

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SUSAN PETERSEN: NEBRASKA RURAL ELECTRIC YOUTH ESSAY WINNER

HON. JOHN Y. McCOLLISTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. McCOLLISTER. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to share with my colleagues the essay written by Susan Petersen, a sophomore at St. Paul Public School in St. Paul, Nebr.

Susan's essay, "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community," was selected as the winning essay by the Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District of St. Paul, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.

Mr. and Mrs. Harland Petersen, of St. Paul, can certainly be proud of their daughter, Susan. Her essay follows:

WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

What does electricity mean to a teenage farm girl? Why, of course, it means listening to her electric radio and watching television while she does her homework for the next school day. It also means having plenty of hot water for washing her hair and taking her bubble bath every night.

I have lived on a farm all my life and I have never realized the importance of electricity up until the past few years. When I don't feel like working in the kitchen, my mother reminds me of what it was like when she began living on this farm. She had to pump water by hand from a little pump in the corner of the kitchen and heat it on the stove. Within a year, all she had to do was turn on the faucet and presto—"all the hot water she needed," thanks to the modern plumbing and electric water heater Daddy installed. This also meant that she had a modern bathroom, instead of making that trip to the little building in the back yard.

A few years ago, we completely remodeled our kitchen. We now have an electric range taking the place of our gas range. Above it is an electric exhaust fan, which surely beats opening the windows to remove unpleasant food odors. A dishwasher, the latest addition to our kitchen, has made it much easier to clean up after a big meal.

The REA has made it much easier for the housewife to keep up with the washing with modern electric washers, dryers, and irons. It is especially nice to have an electric dryer when your clothes line is located only a short distance from your hog yard!

Sewing has become an important hobby with me. I can sew anything from a jumpsuit to a Sunday dress with the convenience of my electric sewing machine. I can't imagine how I could get along without it.

The house isn't the only thing that has had many changes since the REA began. My father tells of the time when he had to pitch hay to his cattle and get silage from his silo with a bushel basket. A few years ago he put up two large storage bins and, thanks to the REA, has augers which remove the feed from the bins. The augers transfer the feed to a feeder wagon. He also tells of chopping ice from the water tanks. Now electric tank heaters take care of that chore.

My father was one of the first in the neighborhood to install a mercury yard light. He put it between two large pens of cattle, and he feels they are much more content. Of course, these cattle are fenced in with an electric fence.

Dad realized how much he depends on electricity and last year he bought a stand-by power unit. Our service is so good, that he hasn't had a chance to use it.

When the Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District was organized in 1938, only about seven percent of the farm people in this area had electric service. Today 98 percent of the farmers have it. After listening to my father's stories of the farm when he was a boy, and looking around our farm today, I realize how lucky I am. Most of our neighbors have made similar improvements and no one in our community could get along without REA.

NEW TOWNS AS A SOLUTION TO URBAN GROWTH PROBLEMS

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am becoming increasingly concerned about the need to halt the haphazard spread of the American megalopolis. As I suggested on April 27, while inserting an article entitled "Solving Our Urban Problems With New Towns" by David Rockefeller, we must develop a more careful and orderly approach to planning for both population growth and industrial expansion.

Our Federal programs have too often spawned urban sprawl, rather than national growth. We have piled them on top of each other in patchwork fashion, often without considering the relationship of one program to another. We are gradually awakening, however, to the need for a comprehensive national strategy for growth. There are certain steps which I believe we can now take to encourage balanced industrial growth throughout the Nation.

I am pleased to introduce a bill to amend section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, to increase the small issue exemption from the industrial development bond provision from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000. This bill is identical to House Resolution 4752, introduced by Congressman SHRIVER on February 22, and to S. 1644, introduced by Senator DOLE on April 23. Similar legislation has also been introduced by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. MILLS, and by Congressman THONE.

For some 30 years, municipalities have had the authority to issue tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds to stimulate industrial growth and to increase the number of available jobs. Until about 3 years ago, there was no limit on the amount of these bonds which could be issued by a single municipality. Because some cities abused this privilege by issuing as much as \$100 million or more of these bonds, the Johnson administration, in 1968, proposed setting a limit of \$1 million on this issuing authority. This small issue exemption was raised to \$5 million, largely due to the efforts of members of my own party.

While I support the need for some limitation, I feel that the \$5 million authorization is too great a restriction on our efforts to encourage industrial expansion in the many rural and urban communities of America which are in need of assistance. President Nixon, in his recent message to Congress on rural community development, stated:

For the sake of balanced growth, therefore, but even more for the sake of the farmer and all his neighbors in rural America—first class citizens who deserve to live in first class communities—I am proposing that the federal government re-think America's rural development needs and rededicate itself to providing the resources and the creative leadership those needs demand.

Increasing the level of tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds would be an effective means of generating employment and raising income levels in rural areas, and would help to retard the emigration rate from these areas. My own district in Illinois, which has been hardhit by unemployment, and cities and towns all across America faced with this same problem, would benefit greatly from an expanded industrial development effort such as this bill would allow.

Mr. Speaker, if we are truly serious in our intent to reverse the trend of out-migration from rural areas and to encourage industrial expansion throughout our land, we must make it more conducive for industry to locate in the more sparsely populated areas of our country. I therefore urge the Members of the Ways and Means Committee to seriously consider this legislation as a first of a series of steps to this end.

HEW REPLY TO U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE'S "HERE'S THE ISSUE" ON WELFARE REFORM

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in its April 23 edition of "Here's the Issue," endorses H.R. 6004, as an alternative to H.R. 1. The issue consists of an interview with the sponsor of H.R. 6004, our colleague, the Honorable AL ULLMAN, that contains many criticisms of the welfare reform provisions included in H.R. 1. In view of the wide circulation that the Chamber publication has received, I felt it would be helpful to have the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare prepare a point-by-point response of the criticisms advanced and an including the Department's response at this point in the RECORD:

HEW REPLY TO U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE'S "HERE'S THE ISSUE" ON WELFARE REFORM

In the April 23 issue of "Here's the Issue," the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. endorses the welfare reform proposal embodied in H.R. 6004 sponsored by Rep. Al Ullman. In an accompanying interview, Con-

gressman Ullman levels a number of criticisms at the welfare reform provisions contained in H.R. 1, which the Administration supports. Before addressing these criticisms one-by-one, we present below our general criticisms of Congressman Ullman's "REACH" proposal:

The proposal is basically a manpower-child care program for all persons now on AFDC who are deemed employable. In a sense, it is just a larger WIN program, except that training allowances (not varied by family size) would substitute for the AFDC and \$30 incentive payment.

The proposal—

1. Does not create a minimum allowance, and therefore leaves in being the wide disparities in payment levels that are inequitable and have contributed to welfare migration. (He does have a maximum however.)

2. Does not establish uniform eligibility standards for welfare benefits. (Those not employable stay under the AFDC program.)

3. Does not reform the administration of AFDC, but leaves it clumsily sprawled across every level of government.

4. Does not recognize that need varies with family size, and therefore has a training allowance structure for the employables that is a windfall for the small family and an extreme hardship for a large family.

5. It is left unclear what happens to a person who is determined to be employable but for whom training or a job is not presently available. *It looks as if they do not receive any financial assistance.*

6. The program is punitive in that after 4 years, all mothers would have to work, including those with infants. The child care cost would be prohibitive.

7. Cuts off the *whole family* when work or training is refused.

Following are the 11 criticisms:

CRITICISM

1. Rep. Ullman says the welfare system is a mess but the Family Assistance Plan is not a welfare reform program that will get us out of the mess.

RESPONSE

Hardly anyone disagrees that the current welfare system is a mess which requires drastic measures to reform it. Diligent work has been going on for over two years both in the Executive Branch and in Congress to refine and improve the Administration's welfare reform proposals, which have already passed the House of Representatives once—April 16, 1970. The basic features of the plan—uniform national eligibility requirements, a Federal basic payment level, strong work requirements and incentives, and increased Federal administration—add up to an overall, basic, drastic restructuring of the present welfare system, replacing it with a system designed to support people who are unable to support themselves and to help others to become self-supporting.

CRITICISM

2. Representative Ullman says that the Family Assistance Plan increases costs and caseloads just as the present system does and that a Family Assistance system will be easy to get into and hard to get out of.

RESPONSE

The best way to get people off welfare and into jobs is obviously to get them jobs and train and encourage them to work. In order to encourage work, the Administration's welfare reform plan would permit recipients to work and keep a part of their earnings. It would also allow a male-headed family in which the father works full-time to receive supplemental assistance, if his income is small enough, so he won't desert his family in order to make them eligible for assistance greater than his earnings, which is what happens under the present system. It is true that because of the damage done by the

present system, it will require some additional investment to reverse the trend of growing dependency but as fewer families are broken up to go on welfare, and more people return to work, long-run welfare costs will be reduced. As for being easy to get on, the new welfare system would be very tightly administered, following the successful methods used in social security programs, and it will be easy, rather than hard, to get off because of the work incentives in the program. The Administration's whole reform program is based on the fundamental principle of encouraging a return to work.

CRITICISM

3. Rep. Ullman charges that FAP includes a "guaranteed annual" income for the working poor which adds to the welfare problem rather than reforming it.

RESPONSE

The Administration has not at any time advocated a guaranteed annual income and its welfare reform proposals do not include this concept. To be eligible to receive assistance under the new programs, applicants would be required to register for work training and placement, and would be required to accept training and jobs or required to accept vocational rehabilitation if appropriate. In other words, anyone who is able to work but refuses to do so would be guaranteed exactly *nothing*. The so-called working poor are not guaranteed anything either. Many working poor families would become eligible for the program, but many who are eligible are likely not to apply, thus the estimate of 12-15 million additional people is certain to be high. It should be kept in mind that most working poor families will receive only an income supplement, not a full assistance payment, and that many such families' payments will be very small.

CRITICISM

4. Rep. Ullman suggests that welfare reform has to start by separating employables from unemployables and affording different treatment to each group, especially providing "work, training, child care, and any other service needed."

RESPONSE

The Administration could not agree more with this point and in fact this idea is basic in its welfare reform plan. The current welfare reform bill would separate families with as few as one employable member into a program separate from that for families with no employable members. The program for families with unemployable members would principally be administered by the Labor Department so that the main emphasis will be on job training, employment services, and job placement. Job training will be expanded, including public service jobs program—to provide on-the-job training in useful work when not enough regular jobs are available; child care will be expanded to enable parents to work; and the Labor Department will upgrade employment services provided to assistance beneficiaries.

CRITICISM

5. Rep. Ullman states that under his bill the Labor Department decides who is "employable" and "unemployable."

RESPONSE

The Administration's plan (and the current bill) provides that HEW and Labor will jointly develop regulations for operating the new welfare system. Under jointly developed regulations, local Federal offices would determine who must register for employment training services, and placement, in accordance with the law, which provides very specific and limited exemptions (basically the aged, children, disabled persons, and mothers of small children). The registration will be with the Labor Department which will then decide who is ready for immediate job placement and who needs training or other serv-

ices. There is very little basic difference between this approach and Rep. Ullman's.

CRITICISM

7. Rep. Ullman proposes a Federal Child Care Corporation to provide adequate child care capacity to enable AFDC mothers to work.

RESPONSE

Based on a careful study of the problem, the Administration is convinced that child care capacity cannot be expanded simply by Federal edict or just by setting up a new Federal agency or "corporation." In order to assure that a quality level is maintained so that child care would not be destructive and create more problems than it solves, national child care capacity will be expanded rapidly, but carefully. Since children, whether they be from welfare or wealthy families, are the nation's most valuable and most complex resource, the nation must assure that we have not only a great quantity of child care but also assure quality in child care. This cannot be created overnight.

CRITICISM

8. Rep. Ullman's bill includes the REACH program to give welfare recipients priority on rehabilitation, employment assistance, and child care and to increase Federal funding for such purposes.

RESPONSE

The Administration's plans call for approaches very similar to the REACH concept.

CRITICISM

9. Rep. Ullman's bill would provide a 20% tax credit to private employees who hire people from the REACH program.

RESPONSE

There is some question about whether an adequate number of jobs would be forthcoming since employers would have to pay 80% of wages. The Administration plans call for public service employment under which local governments or non-profit enterprises would hire assistance recipients at 100% Federal expense for the person's first year, 75% the second, and 50% the third. Although the Administration agrees that private employers should help share the social burden of putting welfare recipients to work, we prefer to put the recipients through a public training and work experience program first so that businesses will hire workers ready to become fully productive soon after placement. The REACH public service job program is very similar to that the Administration has proposed, but the Administration would go to the public sector first in order to develop employability and productivity for regular competitive jobs.

CRITICISM

10. Rep. Ullman claims that his program will help the working poor more than FAP through free child care, work expenses allowances, and cash instead of food stamps.

RESPONSE

Child care under Administration proposals would be priced according to ability to pay. In many cases, assistance recipients will pay nothing or very small amounts for child care. The work expense allowance and food stamp payments would in practice amount to almost the same net benefit to families as the benefit payment schedule under the Administration's welfare reform system. The net effects of the two approaches are quite similar.

CRITICISM

11. Rep. Ullman charges that FAP takes people out of the economy, is impossible to administer, and provides inadequate authority to set up enough child care or job training services.

RESPONSE

It is simply untrue that FAP takes people "out of the economy" by guaranteeing

assistance. If applicants or recipients don't comply with registration, training, rehabilitation, or work requirements, their benefits are cut off. Any welfare system will be difficult to administer because of its size and complexity—REACH would be difficult to administer also, and would leave a great deal of administrative work with the States who are having difficulties with the system as it is. The Administration's plan is to shift more of the administrative burden to the Federal Government which is better equipped to handle the massiveness and complexities of the welfare system (witness its handling of internal revenue and social security systems).

Welfare reform under the Administration's proposals will definitely move people into jobs both by requirements and by incentives; it will expand training and child care capacity as rapidly as possible; and will in the long run reduce dependency, reduce caseloads, reduce costs, and result in a system of income assistance which helps those who cannot help themselves and moves others back to productive self support.

RHODESIA SI; RED CHINA NO

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the foreign policy of the Kissinger-Nixon administration's new American revolution of favoring Communist nations while discriminating against free peoples is incredible and definitely not in the best interests of the United States nor of the free world.

To lift an embargo on trade with Red China which is still at war with the United States inasmuch as the Korean war has never been officially terminated, which regime today still holds an undetermined number of Americans as prisoners, and whose leaders according to documented reports murdered more than 20 million Chinese prior and subsequent to their seizure of mainland China; while continuing an embargo on trade with friendly, Christian Rhodesia which offered her sons to fight with us in Vietnam against the enemy supported by Red China is absolutely absurd. It is preposterous.

The wrath of the American people should descend upon Mr. Kissinger and President Nixon for their unconscionable anti-American action and upon this body for surrendering our constitutional power to the executive branch and exerting no initiative to recover this power in view of the anti-American trade policies being carried out by the present administration.

The U.S. Constitution specifically states in article I, section 8:

The Congress shall have Power . . . To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, . . .

It does not say the President nor the United Nations shall regulate commerce with foreign countries. The Congress regulates trade with foreign countries, while the executive branch is charged with seeing that the laws are faithfully executed.

It is my understanding that the authority for today's action by the White

House in lifting the embargo on trade with Red China is the extension of the Export Control Act of 1949 which grants to the President the authority to prohibit or curtail exports from the United States. The act authorizes such control for three purposes: National security, foreign policy, and shortage of supply.

This action must follow the State Department's foreign policy, because trading with the enemy which provides war materials to the troops fighting against our men in Vietnam cannot be in the interest of our national security nor because of shortage of supply.

The 47 categories of materials authorized for export to Red China by the White House announcement were referred to as nonstrategic. However, any military commander knows that it takes more than just guns and ammunition to logistically support an effective fighting force. An army must be fed, clothed, and receive medical care as well as to be armed. All materials are, therefore, strategic—some more so than others.

It is of interest to note that while locomotives are not listed as a nonstrategic item, they are an item the Government wants to look at a little more closely so they will only go to the Chinese mainland under special licensing procedure.

Those to be most harmed by the liberalized trade policy with Red China are our fighting men in Vietnam who are again being sold out by their Commander in Chief. And what about the American working people? Those to gain most will be the international producers, manufacturers, and traders. For example, will wheat sales benefit farmers or the large grain elevator companies such as Cargill, Louis Dreyfus, Bunge, Continental Grain, Burrus Mills, and Cook Industries?

On October 16, 1969, when this House was considering extending the Export Control Act, I made the following remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 115, part 22, page 30408, which I believe are most pertinent today:

After hearing the remarks on the floor and examining the existing law, I am in favor of letting it expire. The absence of any law would offer greater national security than this law.

The American people have been led to believe that this law restricts trading in strategic materials with Communist nations. It apparently does no such thing. What it does is conceal from the American people the names of those who are thus trading with the enemy under Government license. The tenor of the debate makes it plain that big industrialists and not small businessmen are the Americans so favored.

The American people know who the enemy is and reserve the right to regard and treat them as such. The Government should guarantee that they are, in fact, able to exercise this basic right—by publishing the names of firms who are doing business with Communist countries. If the people, then, wish to build any bridges they may do so voluntarily. But if the man and woman who has a son in Vietnam would prefer to see to it that none of their personal dollars go to a firm trafficking with their son's potential killers, they may. Perhaps, in this way, the Government will bring official policies into line with the expression of the national will.

If this law did what it was intended to do—restrict shipment of strategic material to Communist nations—I would certainly be in favor of its extension and its strict enforce-

ment. If we allow it to expire it is possible that a new law which will actually do what Americans thought this one was doing can be enacted.

It is amazing that most of the debate here today indicates this law is not being clandestinely manipulated to conceal the identity of the large business interests who deal with the enemy. Members have reported that licenses are refused to small businessmen to export items in the nature of brooms, milk, and cheese. But on the other hand, we find that the official export control report of the Department of Commerce tells of the licensed export of sophisticated industrial machinery including automatic piston machine, automatic crankshaft machine, and industrial furnaces, as well as cold-rolled carbon steel sheets, electronic computers, and scientific and electronic instruments and equipment made in the United States going behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Speaker, the Extension of the Export Control Act of 1949 expires on June 30 of this year. It is my considered judgment that changes are needed in our foreign trade laws and policies. We should shut off trade to nations which are supplying the enemy. This is only fair to our fighting men. If there is no enemy, then let us bring our men home. We should protect American industry—leather, textile, stone, glass, and clay, toy, electronics, rubber, beverage, shipbuilding, paper, and wood stoncutting, bookbinding, photoengraving watch, and jewelry, and many other American products from cheap foreign imports being dumped on the American market causing American industries to have to fold thereby adding millions to the roll of unemployed. What can our leaders feel will be the result of additional dumping of Red China imports on our market?

And in the warped judgment of our decisionmakers Rhodesia remains the only threat to world peace. The U.N. says so.

Today Red China, tomorrow resumption of trade with Castro in Cuba.

It is time the American people woke up as to who is running our country.

I insert at this point the White House news release of June 10, 1971, regarding the lifting of the trade embargo against Red China, several pertinent newsclippings, and articles:

THE WHITE HOUSE NEWS RELEASE

The President announced today the first broad steps in the termination of U.S. controls on a large list of non-strategic U.S. exports to the People's Republic of China. In the future, a range of U.S. products listed on the attached sheet may be freely sold to China under open general export licenses without the need to obtain Department of Commerce permission for each specific transaction.

The items to be released from trade controls have been recommended by the NSC Under Secretaries Committee chaired by the Department of State. They included: most farm, fish and forestry products; tobacco; fertilizers; coal; selected chemicals; rubber; textiles; certain metals; agricultural, industrial and office equipment; household appliances; electrical apparatus in general industrial or commercial use; certain electronic and communications equipment; certain automotive equipment and consumer goods.

The President has also decided to terminate the need to obtain Department of Commerce permission for the export of wheat, flour and other grains to China, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, suspending the

50% U.S. shipping requirements for those items.

Items not on the open general license list may be considered for specific licensing consistent with the requirements of U.S. national security. The Department of Commerce and other agencies will continue to review our export controls.

The President has also decided to permit all imports to enter from China under a general license, while retaining standby authority for future controls if necessary. Imports from the People's Republic of China will be subject to the tariff rates generally applicable to goods from most Communist countries. They will also be subject to the normal conditions governing our imports from all sources such as cotton textile controls and anti-dumping and countervailing duty legislation.

GENERAL LICENSE LIST FOR PEOPLE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Food and live animals, including grains. Beverages and tobacco. Hides and skins. Animal and vegetable oils and fats; oil seeds, nuts, and kernels, and flour and meal thereof. Crude natural rubber and certain synthetic rubbers. Wood, lumber, and cork. Pulp and waste paper. Most textile fibers. Manufactured fertilizers, except those closely related to explosives; crude fertilizers and crude minerals such as sulfur, iron pyrites, and natural asphalt. Crude animal and vegetable materials. Coal and coke, except gilsonite. Selected organic and inorganic chemicals, including certain defolliants, herbicides, pesticides and insecticides. Most dyeing, tanning and coloring materials, printing inks and paint. Medicinal and pharmaceutical products, with minimal exceptions. Essential oils and perfume materials; toilet and polishing preparations and cleansing preparations. Miscellaneous chemical materials and products in general use. Leather, leather manufactures and dressed fur skins. Rubber manufactures, except military type tires, aircraft tires and tubes and other specialized commodities. Wood and cork manufactures and paper and paperboard and manufactures thereof. Textile yarn, fabrics and related products, except used or reject or reject fabric bearing design of U.S. flag or commodities made of Strategic-type synthetics. Common metals, ferrous and nonferrous including steel, iron, tungsten, lead, zinc, tin, titanium, chromium, and manganese. Forms include ores, concentrates, nonferrous scrap, ingots, castings, bars, plate, shapes, wires and pipe. Metal manufactures such as septic tanks, gas cylinders, containers, cables, fencing. Certain agricultural and dairy machines, internal combustion engines, water turbines and engines, wheel tractors, and tillers and parts and accessories. Certain office machines such as typewriters, checkwriters, calculators, accounting machines, duplicators, and parts and accessories. Computers, certain low-grade analog and digital types. Manually operated metal polishing and buffing machines, and portable pipe bending machines, and parts; certain foundry equipment. Machinery for textile, pulp and paper, printing, food processing and glassworking industries. Certain construction and maintenance

equipment, such as road rollers, ditchers, trenchers, snow plows, plaster and concrete mixers, concrete and bituminous pavers, finishers, and spreaders, and parts and accessories.

Certain types of air conditioning and refrigerating equipment and compressors thereof; furnaces; furnace burners; stokers; bakery ovens; cooking and food warming equipment, and parts and accessories.

General purpose pumps, such as beverage, fuel, household water, service station, measuring and dispensing pumps for fuels.

Filters, purifiers, and softeners for water treatment, sewage disposal, and commercial and industrial engines, and parts.

Certain lifting, loading, and handling machines and equipment, such as industrial lift trucks and tractors, jacks, lifts, elevators and moving stairways, winches, and parts.

Weighing machines and scales, and automatic merchandising machines, and parts. Sprayers and dusters for agricultural, industrial or commercial uses, and parts.

General industrial types of metallic and nonmetallic manufactures, such as cement and fabricated building materials, valves and regulators, and measuring and checking instruments.

Certain types of general industrial and commercial machines and mechanical appliances, such as power operated nonelectric hand tools, machines for working wood, ceramics and stone; and packing, wrapping, filling, and sealing machines.

Electrical apparatus in general industrial or commercial use, such as generators, transformers, circuit breakers, storage batteries, telephone and telegraph equipment, test equipment, and hand tools.

Certain electronic tubes, resistors, capacitors, transistors, and other electronic parts. Home-type radio and television receivers, refrigerators, freezers, water heaters, washing machines, parts and accessories.

Medical and dental apparatus.

Automobiles and other road vehicles: passenger cars, rear axle drive; motor cycles, motor bikes and scooters; invalid carriages and certain trailers, and parts therefor.

Sanitary plumbing, and heating and lighting fixtures and fittings.

Consumer-type optical goods, certain laboratory instruments, surveying, and engineering instruments, certain photographic materials.

Watches, clocks, and parts. Recording and reproducing equipment for voice and music only, dictating machines, phonographs, record players, musical instruments, and parts.

Consumer goods such as furniture, clothing, footwear, works of art, jewelry, silverware, printed matter, children's goods, office supplies, sporting goods.

Coins, not gold and not legal tender.

[From the Washington Evening Star, June 10, 1971]

FORTY-SEVEN CATEGORIES OF U.S. GOODS OKAYED FOR EXPORT (By George Sherman)

President Nixon today ended the 21-year U.S. embargo on trade with Communist China. He announced a long list of non-strategic American exports, from grain to automobiles, now open to free trade with Peking.

The White House announcement set out 47 categories of goods which may now be sold to China under open general export licenses. That means the items do not need Department of Commerce permission for each single transaction.

The announcement characterized the President's move as "the first broad step in the termination of U.S. control on a long list of non-strategic U.S. exports to the People's Republic of China."

SHIPPING RULE SUSPENDED

The President also announced that the export of wheat, flour and other grains to China, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will no longer need special permission from the Commerce Department. He also suspended the current requirement that 80 percent of these grain shipments be carried in U.S. ships.

The White House action today follows an announcement by Nixon on April 14 that he intended to take practical steps to normalize relations with mainland China. White House sources say that the President himself went over the list, supplied by a task force from the State Department, Commerce Department, and Defense Department, item-by-item.

In general, the new list brings Communist China into line with general American trading policy toward the Soviet Union. The list carefully omits items with possible strategic value, such as locomotives, trucks, military type tires or aircraft tires, high grade computers, or commercial airplanes.

SPECIAL LICENSES

But the presidential announcement does state that items not be considered for "specific licensing, consistent with the requirements of U.S. national security."

Under this arrangement, previously used only for the Soviet bloc in Europe, sensitive items must receive special licenses for each transaction from the Commerce Department.

That has proved to be a slow process. Only late last week, for instance, Commerce finally approved the sale of \$85 million worth of equipment for manufacturing autos and trucks to the Soviet Union, applications for which were pending for nearly two years.

The President today also included in his announcement permission for the import of all goods from China under a general license. The announcement said, however, that Nixon retains "standby authority for future controls if necessary" over these imports.

He said that the Chinese imports, which experts expect will be minimal initially and mainly agricultural raw stuffs, will be subject to the American regulations against dumping and American tariffs.

Regarding American goods freed for export, the announcements singled out the following categories:

Most farm, fish and forestry products, tobacco, fertilizers, coal, selected chemicals, rubber (excluding military and aircraft tires), textiles, certain metals, agricultural, industrial and office equipment, household appliances, electric apparatus in general industrial or commercial use, certain electronic and communications equipment and certain automotive equipment and consumer goods.

PASSENGER CARS INCLUDED

Under the last category the specific items included passenger cars, motorcycles, motor bikes and scooters. Consumer goods include furniture, clothing, footwear and sporting goods.

The food category includes every kind of grain, as well as live animals, "except inbred cereal grain seeds."

Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler labeled the list "impressive," and "a very significant first step." Nixon, he said, will consider later the "possibility of further steps in an effort to establish broader relations with a people having such an important role in the future of Asia."

But Ziegler and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Winthrop Brown—chairman of the China task force—refused to compare the new trading list with that in effect for the Soviet Union. Brown insisted there is really no comparison, since the lists are based on "different levels of technology" in the Communist countries.

But he did give examples of certain items

which are currently open for general licensing export to the Soviet Union, but which must still be licensed specifically on a transaction-by-transaction basis with mainland China.

These items, Brown said, include petroleum and petroleum products, navigation and telecommunication equipment and welding equipment.

NO DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES

Another item open to general licensing for the Soviet Union is the diesel locomotive. This item was not on the China list, and Brown confirmed that there has been some difference of opinion between the State and Defense Departments over locomotives.

Brown said that it had finally been decided that the locomotives were an item which the government wanted to look at "a little more closely" so it will only go to the Chinese mainland under special licensing procedures.

Ernest Johnson, a member of the National Security Council staff, noted that American trade with the Soviet Union has steadily shifted from the specific licensing category to the general licensing category. Whereas in 1969 American trade was divided roughly in half and half between the two categories, in 1970 two-thirds of American trade with the Soviet Union was under general licensing one-third in the specific licensing category.

CHANGES EXPECTED

This same system of licensing will now apply to Communist China, although the proportions may be different. Brown said that he expected that from time to time in the future the U.S. government would be adding more and more items to the general licensing category for Communist China.

Officials admitted that in the beginning this relaxation over non-strategic items would probably do little to boost American trade with China. They noted, for instance, that the mainland Chinese trade with the noncommunist world is estimated at only \$2 billion.

The United States, although having established patterns of trade with Soviet Russia under general license, had only \$118.5 million with the Soviet Union last year, a small part of the more than \$40 billion American trade with the outside world.

The experts' assumption here is that the Chinese economy, while expanding and in need of some technological goods, is basically underdeveloped. Therefore, it is expected that China will eventually push for American technologically advanced machinery, industrial raw materials, fertilizers and wheat.

Yesterday Sen. Blank, D-Minn., emphasized the potential importance of the Chinese agriculture market to American grain producers.

REQUEST FULFILLED

Speaking before the Corn Refiners Association, Blank urged Nixon to make the move which in fact Nixon announced today—putting wheat, flour and other grain exports in the free trade category for China, and ridding the requirement that 50 percent of the shipments be carried in American bottoms.

But the President's announcement today also comes against a backdrop of speeches by a dozen members of the House yesterday opposing efforts to improve relations with mainland China.

The congressman, including Reps. H. R. Gross, R-Iowa; Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., and Robert L. F. Sikes, D-Fla., warned the President against a "Ping Pong diplomacy" which involves severing ties with Nationalist China without getting concrete concessions from Peking.

[From the American-Southern Africa Review, April-May 1971]

RHODESIA AND RED CHINA

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the Nixon Administration's total disregard of

America's vital interests than the amazing contrast between its continued persecution of Rhodesia, and its proudly proclaimed policy of appeasement of Communist China.

Americans have been bombarded, for the past months, with a seemingly endless barrage of propaganda designed to sell them on the merits of friendship with the "prosperous and peace loving" Communist regime headed by Mao Tse-tung, hero of the New Left. Mr. Nixon himself boasted of the success of what he calls "our new China policy," and has even said "I hope, and as a matter of fact, I expect, to visit Mainland China."

The entire apparatus of the left wing, in press and government, has been moved into action, and is orchestrating a hysterical rush to embrace Communist China and ruthlessly abandon our Nationalist Chinese allies. The pro Red China agitators who played a large part in losing China in the first place have climbed out of their holes, and are now working in concert with the White House.

This is particularly ironic in that Mr. Nixon began his political career as a crusader against those evil Democrats who sold China to Communism. But consistency is of no interest to the President. He has gone so far down the road to appeasement that no one in the capital would be very surprised to see him, one morning, pacing the Rose Garden chanting from the "Thoughts of Chairman Mao."

All but forgotten in the Administration's love feast with Red China is the undisputed fact that Mr. Nixon's new friend, Mao Tse-tung, is guilty of mass murder unrivaled in history. Documented sources credit Mao's forces with the cold-blooded murder of a minimum of 20 million Chinese, both before and after their seizure of control of the Chinese mainland.

Also forgotten or ignored is the fact that Red China is still at war with the United States (the Korean "police action" has never been officially concluded) and still holds an unknown number of Americans as prisoners. And then we come to the fact that Red China, more than any other nation, has encouraged the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong to continue their war against the United States, and has supplied them with arms and ammunition to kill Americans. It is recognized that the enemy could not continue to fight in Vietnam without massive Red Chinese assistance.

Apparently to reward Mao for this exemplary conduct, the Nixon Administration has taken a series of concrete steps to bring Washington and Peking closer together. And there are ominous signs even more to come. It is instructive to examine the content of Mr. Nixon's "new China policy" in comparison with his discredited, but continuing Rhodesian policy.

The President announced on April 14 that the State Department is prepared to expedite visas for visitors and groups of visitors from Red China to the United States. But holders of Rhodesian passports, including persons who have fought alongside Americans in World War II, will not be allowed to enter this country.

Mr. Nixon has already removed the total embargo on import of Red Chinese products into the United States. He has also announced that he is in the process of preparing a list of "non-strategic" items which can be exported to Communist China. On January 7 of this year, the Commerce Department approved the sale by General Motors to Red China of two giant earth moving vehicles, for use in Zambia in connection with construction of the Tanzam railroad project.

In contrast to its "new China policy," the Administration bars all American trade with Rhodesia. Americans attempting to engage in such trade are subject to up to 10 years imprisonment and up to \$10,000 in fines.

President Nixon has announced the relaxa-

tion of U.S. currency controls to permit the use of dollars by his new friends in Red China. But he has refused to relax his sanctions regulations which prevent normal financial transactions between this country and Rhodesia.

The President has lifted restrictions which prevented American ships and aircraft from carrying Communist Chinese cargoes, or calling at ports on the Communist controlled Chinese mainland. But he persists in applying these same restrictions to Rhodesia, with the same penalties for violation as mentioned above.

Mr. Nixon persists in demanding that the American people recognize the importance of bringing Red China "into the world community." His hand-picked Presidential Commission on the United Nations has, predictably, urged the admission of Red China into the U.N., and the adoption of a "two-China policy" by the United States. Informed observers in Washington see this as a step in the Administration's program of total abandonment of Nationalist China.

At the same time, the Administration continues its vicious campaign to isolate Rhodesia from the world community. It continues to pander to the whims of the Communist and radical Black African forces working to destroy freedom and civilization in Southern Africa.

The American people have a clear obligation to call Mr. Nixon and his Administration to account for this ludicrous double standard. If no explanation is forthcoming from the White House, we can only assume that the murderous Communist dictatorship headed by Chairman Mao is more representative of Mr. Nixon's idea of good government than by the freedom-loving parliamentary democracy led by Ian Smith.

[From the Free China Weekly, Feb. 14, 1971]
CHINESE PRESS OPINION: MAOIST NARCOTICS OFFENSIVE

Peking's narcotics offensive could threaten the survival of democratic civilization within a decade.

Ironically, in all the U.S. "hand of friendship" approaches to the Chinese Communists nothing whatsoever seems to have been said about the mainland as a source of illicit narcotics.

Washington has been trying to discourage Turkey from growing the opium poppy and has sought to persuade the French to close down processors in the Marseilles area.

Red China exported some US\$800 million worth of narcotics last year. Plantings of poppies are said to be on the increase in Yunnan, whence raw opium moves into the free world via Laos, Burma and Thailand.

Use of narcotics is a major problem among members of the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam. The Chinese Communists are happy to contribute to the supply of dope at reduced prices. Big horse (heroin) is cheaper than bullets as a means of undermining the American war effort.

Formerly the mainland exported only opium. Recently some 30 processing plants have been established. Narcotics are now moved out in the less bulky, more profitable form of heroin, morphine and other opium derivatives.

In trying to persuade Turkey to reduce poppy plantation, the United States has faced a credibility gap. Turkish farmers and authorities find difficulty in believing that one small crop could cause a social problem of major proportions. Until recently, the French refused to believe Marseilles was the world's principal processing center.

Peking on the other hand, knows exactly what it is doing and why.

Use of narcotics by the American younger generation is growing at a staggering pace. In schools all across the United States, teenagers are experimenting with marijuana.

While "grass" may not be dangerous in itself, its use is all too likely to be followed by a fix with the Big H. The doper is trapped in a habit that leads to crime to get money for more heroin, moral degradation and usually an early grave.

Smoking of marijuana and addiction to hard drugs are increasing in Great Britain and Europe. If the trend continues, narcotics could threaten the survival of democratic civilization within a decade.

Peiping forbids the use of narcotics by the Chinese people. The penalty for pusher or user is death. But the narcotics poisoning of "imperialist, capitalist and revisionist" enemies earns a Mao medal. The United States is better off without such "friends."

[From the Washington Daily News,
Nov. 27, 1970]

THE TWO CHINAS (By Henry Taylor)

There's irony and injustice aplenty in the closer (51-49) U.N. vote to set Red China and expel Nationalist China.

First, in all the palaver contending that Red China "exists," doesn't Nationalist China (Formosa) "exist"? Formosa has a larger population (14 million) than 89 of the other 125 U.N. member countries. Its gross national product is larger than 72 of them. Its industrial output index is mounting at an incredible speed, exceeded in Asia only by Japan. Moreover, Formosa's food output is increasing at twice the rate of Formosa's population growth—again unique in all of Asia.

In contrast, by the U.S. General Assembly's own official definition, only 26 of the 126 member countries are listed as "developed" countries. And of all the nations in the U.N. more than half have fewer people than New York City. Many have fewer than Wichita, Kan., altho all have a vote equal in weight to the United States.

Botswana, Gabon, Lesotho, the Maldive Islands, Upper Voltan Guyana, Togo, Gambia—these and scores of others like them, are nations? On one single day the same organizations voting now on Nationalist China's expulsion once voted to admit 13 such "nations." Actually, a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly could be formed today by the nations with less than 10 per cent of the world's population, and who contribute together about 5 per cent of the U.N.'s assessed budget. The voting structure has grown to be a mad hatter's dream.

What is the United Nations' purpose? Does the U.N. charter mean nothing? Has its charter become a tragic fraud? The charter defines the United Nations as "an assembly of peace-loving nations opposed as 'to aggression.'" (The U.N. covenant limits membership to those nations that qualify.)

The charter also provides that if a nation is an aggressor it be so branded by the United Nations, Red China is officially so branded. And until Red China cleanses itself off the U.N.'s official list how can the United Nations conceivably act on Red China's membership?

The Chinese Communists have not stopped their aggressions since the 1930s and the fights from Java to Saigon are all part of the same sweeping aggression. Moreover, putting Red China into the United Nations on the ridiculous theory that this will pacify Mao Tse-tung is like putting a fox into a hen house on the theory that this will change the fox into a chicken.

The solution employed is simple. Forget the U.N. charter, forget the objectives, forget the human values. Hang onto the name of the United Nations, keep the buildings, let the United States pay the bills—but sink the purpose of the United Nations and sink the truth along with it.

Eleven million Chinese fled to Formosa

when the Communists took over mainland China. Recently, representing 17 million overseas Chinese, 285 overseas Chinese organizations in 47 countries and territories signed an advertisement in the free world press opposing admission of Red China to the United Nations and thus "to refrain from giving aid and comfort to Mao Tse-tung."

Unless the vote to admit Red China is thought of within the context of the U.N. charter, our public is misled again into confusing the form with the substance. The form is there, for the charter is there. The substance is not.

RED CHINA—A WORLD OF FEAR

The Nixon Administration has undertaken a program to promote "better relations" with Communist China, a policy long advocated by a number of subversives and security risks in the State Department as well as pro-Communist "old Chinese hands" who were exposed in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations. On April 27, 1971 the Associated Press reported that a presidential commission recommended a U.N. seat for Communist China. Under the policies recommended by this commission U.N. membership would also be recommended for other Communist countries—East Germany, North Vietnam and North Korea. The article pointed out that the Nixon Administration has already dropped some embargoes on trade with China. A day earlier, AP had reported that Communist China's Chairman Mao Tse-tung wants to meet with President Nixon in Peiking and that Nixon is "thirsting" to meet with China. Life magazine quoted President Nixon as stating, "If there is anything I want to do before I die it is to go to China."

The claim that Red Chinese-American relations have improved because of a table tennis match is not accurate. A relaxation in the rules of trading with China began with the Nixon Administration in 1969; American firms were permitted to trade with Red China through their foreign subsidiaries. General Motors sold engines and parts to the Chinese; Monsanto has sold rubber products; American Optical has sold microscopes; and Hercules Rubber has traded with Red China. On April 14, 1971 President Nixon announced revision of long-standing U.S. rules of trade and travel between Red China and the U.S. The White House made it perfectly clear that the revisions represented an effort "to create broader opportunities for contacts between the (Communist) Chinese and American peoples."

In 1949 the Chinese Communist revolutionaries defeated the National Armies of General Chiang Kai-shek on the mainland, the culmination of 22 years of fighting, this was accomplished through subversive activities of State Department personnel. Those individuals in and out of the State Department who helped promote the Communist take-over of China has never stopped promoting the Red regime of Mao.

The New York Times reported on April 30, 1971 that former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, addressing the American Society of International Law Annual Conference in Washington, D.C., stated he favored the admission of Communist China to the U.N. He also urged the admission of Communist East Germany, Communist North Vietnam and Communist North Korea and recommended that the U.S. grant diplomatic recognition to these Communist countries. Dean Rusk himself has been considered to be a security risk; he was first investigated by the State Department in January 1946 and the FBI conducted a full field investigation on him in 1948. It was not until January 12, 1949 that he was finally able to secure a clearance by a "loyal security board." Dean Rusk waived security rules on over 150 individuals who came into the State Department while he was Secretary

of State. Rusk became Deputy Under Secretary of State on May 31, 1949 and Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs on March 28, 1950. It was while he was serving in this capacity that Rusk told an audience at the University of Pennsylvania that Mao Tse-tung was the "George Washington of China," although he knew full well that this butcher had already been responsible for the murder of millions of innocent Chinese people.

It was on the recommendation of Dean Rusk that the United States rejected the offer of Chiang Kai-shek to supply the necessary trained troops to fight the Communists in Korea. It was Dean Rusk who made the recommendation that General MacArthur be forbidden to stop the flow of Communist troops and supplies over the Yalu River Bridge. It was Dean Rusk who formulated and had approved the "no-win" policy in Korea. It was Dean Rusk, finally, who recommended the dismissal of Gen. Douglas MacArthur when he insisted on winning the war in Korea. In fact, it was Dean Rusk who wrote out the dismissal order for the President to sign.

After the disgraceful armistice in Korea, which he also recommended, Rusk left the State Department to be rewarded as was Alger Hiss. Rusk became President of the Rockefeller Foundation. In his capacity he continued his unbroken record of aiding the Communist conspiracy by recommending a two-million-dollar grant to the Institute of Pacific Relations; he also urged the Ford Foundation to make a grant to the NPR. Dean Rusk helped engineer the muzzling of the military, in cooperation with Adam Yarmolinsky and George Ball, by setting up a censor board inside the State Department that examined all speeches by military men and deleted anything unfavorable to the Soviet Union.

There were 55,000 Americans killed in Korea and many more permanently injured. Because of the policies and activities of Dean Rusk in refusing to allow anti-Communist Chinese troops to fight their own enemy, the Chinese Communists, we used Americans instead. The Americans were not permitted to win because of policy determined by Dean Rusk and his associates. In addition to the Americans killed in Vietnam, Laos, etc., many more will be killed if the present no-win policy is pursued. In Vietnam, over 45,000 Americans have been killed in combat, an other 10,000 as a result of accidents or sickness and other causes, and over 300,000 have been wounded. The policies of Dean Rusk and the conspirators whose orders he followed have been continued to the present day, with American policy in Vietnam following the pattern set in China of aiding the Communists while pretending to fight them. Dean Rusk played no small part in the enslavement of millions of Chinese and the murder of millions more. Secretary William Rogers is continuing this policy. (Only the names have been changed!)

There were others who helped promote the Communist conquest of China in their capacities as officials in the State Department, professors in universities, or writers; many are still active in helping Red China now by trying to promote "better relations." One of those is Robert Barnett, formerly an official of the Institute of Pacific Relations and for many years (until he recently retired) an official in the State Department. Others who have been defended by the liberals and the Communists, but whose subversive records were revealed during the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings, are John K. Fairbanks, Owen Lattimore, Lawrence K. Rossinger, and John S. Service. Edgar Snow, an American writer and friend for many years of Mao, quotes the Red Chinese leader as saying "the problems between China and the U.S.A. would have to be solved with Nixon," according to Life magazine. Edgar Snow was

a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations and a writer for their publications and the subversive magazine AMERASIA. He was connected with the Communist-front, China Aid Council, and his wife (Nym Wales) was identified as a Communist.

Secretary of State Rogers, addressing members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in London during the latter part of April 1971, was quoted by the Associated Press as stating, "We believe that the People's Republic of China has a growing role to play in Asia. The aim of our policy is not to deny that role but to encourage it. . . ."

Syndicated columnist Paul Scott recently pointed out that Red China is holding American prisoners (reportedly numbering several hundreds) from the Korean and Vietnam wars, some of whom have undergone everything from brainwashing to torture for more than 20 years. One member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs stated, "It looks like the President is conveniently forgetting the fact that the Red Chinese are holding American prisoners of war. Some one must remind him that his first responsibility is to free these men; not provide the White House as a propaganda forum for Peking."

Red China, which President Nixon is wooing, was an aggressor in the Korean war, seized territory from India, occupied Tibet, supplied weapons to kill Americans in Vietnam and has stirred up revolutionary activities in Africa, Asia, Latin America and in the U.S. The Red Chinese have supplied guerrilla warfare instructors to Cuba where American revolutionaries have been trained, after which they returned to the U.S. to start their bomb-throwing activities. The Black Muslims, the Progressive Labor Party, the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Black Panthers and several other Communist revolutionary groups in the U.S. are pro-Red Chinese and have received support from Mao.

A previous issue of the Herald of Freedom revealed the tremendous amount of narcotics which originate in Red China. Columnist Kevin Phillips, writing from Washington, early in May 1971 stated:

"Shortly after the 1970 invasion of Cambodia wrecked Communist ability to undertake further military offensives, the Reds switched to a drug offensive. Large quantities of heroin began arriving in Vietnam. It came through the Saigon docks, and at first was available only in that city.

"Uniform packaging and refining indicated a single, highly-organized source; moreover, one that was willing to forego profit in return for widespread distribution. Pure heroin (which costs \$50,000 an ounce in the U.S.) is being sold throughout Vietnam at prices far below those which our well-paid troops could afford. The motive, therefore, is not profit but addiction of GIs."

For some reason, most of the American press has suppressed the fact that Red China is now the principal supplier of opium (from which heroin is made) even though it is well established that narcotics addiction has reached alarming proportions throughout the U.S. On April 30, 1971 the informative Weekly Review, published by British Intelligence Digest, pointed out that in 1970 the Communist government of China exported more than 10,000 tons of drugs, including opium, morphine and heroin, valued at \$800 million. The Peking regime has been encouraging farmers to increase poppy planting in wide areas, to produce more opium for export to the free world. The main purpose of this campaign is to sap the strength of the free world and particularly that of Americans in uniform. The British publication estimated that 50% of the American forces in Vietnam use drugs and stated, "Peking forbids the use of drugs by the Chinese people. The penalty for the drug-pusher or user is death. But the distribution of narcotics to 'imperialist, capitalist and revisionist enemies' earns promotion for the traders and smugglers."

According to Washington sources, 60% of servicemen treated in hospitals in Vietnam in the latter part of 1970 were drug-related cases. There are reportedly days in Vietnam when more soldiers die from drugs than from combat. One source stated that the U.S. Command in Vietnam released data showing that up to 45% of the troops are using hard drugs with the actual figure being perhaps higher. A congressional investigator quoted Medical Corps Maj. Jerome Char as saying that 40-50 percent of the "Screaming Eagles" of the 101st Air Mobile Division are heroin users, and that 90 percent are taking some drug. According to Brig. Gen. Roy Atterberry, deputy Commander of the American Division, men under the influence of drugs began the now widespread practice of "fragging"—killing their own officers with fragmentation grenades. It has been estimated that approximately 1,000 Vietnam veterans returning each month to their homes are addicted to drugs and have turned to crime to support their habit. There is reason to believe that the Communist-controlled anti-war demonstration groups may be utilizing some of these unfortunate veterans to further their purposes.

There are those in official and unofficial positions who would have us believe that the Chinese Communists, like their counterparts in the Soviet Union, are mellowing; that conditions have improved. Nothing could be further from the truth. On April 19, 1971, Congressman John G. Schmitz of California, addressing the House of Representatives, stated:

"Several weeks ago the House Committee on Internal Security, of which I am a member, held hearings during which expert testimony was given about the conditions existing inside Red China. The horrors of life under the Chinese Communists was fully brought forth by two college professors who had been fortunate to escape from the mainland.

"The reality of life within the Communist slave state was made crystal clear by highly educated men who had actually experienced life in Red China. The slave camps, the hatred and suspicion, the 'total world of fear,' was vividly described. Very few people could have listened to what these men had to say and reacted with anything but incredulity over the meaning found in a ping-pong match by so many of our articulate commentators."

One of the individuals who testified before the House Internal Security Committee was Professor Ma Szu-Tsung, now a resident of Philadelphia, after having escaped from Communist China. Prof. Ma Szu-Tsung had been a deputy of the Nation People's Congress of Communist China, a professor at Sun Yat-sen University of conductor of the China Symphony Orchestra, which enabled him to travel all over China. He told the committee that the reason he decided to escape was that the people of Red China are slaves, there is no freedom whatsoever, no freedom of thought, no freedom of expression, nothing but a world of fear. One often cannot trust his own family or friends, the professor stated. "Each person is like a bee in a honeycomb, confined to his own cell by the fear of being denounced by someone for something. . . . "The farmers," he stated, "are tied to their communes. They are treated like cattle, and probably live and die without ever having left their commune, except for a party display or two during their lives. The Chinese have lived under so much cruelty and sorrow for so many years that they have become adaptable to much of this." The professor told how interesting it had been to read the Chinese constitution. It states that the people of China have all the rights that the American constitution provides: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom to assemble, freedom to express thoughts, etc. What makes it so interesting is that it is all a lie. "The only rights a person in China has is to work and

to praise Mao Tse-tung. I feel the Chinese people now live in complete slavery. You could exercise your freedom of speech by saying, 'The weather is good,' or 'The sky is blue,' but you could not say for example, 'I would like to go to America.' A statement such as this would cause you a great deal of difficulty. You would then be called in to examine the root of your thinking. Questions would arise about where your education broke down and allowed such a bad thought. Perhaps they may think the individual might be a spy or perhaps he has contact with spies."

Continuing his testimony, Professor Ma Szu-Tsung stated: "The individual should have been taught all of his life that America is the number one enemy of China, and the people of China. The individual would be called upon to confess to what prompted him to make such a statement. This confession would lead to more confessions. You must confess for the good of your soul and the good of your thought. You must completely understand why you made these statements. The more detailed your confession, the better you would understand why you were wrong. After you have confessed sufficiently you are sent off to a labor camp for re-education. Most trials in China today do not take place in a courtroom. They are held in the street, schools, in the factories, or in any group to which you belong. . . . Upon completion of these hearings or gatherings you are then sent to labor camps for re-education through work." He told the committee that China does not have capital punishment. People are not executed, they are sent to labor camps where they are worked to death. This way the state derives some benefit from them. "In China today," the professor added, "the most casual comment to a friend, relative, or even to members of your own family can often bring you before such a tribunal. Everyone lives in a state of fear. Fear is everywhere. . . . Allegations made by anyone can bring you before a peoples tribunal and there is no defense."

The House Internal Security Committee also received testimony under oath from Professor Richard K. Diao, a graduate of the National Central University in Chungking, China in 1946, who came to the U.S. in 1947, attended the University of Illinois, graduating in 1948 with a Masters Degree. He also attended Columbia University and New York University as a candidate for a PhD. In 1950, he went to work for the Ministry of Finance in Peking, China and then became an Associate Professor of Public Finance at the Institute of Finance and Economics in Peking and subsequently Deputy Head of Teaching and Research in the Department of Finance.

Professor Diao stated that in 1957 the Chinese Communist government promised that no penalty would be given to those who criticized the party and the government but that this would be used to improve their work. However, after he (Diao) criticized the party, he was subjected to considerable harassment. "I was labeled a 'rightist' and enemy of the state," he said. He was accused of being a U.S. spy because he had three brothers and two sisters all living in the United States and his father was a retired Lt. Gen. of the Republic of China who died in New York in 1956. As a result of making statements in accordance with the government's false suggestion, he was sent to the Military 850th State Farm as a laborer to undergo thought reform. The camp was located in Chinese Siberia, 20 miles from the Sino-Soviet border. He was kept there for two years and 10 months and stated the treatment at this camp was more inhumane than what he had heard of the concentration camps of the Nazis. The prisoners worked at hard labor 14-16 hours a day, seven days a week with very little food in bitter cold, and many died from exhaustion and malnu-

trition. At the end of 1960, after his labor and thought-reform program, he was sent to Shansi Province to the Shansi College of Finance and Economics, his duties there being to prepare lectures for others to give since he could no longer be trusted to deliver lectures personally. Most of the time he was assigned to do manual work in the countryside, including cleaning public toilets. In addition, he was required to report each week, without fail, about his thoughts and deeds to a party member who was assigned to help him and to submit reports to a Communist Party Committee every month.

