the World Health Organization has information relating to a substance not yet under international control which, in its opinion, may require the addition of such substance to any of the Schedules of the Convention, it shall notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who in his turn, shall transmit such notification to the Parties and to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

The Commission, taking into account an assessment of the substance by the World Health Organization, may add the substance to any of the Schedules. If the World Health Organization communicates to the Commission any new assessment of the substance already listed in one of the Schedules, the Commission, taking this communication into account, may decide to transfer this substance from one Schedule to another or to delete it from the Schedules.

The United States Delegation participated extensively in the drafting of the language in

Article 2 specifying the authorities to classify and control psychotropic substances. The decision-making process is similar to Section 201 of Public Law 91-513, in that the findings of a science-oriented agency (the World Health Organization) as to medical and scientific assessments are determinative in the final action taken by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The position of the United States Delegation prevailed in regard to the necessity for a two-thirds majority vote of the Commission in taking any action in connection with the scheduling of substances.

Under paragraph 7 of Article 2, the decision of the Commission becomes fully effective as to the Parties except for any Party which transmits to the Secretary-General a written notice that, in view of exceptional circumstances, it is not in a position to give effect with respect to that substance to all of the provisions of the Convention applicable to substances in that Schedule. Notwithstanding its notice, however, each Party must apply, as a minimum, certain control measures listed in Article 2. The matter of a qualified acceptance of a decision to control a substance was one of the most significant accomplishments insofar as United States negotiations were concerned. The features in the present text are the best possible compromise between mandatory controls, which were urged by many Delegations, and the intent of Congress in P.L. 91-513, which contemplates that all actions to control psychotropic substances in the United States should be through the usual rulemaking administrative process. Although some of the obligatory control measures are provided for under the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, specific legislation may be required to enable the United States to apply the minimum requirements of sections (a), (b), (c), and (d) of Article 2.

Article 3 contains special provisions regarding the control of preparations. In certain cases a preparation may be exempted from some measures of control. In this case a Party must notify the Secretary-General of any such decision, of the name and composition of the exempt preparation, and of measures of control from which it is exempted. This provision is similar to Section 202(d) of P.L. 91-513.

Under Article 4 the Parties may permit in respect of psychotropic substances other than those in Schedule I, the carriage by international travelers of small quantities of preparations for personal use. This provision is similar to Section 1006 of P.L. 91-513.

Article 5 requires all Parties to limit the manufacture, export, import, distribution, use, and possession of controlled substances to scientific and medical purposes, taking into account that Article 4 permits industrial use of the substances. This feature is satisfied in P.L. 91-513 by the registration provisions in Section 303, the revocation provisions in Section 304, the labeling provisions in Section 305, the quota provisions in Section 306, the recordkeeping requirements in Section 307, the order form requirements in Section 308, the prescription requirements in 309, and the import and export requirements of Title III.

Article 6 points out the desirability of each Party having a special administration to carry out the provisions of the Convention. The provision is not mandatory, and the existing division of responsibilities within the United States need not be changed solely to satisfy this Article.

Article 7 requires rigorous measures of control for substances in Schedule I (LSD, mescaline, etc.), which are controlled in a more stringent way than morphine under the narcotics treaties. In respect of these substances the Parties shall: prohibit all use except for scientific and very limited medical purposes by duly authorized persons, in medical and scientific establishments which are directly under the control of their Gov-

ernments or specifically approved by them; require that manufacture, trade, distribution, and possession be under a special license or prior authorization; provide for close supervision of the activities and acts in this field; restrict the amount supplied to an authorized person to the quantity required for his purpose; require that persons performing medical and scientific functions keep appropriate records on these substances; prohibit export and import except when both the exporter and the importer are the competent authorities or agencies of their countries or enterprises which are specifically authorized by the competent authorities of the country. The provisions in this Article are substantially satisfied by the "new drug" procedures of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and by the provisions of P.L. 91-513 applicable to the control of substances listed in Schedule I of the law.

Article 8 provides that the Parties shall require that the manufacture of, trade in, and distribution of substances listed in Schedules II, III and IV be under license or other similar control measures. This feature has been provided for in Part C of P.L. 91-513, which requires all persons engaging in such activities to become registered each year with the Attorney General and further provides a system of denial, revocation and suspension of such registration.

Article 9 requires that substances on Schedules II, III and IV be supplied or dispensed for use by individuals pursuant to medical prescription only, except when individuals may lawfully obtain, use, dispense, or administer such substances in the duly authorized exercise of therapeutic or scientific functions. The Parties are also required to take measures to ensure that prescriptions for these substances are issued in accordance with sound medical practice. This provision is satisfied by Section 309 of P.L. 91-513.

Article 10 provides that each Party shall require warnings on labels and the accompanying leaflets of retail packages of psychotropic substances. With due regard to their constitutional provisions the Parties to the Convention shall prohibit the advertisement of such substances to the general public. The labeling provisions are satisfied by the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and Section 305 of P.L. 91-513. The prohibitions regarding advertising are partially satisfied by the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and by the laws of various States; however, a study will have to be made to determine whether specific legislation would be necessary to fulfill this provision of Article 10.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 11 the Parties shall require producers, manufacturers, retail distributors, institutions for hospitalization and care, and scientific institutions to keep records of psychotropic substances produced and used. The most detailed records are specified for substances in Schedule I. The recordkeeping requirements under the new drug provisions of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and by Section 307 of P.L. 91-513 are adequate to comply with the requirements of this Article.

Article 12 contains provisions relating to international trade in psychotropic substances. It specifies that every Party permitting the export or import of substances in Schedules I or II shall require a separate import or export authorization on a special form for each import or export. Before issuing an export authorization the Parties shall require an import authorization, issued by the competent authority of the importing country. The Government issuing the export authorization shall send a copy to the Government of the importing country which, after importation has been effected, shall return it certifying the amount of substance actually imported. For each export of substances in Schedule III exporters shall draw up a dec-

laration which will be furnished to the competent authorities of their country who, in their turn, will send, as soon as possible, a copy of the declaration to the competent authorities of the importing country. Article 12 provides also for additional stringent measures concerning international trade in psychotropic substances in Schedules I and II including right of detention of nonauthorized consignments, special provisions concerning transit, etc. The provisions of this Article are similar to the procedures provided in Title III of P.L. 91-513, but specific legislation may be required to apply the import-export authorization system in regard to substances in Schedule II under the Convention which may not fit the criteria for control in Schedule II of P.L. 91-513.

Under the provisions of Article 13, a Party may notify all other Parties through the Secretary-General that it prohibits the import into its country or into one of its regions of one or more substances listed in Schedules II, III or IV, specified in its notification. If a Party has been so notified of a prohibition, it shall take measures to ensure that none of the substances specified in the notification are exported to the country or one of the regions of the notifying Party. Section 1002 of P.L. 91-513 now provides authority for the Attorney General to prohibit exportation of a substance to a country contrary to its laws and regulations.