Explaining life in China, the professor said that most of the people are assigned to a job where they are needed by the Communist Party. "You can request a transfer to another job but very seldom are these requests granted. At this time you are also subject to criticism because they would ask you why you questioned the wisdom of the Party in assigning you a job." This would eventually lead to undergoing a "labor and re-education" program in a slave labor camp. In explaining the legal defense system in China, the professor told the committee, "If you are arrested in China and brought to trial, you will be given a Government appointed defense lawyer. This presents problems for a defense counsel. First, they often arrest people without any basis, almost anyone can be arrested for anything. It can come at any time. They can just confine you to your office until you write down your confession. If you don't know what to confess to they will tell you. . . . The defense counsel usually advises his client to confess. . . . If he did try to defend an accused he would probably be the next one on trial himself."

For those who might question the facts as related by these Chinese intellectuals, *Time* magazine of May 3, 1971 reported that the Chinese told the American ping-pong players that 5% of the people in Red China disagree with Mao's policies but they are being re-educated in labor camps. *Time* magazine pointed out that in China, of course, 5% of the population amounts to 40 million persons. Another interesting disclosure was that, as new apartments are built, they are deliberately designed to be too small to house relatives and thus the old tradition of younger people caring for the old has been destroyed. Birth control pills are distributed freely and children spend their time in government nurseries and schools while their mothers work.

President Nixon is unquestionably working towards diplomatic recognition of Communist China and its admission to the U.N. One of the stumbling blocks is the problem of two Chinas. Confidential Washington sources report that an effort will be made to get the Republic of China (Taiwan) to resign from the U.N. in order to induce Red China to join, with the Nixon Administration promising to continue "protecting" Taiwan. However, the *New York Times* on May 5, 1971 quoted Charles W. Bray, III of the State Department as describing the sovereignty of Taiwan as an unsettled question subject to future international resolution. President Nixon is seeking good relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China, both of which nations are supplying the weapons which are killing Americans daily and neither of which ever has renounced the Communist international program of world conquest which includes the creation of a "Soviet America."

WILL PING-PONG PROPAGANDA ERASE HISTORY?

There is a joke making the rounds in Moscow today that goes like this. When Stalin died, there was a clerical error at the Pearly Gates and he was admitted to Heaven without anyone realizing it. In due course, he met St. Peter and said, "Things are really pretty dull here, with everyone so happy and

free. I would like to have a look at Hell to see if it might be more to my taste. St. Peter quickly granted this request and assigned an angel to take Stalin down for a tour of Hell. When Stalin arrived there, he found Hell was a rather exciting place—parties, women, whiskey, and perpetual merriment. When they returned to St. Peter, Stalin said: "If it's all the same to you, I'd rather spend my time in Hell." St. Peter readily gave permission for Stalin to make the move, warning him, however, that there would be no chance to change his mind—the decision would be final. Stalin agreed to the condition.

The angel escorted Stalin down below. This time, however, when they arrived, Hell looked like the way it really is, full of fire and brimstone, agony and pain. Stalin turned to the angel in astonishment and said, "But it wasn't like this when you brought me here before!"

The angel calmly replied as he departed, "Ah, Mr. Stalin, when you came before, you just had the guided tour."

The conclusions reached by the American table tennis players who went to Red China, and by most of the liberal publicists who wrote glowingly about them, are just as wrong as Stalin's guided tour of Hell. Even in this age of befuddled college students, it is hard to see how there could be any so ignorant as the members of the U.S. ping-pong team who praised Red China.

Some players said their visit shows that the Chinese Reds are a "very friendly people." One 18-year old member of the U.S. team said he would "prefer the Chinese system if it could be set up in America." Another U.S. ping-pong player said he could find no criticism of Red China; but he didn't hesitate to downgrade his own country.

As usual, the professors were more extreme than the teenagers. One 40-year old English teacher at an Eastern university, who wants to bring Chinese opera and ballet to America, said: "The single thing that struck me most is that Mao is Jesus Christ." He added that he sensed a "great psychic strength" among the Chinese. "It's a force to be reckoned with," he continued; "everyone comes together in this psychic discipline and unity." He failed to add that, if the Chinese didn't voluntarily come together in "discipline and unity," they are killed or imprisoned.

Life Magazine portrayed the ping-pong tour as though it were as important as the invention of the steam engine, the flight of the Wright Brothers, the atomic fission at Chicago University, or some other event which marked a new era in history. Other liberal magazines were similarly extravagant in their reporting.

Those who think that a ping-pong game can turn murderers into gentlemen, or convert a Communist into a friend, show that they have learned nothing from the past and are unwilling to face the realities of the present. Ping-pong propaganda may be able to erase history from the memories of the ignorant and the naive, but such deliberate self-deception is dangerous for America.

It isn't the pong-pong game itself that is dangerous, it is the foolish way that Communist and liberal propagandists are using the ping-pong paddle as a wedge to promote diplomatic recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations. Non-recognition of Red China has been an established part of U.S. policy for 22 years through five different U.S. Presidents. The American people of both political parties are probably more solidly united against Red China than on any other foreign policy issue. The Senate and the House have gone on record dozens of times during the last 22 years with unanimous or near-unanimous votes against recognition of Red China and its admission to the U.N.

In the light of the current wave of ping-pong propaganda, it is well for us to examine

the reasons why the United States should remain steadfast in its policy NOT to recognize Red China.

UNCIVILIZED BARBARIANS

First, we oppose recognition of the Red Chinese bosses because they are unfit to belong to the family of nations or to be treated as equals in international intercourse. Civilized people don't dine with murderers and criminals, and that is what the Chinese Reds are.

The Red Chinese dictatorship has deliberately liquidated 20 million Chinese, violated the sacred institution of the family by forcing people into Red communes, persecuted all clergy and missionaries, committed savage aggression and genocide on the Tibetan race, seized territory from India, made the production and distribution of narcotics an organized Government monopoly netting billions in illicit profits, stolen millions of dollars of U.S. property, committed a sneak aggressive attack on Korea, and wage continuing aggression in Vietnam, Thailand and Laos.

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson made a very apt remark when he said, "The conduct of Red China must greatly improve before attaining the level of barbarism."

Like all Communist governments, the Chinese Reds use blackmail, counterfeiting, forgery, kidnapping, lying, mass murder, slavery, subversion, theft, religious persecution, and treaty-breaking as part of their official state policy. Like all Communist governments, their attitude toward treaties is succinctly summed up in Lenin's dictum: "Promises are like piecrusts—made to be broken."

The argument is made by the liberals that "you can't ignore 750,000,000 people—they exist!" Well, Richard Speck and James Earl Ray exist, too, but civilized people don't invite them to dinner. Former Philippine Ambassador Carlos Romulo once said that the admission of Red China to the U.N. would be like inviting Al Capone to join the Chicago police force.

The fact is that, if we recognize Red China, we would deliberately ignore 727,000,000 people. The total number of Communists in China is not more than 23,000,000. The remaining 727,000,000 Chinese are the slaves of the Red bosses and would feel betrayed and abandoned without hope if America were to grant their captors the dignity of diplomatic recognition.

The liberals argue that we should forgive and forget the fact that the United Nations officially branded Red China as an aggressor in Korea, just as we have forgiven and forgotten the attacks on America by Japan and Germany in World War II. But Japan and Germany threw out their war-starting governments before we welcomed them to the family of nations. Red China, on the other hand, has still the same criminal gang in control. This gang has not renounced treaty-breaking, no-warning wars, religious persecution, or any other of their uncivilized policies. Red China today is ruled by the same men who invaded South Korea and Tibet and killed thousands of American troops. We would break faith with our servicemen if we welcome their sneak attackers.

The liberals argue that, since we recognize the Soviet Union, why shouldn't we treat Red China the same way? The first answer to this is that two wrongs don't make a right. The second answer is that the Soviet Union remained weak and ineffective and no threat to our security during the period that four American Presidents (Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover) refused to recognize the Communist government. As soon as Franklin Roosevelt granted diplomatic recognition in 1933, Communism began to spread through the world because, in violation of all international morality and even of the executive agreement by which recognition was extended, the Soviet Union used its

embassy as a center of espionage, subversion and propaganda.

The liberals argue in favor of Red China's recognition and admission to the U.N. because "it's better to be talking than fighting." Such a hoary cliché could only be repeated by one who never heard of the Pearl Harbor attack. The Japanese diplomats were politely talking with us in Washington, D.C., all during the months the surprise attack was planned—and even while the bombs were falling on December 7, 1941.

THE 450 FORGOTTEN POW'S

Second, our recognition of the Chinese Reds is morally wrong because they are still holding or refusing to account for 450 American POWs from the Korean War. We hear a great deal now about the plight of some 1,600 American servicemen who are POWs in Indo-China. The Vietnamese Communists won't even tell the families of our POWs if they are dead or alive, although some have been held prisoner for as long as six years.

What about the 450 American POWs who have been imprisoned or unaccounted for ever since the Korean War? It has been nearly 20 years and they are truly the forgotten Americans. U.S. diplomats have met scores of times with the Chinese Reds in Geneva to negotiate for these 450 American prisoners. Not one of them was ever accounted for or released, although their continued imprisonment is in direct violation of the Korean armistice agreement.

The tragic tale of our Korean War POWs is spelled out in the House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing on "Return of American Prisoners of War Who Have Not Been Accounted For By The Communists" held on May 27, 1957, and in House Resolution 292 unanimously passed by the House of Representatives on July 9, 1957.

The whole idea that diplomatic representatives of the United States should mingle socially with the Communist tyrants who have been holding American servicemen prisoners for 20 years is a shocking affront to every American who ever wore our country's uniform.

How can Hanoi believe we mean business in demanding the return of our Vietnam POWs when they see how so many Americans are hungering to fraternize, drink, trade, and play games with the captors of our Korean POWs?

ESPIONAGE HEADQUARTERS

Third, recognition of Red China is wrong because it would enable the Chinese Reds to engage in espionage and subversion inside the United States on a massive scale. We know they are already doing this furtively on our college campuses and extensively throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia. Diplomatic recognition would give the Chinese Reds privileged sanctuaries in Washington, D.C. and in the United Nations in New York City to serve as headquarters for their spying and subversion.

FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover said last year that the Chinese Reds are already working in the United States to procure "highly coveted technical data" and "to introduce deep-cover intelligence agents into this country." Mao has also lent support to the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary groups. Why should we give the Chinese Reds a privileged base from which to direct their operations?

Having the diplomatic immunity of their spy centers would make espionage so easy for the Red Chinese. They could use the unbroken seal of the diplomatic pouch to transmit orders to spies and couriers and to receive back their reports, microfilmed documents, and other materials. Colonel Otto Biheler, an attache of the Communist Czechoslovakian embassy in Washington, D.C., is a classic case of how this is done. He used the sealed diplomatic pouch to transmit to his Red bosses not only top-secret military and atomic information, but also jet propul-

sion materials, the secret electronic tubes used in proximity fuses, and geiger meters for detection of atomic materials.

Years of experience with the diplomatic missions of the Soviet Union and all Communist governments prove that this is the way Communists behave—and Red China would certainly be no slacker in playing the game. For documentation, see the *Report of the Canadian Royal Commission* which investigated code clerk Igor Gouzenko's revelations, the *Report of the Australian Royal Commission* which investigated Embassy Secretary Vladimir Petrov's confession, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Report called *Activities of United States Citizens Employed By The United Nations*.

There has been no change in Communist tactics since these reports were published or since the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a masterful report called *Patterns of Communist Espionage*. This document showed in detail how Communist embassies and U.N. delegations are headquarters for international Red spy rings. At the time the report was written, the Soviet Union had 442 adult Soviet citizens with official diplomatic cover in the United States who could be used for espionage. This is more than five times the number of United States citizens serving at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Whereas the United States hires its servants in Moscow, Soviet diplomats import all their maids, chauffeurs, cooks, etc., and they are all part of the Soviet espionage apparatus.

LISTENING POSTS

The liberals claim that our embassies in Communist countries have value as "listening posts." A mountain of historical evidence shows conclusively which side is doing the listening. Every servant employee and interpreter working in U.S. embassies in Communist countries must be selected and registered by the Communist secret police. The U.S. embassy in Moscow employs some 90 MVD-registered employees. In most U.S. embassies in Communist countries, there are more Communist-certified employees than there are American personnel.

The embassy and the personal living quarters of Americans are bugged and their telephones tapped. One Western attache found eight microphones in his three-bedroom apartment. American diplomats discovered a microphone had been hidden for years only a few feet from where our Ambassador-to-Moscow Joseph E. Davis dictated his top-secret reports to Washington. The Reds planted another listening device inside the great U.S. seal. In the American legation in Budapest, a microphone was discovered in the fireplace of Cardinal Mindszenty's room connected to a wire recorder on the legation roof.

American diplomatic personnel are trailed by the Communist secret police when they leave their homes and offices. General Arthur Trudeau has testified that the secret police systematically weaves a web of bribes, blackmail, sex, alcohol and narcotics to entrap our diplomats abroad.

There is not a shred of evidence that the United States gains any useful information from our embassies in Communist countries. Every move the Communists make catches U.S. authorities off guard, such as the Soviet breaking of the nuclear test ban in 1961, Khrushchev's sending nuclear missiles into Cuba in 1962, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

THE RACKET CALLED "TRADE"

Fourth, recognition of Red China would be a costly mistake for American taxpayers because it would encourage powerful financial interests in our country to press harder for trade with Red China, which indeed they are already doing. The granting of diplomatic recognition would open the door to the achievement of "East-West trade," a Communist objective for 15 years.

"Trade" is what they call it, but "racket" is a better word. Red China has no money to buy from an affluent America, and no prospect of getting enough money because of the inherent unproductiveness of the Communist economic system. So, what is really meant by "trade" with Red China?

"Trade" with Red China means handouts to a Communist government financed by the U.S. taxpayer. Here is the way the racket works. The Red Chinese order U.S. materials, pay for them with money borrowed from the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank, the International Development Association, or the Asian Redevelopment Bank. These so-called loans are never repaid, and the long-suffering U.S. taxpayer pays the deficit. No wonder this racket is supported by powerful U.S. financial interests! They get paid in full! The U.S. taxpayer seldom finds out how they are cheated because of the way the various international lending agencies—the "middleman" in the deal—are surrounded by liberal verbal gobbledegook and buried in the Federal budget.

When Lyndon Johnson was President, he increased the U.S. appropriation to the Export-Import Bank 50% from \$9 billion to \$13.5 billion. It just happened that the president of the Export-Import Bank, Harold F. Linder, was the largest single contributor to the Democrats in the 1964 campaign. He gave \$61,300 to Democratic candidates that year.

On April 6, 1971, the Senate voted to increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank from \$13.5 billion to \$20 billion. The Senate bill would also grant the request of the Nixon Administration that the Export-Import Bank be taken out from under the expenditure and lending limitations in the President's budget. Henry Kearns, president of the Bank, said that budgetary restrictions were greatly hampering its operations.

In President Nixon's State of the World Message of February 25, 1971, he asked Congress to "double" the "soft (low-interest) lending capacity" of the International Development Association, and to increase our contribution to the Asian Development Bank. The International Development Association is the device by which Americans are taxed in order to give foreigners no-interest or very-low-interest-bearing loans (euphemistically disguised as "soft" loans) which will never be repaid. These are the subterfuges by which U.S. financial interests will profit on the "trade" with Red China which is designed to accompany recognition.

NEW NIXON POLICY

To the surprise and dismay of those who have studied history, the White House in 1971 embarked upon a series of steps to abandon our 22-year-policy. The Kissinger-authored State of the World Message on February 25 said: "The United States is prepared to see the Peoples Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. . . . We are prepared to establish a dialogue with Peking."

On April 14, President Nixon struck down many restrictions on travel, communications, trade and shipping with Red China, saying that he will soon authorize direct exports of nonstrategic items to Red China.

On April 26, a Presidential Commission headed by Henry Cabot Lodge recommended to the White House that Red China be admitted to the United Nations even though such action might be "awkward and discordant" to both the United States and the U.N. The May 10 U.S. News & World Report shows a picture of President Nixon accepting this report.

Initially, the press reported the Lodge statement as espousing the "two Chinas" policy, that is, give a seat to Red China but let the Republic of China on Taiwan (Formosa) continue in membership. It

would appear, however, that the State Department is not only promoting the recognition of Red China and its admission to the U.N., but also the betrayal of our longtime friend and ally, the Republic of China. On April 28, while Secretary William P. Rogers was telling a press conference in London how eager we are to exchange visitors with Red China, a State Department press officer named Charles Bray III announced in Washington that the legal status of the island of Taiwan was an "unsettled question" between rival governments. He issued a statement urging that Communist China and Nationalist China settle their dispute by peaceful means.

There is hardly any way to construe this inept remarks except that the State Department wanted to insult the Republic of China. Yet the St. Louis Post-Dispatch Wire Service reported on May 5 that "Mr. Nixon stood by the U.S. contention that sovereignty over Taiwan was unsettled."

The only thing "unsettled" about the island of Taiwan is that Red China covets it and wants to capture it by force. Taiwan is truly a "bone in the throat" of Mao Tse-tung because it is an island of freedom and prosperity which stands in stunning contrast to the slavery and economic failure of the Red China regime on the mainland. Red Chinese guards patrol the coast of the mainland and shoot on sight anyone trying to escape. Yet thousands have risked death to swim their way out of the prison called Red China. In some months, more Chinese attempt to escape by swimming the dangerous channel to Hong Kong than all the East Germans who have ever attempted to scale or penetrate the Berlin Wall since it was erected! In spite of the efficiency of the Red Guards, Mao Tse-tung and his associates will never feel secure as long as Taiwan is free.

The Republic of China had been fighting Japanese aggression for years before Pearl Harbor. After the Japanese attack on the United States, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had the opportunity to make a separate peace with the Japanese. Realizing that the United States was fighting a long war on two fronts, he decided to keep fighting with us as a wartime ally. When World War II was over, President Franklin Roosevelt betrayed this loyal wartime ally by making a secret deal at Yalta to give the Soviet Union control of strategic Chinese territory: Outer Mongolia, Port Arthur, Dalian, the Chinese-Eastern Railroad, and the South-Manchurian Railroad.

Following Yalta, the pro-Chinese Communist crowd in the State Department tried to force Chiang into a coalition government with the Reds. When Chiang refused, the State Department cut off all aid to the Republic of China and forced it into a truce with the Communists which gave the Reds time to obtain arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Under Secretary of the Treasury Harry Dexter White, who was a secret Soviet agent, caused the Republic of China's currency to deteriorate by stalling for four years and stopping a large loan which had been promised and approved. These activities brought about the takeover of China by the Red regime of Mao Tse-tung. The best history of this whole sorry story is *How The Far East Was Lost* by Dr. Anthony Kubek.

If U.S. national honor and our treaty commitments mean anything, we must never betray the prosperous, happy island of freedom, Taiwan, which is the present base of our faithful World War II ally, the Republic of China.

The liberals allege that Taiwan is just an offshore island which should belong to whomever owns mainland China. This is as ridiculous as the Nazi claim in World War II that England was an offshore island which really belonged to whoever controlled Europe. Actually, England is much closer to the continent than Taiwan is to the main-

land. Just as the United States recognized the legality of all the European governments-in-exile on the Island of Britain, and continues to recognize the governments-in-exile of the Republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia (31 years after the Soviets seized them), so the United States must continue to recognize the Republic of China. It is larger in population than more than half of the 127 U.N. members.

"INEVITABLE" RECOGNITION

Realizing the importance of maintaining sanctuaries for subversion inside the United States, the recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations have been major Communist objectives for the last two decades. These objectives are pushed relentlessly by the Communist press and by Communist fronts, and echoed by Communist sympathizers and dupes in many walks of life. Millionaire Cyrus Eaton used to finance a campus organization called The Undergraduate Committee for the Recognition of (Red) China. Before it died a natural death, chapters had blossomed on 50 college campuses, from Princeton to California University. Robert Kennedy made recognition of Red China a major part of his campaign with college students.

On October 16, 1960, the Communist newspaper, *The Worker*, launched a drive to convince the American people that the admission of Red China to the U.N. is "inevitable." This line was echoed by fellow-traveling commentators cooperating with the Red China lobby.

Since ping-pong propaganda has swept across our land, this line about "inevitability" has been trotted out again and is being pressed hard by the liberals. Recognition of Red China wasn't "inevitable" in 1960, and it isn't inevitable today—unless American citizens swallow the falseness and the foolishness of the Henry Cabot Lodge-State Department-liberal line.

The United States has many weapons to prevent the admission of Red China to the U.N.—if our Government only has the will to use them. (1) The U.S. has the absolute power, unilaterally, to block admission of Red China to the U.N. by the double veto. Not only can we veto Red China's admission, but we can veto any attempt to bypass our veto by the trick of calling Red China's admission a "procedural matter." (2) We have full power to block Red China by withholding some or all United States contributions which constitute 31 per cent of the U.N. budget. Nothing would stop the agitation for Red China by our so-called allies so fast as the simple declaration by our Government that, if Red China is admitted to the U.N. the United States will maintain its national honor by withdrawing from an organization which violates its own charter and rewards aggression.

Write President Nixon and your Senators and Congressmen and tell them you oppose recognition of and trade with Red China, using whichever of the arguments given above that most appeal to you. Write your newspapers, call your radio station, and use any of the channels of communication through which you can let your voice be heard.

THOMAS J. DODD

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I sadly join my colleagues in tribute to the late Honorable Thomas J. Dodd. I was always proud that Tom

Dodd was a longtime, close friend of mine and his passing came as a deep personal shock. Tom was a warm, fine man. A man who believed in people and tried to help them. He fought for civil rights long before the fighting for them was popular. In 16 years with the Department of Justice, where he was special assistant to five Attorneys General, he prosecuted cases against the Ku Klux Klan and against those who would deny laboring men the right to organize into unions. He served as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was executive trial counsel during the Nazi war trials at Nuremberg and served two terms in the House of Representatives before being elected to the other body. He supported legislation dealing with civil rights, welfare programs, housing, medicare, unemployment compensation, social security improvements, relaxation of restrictive immigration laws, drug abuse prevention, and gun controls. He was also a man who knew adversity and its heartaches and we shared some of these with him, for he was a friend. Mr. Speaker, Tom's many true friends will miss him. To his lovely wife, Grace, and their children we extend our deepest sympathy and prayers in their time of great loss.

FOR WHITES ONLY

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is the practice of the American Embassy in Cape Town, South Africa, to hold some social functions which are for whites only, in compliance with South Africa's apartheid laws, and some social functions which are multiracial.

On June 1, the president and deputy-president of the National Union of South African Students were invited to an official reception at the Embassy. Upon arriving, they discovered that the function was for whites only and, after explaining to the Ambassador that they could not remain at a segregated reception, they departed immediately.

To begin with, it shows something less than total awareness of what is going on in South Africa to invite the leaders of NUSAS to a segregated function. That organization is one of the few that is fighting to achieve a multiracial society in South Africa and its leaders daily risk their reputations and futures in taking stands based on the fundamental principles of human equality and justice.

The more important point, however, is that the highest ranking representatives of the U.S. Government in South Africa will acquiesce to the demeaning and abhorrent apartheid laws. Apparently, no South African cabinet minister will attend an integrated function and, in order to insure the presence of several ministers among the guests, the June 1 reception was for whites only.

The NUSAS leaders, in subsequent statements issued to the press, took pains to point out that they did not wish to embarrass Ambassador Hurd or the U.S.

Embassy. They did make the very valid observation, however, that the existence of two types of parties in terms of racial composition was evidence of a double standard on the part of the United States.

In my judgment, this is just another piece of evidence that the United States is unwilling to back up with any sort of action whatever—even so simple a matter as whom to invite to a cocktail party—its moral opposition to apartheid.

The United States is unwilling to put pressure on Portugal to end the minority rule of its African colonies; the United States is unwilling to discourage American business from investing in South Africa; the United States is unwilling to vote in the United Nations on a resolution criticizing Portugal for its blatant armed attack on black African states out of an undue concern for the legal implications of such a vote. The United States, in short, is unwilling to have a coherent policy toward southern Africa and the incident on June 1 at the American Embassy in Cape Town is another example of that, perhaps in a more embarrassing context than usual.

Neville Curtis, the president of NUSAS, and Paul Pretorius, the deputy president, sent a letter to Ambassador Hurd explaining their action the following day, and they also issued a statement to the press on the matter. I am including both documents, along with a press clipping on the matter, in the RECORD at this point, since I believe that all Members of Congress should be aware of what our Government is doing in South Africa:

PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED TO THE CAPE TIMES
AND RAND DAILY MAIL

The President and Deputy-President of the National Union of South African Students walked out of an official cocktail party given several Cabinet Ministers—because it was a Hurd for Cape Town dignitaries—including by the United States Ambassador, Mr. J. 'Whites only' function.

"As office-bearers of NUSAS we are prohibited from attending segregated functions. We had assumed—that the United States Embassy—of all people—did not organize segregated functions and had therefore attended. On discovering that the party was segregated—as the Ambassador put it "In order that Members of the Nationalist Cabinet would attend"—we explained our reasons to him and left immediately.

We do not wish to embarrass the United States embassy but we believe that this is a shocking example of double standards which cannot be ignored. For the official representatives of the United States government to bow and scrape to apartheid in this manner is disgraceful—and we shall make representations to both a number of Congressmen and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The action of the Ambassador in bowing to Government refusals to attend non-segregated functions is nothing less than a calculated insult to the majority of the people of South Africa—and also gives the lie in blatant fashion, to Mr. Vorster's statement yesterday at the Republic Festival that the Nationalist Cabinet are prepared to 'dialogue' with black South African's on an equal basis."

NATIONAL UNION OF
SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS,
Cape Town, June 2, 1971.

THE AMBASSADOR,
The United States of America, U.S. Embassy,
Broadway Centre, Foreshore, Cape Town.

DEAR SIR: I must apologize for the fact that my colleague, Paul Pretorius and I found it

necessary to leave the reception to which you had invited us on the evening of the 1st June.

As I explained to you when we left, we had not realized that the function was segregated, and on discovering this could adopt no other course of action than to leave.

You will appreciate further our extreme surprise that the Ambassador of the United States of America would host such a reception, and our natural concern was that this apparent compromise with Apartheid should not remain ignored, or out of sight of the public eye.

With this in mind we issued the press statement which I enclose for your information and will further be contacting a number of United States Congressmen to lodge further protest in this regard.

We would further like to communicate our protest to you at an action which we believe constitutes an insult to the majority of people of South Africa.

We remain,

Yours faithfully,

NEVILLE CURTIS,
President.
PAUL PRETORIUS,
Deputy-President.

NUSAS MEN WALK OUT ON WHITE U.S.
PARTY

The president of Nusas, Mr. Neville Curtis, and the deputy president, Mr. Paul Pretorius, last night walked out of a cocktail party held by the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Hurd, because it was a segregated gathering.

Mr. Herbert Kaiser, a counsellor at the American Embassy, described it as "a reception with no non-White present."

"We do have multi-racial functions and we also have functions where non-Whites are not invited. This reception was attended by representatives of the widest spectrum that can be found in the White community of South Africa."

He said that Cabinet Ministers and members of the other political parties were present.

Mr. Curtis explained that he had accepted the invitation to the party under the impression that it was to be an integrated gathering.

"On discovering that the party was, in fact, segregated—as Ambassador Hurd, put it, 'in order that members of the Cabinet would attend'—we explained our reasons for leaving to the Ambassador and left immediately.

"We do not wish to embarrass the United States Embassy, but we believe that this is a shocking example of double standards on both their part and on the part of the Nationalist Cabinet, which cannot be ignored.

"The action of the Ambassador in bowing to Government refusals to attend integrated functions is bad enough, but it also clearly gives the lie, in blatant fashion, to Mr. Vorster's statement at the Republic Festival that he and the Nationalist Cabinet are prepared to 'dialogue' with Black South Africans on an equal basis."

Mr. Curtis said that he would make representations to the Ambassador and a number of United States Congressmen as well as to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

PEACE IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, permit me to share with my colleagues a short

statement written by Mrs. Charles S. Liebman, of McHenry, Ill. As one who has concerned himself actively with the question of peace, I must confess to a certain amount of fascination with her down-to-earth manner of presenting what would seem to many a preposterous idea. At the very least, you will find her remarks entertaining and not a little intriguing. They follow:

MAY 21, 1971.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DELLUMS: Memorial Day is coming up and I seem to be one of the few people who remembers that the first American advisors on the Southeast Asian War landed in Saigon on Memorial Day in 1950. The awful thing is not how long we've been involved but how little we've learned in twenty-one years, and I say that very straight-forwardly—for all my thinking and reading, I simply don't know what we should have done or should be doing in Viet Nam. Since nobody else seems to know, I agree with the majority of Americans who now feel we should get out.

In the Congressional Committee report I have been reading, it seems to me that all the experts who appear as well as the committee members themselves are concerned with the machinery by which people in the Congress and in the country at large can get it together. How can people get the information they need? How can the information be developed into alternative policies? How can those alternatives be put before the public?

The concern with the how is, of course, what has motivated us to become active in the peace movement, starting when we first stumbled across Dr. Benjamin Rush's 1799 "Plan of the Peace Office for the United States". The way to begin, as Dr. Rush asserted, is to begin. If you want peace, you have to create an office which works full time for peace—not peace-through-superior-arms, which is the D.O.D. line, or peace-through-American Hegemony, which is a State Department undertaking, but Peace.

I have never felt inclined to heap vituperation on the heads of existing agencies who, it seems to me, are doing exactly what they are employed and paid to do. The military men are supposed to provide us with a formidable military capability; they've certainly done it. State is supposed to protect and advance the interests of this nation; they've certainly tried. I can't see why Generals should be asked to devise non-military solutions to international confrontations; or how State can be expected to invent programs which might involve serious limitations on American sovereignty. And beyond the very clear mandate given these offices lies the simple human truth that every office of every government, as John Galbraith says, develops a "life and purpose and truth of its own and captures men for that truth". And beyond that observation lies the federalists' pragmatic recognition that "avarice, ambition, personal animosity, party opposition and many other motives not more laudible than these, are apt to operate as well upon those who support as those who oppose the right side of question."

So the weakness in the present machinery of our government seems to lie in the lack of any agency which has a clear mandate to work for Peace; an agency in which all of the influences that shape departmental policies and programs—(the constituencies and sources of support, the span of interest in departmental leadership, the range of skills and professional concern in departmental staff)—will be peace based; an agency free of the inhibiting fears of criticism and latent McCarthyism which chain the imagination of existing offices; and above all, perhaps, an agency in which man can earn a promotion, a bigger paycheck, his picture in the paper, and an invitation to appear on the Dick Cavett Show by working for Peace.

Let me quickly say that A.C.D.A. does not meet these requirements. Although the legislation that created the agency gave it a wide scope to study the problems of war and peace, it is too small and vulnerable an agency and has too little claim on the attention of the people to fulfill the hopes of the illustrious group that testified on behalf of its creation in 1961. It would be ungrateful of me not to acknowledge the contribution of A.C.D.A. to the progress being made in the SALT talks. But I still believe that Cabinet rank would give negotiation more visibility with the public.

It seems to me that we need a bill which will do the following things:

1. We need to create a joint Congressional Committee on Peace. I am very concerned about the Constitutional issues raised by the Tonkin Gulf Resolution and the still existent Formosa and Middle East Resolution and similar legislation. The present bills designed to remedy the problem seem to me to bring the Congress into things very late in the day. How can Congress respond to a Presidential request for troops or money within 48 hours, or 30 days, or whatever the time set forth without having previously considered and developed some alternatives to the action the President proposes? By whom and in what context are the alternatives to be developed? Who is in charge of Peace strategy, tactics and logistics?

2. We need a Department of Peace in the cabinet first to enlarge, strengthen, and legitimize the peace movement. It's not enough for the kids to sing about giving peace a chance. We have to give it an address, an office, desks, typewriter, telephones—peace people should have a place to go and someone to go to, instead of dog-eared files full of phone numbers full *ad hoc* committees that come and go like a snowfall in May, and one to go to, instead of dog-eared files full of problem-solving; the movement must be given dignity and status and must accept responsibility.

The first work of the office, as Dr. Rush understood, would be to work with the American people themselves to help us resolve some of our highly ambivalent feelings about war and peace. Before we reorder any priorities, we may have to re-examine a lot of words like "honor" and "loyalty" and "patriotism" and "courage". Let me give you one simple non-Heriman-Kahn example: Here in the town where I've lived for twenty years, the biggest civic event of the year is the VJ-Day parade. Because this is a secular nation, we can't have public religious festival days, but since all nations need festivals America has patriotic days, an almost endless round in the summer, starting with Memorial Day and including Law Day, Armed Forces Day, the glorious Fourth, and so on.

VJ-Day is, however, kind of a different thing. We moved the date up a bit so the weather will be less chancy and we have not only the legion and the VFW band and the auxiliary ladies and the high school band and the Scouts and the Camp Fire girls and even the nearby reform school boys marching, but we also have skinny little ten-year-old girls from Miss Darlene's School of Dance stamping their tasseled boots and twirling their batons, *wearing side arms*. How does that grab you?

We have floats, too, sponsored by local merchants and decorated with local beauty queens. I have seen parades where these young ladies wore satin banners across their impressive bosoms, identifying them as "Miss Bataan" or "Miss Corregidor".

Now a lot of people would see this as some expression of grass roots enthusiasm for military display. As a matter of fact, all it means is the Chamber of Commerce has committed

itself to a parade for the last many years and this year, they appointed the Chairman and he received from the last Chairman a notebook that told him which units to invite and what routes to follow and where to buy the bunting. And this whole appalling, vulgar display rests on no foundation firmer than that notebook. It bores people beyond belief but nobody can think of anything else to do.

Here then is a job for the Secretary of Peace—to invent new occasions for parades. While he's at it, he might consider why the local high school dresses its marching band as for the Charge of the Light Brigade? "Uniformed" means "dressed alike", not dressed as a soldier. Why must they wear those moldy plumes to play music from "Hair"?

The second job of a Peace Department would be to deal with substantive issues. Hereto, I would offer one example: Just now, a Secretary of Peace, if we had one, would be devising a plan to internationalize the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Okinawa, Guantanamo, and eventually all the small parcels of contested real estate which we all know will continue to offer opportunities for all the contestants to blow themselves and the rest of us to Kingdom Come.

Yet, given the right circumstances and incentives, financial and otherwise, we might begin to endow the U.N. with real property and real income independent of national contribution to create a series of global precinct stations, where U.N. forces might be employed for emergency situations, and to provide a pilot situation in which the problems of international administration could be studied and solved.

This is the kind of proposal, concrete and detailed, which might be forthcoming from a Peace Department and coming from such an office, it would get exposure and coverage very properly that it wouldn't get if it were put forth by Dr. Spock or Jane Fonda or by me.

It is a waste of time to debate whether the Secretary of Peace will lead the American people or represent the American people in our search for international order. He will do both and more. We need a bold peace strategist, a creative peace administrator, and an eloquent peace advocate. We need him now. Human intelligence highly organized and lavishly subsidized has brought Americans to their present condition of despair. The same intelligence and the same national resources must be employed in the service of hope. I can only repeat what I've been saying for the past several years and hope now someone is ready to listen. Peace is everybody's business and it's time we made it somebody's job.

Mrs. CHARLES S. LIEBMAN.

CONCORD YOUTH COUNCIL CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM INDOCHINA BY DECEMBER 31

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, we in this country have been able to observe a very interesting phenomenon in the last few years. I am referring to the increasing political awareness and involvement of the youth of our Nation.

We must credit the young with helping

to bring to the forefront the tragedy of our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Painfully and slowly the rest of America began to listen to our youth and we have now been told that 73 percent of the American public favors withdrawal by the end of this year.

In this regard, I want to include in the RECORD and commend to my colleagues, a resolution unanimously adopted by the Concord Youth Council of the city of Concord, Calif., calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina by the end of this year:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Indochina War is one of the most tragic events in the history of mankind, be it resolved that the Concord Youth Council requests immediate cease fire for all military troops in Indochina and that the United States of America withdraw all troops by December 31, 1971.

Be it also resolved that the neutrality of Laos and Cambodia be recognized by all foreign nations, and that foreign troops withdraw immediately, and that all prisoners of war and political prisoners be released now.

Out now!

DAY-CARE TRAINING AND MANPOWER

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, training unemployed men and women for day care serves America in two important ways.

First. By reducing welfare costs to the States and the Nation.

Second. By developing a cadre of broadly trained community workers with tangible and attainable career goals needed to staff the probable expanding number of day-care centers.

Mr. Speaker, the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am a member, recently concluded hearings on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. The transcript of the hearings includes a research study entitled "Day-Care Training and Manpower," conducted by the Education Day-Care Division, UEC, Inc., Washington, D.C. This study provides timely insights into the realities and possibilities of day-care training.

Because of the growing interest of Members in both day-care and manpower development legislation, I include the text of the study at this point in the RECORD:

EDUCATIONAL DAY-CARE, Washington, D.C.

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS, Chairman, Select Subcommittee on Labor, Education and Labor Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Our company has been following with great interest your subcommittee's hearings on Manpower Public Service Employment Legislation.

I thought it might be of interest to you and other members to have information concerning manpower training needs, opportunities, and programs in the day-care field—a

relatively new, fast growing area to which little public attention has thus far been focused. We feel that training and job opportunities for paraprofessionals in this area are one of the best examples of how the pending bills could be of tremendous assistance to communities throughout the Nation by upgrading skills of low income persons and by improving the quality of child care.

Attached, therefore, is a brief study entitled "Day-Care Training and Manpower," completed by the research staff of the Educational Day-Care Division of UEC Inc., last month.

It surveys the broad field of manpower needs for child care, the levels of training programs, and provides data gathered from field trips to examine four exemplary approaches to staff development and training—two in regional educational laboratories, one at a university and one in the private business sector.

We would appreciate your making this study a part of the hearing record in support of the legislation presently being considered by your subcommittee.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD T. NEY,
President.

DAY-CARE TRAINING AND MANPOWER

A STUDY BY THE RESEARCH STAFF OF THE EDUCATIONAL DAY-CARE DIVISION, UEC, INC.

For a variety of reasons, a burgeoning interest in the creation of an effective network of child care and child development services is now manifest in the United States. Experts stress the importance of a child's early years upon his development, and they have demonstrated the positive value of early education programs. Spokesmen for low-income groups are calling for a more thoughtful and broad commitment to the needs of the young, the poor, and minority children. Many others, such as the women's liberation movement, are generating a demand to aid UEC mothers by providing universal child care and child development.

President Nixon, recognizing the importance of these early years, called for a "national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life . . ." He continued—

"We have learned, first of all, that the process of learning how to learn begins very, very early in the life of the infant child. Children begin this process in the very earliest months of life, long before they are anywhere near a first grade class, or even kindergarten, or play school groups. We have also learned that for the children of the poor this ability to learn can begin to deteriorate very early in life, so that the youth begins school well behind his contemporaries and seemingly rarely catches up. He is handicapped as surely as a child crippled by polio is handicapped; and he bears the burden of that handicap through all his life. It is elemental that, even as in the case of polio, the effects of prevention are far better than the effects of cure."¹

In addition to the need for more day-care programs, a critical need exists for training programs to upgrade the quality of staff in existing programs. Parker and Knitzer² have recently estimated the number of personnel needed now and in the near future if programs are expanded. The estimates presented in this report are based on the Parker-Knitzer data.

Based on 1969 figures, some 10 million personnel would be required to meet all the needs of all children at child-care facilities. Accommodating children of the economically disadvantaged and the working mothers, alone, would require some 4 million personnel (see Table I). While accurate figures are

unavailable on the numbers currently involved in early childhood care, estimates from data suggest there are less than 250 thousand.³

TABLE I.—PROJECTIONS FOR MANPOWER NEEDS BASED ON 1969 POPULATION FIGURES UNDER 4 CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

[In millions]

Age of child (years)	Staff-to-child ratio ¹	(I)		(II)		(III)		(IV)	
		Economically disadvantaged		Children of working mothers		Handicapped		All families	
		Children	Staff	Children	Staff	Children	Staff	Children	Staff
0 to 12.....	1:4	1.6	0.4	2.5	0.6	1.0	0.3	10.4	2.6
3 to 5.....	1:7	1.7	.2	3.0	.4	1.0	.1	11.6	1.7
6 to 14.....	1:15	5.1	.3	13.0	.9	3.9	.3	37.3	2.5
Total ³		8.4	.9	18.5	1.9	5.9	.7	59.3	6.8

¹ Ratios for all conditions the same; although actually child/staff ratio for severely handicapped may have to be higher, many handicapped children are absorbed in regular programs.

² When numbers not broken down by ages 0 to 2/3 to 5, total figure divided in half. This is consistent with general population data.

³ Totals do not take into account hours day-care facility open and consequent need for additional staff, therefore reflect conservative estimate.

Note: Ratios do not include ancillary manpower; administrative staff, remedial staff, etc.; categories overlap.

Improving current services and expanding child care services presents several problems related to personnel training. First, child care has generally not been considered a high-prestige job. The erroneous misconception that anyone, without special training, can handle children leads to many unfortunate consequences. Perhaps a clear-cut formulation of goals with ensuing statements of specific areas of productivity can demonstrate not only the need for skill and knowledge but also indicate that child care is productive and intrinsically challenging.

Second, the few excellent approaches to training day-care personnel that exist need to be expanded immediately to upgrade current practice in anticipation of the passage of federal legislation which will greatly expand the field of child care. Four exemplary approaches to training day-care personnel will be discussed in the second half of this paper.

In this discussion, "training" is used generically to include initial, in-service, and supplementary training experiences. In this area, there are three basic questions: (1) How many people are being trained annually? (2) What is the quality of training? (3) What are some of the exemplary approaches to training day-care personnel?

First, estimates of the number of people trained annually are limited. Data from the National Center for Educational Statistics suggest that 3,816 degrees were conferred in 1966-1967 in early childhood education.⁴ Cross-checking with other sources suggest this is a low estimate, but how low is unknown. Latest summary data on Head Start hold that 74% of the full-year Head Start personnel in 1968 had some training experiences compared with 57% in 1966.⁵ Miller (1969) has estimated that probably some 5,000 individuals now receive training annually. Until hard data are substituted for conjecture, there is no reason to question his estimate.

Our second concern—the quality of training—poses the most disturbing problems when one considers our present status. In general, the quality of training is very poor across all types of training but it is extremely poor when provided on an in-service basis (where most "training" actually takes place for the majority of child-care personnel). This state exists for three reasons:

1. the specific objectives of training have seldom been clearly identified;
2. the methods to attain objectives such as the use of multi-media materials have seldom been developed; and,
3. the few promising training models have a limited impact because of a lack of funds.

Several papers have attempted to provide overviews and the implications of their conclusions are frightening. Katz, after a review of the available data commented:

No matter how we would wish to construe the "ideal" and the "ought," the quality of teacher performance in the majority of our preschool settings today is such that it potentially threatens the very goals which have stimulated its recent expansion. (p. 8, 1969)

Miller, in a review for the National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education, summarized his appraisal of the situation thus:

The field of early childhood education has experienced a phenomenal growth which is continuing. The proliferation of programs has created a crisis in staffing. The problem has been met by using inadequately trained personnel. Training capabilities have lagged far behind demonstrated need.⁷ Those training programs which are being developed probably reflect little understanding or conversance with the inner city and its people. The meager resources available for the development of training programs appear to be distributed on the basis of inappropriate criteria.^{8,9} (p. 18, 1969)

Third, with reference to training models, in the 1960's a variety of strategies were developed for persons without university connections. These were largely the result of Head Start program needs in addition to the traditional university-based programs. Thus, there was development of summer training programs, of special institutes and workshops, and of patterns for in-service training.

Over the years, Head Start training models have become more complex and more lengthy as it became clearer that condensed training programs do not provide adequate background for high-level or even adequate staff performance. Currently, in-service training experiences are filtered primarily through Regional Training Officers (RTO) and consulting contracts for Supplementary Training Programs; their purpose is to provide Head Start staff with opportunities to gain both related training, and marketable credentials for job mobility.¹⁰

Training for day-care personnel can be met through a variety of avenues. The remainder of this paper will highlight the central features of four exemplary approaches to staff development and training from different perspectives. Two of these efforts are based at Regional Educational Laboratories, one at a university and one in the private business sector.

SOUTHWEST EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT LABORATORY

The Early Childhood Education Learning System developed by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas provides the instructional materials for a comprehensive sequential program for economically disadvantaged children, ages 3-5. The four components in the system are (1) instructional materials, (2) staff development, (3) parent-community involvement,

and (4) the *environment for learning* (learning ecology).

Testing of the first three components, already underway, includes 656 Spanish-speaking children (all in the Southwest), their teachers, assistant teachers, and parents. Evaluation results indicate that the learning system is making a significant difference in the physical, social, and intellectual development of the 656 children.

The need for more resources becomes critical as the instructional materials, staff development (training) packages, and parent education materials have been developed sufficiently to the "exportable" stage. Resources are needed now to make the system available to more children in many different settings. Successful diffusion of the system involves an array of tasks requiring skills in communications, multi-media presentations, packaging, and design for usage.

Exportable packages which can be used in a variety of settings are much more economical, per pupil served, than the person-to-person training that has been essential to the program as it was being developed. The tasks are, nevertheless, expensive.

The Training Program. The staff development component of the learning system is designed to enhance and extend the teaching skills and classroom management capabilities of the teachers of young children. The Laboratory's program is aimed primarily at Spanish-speaking children, with the first instruction in Spanish. Thus, the staff must be bilingual. Because "qualified" (i.e., with baccalaureate degrees and teaching certificates) bilingual teachers are in short supply, the Laboratory suggests persons with less formal training be employed as teachers and assistant teachers in the program. The teachers may be high school graduates who speak English and Spanish fluently. The assistant teachers—community members and usually parents—are not required to have high school diplomas. But they, too, must be literate in both Spanish and English.

Basically, the training program developed by the Laboratory includes these topics: Classroom management, teacher expectations (attitudes and behaviors toward children), guidelines for teachers to evaluate their own strengths and weaknesses in working with young children, guidelines for planning each day's activities utilizing the Laboratory curriculum materials and adapting them as necessary to the individual needs of the specific children.

Each topic includes films, videotapes, filmstrips, photographs, simulation activities, and written materials.

Presently, the training package is delivered by the Laboratory during one week of pre-service workshops and two hours per week of in-service training. Every effort is being made to make the training package completely exportable and thus wean its users from the idea that Laboratory personnel must train all participants in the program. Teachers and assistant teachers receive identical training.

The Laboratory, in its training programs, has built in the procedures of career ladders for sustained advancement of the teachers, assistant teachers, and community specialists in the program. These career ladders, now utilized almost entirely by teachers and assistant teachers, may be expanded to a wide range of related fields. (For example, the use of multi-media in classrooms with young children can provide other manpower training possibilities for parents. Use and maintenance of the equipment could well lead to opportunities in photography, electronics, and allied fields.)

As the career ladder works at present, the teachers and assistant teachers sustain their own advancement through participation in programs made possible through cooperative efforts between the Laboratory and local col-

leges and universities. On-the-job accomplishments are tied in with special courses offered by the academic institutions. The teachers and assistant teachers, thus, are able, concurrently with their teaching tasks, to prepare themselves for a wide choice of jobs. In addition to teaching, these include social work, community development, classroom design, and parent education.

In the future, these career development opportunities should be widely expanded. While Day-Care Centers are recognized almost universally as a first program in revitalizing communities and in improving families' economic positions, they are themselves a major manpower training area. However, this is but a small part of the benefits of Day-Care Centers. They free economically disadvantaged and undereducated parents to participate in other training programs and other occupations to increase their skills and economic well-being. They also provide a vehicle for positive family education.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

The Institute for Development of Human Resources is an interdepartmental research agency of the College of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. The Institute was organized in September, 1966, and its first large-scale project was in parent education of disadvantaged mothers in the North Central Florida area. In its growth, the Institute has reflected the synthesis of strong interest in infant growth and development, parent education, cognitive and language development, and systematic observation.

Parent Education. A major unit in the Institute's broad program is The Florida Parent Education Model funded by Head Start. The key elements of the program are the training of the mother (one or two to each classroom) in the role of combined parent educator and teacher aide along with training the teacher in the use of the slide. The services of parent education seeks to influence the behavior and attitudes of parents, as well as the physical setting and materials provided, based on the belief that all have a direct impact on the child before and during the school years.

The Florida Parent Education Model has been tested at outposts in Indiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Washington, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Evaluation results from each of the (11) outposts indicate that the design is valid and aided in making a significant difference in the over-development of some 1,317 children across the nation.

Training and Staff Development. Because the parent educator is involved in instructional and data-gathering functions, she is distinguished from ordinary teacher aide and there is need for special training in instructional and data-gathering skills. The teacher needs similar training in order to interpret the data obtained and supervise the activities of the parent educator, and make informed decisions. In addition, related staff is needed to score, process, interpret and feed back information to the classroom situation.

The training of parent educators and teachers takes place in Summer Workshops conducted at the University of Florida in the summer of each year. Workshops consist of a five-day-week, eight-hour day, three week program.

Pre- and In-Service Training. Training consists of instructions in (a) interviewing mothers and explaining the program to them, (b) the nature of the learning tasks to be taken into the home, and (c) techniques for teaching the tasks to the mother in the home. The training period focuses on problem-solving activity, role playing and other forms of practice, small and large group discussions, seminars and home visits with Florida parent educators. Additional training is provided through a nine-day workshop in the participating outpost following the summer workshops.

The total cost of training of the parent educator in the Institute is \$1,500.00 per

trainee. An expanded in-service training program going from nine days to twenty days would increase the cost from \$1,500.00 to \$2,000.00 per person.

For a specific example, the Education at Age Three Program consists of four product development, programs for pre-school children: Head Start, Follow Through, Parent/Child Education and Program Operations.

The goal of this program is to produce an internally consistent curriculum (together with training programs for teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents) that will provide an effective program of education for children between the ages of three and nine. The two major objectives of this program are to create or adapt (a) instructional materials for children that will develop a healthy self-concept as it relates to learning in the school and home and will enable them to develop their intellectual abilities; and (b) teacher training materials and procedures that will insure the effective use of these materials.

The principal goal of the training and staff development program is to develop and implement a training program which will increase the competence of non-Laboratory personnel in educational product-development, testing, and dissemination.

The need for this program is indicated by the lack of (a) educational products which have been developed in a systematic way, starting with clearly stated objectives and ending with a product which has been tested to determine if its objectives have been achieved, and (b) effective agencies to facilitate the dissemination and installation in programs of those products that have been developed and tested.

FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The Laboratory, located in Berkeley, California, is concerned with the development of program components in four major areas:

Teacher education program.

Communication program.

Education—Beginning at three program.

Multicultural education program.

The program is funded by the United States Office of Education through the Division of Educational Laboratories in cooperation with representative universities in California, Utah and Nevada. Far West Lab serves a total of 2,153 children and their families in California, Nevada, and Utah. A staff of 218 workers (roughly 80% paraprofessional and 20% professional) provides direct services to the children and families. A total of 463 man-weeks is devoted to the training of the entire staff. The cost per trainee is between \$1,500.00-\$2,000.00 depending on the quality and length of the training program.

UEC EDUCATIONAL DAY-CARE

The Educational Day-Care Division of UEC Inc. represents a unique model child care program, the first comprehensive program of early-childhood education and day-care installed on a large scale which is designed especially to strengthen the role of the family in helping children prepare for success in life.

The educational component of the program represents a new approach to learning based on more than 150,000 observations of children by learning specialists and parents. The basic program of planned learning designs built into a family-oriented child care program has proven successful with more than 3,000 pre-school children in five Northeastern states, and a model system for four Pennsylvania counties under contract with the State's Department of Public Welfare.

Training and Staff Development. A main feature of the UEC Educational Day-Care Systems is the recruitment and development of staff drawn from the neighborhoods immediately served by the programs. Many of those employed on the staff are high school dropouts, persons who have never worked before regularly, or whose work experience has been confined to low-level jobs with

little chance for advancement. Many members of the staff are neighborhood mothers who have been trapped in their homes caring for their own children, but who now are given the opportunity to place their own children in the program and at the same time begin a rewarding career of their own. Others are neighborhood fathers who previously have only been able to find work as busboys or as day laborers, but who now, through pre-service and in-service training, can find a long-term career in child development family service that is not only rewarding to themselves but also of great value to their community.

In the start-up phase, highly qualified professionals are employed in supervisory, administrative, and training positions that demand professional education and experience. A Director of Personnel, assisted by a resident of the community, is responsible for staff recruitment, and a Director of Staff Development and Training is responsible for staff training. The following steps are followed in selection and training.

A. PRESCREENING OF APPLICANTS

Applicants for staff positions are screened to determine their empathy with children and their ability to work with children, parents, and other staff members. As part of the screening process, each applicant is given a specific, open-ended adult-child learning task drawn from the system's child learning program, and is asked to carry out the learning task while being observed by members of the personnel staff. The applicant's effectiveness in carrying out the task with the child is of decisive importance in determining whether the applicant is employed.