Article 14 stipulates that the international carriage by ship, aircraft or other forms of international public transport of such limited quantities of substances in Schedule II, III or IV as may be needed during their journey or voyage for first-aid purposes or emergency cases shall not be considered to be export or import within the meaning of the Convention. This feature has been provided for in Section 1005 of P.L. 91-513.

Under Article 15 the Parties to the Convention will undertake an obligation to maintain a system of inspection of manufacturers, exporters, importers, wholesale and retail distributors, medical and scientific institutions which use psychotropic substances. Section 508, 509, and 510 of P.L. 91-513 contain sufficient authority to satisfy the obligation under this Article.

Under Article 16 the Parties must furnish to the Secretary-General such information as the Commission on Narcotic Drugs may request as being necessary for the performance of its functions, and in particular an annual report regarding the working of the Convention in their territories. Annual statistical reports must also be furnished by the Parties to the International Narcotic Control Board. Although it is possible for the United States to comply with most of the features of this Article under the authority of the Attorney General in Section 307 of P.L. 91-513, in order to obtain data as to the stocks held by manufacturers each year, specific legislation will be required unless a satisfactory voluntary reporting system can be arranged with all manufacturers of psychotropic substances.

Under Article 17, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs may consider all measures pertaining to the aims of the Convention and may make recommendations bearing on implementation of its provisions.

Article 18 provides that the International Narcotics Control Board shall prepare annual reports on its work containing an analysis of the statistical information at its disposal and these reports shall be submitted to the Economic and Social Council through the Narcotics Commission, which may make such comments as it sees fit. These reports will be communicated to the Parties to the Convention and subsequently published by the Secretary-General.

Article 19 provides that the International Narcotics Control Board may take certain

measures to ensure the execution of provisions of the Convention. If, on the basis of its examination of information submitted by Governments or communicated by the United Nations organs, the Board has reason to believe that the aims of the Convention are being seriously endangered by reason of the failure of a country or region to carry out its provisions, the Board shall have the right to ask for explanations from the Government of the country or region in question. The Board may call upon the Government concerned to adopt such remedial measures as shall seem under the circumstances to be necessary for the execution of the provisions of the Convention. If the Board finds that the Government concerned has failed to give satisfactory explanations or to adopt any remedial measures, it may call the matter to the attention of the Parties, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. In this case the Board may recommend to the Parties that they stop the export, import, or both, of particular psychotropic substances from or to the country or region concerned. The Board shall also have the right to publish a report on any matter dealt with under the provision of this Article.

Article 19 was a proposal put forth by the United States Delegation to give some degree of power to an international body to bring about compliance not only by Parties but by other countries as well.

Article 20 provides that "the Parties shall take all practical measures for the prevention of abuse of psychotropic substances and for the early identification, treatment, education, aftercare, rehabilitation, and social re-integration of the persons involved, and shall co-ordinate their efforts to these ends." The Parties shall also promote the training of personnel in this field and shall assist persons whose work so requires to gain an understanding of the problems of abuse of psychotropic substances and of its prevention. No legislation will be required to carry out the provisions of this Article.

Under Article 21 the Parties shall, having due regard to their constitution, legal and administrative systems, "make arrangements at the national level for the co-ordination of preventive and repressive actions against the illicit traffic" in psychotropic substances. The Parties shall cooperate closely with each other and with the competent international organizations with a view to maintaining a co-ordinated campaign against the illicit traffic and shall assist each other in this campaign. No legislation will be required in connection with this Article.

The Convention provides in Article 22 that subject to its constitutional limitations, each Party shall treat as punishable offense, when committed intentionally, any action contrary to a law or regulation adopted in pursuance of its obligations under the Convention, and "shall ensure that serious offenses be liable to adequate punishment, particularly by imprisonment or other penalty of deprivation of liberty." However, the Parties may provide either as an alternative to conviction or punishment or in addition to punishment that abusers of psychotropic drugs undergo measures of treatment, education, aftercare, rehabilitation and social re-integration. Also, the Article provides that, subject to the constitutional limitations of a Party, its legal system and domestic law, serious offenses committed either by nationals or by foreigners shall be prosecuted by the Party in whose territory the offender is found if there is no agreement on extradition. This Article will not require implementing legislation by the United States.

Article 22 recommends that the serious offenses be included as extradition crimes in any extradition treaty which has been or may hereafter be concluded between any of the Parties. This Article provides also that any psychotropic substances or other substance, as well as any equipment, used in or in-

tended for the commission of any of the serious offenses shall be liable to seizure and confiscation. Section 511 of P.L. 91-513 and the seizure provisions of the Customs laws adequately satisfy the requirements of this Article.

According to Article 23 of the Convention, "a Party may adopt more strict or severe measures of control than those provided by this Convention if, in its opinion, such measures are desirable or necessary for the protection of the public health and welfare." In many respects, the United States already has enacted in P.L. 91-513 more stringent measures than are provided in this Convention.

Article 24 specifies that the expenses of the Narcotics Commission and the International Narcotics Control Board in carrying out their functions under the Convention shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly, which shall also decide on the amount of contributions of the Parties which are not members of the United Nations.

In accordance with Article 25, the Convention will be open for signature until January 1, 1972, and that date it will be open for accession. Article 26 provides that it will come into force on the ninetieth day after forty of the countries authorized to do so have signed it without reservation or ratification or have deposited their instruments of ratification or accession.

Articles 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31 are the usual closing provisions of treaties of this type and are self-explanatory. The Articles are substantially the same as those of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. The Convention is applicable to the various outlying United States areas such as Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Wake Island, Guam, and the Islands under trusteeship unless a reservation is taken under Article 32; and the Convention may be denounced by any Party after the expiration of two years from its coming into force. There is a provision for amending the Convention, and there is a provision for working out disputes.

Article 32 provides that only the following reservations may be taken by any State at the time of its ratification or accession:

(1) Article 19, paragraphs (1) and (2) relating to supplying of additional data to the Board and abiding by the recommendations of the Board regarding embargos against countries whose activities are endangering the aims of the Convention;

(2) Article 27 relating to territorial applications;

(3) Article 31 relating to disputes; and

(4) In respect to countries where plants containing Schedule I substances are traditionally used in religious rites (such as the use of peyote by the Native American Church), the country need not apply all of the stringent provisions of Article 7.