B. PRE-SERVICE TRAINING

All new employees are placed in an intensive three-week pre-service training program working with children with the assistance of qualified staff members to familiarize them with all aspects of the Educational Day-Care programs. During the pre-service training, the new staff members are given the opportunity to develop their abilities to work with children, parents, and other staff members. Those who succeed are presented with a certificate of achievement and placed in staff positions within the program. Those who fail are screened out of the program.

C. PROBATIONARY EMPLOYMENT AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

New employees who successfully complete the pre-service training program are employed for a probationary period of six months, during which they take part in an in-service training program and are continuously evaluated by supervisory personnel. If they successfully meet the goals established during their probationary employment, they become members of the permanent staff. All members of the staff continue to participate in in-service training as long as they are employees.

D. TRAINING COMPONENTS

Because the attitudes of staff members to children, parents, and other staff members are critical to the success of the system, the pre-service and in-service training programs place great emphasis on attitudinal values as well as factual understanding of the methods and procedures of the program. The capacity of staff members to be resourceful, flexible, and supportive is vital both to the development of children and to the involvement of parents. The programs enables both adults and children to interact as individuals and give the staff many opportunities to make important decisions. The pre-service and in-service training programs make use of the following components:

1. *Role-playing Sessions.* Trainees play adult and child roles in simulated situations that lead them to a better understanding of Educational Day-Care policies and proce-

dures. After every role-playing session, a group discussion is held to relate the activities to their success in achieving desired results.

2. *Child-Adult Sessions.* Trainees carry out program procedures with children under the guidance of training staff. At the conclusion of each child-adult session, participants, trainee-observers, and training staff members discuss situations and actions that occurred, relating them to desired results.

3. *Instant-Playback Videotapes.* Training staff uses the TV-Studio-on-Wheels to record portions of role-playing and child-adult sessions, so that through instant-playback trainees have the opportunity to see themselves in action and gain better self-understanding of the effects of their actions.

4. *Training Films and Videotapes.* The training programs make extensive use of child-care films, child-development films, and other training films and videotapes—many of which have been especially produced to explain in audiovisual form various aspects of the program. After the showing of each film or videotape, group discussions are guided by training staff members to relate the contents of the films or videotape to the Educational Day-Care programs.

5. *Audiotapes on Child Development.* An extensive library of audiotapes has been specially produced to explain specific details of child development and how to meet specific child development problems. These tapes are used both within the staff training programs and in the parent education and parent involvement programs.

E. CAREER LADDER

To provide encouragement for staff members to find rewarding lifetime careers in the profession of child care and child development, Educational Day-Care Systems establish a career ladder with seventeen levels that can be spanned by an employee in less than a dozen years. A previously untrained high school dropout who demonstrates empathy with children, parents, and other staff members and an ability to work within the procedures of the programs, can, with the aid of the staff-development and training programs, rise to a position as a senior center director.

One of the major goals of the training program in UEC Educational Day-Care Systems is to make the program exportable to a participating community without the need for continuing involvement on the part of the designer. The designer would be available on a continuing basis in areas of consultation and monitoring but would rely on a successful training program to insure smooth continuity of program operation.

THE PENNSYLVANIA PROJECT

Through a contract with the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Pennsylvania, UEC INC. is designing an educational day care program to serve the needs of 2,000 children and families. Over 500 employees are being trained at a cost of \$1,500.00 per annum, per trainee.

REFERENCES

- Katz, L. G., and Weir, M. A. *Help for Teachers in Preschools: A Proposal*; National Laboratory on Early Childhood Education, ERIC Clearinghouse 1969.
- Miller, J. O. *An Educational Imperative and Its Fallout Implications*, National Laboratory of Early Childhood Education, July 1969.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Press release of President Nixon establishing the Office of Child Development, April 9, 1969.

² See Parker, R. K. and Knitzer, J. Day Care and Preschool Services: Trends in the 1960's and Issues for the 1970's. 1970 White House Conference on Children background paper.

³ Estimates from the National Center for

Educational Statistics indicate 1,516 pre-kindergarten and 55,509 kindergarten teachers were involved in public school systems in the fall of 1969. (Kahn, G., and Hughes, W., *Local Public School Systems*, Fall 1968, Table K, p. 17, March 1970). No summary data are available on day-care and preschool personnel licensed or unlicensed. Head Start data for 1968 suggest a total full-year staff of between 20,000 and 25,000 people.

⁴ The Family Assistance Plan provides for day care children of low income working mothers. Additionally, six pieces of legislation expanding child care services have recently been introduced in 1971.

⁵ Silverman, L. J., Metz, S. *Selected Statistics on Educational Personnel*, U.S. DHEW National Center for Educational Statistics, 1970, Table 19.

⁶ In 1968, 11% of the full-year staff attended eight-week, university-sponsored training; 63% lectures, movies or demonstrations on child development; and 48% training and teaching preschool children. About 15% of the staff attended adult education classes after being employed by Head Start (Part D, Staff Member Information, Report on Head Start, 1970).

⁷ Federal investment in training for early childhood has been minimal. . . . For FY 1971 Educational Professions Development Act (EPDA) has \$5 million to distribute for training. (Estimates are that the money will serve some 4,000 people, at an average cost of \$1,250.) Some monies from the Scheuer Amendment are involved in training early childhood workers, although how many people are involved is unknown.

⁸ More optimistically, it should be noted that there are signs of change in training institutions, particularly in the directions of consolidating training resources and making greater efforts to match training programs with real needs. (See, for example, the plan of the Puget Sound area in Washington State.)

⁹ Training costs are variable depending on location and level of personnel. As indicated, EPDA averages for FY 1970 pegs the sum at \$1,250 per trainee. Analysis of Head Start Supplementary Training Grants Nationally suggests a range per training from \$121 to \$982, with an average cost of \$592.18. These figures apply to both professional and non-professional training. Different cost figures for different levels of training are not available. (Data from list of Regional Grantees for Contract 4215, xeroxed, HEW.)

¹⁰ In 1969, some 7,000 people were involved in Supplementary Head Start Training from 65% of the full-year Head Start grantees. We do not, however, have any satisfactory empirical data demonstrating the effectiveness of these training programs.

THE NEW LEARNING ENVIRONMENT OF THE EMERGING SOCIETY

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, recently, Dr. Ernest L. Boyer, chancellor of the State University of New York, spoke at the Invitational Conference sponsored by the American college testing program in Iowa City, Iowa.

Dr. Boyer, head of the largest education system in the world, had some interesting things to say, things too often not fully considered. That is why I bring his remarks to the attention of the House.

THE NEW LEARNING ENVIRONMENT OF THE EMERGING SOCIETY

(By Ernest L. Boyer)

I.

In 1869, during his first year as president of Harvard University, Charles Eliot stated his conviction that, "The university must accommodate itself promptly to significant changes in the character of the people for whom it exists." Eliot saw a new secular industrial America emerging out of our religious and agrarian society, and he hoped for the reconstruction of higher learning to meet its novel requirements.

One hundred years later, we are, I suspect, involved in a transition as dramatic and penetrating as the one confronted by Eliot and his contemporaries. I firmly believe that a new kind of society—call it post-industrial, technetronic, consciousness III, or what you will—is emerging. And along with it, a new kind of student and a new learning environment also are beginning to emerge.

We are now in some sort of midpassage which, like all sharp transitions or social shifts, has its moments of tumult and discovery, madness and awakening.

"It is in this context and with this conviction that I should like to comment on the developments that I see ahead, focusing in particular on two specific areas: the nature of youth, and changes in the context in which we carry on our work.

II.

One of the most significant educational changes of the past half-century has been the emergence of a remarkably different kind of young person in this nation.

In this country, over the years, we have slowly but significantly altered the lives of our children—by discovering vitamins, by developing vaccines for childhood disease and penicillin, by making television available to them from early morning to late at night, and by increasing the length, coverage, and excellence of our schools.

Consider physical appearance alone. Does anyone here recall seeing in his youth, seven-foot tall basketball players? When I was in college, players over 6'8" were extremely rare. Now their appearance on dozens of teams is commonplace. What is more, many of them are marvelously coordinated!

The evidence is clear: the average young American is taller, heavier, and healthier than he was fifty, or even twenty, years ago. Young people today are about three inches taller and ten pounds heavier on the average than they were just fifty years ago.

As for health, modern medicine has succeeded in conquering most childhood diseases. Instead of pneumonia or influenza, accidents are now the main cause of death for persons under twenty-one—chiefly automobile accidents. Medicine has done much the same for adults. Our average life span is no longer 45 or 50; normally, we can expect to live to the age of 65 or 70 or beyond. Fifty years ago, many children became orphans while very young. Today, senior citizen care has become a major social question and, I might add, one we have not yet fully faced.

Moreover, young people are maturing physiologically four months earlier each decade. The average American girl in 1920 began to menstruate at 14. Now this occurs when she is about 12½ years old. And boys reach puberty today at 13½ instead of at 15.

Most teenage Americans are nearly two years ahead in their physical development than our senior citizens were when they were young.

The change in intellectual development is even more striking. Fifty years ago, over four-fifths of all 16-year-old persons were working. Not many graduated from high school, and less than one in ten went to col-

lege. Today, of course, the situation is vastly different. In fact, the increase in the amount of education young people have received since 1940 is so great that one group of scholars who recently examined the evidence said: "What has been regarded as a generation gap is shown largely to be an education gap."

Technically stated, the average student today scores approximately one standard deviation above his counterpart a generation ago on standardized tests of intellectual achievement. Translated, this means that a young person of today is more than one grade ahead of his parents at the same age. He should be. He has had more and better schooling than any youth in history.

There seems little question about it: what we now have in this nation is a generation of young persons whose intellectual activity—if not their wisdom and understanding—is vastly superior to that of previous generations.

A third area of change is one that is very close to my own deepest concerns—that of moral judgment.

Not too long ago, most students entering college believed there was a clear-cut distinction between right and wrong. Skepticism developed later in their lives, if at all. Cynicism was usually the result of brutal middle-aged life encounters and tragedies. But today, from what little concrete evidence we have (and a good deal of unscientific observation), the moral thinking of many young people is undergoing a radical change.

A new precocity is evident here as in other areas of youth's nature. It is not unusual now to encounter unbelief, cynicism, as well as statesmanship in youngsters who are still undergoing puberty. This is the era of the "put-on," the "power game," and "staying loose." It is also the age of "commitment" and profound moral concern. A startling and sometimes unsettling moral sophistication, understandably mixed with a confusion of values, is becoming one of the outstanding characteristics of today's young.

Finally, the psychological changes among our youth are the most difficult to describe briefly, fully, and fairly. It is also the one most widely probed and talked about. You may have read the section of the report of the President's Commission on Student Unrest that describes the shifting attitudes and behavioral patterns of a growing portion of our young people. Whatever may be the limitations of that report, the section on the psychology of the young was written with great insight.

I strongly suspect that the growing numbers of television-bred young people, while similar in many ways to the young of all generations, are more unlike their immediate predecessors than popular reports and the mass media would lead us to believe.

III.

In addition to this new breed of youth, a new kind of environment for learning is also emerging. We now confront a new context in which we must carry on our work.

Consider these facts: Only 50 years ago the great majority of Americans still lived on farms, without insecticides or hybrid plants, aided principally by mules and oxen. There were scarcely any automobiles or airplanes; radio and trade unionism were in their infancy; television was unheard of. Social Security for the elderly and unemployment insurance for workers were not available. Even as recently as 1950, television and penicillin were just coming into widespread use; and Red China was just becoming a power to be reckoned with. Computers, birth control pills, jet planes, and rock 'n roll music did not exist.

Of the many changes, several developments in society stand out as being especially consequential for higher education. One is the more rapid spread of information, skills,

and ideas. In addition to television, there are now more libraries, museums, paperback books, in-service training programs, films, industrial institutes, advertising, new magazines, countless U.S. military schools, and educational toys and games that provide a vast amount of instruction for citizens of all ages. No longer is there any validity in the old notion that learning can be accomplished only if a person is isolated in some remote enclave, or that higher learning must be squeezed into a fixed block of four years' time.

There is, of course, immense value in quiet contemplation on an attractive campus and in intimate discussions with thoughtful professors about profound ideas, ingenious techniques, or essential values. But surely there is little question that countless inroads have been made into traditional educational patterns. And higher learning has an obligation to respond in appropriate ways to the new learning environment.

Another societal development of enormous consequence is the new sophistication of technology. It is frequently observed (but unfortunately not always acted upon at our colleges) that advances in photography, sound engineering, optics, communications, and transportation have revolutionized the movement of information, ideas, and people themselves within society. They make possible such things as an international telephone seminar in astrophysics, a short inter-session of an anthropological study in West Africa or Peru, the study of Eskimo culture through films, and foreign language study by tapes and recordings.

If the spread of "the knowledge industry" has assaulted the traditional view of four years of on-campus study, the refinements of technology have eroded the custom of the isolated classroom. And, as the centrality of classroom lectures fade, the old yardsticks of higher education—faculty-student ratios, credit-hours for courses, and letter or number grades for performance—become increasingly obsolete.

Finally, there have been dramatic changes within the colleges and universities themselves. These trends strike powerfully at the cherished hope of delivering a "body of knowledge"—a manageable block of essential information, ideas, and modes of expression—to the young.

Moreover, they challenge the notion that college faculties necessarily know what is best for the students. And they also raise questions about the importance of the neat departmental major as the chief mode of intellectual inquiry. These developments force us to ponder the vexing threshold question: *what should students study?*

Consider for example, the much-publicized admissions revolution. Until the end of World War II, colleges in America were, in the main, institutions for the privileged and the gifted. In 1945 only one out of seven young persons entered college. College admission seemed to be the art of keeping people out. Since the war, with the astounding growth of state and community colleges, the situation has dramatically changed. Currently, one-half of all high school graduates and two out of five young Americans go on to college—and with good reason, since many jobs and most careers have become tougher in their requisites and far more complex in their execution.

Moreover, we are at the beginning of a second admissions boom—that of older persons re-entering college. With the rapid rate of technological change, increased leisure, the new roll of women in society, and the greater affluence, cultural shifts, and self-searching that allow and encourage changes in career, location, and life-style, continuing education is opening up as an important new frontier of higher education. Thus, most colleges and universities, especially public ones, are moving to help people in rather than to

screen them out. As the noted biologist H. Bentley Glass, of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, has suggested, perhaps one-third of all students in higher education within the next decade will be adults.

And as the colleges have admitted greater numbers of students from more varied socioeconomic backgrounds, with different qualifications and differing aspirations, courses and programs have had to be altered in order to serve effectively the expanded new clientele.

To shift one variable, such as the kind of students served, while holding constant all the rest of the middle-class, profession-oriented university apparatus—to move on one front and not on others closely related—is to court disaster, as numerous institutions have learned. Similarly, to introduce countless new pieces of the knowledge explosion on the campus—with the increased research, field work, and specialization that they demand—without reexamining the “liberal education” requirements, is irresponsible.

Clearly, the college and university of tomorrow must offer many approaches, many options, and many different programs to serve the new variety of students and to assist in the new areas of intellectual inquiry—as the recent Carnegie Commission Report, *Less Time, More Options*, has suggested.

Large universities may have to break up into several colleges: a college of liberal studies, a college of vocational studies, a college of social issues, a college of professional studies, a college of independent studies. Smaller colleges may have to establish links with other colleges and other kinds of societal learning institutions. Both will have to allow increased opportunities for travel, independent work, and off-campus study.

In the State University of New York, for example, we are starting a new kind of college—one without a campus—to deal with precisely this development. Called the Empire State College, the college will have an independent faculty who will guide and counsel the students; but the students will study at home or abroad, by day or in the evening, temporarily in a campus seminar or at the Smithsonian Institution. It is our hope that we can redesign education so that we can cope with the new learning environment of society without sacrificing standards, so that we can stay on top of change rather than being buffeted about by its sudden upheavals.

iv.

You in the testing profession perhaps know better than most of us what changes have occurred in our young people and in our social context. It is from test experts that we first learned such things as the rising intellectual achievement scores of our population and the fact that the basic structure of a young person's thought process does not shift appreciably after the age of 15.

You, too, have been on the receiving end of some of the criticisms about the “old style” of education. There is a growing awareness of the instructional possibilities of this new kind of learning environment. Often this has resulted in attacks on the traditional schools and on the standard tests of knowledge that have been developed over the past few decades.

I suggest that it is incumbent on all of us—those who administer the colleges, and you in the field of academic and personal measurements—to recognize and accept the new conditions of our time, and to rebuild our houses. We must do so with openness, imagination, and skill—and a sense of urgency as well. Also, we must do so without sacrificing the goal of *quality* education which ultimately translates itself into the excellence of our teaching and the excellence of the students' response.

In short, we must hold firmly to the goals

of education while shifting dramatically the process, responding as we must to changes in both the context of our work and the student to be served. This, then, is our challenge. I am convinced that, with courage and imagination, this challenge can be met.

Thank you for the honor of inviting me to meet with you this afternoon.

MASS TRANSIT

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the problem of in-city and inter-city movement has become a critical national concern. It is becoming increasingly apparent that cities of the future will not permit every citizen to move freely to work, to shop, or to recreation in his own vehicle. Mass transit developments are essential to permit at least some of the population to move about without complete dependence on the automobile.

Modern housing developments and industry of the future must be planned and located on a mass transit system so that at least some of the citizens of America can go to work, shop, or participate in recreation without depending on the automobile and the highways which are demanding increasing amounts of the limited open space which surrounds us.

In the 1920's, there was a great need for more and better highways. This need still existed in 1954. However, since that time, many factors and changes have come about. It is time to reconsider the tremendous level of spending by the Government on the development of more and more roads. At the moment, the country is virtually criss-crossed with highways. The new Interstate System, which is nearly complete, will be 42,500 miles long, and will extend into everyone of the 48 continental States. At the present, our highway system appears to be more than adequate, in great contrast to the inadequacy of the urban mass transit systems across the country. It is time that much of the money earmarked for transportation should be directed to new forms of transportation other than highways.

There are many other reasons for placing a new emphasis on other ways of travel. Pollution is one of the country's biggest problems. Automotive pollution, in particular, is not only causing millions of dollars in property damage, but has also been found to be a major health hazard. And autos are the main cause of air pollution—said to create over 60 percent of the pollution of the air we must breathe.

Highways and automobiles also greatly affect our supplies of natural resources. In particular, 55 percent of all of our increasingly scarce petroleum is consumed by cars. Furthermore, one of our greatest resources, that of land, is being greatly affected by the continuing construction of more roads. In many urban areas, such as Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, over 60 percent of the area within the cities is taken up by pave-

ment. The destruction of housing by the highways is also immense. Between 1967 and 1970, 146,950 families were made homeless, 16,679 businesses were destroyed, and 4,890 farms were overrun by the building of roads.

The unfairness of the current emphasis in the building of highways can be seen in other areas also. Approximately 52 percent of all the auto traffic, which provides about 52 percent of all the money put in the highway trust fund, uses only about 14 percent of all the roads. Intercity traffic is widely used only by a portion of the traffic. For example, in Washington, D.C., only 50 percent of the people own autos, and thus, 50 percent of the people in Washington, D.C. do not profit from the building of highways. Also, the average cost for a trip downtown in an average American city, if the driver had to pay for fuel, parking, wear and tear on the auto, et cetera, would be \$10 both ways.

I therefore feel that a review of the highway program must be made. More money must be directed to urban mass transit. There are many reasons why urban mass transit is more practical and better than highways. First, urban mass transit is much less polluting. Using the pollution of an auto as a figure of 1, a comparison of the relative pollution of autos, buses, and trains is as below.

	Lead	Organic materials	CO	No ₂	Particulates	So ₄
Car.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bus.....	0	1/19	1/214	2/15	2 1/2	1 1/5
Train.....	0	1/37	1/410	2/29	1 1/13	8/15

In terms of safety, urban mass transit is much more practical. Last year 60,000 people were killed on the roads in automobile accidents. However, it is estimated that buses are, per passenger miles, 11 times as safe as automobiles, and trains or rapid transit systems are more than 23 times as safe as the auto.

With regard to efficiency and ability for better passenger service, urban mass transit is seen to be a much better system. A bus is more than five times as efficient as a car in terms of people per mile. The gas consumption of a car in terms of people per mile is 8½ times as great as a bus, and 12½ times as great as a train. The number of passengers that can be moved in one transportation corridor in 1 hour is also much greater with mass transit. In fact, a car is about the least efficient method. The table of the number of people that can be moved in a single passenger corridor per hour is as follows:

	No. of passengers
Cars	3, 600
Buses	60, 000
Trains	60, 000
Bicycles	10, 000
Foot	6, 300

It would take 20 lanes of highways to provide the same amount of service that can be obtained with one lane of tracks.

It seems obvious that a new direction must be taken in transportation, and

that urban mass transit must head the list of priorities. Besides cutting pollution, there are five other basic reasons for the change. These are increased safety, possibilities for greater speed, much lower cost for individual riders, relaxation provided by riding rather than driving, and availability. While the last five points were fairly general and basic, there are other, very specific needs that can be filled by more and better urban mass transit. First of all, there is the fantastic growth of the cities. Urban areas are growing tremendously. It is estimated that by 1980, urban population will have gone up 50 percent since 1960, and that urban car ownership, if there is no change in the direction of urban mass transit, will rise 83 percent in urban areas. Mass transit thus becomes a critical need.

The need for mass transit is made obvious by the bad traffic, pollution, and safety problems of cities with no, or decrepit and inadequate urban mass transit, suburbs with no commuter service, urban areas with no bus service, or cities and suburbs with no inter-city bus or rail service. In cities that fit these descriptions, deterioration is taking place rapidly. While this is true in just about every city, the lack of better or good urban mass transit systems is a major cause. This is because, as shown in cities like Montreal and Mexico City, urban mass transit provides help in housing, health, industrial development, and commercial improvement. Furthermore, urban mass transit alleviates one of a city's greatest problems, that of the streets being constantly choked with automobiles.

There are also many urban areas without any rail service to an airport. As a matter of fact, only my own city of Cleveland has such a service. All other cities in the country, even those of New York and Chicago, are lacking in these systems. The usefulness and need for systems like this can be seen in Cleveland. The number of trains that are used had to be raised greatly over the original expectations, and the number of passengers per day is double what was expected.

It can therefore be easily seen that there are many reasons for urban mass transit. However, at the present time, the condition of urban mass transit around the country is very poor. This can be seen in looking at the general statistics of mass transit from 1961-70.

	1961	1970
Patronage (billions).....	7.2	5.4
Fares (cents).....	18.0	28.0
Revenues (billions).....	1.4	1.7
Expenses (billions).....	1.3	1.9
Profits, 1971 (millions).....	+16.7	-360.0
Employees.....	151,000	138,000
Number of UMT out of business.....		114

However, even with all these grim statistics, it can be seen that the public wants urban mass transit. There are several examples where this is pointed out. In Chicago, where new and very good lines were put in, both patronage and profits rose considerably. The Chicago Transit Authority went from a \$2 million deficit in 1956 to a \$3 million profit

in 1970. In Philadelphia, a new intercity train system to New Jersey was instituted, and passenger use of the new system rose 40 percent. In Peoria, Ill., a special bus project was used. In this, a specific bus picked up people at their homes and delivered them near their places of work. A survey showed that over 72 percent of the people who took advantage of the bus had formerly used cars to travel to work. Finally, in Japan, their new type of intercity train, which can go over 125 m.p.h., is said to be a success. The people have a desire to have urban mass transit.

There is a tremendous lack of money within the States and cities to provide for mass transit. The cities, therefore, have turned to the Federal Government. In 1971, the cities have already requested \$2.5 billion in mass transit funds. The city money needs for the next decade are estimated as follows:

Chicago, \$2.2 billion.
 Baltimore, \$1.7 billion.
 Boston, \$0.8 billion.
 New York, \$2.15 billion.
 Southern Capitol Rapid Transit System, \$2.5 billion.
 Bay area, \$1.8 billion.
 Other cities, \$6 billion.

It is estimated that at present money values, over \$17.7 billion will be needed for urban mass transit, or about \$2 billion a year, each year of this decade. The need for this money is acute, for the cities cannot raise enough by themselves. In the past years, transit bonds in Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Seattle, have been defeated. Besides the obvious reason that people are simply tired of being taxed so much, officials blamed the defeat of the bonds mainly in the lack of Government assurance of Federal aid. There is also the problem that the Government will finance a highway in a 90-10 scale, but will only support an urban mass transit program at a 66-34 rate.

Congress has made a good start in providing money for urban mass transit with the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970. This bill provides for 3.1 billion dollars to be spent solely on urban mass transit over the next 5 years. This figures out to an average of 620 million Federal Government dollars per year. And, since the money is on a 66-34 basis with the States, a total of 930 million dollars is provided—on the average—for each of the next 5 years by the bill. While this is still far short of the \$2 billion per year needed, it is a step in the right direction.

But, while still more money is needed, the President has continually cut down on the authorizations to urban mass transit. First, 200 million dollars were cut from the fiscal 1971 budget in the area of urban mass transit. Then, in the President's Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation, he provides only 525 million dollars of urban mass transit in the first year with an uncertain amount in later years. First of all, this is a great cutback from the bill passed by Congress. At a time when all branches of the government should be working for a better urban mass transit system, the administration is holding back spending on mass transit.

A new method of obtaining money for mass transit can be found in the bill I am cosponsoring today, which would create a Transportation Trust Fund that would replace the current highway trust fund. Moneys in the highway trust fund are primarily obtained through gasoline taxes, and these moneys are used almost solely for the building of highways. If a new Transportation Trust Fund was created, which would make available some of the steady assets of the Highway Trust Fund, a good deal of money would then become available for all forms and types of transportation. If a Transportation Trust Fund were created, the amount of money that could be used for urban mass transit would be greatly increased. With a recognition of the need for mass transit, coupled with the creation of the Transportation Trust Fund, great progress could be made in the improvement of transportation systems across the country.

In conclusion, let me say that the need for urban mass transit cannot be denied. Neither can the Federal Government deny the role it must play in the funding of mass transit. To do this, the transportation priorities of the country must be changed, and the importance placed on the building of highways reevaluated. Our urban problems must be solved and urban mass transit is a major part of that solution. The creation of the Transportation Trust Fund would greatly aid the cause of better and more urban mass transit.

GIVE LOCKHEED A SECOND CHANCE

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, within several weeks we will be presented a request to guarantee a loan for Lockheed Aircraft's L-1011 program. Some have charged that the project should not be supported because the Government should not be involved in supporting private enterprise. The facts are that the Federal Government is spending literally billions of dollars in support of private enterprise ventures including nearly \$790 million in loan money for the foreign sale of Lockheed's competitors jumbo jets, the McDonnell-Douglas DC-10, and the Boeing 747.

It is also interesting to note that Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE cosponsored legislation in 1967 to grant a \$20 million tax relief to American Motors of Wisconsin. This involved \$20 million out of Federal Treasury and into the treasury of American Motors. Such is not the case for the loan guarantee. No Federal funds will be expended here. Yet, as with the legislation Senator PROXMIRE sponsored, the Lockheed loan guarantee will also "assure competition within the industry" as the Senator urged just 4 years ago.

We must not be hypocritical about this matter. The Federal Government is involved in projects that touch each of us. We must deal with this question from a position of fact not fantasy. I urge each

Member to read the following June 1971 article from one of the Nation's foremost magazines, *Fortune*. I believe it accurately presents the dilemma facing one of our Nation's largest corporations:

GIVE LOCKHEED A SECOND CHANCE

The Administration's proposal to rescue Lockheed's 1011 TriStar airliner with a government-guaranteed bank loan confronts Congress with an unhappy choice between certainty and uncertainty. The certainty is that if the loan guarantee is voted down, Lockheed will go bankrupt. With the guarantee, Lockheed would have a fighting chance to survive, but might still fail. Under the circumstances, there is a lot to be said for choosing uncertainty.

The guarantee would cover a \$250-million loan to be put up by twenty-four banks, which have already loaned the company \$400 million. The government-backed portion of the total loan would be the first to be repaid, and if Lockheed should still go bankrupt, the government would have first claim on the company's total assets of \$1.3 billion.

The fact that the taxpayers' potential liability is limited does not in itself justify a government bailout for a private company. Nor is it enough to say that government-guaranteed loans have become a familiar aspect of our economic life, through the activities of agencies like the Export-Import Bank and the Federal Housing Administration. The case for the Lockheed guarantee rests on the fact that it is an exceptional measure to deal with an unusual emergency that befell a corporation especially vulnerable to circumstances beyond its control. There may be an element of bad management in Lockheed's predicament, but there is much more to the situation than can be explained away by accusations that the company was ineptly run.

The article on page 66 details the interlocking disasters that overtook Lockheed. Much that may have helped produce these disasters is not yet known. It is already amply clear, however, that the government itself bears some responsibility for the company's present plight. During the early 1960's, for high-minded reasons, the Pentagon adopted a new form of defense contracting that proved to be unworkable. It called for firm commitments years in advance to produce weaponry that had yet to be invented. In trying to anticipate the unforeseeable, the Pentagon wrote contracts so intricate that they lent themselves to misunderstanding and legal disputes. Lockheed was unlucky—or perhaps unwise—enough to win several of those contracts, and is now paying for its success.

Lockheed itself may have been partly to blame for the battering it took in the C-5A contract; the evidence is highly ambiguous. But the misfortune that threatened the life of its prime commercial product, the TriStar, seems clearly to have been beyond the company's power to foresee or avert. After the collapse of Rolls-Royce, Lockheed's management performed a heroic job in bringing together banks, airlines—and the British Government—to save the plane. Only one link remains to be put in place—the loan guarantee. In the circumstances, we believe Congress should approve it.

THE COST OF FAILURE

The case is strengthened by a consideration of what it might cost if Lockheed were to give up the TriStar for want of financing. More than 30,000 jobs would be put in immediate jeopardy. In addition to the human anguish of the jobless, there would be real cost to the taxpayers—in terms of income taxes no longer collected, as well as in payments for unemployment compensation, retraining programs, and other government efforts to minimize the impact on individuals and the economy.

A Lockheed bankruptcy would exact its own high price. In a letter to Congressman William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania, to which Lockheed is giving wide distribution, the Comptroller General of the U.S. has pointed out that the cost to the government of the C-5A program could "increase substantially" if Lockheed went bankrupt. This is so because subcontractors on the C-5A might be able to renegotiate prices they agreed to six years ago, before the onset of inflation. Lockheed's other uncompleted government contracts, which total about \$1.9 billion, might also have to be reopened. Essential projects doubtless would be continued, one way or another, but the disruption would be bound to be costly.

In the congressional debate, proposals will surely be made that the loan guarantee be tied to a requirement that Lockheed abandon Rolls-Royce and put U.S.-made engines in the TriStar. Fred Borch, chairman of General Electric, has already made this point, with the obvious aim of getting Lockheed to use the G.E. engine that is going into the McDonnell Douglas DC-10.

The airlines and Lockheed have twice studied the available engines, however, and twice they have chosen Rolls-Royce's RB.211. Their decision may prove wrong or shortsighted, but it should be left to them, not Congress, to decide—especially since a change of engines would increase costs and delay deliveries to such an extent that it is probably no longer a practical alternative. It is also worth noting that use of the Rolls engine might enhance chances of selling the TriStar to foreign airlines, thereby benefiting the U.S. balance of payments.

A SORRY SEQUENCE

The Lockheed guarantee should not be regarded as a precedent for further government rescue missions, but it can serve as a useful warning. Unless the system of defense procurement undergoes fundamental change, other defense companies could well fall into difficulties like Lockheed's. In the future, military projects will become fewer but bigger and riskier. The idea that competitive bidding assures the best product at the lowest price is proving to be a delusion. What it actually has done is impel companies to make unrealistically low cost estimates in order to grab off contracts, setting off a sorry sequence of cost overruns, congressional inquiries, and financial trouble for the contractors themselves.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's "fly before you buy" policy represents a big improvement in procurement procedures, but it is only a first step. Congress ought to convert its indignation over past deficiencies in the system into pressure for constructive reform that will assure the nation the best defense for the least money. But meanwhile, Congress should give Lockheed one more chance to survive.

WHAT'S RIDING ON THE TRISTAR

LOCKHEED'S MAJOR L-1011 SUBCONTRACTORS

[In millions]	For 350 airplanes
Rolls-Royce, Derby, England, (RB.211 engines) -----	900.0
Avco, Nashville, Tenn., (wings)-----	575.0
Menasco, Burbank, Calif., Fort Worth, Tex., (Landing gear)-----	95.2
Collins Radio* Cedar Rapids, Iowa, (Automatic flight-control systems) -----	71.8
Hamilton Standard, Windsor Locks, Conn., (Division of United Aircraft), (Air-conditioning and pressure system)-----	69.0
Sunstrand, Rockford, Ill., (Servomechanisms for leading-edge slats, Auxiliary hydraulic power system) -----	46.6

Murdock Machine & Engineering, Irving, Tex., (Division of CCI Corp.), (Pylons to support underwing engines)-----	33.8
Northwest Industries, Edmonton, Alberta, (Subsidiary of CAE Industries), (Bulkheads and flooring, Nose landing-gear doors, Air ducts and storage chambers)-----	27.0
Sperry Flight Systems, Phoenix, Ariz., (Division of Sperry Rand), (Navigation instruments, Air data instruments and computer)-----	26.3
Curtiss-Wright, Caldwell, N.J., (Servomechanisms for training-edge flaps)-----	25.2
Heath Tecna, Kent, Wash., (Wing-to-fuselage fairings) Crew attendant seats-----	22.8
Instrument Systems, Huntington, N.Y., (Entertainment system, Cabin Interphone system)-----	19.1
LTV ElectroSystems, Dallas, Tex., (Pilot's pitch "feel" and trim systems)-----	16.2
National Water Lift, Kalamazoo, Mich., (Division of Pneumo Dynamics), (Servomechanisms for ailerons and rudder)-----	13.9
Bertea, Irving, Calif., (Servomechanisms for stabilizers)-----	13.6
Kawasaki Aircraft, Gifu, Japan, (Fuselage doors)-----	13.3
Grimes Manufacturing, Urbana, Ohio, (Lighting and coffee makers)-----	13.0
Bristol Aerospace, Winnipeg, Manitoba, (Subsidiary of Rolls-Royce), ("S" duct for aft-engine intake)-----	12.6
Air Cruisers, Belmar, N.J., (Division of Garrett Corp.), (Evacuation slides)-----	11.0
Western Gear, Lynwood, Calif., (Baggage and cargo handling system)-----	10.4
Fleet Manufacturing, Fort Erie, Ontario, (Aft-engine and fuselage fairings, Main landing-gear doors)-----	9.0
Lear Siegler, Cleveland, Ohio, (Generating equipment)-----	8.8
Sierracin, Los Angeles, Calif., (Windshields)-----	7.8
Western Hydraulics, Van Nuys, Calif., (Division of Borg-Warner), (Spoilers, Direct lift control)-----	7.4
Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Akron, Ohio, (Antiskid system)-----	6.9
B. F. Goodrich, Troy, Ohio, (Wheels, tires, brakes)-----	5.2
1,500 other subcontractors (Miscellaneous parts and materials)-----	**500.0
Total contracts, billion-----	**2.5

*With Lear Siegler, Santa Monica, Calif.
**Fortune's estimate.

LOCKHEED'S BANKS

- Bank of America, Los Angeles.
- Bankers Trust Co., New York.
- Bank of California, Los Angeles.
- Chase Manhattan Bank, New York.
- Chemical Bank, New York.
- Citizens & Southern National Bank, Atlanta.
- Continental Illinois, Chicago.
- Crocker-Citizens National Bank, San Francisco.
- First National Bank of Atlanta.
- First National Bank of Boston.
- First National Bank of Chicago.
- First National City Bank, New York.
- Fulton National Bank, Atlanta.
- Girard Trust Bank, Philadelphia.
- Irving Trust Co., New York.
- Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., New York.
- Mellon National Bank & Trust Co., Pittsburgh.
- Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., New York.
- Pacific National Bank of Washington, Seattle.

Philadelphia National Bank.
Security Pacific National Bank, Los Angeles.

Trust Co. of Georgia, Atlanta.
United California Bank, Los Angeles.
Wells Fargo Bank, Los Angeles.
Total commitment, \$400 million.

If Lockheed's big bird fails to fly, more than 30,000 workers in the U.S. alone could lose their jobs, the company's 55,000 stockholders would have little or no equity, and some of the nation's largest banks might have to write off enormous loans. To date, Lockheed has invested \$900 million in inventory and \$90 million in plant and equipment. It also let some 1,500 subcontracts. In turn, the subcontractors let contracts of their own. Avco, for example, awarded a \$27-million contract to Aeronca Inc.; one for \$21 million to the Marquardt division of CCI Corp.; and another, for \$11,400,000, to Short Brothers & Harland Ltd. of Belfast, Northern Ireland.

The table at left lists companies holding twenty-six of the largest contracts on the L-1011, and the location of plants doing most of the work. The value of the contracts is based on production of 350 airplanes, as envisioned in Lockheed's original L-1011 program. But since Lockheed has firm orders or options for just 178 airplanes, and places orders only as parts are needed, the current value of the contracts is far less than the amounts shown here. For example, Lockheed's initial order with Rolls-Royce was for about \$450 million for 550 engines. Sperry Flight Systems puts the value of its contract at \$8 million. All of the subcontractors shown here, except Bertea, shared the risk of the TriStar project with Lockheed by deferring a considerable part of their payment until the actual delivery of airplanes to customers. Rolls, for example, had received only about \$20 million. If Lockheed should fail, subcontractors would rank as unsecured creditors. Bankers Trust and Bank of America act as agents for the twenty-four banks (above) that have extended Lockheed individual lines of credit totaling \$400 million. They put up the last \$80 million of this sum after securing liens on Lockheed properties. These banks have agreed to advance an additional \$250 million—if the government guarantees the loans.

THE SALVAGE OF THE LOCKHEED 1011

(By Harold B. Meyers)

To save his plane—and his company—Dan Haughton had to perform one of the most delicate balancing acts in the annals of modern business. The outcome depended on simultaneous commitments by six airlines, twenty-four banks, and two governments.

In rural Alabama, where the chairman of Lockheed Aircraft Corp. grew up, sherry is for old ladies and cold fish describes a personality trait. But at Grosvenor House in London on February 2, Daniel J. Haughton was prepared to savor the sherry and cold salmon served at a luncheon given for him by Lord Cole, chairman of Rolls-Royce Ltd. For months Rolls-Royce, which was developing the RB.211 engine for Lockheed's new wide-bodied passenger jet, the L-1011 TriStar, had been concerned—with reason—about the financial stability of its American partner. Now Haughton was able, in his down-home accent and courtly manner, to assure his host that Lockheed's troubles appeared to be in the past. He had all but nailed down the additional financing that he needed for the TriStar. The road ahead seemed clear. By the way, asked Haughton, how was Rolls-Royce coming with its technical problems on the RB.211? Only then, barely forty-eight hours before it was announced in the House of Commons, did Dan Haughton learn the bad news.

What he heard from Cole and at subsequent meetings with government officials

represented an amalgam of bleak realities and dire prospects. Costs on the RB.211 had soared out of sight. Development was behind schedule, the engine was not performing as expected—and, as Haughton knew, Rolls-Royce's contract with Lockheed carried stiff penalties for late delivery and failure to meet specifications. Its board of directors had concluded that Rolls-Royce lacked the resources to carry on the RB.211 on its own and had turned for help to the British Government, which had already contributed \$113 million toward the cost of "launching" the engine. But Prime Minister Edward Heath had declined to put more taxpayer money into what he had come to regard as an uneconomic venture.

The British Government's ungriving stance and a provision in Britain's corporate law forced the Rolls board to ask the company's debenture holders to appoint a receiver. The government intended to take over those divisions that were important to national policy and let the receiver sell off others, including the motorcar division (which accounted for only about 5 percent of Rolls-Royce's sales of \$720 million in 1969). But the government would not take over the RB.211 division or assume its obligations under the contract with Lockheed. If Lockheed wanted Rolls-Royce engines in the TriStar, Haughton would have to negotiate a new contract.

Haughton was stunned by the unexpected recital of disaster. He was well aware of Rolls-Royce's technical problems with the RB.211; Lockheed had its own experts monitoring the project at Rolls's Derby works, and Haughton himself made regular trips to Britain to review progress. But he had had no hint that its troubles with the RB.211 could sink Rolls-Royce, the symbol of all that was best in British industry. At first he couldn't believe it. And in this, at least, he was in complete agreement with those who gave him the news. "To the British," said one government official, "the news of Rolls-Royce was like hearing that Westminster Abbey had become a brothel."

Haughton wasted no energy on denunciations of perfidious Albion. He set to work at once to put engines back into the TriStar, which the British press soon dubbed, sardonically, "the world's biggest glider." In the following weeks, which grew into months, of unceasing effort, Dan Haughton was called upon to perform one of the most intricate balancing acts in the annals of modern business. On every side he was hemmed in by "but," "however," or "on the other hand." He was counting on the TriStar to put Lockheed back into the commercial airframe business, after nine years on the sidelines, and thereby reduce its dependence on government contracts (which represented 90 percent of the company's 1970 sales of \$2.5 billion). Without engines, there would be no TriStar—and, quite possibly, no Lockheed.

Only the British Government could supply the capital needed to continue with the RB.211. The government, however, was unwilling to risk additional public money without assurance, preferably from the U.S. Government, that Lockheed could stay in business. Even if engines—either the RB.211 or a U.S. product—could be obtained, Lockheed calculated that it would now need up to another \$350 million in outside capital from banks and customers to bring the TriStar into full production. Its banks were unwilling to advance more money without some kind of guarantee from the U.S. Government that would protect their added investment. But such a guarantee would require congressional action—and Congress had grown notably cool to the pleas of defense contractors like Lockheed and, since the Penn Central debacle, even cooler to the idea of government aid for faltering private enterprises.

A lot of figures of speech have been em-

ployed to describe the complexity of Haughton's task as he sought to salvage the TriStar and Lockheed. Nine customers and twenty-four banks had to be kept in the game, if the game were to continue, and all—each with its own needs, interests, and responsibilities—had to be convinced that the final deal represented the best possible outcome for them and their stockholders. And all had to reach that decision at the same time, though each preferred to wait until the others—and the U.S. and British governments as well—had acted. A Lockheed executive said the problem was to get a squad of men, each of whom wanted to be the last man in a single file, to go arm-in-arm through the door. "Is there a door that wide?" one of Lockheed's bankers wondered. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, the Texas Democrat who monitored the negotiations for the Nixon Administration, put it best. "Dan," he told Haughton, "your trouble is you're chasing one possum at a time up the tree. What you've got to do is get all those possums up the tree at the same time."

DELIVER US FROM CREDITORS

The stakes were enormous. At the time of Rolls' collapse, more than \$1.7 billion had been committed to the project—\$990 million by Lockheed, \$350 million by its subcontractors, and \$400 million by Rolls and its subcontractors. Lockheed's investment came partly from its own resources, but mostly from its customers and banks. The customers that had ordered 178 TriStars (six airlines, two investment groups, and a British holding company) at a cost of about \$15 million each—\$2,670,000,000 worth—had handed over more than \$200 million in advance payments; among the airlines were Eastern, T.W.A., Delta, and Air Canada. Twenty-four banks, led by Bankers Trust and Bank of America, had loaned Lockheed \$350 million, the limit then available to it from its existing credit line of \$400 million, and the company had put up as collateral a considerable part of the real estate it owned, as well as all the stock of two substantial subsidiaries, Lockheed Shipbuilding & Construction Co. and Lockheed Electronics Co. (In April the banks stretched themselves, after getting more collateral, and gave Lockheed another \$50 million, bringing its bank debt up to the full \$400 million.)

Thousands of jobs depended on continued production of the TriStar with RB.211 engines. About 31,000 of the jobs were with Lockheed, its subcontractors, and its suppliers in the U.S. and Canada. Some 19,000 of these jobs were in California, which is already suffering acute unemployment, especially in the aerospace industry. The other 12,000 were distributed through many states—3,000 in Tennessee, 700 in Georgia, more than 600 in Connecticut. Rolls-Royce had more than 12,000 workers employed on the RB.211, and about the same number worked for its subcontractors and suppliers.

Some of these Lockheed and Rolls-Royce workers could be shifted to other projects, of course, but most faced dismissal. One of Haughton's first moves was to lay off 6,500 Lockheed workers to conserve cash while he tried to save the TriStar. (Since then Lockheed's layoffs have mounted to 8,500.) At Derby, a red-brick industrial city of 230,000 people in the English Midlands, about 20 percent of the work force is employed at Royce's, as the company is known locally. The British Government kept development work going on the RB.211, at a cost of more than \$2,400,000 a week, to give Haughton time to work out a new deal. But soon there were 2,000 "redundancies" in Derby, and the town was seized by panic. Morale at Royce's plunged, and a bitter parody of the Lord's Prayer circulated among proud engineers, who remained confident that, given a chance, the RB.211 would rank with other great Rolls-Royce engines:

... Give us this day our receiver
And forbid our redundancies
As we forgive them
That did nationalize us.
But deliver us from creditors
For ours was the Merlin,
the Spey and the Conway
Dart and the Avon. RR men.

LIFE AMONG THE UNK-UNKS

Haughton, fifty-nine, is a lean six-footer with a florid face, thinning hair, and a ready smile. One friend describes his manner as one of "red-dirt southern courtliness"—nothing affected, nothing high-flown, and yet unmistakably gentry. His father was a sometime farmer, sometime storekeeper in the Alabama backwoods, and Haughton worked on the family farm and later in a coal mine to earn his way to a degree in accounting at the University of Alabama in 1933. He joined Lockheed in 1939 when it was still a small company. The hard-working young Southerner quickly caught the eye of the Gross brothers, Robert and Courtlandt, who were the dominant figures in the company. In 1961, Haughton was named president. He succeeded Courtlandt Gross as chairman in 1967, and a Haughton protégé, A. Carl Kottchian, fifty-six, moved up to the presidency.

Haughton's years as Lockheed chairman have been full of trouble. Lockheed, like others in the aerospace industry, has kept bumping into "unknown-unknowns," or contingencies that couldn't be foreseen (see "For Lockheed, Everything's Coming Up Unk-Unks," *FORTUNE*, August 1, 1969). In March, 1970, Haughton notified Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard that Lockheed faced "a critical financial problem" unless the Pentagon promptly settled contract disputes on four of the company's defense projects, or provided interim financing while the disputes dragged on. More than \$750 million was at stake in claims involving the C-5A cargo plane, the Army's Cheyenne helicopter, the motor for the SRAM (short-range attack missile), and a group of Navy ships. Except for the ships, all the projects were being carried out under the immensely complex, and now discredited, "total package procurement" concept introduced by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in an effort to reduce defense costs. Not only had the concept failed to bring costs under control; it encouraged, through the complexity of the contracts required, just the sort of protracted legal disputes that Lockheed was embroiled in.

On February 1, the day before he ate cold fish in London, Haughton reluctantly accepted a settlement that brought Lockheed's losses on the disputed defense contracts to \$480 million (before taxes), all but \$190 million of which it had already written off. That gave the company an apparent after-tax loss for 1970 of \$80 million, instead of a previously reported profit of about \$10 million, and its net worth declined from \$331 million to \$240 million. (Lockheed's audited figures for 1970 still have not been reported, pending the outcome of Haughton's struggle to save the TriStar.)

It was, clearly, a very tough settlement, and there are those, even in the White House, who now wonder if it wasn't too tough, inasmuch as it left Lockheed in no shape to deal with Rolls-Royce on its own. Says one presidential assistant: "The Defense Department negotiated those guys out of \$350 million." This view assumes that if Lockheed had had the time and financial resources to fight its case through the courts, it might very well have come out much better than it did in the deal with Packard.

But at least the settlement with the Pentagon had given the company some breathing space. Lockheed had taken its losses and survived, and its most troublesome contract, on the C-5A, was being restructured to limit fu-

ture liability. That cleared the way for Haughton to obtain the additional capital that he needed for the L-1011 until sales might finally begin to generate a substantial cash flow. On the strength of the Pentagon settlement, he tentatively arranged \$250 million in additional financing, \$100 million of it from the airlines that were buying the TriStar. All these arrangements fell apart when Rolls-Royce went into receivership. "When something comes as unstuck as this one did, it's not easy—and this one really came unstuck," says Haughton.

TROUBLE ON THE FLYING TEST-BED

In the sixty-five years of its existence, Rolls-Royce Ltd. earned an outstanding reputation for technical excellence and reliability. Under Sir Denning Pearson, now sixty-two, an engineer who was determined to keep the company ahead of its competitors in technology, Rolls-Royce assigned as many as 22,000 employees to research and development. Out of this huge effort grew the RB.211, which after an intensive competition was selected for the TriStar over engines made by General Electric and Pratt & Whitney. (The G.E. power plant went into McDonnell Douglas' wide-bodied jet, the DC-10, and Pratt & Whitney's is in the Boeing 747.) The RB.211 was a bold venture into advanced technology, with 20 percent fewer rotating parts than existing engines have. It has a huge fan and two compressor sections that revolve independently on concentric drive shafts. This "three-shaft" construction gives a pilot more flexibility in controlling power on landing, and makes the RB.211 an unusually quiet engine. Even on take-off, it produces little visible smoke, a great advantage in this ecologically conscious age.

Another innovation in the RB.211, as first proposed, called for the twenty-five blades of its fan to be made of Hyfil, a composite material of carbon fibers bonded with epoxy resins. Using Hyfil instead of the usual titanium, Rolls expected to save 300 pounds per engine, or the equivalent of five passengers on a three-jet airplane. But when early models of the RB.211 were mounted on a VC-10 "flying test-bed," rain and hail eroded the tips of the Hyfil blades. Rolls corrected the tendency toward erosion by inserting metal laminations. But that created stress at the root of the blades, so that they could not withstand the impact of a large bird ingested by the engine at high speed. Fortunately, Rolls had been carrying on concurrent development of the RB.211 with titanium blades, so that failure of Hyfil to perform as expected, though it caused enormous expense, did not doom the project.

When the RB.211 was chosen for the TriStar in 1968, all Britain celebrated. The man who swung the deal, David Huddle, then managing director of Roll's Aero Engine Division, was knighted by the Queen for his contribution to the nation's balance of trade (see "Rolls-Royce's \$2-Billion Hard Sell," *FORTUNE*, March, 1969), and the British Government agreed to pay 70 percent of the then-estimated cost of developing the RB.211. The government's contribution was to be repaid out of sales of the engine.

For a long time no one found much cause for concern, though by the end of 1969 the company's debt had risen sharply. Rolls-Royce owed some \$150 million to creditors, some of whom had to wait six months or more to be paid. Other debt in the form of bank overdrafts, short-term paper, and debentures totaled \$266 million. No one seemed really alarmed, however, until Rolls reported a \$115-million loss for the first half of 1970, mostly attributed to rising costs on the RB.211.

Even then the sense of alarm was relieved by a feeling that Rolls could always turn to the government for help. Edward Heath, who replaced Harold Wilson as Prime Minister in June, had said there would be no more

government aid for the lame ducks of private enterprise, but by the autumn that policy appeared to change. During the spring Rolls had obtained a \$24-million loan, with the promise of another \$24 million in 1971, from the Industrial Reorganization Corporation, a government agency. In return for the aid, Rolls had to put two new members on its board of directors, including Ian Morrow, fifty-eight, an accountant who specialized in restoring ailing companies to health. Under Morrow's prodding, Rolls conducted a new study of the RB.211, which showed that far more than the IRC money would be needed.

Swallowing its embarrassment, the Heath government agreed to provide \$101 million toward the development costs of the RB.211 (making a total government investment of \$238 million), while Rolls-Royce's banks would supply \$43 million more. There was a price for this help, however. Sir Denning Pearson was replaced as chairman by Lord Cole, sixty-four, who had recently retired as chairman of Unilever. A four-man committee, headed by Morrow, took over Pearson's chief-executive functions.

The promised \$144 million from the banks and government was withheld pending an independent audit of Rolls. But the new management soon concluded that even that \$144 million would not be enough. In 1968 the company had estimated that it would take \$156 million to develop the engine and put it into production. The examination made after Morrow's appointment pushed the figure to \$324 million. And by mid-January, based on the new board's hard-eyed look, the estimated cost of bringing the RB.211 into production soared to more than \$600 million.

WHO GOES BUST FIRST?

On January 22, Lord Cole informed the British Government that Rolls could not go on with the RB.211. The British Cabinet's legal advisers warned that if the government simply tided the company over, or nationalized it in its entirety, it might become responsible for all of Rolls's liabilities, which could not be calculated with any certainty because of what one official calls a "lack of accounting." With no new government commitment, the Rolls board voted on January 26 to seek receivership.