The Technical Committee of the Conference established four schedules of controlled substances somewhat as follows:

*Schedule I* includes the hallucinogenic substances DET, DMPH, DMT, LSD, mescaline, parahexyl, psilocyn, psilocybin, STP, and THC;

*Schedule II* includes the primary stimulant substances amphetamine, dextroamphetamine, methamphetamine, methylphenidate, and phenmetrazine. The Schedule also lists phencyclidine, a substance used in veterinary medicine which has hallucinogenic properties;

*Schedule III* includes five short-acting barbiturates; and

*Schedule IV* includes some of the less potent barbiturates and stimulants and the tranquilizer meprobamate.

Although the United States Delegation was not in complete agreement with the scheduling of the substances, the matter can be corrected at a later time through the process provided in Article 2.

If you or members of your staff have need for further clarification of the Convention, we would be happy to meet with you. I have asked the Bureau's Chief Counsel, Donald E. Miller, (telephone 382-4644) to respond to your requests.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. INGERSOLL,  
Director.

## THE COLD WAR CONTINUES— INTENSIFIED

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, former U.S. Ambassador Elbridge Durbrow recently undertook a short analysis of the program of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and compared it with certain objectives set forth by the Communists at the meeting of World Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow in July 1969.

This interesting analysis appeared in the Washington Report of May 24, 1971. The Ambassador outlines the current approach the Soviets are using to achieve their long held goal of total world domination.

An article which appeared in Ordinance magazine of May-June 1970 written by Dr. James D. Atkinson, professor of government at Georgetown University, complements the Ambassador's study by highlighting some aspects of the dramatic increase in Soviet military forces.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Report, May 24, 1971]

THE COLD WAR CONTINUES—INTENSIFIED  
(An Analysis of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Guest Editor, The Honorable Elbridge Durbrow, is a retired career foreign service officer who was U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam from 1957 until 1961. He has also served in such diverse posts as Moscow (three times), Rome, Singapore, and as alternate permanent U.S. representative to NATO.)

"No more guns, but barrels of butter," is the impression one would gather from most U.S. media commentary on the tone prevailing in the 24th Congress of the CPSU, while that meeting was in process beginning in late March, this year. The *New York Times* headlined on March 31, 1971: "Peace and Consumers Gain Stressed at Soviet Parley." Time Magazine called Brezhnev's well-modulated, anti-U.S. vituperations "Prudent Militancy," which is exactly the impressions that the now undisputed Soviet boss wanted to convey to the non-communist world. And with but a few notable exceptions, the free world press unthinkingly helped him convey it.

But guns are still the order of the day in the USSR; butter, for the everyday Russian, still a promise and several "ifs" away. And the militancy—if in fact it was in any sense "prudently" expressed—is nonetheless as defiant as ever before, and perhaps more self-assured. Couched in the usual Communist jargon, Brezhnev's six-hour speech was designed, in part, to confuse and mislead the uninitiated; yet the Party faithful will have no difficulty distilling out the directives and acting on them. Why most American news analysts are not by now able to see through the propaganda to the substance of official Communist pronouncements should be a matter of great concern to all of us.

CXVII—1090—Part 13

## PREVIEW—FROM 1969

To appreciate fully the thrust and significance of the 24th Congress, it will be useful to review a few highlights of a smaller but more important gathering of Kremlin-oriented National Communist Parties held in Moscow in June, 1969. Although that was the first meeting of the Communist International in nine years, its main conclusions also were ignored at the time by most of the free world press—perhaps because attention was drawn primarily to the split in the Communist monolith (the Moscow-Peking rift) and the fact that five other national Communist parties did not attend.

(In that connection, it is interesting to note that 101 foreign delegations attended this 24th Congress in 1971, as compared to only some 70-odd at the 1969 meeting. Does this suggest that the Kremlin-based Communist monolith is regaining its pristine strength and command of the world wide Movement, despite Peking's persistent recalcitrance?)

In any event, the 1969 Moscow Conference defined several specific Party directives, which had been thrashed out in lesser unpublicized gatherings during the preceding three years. And in his long speech at the recent Congress, Brezhnev made several pointed references to the importance of those 1969 directives.

## CALL FOR BROADER OFFENSIVE

The 1969 Party "Communique" included such clarion calls as these: "The existing situation demands united action of Communists and other anti-imperialist forces . . . for a broader offensive against imperialism" . . . "The United States [is] the chief imperialist power" . . . "Let us step up the offensive against imperialism" . . .

The same theme was repeated in the recent Party Congress of 1971, with statements such as: "Our militant alliance with the revolutionary forces of the whole world is growing stronger" . . . "The total triumph of socialism the world over is inevitable" . . .

And Brezhnev himself, while "stressing" peace and consumer gains for the benefit of NY Times headline writers, more significantly stressed: "We declare that, while consistently pursuing its policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism . . ." Brezhnev further emphasized, "as in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the peoples' struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism."

To refuse to acknowledge the outright militancy of a Communist leader's call for "National Liberation" is not very prudent of Western observers.

## POPULAR UNITY—THE "NEW LOOK"

Perhaps the most important 1969 directive was the "New Look" *Popular Unity* Formula, a revival and expansion of the "Popular Front" Communist tactics of the 1930's. The title of the 1969 Communique gave the clue: "*Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces.*" The key words are: "All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Who these are is clear from the Communique which calls for "cooperation with Socialists and Social Democrats . . ." and adds "Communists . . . favor cooperation with other Democratic parties and organizations." It goes on to say that it is necessary to raise the activity of "working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and Democratic Army circles." The Communique then refers to the developing "Positive cooperation and joint action between Communists . . . and Catholics."

To see one application of that formula, one has only to recall the recent election of Allende as the President of Chile, whose Socialist Party received only 36% of the vote,

but whose coalition partners—the Communists, the dissident Catholic leftists of the Christian Democrats and the Radical Party—gave Allende a majority.

This victory was hailed by Brezhnev in his speech at the 24th Congress. There is real significance in the fact that this is the first instance of Kremlin-oriented takeover in Latin America by election process instead of violent overthrow; therefore a "most important event" demonstrating the feasibility of further takeovers by the same methods.

In conjunction with hailing the success in Chile, Brezhnev signaled Peru and Bolivia as the next best prospects for conquest by the same method.

## EUROPEAN PROSPECTS

Heads of the French and Italian delegations, in their speeches at the 24th Congress, pointedly backed up Brezhnev's further hopes for the Popular Unity formula, by referring to the growing cooperation among Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Trade Unions and Catholic dissidents in their countries.

Continuing militant student unrest, strikes led by Communist-dominated unions, and the large percentage (over 25%) of Italians who vote the Communist ticket, puts Italy high on the "Popular Unity" agenda of the Kremlin. To a lesser but still alarming extent in France, non-Communist groups are cooperating with the Communists. The French Communist leader, Georges Marchais, boasted recently that the French Left, if it works together, is in a mathematical position to form a Parliamentary majority.

## WARS OF LIBERATION

The 1969 directives gave particular importance to the tactic of subversive aggression from outside, known as "wars of national liberation"—such as those in Greece, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Yemen, etc. By Communist definition these are uprisings, Communist-induced, usually from outside, which are "changed into guerrilla warfare . . ." as Khrushchev explained in 1961, "They are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable. . . . The Communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the people waging liberation struggles."

The 1969 Communique, and the recent Congress, both stressed that this technique will work best in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, while the new "Popular Unity" tactic might work best in Latin America and elsewhere.

In this connection, it is no mere coincidence that the Mexican government this March ordered the expulsion of five Soviet diplomats, including the Chargé d'affaires, after it was learned from arrested Mexican students that 20 of them who had attended Moscow's Lumumba University had been secretly sent to North Korea and trained as guerrilla leaders. Similarly, in April, the entire North Korean embassy staff was expelled from Ceylon, for assisting the large group of guerrillas called the Peoples Liberation Front, who tried to overthrow the Ceylonese government. Whoever is behind the Ceylonese guerrillas, it is noteworthy that the Soviets were able, by giving 5 MIG-17's to the Ceylonese government to help suppress the rebels, to establish their own "landing rights," as it were, on what has been called the "stationary aircraft carrier in the Indian Ocean"—the island of Ceylon.

## PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Both the 1969 and 1971 meetings pointedly stressed that Communist foreign policy is based on the deceptively misleading "principle" of *Peaceful Coexistence*. The effectiveness of this deceptive line is well demonstrated by a remark of CBS commentator Roger Mudd, in narrating the controversial documentary, "Selling of the Pentagon."

Mudd said: "It has been more than a decade since the national policy of peaceful coexistence replaced the harsher rhetoric of early Cold War years."

Anyone who equates the Communist line of "peaceful coexistence" with an ending or even diminishing of the Cold War has not learned the first lesson in Communist dialectics. There have been many detailed definitions of what "peaceful coexistence" means to Communists, but the 1969 Directive gives one of the best. It states in part:

"The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of an oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means . . . armed or peaceful. Peaceful coexistence helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and a world-wide scale. Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence."

That definition should make it clear that the phrase refers to neither peace nor coexistence in our sense of those words.

#### EMPHASIS ON YOUTH

The 1969 guidelines are replete with passages on the importance of youth in the anti-imperialist struggle, such as, "The numerical growth and mounting political activities of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey, and other countries . . . Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth and actively participate in it . . . Seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism. . . ."

No one needs to be reminded of the increasing activities of militant youth during the past years in Europe, Turkey, Japan and the U.S., as called for in the 1969 Communiqué. Because of the obvious success of these activities, the 1971 Congress found no need to urge more militant youth activities; this might have awakened the Free World to the source of this growing threat.

#### NATO AND THE "GERMAN QUESTION"

"The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step toward the dissolution of all blocs," said the 1969 Party Communiqué. This year, Brezhnev called for the "simultaneous annulment of this treaty (Warsaw Pact) and of the North Atlantic Alliance"—the only obstacle to further Communist advances in Europe.

Also aimed at dissolution of NATO is the continuing (since 1966) deceptively appealing plea to convene a conference to set up an all-European Security System. The establishment of such a system would, of course, make NATO superfluous and get the U.S. out of Europe. Soviet influence would, of course, be dominant in an "all-European" security system.

The 1969 meeting and the recent Party Congress both insisted "it is imperative to secure the inviolability of existing frontiers in Europe"—particularly the frontiers of West and East Germany and Poland. A large step toward that goal was taken last year when West German Chancellor Brandt, in treaties negotiated with the USSR and Poland, agreed to accept "the frontiers of all states in Europe today and in the future as inviolable." Brandt's final agreement, however, is contingent on the Big Four powers reaching a new and acceptable agreement on the status of Berlin and access thereto; which does not seem imminent. That is probably why Brezhnev, in his Congress speech, threatened Brandt with dire consequences if he continues to insist that the final ratification of the treaties must hinge on the Berlin settlement.

#### THE "JUST" AND "UNJUST"

The continuing militance of Brezhnev toward the U.S., in his 24th Congress speech, was obvious as he called us the "guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression."

But he pulled out all stops to justify the Soviet-directed, five-power Communist invasion of Czechoslovakia "in defense of Socialism." He explained: "In the extraordinary conditions created by the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution, we were bound to do so by our class duty . . . and concern for . . . the future of socialism and peace in Europe."

#### THE SOVIET HOME FRONT

On the Soviet domestic scene, the promises at the 24th Congress of "consumer gains" were really no more glowing than have been made time and again at previous Congresses—and probably not much closer to fulfillment. Even a cursory analysis of the published figures shows that heavy industry (armaments certainly included) will receive far more new investment than the consumer side of the ledger. As Harry Schwartz, the *New York Times* Soviet expert, wrote on April 12: "Soviet heavy industry and military capabilities in 1975 are likely to be even more serious competitors of the United States than any time in the past." Despite many other press accounts to the contrary, it is clear the Kremlin still gives priority to increasing military strength. Soviet Defense Minister Grechko made that quite clear when he said: "The constant strengthening of the Armed Forces is an objective necessity for the successful building of socialism and communism."

#### THE "COOL" WAR

The Cold War tactics of the Khrushchev era—shoe pounding and harsh "we-will-bury-you" rhetoric—have been replaced by Brezhnev with a more subtle, "cool war" approach. But it is still "war", so far as the Soviet hierarchy are concerned—a win or lose proposition in which they intend to win by fair means or foul. The effectiveness of Brezhnev's tactics is demonstrated in the "cool" takeover in Chile, and similar prospects in Peru, Bolivia, Italy, and perhaps later, France.

The Free World's position is being quietly undermined because so many have not learned, or do not want to believe, the Soviets still mean it when they repeat their intention of world domination. Many refuse to acknowledge the advances already made by the Soviets toward that goal, through the previous deceptions of "peaceful coexistence" and "wars of liberation." They will be equally slow to recognize the even more subtle, "cool war" method which Brezhnev now also uses.

Add to that the help the Kremlin presently enjoys from prominent Americans calling upon the United States to "stop spurring the arms race" (while the Soviets continue their steady military buildup)—and it adds up to a most precarious situation.

"Hot"—"Cold"—or somewhere in between—the 24th Congress of the CPSU made clear that their war against free men and free nations continues unabated—even intensified. We in the United States are the chief and ultimate target of their attack. Unless we face up to this reality at once—and do a number of difficult things about it—we cannot but lose this war.

ELBRIDGE DUBROW,  
Guest Editor, Director,  
Freedom Studies Center.