At that very time the British Ministry of Aviation Supply had a representative at Lockheed's headquarters in Burbank trying to determine if Lockheed could avoid bankruptcy. And there is no doubt that British concern over Lockheed's financial ability to continue with the Tri-Star contributed to the government's decision to exclude the RB.211 division when it selected parts of the company to continue. At the time, recalls one observer: "It was a question which company would go bust first, Rolls-Royce or Lockheed. Rolls-Royce won by a short hair."

Haughton's trip to London on February 2 had been scheduled for some time. At the end of January he got a call asking if he might come a day early. He couldn't, because he had to meet with his board of directors on February 1 to ask approval for that settlement with the Pentagon. He got the approval, signed the letter of acceptance to Secretary Packard at 2:30 p.m., and boarded a plane to London at 4:00 p.m., confident that, at last, things were starting to break right. "For about fourteen hours I felt good," Haughton recalls.

Once he got the news about the receivership, Haughton swung into a hectic round of travel and meetings. He was frequently joined by Fred J. Leary, a vice president of Bankers Trust, and Ronald G. Ross, a vice president of Bank of America, who represented Lockheed's banks during the intricate negotiations. At every step Haughton reported his progress and problems to Secretary Connally. As it became clear that government participation was essential, Con-

nally's role grew crucial. Whatever package Haughton put together, it was one that Connally would have to approve.

Work of the TriStar continued at Lockheed's Palmdale, California, plant, but at a much slower rate. Three TriStars have by now been flown, powered by development models of the RB.211, and flight tests have continued just about as scheduled. But the stretched-out production schedule meant massive layoffs of employees and deferred deliveries from suppliers. Both steps cut Lockheed's immediate cash requirements sharply.

For a long time Haughton had been holding down on capital expenditures. Instead of the \$100 million budgeted for 1970, the company spent only \$63 million, and funds available from depreciation took care of all but \$7 million of that. For 1971, Haughton slashed capital investment still further, so that cash flow from depreciation exceeded expenditures on capital investment. Some assets were sold, and scheduled salary increases were suspended for 31,000 salaried employees. Top officers took salary cuts. Haughton sliced 25 percent off his own \$153,000 salary and President Carl Kotchian's \$138,000. With what Haughton calls "a pretty good cash flow" coming in from Lockheed's profitable activities, including the Agena satellite and Poseidon missile programs, he was able to say last month: "I think we have the ability to carry on" while financing for the TriStar is arranged.

THE OPTIMISM OF THREE FERRETS

At first, negotiations over the RB.211 were complicated by the British Government's fear that it had a lemon on its hands. However, in February, three of the most respected aeroengine experts in Britain made still another cost and technical study for Lord Carrington, the Minister of Defense, who had been placed in charge of the negotiations with Lockheed by Prime Minister Heath. The "three ferrets," as Carrington refers to them, concluded that the Rolls board had been overly pessimistic in assessing the RB.211's faults and future. As a result of the report by these experts, the government calculated that another \$288 million would be enough to complete development of the engine.

Reassured, Lord Carrington presented the British Government's first concrete offer to Haughton early in March in a meeting at the Ministry of Defense. The price of the engine would rise, under a complicated formula, to an average of about \$1,180,000, compared with the old contract price of \$840,000. The British Government would put up \$144 million toward the development cost, with Lockheed providing the rest of the money needed—another \$144 million if the British estimates were correct. Haughton rejected the offer out of hand. It was, he said, not conceivable that Lockheed could add Rolls' problems to its own. In any case, the British estimates of the money needed were double those given him by his own experts.

The next day Lord Carrington sweetened the offer a bit. He invited Haughton to set up a joint venture in which Her Majesty's Government would immediately invest \$144 million. If Haughton was right, that was all that would be needed, and Lockheed would have to put up nothing. But if it turned out that more was needed, Lockheed would have to bear the added costs. The price of the engines would be negotiated later to reflect actual costs, and the two partners would divide any future profits. Since, as Haughton said later, "I have as much at risk as I can say grace over now," the offer was still unacceptable, and especially so because it was coupled with a demand for cross warranties. The British Government would agree to produce the RB.211 so long as spare engines were needed, but Lockheed would have to indemnify the British against loss if Lockheed went

bankrupt or gave up the TriStar. "I don't have anyone to give me such a guarantee," said Haughton.

From the British standpoint, the demand for guarantees seemed eminently reasonable. How could a responsible government put taxpayer money into an open-ended commitment to the RB.211 without assurance that the TriStar would survive? In subsequent negotiations all the other details of the British offer, including price, were to change completely. But the demand for a guarantee was modified only to the extent that it could be satisfied by a U.S. Government guarantee for the loans that Lockheed was seeking from its banks. That guarantee was also just what Lockheed's bankers needed before making any new loans, regardless of whether the RB.211 or an American engine powered the TriStar. By the middle of March, it became clear to Haughton and all the others involved that some form of government participation had become essential.

THE LAST MODEL OF THE HUPMOBILE

In everything that he did, Haughton had to keep his airline customers satisfied. Fortunately for him, the airlines were not unduly dismayed at the prospect of a possible five-month delay in deliveries of the first TriStars, from this November to April, 1972. T.W.A.'s Chairman Charles C. Tillinghast Jr., hard-pressed for capital, thought his line could stand an even longer delay. "I would say a delay of a year would have as many advantages as disadvantages, maybe more," he said.

The large investments the airlines had already made helped keep them patient while Haughton tried to put together his new TriStar package. A significant fact about the airlines' financial commitment was that most of their money had gone to Lockheed, not Rolls-Royce. The carriers had financed 90 percent of the cost of the engines through British banks, with the assistance of the British Government's Export Credits Guarantee Department (which corresponds to the U.S. Export-Import Bank). In Eastern's case, \$71,700,000 of its prepayments on the L-1011 had gone to Lockheed, and only \$5,800,000 to Rolls-Royce. T.W.A. had paid Lockheed \$90,700,000, and Rolls only \$6,800,000.

It was far more important for the airlines that the TriStar survive than that it be powered with the RB.211. Since the engine is so important to the commercial success of an aircraft, it is the customer, not the airframe manufacturer, who has the chief voice in selecting the power plant. In the first weeks after the Rolls-Royce collapse, there appeared to be at least two good reasons for the airlines to prefer a change of engine. The first was political. Were federal assistance to become necessary, Congress could be expected to be more amenable if the chief beneficiaries were all U.S. companies. The second rationale for switching engines was more direct. In buying the L-1011, the airlines were shaping their fleets for the next fifteen to twenty years. They could not afford to stake their futures on an aircraft or an engine that might not stay in production. Explained T.W.A.'s Tillinghast: "The one thing everybody is concerned about is ending up with the last model of the Hupmobile."

Both General Electric and Pratt & Whitney still had available the engines that had been rejected in favor of the RB.211 back in 1968. The L-1011 could still have been adapted to use either engine, though modification of the airframe would be expensive and might delay deliveries by an additional six months. Through February and the early part of March, Lockheed and the airlines ran what was in effect a new competition to supply engines for the TriStar.

Once again the RB.211 won the competition. The airlines concluded that the vir-

tues of the engine outweighed the political uncertainties involved in dealing with a nationalized British company. The RB.211's technical problems seemed to have been overcome. On the Derby test-beds, the engine was coming up toward 42,000 pounds of thrust, just what was wanted, and fuel consumption was within 2 percent of specifications despite the added weight of titanium fan blades. Also in the RB.211's favor was the fact that neither G.E. nor Pratt & Whitney could match the British financing. Nor would different engines be eligible for the federal investment tax credit of 7 percent. The credit had applied to the airlines' original engine purchase, but was repealed in 1969.

While the engine competition was still going on, Dan Haughton met with the chairman of both G.E. and United Aircraft, Pratt & Whitney's parent company. Once the decision to stay with the RB.211 was made, Pratt & Whitney seemed to accept the results of the competition. But G.E. Chairman Fred J. Borch fired off letters to President Nixon and Secretary Connally, protesting that any U.S. guarantee of loans for Lockheed should be made conditional on having a U.S.-made engine in the TriStar. Dan Haughton retorted that the G.E. engine had been given full consideration, but all things considered, the total cost of a G.E.-powered L-1011 would be greater for Lockheed and for the airlines."

DELTA PUTS THE HEAT ON

Of all Haughton's TriStar customers, Delta came closest to defecting. One of the few trunk lines that made money last year (\$44,500,000), Delta would have relatively little trouble in financing a switch to McDonnell Douglas DC-10's. Because many of its routes overlap those of Eastern and two DC-10 customers, United and American, Delta feels competitive pressure to operate the newest equipment. McDonnell Douglas has been more than six weeks ahead of its test schedule on the DC-10, and will be able to start deliveries late this summer. American and United expect to start flying their first DC-10's in September.

On March 18, Delta signed a "letter of intent" to buy five DC-10's for delivery in 1972 and 1973. The airline did not cancel its orders for twenty-four L-1011's, on which it has paid \$36 million down, and Delta Chairman Charles Dolson assured Haughton that if he put the TriStar deal back together, Delta would stick with it. But Delta's action, which coincided with the arrival of a Rolls-Royce negotiating team in the U.S., pointed up the danger that the L-1011's customers might begin to turn to the DC-10. That put new pressure, if any more were needed, on Haughton and the British to resolve their negotiations quickly.

One British airline that had not bought the TriStar became a factor in the negotiations. British European Airways, a government-owned company, has many short- and medium-range routes (e.g., London-Paris, Manchester-Copenhagen) that are ideal for airbus operations. Before Rolls went under, industry rumor had it that B.E.A. was leaning toward the L-1011 and would eventually need fifteen or twenty. After the receivership, B.E.A. began to take an ostentatious interest in the proposed European airbus, the A-300B, which will have G.E. engines. U.S. airlines, notably T.W.A., argued that a B.E.A. order for the L-1011 was vital in proving Britain's commitment to the RB.211 program. But both the British Government and B.E.A. asserted that national policy has nothing to do with the commercial decisions the airline makes, and a B.E.A. order for the TriStar is still no more than a tantalizing prospect. Haughton hopes the order will come through—perhaps around the end of July—and claims to be pleased that B.E.A. is making such a careful study. He says it will be clear to everyone, if and when B.E.A. signs

up, that it is the airline, not just the government, that wants the airplane.

Through all of this, little was heard of another British company, Air Holdings Ltd. That was surprising because Lockheed's original deal with Rolls-Royce had been made palatable, in view of its effect on the U.S. balance of payments, by a \$450-million order from Air Holdings. All sales of the TriStar to non-U.S. airlines were to be counted as part of Air Holdings' order, and the company was not expected to take actual delivery of any aircraft. After the Rolls collapse, Frederick Curfield, Minister of Aviation Supply, said in Parliament that the arrangement had been "a bookkeeping transaction—and a somewhat bogus one at that."

WASHINGTON IS THE LAST RESORT

Once the British decided that the RB.211 was worth saving—and the airlines decided it was still the engine they wanted—negotiations over a new contract began to speed up. Near the end of March, after days of intensive bargaining, Lord Carrington and Dan Haughton met at the British Embassy in Washington. About noon on the 25th, they reached a conditional agreement for the nationalized company, Rolls-Royce (1971) Ltd., to produce 555 engines. The British Government pledged itself to pay all further costs of developing the RB.211 (estimated by then at \$240 million) and to subsidize production costs if necessary. Lockheed agreed to an increase that will average about \$180,000 per engine, bringing the price to about \$1,020,000 apiece.

The signing of that agreement signaled the beginning of another frantic round of travel for Dan Haughton. First he had to get his customers to agree to the new engine price, as well as to a \$103,000 increase in the price of each airframe, reflecting added costs from the delay in production. The total added cost of \$643,000, however, is less than it would have been had there been a change of engines.

Haughton also had to work out a new schedule of deliveries and payments with each airline. He asked them to provide Lockheed with an extra \$100 million in prepayments by the end of 1972; Lockheed is to pay interest on this money. For T.W.A., the new arrangement would mean that its first order of thirty-three L-1011's (including spare engines, parts, and ground equipment) would cost \$733,400,000 instead of \$665,700,000. In 1972, T.W.A. would make an extra \$750,000 prepayment on each undelivered aircraft, as its share of that \$100 million. However, its original schedule of payments would be stretched out. Under the new proposal, T.W.A. would pay only \$39,700,000 in 1971, instead of \$90,500,000 as originally scheduled, and payments on its new aircraft would continue through 1975 instead of ending in 1973.

The chief condition in the conditional agreement between Haughton and Lord Carrington called for assurances to the British that "there will be a requirement for their engines upon delivery," i.e., assurance that TriStar production will continue. That condition sent Haughton to John Connally to arrange U.S. Government backing for the additional \$250 million in bank loans that he needs. The amount, Haughton says, includes provision for all foreseeable contingencies. On May 6, Connally met with President Nixon at the White House and emerged to announce that the Administration would send the loan-guarantee legislation to Congress. "The health of our aircraft industry is essential to the nation's commerce, employment, technological development and protection," Connally declared. He added: "We do not anticipate any cost to the taxpayer from this loan guarantee."

The legislation, which does not specifically name Lockheed, contains a number of restrictions and safeguards. For example, the Secretary of the Treasury would be given

full access to Lockheed's books, with the company to pay the government's out-of-pocket surveillance costs. All the guaranteed \$250 million in loans would be repaid ahead of the \$400 million in earlier loans advanced by the banks, and before Lockheed can resume the dividends that it last paid in the fourth quarter of 1969. In the event of Lockheed's bankruptcy, the government's claims would have precedence over those of other creditors.

Supporters of the bill, and Dan Haughton in particular, were quick to point out that there are a number of precedents for government loans and guarantees, though hardly of the magnitude proposed. In 1967 the U.S. guaranteed a \$75-million loan, since repaid, to Douglas Aircraft, just before that troubled company merged with the much stronger McDonnell. And the Export-Import Bank regularly guarantees private loans, involving millions of dollars, to promote U.S. export trade with other nations.

WILL HAUGHTON PAY THE PRICE?

Dan Haughton seems to have treed his possums for the moment, but Congress could still cut the tree down. Among the powerful foes lined up against him is Representative Wright Patman, whose opposition headed off guarantees for loans to the Penn Central Railroad. Patman is chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and will conduct hearings on the Lockheed bill. Senator William Proxmire, long an impassioned adversary of Lockheed—he led the assault that persuaded the Air Force to purchase only eighty-one C-5A's instead of the 120 it had intended to buy—has pledged a last-ditch fight in the Senate against the guarantee.

Even if Congress approves the rescue plan, Dan Haughton may have to pay for it with his own resignation. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has already called for a change of top management, and so has California Senator Alan Cranston. Even if Haughton does have to go, he'll probably do it as he seems to have done everything else for Lockheed during his thirty-two years with the company—with grace and without rancor. To those who ask about his present state of mind, he points to a framed quotation, attributed to Abraham Lincoln, that he keeps in his gold-carpeted Burbank office: "I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

PART THREE: FEDERAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS AND A PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL RESEARCH DATA BANK

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, for the past 2 days, I have given a compilation of federally assisted research programs and today I include the third and final part of this presentation.

The Departments covered are: Interior, Justice, Labor, and Transportation. The Atomic Energy Commission, Environmental Protection Agency, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Veterans' Administration, Administrative Conference of the United States, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,

Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, National Science Foundation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Small Business Administration, Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia, National Commission on Materials Policy, National Tourism Resources Review Commission, Public Land Law Review Commission, Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration, Tennessee Valley Authority, and the U.S. Information Agency are also included.

The last part of my study follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR BUREAU OF MINES—MINERAL RESOURCES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Conservation and development of mineral resources—Research:			
Coal	6,786	8,805	8,770
Petroleum	2,744	2,710	3,000
Oil shale	2,395	2,508	2,500
Metallurgy	12,490	12,959	13,550
Mining	5,716	7,940	4,900
Marine mineral mining	895	290	
Explosives	678	693	693

Coal: Coal research is carried out to maintain the technological competence necessary to achieve maximum utility from this vast resource and help satisfy increasing national energy requirements. To this end, the research effort is directed toward advancing coal utilization technology, developing economic and more efficient methods of converting coal to cleaner energy forms, and improving methods to manage coal wastes and reduce coal-related pollutants.

Petroleum: Research is devoted to providing more petroleum and natural gas and greater efficiency in the extraction and utilization of these energy resources in the interest of the national welfare. Attention is directed to increasing the resource base through improved technology; developing new uses and products from oil and gas of higher quality and lower cost; and improving the environment by identifying and combating the causes of pollution. The 1972 budget provides for initiation of a research program to evaluate the problems and potentials of disposing of industrial wastes by injection underground. Such research is based on knowledge gained in research on recovery of petroleum by fluid injection and investigations of oil and gas reservoir properties.

Oil shale: Oil shale research is conducted to provide the scientific and engineering competence needed to establish and administer a national oil shale policy to insure its efficient development. Additionally, the program will help stimulate industry to initiate the commercial production of shale oil and associated oil shale minerals. Of particular interest are in situ techniques for retorting ungraded shale; problems dealing with the

disposal of resultant wastes; and the chemical and physical properties of kerogen and shale oil.

Metallurgy: Research is carried out seeking new and improved processes to extract, recover, purify, fabricate, and recycle metallic and nonmetallic minerals for the most efficient utilization of this Nation's resources attainable through increased production, reduced costs, and a minimum of waste. Of particular interest are research leading to advanced metallurgical technology, abatement of pollution from metallurgical process effluents and gases, management of mineral wastes, improvement of mineral materials, and research on effective recovery and reuse of mineral materials from urban wastes. The 1972 budget provides for expansion of urban refuse separation research and other solid waste-related research.

Mining: Mining research is conducted to develop improved extractive systems through technological advancement of fundamental subsystems elements to increase significantly total output at the least cost. An integral part of this objective is provision for the maintenance of health and safety and preservation of the environment. The 1972 budget provides for transfer of the methane drainage program to the health and safety research activity.

Marine mineral mining: The marine mineral mining research program has been transferred to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Explosives: Explosives and explosions research is conducted to provide technological information and guidance to Federal, State, and local government agencies, and industry on: Safe handling and use of commercial explosives and blasting agents; safety characteristics of explosives certified for use in underground mines where gas/dust explosions might occur; hazards associated with flammable liquids and gases and potentially explosive chemicals of commerce; and the means of combating and controlling fires and explosions occurring in minerals and mineral fuels.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Health and safety: Health and safety research.....	3,667	20,794	32,634

Research is directed toward developing mining procedures and devices to avoid, detect, or control those aspects of mining and the working environment which involve potential personal hazards to mine workmen. The continuing effort to assure a much safer environment and working conditions for miners involves research to develop the technology for inherently safer mining methods, equipment, techniques, and systems to adequately cope with mining conditions. Research is conducted on: the support of mine roof and control of overburden; ventilation of mines; methods of allaying harmful and combustible dusts and methane and of coping with other mine air contaminants; prevention of under-

ground fires and explosions; provision of safe electrical equipment and installations; improvements in mining machine design to reduce noise and optimize other man-machine interrelationships to enhance health and safety; and development of improved postdisaster life support and rescue technology for coal mining. The 1972 budget provides for: First, an increase in coal mine health and safety research, with a portion of the increase resulting from the transfer of the Methane drainage program from the Mining research activity; and, second, an increase in metal and nonmetal health and safety research.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Helium fund: Research and development.....	1,098	653	-----
Advances and reimbursements: Health and safety research.....	15	10	10
Office of Coal Research—Salaries and expenses: Administration and contract supervision.....	451	515	545
Contract research.....	15,663	18,662	20,455
Total program costs, funded.....	16,114	19,177	21,000
Change in selected resources.....	-2,621	-----	-----
Total obligations.....	13,493	19,177	21,000

The Office of Coal Research contracts for research and development of new and more efficient methods of mining, preparing, and utilizing coal. It contracts for, sponsors, cosponsors, and promotes the coordination of research with recognized interested groups—including, but not limited to, coal trade associations, educational institutions, and agencies of States and political subdivisions.

The Office of Coal Research is responsible for developing the full potentiality and versatility of coal as the Nation's largest energy resource to the maximum benefit of the United States. The aspect of insuring a clean environment while minimizing or eliminating pollution-causing energy products, is an important consideration in all of the research projects. The Office is devoting its efforts to expand the use of coal through development of new uses as well as within presently known fields of utilization. The scientific and technical aspects of the program are performed through a program of contract research.

Administration and contract supervision: This portion of the program performs all necessary functions relating to contracts. This includes drafting, negotiation, and execution of the contracts, together with review and monitoring of technical and administrative phases of the contract work. Proposals are evaluated to ascertain technical and economic feasibility and eliminate possible duplication with other work.

Contract research: The entire research activity cited above as the responsibility of the Office is represented in the contract aspect of the operation. Proposals received from, or discussions with potential contractors relate to a prospective area of activity in which the proposer

has expressed interest, and for which the organization is qualified. Careful review and controls preclude duplicative research efforts. Contract research activities are conducted with profit and non-profit research organizations. Contracts vary from complete Government funding to joint funding. Only applied research and development projects are undertaken. Several have now reached the pilot plant phase of their development. No grant research projects are carried on, and basic research is extremely limited—only insofar as a project may support other ongoing research.

FISH AND WILDLIFE AND PARKS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Management and investigations of resources:			
Fishery research.....	4,474	5,106	5,299
Wildlife research.....	8,160	9,298	9,898
River basin studies.....	1,927	2,090	3,789

Fishery research: Research is conducted to provide information needed for improved methods of sport fishery management. The program includes: studies of the factors governing the productivity of sport fish in the Great Lakes and freshwater reservoirs; studies of how hatchery fish can be produced more efficiently and used more effectively; studies of fish diseases and the effects of pesticides on fish; and studies to develop methods of controlling fish that are pests. Results are used by Federal, State, and private fishery managers.

Wildlife research: Research is conducted on game and nongame, resident, and migratory forms of wildlife. Results are used by the Bureau as well as cooperating Federal, State, and private agencies to improve wildlife management and conservation practices. Wildlife units are also maintained at nineteen locations to give technical training in wildlife management, conduct research, and demonstrate improved management practices.

River basin studies: This activity covers studies of the effects on fish and wildlife resources of the proposed Alaska pipeline and of wateruse projects of Federal agencies and licensees. Recommendations are made for measures to protect and improve these resources. Studies are made of proposed estuarine works to minimize damages. Additional funds, totaling \$1,700,000 in 1972, are provided for this activity from the Bureau of Reclamation, the Alaska Power Administration, and the Corps of Engineers for water-use studies.

WATER AND POWER RESOURCES, BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
General investigations:			
General engineering and research.....	7,324	9,521	9,700
Fish and wildlife studies.....	413	397	400
Passamaquoddy tidal power development studies.....	3	2	-----

General engineering and research: Studies directed toward improvements in planning procedures and in engineering methods and materials. Included are studies of atmospheric water resources, of alternative uses and reuse of water, of rapid tunneling techniques, and continuing activities in waste water reclamation opportunities in the Western States.

Fish and wildlife studies: These funds are transferred to the Fish and Wildlife Service for studies of the fish and wildlife aspects of reclamation projects, which are in the planning stage, authorized for construction, or under construction.

ALASKA POWER ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1971 estimate
General investigations: ¹ Fish and wildlife studies	54	63	42

¹ These funds are transferred to the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife for studies of the fish and wildlife aspects of the Alaska Power Administration's general investigations program.

OFFICE OF SALINE WATER—SALINE WATER CONVERSION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Research and development	15,015	16,200	16,210
Construction, operation, and maintenance:			
Test beds and facilities	4,662	4,950	6,150
Modules	1,386	1,495	3,825
Administration and coordination	2,191	2,503	2,540
Total program costs, funded	23,254	25,148	28,725
Change in selected resources	2,906	3,530	-1,700
Total obligations	26,160	28,678	27,025

This program finances the research on and development of low-cost processes for converting saline water to fresh water.

Research and development: Basic and applied research, engineering and development, and evaluation work are accomplished by means of contracts or grants to Federal or non-Federal agencies, institutions, commercial organizations, and consultants.

Construction, operation, and maintenance: This activity provides for the design, construction, acquisition, operation, maintenance, and modification of saline water conversion test bed plants, facilities, and modules to determine the practical application of the conversion processes under development.

Administration and coordination: This activity provides for the necessary planning, supervision, and administration of the saline water conversion program.

Under this program, the Department of the Interior will provide leadership and support in the conduct of selected research projects carried out by foreign nations. Payments will be made in foreign currencies which the Treasury determines to be excess to normal requirements of the United States. Activities carried out under this appropriation are authorized by the Agricultural Trade and Development Assistance Act of 1954, as amended.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements:			
Research and development	173	125	
Change in selected resources	-5	-65	
Total obligations	168	60	
Secretarial offices—Salaries and expenses (Special foreign currency program):			
Research			400
Change in selected resources			100
Total obligations			500

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Underground electric power transmission research:			
Administration and contract supervision		30	60
Contract research		420	940
Total program costs, funded		450	1,000
Change in selected resources		300	
Total obligations		750	1,000

The Department of the Interior participates in a joint private-public research program to reduce the costs of placing high-voltage transmission lines underground.

Administration and contract supervision: The Office of the Secretary will perform all necessary functions related to the administration of research contracts.

Contract research: Contract research, in cooperation with the Electric Research Council, will be conducted with commercial organizations, educational institutions, nonprofit research organizations, and other governmental agencies where expertise may exist.

OFFICE OF WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses:			
Assistance to States for institutes	5,165	5,100	5,100
Matching grants to institutes	2,506	3,000	3,000
Additional water research	2,300	3,500	4,500
Scientific information center	510	816	912
Administration	678	805	923
Total program costs, funded	11,159	13,221	14,435
Change in selected resources	106		
Total obligations	11,265	13,221	14,435

The objective of this program is to stimulate, sponsor, provide for, and supplement present programs for the conduct of research, investigations, experiments, and the training of scientists in the fields of water and of resources which affect water, in order to assist in assuring the Nation at all times of a supply of water sufficient in quantity and quality to

meet the requirements of its expanding population.

Assistance to States for institutes: This activity provides for specific grants to all 50 States and Puerto Rico for assistance in carrying on the work of a competent and qualified water resources research institute at one college or university in each State. The function of such institute is to conduct research, investigations, and experiments of either a basic or practical nature, or both, in relation to water resources and to provide for the training of scientists through such research, investigations, and experiments. States may elect to use their grants in support of regional institutes in which several States participate.

Matching grants to institutes: This activity provides for grants to match, on a dollar-for-dollar basis, funds made available to institutes by States or other non-Federal sources to meet the necessary expenses of specific water resources research projects which could not otherwise be undertaken.

Additional water research: This activity provides for grants to, and contracts and matching or other arrangements with, educational institutions, private foundations, or other institutions, with private firms and individuals whose training, experience, and qualifications are adequate for the conduct of water research projects, and with local, State, and Federal government agencies, to undertake research into any aspects of water problems related to the mission of the Department of the Interior which are deemed desirable and which are not otherwise being studied.

Scientific information center: This activity provides for the operation of a water resources scientific information center. The objectives of center operations are to be responsive to the needs of water resources officials and organizations by making information available concerning water resources research results and developments, to avoid replication of research, and to improve communications and coordination of efforts among all those engaged in federally sponsored water-related research.

Administration: This activity provides for the administration of the Water Resources Research Act including the prescribing of rules and regulations, review and appraisal of institute programs and research proposals, making and monitoring of allotments, contracts, and grants; establishment and maintenance of cooperation and coordination among the centers and between the centers and Federal and other organizations concerned with water resources.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BUREAU OF NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses:			
Drug abuse prevention:			
Supporting research	587	1,383	1,467

This activity includes a variety of applied research projects including, but not limited to, the following areas: iden-

tification of substances with a potential for abuse; development of methodologies to assess the abuse liability of drugs; studies to show the relationship between crime and drug dependent persons; patterns of drug distribution; studies to compare and evaluate the deterrent effects of various strategies on drug use and abuse; and development of eradication techniques.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Manpower Administration			
Manpower training services: ¹ Program support: Contractual research, demonstration, and evaluation.....	14,339	13,319	21,127
Bureau of Labor Statistics			
Advances and reimbursements: Special economic and statistical studies:			
Agriculture.....	34	36	36
Atomic Energy Commission.....	71	73	73
Classified.....	166	80	80
Equal Employment Health, Education, and Welfare.....	33	35	35
Housing and Urban Development.....	160	46	46
Labor:			
Bureau of International Labor Affairs.....	58	60	60
Labor Management Services Administration.....	127	352	352
Manpower Administration.....	2,795	1,998	1,235
Workplace Standards Administration.....	1,298	1,281	1,281
National Science Foundation.....	47		
Navy.....	7	7	7
Special statistical work:			
Department store inventory price index.....	40	40	40
Apartment house operating cost index.....	64	150	150
Compensation and labor cost studies.....	83	100	100
Total obligations.....	188	290	290

¹ This includes contractual funds for research and demonstration projects to improve techniques and demonstrate effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting manpower training and employment problems; and for evaluation of the effectiveness of manpower programs.

Funds are advanced from sources outside the Federal Government to finance special statistical studies requested. During 1972, the Bureau will collect and analyze store inventory prices for the American Retail Federation, conduct surveys on compensation and labor cost studies for the State of New York, and will develop an index of cost of operating uncontrolled apartment houses for the city of New York.

The Department of Transportation Act of 1966 assigns to the Secretary broad responsibilities for the development and coordination of national transportation policies and programs. This appropriation finances those research activities and studies which directly support the Secretary's responsibilities and which can more effectively or appropriately be conducted in the Office of the Secretary rather than by the operating administrations within the Department. The program is carried out primarily through contracts with other Federal agencies, educational institutions, nonprofit research organizations, and private firms.

Transportation policy and planning: Studies and analyses are conducted on a broad range of transportation policy and economic and environmental problems to determine national transportation requirements and to provide the Secretary with the information and analyses needed for effective decisionmaking on national transportation policies, plans, and programs. Included are programs to forecast transportation demand, to develop models and other analytical devices that will help assess alternative courses of action, to conduct economic and statistical studies designed to assess the effects of economic regulation, and to examine the interrelationship of transportation with changing economic, social, esthetic, and environmental factors and forces. Projects are also carried out to develop new methods and effective programs to provide transportation information needed by the Federal, State, and local governments and industry. Amounts are also included for the ongoing programs to develop plans for meeting the transportation needs of the northeast corridor as well as studies and research relating to transportation systems development as it affects national urban and environmental policy.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Transportation planning, research, and development:			
Transportation policy and planning.....	5,046	7,939	6,200
Transportation systems development and technology.....	1,059	10,147	24,000
Transportation facilitation.....	250	250	300
Special programs.....	195	274	500
Total program costs, funded.....	6,550	18,610	31,000
Change in selected resources.....	1,578	1,000	
Total obligations.....	8,128	19,610	31,000

Transportation systems development and technology: Projects are carried out to advance transportation technology generally; to seek solutions to transportation problems which are intermodal in nature; to provide information and forecasts on new technology required as a basis for planning and development of transportation systems, policies, and programs; to conduct research on longer range technical problems in transportation; and to manage research programs of such priority that they demand secretarial emphasis. In 1972, funds are requested to continue and expand advanced research and development efforts to improve air transportation—to be financed from the airport and airway trust fund—to develop multimodal and intermodal systems and technology, and to promote environmental and ecological improvements. Environmental studies related to supersonic transport operations will be given high priority. In general, projects are designed to complement research and development programs of the operating administrations and to stimu-

late industry efforts to advance transportation technology.

Transportation facilitation: Research and studies in this area are aimed at reducing the costs and removing the impediments to the rapid and efficient flow of passengers and cargo by modernizing our systems of transportation documentation and procedures. Projects will also be directed at realizing the economic and technological benefits of important transportation developments which can be achieved through cooperative research and development arrangements with foreign countries.

Special programs: Projects in this activity are chiefly to provide technical studies and other data in support of the Department's programs in the areas of consumer affairs, hazardous materials, and pipeline safety.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Transportation research activities overseas (special foreign currency program): ¹ Overseas research.....			500
Civil supersonic aircraft development: Civil supersonic aircraft research and development.....	160,520	233,519	235,000

¹ Foreign currencies which are in excess of the normal requirements of the United States will be used in 1972 to support research projects in Poland and Yugoslavia, such as those relating to international standardization of transportation procedures.

The objective of this program is to develop a supersonic transport which will be safe, economically profitable in airline service, and more technically advanced than any other commercial aircraft. To the extent possible, the development is being carried out by private enterprise in a manner which will maintain the normal industry-customer relationship. Because of the magnitude of the funds required to develop the aircraft, the technical risk associated with this first U.S. supersonic transport, and the long period between investment and potential profit, Government financial support is essential. The program is a cost-sharing venture involving the Government, the aircraft manufacturers, and their customers—the airlines.

The program is now in the prototype construction phase which includes 100 hours of flight testing. The amount requested is a current estimate of funds needed in 1972 to continue work on the construction of two prototype aircraft.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Consolidated working fund, transportation systems center:			
Transportation research.....		21,140	24,725
Change in selected resources.....		1,445	1,755
Total obligations.....		22,585	26,480

The consolidated working fund was established to facilitate the conduct of operations of the Transportation Systems Center which are financed from a number of appropriations of the Department of Transportation plus the Na-

tional Aeronautics and Space Administration. The programs of the Center are funded from advances received from the Office of the Secretary, the operating administrations in the Department of Transportation, and NASA, in accordance with general working agreements and specific project plan agreements.

The Transportation Systems Center serves as a technical transportation resource for the Office of the Secretary and the operating administrations. Its specific projects planned for 1972 are grouped generally along the following lines:

Transportation safety: The chief effort under this heading is in the highway safety field with additional efforts in aviation, marine, and railway safety.

Pollution reduction: This grouping includes both aircraft and automotive pollution, with a smaller effort in marine sources.

Noise abatement: With the exception of work concerned with supersonic engine noise abatement, this area of projects is in support of systems analysis work of the Assistant Secretary for Systems Development and Technology.

Air transportation: This is the largest grouping of TCS's projects and is primarily directed to air traffic control. The balance of the effort is split between navigation and systems development.

Ground transportation: High utilization and traffic control, new urban transportation systems, advanced high-speed systems, and conventional rail systems are the main project areas under this category.

Marine transportation: This grouping is in support of the Coast Guard and is mainly work in marine navigation aids.

Multimodal and general support systems: Projects which are not directed toward a single mode of transportation are included here, with the primary effort in modeling, analysis, and intermodal systems technology.

This appropriation provides for the management and conduct of research, development, test, and evaluation; including the necessary support facilities, services, and personnel.

Search and rescue: Present means and equipment to alert the Coast Guard to a distress incident, define its location, plan and execute the search, and rescue the persons or save the property need improvement to permit rapid, effective, all-weather, day and night response. The 1972 program will expand on previous efforts to: First, provide a real-time means of notification of the distress incident; second, provide the detection equipment—systems—capable of detecting small boats in distress at greater ranges, and with higher probability of detection under all-weather conditions, 24 hours a day; third, provide accurate knowledge of the drift and leeway characteristics of small boats; fourth, apply computer technology to the solution of the search problem; and, fifth, improve the effectiveness of our rescue vehicles and their equipment, particularly under adverse weather conditions.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Transportation research.....	398	2,400	900
COAST GUARD			
Research, development, test, and evaluation:			
Direct program:			
Search and rescue.....	385	1,103	1,600
Aids to navigation.....	449	954	2,019
Marine safety.....	533	661	1,091
Marine law enforcement.....	2,006	4,394	6,547
Oceanography, meteorology, and polar operations.....	1,955	4,120	827
Program support.....	1,571	1,855	3,100
Total direct program costs, funded.....	6,899	13,087	15,184
Change in selected resources.....	3,165	-168	2,316
Total direct obligations.....	10,064	12,919	17,500
Reimbursable program:			
Search and rescue.....			260
Aids to navigation.....		20	
Oceanography, meteorology, and polar operations.....	100		
Total reimbursable program costs, funded.....	100	20	260
Change in selected resources.....	-60		250
Total reimbursable obligations.....	40	20	510
Total obligations.....	10,104	12,939	18,010

Ship operations in ice-covered waters such as the Great Lakes and western rivers are limited by a number of factors. Factors which relate directly to Coast Guard responsibilities are the lack of suitably designed and constructed icebreakers and commercial vessels; adequate aids to navigation system for ice-covered waters; and a complete understanding of the formation, strength, and movement of ice, particularly as it relates to ship design and ship routing. The 1972 program will continue previous years' small-scale efforts in all of these areas.

Aids to navigation: The present aids to navigation system in the harbors and coastal areas does not provide sufficiently accurate position information during periods of low visibility nor does it provide the mariner with information on possibly conflicting marine traffic. Available technology can also be applied to substantially reduce the size and weight of the floating buoys and their moorings. The 1972 program includes funds for further development of systems to reduce the navigation and marine traffic problems in the harbor and coastal confluence areas as well as funds to substantially accelerate and expand our work in the development of a family of lightweight buoys, associated equipment, and servicing facilities.

Marine safety: The increasing size and variety of vessels and their transport of larger and more hazardous cargoes requires a continuous and expanding program of research and de-

velopment in marine science and marine technology to meet Coast Guard responsibilities for merchant marine safety.

The 1972 program will continue and expand on activities intended to, first, develop safety standards for nonmilitary submersibles; second, develop better understanding of constraints which should be applied in loading hazardous cargoes, the consequence if intermixed or spilled, and corrective action and equipment needed to ameliorate the spill; third, develop new concepts where applicable as well as better understanding of the strength and stability factors affecting the design and operation of new vessels and barges, emphasizing the need to minimize the chances of pollution from collision or grounding; fourth, continue development and testing of improved materials and equipment to detect, extinguish, and resist marine fires; and, fifth, continue the analysis of marine accidents to evaluate the impact of human and material factors and identify the areas where improvements are needed.

Marine law enforcement: The Coast Guard's law enforcement responsibilities require that it have the capability to monitor, detect, contain, and recover spills of oil and other hazardous materials in U.S. waters. In addition, the Coast Guard is responsible for regulations regarding marine transportation of all hazardous materials—over 200 items—as well as abatement of pollution from its own vessels, boats, aircraft, and shore facilities. New developments and application of new and existing technology are needed to meet these responsibilities.

In 1972 the Coast Guard will continue prior years' efforts to develop: First airborne sensors able to detect and identify oil spills and other hazardous material; second, a prototype pollutant monitoring system designed to utilize existing Coast Guard platforms and buoys; third, containment and recovery systems for spills of petroleum and other hazardous materials—particularly for exposed waters; fourth, a hazardous material information system to support emergency and routine operations; and, fifth, pollution abatement equipment for vessels, boats, aircraft, and shore facilities which meets Federal water and air pollution standards.

Accident statistics clearly identify the need to apply science and technology to reducing boating accidents. Programs for 1972 will continue and expand prior years' activities to: First, develop more effective means of warning the boaters of unsafe operating conditions; and, second, analyze, test, and evaluate small boat design and construction practices as well as equipment reliability and effectiveness in order to establish reasonable and safe regulations.

Oceanography, meteorology, and polar operations: The work in this area is primarily intended to support the marine science requirements of the Coast Guard in meeting other statutory responsibilities.

The 1972 work will continue and expand on prior years' efforts with particular emphasis on meeting law enforcement responsibilities relating to pollution.

Included in the 1972 program are: First, work in connection with developing a better understanding of the fate, behavior, and dispersion of transportation-induced hazardous materials into the marine environment, particularly petroleum products; second, efforts to develop better understanding of formation, strength, and movement of ice as it relates to design and navigation of ships in ice-covered waters; third, efforts to develop and test equipment for airborne reconnaissance systems for measuring ice coverage, strength, and movement; and, fourth, work to develop more complete understanding of the effects of sea currents and winds on the movements of spills and distressed boats, including development of air deployable surface current meters.

A new project is to analyze and develop new concepts for replacing the present ocean station vessels, using either smaller vessels or floating semistable platforms.

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Safety regulation:			
Operations: Research direction.....			1,330
Research and development.....		1,000	8,665

Research direction: This activity covers the portion of the planning, direction, and evaluation of the research and development program, not financed from the trust fund; and a portion of the administrative support for the operation of the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center at Atlantic City, N.J.

Research and development: The research and development portion of this appropriation includes a program, coordinated with the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to study, develop, and evaluate devices to enhance the safety of civil aircraft. Also included are the analysis and solution of noise and sonic boom problems and an aeromedical research effort directed toward the identification of human factors in aviation system design and operation.

Research, test, and evaluation facilities: This activity provides for the construction and improvement of plant and facilities at the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center in Atlantic City, N.J. It also covers the procurement of capital items of equipment for use in the research and development program.

Research and development: The Federal Aviation Administration conducts a program to improve and modernize the national system of aviation facilities, and to initiate an airport/airspace increased capacity development program to meet projected 1980 traffic demands. The agency also carries out a program of medical research.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operations: ¹ Research direction.....	11,850	11,814	-----
Facilities and Equipment: ² Research, test, and evaluation facilities.....	240	-----	-----
Research and development: ³ Air traffic control.....	29,711	31,663	-----
Navigation.....	4,695	5,812	-----
Aviation weather.....	889	610	-----
Aircraft safety.....	4,607	4,915	-----
Aviation medicine.....	1,919	2,000	-----
Payment to trust fund.....	-----	39	-----
Total obligations.....	41,821	45,039	-----
Operations (airport and airway trust fund): ³ Research direction.....	-----	-----	10,621
Airway system investment and development (airport and airway trust fund): Facilities and equipment: Research, test, and evaluation facilities.....	-----	300	2,503
Research and development: Air traffic control.....	-----	20,927	68,675
Navigation.....	-----	2,603	2,500
Aviation weather.....	-----	470	1,000
Aviation medicine.....	-----	-----	660

¹ This account will be phased out in 1971 and the activities authorized under provisions of Public Law 91-258 will be shown in the new account Operations (airport and airway trust fund) in 1972.

² This account will be phased out in 1971 and the activities authorized under provisions of Public Law 91-258 will be shown in the new account airway systems investment and development (airport and airway trust fund) in 1972.

³ This activity covers the planning, direction, and evaluation of the research and development program, the direct project costs of which are financed under the airway system investment and development appropriation; and the related administrative support for the operation of the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center at Atlantic City, N.J.

Research and development is conducted through contracts with qualified firms, universities, and individuals, or by agency staff or other Government agencies.

Air traffic control: This provides for improving the airways system by the development of systems for automation of air traffic control to expedite aircraft operations and improve aviation safety. This also provides for a program aimed at solving the problem of inadequate capacity of the present and near future airports/airways systems to meet projected aviation requirements.

Navigation: This provides for modernization, expansion, and improvements of the common system navigation facilities in the United States and in overseas areas where international agreements require U.S. participation. Work in the field of landing systems, short- and long-distance navigation, and flight inspection is included.

Aviation weather: This provides for a program, coordinated with the Departments of Defense and Commerce, to develop devices and improve techniques for the communication and display of weather information to aviation users. The effects of weather in air traffic management techniques and systems are also analyzed.

Aviation medicine: This activity provides for conducting an aeromedical research effort directed toward the identification and elimination of those physical, physiological, and psychological factors which may affect personnel engaged in operation of the air traffic control system.

FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Research and development.....	60	86	13,487

Conducts direct and contract research and development relating to traffic operations, new construction techniques, highway safety, and the social and environmental aspects of highways.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Motor carrier safety: Research and development.....	-----	144	-----

This account is consolidated with the appropriation, "Salaries and expenses in 1972," and the functions formerly carried out under this appropriation are transferred to that appropriation.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Limitation on general expenses (trust fund): Research and development.....	12,389	13,633	-----

Beginning in 1972, the functions formerly conducted under this limitation account will be carried out by reimbursement from the appropriation, Federal-aid highways trust fund, to the appropriation, "Salaries and expenses, of the Federal Highway Administration."

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Other Federal Highway Administration trust funds: Contributions for highway research programs.....	-----	5	-----

In association with the General Services Administration and the Department of Defense, tests of highway equipment are conducted for the purpose of establishing performance standards upon which to base specifications for use by the Government in purchasing such equipment.

NATIONAL HIGHWAY TRAFFIC SAFETY ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Traffic and highway safety: Research and analysis.....	14,011	18,989	20,536

This activity provides for motor vehicle and highway safety research and development and for the collection of data to determine the relationship between motor vehicle or motor vehicle equipment performance characteristics and, first, crashes involving motor vehicles, and, second, the occurrence of

death or personal injury as a result of such crashes. The National Driver Register, which provides centralized information on license revocations, is also funded under this activity. Increases are requested to expand research on techniques to counter driving by alcoholics, to improve the crash survivability features of motor vehicles, and to fabricate a small number of experimental safety vehicles.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Highway safety programs (liquidation of contract authority) (trust fund): Highway safety research and development.....			29,800
Federal Railroad Administration			
Railroad research:			
Railroad research.....	216	949	7,500
Change in selected resources.....	165	168	6,200
Total obligations.....	381	1,117	13,700

This appropriation provides for railroad research which is directed at solving critical safety problems, enhancing the environment, and promoting transportation efficiency. During 1972, major emphasis will be placed on conducting research related to train accidents caused by defective tracks and roadbeds, equipment systems, and human error.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Railroad research (proposed for separate transmittal, existing legislation):			
Railroad research.....		2,800	4,575
Change in selected resources.....		4,575	-4,575
Total obligations.....		7,375	

The \$7,375,000 is required to fund increased railroad safety research activities involving vehicle-train collisions and train derailments caused by defects of railcar equipment, track and roadbed systems, and operating procedures.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
High-speed ground transportation research and development:			
Research and development.....	4,681	11,629	11,400
Demonstrations.....	1,991	7,000	10,000
Administration.....	990	1,371	1,600
Total program costs, funded.....	7,662	20,000	23,000
Change in selected resources.....	8,343	4,715	6,000
Total obligations.....	16,005	24,715	29,000

This appropriation finances research and development and demonstrations programs in high-speed ground transportation.

Research and development: This provides for research, development, and

testing of new or improved high-speed ground transportation systems or components thereof; including vehicle propulsion and control, communications, and guideways.

Demonstrations: This provides for conducting demonstrations of new equipment and improved services to determine the contributions that high-speed ground transportation can make to more efficient and economical intercity travel. The increase is for demonstration projects of the Metroliner and TurboTrain.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION			
Urban mass transportation fund: ¹ Research, development, and demonstrations, grants and contracts.....	2,203	33,000	60,000

¹ Grants and contracts may be awarded to undertake research, development, and demonstration projects in all phases of urban mass transportation.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION			
Operating expenses: Physical research.....	277,818	271,420	259,500
This program comprises basic and applied research in the physical sciences. By major categories, the costs are as follows:			
High energy physics.....	120,483	118,585	114,400
Medium energy physics.....	12,789	13,040	12,800
Low energy physics.....	29,429	27,659	25,300
Mathematics and computer research.....	5,779	5,370	4,800
Chemistry research.....	53,882	51,578	49,000
Metallurgy and materials research.....	27,730	26,779	25,200
Controlled thermonuclear research.....	27,726	28,409	28,000

The Commission serves as executive agent for the Nation's high energy physics program. An increase is required for the National Accelerator Laboratory, primarily for tuning and shakedown of the 200-billion-electron-volts accelerator and preparing for experimental operations. Cost for the overall high-energy physics program are below the 1971 level, requiring reductions in other program activities to accommodate this increase.

Support for the medium energy physics program will be slightly below the 1971 level. Within this total, an increase is required for the Los Alamos Meson Physics Facility to continue construction-related research and development and to prepare for the research programs. A small increase at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology provides for bringing the 400-million-electron-volts electron linac into operation. Other activities in medium energy physics will be reduced to offset these increases.

The objective of the controlled thermonuclear research program is to determine whether the energy released by thermonuclear reactions can be controlled and developed into an economical and environmentally attractive source of energy. This research will continue in 1972 using experimental devices to test

recent concepts for improved plasma confinement and to study the technology required to produce, control, and use the large-volume fusion plasmas necessary to achieve reactor-like conditions.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Plant and capital equipment: Facilities and equipment for physical research.....	124,085	120,010	98,695
Environmental Protection Agency			
Operations, research, and facilities: Research, development, and demonstrations.....	102,150	144,693	160,567

Research and development activities deal with causes, sources, transport, fate, and effects of pollutants in ecological systems; the development of monitoring technology; the determination of pollution exposure effects from all sources on man and environment; and the development of criteria, standards, and regulations to protect man and his environment from pollution. Research, development, and demonstration activities are also conducted to develop and maintain current knowledge of devices and technologies for the abatement and control of pollution. Research, development, and demonstration activities are conducted under grants, contracts, and other agreements involving universities, industry, private firms, nonprofit organizations, State and local governments, and other Federal agencies, and through activities conducted at EPA's laboratories and field locations.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operations, research, and facilities: Operations, research, and facilities activities.....		13,000	85,000

The supplemental proposal for 1971 will be used primarily to implement the Clean Air Act of 1970 and the Resource Recovery Act of 1970. The amount for 1972 will be used primarily for further implementing these acts and to finance new legislative proposals to be submitted.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Scientific activities overseas (special foreign currency program): Foreign environmental pollution research.....		3,500	10,670

This program is supported by foreign currencies derived through the sale of surplus agricultural commodities and other sources as authorized by the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and the International Health Research Act of 1960.

Research efforts are directed toward research in all environmental pollution areas.

The amount requested in 1972 will emphasize environmental protection activities, particularly research efforts to provide new techniques and improved methodologies to abate pollution.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: Research, development, and demonstration.....	447	1,148	1,485
National Aeronautics and Space Administration			
Research and development			
Direct program:			
Manned space flight:			
Apollo.....	1,474,613	980,000	765,000
Space flight operations.....	309,619	577,000	638,000
Advanced manned mission studies.....	7,057	3,000	2,000
Scientific investigations in space:			
Physics and astronomy.....	142,223	118,400	120,600
Lunar and planetary exploration.....	172,255	175,800	290,800
Bioscience.....	20,022	14,000	7,500
Launch vehicle development and support.....	70,491	72,100	77,600
Space applications.....	104,367	175,700	190,200
Space research and technology.....	199,058	176,400	131,000
Aeronautical research and technology.....	83,582	96,000	104,200
Supporting activities:			
Tracking and data acquisition.....	276,653	290,800	296,600
Sustaining university program.....	22,099	13,000	10,000
Technology utilization.....	4,537	4,500	4,500
Total direct program costs, funded.....	2,886,576	2,696,700	2,611,000
Reimbursable program:			
Manned space flight:			
Apollo.....	1,323	2,651	1,405
Space flight operations.....		650	300
Scientific investigations in space:			
Physics and astronomy.....	55	94	423
Bioscience.....		80	
Space applications.....	53,890	77,995	53,272
Space research and technology.....	27,126	37,694	8,300
Aeronautical research and technology.....	2,812	6,692	4,000
Supporting activities:			
Tracking and data acquisition.....	1,309	669	300
Technology utilization.....		287	
Total reimbursable program costs.....	86,515	126,812	68,000
Total program costs, funded.....	2,973,091	2,823,512	2,679,000
Change in selected resources.....	240,080	-32,933	-93,300
Total obligations.....	3,213,171	2,790,579	2,585,700

Manned space flight: These estimates provide for all manned space flight missions conducted by the United States. Funding supports the Apollo, Space Flight Operations, including Skylab, space shuttle, and space station studies, and advanced manned mission programs. These programs include the completion of the current Apollo mission schedule; the development of the Skylab orbital workshop, airlock, Apollo telescope mount, and earth orbital science, applications, and technology experiments; the design and initial development effort on a manned space shuttle earth-to-orbit space vehicle and the study and definition of a semipermanent earth orbit space station and associated experiments; launch and flight operations; and

studies and research on future manned space systems.

Apollo: Beyond Apollo 14—scheduled for launch in January 1971—three additional lunar missions are planned in a continuing effort to increase our knowledge of the moon through exploration and the conduct of scientific experiments. These missions will feature Apollo spacecraft with significantly increased capabilities including increased stay time on the surface, astronaut mobility, and experiment diversity and performance.

Space flight operations: This category consists of this country's post-Apollo manned flight programs and includes Skylab, space shuttle, and space station studies. Skylab represents a major progression into manned earth orbital missions directed toward accomplishing life science, astronomy, earth resources, and technology objectives. It will begin with the Saturn V launching of an unmanned orbital workshop with its associated experiment systems in early 1973 followed by three manned missions using Saturn IB's to launch Apollo command and service modules to activate and operate the workshop over a 9-month period. The major scientific focus of Skylab will be directed toward: an extensive study of the sun, especially in those wavelength regions not readily visible from the ground; a study of the application of space in surveying and monitoring the resources and environmental interactions of the earth; and the biomedical study of the effects of long-duration flight on man, as individual astronauts remain in orbit for as long as 2-month periods.