#### ARMS FOR THE THIRD WORLD

(Dr. James D. Atkinson)

(NOTE: Dr. James D. Atkinson is professor of government at Georgetown University and a member, British Institute for Strategic Studies. He is recognized as an expert analyst in the field of defense and has helped prepare strategic studies for the U.S. House Armed Services Committee.)

A new book entitled "Arms for the Third World—Soviet Military Aid Diplomacy," by Dr. Wynfred Joshua of Stanford Research Institute, and Dr. Stephen P. Gibert of Georgetown University, is required reading

for all those who follow the increasing extension of the projection of power by the Soviet Union into widening geographic areas of the globe, for example, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean.

More significantly, if the data in this book are extrapolated, there will result a better preception of the threat to our national security posed by the rapidly growing Soviet strategic strike capabilities against the United States.

The authors point out that "since its revolutionary inception in 1917 the Soviet policy has pursued with extraordinary persistence, if not always consistency, the goals of maintaining its power at home and extending its power abroad."

It is significant that since 1955 the U.S.S.R. has expended \$6 billion in armaments for twenty-five developing countries around the world.

In this context, Soviet military aid encompasses weaponry, parts replacement, military training (including military and technical "advisers"), and building of military and unconventional-warfare installations for operational purposes.

Such Soviet military aid has, of course, both medium, and long-range objectives. It is significant, the book states, the "Soviet access to forward bases in the Middle East, or the permission to use such bases, would enable the U.S.S.R. to threaten Western interests in and near the area. The establishment of Soviet naval and air base rights in the Mediterranean and Red Sea littoral would be a first step toward inhibiting the use of the Mediterranean and toward disrupting military and oil transit between Europe and the Persian Gulf or the Far East."

These warning signals have been amply confirmed since this book went to press. The recent seizure of power in Libya by a revolutionary regime is a case in point. The United States has been forced out of the huge Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya, and our British allies in NATO have been forced out of Libyan naval bases.

It may be less than coincidence that these measures followed the appearance of Colonel Gaddafi, chairman of the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council, at a conference at the end of December 1969 with Egypt's President Nasser, Major General el Nimeiry, the Sudanese revolutionary leader, and certain other Arab leaders who, like President Nasser and General el Nimeiry, are very close to the Soviet Union.

Closer to our own shores was the visit to Cuba, at the end of November 1969, by a high-ranking Soviet military and naval delegation, headed by Soviet Minister of Defense Marshal Grechko.

The visit was followed by an article in the official newspaper of the Soviet armed forces, Red Star, on December 2, 1969, which stated that the U.S.S.R. was helping to supply Cuba with the newest weapons and military equipment." The Grechko visit also has been followed by articles in the British and American press that there is some possibility of the establishment of Soviet air or naval bases in Cuba.

Whatever the Cuban situation may lead to—perhaps a new confrontation such as that of October 1962—it would appear that in the field of military aid the Soviet Union is pushing ahead with all speed and that the United States is lagging. As the authors of "Arms for the Third World" cogently state:

"The one point which stands out is that the Soviet Union for many years has been expanding its military-aid programs to the Third World, whereas the United States in 1967-1969 entered a period of military-aid retrenchment in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East that will give the Soviet government more leeway for maneuver."

The increasing magnitude of Soviet mili-

tary assistance to other countries is linked with something even more portentous for America's national security as we move into the 1970's. This is the rapid growth of Soviet strategic strike capabilities and the fact that the Soviet economy is supporting both the military-aid program and the strategic arms build-up.

Richard Foster, an authority on Soviet strategic arms and director of the Stanford Research Institute's Washington Strategic Studies Center, stated in February that the Soviet Union was spending twice as much as the U.S. on nuclear weaponry. He pointed out that the Soviets were spending \$18 billion for offensive and defensive strategic systems (the Soviet ABM system is, of course, strategic) in 1970 and that this would rise to \$28,960,000,000 by 1974.

These figures must cause all concerned Americans to question whether we are spending enough for defense to ensure our national survival. This is especially so in view of the February 20, 1970, posture statement of Secretary of Defense Laird. Said the Secretary:

"The continuing rapid expansion of Soviet strategic offensive forces must be a matter of serious concern to all of us. For some time, the offensive forces becoming operational in a given year have often exceeded the previous projections for that year. The projections for ICBM and SLBM strengths for mid-1970 and mid-1971 have been revised upward in each of the past 5 years as additional information on Soviet deployment became available.

"For example, the current estimates of total operational Soviet ICBM and SLBM launchers expected by mid-1970, when compared with the projections for mid-1970 made last year, show an increase of well over 100 launchers. The same basic trend is evident in the projections for 1971." (Emphasis supplied.)

Secretary Laird went on to state that not only had the Soviet Union now forged ahead of the United States in ICBM launchers but that "we believe that they are now building a ballistic missile submarine force which will be roughly comparable in numbers to our present Polaris fleet.

"Construction of the new Y-class nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarine with 16 tubes continues. We estimate that several of these class were operational as of 1 September 1969, and several more by 1 February 1970. This submarine is in production at the large Severodvinsk facility near Arkhangelsk and at another smaller yard. These two facilities can accommodate a total of twelve complete hulls."

When, therefore, the growth rate—always the key factor in considering which country is gaining power or falling behind—of Soviet strategic strike capabilities is accompanied by increasing Soviet military-aid capabilities for mischief-making in many parts of the world, it would appear that the Soviet Union is devoting an even higher percentage of its gross national product to armaments than the most pessimistic Western observers had believed.

Yet, because Soviet propagandists concentrate on the theme of disarmament—and this is often avidly reported in the Western mass media—most American citizens do not appear to be aware of the rising Soviet threat.

Despite Soviet verbosity about their good intentions—as at the SALT talks and at the UN—the hard fact is that their capabilities for all contingencies, including a nuclear first strike, are moving ahead at full speed.

The committee on which this writer served which prepared the study, "The ABM and the Changed Strategic Military Balance," warned:

"Effective damage limiting requires a counterforce posture, and this in turn includes not only the ability to destroy enemy forces before they are launched but also to destroy them en route. A good ABM system

is part of a counterforce posture. So are missiles and warheads accurate enough to target enemy ICBM sites. . . .

"If and when all of these goals are achieved, an inevitable by-product is a good first-strike capability. The two are indivisible from a capability point of view—though not necessarily from the point of view of intentions."

In view of the rising Soviet threat (and a Chinese Communist threat in a later time phase), the following courses of action would appear to be prudent:

1. Faster and more extensive deployment of the ABM system in the United States.

2. Deployment of a sea-based ABM system to provide for mid-course interception of a missile attack aimed at the American homeland. This would further stabilize the pressure posture of deterrence by placing additional constraints on the plans of any opponent to strike first.

3. Pushing forward vigorously on the new B-1 long-range bomber concept with a new generation of stand-off missiles and advanced counter-measures to degrade the defensive capabilities on any opponent.

A vocal minority can be counted on to oppose such defense measures. But the record of past American history strongly suggests that the vast majority of the American people are dedicated to their country.

If there is effective communication between our leadership and the American people, there is little doubt but that the American public would accept a few cents from each dollar in the form of increased excise taxes, a small national sales tax, or similar measures which would be anti-inflationary.

This money also would provide the funding necessary for a system of defense that can only be described as realistic in the context of the present Soviet and Chinese Communist strategic strike build-up.

#### WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE HITS ANTIBUSINESS EFFORT

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the Friday, May 21, edition of the Wall Street Journal, Mr. Jeffrey St. John put forth a plea to American business to return the fire that antibusiness forces are aiming at the enterprise system. In the name of "the people" these individuals call for more and more national control. One commentator called Ralph Nader a "pop-consumerist" because his chief goal seems to be notoriety and his arguments are intellectually hollow though eminently quotable. Certainly, if this type of attack is allowed to succeed against our productive capacity, it will not be the businessman who will be the only loser, but the consumer himself.

For the reference of the Members of the House, I include the article in my remarks at this time:

MEMO TO GM: WHY NOT FIGHT BACK?

(By Jeffrey St. John)

"American business, from the perspective of the world, is plainly in trouble," observed General Motors Chairman James M. Roche in a Chicago speech on March 25. ". . . when free enterprise needs support, it finds itself the target of much irresponsible criticism that causes disunity in our society."

Does GM or free enterprise deserve support? What has the world's largest and most

successful enterprise done over the last decade to communicate a consistent and intelligent understanding of its enterprising function? General Motors, like American business in general, is "plainly in trouble" because intellectual bromides have been a substitute for a sound intellectual exposition of its point of view.

Such issues as "a business philosophy" are not likely to arise at GM's annual meeting today. A majority of GM's 1.3 million shareholders doubtless were pleased at Mr. Roche's tough speech in March, but the auto giant's shareholders and the millions of Americans who own stock in a multitude of American business enterprises should demand more than higher dividends and tough speeches. In their own self-interest they should demand from management the formulation of a philosophy that communicates the meaning and value of a free American business civilization. For as GM's growing troubles with government and radical groups illustrate, the lack of such a strong business philosophy is jeopardizing operations. It is also raising serious questions whether American enterprise is slowly being transformed, approaching the point where it is run by everyone except business management.

Giants like GM have faced their growing gaggle of critics intellectually and philosophically disarmed. For example, after last year's annual meeting, Ralph Nader's "Campaign GM" gained important concessions when management agreed to appoint a black director, a board level committee on public responsibility and a group of scientists to provide environmental advice. Not surprisingly, "Campaign GM II" is back this year with more demands based on nothing more than its command of the media's attention and GM's confusion. "We leave this meeting," Chairman Roche said last year, "more determined to fulfill our social responsibility and more committed to our efforts to obtain a fuller understanding of all we are accomplishing." Such utterances reflect the fallacious view many businessmen take toward their critics. College administrators learned too late that such appeasements served to destroy free speech, academic freedom and genuine scholarship. One campus radical demand was conceded by university heads only to be followed by a fresh crop, which soon escalated to what amounted to a demand for outright surrender.

#### ADVOCATES OF FACISM

Mr. Nader and "Campaign GM" couldn't care less about GM's past record of "achievement" and current acceptance of "social responsibility." In reality what Mr. Nader and his allies advocate is facism, although it is doubtful that he—or GM's management—recognizes it as such. An example is a Campaign GM II proposal that calls for constituent directors to be elected representing consumers, dealers and workers. "Only one instance in modern political history is suggested by the constituent director proposal," observed Professor Henry G. Manne, the Kenan Professor of Law and Political Science at the University of Rochester. "That was Mussolini's fascist state, in which various social and economic interests in society were represented in the higher echelons of government. I have never heard that scheme called democratic. . . ." Facism, unlike socialism, leaves the industrial system in private hands, while the state regulates and tightly controls what will be produced and how Mr. Nader's insistence that government's regulatory powers be made stronger and more severe is a further step in that direction.

Moreover, Mr. Nader makes much of the point that business doesn't really believe in competitive free enterprise and that it no longer exists in America. His proposals and those of his allies and followers do nothing toward restoration of a free market system,

progressively undermined since the New Deal by growing government controls and regulations. What Mr. Nader seems to want is to go radically beyond the New Deal.

It is astonishing that the Nader group could produce so devastating an indictment of government failure as the one on the Federal Trade Commission, but still advance a series of assumptions and ideas about government control of the auto industry that are similar to those leading to the failure of the FTC. Mr. Nader's clash with GM over auto safety, widened later into a general assault on corporations, rested on the naive, or deliberate, misrepresentation that federal edicts are the avenue to building better and safer automobiles.

It is revealing that Mr. Nader has not only avoided an open debate of the proposals he advances, but that he fudged the pointed question put to him in his recent clash with Sen. Ted Stevens (R., Alaska). The Senator insisted that if, as Mr. Nader charges, criminality in auto design and construction is rampant, why do he and his allies not seek indictments before a federal or state grand jury? Mr. Nader replied that no district attorney had the courage to deliver up such an indictment. But our constitutional system, unlike totalitarian states, provides the means for an advocacy proceeding equitable to all parties in which each is required to present his case with facts. As a lawyer Mr. Nader must know this. Yet he has chosen the government legislative and regulatory route, strewn with the wreckage of repeated failures and abuses as particularized and identified by Mr. Nader himself.

#### SHARPENING INTELLECTUAL TOOLS

Only a consistent, philosophical understanding of the enterprise function can provide management the intellectual means to make sound judgments about what is actually being proposed by its critics. GM and other American businesses talk a good game about free enterprise, but they apparently have little interest in its intellectual, philosophical and historical roots. Since most business critics are essentially intellectuals and academics, it is little wonder that giants like GM are unable to explain how their products and profits make for more "social responsibility" than all the bromides and government control they have adopted or accepted from their enemies.

Some executives like Mr. Roche assumed, until recently, that business critics were well meaning but perhaps misguided. This intellectual dodge is compounded when corporate public relations heads urge the line of least resistance. Such a shallow approach can be suicidal in a real corporate crisis such as that which struck GM in 1966 over auto safety. "GM's remarkable commercial expertise," wrote Dan Cordtz in *Fortune* magazine at the time, "was of little assistance when confronted with a challenge whose nature was political and sociological."