The development of a space shuttle is the key element in future space operations in earth orbit. The earth-to-orbit shuttle will provide a space vehicle for placement and retrieval of satellites, satellite servicing and maintenance, short-duration orbital missions for manned and man-tended experiments, delivery of propulsive stages and payloads for high-energy missions, space station logistics support, and rotation of scientific personnel. The operational capabilities of the space shuttle are expected to produce significant savings in the cost of design, development, and manufacture of space payloads. These savings are a consequence of less restrictive design and weight constraints that result from the launch profile and maintenance capability of the shuttle system. The 1972 budget provides for proceeding with detailed design and development of an engine—the longest leadtime component—for a space shuttle. Airframe design is proceeding on an orderly step-by-step basis which may lead to continued detailed design or initiation of development of a specific design depending on the progress in studies now underway.

The space station will be designed to support a wide range of scientific, applications, and technology experiments in the areas of astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, earth surveys and ecology, meteorology, and communications. The space station will be capable of long-duration operations to conduct scientific, applications, and technology

experiments. During 1972, effort will focus on the study and definition of the station with particular emphasis on shuttle compatibility and critical subsystems such as information management and life support. Definition tasks on experiments and experiment areas, including experiment modules, will be continued during 1972. This category also includes space life sciences, an integrated medical and biological program for the study and investigation of the support requirements of men in space.

Advanced manned mission studies: This program examines advanced manned space flight program concepts and develops technical information and other data upon which future program decisions can be based.

Scientific investigations in space: This program utilizes a variety of flight systems and ground-based observations to increase man's knowledge of the universe. The earth, sun, moon, interplanetary space, solar system, other stars and galaxies, and the interaction among these bodies and systems are all objects of these investigations.

Physics and astronomy: Coordinated research with national and international participation is conducted through this program and directed toward an increase in our knowledge of the space environment, of the earth and the sun, and the relationship of these bodies to each other and to interplanetary space, other stars, galaxies, and nebulae. Laboratory and theoretical research, ground-based observatories, aircraft, balloons, sounding rockets, and explorer and laboratory spacecraft all contribute to this knowledge. Experimentation with the improved orbiting solar observatory, OSO-H, will be conducted during 1972 while development effort on a new series of OSO's continues. An orbiting astronomical observatory, OAO-C, with a primary mission of studying interstellar gases will be launched during 1972. Development effort will be initiated on a high-energy astronomy observatory to provide identification and observation of gamma ray, X-ray, and cosmic ray sources.

Lunar and planetary exploration: This program concentrates on exploration of the moon, planets, and other bodies in the solar system, such as asteroids and comets, using both ground-based research and observations from automated spacecraft. The 1972 program encompasses effort which will eventually lead to initial observations of all of the planets from Mercury to Pluto, while continuing to expand earlier knowledge of our closest neighbors, Venus and Mars. In 1972 efforts will be directed over a wide planetary span. The two Mariner 1971 missions to Mars should orbit that planet during 1971, returning information about a variety of Martian characteristics and phenomena. Another Mariner will be in preparation for a 1973 launch to Venus and Mercury, utilizing a gravity assist from the Venus flyby. The Pioneer F mission will be launched to provide the first observations and measurements of the solar system beyond the orbit of Mars. This spacecraft, and the Pioneer

G to be launched 1 year later, will fly through the asteroid belt and continue beyond to the vicinity of Jupiter, providing the first measurements and observations of that planet from space. Work will continue in 1972 on the U.S. experiment to be included on the West German Helios spacecraft. One spacecraft in this series will be launched by the United States in 1974 and one in 1975, to investigate and observe the interplanetary medium two-thirds of the distance into the sun. In 1975, two Viking spacecraft will be launched to Mars. Each spacecraft will include both an Orbiter and a Lander, thus providing additional measurements from Mars orbit as well as making the first direct measurements of the atmosphere and surface features of Mars. During 1972 effort will be directed toward development of an outer planet spacecraft suitable for variety of long-duration single or multiple planetary missions. The initiation of this effort is designed to take advantage of unique opportunities for space observations of the outer planets of the solar system. Four missions are planned, each of which will utilize gravity assist flybys to make a grand tour of three planets. In 1976-77, a spacecraft will be launched to fly by Jupiter, Saturn, and Pluto. In 1979, spacecraft will be launched to fly by Jupiter, Uranus, and Neptune.

Bioscience: Activities formerly included in this program have been distributed among other program categories beginning in 1972.

Launch vehicle development and support: This program includes those launch vehicle activities such as range support, launch operations, and maintenance engineering necessary to sustain and improve the performance of existing vehicles, which are not specifically chargeable to automated spacecraft missions.

Space applications: The objective of this activity is to expand the beneficial applications of space flights. Specific applications areas include meteorology, earth resources, geodesy, communication, and navigation. Activity during 1972 in support of this objective includes launch of an earth resources technology satellite to provide tests of the spacecraft and sensors which may be required for an operational system to survey the earth's resources from space. In meteorology final preparations will be underway for launch of a synchronous meteorological satellite to provide an operational prototype of a geostationary meteorological satellite. In addition, work will proceed toward launch of the next Nimbus spacecraft to provide for flight experiments with advanced meteorological sensors. Effort will continue in preparation for the launch of the applications technology satellite F in 1973 to flight test a space-erectable, parabolic antenna, and a number of scientific and technology experiments. A Canadian cooperative applications satellite will be initiated in 1972 to provide data on use of frequency ranges above 10 GHz.

Space research and technology: Research will be conducted in the area of materials and structures, power and propulsion, machine intelligence, informa-

tion sciences, guidance, control, and communications. Effort will continue on laser communications and on reliable, long-life and high-speed/density components for space electronics systems. Research effort will also focus on advancing the technology needed to produce large amounts of electric power in space and to develop high specific impulse propulsion systems. Specific technology requirements for near-term objectives, including the space shuttle and planetary flight programs, will continue to be supported in the critical areas of thermal protection, aerothermodynamics, configuration development, entry technology, and long-lifetime componentry. Nuclear power research will investigate advanced reactor and isotopic power systems. Research will continue on advanced nuclear propulsion concepts offering high performance potential. Work will continue on selected long-leadtime components for the nuclear engine for rocket vehicle application flight weight engine.

Aeronautical research and technology: The aims of the aeronautics program are to provide and expand the technological base in aeronautical research to facilitate the development and production of improved civil and military aircraft. A technology program coordinated with other Government agencies is being conducted that will increase aeronautical systems safety, reduce undesirable environmental effects, and contribute to near term civil transportation and military aircraft needs. Research will be continued in aerodynamics, flight dynamics, propulsion, operating systems; vehicle systems, life sciences, electronics, materials and structures, and noise reduction for application to future generations of aeronautical vehicles. Program emphasis in 1972 will be on short takeoff and landing and vertical takeoff and landing aircraft systems for short-haul transportation and on improvements for medium- and long-haul jet transports. Work to be undertaken in 1972 includes design and initial fabrication of an experimental research airplane employing the externally blown flap concept. The essential objectives of this program are to validate the predicted performance of powered lift—including engine quietness—and to permit the establishment of realistic criteria for en route and terminal operations—including navigation and flight-path control—and criteria for certification of STOL jet transport type aircraft.

Supporting activities: The programs grouped in this activity provide general support for the attainment of NASA mission objectives.

Tracking and data acquisition: Operation and equipment of the stations of the NASA tracking and data acquisition networks are provided for here, as well as research and development to increase the capability of the specialized ground equipment.

Sustaining university program: This program included grants for graduate studies in interdisciplinary space-related fields. No funds are included for either 1971 or 1972.

Technology utilization: The objectives of this program is to accelerate the trans-

fer of new advances in technology generated by NASA and NASA contractors into the economy.

CONSTRUCTION OF FACILITIES

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Direct program:			
Manned space flight.....	12,529	18,100	9,800
Scientific investigations in place.....	5,359	2,300	4,500
Space applications.....		1,000	2,000
Space research and technology.....	11,791	1,500	1,500
Aeronautical research and technology.....	5,287	6,000	4,700
Supporting activities.....	17,576	26,100	32,500
Reimbursable program:			
Space applications.....	20		
Total program costs, funded.....	52,562	55,000	55,000
Change in selected resources.....	-19,144	37,149	1,300
Total obligations.....	33,418	92,149	56,300

This appropriation provides for contractual services for the design, major rehabilitation, and modification of facilities; the construction of new facilities; the purchase of related equipment and advanced design related to facilities planned for future authorization. The principal projects in the 1972 program are described below:

Manned space flight: This activity includes funds for the modification and provision of facilities for space shuttle technology and engine development.

Scientific investigations in space: This activity will provide funds for Centaur modifications to Titan III launch area, and alterations to launch complex 17 at the Kennedy Space Center.

Space applications: No projects for 1972.

Space research and technology: No projects for 1972.

Aeronautical research and technology: This activity includes funding for the modernization of the 40-by-80-foot wind tunnel at the Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, Calif.

RESEARCH AND PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Direct program:			
Manned space flight.....	340,675	339,992	331,100
Scientific investigations in space.....	89,960	93,792	89,300
Space applications.....	26,352	34,329	36,100
Space research and technology.....	113,012	109,421	104,000
Aeronautical research and technology.....	98,383	93,963	98,150
Supporting activities.....	38,257	50,503	38,700
Total direct program costs, funded.....	706,639	722,000	697,350
Reimbursable program:			
Manned space flight.....	1,249	1,859	2,000
Space applications.....	895	1,152	1,100
Space research and technology.....	504	689	700
Total reimbursable program costs.....	2,648	3,700	3,800
Total program costs, funded.....	709,287	725,700	701,150
Change in selected resources.....	-4,297	-3,567	
Total obligations.....	704,990	722,133	701,150

Supporting activities: The estimates for this activity provide for facility planning and design; a transportable ground tracking station site in western Europe, powerplant replacements at the Goldstone Complex, Fort Irwin, Calif., and Santiago, Chile; and for essential rehabilitation of and modifications to facilities—including projects for the prevention, control, and abatement of air and water pollution—at NASA installations and Government-owned plants operated by contractors for NASA.

This appropriation provides for expenses of research in Government laboratories, management of programs, and other expenses for the operation of NASA installations.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Miscellaneous trust funds:			
International cooperation.....	2,093	11,870	12,050
Change in selected resources.....	-28		
Total obligations.....	2,065	11,870	12,050

U.S. dollars are advanced from foreign governments to allow the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to procure, in the United States, nonmilitary space-oriented materials and services on their behalf.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Medical Care			
Direct operating costs, funded (maintenance and operation of VA facilities; research and development in health services).....	2,182	2,671	2,171
Capital outlay, funded (maintenance and operation of VA facilities; research and development in health services).....	1	1	1

This covers the cost of studies designed to accelerate administrative and management research and development activities to facilitate improved delivery of health care services. In 1972, costs are estimated to decrease below 1971 levels by \$500,000 due to a transfer of construction research to the construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities appropriation.

MEDICAL AND PROSTHETIC RESEARCH

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Operating costs, funded:			
Medical research.....	50,552	53,153	54,087
Prosthetic research.....	1,560	1,983	1,994
Capital outlay, funded:			
Medical research.....	6,768	6,510	5,879
Prosthetic research.....	37	40	40
Total program costs funded.....	58,917	61,686	62,000
Change in selected resource.....	-232		
Total obligations.....	58,685	61,686	62,000

Medical research: Medical research projects are conducted in VA laboratories or in other institutions on a contract basis, whichever is more advantageous or economical. Excluded from this estimate are the costs of research construction projects which are funded from the construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities appropriation.

Prosthetic research: This is a research program to develop and test prosthetic, orthopedic, and sensory aids for the purpose of improving the care and rehabilitation of disabled eligible veterans, including amputees, paraplegics, and the blind.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities: Research facilities ¹	3,905	5,818	9,819
Advances and reimbursements:			
Medical and prosthetic research.....	558	550	550
Cancer chemotherapy research.....		950	1,000
Administrative Conference of the United States			
Salaries and expenses:			
Studies to improve administrative procedure.....	243	380	396
Change in selected resources.....	8		
Total obligations.....	251	380	396

¹ This activity provides for construction of medical research facilities.

The conference is responsible for conducting studies of the efficiency, adequacy, and fairness of present procedures by which Federal administrative agencies and executive departments determine the rights, privileges, and obligations of private persons.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Activities: External research and field testing.....	2,510	1,700	2,000

The external research and field testing activities are conducted through contracts or grants with nongovernmental research organizations and through reimbursement agreements with other U.S. Government departments and agencies.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation have supported special studies conducted by staff of the Commission.

The significant increase in the Foundation's research program activities in 1972 is to: First, strengthen support for high-quality research and significant national facilities, including those which are no longer being supported by other agencies because of changes in program emphasis; second, expand scientific research in areas most closely related to major national problems; and, third, strengthen the basic and applied research efforts which are essential to the ad-

vancement of our technology and economic productivity.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1970 estimate	1972 estimate
Advances and reimbursements: External research and field testing.....	95	90	90
Federal Home Loan Bank Board			
Special studies of the savings and loan industry.....	99		
Federal Power Commission			
Advances and reimbursements:			
Studies, Corps of Engineers.....	12		
Flood insurance studies, Department of Housing and Urban Development.....	1		
Studies, Department of Agriculture.....	5		
Federal Trade Commission			
Advances and reimbursements: Economic study for Department of Transportation on automobile insurance.....	155		
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations			
Advances and reimbursements:			
Indepth study of local government capacity to finance urban mass transportation.....	55	11	
Change in selected resources.....	-8	-11	
Total obligations.....	47		

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION			
Salaries and expenses:			
Scientific research project support.....	161,716	175,900	257,800
Specialized research facilities and equipment.....	6,504	5,800	5,800
National and special research programs.....	39,064	82,900	166,600
National research centers.....	27,212	37,100	40,400

Provision has been made within the budgeted amount for the support of the National Magnet Laboratory and the interdisciplinary laboratories formerly funded by the Department of Defense. Funds are also included for the transfer of funding responsibility for logistic support for the U.S. antarctic research program from the Department of Defense to the Foundation.

Scientific research project support: This program provides support for research aimed at increasing our basic understanding of man and our physical and social environments, through improved knowledge of fundamental processes and phenomena. Since 1971, increased emphasis has been given to the support of research in those areas of science where new knowledge is required to solve some of the critical environmental and social problems facing the Nation.

Specialized research facilities and equipment: Under this program, the Foundation helps colleges, universities, and other institutions obtain major

specialized facilities and items of equipment which are needed for the effective conduct of research.

National and special research programs: This program covers major research efforts which involve extensive coordination of planning, funding, and logistic support or are directed at specific problems of national concern. They include the international biological program, earthquake engineering, the arctic research program, and others. Under this program, the Foundation is bringing together a number of program elements in a major research effort aimed at stimulating the application of scientific knowledge to the solution of major national problems and advancing the Nation's technology and economic productivity. Increased funds are included for continued U.S. participation in the international biological program for ongoing integrated research efforts on biological productivity, on human adaptation to changing environments, and on the driving forces, components, and processes which make ecosystems operate.

National research centers: The Foundation provides support for the development and operation of five national research centers. These centers have been established to meet national needs for research in astronomy and the atmospheric sciences requiring facilities, equipment, staffing, and operational support beyond the financial capabilities of individual academic institutions.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Securities and Exchange Commission			
Salaries and expenses: Institutional investor study ¹	575	238	
Small Business Administration			
Salaries and expenses: Research contracts ²	49		150
Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse			
Salaries and expenses: Conduct a study of Marihuana and the causes of drug abuse		200	500

¹ The objective of the study is to evaluate the impact of institutional investors on the equity market and the effects of those impacts on the ability of and methods by which corporations obtain equity capital.

² Research studies designed to reveal matters materially affecting the competitive strength of small business and the effect on small business of Federal laws, programs, and regulations are financed under this activity.

The Commission will conduct a study of marihuana including its extent of use, the efficacy of existing laws, its pharmacology and effects, its relationship to crime and other drugs, and its international control. The Commission will also conduct a study and investigation into the causes of drug abuse and their relative significance.

On the basis of its study, the Commission will make recommendations to the President and the Congress, for legislative and administrative action.

COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Conduct and sponsor studies and research on problems of population growth and their implications for America's future	6	959	635

This appropriation will enable the Commission to complete its inquiry into a broad range of problems associated with population growth and their implications for America's future. Research is being concentrated on: population size and distribution; the impact of population on political and governmental institutions, natural resources and the environment, and the demand for social services; moral-ethical considerations related to population growth; and the historical and political aspects of immigration.

COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Study the organization of the District of Columbia Government		325	175

The Commission is to study and investigate the organization and operation of the agencies of the District of Columbia in order to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON MATERIALS POLICY

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Materials policy study			500

It is the purpose of the Commission to develop recommendations for a national materials policy to enhance environmental quality and conserve materials by utilizing present technology and resources more efficiently, to anticipate the future materials requirements of the Nation and the world, and to make recommendations on the supply, use, recovery, and disposal of materials.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Materials policy study		85	

A supplemental appropriation for 1971 will be requested to provide initial funding for the Commission.

NATIONAL TOURISM RESOURCES REVIEW COMMISSION

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Salaries and expenses: Travel and tourism studies		130	420
Change in selected resources		320	-240
Total obligations		450	180

The Commission is charged by the Congress with, first, determining the domestic travel needs of the people of the United States and of visitors from other countries at the present time and to the year 1980; second, determining the travel resources of the United States available to satisfy such needs now and to the year 1980; third, determining policies and programs which will assure that the domestic travel needs of the present and the future are adequately and efficiently met; fourth, determining a recommended program of Federal assistance to the States in promoting domestic travel; and fifth determining whether a separate agency of the Government should be established or whether an existing department, agency, or instrumentality within the Government should be designated to consolidate and coordinate tourism research, planning, and development activities presently performed by different agencies of the Government.

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Public Land Law Review Commission			
Salaries and expenses: Study of existing land laws and procedures	1,676	615	
Change in selected resources	-481	-159	
Total obligations	1,195	456	

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration			
Salaries and expenses: Studies of immigration in the Western Hemisphere	17	4	
Change in selected resources	-12	-4	
Total obligations	5		

	In thousands of dollars		
	1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
Tennessee Valley Authority			
Payment to Tennessee Valley Authority fund			
Operating costs, funded: Regional development program: Environmental research and development		153	160

Environmental research and development utilizes TVA resources and Tennessee Valley research opportunities toward meeting pressing needs of the

Nation. The program is being designed to deal with the full range of variables which affect environmental quality and utilization of natural resources.

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

In thousands of dollars

1970 actual	1971 estimate	1972 estimate
234	186	200

Acquisition and construction of radio facilities; Research and development

¹ Research will continue in engineering development, equipment design, and radio propagation techniques specifically available to the Voice of America.

NEW TRUCK RULES PLEASE FARMERS

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, farmers throughout the nation have good reason to rejoice following publication in the Federal Register today that restrictive and unnecessary regulations applying to the drivers of farm trucks have been set aside for another 6 months. The regulations, including the prohibition of anyone under 21 from driving even a farm pickup, were to become effective July 1.

Additionally, the Department of Transportation recommended in today's Federal Register a proposed rule change which will exempt all straight farm trucks from the regulation while operating within 150 miles of the farm.

This announcement is in line with my recommendation of March 29 to Secretary of Transportation Volpe and a bill I later introduced with 19 cosponsors. I am pleased that President Nixon also shared my concern about these unnecessary regulations. He said last week that if a man is old enough to be drafted and have the vote, he is old enough to drive a farm truck.

The regulations which have now been circumvented, at least until the end of this year, would have required any farm truckdriver to be 21, have passed special physical and written examinations, a road test, and submit an extensive record of his driving history.

The future of these unwise and completely unnecessary regulations now rests heavily with the farmers themselves. The Federal Register announcement calls for comment on the new proposal which would do away with the regulations effective January 1, 1972. I urge farmers to write the Department of Transportation voicing their support for the proposal. Without comments from farmers supporting the elimination of these requirements, I fear the rules could be reimplemented beginning next year.

According to instructions in the Federal Register:

Comments must identify the docket number and notice number set forth above and

must be submitted in three copies to the Director, Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety, Washington, D.C. 20591.

The docket number is MC-7 and the notice number is 71-12.

I sincerely urge farmers to write immediately of their support for the proposed rule regarding "Exemptions From Driver Qualification Rules; Drivers of Farm and Lightweight Vehicles." I will write of my support today.

A NEW ERA WITH CHINA: DO WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE GETTING INTO?

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1971

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the era of so-called ping-pong diplomacy may or may not be coming fast upon us. Before we get carried away, and think that 20 years of Red Chinese hostility is wiped out overnight, we must try and understand something about the government and people with whom we deal.

Following is a series of six consecutive newsletters I wrote on this "new-era" in United States-Chinese relations:

A NEW ERA WITH CHINA?

CHINA—1: APRIL 25—MAY 1, 1971

It is truly ironic, yet not without a touch of grim humor, that to date one of the most accurate comments on the "new era" in U.S.-Chinese relations has come from—The Soviet Union!

From Radio Moscow, April 17 (a broadcast to Africa, in English):

"For the first time in history, pingpong, or table tennis, has become a matter for political hullabaloo. The Western press, and especially the American press, has been frontpageing the news about the American table tennis team's visit to China. . . . Needless to say, sports events among various national teams are usual and essential. However, in this particular case the sports meet has been given a marked political future. . . . ping pong bats are wielded for manipulating big politics. And the reception was characteristic of the Peking leaders, who have long been using various methods to establish contacts with the very same American imperialists whom they have been so loudly denouncing in their press and over the radio. . . ."

To read the headlines of recent news stories you would think that the first commodity brought back from China was several tons of the finest yen shee gow opium, which was rapidly crammed into a series of journalistic and political pipes and deeply inhaled. "Mao Said to Welcome a Nixon Visit"—"China Has 'Growing Role to Play in Asia'—Rogers"—"Panel Urges U.S. Seek Early Entry of Peking to U.N."—"Dawn in the East"—"Aggressive' Image of China is Reassessed"—"China's Cultural Revolution Brought Quiet Changes"—on and on and on *ad nauseam*: the ultimate was this drivel "Chinese Tact Lets Us Lose Gracefully."

From one news story: ". . . the hippie who turned Ping Pong into an art of diplomacy, said today he believed he could 'very easily' mediate Sino-American problems between Premier Chou En-Lai and President Nixon."

From another news story: gabble of one young member of the U.S. team: "Mao Tse-tung is the greatest moral and intellectual leader in the world."

I would have been more impressed if the team had returned with at least one of the four and possibly five Americans who have been rotting in Chinese jails; two of them since 1952. As Smith Hempstone wrote in the Washington Evening STAR, April 25, 1971:

"Like the POWs in Southeast Asia, they have been imprisoned because they served this country and, by God, they cannot and should not be forgotten in the euphoria engendered by a ping-pong match. (Nixon should tell Peking) that the release of all American prisoners in their hands is a sine qua non for any significant improvement in relations between ourselves and them. . . ."

Exactly! Already one American, Hugh F. Redmond, a businessman sentenced to life imprisonment on espionage charges in 1954, has killed himself in a Red Chinese jail. Or so Peking said; his ashes were returned to this country and no autopsy was possible.

The Manchester Guardian had this to say, from the British standpoint:

"While welcoming news that four missing British subjects are alive and well it is profitable to remember that their absence was not due to some boating accident last weekend. They had been held in detention and incommunicado since 1967-68. The euphoria at the approach of normal diplomatic relations should not obscure memory of past and persisting diplomatic and social abnormalities."

Let's balance things a bit with some other headlines, and put the opium pipe back on the shelf: "Maoist Terrorists are Blamed for Bengal Violence Wave"—"Mediterranean Bid by Red China Seen"—"Red China Gets Foot in Door of South America."

Let's remember this, too: thirty years ago, Mao and Company were holed up in the caves of Yanan, in North China, and planning their revolution (according to one historian) "to the accompaniment of Ping Pong balls."

And five years ago, a lively and perceptive British writer, Dennis Bloodworth, in his excellent (I strongly recommend it) *The Chinese Looking Glass*, told how Peking's rulers were urging their international ping-pong team to hit the ball "as if it were the head of Chiang Kai-shek."

So, if we're going to play international ping pong, well and good. But let's follow the first rule of the game: Keep Your Eye on the Ball!

Or else, we might end up playing the role of the ball!

CHINA—2: MAY 2—MAY 8, 1971

Let's look at some more headlines on Chinese-U.S. relations: "China Trying to Set Off U.S.-Soviet War, Moscow Says"—"Soviet Denounces Chinese Reds For Shift on Relations with U.S."—"Soviets Reveal Anxiety over U.S.-China Moves."

Now, two things are quite true: 1) in the overall view of U.S.-Chinese relations, there is no *basic, long-standing, deep-seated* reason why the U.S. and China should be enemies. 2) There are two thousand years of history crammed full of reasons why the Soviet Union and China should be enemies.

The U.S. military analyst and writer Harrison Salisbury expounded on this at some length in his book "War Between Russia and China?" The Soviet writer Andrei Amalrik, in his fascinating article "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" said it would not, and gave as his reason a Sino-Soviet war.

There are thousands of miles of common boundary between China and Russia. Practically every inch of it over the centuries has been in dispute, is in dispute, or probably will be in dispute. It has been known for a long time that some of the finest guided nuclear missile detachments of both countries have been stationed all along this frontier. The border clashes of a year or so ago seem to have quieted down, but that does not mean they could not or would not start up again.

Chinese bayonets (or swords, or lances) have jabbed Russian shins over the centuries—sometimes just a pinprick, sometimes a full and cruel thrust. No Russian ruler in the long and tumultuous history of that land has ever felt safe against an attack from the East. Alexander Nevsky, Prince of Novgorod and later of Vladimir, crushed Swedish and German invasions from the West in 1240 and 1242 A.D. But at the very same time, the Mongols under Batu were busy setting up the Khanate of the Golden Horde at Sarai, on the lower Volga, where they remained for two centuries, acting as overlords of all Russia, levying tribute and taking military contingents. True, they did not interfere much with what passed for internal Russian rule, but the fact remains Mongol (or Tatar) rule was not really driven out of Russia until 1556, by Ivan the Terrible.

These memories live on and are just as alive as the depredations of the Germans during World War II. They are an intrinsic part of Russian folklore, nationalism, national thought, legend, and, we may be sure of this, they play a definite part in the formation of Russian national policy right at this very moment.

Now, it is quite obvious that there are persons already casting about to try and determine how the U.S. can play off one dictatorship against another. Cozy up to Red China; that will make the Soviet Union more amenable at arms talks. Be nice to Moscow, that will make Peking jealous.

This is dangerous, very dangerous; democracies are not remotely fitted to play such a game, let alone play it with two superpowers who were at it centuries before American military might progressed beyond birch-bark canoes. In annoyance at this silly diplomatic minuet, it is not at all unthinkable that both powers would sublimate their differences long enough to brush us out of the way like a No. 12 boot heel scraping over an ant hill. Or at least plan to do it; you may be sure if they felt it was to their advantage, and thought they had the drop on us, they would.

No—such a course for this country would be the most foolhardy foreign venture of any country of all time. It can be played only if the country moving the pieces about the board is utterly ruthless, totalitarian in nature, accountable to no national legislature or opinion from the people of the country involved, and is headed by steel-spined, icy-nerved, conscienceless autocrats without the faintest hindrance caused by morality or considerations of international goodwill. We do not fill the above requirements, not at all.

So, what to do? First, reject any and all thoughts of using one against the other. Deal with each separately; keep in mind, as always, that they are looking out for their interests first, and let us do the same.

And above all (this has already started) get rid of that incredibly pernicious and muddle-headed notion that we owe Red China (or any other country) any sort of "apology" for past acts. To begin with, we don't; to top it off, the sight of the U.S. groveling in self-abasement of its own free will can only cause amusement in either Peking or Moscow—but the laughter will die in a hurry when they figure that the fools are bowing their necks for the yoke, so let's give them a little more time and they will not only make it, but put it in place for us.

There is much talk these days of staying out of things that are none of our business. Well, that means everywhere—and most especially if it concerns latent quarrels between Red China and the Soviet Union.

CHINA—3; MAY 9-15, 1971

In line with this country's "New China Policy" President Nixon has loosened up certain trade restrictions. Implications are great

here, admittedly; a market of no one knows how many hundreds of millions of Chinese, so some maintain, could give a real boom to U.S. industry.

Unfortunately, as Eliza Doolittle would say, "Not bloody likely!" Not for us, at least; the Japanese, Germans, British, French and Canadians are already ahead of us. Even at that, China simply does not import very much. It is very unlikely this country would extend any credits to Red China; even if it did, Peking is notoriously conservative when it comes to borrowing money. One businessman questioned his Japanese contacts about doing business with Red China; "like playing golf in a heavy fog," was the response. Long political harangues are part and parcel of every meeting with Red Chinese officials when it comes to selling merchandise. A businessman must have a strong stomach for reams of Mao-thought.

There is, simply, very little we can offer that the Red Chinese are not already buying at lower prices. And, from our standpoint, there is very little the Chinese produce in large quantities that we would want. China's largest export is cotton fabric, clothing and cotton thread and yarn. There is enough trouble already over cheap imports competing in this country with domestic goods.

The Chinese do import a lot of wheat; this would seem made to order for us, with chronic surpluses. But remember 1964? We sold the Russians \$100 million worth; Moscow held out tantalizing prospects of buying \$300 million worth—then didn't. American law requires 50 per cent of all such shipments be in American flag vessels. This raised the price far beyond what the Soviet Union was willing to pay. The Soviets vowed never to get into such a deal again.

How about increased travel to Red China? First, let's dispel the silly myth that people-to-people contact will automatically mean better relations, peace, understanding, etc. The fact of our own Civil War looms up grimly in the background to cancel this one out.

Well, it's up to the Chinese. For myself, I note President Nixon has said he would like to visit China; so would I. All this country can do, and has done, is merely say U.S. passports are good for travel in Red China. Then, there is the matter of getting the Red Chinese to grant the visa. So far, I am informed, there is absolutely no sign that a general opening-up on Peking's part is in the works. Admittedly, it could change overnight.

A lot of Americans would like to go. Why not? It does no harm to look things over, in the sense of the tourist, or the historian, or the archaeologist, or the student, or the businessman. Travel between the two countries, in and of itself, would harm no one, unless the visitor, trying to make an impression on his hosts, starts praising the host country at the expense of his own.

For myself, I'd like to go far into the interior, to visit the sites of old battlefields, to see the wide Mongolian plains where the Mongols under the khans gathered for their mammoth assaults upon Western Europe. Some of the most fascinating reading in all historical archaeology is that of the American explorer Roy Chapman Andrews, who did so much work in the regions of outer China.

Would mutual tourism between the two countries be dangerous? For us, as far as internal security goes? Would Red Chinese spies swarm everywhere? Well, to begin with, any tourist agreements between the two countries certainly would mean each country would restrict certain areas; there are parts of the U.S. where Russians cannot go, and vice versa. Second, the first Chinese tourists would be such objects of curiosity that they would be hemmed in by swarms of

newsmen, cameramen, tv-reporters, interpreters, guides, State Department officials, local, state and county officials, etc., that they'd not have a chance for any espionage at all. Third, embassies are generally the focal point for espionage networks. Mutual diplomatic relations are, I would bet, still a long ways off. So nothing to fear, for the present, at least.

Dangerous for Americans who go to China? Any American traveling in any Communist country is, let's face it, a potential victim of a trumped-up charge of espionage. "Sorry," the American Consul or Ambassador is told. "We don't know where he is." Or, "Sorry, but he was a spy. He was sentenced to twenty years in accordance with our laws. You can see him once a week."

Communists generally keep a person there until he rots, or at least is partly rotted and half mad with the mental torture of his captivity. We on the other hand are more likely to kick the offender out, via the nearest port, or else if he is a big enough fish in the spy swarm, swap him for an American (like swapping Rudolf Abel for Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot.)

Travel broadens. Cells confine—drastically. There's always been this danger when travel in Communist countries is concerned, for Americans. There's always been the chance of espionage when Communist countries have embassies in the United States. It's just that simple.

CHINA—4; MAY 16-22, 1971

How to understand China? This is a mammoth problem. Maybe it can't be understood. But let's avoid the temptation to now praise the Cultural Revolution, which convulsed that country a few years ago, as some tremendous step forward in a nation's life. The truth of the matter is (and there is plenty of documentation for it) that Red Chinese rule over China was imposed at the cost of an estimated ten million lives. The Cultural Revolution was a shameless, unbridled orgy of near-madness on a scale seldom seen in world history. Some international observers even went so far as to declare the entire country had fallen victim to more advanced paranoid and schizophrenic traumas.

How to understand it? Mao thought? Mao advised students to copy from each other; "If A's answer is good, B should be allowed to copy it." Mao himself? The Great Helmsman, remember, was once touted as having swum down the Yangtze, covering nine miles in something like 63 minutes. This for a man past seventy, a three-pack-a-day smoker? Not even Tarzan, foaming down the Zambesi ahead of the crocodiles as he hastened to rally the apes, ever approached this one!

How to understand China? The following—can you comprehend this:

"Dr. Lin paused to introduce us to one of the surgeons, Tai-Yu-hua, who had herself been cured of choriocarcinoma by chemotherapy. . . she had since delivered a healthy baby. Tears came to Dr. Tai's eyes as Dr. Lin explained that her recovery had been partly due to faith healing—faith in Mao Tse-tung. Dr. Tai's baby was called 'Strong Constitution.' Meaning good health? Not at all. The child was so named in honor of the new constitution adopted by the Ninth Party Congress."

How to understand China? A wise and scholarly man once told me the road to understanding a nation lay through the verse of its poets. This may be, at least in part. Half of Chinese literature is poetry; some of its verse is beyond a doubt the finest lyric ever written.

Consider Li T'ai-po, poet of the 8th Century A.D. Li loved wine; he also loved the moon; if the two could be combined, so much the better:

A pot of wine among flowers.
I alone, drinking, without a companion.
I lift my cup and invite the bright moon.
My shadow opposite certainly makes us three.
But the moon cannot drink,
And my shadow follows the motion of my
body in vain.

He loved these things not wisely, but too well; ultimately, the combination was fatal. Sailing down the Yangtze one night, somewhat in his cups, he leaned over the edge of the boat to embrace the reflection of the moon in the water, fell in, and drowned.

How to understand China? George III once sent a trade mission to the Dragon Throne, with presents for the Emperor: guns, clocks, telescopes, wonders of the 18th century Western world. The envoy's boat was halted at Tientsin, and the Chinese affixed to it a banner, which would remain there as it sailed up the river to Peking:

"Tribute Embassy from the Red Barbarians."

The presents were duly noted and accepted by the Emperor, and much to the astonishment of the envoy, the Imperial Edict delivered to him read as follows:

"We, by the Grace of Heaven, Emperor, instruct the King of England to take note of our charge.

"Although your Country, O King, lies in the far oceans, yet inclining your heart towards civilization you have specially sent an envoy respectfully to present a state message.

"Now you, O King, have presented various objects to the throne, and mindful of your loyalty we have specially ordered our Ministry to receive them.

"Nevertheless, we have never valued ingenious articles, nor do we have the slightest need of your Country's manufacture. Therefore, O King, as regards your request to send someone to remain at the capitol for trade, while it is not in harmony with the regulations of the Celestial Empire, we also feel very much that it is of no advantage to your Country. Hence, we have issued these detailed instructions and have commanded your tribute Envoys to return safely home. You, O King, should simply act in conformity with our wishes by strengthening your loyalty and swearing perpetual obedience so as to ensure that your Country may share the blessings of peace . . . That is a special edict."

This was written on the advice of the Emperor's Grand Secretary; his advice had been brusque and to the point: "These are ignorant foreign devils and it is not worth treating them with too much courtesy."

How to understand China? You tell me!

CHINA—5: MAY 23—29, 1971

A propaganda campaign, about as subtle as the blast from a sawed-off shotgun, has already begun in this country to try and change our relationship with the Chinese Government on Formosa.

From the Washington, D.C., Post, April 29, 1971: "U.S. Takes New Step on China—Peking, Taipei Discussions Are Suggested."

From the New York Times, same day: "U.S. Ties With Taiwan Lose Warmth."

From the Baltimore Sun, same day: "U.S. Years for Mao, Chiang to End Their Own Disputes."

From the NY Times May 1, 1971: "Nationalists Reject U.S. Suggestions on Taiwan."

Now, granted, when it is time to act in our own short- and long-range national interest, we should not be tied to anyone. And I mean anyone. But at the same time, this country has no business at all casually casting off old, tried and true, faithful allies—for anyone else. I do not know what is going on in the Department of State on this score, and admittedly the above headlines do not necessarily reflect official Washington thinking. I do not believe we are going to abruptly

abandon Formosa, but at the same time I am dead certain we are in for a major propaganda campaign from the Left to try and get us to do exactly that.

Of course, this same Left is very protective of our foreign interests where South Africa, Portugal, Greece, or Spain are all concerned. We should, they infer, take all possible steps to undermine the present ruling governments in these countries and we should play up to the dissidents from these same countries who are out of power. You see, the governments of these four countries are on the Right side of the political fence. But when it comes to Red China, then we can quite easily scrub the blood of 10 million Chinese out of history's bathtub, fill it full of water, and soak cheerily side by side with Chairman Mao.

The matter goes far beyond Formosa itself. Red China wants to be the power in Asia. What are we to do about Japan? India? Southeast Asia? The Philippines? Australia? Throw all of them to the Chinese Dragon? The balance of power in that part of the world, never very steady and usually quivering is delicately poised and tuned. No country in that part of the world is going to see its own national existence threatened, bypassed or downgraded by either Red China or the U.S.—or a combination of the two.

But back to the coming propaganda campaign. Brace yourself: it's going to be rough. The prominent columnist Mr. Joseph Alsop commented the other day on a report coming out of Red China by a West German on the "7 May Schools." These are little more than hideous slave labor camps, with the most rudimentary facilities, where the work consists of the meanest forms of low physical labor.

Mr. Alsop commented on the strange mentality of American leftwing intellectuals and professors and students who have been itching like mad for some time to come out openly with their adoration of Red China, and Mao. In truth, many of them already have; Mao buttons proliferate in "peace" demonstrations all over the country, and on college campuses. By implication, they also support such monstrosities as the "7 May Schools." And Mr. Alsop concludes his column with these words:

"This is the stage of intellectual corruption that has been very widely reached by America's left-wing intellectuals and the young people who follow them. Maybe the answer is a deep masochist drive, which it has again become fashionable to yield to in public.

"Monster Stalin used to be slavered over by the European left. Mad old monster Mao is slavered over by the American left today. Maybe the slavers direly need a monster.

"This does not mean that the U.S. government should not move swiftly toward state relations with Mao's China, if the Chinese Communists want relations on equal terms. This is a practical rather than a moral matter. But the foregoing still means that large areas of American intellectual life are now in a pretty awful mess."

CHINA—6: MAY 30—JUNE 5, 1971

I am concluding my series of six newsletters on China with the full text of a broadcast in English over Radio Peking, April 26, 1971. It speaks for itself. "Slogans in honour of May 1, International Labour Day, of 1971:

1. Celebrate May 1, International Labour Day!

2. Hail the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

3. Working men of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!

4. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today. People of the world,

unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

5. We firmly support the heroic Albanian people in their just struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries!

6. We warmly congratulate the people of the three countries of Indochina on their great victories in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation! We firmly support and assist the heroic people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation! U.S. aggressor troops and their vassal troops must completely withdraw from Indochina so that the people of the three countries of Indochina each can resolve their own problems by themselves!

7. We firmly support the heroic Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful unification of the fatherland!

8. The people of China, together with the people of Japan, Korea, the three countries of Indochina and the rest of Asia, firmly oppose the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries!

9. We firmly support the Arab peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism! We firmly support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for national rights!

10. We firmly support the African peoples in their struggle against colonialist and neo-colonialist aggression, subversion and intervention!

11. We firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and safeguard national independence and state sovereignty! We firmly support the Latin American peoples in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!

12. We firmly support the national liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples!

13. We firmly support the just struggle of the American people against the U.S. Government's policies of aggression and war and racial discrimination! We firmly support the struggle of the working class and revolutionary people of various countries!

14. All peace-loving countries and peoples who are subject to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, unite and resolutely oppose the power politics of the two superpowers!

15. We salute the genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of various countries! We salute the genuine Marxist-Leninists of various countries! We salute the revolutionary people of various countries!

16. We salute the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals throughout the country!

17. We salute the great Chinese People's Liberation Army!

18. Hold high the great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and continue to fulfill the fighting tasks set by the Ninth Party congress!

19. Unite to win still greater victories under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader!

20. Criticize revisionism and rectify our style of work, and deepen education in ideology and political line!

21. Carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously in order to further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat!

22. Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought! Press ahead with the mass movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works!

23. Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism!

24. Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war! Strive to fulfill and overfulfill the 1971 national economic plan!

25. Win new victories to greet the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of China and the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress!

26. Heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland! Be ready at all times to destroy the enemy intruders! We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

27. Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

28. Long live the great People's Republic of China!

29. Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

30. Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

31. Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

32. Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMMUNIST TROJAN HORSE

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Georgi Dimitroff said at the Seventh World Congress Communist International in 1935:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until, with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics.

An American Communist by the name of Gil Green sat in the Moscow auditorium and listened attentively to these words of the Secretary General of the Communist International. Green was attending the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in his capacity as secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States.

In the ensuing years, Green helped implement and refine the Trojan horse strategy of the Communist Party of the United States—CPUSA. This political component of Communist warfare became standardized: The pursuit of absolute power under cover of camouflaged objectives through the exploitation of real or imagined grievances and the manipulation of different social groups in front organizations.

Recent testimony given before the House Committee on Internal Security has clearly shown the CPUSA utilization of another in a long line of organizational weapons, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—PCPJ. The PCPJ was one of the two organizations responsible for the recent demonstrations in our Nation's Capital.

Expert witnesses described for House committee members and the press the origin and leadership of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Communist Party members, they testified,

have moved behind a confusing succession of organizational name changes. The November 8 Mobilization Committee—formed in September of 1966—was transformed into the Spring Mobilization Committee—November of 1966—which became the National Mobilization Committee in May 1967, which evolved into the New Mobilization Committee in July 1969, which, in the summer of 1970, split into the National Peace Action Coalition and the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression—the group which took on the name of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Party members provided the mortar which held the movement against U.S. efforts in Southeast Asia together and on course. They represented the common thread running through what might appear superficially to be unrelated organizations.

During the hearings, over 35 identified members of the Communist Party were shown to have been active in the formation and leadership of the PCPJ. House committee experts pointed to the fact that seven members of the PCPJ Coordinating Committee were well known and influential members—or former members—of the CPUSA. These included Gil Green, Terry Hallinan, Sylvia Kushner, Sid Peck, Irving Sarnoff, Jack Spiegel, and Jarvis Tyner. Green and Tyner are both members of the National Committee of the CPUSA. Practically all of these individuals had also been connected with the Spring Mobilization Committee—which was cited as Communist-dominated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities—the National Mobilization Committee, and the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression.

The documentation concerning CPUSA leadership of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and the involvement, with, and/or domination of, the PCPJ's forerunner organizations is massive. As a member of the House Committee on Internal Security, I will be doing my best to see that this information is brought to the attention of the American people so that Gil Green, and others like him, will not be able to run Dimitroff's Trojan horse through the streets of our Nation.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following is the language of House Resolution 319, which I introduced on March 17, 1971. I was hoping it might catch the attention of the administration:

H. RES. 319

Whereas the President of the United States on March 4, 1971, stated that his policy is that: "as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least we can negotiate for."

Whereas Madam Nguyen Thi Binh, chief delegate of the Provisional Revolutionary

Government of the Republic of South Vietnam stated on September 17, 1970, that the policy of her government is "In case the United States Government declares it will withdraw from South Vietnam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, and the parties will engage at once in discussion on:

"The question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Vietnam of United States troops and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp.

"The question of releasing captured military men."

Resolved, That the United States shall forthwith propose at the Paris peace talk that in return for the return of all American prisoners held in Indochina, the United States shall withdraw all its Armed Forces from Vietnam within sixty days following the signing of the agreement: Provided, That the agreement shall contain guarantee by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

RESPONSE OF CONSTITUENTS TO THE CONCEPT OF DATE-CERTAIN WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I received within a few days' time several hundred letters and telegrams in addition to some telephone calls from my constituents of the Second Congressional District in Utah, requesting that I sign the Mosher statement which is a statement supporting withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, conditioned upon release of American prisoners of war and safe withdrawal of our troops. At a later date, I began to receive letters asking that I support the Nedzi-Whalen amendment to an appropriations bill, also incorporating the principle of a date-certain withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. During this period I also received a telephone call from a constituent who said he had received a telephone call in Salt Lake City from Washington, D.C., asking him, as a member of Common Cause, to communicate with me on this issue and to ask five of his friends to do the same.

Of course, there is nothing wrong with this type of communications with a Member of Congress, but I was curious whether this influx of communications on a single subject was completely spontaneous and representative of the opinions of the citizens of my district.

I later received in the mails a publication from Common Cause which was dated May 1971 and was listed as report No. 6 of volume No. 1. On page 5 of that publication, the "grassroots strategy" of Common Cause was stated and it was reported that 50 congressional districts had been designated as priority districts with telephone banks set up to reach Common Cause members in those congressional districts. The names of individual members, including my own, were printed and I was thereby advised that I had been selected as a "target Con-

gressman." I commend Common Cause for disclosing these facts to me, even if late.

Each month I prepare an issue statement and send to 30,000 of my constituents, asking for their comments on the "Issue of the Month." I, therefore, selected the subject of a date-certain withdrawal from Vietnam as my "Issue of the Month" and mailed to the 30,000 constituents, which is a broad cross-section although certainly not a scientifically selected cross-section. As of today I have received 1,133 answers. Of these, 347 have replied in favor of the concept of a date-certain withdrawal. Seven hundred and sixty-four, or more than twice as many, have opposed the concept of a date-certain withdrawal and favor the withdrawal program of President Nixon. Twenty-two have no definite opinion.

Although I am a supporter of the Nixon withdrawal program, I made a conscientious effort to present objectively the principal arguments put forward by those who support the concept of a date-certain withdrawal and also of those who oppose it. That "Issue of the Month" is presented herewith, along with the disclosure of my results as a timely response to a significant issue of our day. Those who responded in virtually every case added their comments or wrote supporting letters, and in each case they were required to address their own envelopes and pay for their own stamps.

ISSUE OF THE MONTH: A DATE-CERTAIN WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM

For many months a variety of resolutions have been introduced into the two Houses of Congress to establish a cutoff date for our military operations in Southeast Asia. One of the best known was introduced into the Senate nearly a year ago—the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment to the Military Procurement Bill, which would originally have cut off all funds for the Vietnam War on last January 31, 1971, in the absence of a declaration of war by Congress. The Amendment was subsequently amended and defeated.

In the meantime, a wide variety of similar proposals have been introduced. Peace demonstrations have accompanied the proposals. Some of these demonstrations have been lawful and effective to a degree. Others have not. Peace demonstrations, being more general in nature, have usually cited as their objective: "Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and material from Southeast Asia."

There has been a buildup of support for the concept of a time-certain withdrawal. The President and the Congress are under increasing pressure to adopt such a policy. My office is no exception. Recently, a statement was suggested to the House of Representatives by a Republican, Charles Mosher of Ohio. Up to twenty and perhaps more Republicans have joined him, and the list grows. The statement would require that all U.S. military personnel be removed from and over Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos by December 1, 1971, conditioned upon safe removal of our troops and safe release of our prisoners of war.

I have received, in the past two weeks, more than 200 telegrams and letters urging that I join in supporting the Mosher Resolution. Many of the communications refer to Common Cause, an organization of repute, which supports such action.

It is difficult to gauge public opinion accurately. The Gallup Poll reported on Jan-

uary 31, 1971, that 73 percent of Americans want their Congressmen to vote to withdraw U.S. troops by the end of the year. Critics of the poll assert the question presented did not give sufficient freedom for completely accurate evaluation by the citizens.

In Utah around the latter part of April, I put the question to several groups, including students of Kearns High School, Cyprus High School, and higher age groups in Granger, Salt Lake, and Cedar City. In every case, there was overwhelming support for the Nixon position as against a time-certain withdrawal. My results have been criticized as having not been produced by sufficiently objective presentation and questioning. In reply, I will state that it was my intention to be objective and give both sides, but it is true my own support for the Nixon position at the time was expressed and may very well have colored the way the question was put. As to the age groups above high school age, it is also true these were preponderantly Republican. (Although I think it is unfortunate that public meetings addressed by a Congressman should be largely avoided by those who do not belong to the Congressman's political party.)

ARGUMENTS FOR A DATE-CERTAIN WITHDRAWAL

After six years of fighting, we have more than discharged any "commitment" we may have had.

This is a civil war in Vietnam in which we should not meddle.

The war has seriously divided America, creating disturbances and worse. The war has promoted revolution among the young, has exposed our military men to drugs, and other moral and emotional problems.

Our domestic needs are so overwhelming, we should begin binding up our own wounds.

Continuation of our participation in the war will add to the misery and hopelessness of our prisoners and their families. A date certain will increase pressure on Hanoi to release prisoners.

The war is undeclared, and is therefore unconstitutional and immoral.

President Nixon is prolonging the war so that he can end the war in an election year, thus adding to his chances for reelection.

The draft is un-democratic. Those who cannot afford the several methods of exemption are forced to bear an unequal burden in providing sons for combat in a war which is not supported by the American people. Therefore, unless Congress declares war, we should not draft boys to fight in it.

The objective of helping to maintain a "free society" in South Vietnam is unrealistic. They have no concept of the freedom which is traditional to America, but foreign to the realities of Southeast Asia.

We are supporting a regime guilty of corruption, which is not truly supported by the South Vietnamese, and which is accepting and encouraging American assistance only for personal and selfish gain. This regime will eventually fall regardless of our effort.

There are others, and supporters of the time-certain withdrawal concept can undoubtedly find fault with the above presentation.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST A DATE-CERTAIN WITHDRAWAL

President Nixon did not start the war. He inherited it. When he came into office, there were 536,000 U.S. military personnel in Vietnam. He announced a policy of withdrawal and "Vietnamization," (loosely interpreted as a policy which would give the South Vietnamese a reasonable chance to provide for their own defense). He has kept his pledge. 200,000 have already been withdrawn. 100,000 more will be withdrawn by December 1, this year, and he has announced a goal of "total withdrawal from Vietnam, (contrary to South Korea where around 50,000 troops have been

kept for peacekeeping purposes since 1953, with general approval of Americans.)

The North Vietnamese have not stated they will release prisoners of war if we withdraw—but only that they would "discuss" on the matter of release, indicating they could be using the prisoners for larger stakes.

We cannot negotiate an "honorable" peace as successfully if we give our plans to the enemy.

President Nixon has kept all his pledges to date as Commander-in-Chief. Under these circumstances, he should not be handicapped by ultimatums.

Any date-certain withdrawal announced now by the U.S. would create bitterness in South Vietnam, and create completely new sets of objectives for the South Vietnamese election in October.

"Vietnamization" is "proceeding apace." Over one million South Vietnamese are now in uniform in defense of their country. The October elections have attracted at least three candidates for the top office, and will be supervised by international agencies in an effort to guarantee maximum freedom. Our objective of allowing the South Vietnamese free elections is attainable.

Announcement of a time-certain withdrawal will contribute to "defeat" in South Vietnam, a take-over by the North, with prospects of a bloodbath for the South, and loss of the total investment we have made in South Vietnam in blood and treasure.

MY POSITION

Up to the present time, I have felt that President Nixon was entitled to my support. This does not mean I feel an "obligation" to the President in this matter superior to my obligation to the people. It has been a matter of continuously deepest concern, study and evaluation. Pursuant to that objective, I would now like to have *your* opinion.

I support the concept of a time-certain withdrawal _____

I do not at this time support the concept of a time-certain withdrawal _____

Comments _____

Name _____

Address _____

A LITANY FOR OUR PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, regardless of our convictions on the Vietnam war, the thoughts of all Americans turn to the plight of our men who are prisoners of war or missing in action and the uncertainty and despair with which their families must live daily. Our thoughts and prayers are with them in these troubled times. A constituent, Mr. William Fleming of San Diego, recently sent me a copy of a portion of the service of the Point Loma Presbyterian Church and I am certain my House colleagues of all religious faiths will find the words of this litany very moving:

A LITANY FOR OUR PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION

MINISTER. Almighty God, Father of our Lord, Jesus Christ: Father of all children of the earth, of the free and of the captive, of the near and those most distant: Lord, all loving, in Your mercy:

PEOPLE. Hear our prayer.