When GM finally decided to take the offensive, evidenced by Mr. Roche's tough speech in Chicago, it concentrated on symptoms, not on causes. "The climate of criticism," Mr. Roche rightfully observed, "has dulled the reputation of business. We read and hear very little that is good about business." Did Mr. Roche understand the implication of such a confession? Apparently not; yet something is profoundly rotten with a system of public relations and trade associations that can spend millions of dollars and, in the end, have the chairman of the world's largest successful enterprise confess that "we read and hear little that is good about business."

Business' massive failure to get its story told credibly is the direct result of a failure to embrace a consistent perspective, which is basic to effective persuasion.

Few in top management seem to grasp the gravity of the current crisis, nor do their

well-paid public relations advisers. There are a few exceptions. The former communications director of Ashland Oil & Refining Co., Otto J. Scott, now a private consultant, contends that a business civilization is doomed if it is unable to consistently and intellectually explain its function and how historically a business civilization is the foundation of a free society. "Such a civilization is in trouble," Mr. Scott states, "because what men do not believe they understand, they will not justify. What they cannot justify, they will not defend. And what they will not defend, they cannot maintain."

#### TOUGH DECISIONS NEEDED

GM Chairman Roche acknowledges that "free enterprise has come to a crisis—a crisis in the sense of a time for decision. Tough decisions must be made by all of us, and soon."

Perhaps the place to begin is at GM. Such decisions, however, must be made within a philosophical perspective that offers the honest profit incentive as a normal alternative to plunder by force or fraud. A philosophy that explains that profit is the product of men's minds and their creative achievement that has helped make a multitude of larger ends possible. A philosophy that helps explain that the American business civilization is the product of three consecutive revolutions over the last 200 years. The first was the American Revolution of 1776 which, besides being a revolution for individual freedom and retention of political rights, was a powerful blow for free trade and a break with crown mercantilism that was bottomed on human slavery. It was the American Revolution that provided the climate of freedom that laid the foundation for the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century, which would have ultimately banished human slavery if the Civil War had not done so. The human geniuses of the 19th century produced a multitude of mechanical invention that made human slavery impractical economically, and laid the foundation for what we now call today's Technological Revolution.

The three revolutions of the last 200 years is a compelling story that has as its foundation the liberty of the intellect and a free social and political landscape that allowed that intellect free rein to flourish. In the last 50 or so years that landscape has grown progressively smaller under the philosophy of coercion, or of government control, that is forever at war with the creative minds of free man.

The American business civilization will not find its salvation by adopting the philosophy of critics who hold coercion to be their first commandment. It will find its salvation rooted in the philosophy it has abandoned: freedom in the competitive market of both ideas and goods.

#### HEROICS IN WORLD WAR II NOT CONFINED TO THOSE IN UNIFORM

### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 27, 1971

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will be celebrating Memorial Day, and pausing to remember those who have sacrificed so much to keep our Nation free.

It is customary, on such occasions, to recall the heroic deeds of soldiers, sailors, airmen or marines. There have been thousands about whom stirring tales of valor can be told.

But I direct the attention of the House

today to one who, during World War II, was not a member of the military. He was a civil servant on Guam in 1941, when the island was occupied by the Japanese. For 2½ years following the occupation, this brave young man struggled in every way he knew against the enemy—operating a clandestine radio station, publishing a crude underground newspaper, even leading the local people in singing "God Bless America."

A quarter century ago, Louis Furtado found himself stranded in enemy-occupied territory, and served his country the best way he knew how, which turned out to be most extraordinary, indeed.

In anticipation of Memorial Day 1971, a day to remember our debts not only to the dead but to the living who made great sacrifices for us in the name of freedom I include for my colleagues and other RECORD readers the text of two newspaper articles published in 1944, when Louis Furtado escaped from Guam and made his way home to Hawaii. Louis Furtado deserves to be decorated with medals, but more so we owe him a debt of gratitude.

The articles follow:

FORMER "SAINTS" ATHLETE IS ALIVE AND WELL;  
LOUIS FURTADO BREAKS 3-YEAR SILENCE—  
GUAM NAVY EMPLOYEE PRISONER SINCE  
1941—FAMILY REJOICES; LOOKS TO REUNION

Louis Furtado, Kalihi-born athlete, is "alive and in fair shape" on Guam after spending two years and eight months on the island while it was held by the Japanese.

First news from the 34-year-old Honolulu man, a civilian employe of the navy, since Guam fell to the enemy in December, 1941, came yesterday in a letter to his four children, two boys and two girls who have been living here with relatives.

#### BREAKS LONG SILENCE

The letter, dated August 17, follows:

"My Dear Children: Yes, daddy's still alive and in fair shape. After spending the past month in the woods of Guam I was picked up by the Marines.

"I have not heard from any of you for three years. It was 'Agony Plus' living under the Japs. I am trying my darndest to get transportation home so take it easy and we'll all be together soon.

"In the meantime, write me % Civil Affairs, Guam. I am camp director working under a navy officer. My men scour the island for Jap material, such as guns, trucks, food (rice), bikes, and also live Japs. In my position I may still be 'blown to bits' as there are still a few Japs in the hills. But the island is almost secure and maybe, I'll be seein' you soon. Your Dad."

#### OVER THREE YEARS

Mr. Furtado went to Guam in July, 1941, to become chief clerk at the naval air station on that island. He had been employed at Pearl Harbor for seven years as an accountant prior to that time.

Members of his family here had practically given up hope of ever seeing him alive again after the fall of Guam to the Japanese, and there was great rejoicing yesterday when news came that he is still alive and well.

William Furtado, former police lieutenant now operating Jerry's Place next to the Kalihl Theater, and a candidate for the house of representatives from the fifth district, was so elated that he forthwith ordered a thousand dollar war bond to celebrate the good news.

It was recalled that after the fall of Guam Mr. Furtado's father, Joseph Furtado, retired chief inspector of the Oahu Railway and Land Company, purchased \$15,000 in war bonds. Since then he has made several other large bond purchases to help the war effort.

## TWO IN SERVICES

Mr. Furtado's son Stanley became 17 years of age three months ago and observed the occasion by joining the Navy. A brother, Frank, volunteered for the Army in December, 1941 and is now on active duty somewhere in the South Pacific. Two other brothers, Manuel and John Furtado, hold important positions on the waterfront with Castle and Cooke, Ltd.

Mr. Furtado, known to his friends as Louie, attended Kailiwaena School and is a graduate of Saint Louis College. He was noted for his playing on the Kaili football team in the "barefoot league" and captained this organization for several seasons. He has also been keenly interested in other sports.

His brother, William, said last night that "there'll be celebrating when Louie comes home."

"We hardly hoped to see Louie alive again," he said. "This has been a wonderful day for dad and the entire family."