MINISTER. Hear our prayer for our people who are prisoners of war, for our men who are missing in action, for our sons and fathers and brothers whose lot is known to You alone, for their loved-ones who lonely wait a day of reuniting:

PEOPLE. Hear our prayer.

MINISTER. Hear their prayer, O Lord, for bread by day, for rest by night, for shelter, strength, and relief of suffering. Comforter in conflict and silent Partner in a thousand cells:

PEOPLE. Hear their prayer, O Lord.

MINISTER. Humble our hearts in penitence from abuse of our Asian brother, from hatred which severs the bond of humanness, from loss of faith in Your providing care toward a world for which You lived and died:

PEOPLE. Free us by Your forgiveness, Lord.

MINISTER. O Saviour, sustain those who wait in deep uncertainty; the wives, the children, the parents, the sisters and brothers. Grant faith not to question the quietness or lose their sight of You in separation. Speak again: Lo, I am with you always, even to the world's end.

PEOPLE. Speak to all who wait, O Lord.

MINISTER. Speak to the leaders of the world, O Father, to abandon the futility of war and hasten the day of peace when all your children may dwell in tranquility within the borders of his adopted land.

PEOPLE. Fill us with faith, O Lord.

ALL. Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our debts, As we also have forgiven our debtors; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, for ever. Amen.

(This litany was used at the meeting of the 183rd General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. during its sessions in Rochester, New York, from May 17 to 26, 1971.)

DANGER RIDES WITH BIG RIGS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the June 7th issue of the National Observer carried an extensive article concerning the safety record of the trucking industry. The story explains the role of drivers as well as the equipment employed. The following article, coupled with the material which I have previously inserted in the RECORD with respect to buses, clearly indicates why there should be no increase in the size or weight of either trucks or buses:

DANGER RIDES WITH BIG RIGS

BEWARE: FAULTY TRUCKS, DRIVERS ARE ON ROADS
(By August Gribbin)

You may drive superbly—like an Al Unser of the sedan set. But skill avails little when a passing tractor-trailer heaves a wall of water from a wet road and drowns out your vision, or when a 70,000-pound van follows too closely down a steep hill and there's no way to elude it. Then you trust to luck.

In fact, motorists unwittingly test their luck on untold other occasions just by mingling the family car with the big rigs on the highway.

There is evidence that significantly large numbers of long-distance truck drivers take amphetamines and drink while driving. Many pilot seriously defective machines. Many force themselves to stay at the wheel after

fatigue has made them dangerous. This despite industry concern and sometimes lavish spending on safety.

ACCIDENT RATES DECEIVE

Similar past allegations have had small impact, largely because they lacked proof. Many motorists recoil at such reports, for they've come to regard big-rig truckers as the best, most-courteous drivers on the road. Truckers change flat tires for elderly ladies and help other distressed motorists. Besides, it obviously takes skill just to maneuver a giant truck.

Truck companies and the American Trucking Associations, Inc. (ATA), the industry's trade organization and lobbyist, explain—correctly—that trucks' accident rate is lower than cars'. They say the rate keeps dropping even though more trucks take the road each year. The rate for all trucks is 14.6 accidents per million miles driven, according to ATA figures; later National Safety Council statistics put it at 12.6. The rate for cars is 27.7.

Yet the small Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety, the Department of Transportation's truck-safety policeman, has intensified and expanded its accident investigating and reporting in recent months. Its files now abound with illustrations of the threats big rigs pose.

Examples?

In early morning on U.S. Highway 70 outside Roswell, N.M., a tractor-trailer eased onto the wrong side of the road toward an onrushing Buick, which defensively swerved far onto the road shoulder. Still the truck rammed it, killing its four occupants.

Federal officials blamed the trucker, terming him "negligent, . . . inattentive, dozing, or very possibly disoriented" because a "psychological or physical disorder" made him unable to stay awake while driving in darkness.

A truck lugging bombs over U.S. 75, which meanders through Coalgate, Okla., tried to make a right turn in the town. The rig flipped. The bombs didn't detonate, but two persons suffered injuries; property damage totaled \$10,000. Official finding: The truck's improperly secured load shifted, tipping the trailer.

Near Rockland, Fla., a tractor-trailer hauling grapefruit roared up behind a line of five cars pausing at a traffic light on U.S. 1. It didn't stop. Three persons died; six were hurt. Federal officials said the driver "had amphetamines in his possession."

ONE YEAR'S TOLL: 1,953 DEAD

Outside Ashton, Idaho, a runaway tractor-trailer hit a herd of cattle on a bridge, then bounded to a river bank below. The driver died. Federal officials said the truck's brakes were "almost nonfunctional and so badly neglected that [the truck] obviously had been in a dangerous condition for a relatively long period of time."

Investigators said the trucker had not kept the mandatory driving log properly, lacked a valid medical certificate, and apparently had not slept more than 2½ hours in the 29 hours preceding the crash. Among his effects was an empty whisky bottle with a partially dissolved tranquilizer in it.

Freakish, isolated incidents? Not at all.

Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety (BMCS) files contain reports of 47,877 big-rig smash-ups that killed 1,953 persons, injured 24,106 and caused \$102,051,590 in property damage in 1969. The BMCS hasn't completed its 1970 tally yet, so The National Observer hand-counted 1970 reports of the six largest—and purportedly the most safety-conscious—trucking companies.

Those six carriers alone had at least 4,317 accidents in which 36 persons died and 96 others were injured seriously. The totals are conservative, because some carriers' files spanned only eight months.

Roadway Express Inc., Akron, Ohio, the nation's third-biggest carrier by ATA reckon-

ing, topped the list with an 11-month record of 790 accidents, killing 16 persons and seriously injuring 21. R. R. Johnstone, Roadway vice-president, refused to converse about "such a sensitive subject as safety" over the phone.

Asked again, by telegram, to comment and to reply to a Roadway driver's criticism of Roadway's safety program, he wired: "Suggest you review steady improvement in safety performance before accepting criticism of one driver as fact." In 1969 Roadway reported 869 crashes that took 29 lives and hurt 427 persons. How many were seriously injured isn't known. The bureau's 1969 figures don't show the degree of injury.

The file of the nation's biggest carrier, United Parcel Service, New York City, lacked a month's accounting from an Ohio subsidiary. Otherwise it reported 629 accidents, 10 fatalities, and 13 serious injuries. A company spokesman remarks: "Unfortunately we are all the victims of human folly—if not ours, then someone else's."

FIGURES DON'T TELL ALL

The nation's second-largest carrier, Consolidated Freightways, Inc., Menlo Park, Calif., reported 1,093 crashes that killed 26 persons and injured 492 in 1969. Consolidated's 1970 file shows 460 wrecks causing five fatalities and 13 serious injuries in eight months.

O. H. Fraley, Consolidated's executive vice-president, comments: "We don't like to talk in terms of the number of accidents. No other company does. The number of accidents is relative to the number of miles driven. The number might look large, but the frequency rate of truck accidents is going down. Our road-accident frequency in 1970 was 16 percent lower than in 1969."

Not even the BMCS contends that its statistics realistically portray the state of big-truck safety. Its figures are far too conservative, for they cover only a fraction of U.S. trucks.

Arthur MacAndrew, chief of the bureau's compliance division, explains:

"Some 18,000,000 U.S. vehicles carry truck-license tags. Of those only 5,000,000 are the medium and heavy trucks we're concerned with. About half of those big rigs engage in interstate commerce and thus come under our jurisdiction. Really we deal with and get our data from roughly 10 percent of the nation's truck fleet."

Besides, bureau officials have discovered that at times companies don't report accidents. All mishaps causing \$250 property damage, personal injury, or a fatality must be reported.

But last fall, for example, the bureau alleged that Thunderbird Freight Lines, Inc., of Phoenix failed to report accidents. For that and other reasons Thunderbird was fined \$3,000.

Moody Suter, Thunderbird's vice president for safety, comments: "They charged us with 15 counts of failure to file [reports of accidents causing \$16,600 in property damages]. We got that cut to about six charges that we didn't contest."

Evidence of big-rig safety problems comes from other sources too:

The National Safety Council has compiled information from 23 states and tallied 725,000 big-rig crashes in 1969. They killed 4,700 persons.

The New Jersey Turnpike Authority says large trucks constitute 12 per cent of its road's traffic. But they're involved in 31.1 per cent of all accidents and in 61.8 per cent of all fatal accidents.

The University of Michigan's Highway Safety Research Institute found large trucks "overinvolved in accidents" in Oakland County, Michigan, which is traversed by main roads connecting Detroit with Flint and Saginaw. The discovery is based on one of the first applications of a formula that considers known accident-causing factors and

comes up with "accident norms" for various kinds of vehicles.

John Reed, a former governor of Maine who heads the National Transportation Safety Board, declares: "I say the big trucks do pose a significant safety problem. The generally strict Federal regulations apply only to 10 per cent of the trucking industry. States' rules cover all trucks, but the states' rules aren't now good enough to get bad drivers off the roads. We need an upgrading of those regulations."

COWCATCHERS AND BETTER BRAKES

After analyzing a truck-caused New Jersey Turnpike pile-up that took six lives and involved six trucks plus 23 other vehicles, Mr. Reed's board recently recommended installing special bumpers on trucks. They would function like cowcatchers on locomotives and streetcars, preventing the high-riding trucks from shearing the tops off cars they hit—or that hit them.

The board suggested occasionally segregating trucks into special lanes, forbidding "overtaking and passing by heavy vehicles," and creating standards that would make trucks less prone to tip over. It also called for tougher truck-brake standards.

According to the Bureau of Public Roads, the average passenger car traveling 50 m.p.h. needs 122 feet for stopping; the average three- or four-axle truck needs 445 feet.

Dr. William Haddon, the physician who heads the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety and formerly ran the nation's traffic and highway safety programs, declares: "It's obvious that mixing small, fast-stopping vehicles with ponderous, slower-braking ones would create a problem. And it does. It's an inherent safety hazard."

The Department of Transportation has faced the problem. Its National Highway Traffic Safety Administration ruled in March that trucks built after Jan. 1, 1973, must be able to stop almost as quickly as automobiles.

"We agree there should be improvement in current truck-brake performance," volunteers Kevin Smith, manager of product reliability for the International Harvester Co., Ford, and other truck makers agree.

Yet manufacturers, trucking companies, and some Government officials consider the Transportation Department's braking specifications and deadlines unrealistic. They want the rule modified and delayed. A BMCS engineer estimates that the proposed new brakes systems would add \$2,200 to the cost of an 11-axle truck.

The ATA "seriously doubts" the new system can be developed by 1973. It frets that truck makers may be unable to warrant that trucks with the new brakes will function with existing trailers. Loss of this "compatibility" would cost trucker and shipper time and money.

Even if opponents fail to delay implementation, the brake rules impact will come slowly. Just 150,000 new replacement trucks enter the long-haul fleet yearly. At that rate, it conceivably could take 33 years before the entire fleet had presumably better brakes.

THE FENDER DILEMMA

The reason: Trucks, unlike cars, live on and on. They are routinely rebuilt piecemeal as parts wear out. A truck that looks sparkling new may be just a new cab fitted onto an aged, overhauled diesel engine and chassis.

Other aspects of safety are being scrutinized too. Anticipating Federal regulation, truck makers are studying the feasibility of fenders to reduce spray from trucks on wet roads.

"It's a horrendous problem," says Gale Beardsley, Ford's chief heavy-truck engineer. He and others say that fenders big enough to permit the wheels' considerable vertical and horizontal movement would cause trucks to

exceed width limits. They say fenders would necessitate major trailer modifications, cause maneuvering troubles, and inhibit the air flow that cools brakes.

Truck makers deny there's a hazard in the air blitting that passing trucks give cars. About the alleged tendency of some tall trucks to flip over, International Harvester's Kevin Smith volunteers:

"There are no Federal standards governing this. But auxiliary stabilizing devices are available now." Ford's Mr. Beardsley adds: "Trucks tend to sit on the road. Their current stability characteristics are quite acceptable if drivers drive them with reasonable intelligence."

The motor-carrier bureau also has set new driver-qualification regulations. It has found "a marked increase" in accidents involving "unqualified," "reckless," "accident prone," "mentally and physically ill," "emotionally unstable," and "drunk drivers." So for the first time it has provided for "removal from service" of drivers convicted of "motor-vehicle crime involving drug or alcohol abuse or of fleeing the scene of a fatal or injury-producing accident."

"Of course, we have to rely mainly on voluntary compliance with rules," comments Kenneth L. Pierson, BMCS deputy director. "To police this industry, surveying company and driver records and examining all trucks, we'd need tens of thousands of inspectors." The bureau has 203 employees; 103 are inspectors.

STATES MAKE FEW CHECKS

The bureau's unarmed inspectors work with state police. They check trucks at weighing stations and other public facilities, crawling over and under rigs, looking for such things as bad brakes, malfunctioning lights, and faulty trailer connections.

In many states sporadic BMCS road checks and inspections of company files provide the only effective policing. Bureau officials say this. So do drivers.

Dale Crum, a trucker from Lemoyne, Pa., with 15 years and a million miles of driving experience, says: "Yes, I've had my outfits checked. Twice."

Ronald Perry of Dillsburg, Pa., another veteran driver, declares: "I've heard more about inspections than I've seen 'em. But the times the state police checked me they ambled around with their clipboards. Anybody could see they didn't know what to look for. They waved me through when my truck was fallin' apart."

A Department of Transportation official comments: "Relatively few states have tough regulations for police to enforce. The quality of regulation runs the gamut. For all intents and purposes Louisiana has no rules and no enforcement; Arizona has the best."

Seventeen states have adopted all of the Government's model motor-carrier structures, which are the toughest: 14 have adopted a few. Except for California, whose laws are considered rigid, the remaining 18 states have weak state laws or none.

THE INSPECTION DEBATE

Bureau inspectors checked 46,731 tractor-trailer units in 1969. They found 10,781 vehicles—23.1 per cent—so unsafe that they had to be immediately barred from the highway until repairs were made. Some 8,400 of those vehicles had dangerously faulty brakes. The number of defective vehicles spotted was up 8 per cent over 1968.

"Those figures make us look bad," admits Will Johns, director of the trucking associations' safety operations. "But remember, the Transportation Department inspects only the dogs, the trucks that look and sound bad. You would expect it to detect a higher number of faults that way than it would if it checked all trucks."

Drivers confirm that Federal inspectors

tend to be selective. But some contest Mr. Johns' conclusion. Mr. Crum says: "I feel that they [the inspectors] never touch the big companies. They see you're with a big outfit and they wave you by. They get the small carriers and the private individuals. But a lot of times the private individuals' equipment is as good if not better than we drive."

One veteran driver alleges he has had to drive with no brakes after his company told him to take the truck to a garage; it would not send a mechanic to him. He alleges seeing trucks "pass" company safety inspections and take the road with "brake drums completely broken off a wheel, and with broken fifth wheels."

The "fifth wheel" isn't really a wheel, but a heavy metal plate attached to the platform just behind the tractor cab. It holds the trailer coupler and lets it pivot during turns. A weakened fifth wheel would cause the trailer to break loose.

Mr. Perry, who quit trucking late last year to become a preacher, asserts: "I know companies let safety flaws go by. They let tires get down pretty slick. Brakes may be bad; the company figures it will get to fixing them next week. Some companies figure a truck's okay if it will make the next run."

Drivers concede that company higherups occasionally do order garage men not to let a truck with single safety fault reach the road. But in the next breath the executives badger dispatchers to move urgently needed cargoes, the truckers say, "That's where everything falls apart: They feel they've got to keep the trucks rolling," says Mr. Perry.

"I drove for a small carrier once," a veteran driver relates. "Went across the Pennsylvania Turnpike from Ellwood City, Pa., clear through the Blue Mountain tunnel [roughly 130 miles], wiping snow from the windshield with a wrench because the wiper motor had been broken for some time. Here I was with two gear shifts to handle, plus a steering wheel and a wrench. When I told the guy [the truck owner] I wanted the wipers fixed, he said I was 'ridiculous,' and to 'get going.'"

BIG BARK, LITTLE BITE

Both driver and owner thereby broke the law. Federal regulations prohibit drivers from driving, and owners from letting them drive, unsafe trucks. Each safety violation carries a possible \$100 to \$500 penalty, applicable alike to \$12,000-a-year drivers and to carriers like Consolidated Freight, whose 1970 revenues totaled \$397,246,000. The BMCS can revoke a driver's license or ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to rescind a carrier's operating certificate in serious cases.

But prosecution is light. "We prosecute more than zero and less than 1,000 cases a year. We keep the laws; we haven't time to keep the statistics," declares Dave Benkin, the Federal Highway Administration's assistant chief counsel for motor-vehicle law. Mr. Pierson, BMCS deputy director, estimates the bureau prosecutes 500 cases a year.

The BMCS can levy fines for records-keeping violations, or it may turn these and other cases over to the Federal courts. "Commonly the courts impose minimum fines," says Mr. Benkin. "We get the impression the courts do not regard motor carrier violations as serious. We have had judges exonerating attorneys for 'making a traffic court of our court.'"

The Bureau may use its administrative muscle as it did last year against Associated Transport, Inc., the country's seventh-ranked hauler in terms of revenues grossed.

The BMCS alleged that the company violated safety regulations 5,000 times within three years by operating unsafe, improperly equipped trucks; "having drivers drive more than 10 hours in one day"; "filing false [driver] logs"; and failing "to keep vehicle condition reports." The agency ordered Associated to begin a thorough safety program

and dictated how the program must run. It levied no fine.

A SURVEY'S ALLEGATIONS

Thomas L. Mainwaring, an Associated executive vice-president, says, "We're co-operating fully and will continue to co-operate fully in carrying out this comprehensive safety program."

But BMCS actions leave some analysts unimpressed. Robert C. Fellmeth of Ralph Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law suggests in his book, *The Inter-State Commerce Omission*, that the bureau does too little.

Mr. Fellmeth points to an analysis of 1,700 replies to a safety poll of 50,000 long-haul drivers. Eighty per cent of the respondents said they drove at times with inadequate brakes; 73 per cent said exhaust fumes seeped into their trucks' cabs; 70 per cent said their equipment had weak or broken springs; 56 per cent drove tractors with broken fifth wheels; 60 per cent said they drove on treadless tires; and 64 per cent assertedly piloted rigs with faulty lighting systems.

Moreover, 51 per cent of the drivers alleged that it was "fairly common" for drivers to exceed Federal driving-time limits; 61 per cent said "bennies" or "pep pills" were commonly used. Drivers complained of too little time off between duty stretches; of being forced to drive under hazardous conditions; and of being encouraged at times to mark their required log books inaccurately—and thus illegally.

The Government requires drivers to keep logs, to ensure compliance with work limits. No driver may legally drive more than 10 hours in a 15-hour "on-duty" period, which may include driving, waiting for repairs, loading or unloading, and the like. After that he must have eight hours off. He may legally work no more than 70 hours within eight consecutive days.

There's a reason why drivers push themselves illegally to the point of using pep pills. Big companies pay drivers 13 to 14 cents per mile, depending on the size of the truck. These truckers make \$12,000 to \$20,000 a year. A few make \$25,000.

PRESSURES ON DRIVERS

Men working for small companies or driving their own "gypsy" rigs, usually heavily mortgaged, are paid by the load. The more loads they deliver, the more they earn. So they stay on the road, and they hustle.

One small-company driver relates: "Once I drove five days straight. I was havin' trouble with the truck. Oil leaks. I repaired them as I went. I loaded and unloaded. And drove. My wife caught me and hugged me when I finally climbed from the cab. I don't remember anything from then until I woke up in bed some time later.

"Believe me," this driver urges, "there are companies whose dispatchers say, 'Don't worry about that book the [log]. You're a good man. You can do it. Keep going.'"

Much of what these drivers say is "absolutely untrue," argues Warren Ambler, general safety manager of Ringsby United, a large Colorado freight mover. He particularly denies that his company or others ever knowingly permit defective vehicles on the road.

Lloyd Rizer, vice-president of Navajo Freight Lines, another big Denver hauler, adds: "When you have a \$30,000 piece of equipment and valuable cargo besides, you're just not going to question a driver or mechanic and risk breakdowns. You can't afford to turn a truck over or burn it up. You've got to be safety-conscious."

The ATA asserts that most companies, especially those under Federal jurisdiction, are sticklers for safety. They hold safety seminars for drivers and reward truckers driving the most accident-free miles.

Many companies have safety directors who

patrol the roads to spot company drivers violating regulations. The directors may place letters of reprimand in offenders' personnel files. They may fine, suspend, or even fire drivers for grievous offenses.

Still, trucking executives say they have relatively little direct control over drivers. They say men sometimes feign fatigue or illness in the name of safety and slow deliveries of tens of tons of cargo. The shipping public "always wants its freight before breakfast," one executive says. "And if one company can't deliver it, its competitor can."

"SAFETY FACE" VS. "SAFETY FARCE"

The company's ability to avoid mishaps and to deliver the goods on time depends too on the uncontrollable: tangled traffic, foul weather, poorly designed highways, and "wild" motorists. In the light of this, the regulated carriers are proud of their accident records.

Pacific Intermountain Express (PIE) of Oakland, Calif., is considered one of trucking's most safety-conscious companies. Its extensive safety program and low accident rate have won PIE the trucking industry's highest safety award 10 times. It won in 1969 with an accident rate of 3.1 accidents per million miles. (The 1970 winner has not been announced.)

Ken Beadle, PIE's vice-president for safety, says: "As of the first quarter of 1971 we're ahead of that winning record. But safety is more than a business thing with all of us. It means dollars, but it also represents civic duty. We care about the motorists."

The ATA, whose members are the 50 states' motor-carrier-safety associations, rates safety high. It supplies books, driver manuals, films and slides, speeches, and other safety-campaign materials to its member groups.

Some 42 state members have safety councils made up of trucking-company executives. They sponsor auto rodeos for teen-agers, defensive-driving courses, and exhibits. Some run brief safety seminars at truck stops on major trucking routes.

But during a 9½-hour, shouted conversation above the growls of a tractor pulling 32,000 pounds of potentially dangerous chemicals, a driver yells: "The bosses call safety programs our 'safety face.' They're our 'safety farce.'"

This trucker has driven nearly a decade for top companies. He alleges that in the name of safety executives gig drivers for speeding over some routes but ignore offenders who must race over other routes simply to meet company-imposed schedules. He says safety directors clamp down on incorrect log entries made by drivers plying some routes and blink at persistent infractions by drivers who must work overtime to meet schedules on others.

"You say you're bushed and can't take an assigned trip, and you're forced to take 15 hours off, or maybe 24," the driver continues. "Your name goes to the bottom of the board [the assignment-rotation list]. You needed a few hours rest, but you wind up with a day or two off, a smaller pay check, and a reputation as a crybaby. Your union chapel chairman just may or may not back you up if you stand pat. So you take the load. Thanks to the system. Think it's safe?"

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE STUDIES UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a growing sense of impending calamity that one views the worsening employ-

ment crisis in this country. The fact that its impact is greater in our large cities and among our minority citizens is scarcely news, but the following remarks by the acting executive director of the National Urban League, Harold R. Sims, and the well-documented report of the league's research department sharply delineate the problems that must be dealt with by means of every resource available to the Congress and the administration:

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, MAY 26, 1971

CITY BLACKS FACE EMPLOYMENT CRISIS THIS SUMMER

The worst employment crisis in almost a decade is hitting the cities now, according to the latest economic review of the National Urban League. About 850,000 black people were looking for work in the spring, before the onrush of graduating students and additional Vietnam veterans into the labor force.

The League estimates that the total could reach about 1,000,000 black unemployed by mid-summer, with around 600,000 in big cities. The League is calling on the President and the Congress to declare a national emergency now, and to designate the 53 cities in major areas of substantial unemployment disaster areas, requiring massive job creation for essential public services at all occupational levels.

About 3 million black people and 30 million whites live in the 53 major areas of substantial unemployment. The blacks are mostly locked in the central cities. Within the cities themselves, and especially in areas of black concentration in the city core, average unemployment rates among blacks could range conservatively up to 25 percent, since area-wide rates (including suburbs) for all workers of whatever race average from 6 to 13 percent in the major metropolitan areas where unemployment is serious. In those places the black rates remain, as everywhere, substantially above the white.

The crisis will be especially acute among black teenagers in the labor force. Almost a third of them were unemployed in April, well before the summer upsurge in job seeking. Black teenagers entering the labor force this summer have several strikes against them—they are inexperienced workers and black, and they are competing with both their white peers and all experienced workers in a continuing loose job market. The approximately 680,000 black teenagers in the civilian labor force in April and May could swell to 1,000,000 by mid-summer. They would be competing with well over 8 million white teenagers, whose unemployment rates are usually less than half the black rate. All teenagers will find the job hunt difficult this summer, but especially the black.

The crisis could be explosive among black veterans of the Vietnam war, who have learned technical and social skills in the military, and have high expectations. Yet their unemployment rate has been climbing steadily, and at last reading, in the first quarter of this year, was 15.1 percent compared to 8.6 percent a year before. An estimated 380,000 black veterans of the Vietnam war are likely to be in the civilian labor force this summer. Even if their unemployment rate stays about the same by the third quarter (a conservative prospect) close to 60,000 will be out of a job. These black veterans of the most unpopular war in this century will be competing with all the other unemployed plus an estimated 340,000 white unemployed Vietnam veterans. The unemployment rate of newly separated GI's, especially newly separated black GI's, has been greater than for all other groups of adult men during the past year. The largest group of returning black Vietnam veterans, the 20-

State and major metropolitan area of substantial unemployment	Unemployment rate March 1971	Blacks as percent of metropolitan central city population, 1970
New Jersey:		
Atlantic City	9.9	44
Jersey City	9.2	21
Mewark	6.5	54
New Brunswick-Perth Amboy	6.9	23
Paterson-Cliff-Passaic	7.0	27
New York:		
Binghamton	7.7	2
Buffalo	6.9	20
Utica-Rome	8.0	6
Oregon: Portland	5.2	6
Pennsylvania:		
Johnstown	6.2	6
Scranton	7.7	1
Rhode Island: Providence-Pawtucket	7.6	9
Washington:		
Seattle	13.2	7
Spokane	9.4	1
Tacoma	11.0	7
West Virginia:		
Charleston	5.9	11
Huntington-Ashland	6.6	6
Wisconsin: Racine	8.8	11

¹ Note: In areas with more than 1 central city, the central city with the highest percent of blacks was selected.
² Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data of the U.S. Department of Labor, Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment, May 1971 and from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Advance Reports.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND BLACKS AS A PERCENT OF THEIR CENTRAL CITY POPULATION

(Unemployment as of March 1971 and population from 1970 Census)

State and major metropolitan area of substantial unemployment	Unemployment rate, March 1971	Blacks as percent of metropolitan central city population, 1970
Michigan: Saginaw	6.3	24
Minnesota:		
Duluth-Superior	7.4	1
New Mexico: Albuquerque	5.2	2
Ohio: Hamilton-Middletown	7.1	11

¹ Note: In areas with more than 1 central city, the city with the highest percent of blacks was selected.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data of the U.S. Department of Labor, "Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment," May 1971 and from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Advance Reports.

STATEMENT OF HAROLD R. SIMS, JUNE 2, 1971

Members of the press. I am sure that all of you are fully aware of the recent reports on the bleak employment picture that presently exists within the black community, and will grow even worse within the next few weeks when schools close and thousands of black teenagers attempt to enter the job market.

I do not intend to dwell on those statistics. They are available in our press release and in the latest Quarterly Economic Report of the National Urban League that we are releasing this morning. As gloomy as this information is, it does not reflect the depth of the despair, the sense of hopelessness with which many black communities face the coming months.

In the past few weeks I have visited over a dozen cities from one end of this country to the other. In each of these I found the same concern for the frighteningly high unemployment rates that seem to be so much a part of the black experience. The guarded optimism that is present in white areas because of recent substantial reductions in interest rate and the cost of credit, harbingers of better things to come, simply does not exist in black areas where pessimism deepens.

For the first time in a decade, the number of poor increased in 1970. Unemployment already has risen more this year than last. Since most black people rely solely on employment and wages, there is no such thing as a little recession, its either employment or unemployment, and no in-between. Black people are indeed upon hard times.

This fact has escaped the attention of most Americans. Very few people seem concerned that we are in the midst of a crisis situation that grows steadily worse.

Little is being done by Government at any level, Federal, State or local. The private sector, still feeling the effects of the downturn in the economy, and perhaps still a little shocked that all the programs begun after the Kerner Commission Report did not produce 100 percent results, has set a low priority on its social responsibilities.

While the patient is dying, the doctors have turned their attention to new diseases—to ecology, to the SST, to the salvation of major defense contractors in deep financial trouble.

Ignoring the problem of unemployment within our inner-cities will not, however, make it go away. The dimensions of the problems are so great that they can only be reduced by massive action on the part of the Federal government to create employment opportunities within those communities that have been hardest hit by unemployment. Anything else is a palliative.

Massive action is what we are calling for and why we are issuing this report along with a solemn warning that the time for action is now. Regardless of economic, political and philosophical persuasions, we call upon all Americans to open their eyes to the need to provide jobs for people.

I do not profess to be clairvoyant, but I am convinced that were I to stop at this point and ask for questions, one of the first would be whether I believe the absence of jobs will cause another "long hot summer."

In all candor, I must answer that I do not know. I do not know, with any degree of certainty whether every teenager who can not find a job this summer, will be so consumed by bitterness that his only urge is one of destruction. I cannot and will not pretend to predict what will happen today, tomorrow or next week in San Diego, South Bend, Baton Rouge or in any of the cities in which unemployment of blacks is at a crisis level.

I can only say that the potential for social explosions is increased when people are frustrated and angry at a system that does not allow them to earn a salary, and denies them a piece of the action.

I would hope, however, that we can look past the possibility of violence, and reach to the heart of the matter—what do we do with people who want to work and can not find work. This is the real problem and one to which we urgently ask the President, the Congress and the people of this nation to direct their attention.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 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?

AN AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE PAKISTAN CRISIS

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the situation in East Pakistan generally and to report specifically on my recent trip to view the refugee camps in India.

Let me say that the situation is the worst I have seen abroad during my 12 years of service on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. My Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held 2 days of hearings into the situation during May and I must confess that I had felt the reports of genocide, brutality, and unparalleled human misery were overstated.

I can now report to my colleagues that, if anything, these reports were understated. I do not believe I could be called a "bleeding heart" or a "professional dogooder," and I share the reluctance of many of my fellow House Members to embrace eagerly every cause which promises "instant celebrity" for its leaders and "instant humanitarianism" for its adherents. I have learned to distrust sweeping generalizations and to discount inflated rhetoric.

The crisis in East Pakistan, as disastrous and as horrifying as it is, is not a matter solely for the Government of the United States to solve. But, neither is it solely an internal matter of Pakistan. It now threatens the peace of the Indian Subcontinent, provides a rich and fertile breeding ground for Communist-inspired movements, challenges whatever is good in human nature, and poses a dreadful moral choice for mankind.

However, a simplistic search for heroes and villains in creating the torrent of tragedy sweeping over the 75 million inhabitants of East Pakistan is doomed to failure. Much of my speech today will be critical of the actions undertaken by the army of Pakistan after its initial actions on the evening of March 25, 1971. But it is true that supporters of the Awami League promoted work stoppages earlier; it cannot be denied that Bengalis themselves butchered members of other populations within East Pakistan; and the world community has not ennobled itself by its response.

While I hesitate to repeat what I regard in other contexts as a mind-numbing cliché, in a very real sense we are all guilty of promoting the climate of unconcern and in acquiescing in policies which, given the crystal clarity of the vision of hindsight, led inexorably to the truly appalling situation now confronting East Pakistan, West Pakistan, and India. And the United Nations, the United States, and virtually every other nation in the world is either an active or reluctant partner.

BACKGROUND

Let me try to briefly sketch the political background. East and West Pakistan are divided by some 1,100 miles of Indian territory and we now know that they are socially, intellectually, and spiritually

worlds apart. The Awami League in East Pakistan was the clear winner in the elections held last December for a National Constituent Assembly to write the constitution which would provide for nonmilitary rule. The Awami League captured 167 seats of the 169 contested in East Pakistan and this gave them an absolute majority of the seats contested in both wings. Candidates of the Awami League won at least 80 percent of the popular vote in East Pakistan in an election which was run by the Military Government of Pakistan.

We must never forget that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League successfully worked within the system by gaining an absolute majority in both wings of Pakistan. Therefore, they should not now be regarded as secessionists or rebels in the usual sense of those terms.

Indeed, because of the victory of the Awami League, the leader of the league and a man who President Yahya once said was the next Premier of all of Pakistan, could have established a government immediately after the election in December. It is a fact that he did not; it is a fact that he depended on the word of President Yahya to effect an orderly transfer of power; and it is a fact that he never spoke of secession, only of democratic autonomy within a loose federation of all of Pakistan. Perhaps the world will never know the exact reasons for the breakdown in the talks in which the Awami League placed such faith, but the facts just cited show that the leaders did not insist upon "Bangla Desh" until after the army took its action.

Testimony before the Asian and Pacific Affairs by Dr. Robert Dorfman of Harvard University is very revealing about the economic background. He points out the disparities in resource allotment and in economic development between the two wings and he testifies, in a very graceful manner, to the widely shared but tragically short-sighted attitude that West Pakistan provided by most promising opportunities for investment, including American aid. East Pakistan came to regard itself as a colony of West Pakistan, further exacerbating tensions.

ACTIONS OF UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE

Spokesmen for the Central Government of Pakistan claim that the army sweep of March 25 was necessary to restore law and order and that it was a quick, clean, almost surgical incision. They claim that all that remains now is for the East to again return to its normal place in a united Pakistan.

Two simple facts speak powerfully against that argument: First, the sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election; and second, the sharp increase in Hindu refugees in the past weeks shows the undertaking of a "Holy War." There are now some 5 million refugees in India with thousands more crossing the border each day. Based on interviews I conducted with a cross-section of the refugees, I now believe that a calculated attempt to crush the intellectual life of the Bengali community occurred, because of mass killings of pro-

fessors, students and everyone of any distinction by the Army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide.

In addition, the sudden emergence of a majority of Hindu refugees has resulted from a calculated reign of terror by the army to inspire and inflame communal tensions. These tensions naturally existed, because the 10 million Hindus in East Pakistan were a small minority and it would be foolish to contend that Bengalis took no action themselves against non-Bengalis in the region. However, I believe that the long stored passions were ignited by the thwarting of the will of the people and, as terrible as the stories of Bengali violence may be, they cannot be used to justify any actions of the central government.

AN INTERNAL MATTER OF MANKIND

The argument has been advanced that the world community cannot and should not take action to alleviate the suffering, because it is an internal matter of Pakistan.

At the risk of repetitiveness, let me again refer to the refugees. The latest reports from Indian sources, the only sources who can really speak with any authority, say the figure has now reached at least 5 million. It cannot be argued that a policy which generates sufficient terror to cause 5 million people to flee into a neighboring country is strictly an internal matter. It is semantic nonsense to call a policy internal only which continues to create refugees at the figure of some 100,000 a day. It cannot be argued that the incredible strain this situation puts on India is not the legitimate concern of the world.

Quite obviously, Mr. Speaker, the situation in East Pakistan is not an internal matter of Pakistan.

In addition, let me quote the testimony of Senator EDWARD KENNEDY before the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee on May 11. We had asked Senator KENNEDY to appear, because of the outstanding work being done by his Subcommittee on Refugees of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in describing the impact of policy on people and in disclosing the humanitarian demands of people living in areas where wars have been conducted. The Senator testified:

In the name of neutrality, some in our government say we must not be involved in East Pakistan today. But we are involved. Our weapons have been involved in the violence. Our aid has contributed to West Pakistan's development for more than a decade. And today, our government, at the highest level, is involved in discussions for even more aid. So we are involved.

Since the Senator's statement the conflict has spilled over the borders of East Pakistan into India by the 5 million refugees now there. Testimony before my subcommittee revealed that American aid had assisted in the economic exploitation of the West by the East. Our aid—some \$5 billion—has contributed to the unspeakable agonies now occurring in the region.

For example, American boats supplied last winter to bring relief supplies to the victims of the hurricane and flood, are presently being used to carry troops on

murderous raids throughout the countryside.

I contend that these and many other facts demolish the concept that it is solely an internal matter of Pakistan. Rather, it has now become an internal matter for mankind, and the world community must not retreat behind queasy legalisms.

ALL AMERICAN AID TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT MUST STOP

Mr. Speaker, in light of the dimensions of the tragedy, it may appear heartless and cruel to insist on no more American aid to the military government. Many informed and concerned people are fully aware of the unspeakable agonies in East Pakistan and their natural response is to continue and expand economic aid to the central government. It is, after all, still the legal government of sovereign nation and while it is understandable to castigate that favorite whipping boy by calling for a continued and absolute suspension of military aid, economic aid and even food assistance is not seen in the same light.

But the war being waged in the East is costing the central government some \$2 million a day. They do not have adequate foreign reserves even in the best of times and, therefore, economic aid from America or from the World Bank is essential for the continuation of the slaughter. General Yahya has been making some conciliatory statements recently and I understand he is inviting the United Nations to assist. However, we must be neutral in deed as well as in word and we cannot finance or subsidize the actions of the military in East Pakistan. American aid, according to Professor Dorfman's informed testimony before my subcommittee, is a prerequisite for any continuation of military activity. It must, therefore, stop and remain stopped until independent outside observers confirm a change in policy by the central government. This has, as yet, not occurred.

CHOLERA EPIDEMIC SPREADING

The cholera epidemic now sweeping through the Indian refugee camps came to India along with the refugees. The bodies of thousands of people killed in the violence were thrown into rivers and thus fouled much of the drinking water and created cholera.

And now that dreaded disease is spreading even to the native Indian population living near the refugee camps. Quite understandably, but very horribly, Indian natives are becoming fearful of the refugees. I refer to a report in the Washington Star of June 8, 1971. It says, in part:

India's West Bengal State is short of police because so many are guarding the rivers to keep the bodies of cholera victims from being thrown in."

The Star report from Krishnagar, India continues with these ominous paragraphs:

Rumors spread daily that Pakistani agents from across the border 20 miles away are emptying bottles of cholera germs into local water supplies to make the epidemic spread faster.

A crowd of 500 persons beat a Moslem

to death yesterday at the Krishnagar railway station after a report that he had emptied a small bottle into a roadside well.

Mr. Speaker, I doubt if those rumors are true, but the point is that they exist and are undoubtedly believed on the scene. It is, however, an undeniable fact that cholera is increasing and so we must not only help to combat the disease, but we must do all we can to pacify the source of the disease and allow the refugees to return to their homes.

This, of course, cannot be done unilaterally by the United States, but it is further evidence against the resumption of any form of American aid to the Government of Pakistan. Rather than diminishing, the numbers of refugees are increasing, offering a powerful counter-argument to claims that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal.

Further, it must be recognized that the size of the cholera epidemic inside East Pakistan must be immense. I believe we are only seeing the tip of the iceberg when we see the cholera in India.

THE WORST MAY BE YET TO COME

But East Pakistan simply must return to some stability or else the worst is yet to come. I speak of the distinct possibility of famine, a famine unimagined in modern times. Should the flow of refugees continue, it will be extremely expensive for the world community to feed them. For not only must food be provided, but also housing, jobs, sanitary facilities, and some basic amenities.

However, if food could be gotten to the people inside East Pakistan, relief efforts would not be as expensive. That is, unfortunately, a very real consideration and, in my judgment, is yet another reason for mounting an extensive effort controlled by international agencies.

The specter of famine and the death of as many as 30 million people from starvation hangs heavy over the region and virtually compels the prompt resumption of normal life in East Pakistan.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, we must consider what the political climate inside East Pakistan would be if the normal flow of life does not return. Obviously, the army is now in control of the population centers—described in reports from East Pakistan as being virtual “ghost towns”—but the countryside is ideal territory for insurgency. Any sort of aid in any form now to the military government of Pakistan would be seen as assisting it in its thwarting of the will of the majority in East Pakistan. This would undoubtedly cause Communist-inspired groups already existing in East Pakistan to gain adherents.

From what I have learned of the leadership of the Awami League, it is moderate, and they scored electoral success on a program of gaining a fair share of economic resources and political power. They made democracy work.

The military government of Pakistan showed during its inadequate attempts to alleviate suffering caused by the flood and cyclone, and proved conclusively by its bloody policy of destruction after March 25, 1971, that it is not to be trusted with control over relief supplies.

To allow American aid to be utilized

by the still intransigent military government would merely exacerbate passions and probably assure the end of any opportunity for people who cherish democracy and who are friendly to the free countries of the world to exercise their electoral mandate.

INDIAN RESPONSE HAS BEEN MAGNIFICENT

Mr. Speaker, the response of the Indian Government to the crisis created by the actions of the Government of Pakistan has been magnificent. They have demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in view of the provocative effects of the army's brutal sweep and they have shown inspiring compassion to the refugees. If it can ever be said that any government is truly moral and humanitarian, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has earned that distinction in the weeks since the first refugee crossed her border.

But India obviously cannot continue to accept 100,000 refugees each day. The regions of India surrounding East Pakistan, particularly West Bengal, are not richly endowed with resources or with wealth. The indigenous Indians have little to call their own and, while they have shared what little they have with some of the refugees, it cannot be expected that any human beings would not begin to resent massive waves of foreigners. Coupled with the fact that there are no jobs for the refugees, we also now understand that cholera is being brought in by those forced to flee East Pakistan. I have learned that for the past several days there has been a 5-mile-long line of refugees waiting to cross the border.

Of course, the United States is correct to radically increase its aid to these refugees but even the recently announced \$15 million will only feed these people for 3 or 4 days. To avoid a wholly understandable reaction by India to these incredible facts, the situation must return to normal inside East Pakistan, as soon as possible.

WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING INSIDE EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Speaker, I have tried to indicate what must be occurring inside East Pakistan today. One thread ran through the hundreds of interviews I held with all types of refugees—rich, poor, educated, ignorant, healthy, mutilated. The common story was something like this:

The “peace committee” came, they poured petrol on our homes, and when we ran out they robbed us of our valuables and, if we resisted further, we were shot by the Punjabi soldiers.

What is the “peace committee”? Apparently, these are bands of local hoodlums which are sent by the army as an advance guard to burn and loot. The Government of Pakistan has said it was necessary to take action against “miscreants,” yet it seems that the army is encouraging the worst elements in each community to be shock troops.

Arguing further against the stated resumption of normal life in East Pakistan is the fact that the new wave of refugees is almost entirely Hindus. Here again we find it difficult to avoid using the term “genocide,” for once the army established what it has told the world is “law and

order” it then selected the Hindus for extinction or for expulsion.

When one speaks of the eventual normalization of East Pakistan, I trust we do not intend to be deluded by the facade of a “Quisling” government. A government established must truly represent the people of the region and must be responsive to their wishes. The Awami League is now outlawed, and one can only urge the Government of Pakistan to allow that duly elected party to take its electorally mandated control.

Frankly, Mr. Speaker, it does not appear within the range of rational hope that a reversal of the bloody policies of the past months will occur. As a brief example of the cast of mind of the army, consider martial law 148—the text of which appeared in the pro-government newspaper, Pakistan Observer, of April 27. A brief excerpt follows:

MLO 148. Death Penalty for damage to Government Property.

1. Any person or groups of persons causing damage, tampering with or interfering with working of the roads, railways, canals, aerodromes, telegraph, telephone, wireless installations or with any government property will be liable to legal action under MLR-1414, which prescribes the maximum punishment of death.

2. Inhabitants of the surrounding area of all or any such affected place or places will render themselves liable to punitive action collectively . . .

Mr. Speaker, such collective responsibility for actions against the government troops is all too reminiscent of similar tragedies in Europe. It is hard not to say that the Government of Pakistan has tried to create a desert so they can call it peace.

Is it any wonder that the control over the distribution of food in East Pakistan must also be severely questioned and, in my judgment, must be done exclusively by international agencies? The calculated reign of terror destroyed the civil government inside East Pakistan and it is unlikely that the army could, or would, distribute food on an equitable basis. Indeed, there is considerable doubt in my mind whether the terrorized populace inside East Pakistan would accept food if it were offered by the army. After the devastating flood and cyclone last November, there were reports that Bengalis would not take relief from the army. A recent private report, dated May 24, 1971, contains this quote by a Bengali:

Please do not have your country send any aid to this country, not even food. The food will only go to the Army and prolong our agony.

Based on the interviews I had with the refugees and the discussions I have had here in America with people familiar with East Pakistan, I am very afraid that that attitude is widely shared by the people of East Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, the nations of the world must make a great effort to avert other great tragedies from being piled on top of the flood and cyclone and the barbarity which has already occurred in East Pakistan. I am convinced that all of our aid should be through international agencies and that we must do

nothing at this point to provide economic assistance to the Government of West Pakistan. There are now reports that West Pakistan is feeling the effect of its barbarous policy in the East wing and if we were to alleviate the problems in the West we would intensify the problems in the East. It is as simple, and as complex, as that.

I will introduce legislation to put those principles into policy. At this point, however, I would implore those in our Government who have the responsibility to shape our response not to yield to ordinary solutions which will, in my judgment, have extraordinarily disastrous results. I would urge that every single dollar which could now go to the Government of Pakistan be diverted to international agencies. I would urge the people of the world to insist that their governments do the same. Any other course, in my judgment, would subsidize slaughter and spread pestilence.

This may well be an ultimate testing ground for world responsibility, humane belief, and international effectiveness in dealing with crises. I hope and pray that we can, collectively, have an ennobling action rather than one which could only debase us as fellow members of mankind's fragile community.

Mr. Speaker, I include several reports and editorials in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, May 12, 1971]

THE VULTURES OF BENGAL

Fat vultures brood over the ravaged towns of East Pakistan, grim testimony to the slaughter which took place during the Pakistan Army's savage crackdown on Bengal separatists. The fighting has died down for the time being, with the Bengal resistance largely routed, but what may become known as the year of the vulture in East Bengal is not ended. Famine now stalks this tragic land of chronic disaster.

As a result of the dislocations of the civil war, the devastation of floods and cyclones last fall and of persistent food shortages in this heavily overpopulated region, at least 10 and perhaps 30 million of East Pakistan's 75 million inhabitants face starvation within the next few months. Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistani spokesmen, the situation is unquestionably desperate and will require a large-scale international relief effort if a tragedy of major proportions is to be averted.

The groundwork for some relief operations is already being laid with a promise of American food aid and a visit of United Nations officials to India, where refugees from East Pakistan are already pouring across the border at the rate of 60,000 a day—to a current total of over 1.5 million, according to Indian officials.

The larger effort, however, must be made in East Pakistan itself. A report that the Pakistani Government is preparing to allow UNICEF to begin relief operations in the strife-torn province is encouraging. But there is little evidence so far of the kind of concern in Islamabad and preparation abroad that will be required to meet the needs of East Pakistan in time.

Because of this country's unique capacity to furnish needed relief supplies and essential logistical support, the United States has a special responsibility to take the lead in organizing the relief effort. Because of the heavy dependence of Pakistan's military regime on American economic and mil-

itary support, the United States Government also is in a unique position to prod Islamabad to abandon its policy of repression in the East and to cooperate more fully in the international effort to deny the vultures of Bengal further human prey. Moves in Congress to suspend military and economic assistance to Pakistan until such changes are made represent the kind of firm policy in the Pakistani crisis that the Administration should have adopted long ago. Although Administration spokesmen have said that Pakistan aid programs are "under review" and that no arms have been shipped to that country since the beginning of the crack-down, no general suspension of aid has been announced and, in fact, it appears that some aid has been continuing.

[From the New York Times, June 9, 1971]
DISEASE, HUNGER, AND DEATH STALK REFUGEES
ALONG INDIA'S BORDER

(By Sydney H. Schanberg)

KARIMPUR, INDIA, June 8.—Sickness, hunger and death are common scenes now along India's 1,350-mile border with East Pakistan. Millions of Bengalis—official figures put the number over five million—have fled East Pakistan to escape the Pakistani Army, which since late March has been trying to crush the movement for autonomy, and later independence, in East Pakistan.

The Bengalis have brought cholera with them. Official figures put the death toll here in West Bengal state at 3,600, but reports indicate that it is much higher—probably well over 5,000. A thousand or more others have died in the three other border states where the Bengalis have taken refuge.

Here in this Indian town near the border, a mother had died of cholera an hour before, but the infant, less than a year old, continued to nurse until a doctor came upon the scene and pulled him gently away.

A few feet away on the cold cement porch of the health center, another person had just died—a 70-year-old grandfather, Abinash Malakar.

His son sat, crumpled and crying, beside the stiffening emaciated body. Flies had begun to gather. A granddaughter hung, walling, in the arms of an aunt. This family, from the Jessore district in East Pakistan, had walked for 13 days to reach India.

The toll rises steadily and, with new waves of refugees pouring into India daily, there is no way to predict when the epidemic will end.

Along the roadsides lie the bodies left by those too frightened of the disease themselves to take the time for burial.

Vultures, dogs and crows fight. Skeletons already picked clean bleach in the sun. A few bodies have been buried in shallow graves, but the vultures have torn the graves open.

The roads leading from the border are a trail of clothes and bones. A body floats in a marsh or stream. The stench is acrid and villagers cover their faces as they hurry past.

MASS GRAVES IN SOME AREAS

In some towns, attempts have been made to bury the bodies in mass graves. Here in Karimpur, which is 120 miles north of Calcutta by road, five relief workers buried several hundred in a 24-hour period. But even at these sites, packs of stray dogs dig in the earth.

In many ways, the scene is a repetition of the horror of the cyclone that killed hundreds of thousands in the Delta area of East Pakistan last November—leaving bodies for days in marshes, streams and bays.

The tiny, jammed health center at Karimpur—it has 20 beds and over 100 cholera patients—is typical of the overworked health stations along the border.

The sounds of the epidemic—coughing,

vomiting, groaning and weeping—echo through the small brick building and across the lawn, also crowded with victims.

Shatish Matabbar—the father of the infant who had gone on nursing after his mother died—stood on the porch in tattered clothes, sobbing out his tale.

"No words can describe what has happened to me," the 45-year-old rice farmer wailed. "My wife is dead. Three of my children are dead. What else can happen?"

TWO CHILDREN SURVIVE

The infant and an 8-year-old have survived, although the older almost died of cholera. He sat on the floor near his father—naked, staring blankly, underfed.

The family came to India a month ago from their farm in the Faridpur district of East Pakistan.

Why had he left East Pakistan? a visitor asked.

"Why, you ask?" he said, crying again. "Because the Pakistani soldiers burned down my house."

In the last day or two, the death rate in some areas declined a little. This is apparently because foreign medical and relief supplies have begun arriving in sufficient quantities—saline solution to treat the victims and syringes for mass inoculations. Hundreds of thousands have been vaccinated.

But doctors are reluctant to say that the epidemic will be under control soon. For one thing, though India's army medical corps has been called in, medical facilities and personnel are inadequate.

The epidemic is apparently much worse in East Pakistan than in India. Medical facilities in East Pakistan, even in normal times, are meager. In an average year, 150,000 die there of cholera, most of them because they never get any treatment. In a bad year, the toll sometimes runs as high as 300,000.

Dr. M. A. Majid, the chief medical officer of the Nadia district, the worst-hit area, said today that he expected the death rate to start climbing again. The cholera vaccine, he said, gives only 30 percent to 90 percent protection.

The weakened condition of the refugees helps explain the virulence of the epidemic. Many are on the verge of death when they arrive.

In addition, living conditions are little short of desperate. Though the Indian Government has marshaled all available resources to provide shelter and food, it is impossible to keep up with the influx.

MANY LIVE IN THE OPEN

Relief camps—even just tents made by throwing tarpaulins over bamboo frames—cannot be erected fast enough. It is estimated that 3.5 million refugees are either living in the open or in crude thatch lean-tos of their own making. The monsoon rains have arrived and many refugee towns are mudholes.

There are water shortages and sanitation facilities have virtually broken down. The main streets of border towns are avenues of garbage and flies.

Food lines stretch for hundreds of yards and it sometimes takes hours for a refugee to get his rations.

More refugees are moving toward Calcutta as the other camps become choked. New camps are springing up on the edges of the city—just past the airport and in the Salt Lake area.

About 50,000 to 60,000 refugees have entered the fringes of the city, and at least 60 deaths have been recorded in this group.

A few thousand refugees have moved into the heart of Calcutta and are camping in the Sealdah Railway Station.

Indian officials are worried that the refugee epidemic may spread to the people of Calcutta—an overcrowded, tense city of eight million that has its own fairly serious cholera problem.