In addition to his son Stanley, Mr. Furtado's children are Mildred, 15, Louis, Jr., 12, and Marian, 13. He also has five sisters residing here, Mrs. Alexandria Almelda, Mrs. Mary Enos, Mrs. Rose Denis, Mrs. Irene Amaral and Mrs. Adele Bortfield.

## PRESUMABLY ESCAPED

It is presumed that Mr. Furtado was held in a prison camp on Guam by the Japanese and escaped to the hills a month ago, hiding out there until rescued by the Marines. However, details of his experiences on Guam will be told when he returns to Honolulu, and his father, children, brothers and sisters all hope that his return will be soon.

**GIVEN UP FOR LOST, LOUIS FURTADO RETURNS FROM GUAM IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH THREAT—CAUGHT WHEN ISLE FELL, LOCAL MAN ESCAPED Foe—CHILDREN THRILLED BY FATHER'S SOUVENIR BAG**

(By Dorothy Benyas)

To a native son, Louis Furtado, Honolulu yesterday looked like paradise regained after it had been lost four years. He was a civil service employe of the U.S. Navy, a chief clerk, on Guam when it fell to enemy invaders on Dec. 11, 1941.

Surrounded by two of his four children, his father, brothers, numerous other relatives who hung on every word and filled their eyes with the sight of their "Louey" home again, he gave a stark account of events from the day he was transferred from Pearl Harbor, July 24, 1941, his 32nd birthday, to October 5, 1944.

"I had been detailed with a group of native navy men to unload gasoline and we were busy unloading when the Japs came at us from two directions," Louis began. "We were caught between two fires, with no chance of getting back to the government house. I saw to it that all the natives got home safe on their farms. That took two days. Then I surrendered. The Japs put up posters in Chamorro, saying all citizens of Hawaii and the Philippines would be set free, and Japan had captured both places, which made them alien citizens of the empire.

"The Menselsho, officers of civil affairs, also told me this. I was the only boy from Hawaii. One other citizen from Hawaii was Mrs. A. L. Cruz who had married a Chamorro. I was always under suspicion because I sang God Bless America. Speaking or singing English was strictly tabu. I got slapped many times for not speaking Japanese."

## GUAM PIED PIPER

He soon became the Pied Piper of Guam by herding native youngsters together and leading the singing of his favorite tune, God Bless America, which they knew by heart already, Louis said. "When the Japs came after me for that crime, I was gone," he chuckled. "The words made them mad. But they had music too. Once I heard 'Alekoki' on a recording with Jap words. What brought me real pillkia was a radio, I'd borrowed. Radios were absolutely forbidden everybody. A Spanish priest, educated in the Philippines who was just swell to me, got his head cut off for tuning up his radio and being an American sympathizer. Boy, that nearly beat me.

"Right afterwards, I saw a wholesale murder of American sympathizers. One native who befriended me got his 'neck cut,' as they called it, for having a gun. Then his whole family was lined up to take the same punishment for not turning it in. They never found the gun, anyway. The prisoners weren't eating at all by then, there was no chow for them, so they were ordered home and told they'd be sent for later. Then the Japs found out I was operating a radio and ordered me back in. That's when I did a wrong-way Corrigan. I couldn't get along very well without my neck."

Before his wrong-way takeoff, Louis had enjoyed partial freedom, farming a borrowed piece of property. "Hospitality on Guam works overtime," he explained his good fortune there. "I had a swell place with chickens and pigs and such. I had to kill them for my chow when I ducked into the woods. I kept under cover in the north end of the

island. When my chow was all gone I ate wild breadfruit, wild berries and sucked drinking water from the ground. It rained every night, lucky for me.

"Came the day our planes flew over. They were firing all around me. I ran from my hideout, waving my ragged shirt. I was sure they would land somewhere near but American forces had been on the island three weeks before I knew it. I'd heard a shout and some cuss words about a truck in our own lingo. I thought, 'Jeez, that's American talk! Was it a swell feeling! Then Marines picked me up and next thing I was putting away some good chow, pork and beans, real coffee. First time in I'd forgotten how long!'"

## BAG OF SOUVENIRS

Almost beside himself with relief and anticipation of his homecoming, Louis then traded his ragged clothes for Marine Corps handouts. Nothing remained of his possessions but the borrowed clothes he stood in yesterday. However, the bag of souvenirs he had lugged home held his overjoyed family spellbound; an elaborately marked towel of an enemy officer, a ——— with 'banzai!' lettered on besides a blanket and wads of occupation money. Marian 14, and Louis, Jr., 12, were on deck for the family reunion but Mildred, 10, another daughter who was in school, and Stanley, 18, who is on Navy duty, were missing. His father, Joseph Furtado, two brothers, Manuel and William, helped make the day red-lettered for Louis.

His first concern was over voting for his brother William, a candidate for the House of Representatives from the 5th District, and finding Frank, the kid brother who volunteered December, 1941, and is now an Army private somewhere in the Pacific. When one of the admiring circle around him suggested rather than ordered him to do something, Louis cracked "Pipe that and me a civilian!" But he admitted it wouldn't be for long. As soon as he catches his breath, he wants to join the Army and fight beside Frank.

## FOOLED LABOR BOSSES

"It was a tough four years but I can joke about it now," he smiled. "My luck held except once." A long, three-pronged scar on his left under arm will always remind him of the day he was caught "in town" and ordered to report for work on an airfield. The only way he could avoid that and still keep his head fastened on his neck was to have scalding water showered over him. Severe burns on his head, shoulders and arms healed at last with no trace of scar tissue except on his left arm."

## SENATE—Tuesday, June 1, 1971

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The Reverend Dr. Thomas A. Stone, associate pastor, National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Great God, we stand before Thee at a particular place in the vast reaches of Thy space and at a particular time on the vast plane of Thine eternity. We thank Thee for the purposes of Thy creation still guiding us toward the goals at the end of time. With them in mind we pray for the brotherhood of all mankind under Thy Godhead and Fatherhood. We pray for the Spirit that will give us of Thy kingdom, for comfort for our mourning, for an inheritance with our meek-

ness, for a righteousness to satisfy hunger, and for a mercifulness and a purity of heart to make us peacemakers and Thy children. Thus may we in our strength be ready to stand for right and fight for truth while we love peace in our hearts and minds.

On occasions we have broken Thine eternity into measures of man's time—years, weeks, hours—that we could waste and squander. Let us in this present feel the moment of our time as a part of all time, our action as that for every citizen of our country as under God marching toward the coming Kingdom, and our emotions identified with Thy ministering love and compassion.

And so give us of Thy spirit that this may be truly Thy day and we may be

Thy people. May Thy blessing rest on the Members of this body and the work done here this day—as for this we pray. Amen.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.