[From the New York Times, June 7, 1971]

MEASURING THE TRAGEDY
(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, June 6—Imagine the entire population of New Jersey, seven million people, fleeing the state and taking refuge in New York City and the counties nearby. That thought gives some idea of the dimensions of what is happening now in East Pakistan—except that the refugees are much poorer and the area of India into which they are fleeing is infinitely more desperate than New York.

British sources estimate that between four and five million East Pakistanis have crossed into India and that 100,000 more are leaving every day. Before long the total could be seven or eight million.

The refugees are in a country that already has difficulty feeding itself, one afflicted by overpopulation and unemployment. There are no jobs for the refugees, and there is no farm land. They are starting to filter into Calcutta, a city where one million people regularly sleep on the pavement and more millions have no running water or sewage systems.

Public opinion in the West has certainly been slow to react; only now is one beginning to feel a sense of urgency in the calls for action from relief agencies and charities. Yet the root elements in the tragedy, the death and destruction in East Pakistan, have been known for many weeks.

Civil and communal war has killed many thousands of civilians. No one will ever know exactly how many, but disinterested observers have put the figure as high as several hundred thousand.

People have killed each other because of animosities of race, politics and religion; no community is entirely free of guilt. But the principal agent of death and hatred has been the Pakistani Army. And its killing has been selective: according to reliable reports from inside East Pakistan, the army's particular targets have been intellectuals and leaders of opinion—doctors, professors, students, writers.

The economy of East Pakistan has been hard hit. The planting cycle for food grains is disturbed. The transportation system, already badly hurt by the flood disaster last fall, has been crippled. Many boats are sunk. The main railway line will take six months to repair, assuming uninterrupted peace.

The human and economic dislocation now threatens to lead to a terrible famine. The Financial Times of London, which is not given to exaggeration, has published an estimate that up to four million people in East Pakistan may die in the coming months unless emergency relief and reconstruction measures are undertaken.

What can Western countries do to help East Pakistan out of this disaster? As has so often been the case, notoriously in the Nigerian civil war, humanitarian instincts are complicated by politics.

Western governments must naturally want to give assistance in a politically helpful way—one that will hopefully calm the hatreds in East Pakistan, restore the society, open the way for refugees to return. But that surely means an external presence in the area, the handling of relief by someone other than the Pakistani Army—a program not likely to please President Yahya Khan.

The United States and other concerned countries have not put pressure on Yahya Khan publicly. But there are indications that they have been using privately their leverage as his main sources of central economic aid. Reports suggest that Yahya Khan will accept some kind of United Nations presence in East Pakistan.

But the West may find that its greater task, its greater responsibility, lies in the long run in India. For in a sense this may become more an Indian than a Pakistani crisis.

The immediate challenge to India is to feed

the refugees, protect them from the coming monsoon and prevent epidemics such as the cholera now spreading in the refugee camps. The huge economic cost of these needs can be met in part from outside, but the social and political costs will be borne by India.

Even without the refugees, Calcutta and that whole area of India has been politically troubled, driven by left-wing factions and violence. The refugees must add appalling strains to an impoverished and tense society. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who at best faced a profound task in giving India any hope of progress in the next few years, must now divert much of her energy and her Government's to the refugee problem. She must worry also about an extremist-led guerrilla movement developing across the border in East Pakistan if the military occupation continues.

In these circumstances, not only conscience but political wisdom commends Western help and support for Mrs. Gandhi. The Indians may often be trying to the West, but Mrs. Gandhi's Government is the best hope for stability in South Asia.

[From the Washington Star, June 9, 1971]

UNITED STATES PLANS MORE AID FOR REFUGEES
IN INDIA

The U.S. government is adding \$15 million to the crash program for aid to the estimated 4.5 million East Pakistani refugees now in India.

Frank L. Kellogg, the State Department official in charge of the American effort, said yesterday that \$10 million in food and \$5 million in cash for medicine and equipment would be channeled to India, mainly through the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees.

The United States has already committed \$2.5 million of an international total which before the latest American contribution reached \$28 million. The U.S. contribution will go through an airlift which, if the advance trials now in process work out, will begin early next week with three C-130 military transports.

Kellogg said the highest priority is being given to collecting one million doses of anti-cholera vaccine to combat an epidemic which has broken out in the West Bengal state where most of the refugees are centered.

According to Kellogg, refugees are still coming into India from East Pakistan at a rate of 50,000 to 100,000 a day. According to World Health Organization figures, 10,000 in West Bengal have been hospitalized with cholera and 3,000 have already died.

Britain has already sent one million doses of anti-cholera vaccine. But given the number of refugees in the area, and the poor sanitary conditions there, officials here are worried that enough vaccine exists to stop the epidemic.

[From the Washington Star, June 9, 1971]

PAKISTANIS, NEAR PANIC, DUMPING PAPER
MONEY

(By Malcom W. Browne)

New York Times News Service

KARACHI.—Pakistani citizens, close to panic, tried to jam into banks yesterday to trade huge amounts of paper currency which are suddenly without value by government decree.

The decree Monday night demonetized all 500 rupee and 100 rupee notes, respectively worth \$106.25 and \$21.25 at the legal exchange rate. These two types of bills represent approximately 60 percent of Pakistan's circulating currency.

According to the government, militant Bengali separatists who briefly controlled the administration of East Pakistan in March and April left the banks of East Pakistan empty when the army reoccupied the province. The amount of money that disappeared

represented about one-tenth of the nation's circulating currency.

TAKEN TO INDIA

The government is seeking to undercut the economic resources of Bengali separatists who are believed by the government to have taken a large part of the East Pakistani currency into clandestine camps in India.

The demonetization measure also is aimed at crippling the vast currency black market that has developed as the result of the disparity between the legal exchange rate of the rupee and the rupee's real value in international markets. The differences between these rates is nearly three to one.

Customs inspectors at all ports of entry into East and West Pakistan were instructed today to conduct rigorous searches of all arriving passengers who might be bringing Pakistani currency into the country, especially from neighboring Afghanistan and India and from Hong Kong.

GIVEN RECEIPTS ONLY

As citizens brought their 500 and 100 rupee notes to banks, Bengali separatists who are * * * change, merely bank receipts.

There was no indication when new currency would be given to citizens. Some bankers speculated it might take a month or more.

Serial numbers of all bills are being checked against a list of bills taken from the East Pakistani banks. Anyone seeking to exchange such a bill is likely to be arrested.

The government, which is facing an economic crisis and the probability of having to default on foreign debt obligations, stands to gain an estimated \$200 million as the result of demonetization.

[From the Washington Star, June 8, 1971]

INDIA POLICE TRY TO HALT RIVER CHOLERA
BURIALS

KRISHNAGAR, INDIA.—India's West Bengal State is short of police because so many are guarding the rivers to keep the bodies of cholera victims from being thrown in.

According to conservative official estimates, the week-old epidemic among refugees from East Pakistan has taken at least 4,000 lives, half in the Nadia district surrounding Krishnagar.

The 200,000 residents of Krishnagar, 60 miles northeast of Calcutta, are tense.

Rumors spread daily that Pakistani agents from across the border 20 miles away are emptying bottles of cholera germs into the local water supplies to make the epidemic spread faster.

MOSLEM FATALLY BEATEN

A crowd of 500 persons beat a Moslem to death yesterday at the Krishnagar railway station after a report that he had emptied a small bottle into a roadside well.

D. K. Ghosh, the district magistrate of Krishnagar, said the rivers are being polluted but by the bodies of cholera victims thrown in by relatives for quick burial.

He said that so many police were now deployed to guard the rivers against this that there is a shortage of police to enforce law and order. With the state's population increased by at least 4½ million refugees from East Pakistan and with hundreds of thousands more coming across the frontiers each week, the West Bengal government asked other states to lend it at least 20 battalions of police.

NORMALLY CREMATED

Most of the cholera victims have been Hindus, who normally are cremated. But a shortage of firewood and fuel makes the traditional rituals impossible.

The district magistrate said he had ordered mass burial for at least 1,600 persons. Hindus and Moslems have been buried together in three mass graves in the Nadia district.

The biggest is at Badadurpur, in a gov-

ernment forest seven miles from Krishnagar, where 511 bodies have been buried in a pit.

Ghosh estimated that by last Sunday, 1,079 persons had died of cholera in hospitals in the Nadia district and an equal number had perished along the roads and in villages.

About 75 new victims are admitted to hospitals each day, but with 4,800 cholera patients already under treatment, there is a shortage of hospital space.

CHOLERA WARD FLOODED

At one Krishnagar hospital, a special cholera ward was built of tarpaulin and bamboo outside the main building. When the afternoon monsoon rains came yesterday, all the beds were flooded.

There also is a shortage of saline water—cholera cases need at least eight quarts a day for three days—and of cholera vaccine.

Ghosh said he needs more medical personnel as well, that about 1,000 government employees are caring for approximately 500,000 refugees in the district.

"Normal administrative work in the entire district has been collapsing," he added. "More than 1,000 officials working round the clock attending to refugees get no time to do office work."

The inoculation drive got a boost yesterday with the arrival of two jet inoculation guns sent from London by the Oxfam Group. Each can give 700 inoculations an hour.

[From the New York Times, May 2, 1971]

BENGAL: A THREAT OF FAMINE

To the Editor:

The exclusion of the foreign press and observers from East Pakistan has meant the loss of vital information on the course of events there and will deprive us of the dramatic facts that rouse individuals and governments to action. But there is enough conclusive evidence from past and recent history to predict the result of the present conflict on the food position of the province.

The food grains that sustain a large part of the Bengal population come from abroad. Their distribution depends on the effective functioning of the port of Chittagong and on internal transportation and administrative services.

East Pakistan, with a population of more than seventy million, expected 2.5 million tons of imported food grains this year. That is about one-sixth of the total food requirements for the province, enough to feed twelve million people. However, a far greater number is actually affected by an interruption in the steady flow of food. For the 50 per cent of the population living barely at subsistence level, these supplies maintain the balance between life and death.

Bengal has always been extremely susceptible to famine. The last such disaster occurred in 1943 when food expected from Burma did not arrive because of the Japanese occupation of that country. At that time military demands on the Indian transportation system prevented the timely distribution of the food that was available. The food deficit that year was 6 percent; this year it is 16 per cent. Deaths in 1943 numbered 1.5 million, and the famine left social problems from which Bengal has yet to recover fully.

A crisis was imminent in 1965 when the Indo-Pakistani war stopped imports. It was avoided when the great powers used their influence to bring that conflict to a speedy close. Recovery was aided by normal internal supply activities, which had been unaffected by the war.

Today, in contrast, not only has the import of food been cut off, but the internal administrative and transport services have ceased to function normally. In addition, military action at planting time will reduce the coming harvest.

The regular import of food has been interrupted since February. Even if the conflict were to end today, the months required to

return the system to normal would probably exceed the time during which the food reserves could sustain the population. The factors that determine mass famine are irreversible after a certain point.

When the first stories and photographs of starving families are published, it will be too late to protect thousands of others. International action, immediate and strong, is perhaps the only defense the people of East Bengal now have.

DANIEL C. DUNHAM.

NEW YORK, April 20, 1971.

[From the Washington Star, May 19, 1971]

READY TO FIGHT, MRS. GANDHI TELLS PAKISTAN

NEW DELHI.—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi warned Pakistan yesterday that India, whose eastern frontier regions have been inundated with 2.8 million refugees from the civil war in East Pakistan, "is fully prepared to fight if the situation is forced on us."

It was Mrs. Gandhi's strongest warning yet to the Pakistan federal government to stop its eight-week offensive against Bengali secessionists in East Pakistan.

"UNENDING EXODUS"

Simultaneously, Indian ambassadors were reported to have alerted Great Britain and France that India may be forced to act in its national interest in the face of the "unending exodus of refugees from East Bengal."

India already has appealed for international help in handling the Bengali refugees. A United Nations panel that toured the refugee camps reported Monday that India has a "monumental" problem that may last for another three to six months.

Mrs. Gandhi said in a speech yesterday at the Himalayan hill station of Ranikhet, in Uttar Pradesh State, that the refugees have created "a major problem which will severely affect the nation's economic, social and political life."

She said if Pakistan's claim that East Pakistan has returned to normal is really so, then it should invite the refugees back to their homes.

The world should "see for itself how democracy is being murdered in East Pakistan," Mrs. Gandhi said.

"THREAT TO PEACE"

India sent a note to Pakistan on Saturday—its strongest since the East Pakistani crisis began March 25—saying the growing tide of refugees is "leading to a threat to peace in the region."

There has been little love lost, politically, between India and Pakistan ever since the subcontinent won independence and was partitioned in 1947, with Hindu-majority areas becoming part of India and Moslem-majority areas part of Pakistan.

The two countries fought a brief and indecisive war in late 1965 and have been on the verge of war many times before and since.

[From the Washington Daily News, June 9, 1971]

UNITED STATES UPS BENGAL REFUGEE AID

(By R. H. Shackford)

The East Pakistan refugee problem is skyrocketing so drastically that the United States is increasing sevenfold its financial assistance program for Pakistani refugees in India.

The Bengali refugees who have fled the Pakistani army into India now total about five million. Each day between 50,000 and 100,000 new refugees arrive.

A dangerous epidemic of cholera has broken out with at least 3,000 dead already plus some 10,000 hospitalized.

The World Health Organization is scouring the world for millions of shots of anti-cholera vaccine.

The United States originally authorized

\$2.5 million for East Pakistan refugee relief earlier this spring. Of this amount \$500,000 was in cash to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Yesterday the State Department announced an additional authorization of \$15 million, of which \$10 million will be spent for food and the other \$5 million will be made available in cash to the U.N. High Commissioner.

The United States is also trying to mount an airlift to remove large numbers of refugees in the Tripura area of India, east of Dacca. It is an isolated area, difficult to supply and will be dangerous during the forthcoming monsoon season when much of the area—including the only road to it—will be flooded.

An American C-130 plane took off last Saturday from Pope AFB near Fayetteville, N.C., bound for Tribpra. If the plane makes the trip in and out without difficulty, three other C-130 planes will join in an around-the-clock project to airlift refugees out of that area to higher ground.

Neither the United States, India nor the U.N. High Commissioner has had much luck in efforts to get Pakistan to cease the repressions that provoke the continued flow of refugees into India.

If the present rate of refugees entering India continues, another 1.5 million to three million refugees will have fled Pakistan by the end of June.

India appealed to U.N. Secretary General Thant for help. U Thant in turn appealed to all U.N. members. Thus far, other countries have contributed \$26 million.

The second largest contributor was the Soviet Union—100 million doses of small-pox vaccine valued at \$2 million and 50,000 tons of rice worth \$10 million.

Japan has contributed \$3 million worth of rice and \$1.4 million in milk powder and vitamin tablets. Canada has contributed \$2 million in food, medicine and cash, and the United Kingdom \$2.4 million in cash.

East Pakistanis in the cholera-stricken refugee camps in India, explain the noted absence of women aged 15 to 30, this way: They were taken by West Pakistan troops for purposes of rape or killing.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Apr. 22, 1971]

ARMY HAVOC IN EAST PAKISTAN CAN BE EXPLOITED BY REDS

(By Henry S. Bradsher)

HONG KONG.—The army from West Pakistan has created conditions in the smoking ruins of East Pakistan which will benefit Communist extremists.

But it will be some time before it becomes clear which of the various factions of Communists in East Pakistan will grow strongest in the guerrilla warfare there.

Moscow has endorsed one faction by letting it use the Soviet Communist party newspaper, Pravda, to denounce the president of Pakistan, General M. A. Yahya Khan.

MAOIST ELEMENT IGNORED

Another faction which has espoused Maoist ideas has been publicly ignored by Peking. The Chinese are backing Yahya Khan's use of the army to suppress the eastern region of Pakistan.

It seems premature to observers here to suspect secret Chinese support for East Pakistani guerrillas. But if the struggle goes on as long as many expect, China might decide to take out private insurance against a guerrilla victory by giving help.

The army, representing the minority of Pakistan's people in its western section, has been trying to crush the effort of the eastern majority to escape the west's domination. The army is reportedly winning the towns, but these can be illusory victories.

Much of the middle-class leadership of East

Pakistan reportedly has been shot by the army. Some leaders, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose Awami League won 72.6 percent of the province's vote last December, are under arrest.

This has created a vacuum for Communist leaders to move into.

Tougher, harder men than Rahman's band of lawyers, the communist leaders have been conditioned by years of illegal activity for the kind of violent life now forced on East Pakistani nationalists.

TEST OF FITNESS

So the government's terrorism has given the Communists a chance to prove they can survive as the fittest for guerrilla warfare.

Bengal, the region divided in 1947 between East Pakistan and the Indian state of West Bengal, has a strong Communist tradition. At the time of partition an estimated 10,000 Communists were in the eastern part.

Their party was banned, however, and some 3,000 of them were jailed in the first five years. Others went to India when Moslem-Hindu riots broke out in 1950. Some estimates are that only 3,000 Communists remained in East Pakistan, operating underground.

The public home for some of them became the National Awami party, headed by a radical peasant leader, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani. Bhashani, now 87 years old, sympathized with Mao Tse-tung's ideas of rural revolution, although not himself a Communist.

COMMUNISTS DIVIDED

His Communist associates splintered into three or four factions. The main ones identifiable today are headed by Mohammed Toaha and Abdul Matin.

Toaha, a well-educated man in his 40s, appears at the moment to be the main Communist guerrilla leader. He was general secretary of the National Awami League until last May 30, when he broke with Bhashani. His chief aide, Abdul Huq, was general secretary of Bhashani's peasant movement, the Krishak Samiti.

An unidentified spokesman for the pro-Moscow Communist party of East Pakistan criticized these "Peking-ites" last year in the "World Marxist Review," a Soviet-controlled journal. There is no love lost among the various Communist factions.

Toaha seems, however, to have the support of the Naxalites, the Maoist-inspired Communist revolutionaries operating in the West Bengal state of India. They could provide a channel for weapons and knowledge of how to use them.

The Naxalites have been praised in the past by Peking. But the situation now in East Pakistan is awkward for the Chinese. They have strongly backed Yahya Khan's government, which is their most important diplomatic friend in Asia.

The Soviets, on the other hand, have been critical of the bloodshed in East Pakistan. They have showed more concern about cementing a future friendship with the East Pakistanis than protecting their present ties to Yahya Khan.

Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny announced that the East Pakistani Communist party—which is illegal at home—was attending the recent party congress in Moscow. Then Pravda published the speech of the unidentified delegation head.

After praising the Soviet Union, the speaker thanked his hosts for their concern over "the massacre of thousands of unarmed, innocent people by the reactionary military government" of Pakistan.

The speech was stronger than anything the Soviet government had said, but not much stronger, and by publishing it in the newspaper of the party which controls that government the speech was officially endorsed.

The Kremlin might well hope that its supporters among East Pakistan's splintered

Communists will assume leadership of the leftist forces fighting the army.

This seems doubtful, however. The Maoists are stronger at the moment. And they can get help across the Indian border, whereas pro-Moscow Indian Communists have little strength in West Bengal.

[From the London Times, Friday June 4, 1971]

BACKGROUND TO THE FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN SHAIKH MUJIB AND THE LEADERS OF WEST PAKISTAN: SECRET CATALOGUE OF GUILT AND DISASTER OVER EAST PAKISTAN

Within the space of a few short weeks both East and West Bengal have suddenly become international trouble spots. Millions of people have been uprooted by civil war, thousands have been killed, famine and disease are already beginning to stalk the countryside and a full scale war between India and Pakistan threatens to break out at any moment.

But even more disturbing is the fact that the situation can only deteriorate. World leaders are, of course, talking glibly about the hope that East Bengalis and the West Pakistanis will come to a "political settlement." But even the most naive student of Pakistani affairs knows that a political settlement is out of the question now.

In the coming months the legal aspects behind this man made holocaust will be hotly debated in the capitals of the world and on international platforms. But many of the issues which precipitated this convulsion have been clouded by the cries of "secession" or "genocide" and other accusations and counter accusations and if an accusing finger is to be pointed at any single Pakistani leader then one must, at this juncture, take a judicious look at the chronological sequence of events leading up to the rift.

It is worthwhile picking up the threads in January, 1970 when President Yahya Khan, who had promised to hand over power to a popular government, lifted the ban on political activity in both East and West Pakistan as the prelude to election of a constituent assembly. To hasten the constitution making process and to assuage the fears of West Pakistanis who believed that integrity of Pakistan might be jeopardized by imagined East Bengal separatists the President had earlier issued a legal framework order (LFO) which gave him the right to ratify or reject the constitution.

It was already obvious that the former Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, would emerge as the most popular leader in West Pakistan and the fiery East Bengal leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman had already demonstrated his strength on the streets of East Pakistan.

Political activity began in earnest the moment the ban was lifted and as both of the leaders began to barnstorm their respective provinces Pakistanis began, for the first time, to look forward to their first taste of democracy.

But as the two leaders launched their campaigns it soon became clear that they were fighting the elections on rigid and diametrically opposed grounds and that there would be hardly any common meeting ground in the assembly. Mr. Bhutto, whose whole political base is essentially founded in the militant Punjabis' obsession over the Kashmir dispute, began stomping up and down the western province talking of a thousand-year war with India. And to maintain this attitude he assured his voters that he stood for a strong central government, a strong army and a new offensive to liberate Kashmir.

As millions of Pakistanis went to the polls in the country's first free elections last year General Yahya Khan and his aides waited for the results with bated breath. President Yahya certainly intended to hand over power but he had hoped that the results would force East and West Pakistani leaders into

an alliance which would preserve the integrity of the country. But the generals had not counted on two factors. At the last moment the Awami League's major political opponent, the left wing National Awami Party, decided to boycott the elections leaving the field open to the Awami League. At the same time the West Pakistani administration's alleged failure to come to the timely assistance of cyclone victims was used to conjure up more votes for the Awami League and in terms of preserving the integrity of the country the results were disastrous.

Almost every Bengali endorsed the Shaikh's six point programme which turned the election in to a referendum. The Awami League swept the polls and claimed 167 of the 169 Bengali seats and with the support of the anti-Punjabi regional parties in the western province, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman was confident of obtaining the support of more than two-thirds of the 313 members of the Constituent Assembly. In West Pakistan Mr. Bhutto and his People's Party won 82 of the 138 seats allocated to the western wing. The Punjab recoiled in horror for it became blatantly obvious that the Bengalis would be able to draw up their own constitution the moment the assembly met.

But Mr. Bhutto, who knew that he could never become Prime Minister of an undivided Pakistan was thinking of the future within hours of the election. He suddenly discovered that he had a vested interest in the President's legal framework order. The clause which gave the President the right to veto or reject the Constituent Assembly's document had become the Punjab's veto.

On the night after the elections the flamboyant lawyer revealed part of his plan to me: "What do you think I will do. The Shaikh will push his constitution through with his brute majority and the responsibility will lie on the President's shoulders. I doubt whether he will sign a document which is unacceptable to West Pakistan."

In other words Mr. Bhutto had a vested interest in keeping the LFO in force but he had told me that he had heard disconcerting reports that the Shaikh was planning to declare that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign body the moment it met. In other words the LFO and the Punjab's veto would disappear.

In the meantime the Bengalis were in a festive mood and there had been no moves towards secession. On December 24 President Yahya had described Mujibur Rahman as "our future prime minister" and had agreed that the constituent assembly would sit in Dacca. The Bengalis began to decorate the city and assembly house and the mood in Dacca had relaxed. The slogan Bangla Desh had not been raised and no one was talking of independence.

But Mr. Bhutto had other ideas. At first he tried to oppose the early sitting of the Assembly but on February 13 President Yahya announced that Assembly would meet on March 3.

The actual point of no return which precipitated the present crisis came two days later on February 15. Mr. Bhutto announced that his party would boycott the Constituent Assembly and at the same time he threatened any other West Pakistani politicians who were planning to travel to Dacca. In short Mr. Bhutto began to pile up pressure on President Yahya.

At the same time Mr. Bhutto had met several of President Yahya's generals who were considered hawks on the subject of East Bengal. They included the present governor of East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan.

In the meantime several West Pakistanis had defied Mr. Bhutto's threat and had travelled to Dacca in the last week of February to participate in the framing of a constitution. In terms of arithmetic the repre-

sentatives of two thirds of the country had congregated in Dacca.

But on February 28 Mr. Bhutto flew to Rawalpindi to remind President Yahya of the consequences he would have to face if he ratified a constitution which was unacceptable to the Punjab and subsequently to a Punjabi army.

The President made his first mistake. He succumbed to Punjabi pressures and without consulting Shaikh Mujib, as the leader of the largest party, he postponed the Constituent Assembly on March 1.

The Bengalis who saw the move as a conspiracy went wild and the Army was called out to quell disturbances in Dacca. The Bengalis had lost their faith in the President and the first cries of Bangla Desh were heard on the streets of Dacca. Hawks in the Awami League began to call for independence and the Shaikh promised to make a dramatic announcement at a mass rally on March 7. On March 6 the President attempted to retrieve the position and announced that the Assembly would meet on March 25. But things had gone too far. On the next day the Shaikh, staving off militant cries for independence, announced four preconditions for future talks. The most important was the withdrawal of martial law itself (this would eliminate Mr. Bhutto's veto in the form of the LFO).

But one thing was clear at this juncture: the Shaikh, facing tremendous pressure, was still prepared to participate in the union of Pakistan.

He would certainly not compromise the Kashmir issue by resuming trade ties with India (as the Bengalis advocated) and opposed all of Bengali's demands for autonomy which would strip the central government of all effective power. The Punjab sighed with relief. The Bengalis had been allocated an inbuilt majority in the Constituent Assembly the virtue of their large population but every Punjabi believed they had found a leader who could stand up to the Shaikh.

But across India in the impoverished eastern wing the fiery Bengali leader and his Awami League lieutenants were adamant that they would not concede one inch of their six point programme for autonomy. The Shaikh had made it plain that when he talked of autonomy he did not mean secession. "I want constitutional guarantees which will end this economic exploitation forever. We have the larger population so how can a majority secede from a minority", he told me at the time.

To give weight to his demand for the immediate withdrawal of martial law the Shaikh launched a massive civil disobedience movement. Life in the entire province was disrupted and as the cries of Bangla Desh became louder the President flew to Dacca on March 16 with two alternative offers, (1) He said he was willing to restore power to the elected representatives of the people immediately if the Shaikh was willing to form a provisional national government at both centre and at provincial level or (2) He would restore power to provinces and an interim government led by the President himself would administer the day-to-day needs of the country until a constitution was framed.

At the time the two leaders said there was room for optimism. But in the meantime Mr. Bhutto had heard of the proposals and had publicly declared that West Pakistan would go up in smoke if the People's Party was not included in the proposed coalition Government. To prove his point he launched a massive and violent campaign in the Punjab and flew to Dacca on March 21 to join the talks with other West Pakistani leaders.

When President Yahya asked the Shaikh whether he was prepared to take Bhutto, the leader of the largest West Pakistani party, into a central coalition government, the Shaikh cited democratic precedents and said

that as the leader of the single largest party he must be allowed to select his own partners. Again his willingness to participate in the central affairs of Pakistan does not suggest that the Shaikh was planning secession.

But the President succumbed to Mr. Bhutto's strident threats again and the proposal for a national government was dropped.

As time began to run out the Shaikh and Yahya Khan agreed to the second compromise formula: immediate restoration of power at provincial level. The Shaikh asked the President to issue an immediate proclamation withdrawing martial law, and restoring power to East Pakistan and the four provinces of West Pakistan. The Shaikh agreed to the suggestion that the President could continue to administer an interim central government until a constitution was framed.

But in the meantime Pakistan's future was being decided by other forces. Mr. Bhutto had met the hawks in the army, and mass movement on the streets of Bengal had slipped out of Mujib's control.

As the soldiers slipped into battle dress in the barracks angry and frustrated Bengalis began to raise the flag of Bangla Desh in Dacca. It was Bhutto who finally brought the President to take the decision which set East Bengal on fire. When the President put the Shaikh's proposal to the West Pakistan leader Mr. Bhutto pointed out that if martial law was withdrawn Pakistan would be broken up into five sovereign states the moment the President restored power to the provinces. He expressed the fear that Mujibur Rahman was trying to liquidate the central government. Because the President withdrew martial law he had no sanction to carry on as the head of state.

Half convinced the President went back to Mujibur Rahman and expressed these fears. He promised Mujib that he would withdraw martial law the moment the National Assembly met and gave a central government some form of validity. Shaikh Mujib reiterated his demand for the immediate withdrawal of martial law and President Yahya, now fully convinced that he was dealing with a traitor, turned to his generals.

Taking events to their logical conclusion there is no doubt that the present holocaust was precipitated by President Yahya Khan when he postponed the Assembly without consulting the Bengalis, but even more so by Mr. Bhutto's deliberate decision to boycott the Assembly on March 3.

REALITIES OF THE DRAFT

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD "Realities of the Draft," which appeared on the editorial page of the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel on May 28, 1971:

REALITIES OF THE DRAFT

The U.S. Senate has taken some sensible actions on military manpower that could prepare the way for the all-volunteer Army idea without jeopardizing the nation's security.

Wisely rejected this week were a series of amendments to the Nixon Administration's draft bill. The amendments would have:

1. Prohibited the President from sending any draftee to Vietnam next year unless he volunteered to go.
2. Extended the draft for only 18 months on the shaky theory that no draftees will be needed after 1972.
3. Granted a new \$2.7 billion pay raise to

the armed forces instead of the \$1 billion raise proposed by the Administration.

Higher pay (especially in the lower grades) appears to be a necessity if the volunteer-Army idea is to have any chance at all.

But an immediate \$2.7 billion increase, on top of two \$1.2 billion raises (previously approved for 1971 and 1972) would knock the defense budget for a loop.

The thread that runs through all this senatorial maneuvering is the wishful notion that both the war and the draft can be ended by spending more money and passing restrictive resolutions.

It simply isn't practical or smart to draft men into the Armed Services and then set limitations on where they can be sent to fight.

Nor is there any guarantee the nation can recruit an all-volunteer Army, no matter what the inducement may be.

For the last three months, the Army has been trying to lure men into the service with come-hither promises on prime-time television commercials. So far at least the number of new recruits has been pitifully small.

Aware of the recruiting problem, President Nixon has asked for a two-year extension of the draft beyond July 1 of this year.

Next week some antiwar senators will try to chop the extension to one year. Or even to end the draft now, either by filibuster or direct action.

Fortunately, the majority in the Senate seems ready to face realities and support the President's request. Any other course could be disastrous.

SAN FERNANDO CITY COUNCIL

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, as one who is vitally aware of the tragic disaster which struck the San Fernando Valley February 9 of this year, I would like to offer my personal commendation to members of the San Fernando City Council for their leadership and direction at a time of crisis.

The council performed an outstanding job during a critical period, pulling the community together in a joint effort to meet the urgency of the situation and ease the burden of the times. San Fernando, a small incorporated city, exhibited that it is a city that cares for its people.

It is indeed encouraging to know that there is concern and interest such as that which was shown and generously given to assist those faced with a trying period. I was in the district during the crisis and know how much a united effort aided the stricken area.

This period was an outstanding example of coming together, responding to community needs, and demonstrating the full extent of community commitment. Differences were put aside in favor of solving common problems. Such an effort serves as an illustration of what can be accomplished when everyone works together for a common purpose.

The individual members of the council gave their full measure of energy and effort to help their fellow man. Truly, the challenge of the time was well met.

SOVIET-EGYPTIAN TREATY

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the United States should view with grave concern the treaty of friendship and cooperation recently signed by the Soviet Union and Egypt. When one clears away the extraneous language, one is left with the essence of the agreement as contained in articles 2 and 10.

I quote from article 2:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a socialist state and the United Arab Republic, which has set itself the aim of reconstructing society along socialist lines, will cooperate closely and in all fields in ensuring conditions for preserving and further developing the social and economic gains of their people.

Mr. Speaker, when we couple that article with the agreement as detailed in article 10, we see exactly what is happening in Egypt today. I quote from article 10:

Each of the high contracting parties declares that its commitments under the existing international treaties are not in contradiction with the provisions of this treaty and it undertakes not to enter into any international agreements incompatible with it.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the Soviets and the Egyptians each are pledged to a continuation and extension of Russia's control over Egypt and to the furtherance of Russian designs in the oil-rich Mediterranean area. Both parties find themselves that they will not join with any other nation in an agreement which will not achieve these goals.

The Soviet-Egyptian treaty spells out quite clearly that Soviet military and political influence is welcome in Egypt and it is obvious from other wording in the agreement that Soviet naval and merchant shipping are to receive what is termed "most-favored-nation treatment."

Think what this means in terms of a reopened Suez canal under Egyptian-Soviet control. The Soviets will have free and ready access to the canal while other nations not receiving "most-favored-nation treatment" might well be penalized in a variety of ways, even at the expense of their national security.

We should take a serious view of this May 27 agreement between two nations whose avowed aim is, as is stated in the treaty, the "reconstructing of society along socialist lines." Presumably Egypt is the first target of this avowed aim. However, let us not delude ourselves. The United States also is one of those nations whose society the communist nations hope in time to reconstruct, and this treaty makes it perfectly clear that our interests and the interests of the free world are imperiled by the new and binding agreement into which the Soviets and the Egyptians have entered with fanfare and mutual rejoicing.

This is not a document whose purpose it is to establish peace in the Middle East. Under it the Soviet Union will con-

tinue to train Egyptians in the use of the modern and multiple weapons systems supplied them by the Russians. That means deeper and deeper penetration into Egypt's daily life by Russian personnel. It means growing capability for war by the Egyptians and if it should suit their Russian masters, there will be more likelihood for provocation to war.

All in all, Egypt gains new stature among the Arab nations and this also increases the likelihood of provocation to war against Israel.

Certainly, the situation is not a desirable one. It forebodes peril to peace in the Mideast. Stronger efforts by U.S. diplomats are a must in order to reassert a status quo and to maintain a hope for peace in that part of the world.

TROUBLE AHEAD?

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, could we be entering a period of rapid money-supply expansion and higher interest rates?

Some recent reports suggest that this phenomena is more than a possibility, it in fact may actually be happening. I am sure many Members in the House will remember that earlier this year officials for the Federal Reserve indicated that the money supply would probably grow at a rate of 5 to 6 percent. This rate was considered consistent with economic expansionary policies, but moderate enough to guard against stimulating another round of inflation.

In fact, the money supply for the first 5 months of this year has grown at a rate of 10.6 percent with a 12.6-percent growth rate in May. This compares to a 5.4-percent rate of growth in 1970.

On the whole, this accelerated growth may seem good. However, there are indications of very serious trouble ahead. Interest rates are starting to inch up. Treasury bills are up, as are corporate bonds. The Bank of America has raised its mortgage lending rate by one-half percent and the prime rate has started to move up again after a year of almost steady decline.

According to the most recent economic report from First National City Bank of New York, the most serious implications of this policy may be felt in 1972 and 1973. According to the bank's June newsletter—

Rapid monetary growth this year will inevitably open the door to soaring interest rates and accelerating inflation later on and quite possibly another recession, as policy eventually would be forced to shift from go to stop.

The newsletter goes on to say that—

Policy makers are in imminent danger of putting the economy back on the roller coaster.

Yesterday's Washington Post reported that the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee may have voted to slow the

growth in the money supply. With interest rates beginning to move up and with the extraordinary growth in the money supply during the past 5 months, the implications of the most recently reported FOMC action may have quite an impact on the direction of our monetary policy in the coming weeks. What emerges in the money market in the next few months, and the direction taken by the Federal Reserve during this month may tell us how successful the recent policies in regard to the money supply were in assisting in economic recovery. We may soon learn that the seeds of another period of high interest rates and sluggish growth have been planted.

I also believe we will learn how difficult it is to fine tune this complicated mechanism that we call our economy. I think we are going to see that other instruments are going to have to be utilized rather than just rely on money supply growth.

The Washington Post article and an article from the Wall Street Journal follow:

[From the Washington Post, June 9, 1971]

TIGHTENING MONEY POLICY HINTED AS FOMC MEETS

(By Hobart Rowen)

The Federal Reserve System's policy-making Open Market Committee (FOMC) met in Washington yesterday amid persistent rumors that a decision had been made to tighten up monetary policy.

Such a decision could have been implemented by a vote of the FOMC designed to slow somewhat the growth in the nation's money supply.

The Fed has lately come in for increasing criticism for allowing the money supply to increase too fast. In the five months ending in May, the "basic" money supply (currency and checking accounts) grew at a 10.6 per cent rate compared with 5.4 per cent for all of 1970. The growth rate in May alone was 12.6 per cent.

Other measures of credit and bank deposits grew comparably, leading the First National City Bank of New York to say in its June letter that "policy makers (at the Fed) are in imminent danger of putting the economy back on the roller coaster."

Despite the fast growth of the money supply, interest rates have turned upward, and the economy has failed to show signs of exuberant recovery. Critics of the Fed suggest that the only product of the big growth in the supply of money may be a new inflation.

Fed officials themselves admit that they are puzzled by the growth of the monetary aggregates well beyond their own predictions. The stated target for money supply growth over long periods of time is 5 to 6 per cent.

Money market observers noted that on Monday, the Fed had sold Treasury bills for cash, an unusual step prior to a bill auction. This was taken as a sign that the Fed was determined to allow interest rates to go even higher while slowing down the growth of the money supply.

Official word on what the FOMC decided yesterday won't be made public, according to prevailing custom, for 90 days. But if the hint that the market read into the Monday bills-sale-for-cash was a valid clue to new policy, it might then be reflected in the Federal Funds rate moving up from, say, 4 1/4 per cent to 5 per cent toward the end of the week.

The FOMC consists of the seven members of the FRB Board of Governors, and a rotating group representing the 12 Federal Reserve District bank presidents.

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 10, 1971]

INFLATION PARADOX: CONCERN ABOUT PRICES SPREADS DESPITE EASING IN AMOUNT OF INCREASES—ANALYSTS FEAR MONEY SUPPLY IS GROWING FAR TOO FAST; SOME SAY WORST IS OVER—TOO LATE TO LOCK THE BARN?

(By Alfred Malabre and Richard Martin)

Price increases are getting smaller, but worry about inflation is getting bigger.

The paradox shows up in interviews with economists in Washington and elsewhere. To a man, the experts agree there's solid statistical evidence that price boosts have shrunk in recent months. But they also generally agree that the danger of a new inflationary spiral has grown recently. Particularly, they express alarm over the rapid rate at which the nation's supply of money has lately been expanding. In the past, rapid rises in the money supply have usually preceded bigger price increases.

"The horse (or price stability) hasn't quite been stolen from the barn yet," says Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. "But it soon will be unless the policy-makers pursue a much more conservative monetary policy."

Some analysts fear that it's already too late, that the horse has already been stolen. Allan Meltzer, professor of economics at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, recently declared flatly that "faster inflation is on the way." A year or so ago, Mr. Meltzer was reasonably optimistic about stopping the price spiral.

CROSSING THE RUBICON

Officials within the Nixon administration have a considerable political stake in curbing inflation. But now some of them even confess to growing doubts about the price outlook. Noting the recent bulge in the money supply, Treasury Under Secretary Charles E. Walker wonders aloud: "Have we crossed the Rubicon to renewed inflation? I'm frankly not sure."

Such comments may seem unjustifiably gloomy on the basis of published price statistics. The table below traces what has been happening to the consumer price index—the most widely watched inflation gauge. The percentages for each month show the increase in the index during the preceding 12 months.

Price increase [In percent]

May 1970.....	6.1
June 1970.....	6.0
July 1970.....	5.9
August 1970.....	5.6
September 1970.....	5.7
October 1970.....	5.8
November 1970.....	5.6
December 1970.....	5.5
January 1971.....	5.2
February 1971.....	4.8
March 1971.....	4.6
April 1971.....	4.3

The second table pinpoints a major reason that many analysts draw small comfort from the dramatic easing of inflation shown above. It records recent increases in the supply of money, defined here as currency in circulation plus private demand deposits. The percentages for each quarter represent the expansion of the money supply in the preceding year.

Money-supply increases [In percent]

First Quarter, 1970.....	3.1
Second Quarter, 1970.....	3.6
Third Quarter, 1970.....	4.4
Fourth Quarter, 1970.....	5.1
First Quarter, 1971.....	5.7

Money-supply statistics tend to move erratically from month to month. For this reason, it's dangerous to place too much importance on monthly data. Nonetheless,

it's worth noting that in the past few months the money stock has been rising at annual rates of 10% and higher.

Although such accelerating increases in the money supply have so far had little effect on the trend of consumer prices, experience indicates that a major impact will eventually be felt, probably beginning late this year.

PAST EXPERIENCE CITED

Many analysts cite the experience of 1967 and 1968. The Federal Reserve, which regulates the money supply through purchases and sales of government securities in the open market, had held monetary growth in 1966 to slightly less than 5%, an increase many analysts view as compatible with the U.S. economy's natural capacity to expand, through normal productivity gains, population growth and so on.

In 1967, however, the Federal Reserve abandoned its policy of moderate monetary expansion and allowed the money stock to rise nearly 11%, about the same rate as in recent months.

What happened to prices? In 1967, as monetary expansion soared, the consumer price index climbed only 3.1%, slightly less than the 3.3% rise in 1966, when monetary growth was moderate. But in 1968, when the money stock rose less than in 1967, the consumer price index climbed a sharp 4.7%. Many economists attribute the rapid 1968 price climb largely to the 1967 increase in the supply of money. (By the same token, the relatively modest price increase in 1967 is widely attributed to the moderate rate of monetary growth in 1966.)

Recent huge deficits in the federal budget, add to the concern about renewed inflation. The deficit in the first quarter of this year was at an annual rate of \$14 billion, seven times the rate in the first quarter of 1970. The deficit could grow larger if, as some politicians and economists advocate, taxes are cut in coming months in an effort to spur business activity and trim joblessness.

WORRY ABOUT A TAX CUT

The Treasury's Mr. Walker says he is "worried" that Wilbur Mills, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, "will introduce some sort of tax cut" later this year. (Although the Arkansas Congressman denies it, many observers are convinced he has his eye on a White House bid next year.)

To the extent that they signify increased spending, widening budget deficits tend to be inflationary. They can also add to inflation if they have to be financed by heavy Federal reserve purchases of Treasury securities issued to help cover the deficits. Such purchases pump money into the economy.

Although many economists believe worsening inflation is inescapable, some say that any new price spiral won't be quite as severe as the situation in early 1970, when consumer prices rose at rates exceeding 6%. One reason for this belief is that much slack now exists in the U.S. economy. In the first quarter, U.S. factories operated at only 73% of capacity, down from 80% a year earlier and 85% two years before. In addition, unemployment now exceeds 6% of the labor force. At the start of 1970, less than 4% of the labor force was jobless, and the 1969 average was only 3.5%.

In 1967, when the Federal Reserve pumped up the money supply at such a rapid rate, the factory operating level topped 85% and unemployment stood at 3.8%.

Noting the slack in today's economy, A. James Meigs, a vice president at New York's First National City Bank, declares: "Without this elbowroom, the ballgame would definitely be lost now; with it, I feel there's still a chance—though only a slight chance—of avoiding fresh inflation." A "disturbing" aspect of the economic picture, the bank economist adds, is that the slack "isn't all that well distributed throughout the economy,"

but is "bunched" in such depressed industries as aerospace.

EASIER PRODUCTIVITY GAINS

Economic slack tends to hold down inflationary pressure because it allows rapid increases in worker productivity as business activity mounts. Factories operating at low rates of capacity are normally able to expand output considerably without having to hire great numbers of additional employees. This tends to increase workers' output per man-hour, which in turn tends to reduce per-unit labor costs. Rapidly rising labor costs, of course, are often cited as a major factor in price increases. Slack can also foster price competition as firms seek more business.

Another reason some economists hope that inflation won't flare too severely again is the belief that Federal Reserve officials are beginning to try to reduce the rate of monetary growth. Federal Reserve decisions on monetary policy—for example, whether the money supply should be allowed to grow rapidly or slowly—are generally not made public until three months after the fact. But Federal Reserve policy changes can occasionally be glimpsed by noting weekly money-market developments. In this regard, some analysts were impressed by large Federal Reserve sales Monday of Treasury bills. Such sales pull cash out of the banking system and thereby hold down the money supply.

To avoid a serious worsening of inflation late this year or during 1972, many economists say the rate of monetary growth must be cut sharply enough to bring the full-year 1971 increase down to about 6%. With the rise thus far this year averaging roughly 10% annually, policy-makers would have to hold monetary growth to about 2% between now and the end of the year. Almost no one, however, believes that the authorities would be willing to clamp down so severely.

However much such a curtailment might in the long run foster price stability, it's widely felt that in the short run it would send interest rates soaring and possibly temporarily hinder efforts to reduce unemployment and spur general economic activity. Another fear: a sharp rise in business failures, as financially shaky firms run short of funds.

Mr. Meigs of First National City regards even a 6% rate of monetary growth from now until year-end as "a lot to expect" of policymakers. If such a rate were somehow managed, the full-year rise in the money stock would average out to about 8%. Such a rise, many analysts estimate, would lead to a worsening of inflation, but not to the point reached in the late 1960s and early last year.

SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, this June 15 marks the 31st anniversary of the forceful takeover of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia by the Soviet Union. These three Baltic countries who are not ethnically related to the Russians have been suffering under Communist slavery for more than 30 years.

At a time when many nations in other parts of the world are celebrating newly proclaimed independence we must insist that the Communist colonial empire likewise give freedom and independence to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia whose lands have been unjustly

occupied and whose rightful place among the free nations of the world is being denied.

AMERICA THE HAPPY

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, America is still the happiest country on the face of the earth. Less of our citizens want to leave these shores than is true of any other country in the free world. Of course no polls are taken in the Communist countries, which is an indication of their lack of freedom and therefore lack of happiness.

The author of the article in the issue of Parade magazine, which contains these findings, concludes that the American state of happiness is due to our providing the highest standard of living as well as "the best way of life" in the world. If these statements indicate a purely materialistic assessment, then I would dispute the findings. For England and Sweden both shelter democracy in their forms of government, as well as a relatively high standard of living; yet their citizens indicate that they would emigrate in droves.

I do not mean that a high standard of living is not important. It obviously is. But perhaps of more importance is our people's sense of pride and security in their country. Americans must continue to sense that their country remains strong as they look outward toward the world. At the same time they must understand the purpose and see the opportunity of individual advancement as they look inward toward their lives. If we can preserve these feelings—that America is secure and that individual initiative within it still produces the best results, Americans will continue to cherish the idea of living in America.

[From Parade magazine, May 30, 1971]

ARE YOU HAPPY?

If you were free to emigrate, where in the world would you want to live?

A recent Gallup Poll, conducted simultaneously in nine countries, found the highest percentage of dissatisfied citizens—41 percent—in Great Britain, and the lowest—12 percent—in the United States.

When asked, "If you were free to do so, would you like to go and settle in another country?"—two of every five Englishmen said yes.

Next most dissatisfied nation according to Gallup was Uruguay, where 32 percent would emigrate if possible. West Germany followed with 27 percent, while Greece, Finland, Sweden, Brazil, and the Netherlands recorded dissatisfaction rates of 22 percent, 19 percent, 18 percent, 17 percent, and 16 percent respectively.

The United States, Gallup discovered, has the most satisfied citizenry of the nine countries surveyed. Despite all the domestic turmoil, only 12 percent of Americans would leave this country if free to do so. To the vast majority of Americans, the U.S. still provides the best standard of living, the best way of life in the world.

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CLASS OF 1971: DIFFERENT IN EVERYTHING

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1971

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, young persons across the country who are graduating from high school this month, and next year's high school graduates, have been enfranchised by the 18-year-old vote in time for the 1972 presidential elections.

It is uncertain what their voting impact will be but preliminary indications are for a new, thoughtful group of decisionmakers.

In a recent article in the Washington Post, writer Haynes Johnson visited with the class of 1971 at Monroe, Wash., the high school from which I graduated some years ago. He found these youths of this city alert and concerned, although not necessarily in the more publicized ways of young people around New York or Berkeley. I commend this article to my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, June 6, 1971]

CLASS OF 1971: DIFFERENT IN EVERYTHING

(By Haynes Johnson)

MONROE, WASH.—Too much has been made of American youth. Dissected, analyzed, studied, polled, measured, told with equally uncritical fervor they are the best and worst of generations, today's young Americans have every right to believe they are a special group. That they are changing everyone knows; that they are different is a cliché.

Of the graduating class of 1971 at the Monroe Senior High School, from a town of 2,500 far out in the farmland near the mountains, one thing can be said with certainty. They do represent something new in American life. Their right to vote in next year's presidential election alone assures them of that distinction. They are important for another reason. The seniors of Monroe, Wash., are proof of how rapidly attitudes are changing—and even in the once isolated, rural sections.

"The kids are getting harder to handle," says Charles Wickizer, the young assistant principal. "They're more restless. More of the girls are a problem.

"I don't mean to blast these young people, though. They are a lot more liberal now. If a girl gets pregnant, for instance, she doesn't worry about it the way she used to. She just blends right in. I think they try to act like they're cynical toward the old established values—the flag, motherhood, and the country and so forth—but they're not really cynical at all. We have marijuana now—it's a complete new problem. We didn't have anything like that five years ago.

1971'S HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES: CHANGING ATTITUDES

"The young people are no longer going to be naturally respectful toward their parents—or their elders—or their teachers—or their minister. They want to be shown."

LOT MORE AGNOSTIC

He is correct.

"We're a lot more agnostic people," said one girl. "We're different in everything from dress to religion. The old values and concepts just aren't working."

"The older they are the straighter they are," said a boy.

"I feel our parents are kind of jealous of the freedom we have. I mean, my mother is," a girl said.

"I don't think our morals are anything like our parents," said another student. "Our generation wants to get more out of life. People in Monroe never got out of their home town. Most of the kids in this class want to get out and travel."

Catholic girls will talk about turning away from the church and being unsure whether they believe in God. Others talk openly about experimenting with drugs—the students believe about 95 per cent of their class has smoked marijuana—and having more freedom in their sexual relations.

POLITICALLY UNINFLUENCED

And these, mind you, are not the words of high school students from Berkeley or New York. Monroe is no "liberated" community. The city sits between the Cascade Mountains range and Puget Sound in lush, open and still unspoiled countryside, even though Monroe is moving from a rural farming and logging section into a bedroom community of Seattle and nearby Everett. People are friendly and smiling, much like those who live in the fishing village of Gig Harbor, 65 miles to the South. But Monroe's citizens have a conservative reputation.

Several things are striking about this Class of '71. Key among them are their political views. Of some 50 seniors interviewed out of a class of 134 students, every person said he considered himself more liberal than his parents. All but one said positively they would vote for President next year. They insist they will not be influenced by how their parents have voted or by party affiliations.

The feeling against President Nixon is strong. Approximately 60 per cent say they definitely would vote against the President. Less than 10 percent say they were for him. The rest are unsure.

Strangely, in view of the strong antiwar feelings among the young, Vietnam is not the dominant theme among those who say they will vote against Mr. Nixon. Students mention the economy and their own uncertainty about jobs ("I feel he's hurt my father's economic status, and I won't vote for him," said the son of a plumber) to a general, if vague, feeling that "Nixon's not doing the job."

They also express a sense of unease about the country. "I'm not for him because of the state the country's in," said one youth. A girl referred to the fall of the Roman Empire as being applicable to America today.

At the same time, none of the prospective Democratic presidential candidates strikes any emotional response. Not Muskie, nor Kennedy, nor McGovern, nor Humphrey, nor any others. Ask whom they would like to see President and invariably the reaction is the same—a blank.

THEY HAVE NO HEROES

There seems to be no one in American life with whom they identify personally, or for whom they voice admiration. Like their older brothers and sisters in college and beyond, they have no heroes, not even the dead ones, whether a Kennedy or a Bogart.

By their own account, they don't read much, they watch television regularly, and they seem uncertain about what they are going to do in their lives. They know, or say they know, they don't want to live in a big city. They like the West, and the closeness of the mountains and the water, but they also want to travel. Their ideas about marriage and living together openly with a girl or boy are certainly different for people their age.

When they discuss their own aspirations, one word comes through consistently. Freer.

They want to be freer to do what they want, and with less inhibitions or restrictions. Virtually to a person, they express these aspirations in idealistic terms.

This graduating class of Americans wants to work with Navajo children and blacks and Mexican Americans, few of whom they have known personally. They don't want to judge people by the clothes they wear or the cut of their hair. They want to reduce the tensions in American life, work for reforms, end pollution and war, and live for less materialistic goals. They are not despairing of the Americans system; they want to change it to make it better.

"We'll try to do more for our country," one young man said.

"I think our generation is more interested in the more important things in life," a girl remarked. "Like a person's character and the way people love each other."

These are not, of course, unique thoughts, but the people who work with them most closely believe they are sincere. Indeed, some of their teachers say for all their expressions of freedom and experimentation and new life styles, deep down their basic values are not all that different from older groups.

These children who spring from the small town life in the West are not sophisticated, in the big city way. Neither are they cynical. In their central aims of life, and in the larger ethical sense, they are probably not so far removed from the pioneers who first crossed the plains and mountains.

"I have great faith in them, really," said Charles Wickizer, their assistant principal. "I think the majority wants the same thing we wanted—a decent life."

EULOGY TO SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I speak today in tribute to Tom Dodd, a most able colleague who later became an outstanding Member of the other body. He had one of the keenest minds I have known, with the unique quality of translating the orderly cogency of his thoughts into beautifully lucid prose. A brilliant lawyer whose talents were recognized throughout the world. A man of spartan courage whose integrity and honor could not be tarnished by the calumnious hypocrisy of certain of those he had called friends. A devoted family man whose love and respect permeated his home. Tom Dodd was all of these and will be so remembered in history. But most of all, I shall remember him as my true, close friend.

Born in Norwich, Conn., Thomas J. Dodd graduated from Providence College in 1930 and Yale University Law School in 1933. He entered the service of his country as an FBI agent that same year. After serving 2 years with the FBI, Tom returned to Connecticut to organize and serve as the first director of the National Youth Administration in his home State. In 1938, he became an assistant to another distinguished Connecticut lawyer, the U.S. Attorney General, Homer S. Cummings, and continued as an assistant to the four succeeding Attorneys General until 1945.

In that position, Tom Dodd espoused and fought for a cause 20 years before it achieved national support. Organizing the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, he personally prosecuted cases against the Ku Klux Klan and fought for labor's right to organize in the South.

During World War II, a leader in the exposure of subversion and industrial sabotage, Tom played a major role in the Government's campaign against the Nazi Fifth Column. When the war was over, he was asked by his former chief, then Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, to serve as executive trial counsel at the Nazi trials in Nuremberg. The results of his work there earned him recognition and awards from his own and foreign governments.

It was in Nuremberg that Tom learned first hand of Communist duplicity enabling him later to be a leader in anti-Communist ranks. His was a lone and prophetic voice warning against the true meaning of the possible victory of the guerrilla leader Castro fighting in Cuba. If Tom Dodd's words had been heeded, we would not now have the Communists in control 90 miles off our shores.

Returning to his home State after Nuremberg, Tom entered private practice in 1947 and 5 years later was elected to the House, where he served two terms. After an unsuccessful try in 1956, he was elected to the Senate in 1958 and re-elected in 1964. In the Congress, Tom Dodd carried on as the crusader he had always been. For all legislation that was aimed at improving the quality of life and environment of the country he loved, he stood and was counted.

Since leaving the Senate in January, Tom had resumed his private practice. It was my good fortune that he visited with me regularly, including recent visits here in Washington. It just does not seem possible that his warm camaraderie, his wise counsel will never again bless those fortunate enough to have been his friends.

To his six good and devoted children, Tom, Jr., Carolyn, Jeremy, Martha, Christopher, and Nicholas, and to his loving, loyal wife, Grace, my special thoughts. I know that Tom Dodd's courage, the love of his God and his church, of his country, and his family, by which he lived, will fill their hearts forever and give them the strength to live their lives as he would want them to. I shall miss Tom Dodd. Everyone whose life he touched will miss him.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UMWA

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1971

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the bitter struggle by rank-and-file members of the United Mine Workers of America for freedom and democracy in this once-great union has been brilliantly documented recently in a broad-

cast by radio station WWVA of Wheeling, W. Va., and a telecast by the American Broadcasting Co. This struggle has vast implications because of the importance King Coal plays in meeting the Nation's energy needs. It is for this reason that I insert in the RECORD the following scripts of the WWVA and ABC productions: "Anarchy Threatens the Kingdom of Coal," as broadcast over station WWVA, Wheeling, W. Va., Monday, April 19, 1971:

PROLOG

Coal is the prime mover of our life. In these black chunks of the earth's history is the energy that pours power into our gigantic industrial empire. Beyond the conjuring of any imagination is the awesome vastness of man's industrial procession. Just a small segment of this Gargantuan industrial scene reveals interlaced speeding railroads, giant whirling dynamos lighting up the nation and overwhelming surges of power spun from steam.

Coal—the compressed remains of men and animals long since dead—is the cornerstone of the lives of men and animals today. Coal—wrenched from the bowels of the earth to nurture the blood stream of a consuming planet that feeds on power. For within coal is man's industrial holy trinity of light, heat and power. Coal—a source of power for machines—and men. This black chunk which murders men underground is the base for the base for the lifesaving miracle of modern times, the sulfa drugs. From nylon to plastic, from aspirin to perfume, the list of products squeezed from these black rocks is as great as our country's supply. If steel provides the skeleton for our bulging cities, then coal provides the heart. Coal is king. And it follows that he who controls coal, controls the kingdom.

But, "Anarchy Threatens the Kingdom of Coal."

TRABOVICH. Not only do I think that Tony Boyle ought to resign. I think the whole International Executive Board should resign.

KWALLSER. Tony Boyle has two problems. One, he's not John L. and he's not John L.'s ghost. More than that, of course, he's stuck with Lewis's autocratic policies.

LAUCK. Boyle, his outstanding virtue is his ability to negotiate a contract. He's even harder to deal with than John L. was. He has no sympathy whatever with the industry.

RASMUSSEN. John L. Lewis emancipated the miners; Tony Boyle came along and emasculated them.

YABLONSKI. The men who mine this country's coal don't like Tony Boyle.

A working miner—St. Peter himself on the ballot won't defeat the incumbents whomsoever they may be.

ABC News. In Washington, the head of the United Mine Workers, Tony Boyle, pleads innocent to federal charges. Boyle, and two top officers of the miners union were charged yesterday with conspiracy, embezzlement and making illegal political contributions.

YABLONSKI. I think it's too little and it's far too late, but it's at least a step forward. It could be the beginning of the beginning.

Basic Communications, Inc. and Fortune Magazine present "Anarchy Threatens the Kingdom of Coal." The nation's fuel supply, as well as the industry's prosperity, depends on a union that has lost control of its members and members who now seek control of their union.

Like barbaric tribes united by a powerful warlord, the miners of coal were molded into the most influential and powerful union in the world by a man who was nothing less than a king to his followers. John L. and the mine workers were one and the same. John L. could do no wrong. Because of this identification, an attack against Lewis was an attack against the Union. The retaliation to

such an assault was sure to benefit the shaggy-browed giant of labor. Edward R. Murrow preserved such an exchange on Labor Day, 1937:

MURROW. American Labor had made many a long stride under the New Deal and was now Big Business. Its leaders—the Green's, the Lewis's, the Hillman's—were, like their counterparts in management—major political powers. By 1935, John L. Lewis had increased the membership of his United Mine Workers to almost half a million; had bolted the AF of L and formed the CIO. And on Labor Day, 1937, he laid the lash of his Biblical oratory upon FDR. It was the climax of a brawl which had been seething since the Little Steel Strike of early spring. When the President had turned to Tom Girdler and Lewis—and in a rare moment of petulance said, "A plague of both your houses." John L. Lewis answered:

Lewis. Labor, like Israel, has many sorrows. Its women weep for their fallen and they lament for the future of the children of the race. It ill behooves one who has supped at Labor's table, and who has been sheltered in Labor's house, to curse, with equal fervor, and fine impartiality, both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace.

Like many great men who live long lives, the legend began to overshadow the reality. Saul Alinsky, the unofficial biographer of John L., reflects:

ALINSKY. I can't think of a greater tragedy than anybody who has survived his own life, so to speak . . . The tragedy of Lewis was that he didn't die in 1939. He was really touching the stars then. He was America's great, great hero and champion. He was a champion all over the world.

But while Lewis was in control of the United Mine Workers, he ruled—absolutely. Ever since 1950, when John L. first signed a national contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the union has called the signals for the industry.

LAUCK.—This is true. We did permit mechanization of the coal mines but there is a reasoning behind this. In the early fifties, the industry faced complete extinction because they had lost the railroad market and there didn't appear to be another market for coal. And certainly, the Lewis philosophy, which President Boyle has carried forward, although most of its effects had taken place before he became president. Lewis said that it is better to have half a million men working in the industry for good wages and high standards of living than to have a million working in the industry in poverty and degradation. That's the whole philosophy about allowing people to mechanize.

In explaining the mechanization process that replaced 300,000 miners, Rex Lauck, Assistant Editor of the Union's official publication, the *United Mine Workers Journal*, presented an overall review. Individual miners may catch a different glimpse of Boyle's operating procedure.

TRABOVICH.—In 1969 before Senate subcommittee hearings in Washington, D.C., Tony Boyle made this statement (now for a president of any organization to make a statement like this—it was unbelievable—and he said this); the U.M.W. will not interfere with the mine owners in operating their mines. We will follow the judgement of the coal industry, right or wrong.

Lewis retired as head of the union in 1960 (and died in 1969), and the man who is now president, W. A. Tony Boyle, has lost control of his membership. Some of this discontent among the rank and file is characterized by one miner as a breach of trust by the leadership.

A working miner—There is a work stoppage of some kind or another either at one mine or a number of mines every day of the week in the miners union. I think we're the only union in America that does it. That's

because the rank and file members have lost confidence in their union officials.

The causes of whatever dissatisfaction that exists have been there all along, but only recently has the suppressed anger erupted in a rash of wildcat strikes. Unlike other blue-collar men, the miners are not primarily concerned with higher wages. The age of the average miner is around fifty, his job is one of the most hazardous in industry and he is consumed with anxiety about an old man's problems.

Black Lung victim. I was told from 75 to 80% of my lungs are gone at this time. I can't breathe, I can't sleep at night, I sit up on the side of the bed to try to get my breath. The U.M.W. have written for my hospital card right when I needed it the worst. I am certainly criticizing Tony Boyle, the President of the United Mine Workers. I can neither read nor write and I feel that many coal miners should get out of the coal mines before they get what I've got. If I had the breath, the time, the money, I would try to tell the people what they'll go through with before they die when they can't breathe. I feel that the Nixon Administration should provide some kind of Medicare for us or either our union . . . after all we're human beings. I feel like coal operators should quit killing men in the coal mines while they are at work. Since I cannot live long, God bless you and quit the coal industry if you possibly can live any way. This is from a 42 year old coal miner, Walter Burton Franklin.

Pensions, health and safety are issues so close to a miner's heart that he will strike for them at the sight of a single picket sign, whoever carries it. Many miners feel that Boyle and the other International Officers have been far too cozy with the mine operators and almost totally insensitive to their needs.

KWALLSER. It is obviously true that the union has decided that management can lead and they will follow in many things, many things that they didn't have to agree to, as quickly as they did. Certainly, they have a very close working relationship . . . but it is obvious that the mine workers have not been as aggressive in the protection of the rights of the rank and file as have other unions. It is also obvious that there has been much less consideration of the industry itself and of what the mine workers could offer in the way of counter proposals to whatever management wanted to do. Is he sleeping in the bed with management? In a certain sense, yes.

HECHLER. It is very unfortunate that this union which should be a union to protect the men has, as some people have observed, been something to protect the company against the men.

The problem of dealing with a work force that is no longer under union discipline would be difficult enough for the companies. But they are faced now with the prospect of signing a new contract on October 1st with a union president whose mandate to hold office is questionable, at best. A year ago Boyle was re-elected but the Department of Labor has moved in Federal Court to invalidate that election, charging that the Boyle ticket used fraud and intimidation to insure its return to office. Three weeks after the election, Boyle's opponent, Joseph A. "Jock" Yablonski was murdered, along with his wife and daughter. The assistant District Attorney who will prosecute five people now under indictment in Pennsylvania for the murders believes that high union officials ordered the slayings. The Yablonski murders solidified the anti-Boyle forces, which are now grouped together as the Miners for Democracy. If Boyle is in the president's chair come contract time, angered rank and file may halt the flow of coal power in this country through wildcat strikes and violence in the coal fields. The Landrum-Griffin Act is the

supposed legislative watchdog of the union. Howard Kwallser, a Yale law student, has received a grant to study the Act and its implications upon the U.M.W., reflects on the importance of these imminent contract negotiations:

KWALLSER. I think obviously, if the Boyle Administration does get a very good contract it will help. People will say that Boyle is more responsive. He's learned his lesson . . . certainly if he gets a good contract it can't hurt him . . . whether it will help him is a matter of speculation, I really don't know.

Mr. Lauck elaborates on the union's probable thrust at the October negotiating table:

LAUCK. But he has said publicly, beginning I think, even in 1969, that if lawyers are worth 50 dollars an hour then coal miners are worth 50 dollars a day and that's one definite thing he's gonna go for . . . and that's one thing I think the operators will be willing to give . . . the other is more than doubling the welfare fund royalty. That's something that they'll be a real fight over. Because you're talking about 80¢ a ton on coal.

The coal companies must also wrestle with the serious consequences of a decision Boyle made in 1969 in order to ensure his re-election. Unlike any other international union, the U.M.W. permits retired miners to maintain their membership and vote in presidential elections by paying dues of \$1.25 a month.

Some 70,000 men receive pensions from the Welfare and Retirement Fund which is administered—absolutely—by a three member board of trustees. One—from the union, John L. Lewis until his death in 1969; a neutral trustee—Josephine Roache, who was a long time friend of Lewis's; and one from the industry, George Judy, chairman of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. Upon Lewis's death in 1969, the International Board of the U.M.W. elected Tony Boyle as the union trustee. Within 24 hours of this election, Boyle engineered a 33% hike in welfare payments.

The influential power of the fund can be observed when Boyle was supported by only a bare majority of the working miners, but close to 90% of the pensioners vote was counted in the Boyle corner. Fred W. Barnes, correspondent for the Washington Evening Star, and an expert on U.M.W. activity, put it more succinctly:

BARNES. The thing that you think about the U.M.W. is that it's the only union that I know of where the pensioners vote. You see, they're voting on issues that most of which are backed by the working miners. Well, they're not working miners of course, they are retired guys and what they want is totally different. And I don't think you want a union where these guys are completely powerless. But the way it works in the U.M.W. is, they hold the balance of power and they are unquestionably manipulated by the incumbents, whoever they may be. And, of course, it's Boyle now.

Regardless of the intent, that pension increase placed the fund in serious jeopardy. The retirement fund is supported by royalty payments from unionized coal operators at the rate of 40¢ per ton. The royalty payments themselves have come under attack by Ward Sinclair, Washington correspondent for the Louisville Courier Journal and another expert on the internal functioning of the United Mine Workers Union.

SINCLAIR. The royalty has been 40¢ since 1952. Social conditions have changed in that period—19 years—the condition of the miner has changed—the condition of the union has changed—the condition of the coal industry has changed substantially. It is unusual, I think, that during that 19 year period there has . . . been no apparent movement at all to increase that per ton royalty.

Boyle knew full well that the fund had exceeded disbursements by 28 million dollars at the time he railroaded the pension increase. In testimony before a Senate subcommittee investigating the financial conditions and the management of the Fund, Boyle said that he "did have that information when he moved the pension increase."

Boyle called the meeting of the trustees of the Fund and passed the resolution so quickly that the operators had no knowledge of the action beforehand. When the results became public, the industry representative, George Judy, resigned both his trusteeship of the Fund and his chairmanship of the Coal Operators Association. Commissioned to do an actuarial study of the Fund by the investigating Senate subcommittee, the General Accounting Office of the government filed its report last October. Ward Sinclair comments on these findings:

SINCLAIR. There is some rather striking evidence on the record that the Fund has been rather badly mismanaged . . . or badly managed, or well mismanaged, or badly managed. Pretty striking evidence. The comptroller general of the United States says that under present policy, under the present payment system they have, under present income and projected income the fund will be bankrupt by 1975. There just won't be any more fund.

An issue of equal magnitude as the Retirement Fund, one that the coal operators cannot analyze in financial terms, now confronts the industry; namely, the enforcement of the sweeping Federal coal-mine health and safety legislation. Dr. I. E. Buff, a militant West Virginia physician explains some of the difficulties:

BUFF. The law was written to take care of complicated pneumonocosis, or black lung. The difficulty is this, and this is primarily the trouble. It isn't that the government is trying to be too technical but it is a problem primarily that the Social Security Administration can rule by degree. Now actually what they do is this in plain words. At first, we couldn't prove black lung by X-rays. Then we got to be able to find a technique to prove it. When this happened, the government said, "Ah, ha, too many claims." We got to find something else, and then they found the breathing test which is a bunch of hogwash. Any lung man worth his salt knows that only one out of five coal miners with advanced black lung have an abnormal breathing test, because this disease attacks the air sacks and not the bronchial tubes. Safety provisions of the act designate a limit in the amount of coal dust inhaled. Three-fourths of all mines in Kentucky now fail to meet that standard; indeed, miners there are inhaling up to eighteen times the acceptable amount of dust. And industry experts estimate that, if the law is strictly applied, about 40 percent of all underground mines in the nation will be closed.

Should the federal legislation result in boarding up a significant portion of the nation's mines, the blast furnaces of the country will go hungry while the consumers of electric power will face the most severe rationing in the history of the nation, with the possibility of lengthy total blackouts. The coal companies cannot be excused from their responsibilities not only to the nation but to their miners as well.

KWALLSER. The role of the coal companies in the present crisis is a varied one. Certainly, they have exploited the individual rank and files and haven't considered their welfare as much as they should have. There are several aspects to that; coal mine safety has not been looked after the way it should have been looked after. There has not been as much compliance with federal regulations.

The Coal Mine Health and Safety Act recognizes the hazards of the industry. For the first time, miners are now able to seek federal compensation for the most serious health problem of the mines, black lung. The union

has claimed significant responsibility in the passage of such legislation, but Congressman Ken Hechler from West Virginia, a crusading member of the House on behalf of the working miner, accuses the union of opportunism.

HECHLER. As everybody knows, we in Congress, passed a Coal Mine Health and Safety Law but not through any help or other support by the United Mine Workers of America. After it was all over they tried to jump on the bandwagon and claim credit for it.

The only source of income for the retired miners or those who have become disabled through their years under the earth is the Welfare and Retirement Fund. Because these pensioners vote for the union president, how they are treated . . . or perhaps manipulated . . . by the incumbent officers is of grave import to the 110,000 working members of the UMW and the entire union. To maintain their right to vote, pensioners are required to pay a monthly fee.

BARNES. They don't volunteer that fee . . . they have to pay dues or they don't get a pension. It's the only union I know of where the pensioners vote.

The money for these pensions is generated solely from the royalty payments extracted from unionized coal companies. Such payments, unchanged in nineteen years, can only be increased through the union's negotiations with industry. There is an unquestionably close relationship between these two ostensible legal strangers.

SINCLAIR. I think the union is set up in such a way and its sister organization, the Welfare and Retirement Fund, which by law is supposed to be a separate entity, but which in fact is not a separate entity; it is very closely related to the UMW. Supposedly separate, but definitely tied together its very existence is dependent upon contracts Tony Boyle negotiated as chief negotiator for the United Mine Workers.

The Retirement Fund is not the only hidden step-child of the Union. When mentioning the UMW, the National Bank of Washington must also be called to the fore. The union owns 80% of the bank's stock and Tony Boyle has earned more than \$30,000 in bank direction fees since 1964. Also sitting on the board of the National Bank is the union's legal counsel, Edward Carey. As of January 1970, the Retirement Fund's comptroller and lawyer also had a seat at the trustee table. One additional member of the Bank's board is the president of the Potomac Electric Power Company, Stephen Woodzell. Potomac Electric Power is one of the seventeen utilities comprising the total of the Fund's stock investments. These interlocking directorships point to something less than the impartial independence for the management of these three formidable financial reserves.

Congressman Hechler read the text of a letter from Ralph Nader into the record in which the peculiar structure intertwining the union and its treasury, the Retirement Fund's millions and the National Bank of Washington is referred to as a "trilogy of oppression." Hechler accuses the union of capitalizing on this entente:

HECHLER. One of the means of siphoning out money that belongs to the miners in their own welfare and retirement fund and siphoning it into the UMW treasury is thru the National Bank of Washington which is owned by United Mine Workers of America and into which the UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund has deposited interest free, millions and millions of dollars which comes from the royalty on mining every ton of coal.

Because of its rather large investment in the Bank, the U.M.W. receives income on its stock. At the time of the report to the Williams Senate Sub-Committee on Labor, the Retirement Fund kept 26 million dollars in a non-interest bearing checking account at the bank. This amount had been as high as

75 million dollars in 1967. Although the Retirement Fund and, therefore, the pensioners, receive no income from this checking account, the supposedly independent U.M.W. added 1.87 million dollars to its coffers from dividends paid by the National Bank of Washington in 1969.

KWALLSER. You might say there has been a slight diversion of profits. Instead of 6% every year for the pensioners it's however much profit to the bank and through them to the U.M.W.

Testimony from the sub-committee probe into the real nature of this trilogy, reveals the depth of Boyle's knowledge about the finances of the Fund. At the time of the hearings, Boyle had been chairman of the board that administers the 160 million dollar Retirement Fund for 9 months.

When asked by Senator Pell, of the sub-committee, the name of the broker that handled the Fund's 44 million dollars in common stock investments, President Boyle responded, "I think the name is Laidlow, or something like that." Amazed, Senator Pell returned, "If you are a trustee, you should know what is in that portfolio. You should know . . . You have the responsibility." Boyle righteously agreed and declared his desire to assume those responsibilities. Finding his performance somewhat contradictory to his espoused intent, Senator Pell retorted to Boyle, "You have had these responsibilities for 9 months and you don't know the facts."

A statement issued to the committee members by their chairman, Senator Harrison Williams, declared:

"The information and findings in this report substantiates my prior conclusion that the pension fund was manipulated by W. A. Boyle to influence the December 1969 election. The pensioned miners represented a substantial voting force in the election. It is obvious that this act or irresponsibility was employed to gain their support."

Congressman Hechler concurred with Senator Williams' estimation of the intent of the pension increase:

HECHLER. He was in the middle of a tough election fight with Jock Yablonski and it was very obvious that he put this in to win the pensioner vote. The working miners voted in a majority for Jock Yablonski for the presidency of the U.M.W. at the end of 1969. But the pensioners were herded in by the bus loads and persuaded by the \$35 rise that Mr. Boyle put into effect to vote for Tony Boyle.

Eyebrows were raised in the Senate when Boyle finally revealed the common stock portfolio of the Fund, which is made up totally of 17 electric-utility common stocks worth some 44 million dollars.

KWALLSER. Most of the money was placed in electric utilities. That isn't necessarily a bad idea, but it doesn't make for maximum return on the pension fund, or at least I don't think so because they were utilities presumably they earn some money, but less money than other stocks might have earned and clearly there is no correlation between the amount of coal you use and the profitability of your organization, therefore all these funds have been sitting there in the coffers of various utilities. And the question is, have they been earning the pensioners as much as they should have been earning them.

Boyle's supervision of the investment policy of the Fund has been less than judicious. As of April, the portfolio showed a loss of over 5.5 million dollars. Whatever the justifications presented, the results have not been beneficial to the pensioners.

The sub-committee report disclosed another overlapping relationship. The Federal Power Commission lists Laidlow and Company as among the top ten holders of voting securities in four of the 17 utilities in the Fund's portfolio. Laidlow and Company is

the N.Y. brokerage firm which handles all the investments for the Retirement Fund.

The legal recourse against such questionable management exists, but is somewhat limited in its application.

KWALLSER. Title V of Landrum-Griffin requires or sets up a fiduciary obligation on the part of any union officer for all the funds of the union. In other words, just as with the directors of a corporation, if a union officer mispends any funds, he is liable to the membership. . . . Of course, Mr. Boyle is likely to have spent the money and not have it anymore but that doesn't prevent you from suing him. Presumably, the increase was a mistake. Whether Boyle made it innocently or not is perhaps unclear. But is also largely irrelevant. As a trustee, he should have known as much as to at least ask competent sources for actuarial audit.

It is becoming daily more apparent that playing politics with the lives of men who die in the mines, or are crippled digging for coal, can no longer be tolerated.

KWALLSER. The real issue is: Did he do this simply as a political gimmick? Even if you said yes, he did do it as a political gimmick and for no other reason, does that make it illegal or a breach of fiduciary duty? Well, it probably is fair to say that many things are fair in politics which are unwise. The funds don't belong to the trustees. They belong to the thousands of miners throughout the country who worked hard for the money. At that point, Tony Boyle can't play politics anymore.

Some men have refused to accept the union hierarchy's manipulation of people and have faced the tyrannical monolith head on. Perhaps the most courageous of these was Jock Yablonski.

Nobody was more surprised than Tony Boyle when Joseph Yablonski decided to contest his re-election campaign, Yablonski traveled with Boyle and introduced him at rallies with that kind of syrupy praise that standard rhetoric in the labor movement.

YABLONSKI. Tony Boyle has been president of this union for six years. And I want to say, without fear of contradiction from anyone, anywhere in the world. He has moved the Mine Workers of America forward to a greater degree in the 6 year period of time than any other president of any labor organization anywhere in the world.

As much as anyone, Yablonski knew the extent of the corruption in the union and the causes for dissatisfaction among the rank and file. The campaign was an agonizing experience for Yablonski, who was secretly mulling over the possibility of challenging his traveling companion.

BARNES. If you ever heard any of those speeches, they dealt out lavish praise, it would make you wince it was so lavish. God, how could a guy go that far feeling at the time he was saying that, he was thinking about running against Boyle? He knew all the evil and corruption in the union and wanted to root it out and yet he could say these tremendously lavish things about Boyle. That was a tremendous embarrassment to Jock during the campaign.

Saul Alinsky discerned a general trend in the development of dissident movements.

ALINSKY. There was always two things present which I would find when I would check in on dissident movements: One, that the guy usually had been a committed and devoted follower. . . . then suddenly he broke. You could never quite find out why. But it certainly was not for the reasons he was giving that he broke, 'cause those reasons had been there for years and years, and the second thing was that the actual motivation or character of the guy that I knew that broke wasn't anything to write home about as democracy lies this way; follow me and I'll take you to the promised land.

Barnes suggest that Boyle's handling of

the 1964 convention was a major irritant to Yablonski. This was Boyle's first convention and he wanted to show that it was completely his.

BARNES. He had never been elected. . . . he didn't know how strong he was. He was a small guy, not very attractive and he wanted to make this a Tony Boyle Convention. . . . in District 19, they had whole groups of guys who actually wore white hard hats that said Boyle on one side and something else on the other and on several occasions when dissidents got up to speak to raise some issue on some of these tremendous issues like autonomy, for failure to work for health and safety legislation, like any of the other things, straighten out the Welfare and Retirement Fund, they would be physically beaten and dragged away by these guys in white hats. And as far as Yablonski knew and everybody else, they were all from District 19 and they were really Boyle goons and they were there just for one reason; to make sure that it was a Tony Boyle Convention.

Boyle added John L. Lewis's brother, R. J. Lewis, as his vice-presidential running mate to exploit the Lewis name. But after the election, Boyle forced Lewis out of office claiming he was too near retirement age. The Boyle appointed replacement, George Titler, was in his seventies. John Owens, the secretary-treasurer of the union is eighty.

When Jock Yablonski announced his candidacy, he knew what power and resources the incumbents had. Several times during the campaign, his lawyers requested Labor Department intervention. None was forthcoming.

KWALLSER. There was a catch-all series of provisions in Title Six of the act. One of those catch-alls was a provision which allowed the Secretary to investigate when he thought that any violation of the act was being committed. The secretary refused to do so. He maintained in the Senate hearings last spring that he did not have the legal right to do so. I don't think that is correct.

Soon after, Boyle claimed a 2-1 victory over the insurgent Yablonski; as a gory entrance into 1970, Jock Yablonski, his wife and their daughter were brutally murdered in their beds.

LAUCK. Now the story of the election and its loss by Yablonski and then the murders of him, his wife and daughter, are I think, told to suit the teller. . . . the murders happened. They were horrible, there's no question about it and I hope that whoever did it is caught, I mean whoever is responsible for these self-confessed murders, are caught.

Three days after the bullet riddled bodies were discovered in the Clarksville, Pennsylvania home, Secretary of Labor George Schultz ordered an investigation of the election. More than 100 violations have been noted and Schultz, in testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee, concluded, that, after the investigations, he "found probable cause to believe that violation of Title IV of the Landrum-Griffin Act had occurred in the conduct of the elections." Three months to the day after his murder, Jock Yablonski's death accomplished what he could not achieve alive. Suit was filed in district court in Washington, D.C. to overturn the U.M.W. election.

Five persons have been indicted for the murders. It appears that this is not the first time murder and violence have been considered as a convincing alternative to democracy. Among those testifying in the FBI probe of the Yablonski slaying was Charles Minton, who has been questioned about a murder plot in the coalfields in 1952. In that year Minton sued the U.M.W. for \$350,000, charging that the union had conspired to fire him from his job. In his suit, Minton swore that he had dynamited

mine installations on union orders, but that he had balked when Tony Boyle ordered him to kill two non-union coal operators.

Ward Sinclair adds another dimension on the use of violence by union officials.

SINCLAIR. I've seen, for example, a copy of a contract of an operator in Virginia who was the target of organizing activities; one of his installations was dynamited at one point because he refused to go along with the United Mine Workers. He refused to allow his operation to be organized and the union signed a contract with a phony company and the name of John L. Lewis is on the document and the name of Tony Boyle is on the document.

In the course of its investigations, the government unearthed innumerable violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act. The union is contesting the department's legal moves to invalidate the election.

A web of litigation, legal jousting and federal investigations are tightening around the union, and therefore around Tony Boyle. While most of the court's actions could hurt Boyle's pocketbook, and the union's treasury, there is one case that threatens to topple the labor official from his place of power in the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America.

ABC News. In Washington, the head of the U.M.W. pleads innocent to federal charges Boyle, and two top officers of the miner's union, were charged yesterday with conspiracy, embezzlement, and making illegal political contributions.

In the wake of these indictments, Boyle resigned as a trustee of the National Bank of Washington. The triumvirate appears to be crumbling at the base.

LAUCK. We deny completely all allegations contained in the indictment handed down by the grand jury. Any monies expended by Labor's Non-Partisan League were to secure passage of health, safety and related laws beneficial to the coal miners of America. No official of the UMWA secured any personal benefit by Labor's Non-Partisan League's contributions by both major political parties. It is our position that there has been no violation whatsoever of the law. We are confident that the courts will not sustain the government's attempt to abridge the first amendment right of our members. We are confident that our innocence will be demonstrated and that the United Mine Workers of America will be completely vindicated.

If convicted on all counts, Boyle could receive as much as thirty-two years in prison and fines totaling \$240,000. Beyond these penalties, conviction would bar him from holding any union office for five years. The indictments stem from political contributions made by Labor's Non-Partisan League, a lobbying arm of the union. While voluntary contributions of union members are allowed to go for political support of candidates, union fees, income and other monies are not. The allegation is that Boyle authorized personal checks to his secretary-treasurer, John Owens, and the League's director, John Kmetz, from union coffers. The money was then channelled through the league to candidates as contributions. Ward Sinclair describes a memo from Boyle last year concerning the financing of the Non-Partisan League.

SINCLAIR. Approximately March 1, 1970, the United Mine Workers had no such contribution system to provide funds to Labor's Non-Partisan League. The Justice Department is aware of this. The Grand Jury is aware of it. All I'm saying is that they didn't have a voluntary contribution program prior to March of 1970. So, the money that Labor's Non-Partisan League contributed, or is alleged to have contributed to certain candidates and political committees in 1967, 1968 and 1969 came from some place, and it wasn't voluntary contributions.

Similar financial footwork by Boyle and other union officials have led to investigations of the U.M.W.'s books. During the three

years audited, 1967 through 1969, more than ten million dollars of miners' dues and union income were spent without adequate validation of disbursement. Some of these monies went for salaries.

HECHLER. Antoinette Boyle receives an actual salary of \$40,000 plus expenses. This \$40,000 salary actually equals the salary of the v-ps' of the entire union. Even the general counsel of the UMWA doesn't have a salary that is higher than Miss Antoinette Boyle. Even more shocking is the fact that she really isn't doing any work for this salary . . . she is doing nothing more than occupying office space.

Six members of the Boyle and Owens families drew salaries of over a quarter million dollars in salaries and expenses in one year. This is nepotism of the worst at a time when coal miners are suffering and getting crushed and gased and maimed and live in substandard housing and find difficulty in getting credit, having difficulty in getting retirement money after their years of service in the mines.

In an affidavit filled by Thomas Kane, special investigator for the Labor Department, unverified loans to various districts of the UMW totaled more than two million dollars in 1969. An excerpt from Kane's report read: "Each District submits to the International a monthly report summarizing the receipt of funds by the District. Nothing in the monthly reports serves to verify that funds received by way of loan from the International were used for the purpose for which the loan was requested. Nor is there any other documentary evidence submitted by the Districts to the International indicating the disposition of loaned funds."

More than 20,000 dollars of that money went to District 27. The President of that district is R. J. Boyle, Tony Boyle's brother. In 1967, R. J. Boyle received checks totaling more than \$17,000 for "organizing expenses," even though the annual financial statement listed no salaried employees or organizers.

The general dissatisfaction of the miners, the Yablonski murders and evidence of corruption among the leaders have led to the many suits against the union. Chip Yablonski, son of Boyle's slain opponent, also accused the Labor Department of deliberate delay.

YABLONSKI. The Labor Department turns its back and winks at a lot of things it shouldn't wink at.

Displeasure with governmental ineptness has not been limited to the Labor Department. Undersecretary, Fred Russell, while acting Secretary of the Interior, appointed members to the new Coal Mine and Safety Board. The law required that the members be knowledgeable in the field of mine safety. The appointments, however, appeared to reflect a different consideration. Calling the appointments an emasculation of the Board's effectiveness, Congressman Ken Hechler denounced both the appointments, and the Undersecretary, on the floor of the House.

HECHLER. The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 very clearly states that the Advisory Committee on coal mine safety should include members that, and I'll quote from the law, should be "knowledgeable in the field of coal mine research." The Undersecretary of the Interior . . . appointed to this Advisory Committee on coal safety some totally unqualified individuals, including an airline stewardess, the widow of a doctor, etc. They all had one thing in common . . . not that they were knowledgeable in the field of coal mine safety but they were leading Republican party officials.

A New York Times editorial charged that the action was "contrary to the letter and spirit of the Act." Soon after this, Undersecretary Russell's resignation was accepted by President Nixon.

The most heated attacks, however, have been leveled at the Departments of Labor

and Justice. Responsible for monitoring of the Landrum-Griffin Act and the Corrupt Practices Act which set the standards for labor organizations, the Labor Department has been lagging behind, some think for specific reasons.

SINCLAIR. The speculation around here is that the reason it hasn't come to trial is due to political reasons.

TROBOVICH. I think they're purposely dragging their feet.

The key issue in the stalled litigation is the trusteeship status of 19 of the 23 districts in the union. By placing a district in trusteeship, the union officials usurp the power of the members to elect their own district representatives. By appointing these men, the incumbent officers can control the power base of the union, stifle opposition, and effectively deny democratic process and responsive grievance hearings to their members.

KWALLSER. There are two issues here. One is practical politics. If the districts remain under trusteeship, no insurgent will have a power base from where to expand his influence and try for national office . . . the second issue, and that is, if unions are run autocratically are not likely to be responsive to the wishes of the membership. In other words, if there is no political process . . . the incumbents may just lose sight of what the rank and filers want.

The importance of autonomy for individual districts has been recognized for years. Legally, the trusteeships are grossly over-extending their mandate.

KWALLSER. The federal law on the question of trusteeships is that after eighteen months, a suit can be filed by the Secretary of Labor or by an individual challenging the legality of the trusteeship. Now, there are several reasons which will permit a trusteeship to last for more than eighteen months. In this case, it's unclear that any of those reasons are satisfied by the United Mine Workers. In all likelihood the trusteeships should be resolved. The trusteeships are twenty years old. Probably they should be resolved soon since that suit has been pending for seven years.

In 1964 the Secretary of Labor instituted a suit to set aside these trusteeships. The case has still not gone to trial. The significance of the Labor Department taking the initiative in filing suit is explained by Mr. Kwallser.

KWALLSER. The Department of Labor has had a less than perfect record in dealing with all these problems of the mine workers. They instituted a suit in 1964 to set aside trusteeships. That suit has yet to come to trial. Unfortunately, by terms of the act, once the Secretary brings suit, no individual can also bring suit. So the rank and filers have been preempted from taking a suit to the court themselves. The United Mine Workers, if the Secretary hadn't done anything at all, they would have been able to file long ago. This is probably especially painful to rank and filers, since the Secretary has also been somewhat tardy in getting them to file current, accurate and up-to-date financial statements.

A district can be placed under trusteeship for 18 months. After that time, individuals of the union or the Secretary of Labor may file suit to return control to the district. In 1964, the Secretary of Labor moved to set aside these trusteeships. The case still has not gone to trial. Because of the structure of the Act, however, the Labor Department's suit bars anyone else from taking the issue to court. As long as the Labor Department's case is pending, the Union has an unbreakable stranglehold on the district offices and autonomy remains unattainable for the district members. Only until the Department of Labor and Justice press the suit to trial, can miners regain their freedom.

As the October first deadline draws closer, the need to resolve the fight for union leadership becomes more urgent. Meanwhile, Tony Boyle sits under siege. The Senate sub-

committee's investigation, which began last February, is continuing. Boyle and the other top officers of the union now spend much of their time fashioning legal defenses against several legal actions. The coal companies are not without blame for the mess, as many of their executives admit privately. They were quite willing for many years to see the union leaders for many years ride roughshod over the members, and they handed over royalty payments without ensuring that the fund was administered in a fair fiduciary fashion. There are responsible men in industry who know that a new pattern of labor management relations must be established if the coal industry is to prosper. It is a matter of paramount concern to the operators that over the next ten years about half the labor force will have to be replaced, and these young miners are not going to tolerate hazardous working conditions. Nor will they buckle under to a union that acts dictatorially to impose the will of its leaders. Unless decent men from both sides can settle these problems, anarchy lies ahead.

"Anarchy Threatens the Kingdom of Coal" was a presentation of Basic Communications, Incorporated and *Fortune* Magazine. This program was written and directed by Terry Britt and David Busacca and was produced and narrated by Bill Quay. Parts of the Prologue were quoted from *John L. Lewis—An Unauthorized Biography* by Saul Alinsky. "Anarchy Threatens the Kingdom of Coal" was based on an article of the same title which appeared in the January issue of *Fortune* Magazine. For copies of the original article, send 50¢ in check, cash or money order to: *Fortune* Magazine, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020.

THE CHEROKEE SHAFT—THE STORY OF MINES AND MEN

(As broadcast over the ABC television network, Saturday, May 22, 1971)

Produced and Written by: Stephen Fleischman.

Directed by: John E. Johnson, Jr.

Narrated by: Frank Reynolds.

Executive Producer: Stephen Fleischman.
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KENNETH YABLONSKI. I believe that the coal miner despite what other people may say, has probably been the subject of the most degrading, humiliating, inhuman life of any industrial worker in the history of the United States.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Tonight we are going to take you into a working coal mine. We are going to explore the crucial problem of safety in our most hazardous industry, today, an industry with an accident and fatality record that many have called a blot on the conscience of America. We will meet the men who are the coal miners of today. We will go with them to their jobs, to their homes, to their union meetings.

MINER. When you was working in the mines how many times did you go to bed at night when you know you had bad problems, bad conditions?

MINER. I didn't want to go to work.

MINER. You didn't want to go to work in the morning. You woke up in the middle of the night, you had a goddamn cold sweat on you. What about it buddy?

MINER. You belong to the devil. When you get off you'd better bless the good Lord that you walked out of it.

MINER. That's right. It's a hell of a place to make a living.

MINER. It's no good.

FRANK REYNOLDS. This program is about mine safety but, if it is true that the long and bloody history of the fight over this issue stretches from the Black Heath disaster of 1839, America's first mine catastro-

phe, to the Hyden, Kentucky explosion of 1970, it is also linked to the internal struggle within the union of the men who mine coal, the United Mine Workers of America. This struggle reached a climax in the current controversy between the union leadership and a challenging faction known as Miners For Democracy and found a battleground in the coal fields and union halls of western Pennsylvania. This is their story, the story of mines and men and their fight to stay alive—the story of those miners who go to their jobs through the Cherokee Shaft.

This is the Cherokee Shaft. It's a portal to a coal mine. This is where the men go in. This is where the coal comes out. It's the Maple Creek Mine on the Monongahela River in southwestern Pennsylvania. Maple Creek mine produces over ten thousand tons of coal a day—high quality metallurgical coal for the mills of the United States Steel Corporation which owns the mine. The mine stretches 9 miles underground, an area that covers 17,000 acres. Over 600 people work here, three shifts a day, 6 days a week. One of them is Jack Shaffer. He's 29 years old. He's worked in the coal mines for 4 years. He is a machine operator and his job takes him to the working face, the point of production in a coal mine. Josh Descaro is his assistant and friend. Josh is 26 and has worked in the mines for 6 years. His father and grandfather were miners.

JOSH DESCARO. It's pretty natural to be a coal miner around this area. Well, you either have a grandfather or an uncle or a brother or something that worked in the mine.

JACK SHAFFER. Coal miners, you know, they are rough guys. It's always grabbing somebody to get them to laugh or get them to jump.

JOSH DESCARO. When the men are coming out I think they sort of have a feeling of well, you are going home, going to see your family, let's get a bath and get the hell out of here. When we are going in, you have eight hours to look forward to.

FRANK REYNOLDS. There is generally an atmosphere of tension as the men prepare to go underground.

JOSH DESCARO. Going into the mine you are thinking of what you are going into. You don't know how the shift before you left it, I mean, you don't know, some days are a little easier than others, some are a little more dangerous than others, or a little more dustier than other days. I guess more or less you are pondering over what you are going to run into when you get into the mine.

JACK SHAFFER. You hate like hell to go in. It's just something you don't want to do but you know you have to do it to get the money.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Dropping 360 feet down the Cherokee Shaft, the joking of the bathhouse disappears. For eight hours, these men will work in a world where dependence on one another is essential. They will, in eight hours, perform highly skilled tasks with only their miner's light as a guide in the blackness. For eight hours they will work at cutting coal and staying alive.

JACK SHAFFER. We go down and we go get in a man trip. Going I'm always ahead of these guys 'cause I want the warm spots starting the man trip. I don't like to set in the air where it's blowing on me all the time. It's, it's always forty-five to fifty degrees in the mine.

It's not warm. It's a strain on your eyes. You can't see, you know, normally like you could outside, just like when you are out in the dark with a flashlight you can't see everything, and that's just the way it is in there. You can't see what, what's on the side of you. You see indirectly what you are looking at at that spot.

FRANK REYNOLDS. A large working coal mine is like a city underground. As coal is removed, tunnels are formed, some stretching 15 and 20 miles in a single mine. As

lines of communication lengthen, the risk to the men at the working face increases. The Maple Creek Mine is in the Pittsburgh seam, one of the richest coal beds in the world, a five to six foot layer of solid coal stretching like a thick blanket for hundreds of square miles underground. Coal is the cornerstone of America's fuel supply. It is the most important energy source for steel making and electric power. While reserves of oil and natural gas are precariously low, coal reserves are still enormous. The Maple Creek mine alone has enough coal to be mined for forty or fifty years at the present rate of production. This machine is a "continuous miner." It is the prime symbol of the technological advancement in coal mining and has greatly increased the productivity of labor.

JOSH DESCARO. We work together as a team. Jack is the operator and I keep his cable out from underneath his cat, watch the roof conditions for him.

JACK SHAFFER. He's just real good. He knows his roof. He'll watch it for you, where I can't see the roof. I'm on the machine. I have a cab over me. I can just see straight ahead and see part of the roof where he can see it all. He's behind me and he watches the roof good. The main thing: You got to keep checking for gas.

JOSH DESCARO. We always keep checking because there's always the chance, the one in a million chance, that you might find a pocket of it somewhere and if you are not on your toes you might blow up the whole mine.

FRANK REYNOLDS. There is a mystique about the working face that every miner knows and feels. It is the point of production. It is where he is attacking the unknown. The coal face is where nature takes its revenge, where man pays for what he steals from the earth in life and blood. It is as though we must pay this toll of 200 or more human lives as a sacrifice each year. But miners and other less superstitious people feel this is a needless toll since mining can be made safe, and many believe that production and profits are given a higher priority than human life.

One-hundred-and-one-thousand American coal miners have died violently at their jobs in the 20th century. In recent times an average of 247 miners lost their lives each year in roof-falls, explosions, fires and major disasters. Hyden, Kentucky, December 30th, 1970—38 miners killed. Farmington, West Virginia, November 20th, 1968—78 miners killed. Mount Hope, West Virginia, July 23, 1966—7 miners killed. Dola, West Virginia, April 25th, 1963—22 miners killed. Carmichael, Pennsylvania, December 6th, 1962—37 miners killed. Bishop, Virginia, October 27, 1958—22 miners killed. At the same place on February 4th, 1957—37 miners killed. West Frankfort, Illinois, December 21st 1951—119 miners killed. Centralia, Illinois, March 25th, 1947—111 miners killed. And so it goes, back to the great explosion of Monongah, West Virginia on December 6th, 1907 which took the lives of 361 miners, the highest toll of any single mine disaster.

But there's another way to die for the coal miner: the slow death of black lung, the occupational disease of the miner caused by years of breathing coal dust into the lungs.

TONY BROCCO. You just can't get your breath. That's from dust—can't breathe! Can't breathe! I use this. You put it like this, put it in your mouth and down your lungs. Open your lungs up. I carry this all the time with me.

CARL MAY. In the mornings, I get up I can't hardly get my breath. And you know when you come out in the morning, I have had it in my head felt big as a washing tub, and spit up balls of black stuff as big as your fist pretty near. I just have to sit down and wait, and sometimes I gasp for my

breath. When you get up you start to cough and (gasps). Right now I'm short of breath, right now.

MICKEY BRITVICH. He said, "You're all a bunch of nitwits and idiots. You don't know what you want." This is what they think of coal miners today. But these people they don't, they don't want to face the reality. We're not—no longer nitwits or idiots. We're no mules or fools today. We might of had these kind of coal miners before, but today we can read and write. We don't claim to be Philadelphia lawyers or no kind of professors but we know what's going on in this union. Back in 1964—

FRANK REYNOLDS. Local 1248, United Mine Workers of America, District 5.

MICKEY BRITVICH. This is why we're fighting. Like Nick said, we're fighting for freedom and democracy.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Legal counsel for a group within the United Mine Workers called Miners For Democracy is attorney, Kenneth J. Yablonski.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Local union 1248 which is at the Maple Creek Mine of the United States Steel Corporation is, in my opinion, an example of what can be done when you have real honest-to-God militant union leadership.

NICK DE VINCE. Have a safety strike—

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Nick De Vince is the president of that local and his fellow officers have done in my mind an outstanding job of raising themselves up.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Jack Shaffer and Josh Descaro are caught up in the Miners For Democracy movement within their local. Local 1248 is a stronghold of this dissident group. Even though belonging to the United Mine Workers of America, Local 1248 is in conflict with its district and international leadership over a recent district election.

NICK DE VINCE. I just shook my head. I said, "I can't understand this."

FRANK REYNOLDS. Adding to their resentment is the fair and suspicion that their union is in with the coal operators.

NICK DE VINCE. We have no issue with you at this point, because you could rest assured if we had a safety issue we'd be in here every day to see that it's taken care of and the safety committee would shut it down if it's that bad. Who the heck is Mike Budzanoski going to the company? Tell him to come to the men. He's representing the men not the company. Now ain't this a shame. The district gets its information from the company. It proves that they're in bed together.

JOSH DESCARO. We just feel that there are people in Washington in the international that they don't give a damn about us. And that's what we want to bring out. We want to bring out that we are not the 1920 coal miner. We are not the man that goes in and drives a mule for his dust or gas or no matter what. We are men that—we want to live! We don't just want to live to work in a mine. We want to live and have families and have a regular life just like anyone else that isn't a miner. We want to make it safe in the mines so we can consider our job as safe as say a man that is a lawyer, or a doctor or something like that.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Our reform group has done more for mine safety, in the recent time since my father declared his candidacy than the entire history of Tony Boyle's regime in the mine worker's union. Because we have made it known that safety is a real honest-to-God issue. It's a problem. And we've done things.

FRANK REYNOLDS. The power of Tony Boyle in his bid for re-election in 1969 to the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America was, for the first time, challenged by Joseph Yablonski, himself a long-time union official. The first crack in the solid front of union bureaucracy began to appear. The issue of

safety, from the time of John L. Lewis and before, has always been controversial in the internal politics of the United Mine Workers of America. In this election, the question of disposition of union funds was added to it.

JOSEPH YABLONSKI. Records of the mine-workers organization will show that many millions of dollars have been wasted only for the purpose of trying to keep Boyle and his regime in power.

REPORTER. Why is Mr. Boyle such a tough opponent?

JOSEPH YABLONSKI. Well, I don't know that he is such a tough opponent. I never considered him a tough opponent. They have been conducting a campaign of smear and fear and threats and pensioners and everybody else. I don't consider this being a tough opponent.

FRANK REYNOLDS. The campaign was taken to the coal fields, each side electioneering vigorously. Five law suits were filed against the Boyle group by the Yablonski faction. A U.S. Department of Labor investigation of the election later noted innumerable violations of the Landrum-Griffin act by the Boyle group. The act is intended to protect the integrity of union elections. As seen here, at a later date. Tony Boyle appeared before a Senate committee investigating the illegal use of union funds for political campaign contributions for which he was subsequently indicted by a grand jury. His case is awaiting trial. The union is presently contesting the Labor Department's legal moves to invalidate the election and Tony Boyle says of it:

TONY BOYLE. The Labor Department has an obligation to explain its sins of omission. It has an obligation to explain why on the eve of the union election it released a memorandum of unsupported charges paraphrasing those made by Joseph Yablonski's lawyer many times previously. The Labor Department gave official sanction to unsupported charges. The Labor Department's action is tantamount to persecution, not prosecution.

FRANK REYNOLDS. On December 9th, 1969, Tony Boyle was officially re-elected. Three weeks later, on December 31st, Joseph Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered in their Clarksville, Pennsylvania home. Five persons have been arrested and indicted for the murders and are presently awaiting trial. Kenneth Yablonski says of his father:

KENNETH YABLONSKI. My dad stood up in 1969 and he pointed out, he fired the opening shot with his declaration of candidacy when he said that he just couldn't tolerate this backwardness anymore, that we were just going too far backward and he just couldn't live with it any more. And he admitted that he'd been a part of it, that he'd watched it deteriorating, but he just had to break. Now, we took a horrible setback when my father was killed, my father, mother and sister. This put an awful lot of fear in a lot of people, but I think the men realized that they couldn't let him down, that even though he's gone now, they have to carry on, and they're not going to be intimidated any more. Sure, they're afraid. They saw what happened to him and they believe that it could happen to them also, but they're not going to be intimidated. They have the same kind of courage, the same guts that he had and they're carrying on the fight.

JUDY SHAFFER. From what I understand, he's a big mouth in the mines. But I think they have to be like that. If you go into the mine and you don't like something, and keep your mouth shut, you'll never get anywhere.

The only reason I think he's in the mine is because of the money even though, personally, I don't think they make that much money. There's too many accidents in the mine. And he had one himself. He had part of his little finger cut off. People don't realize, they think it's nothing, you know, that maybe somebody might lose a finger or a hand or a limb.

JUDY SHAFFER. Did you say, mustard or mayonnaise?

JACK SHAFFER. Mustard's okay. You going to ride your bike today?

DAWN SHAFFER. Yes.

JACK SHAFFER. See what happened to you yesterday on the bike, don't you. You're going to ride it again today?

DAWN SHAFFER. Yes.

JUDY SHAFFER. No, she isn't.

JACK SHAFFER. She said she wanted me to throw the bike away yesterday.

JUDY SHAFFER. She ain't going to ride it. Do you want lots of jelly on it?

JOHN SHAFFER. Let me see. Yeah, that's enough. Do you have enough peanut butter on it?

JACK SHAFFER. Yeah. You'll taste it.

JUDY SHAFFER. The way the cost of living is now, to have anything nice—new car, nice home, or anything, you have to make enough money to pay for these things.

JACK SHAFFER. Those could have been sewed a little bit, Judy.

JUDY SHAFFER. Well, you should have told me. You see that girl last night on TV in the shorts?

JACK SHAFFER. Hot shorts.

JUDY SHAFFER. Hot pants. Yeah. She looked pretty good?

JACK SHAFFER. Yeah, she looked pretty good. I'll still like to have some homemade cake. You should have baked the cake last night. That junk's getting pretty rotten every day. You didn't get John his present yet?

JUDY SHAFFER. No.

JACK SHAFFER. You'd better stomp out tomorrow and get him something. If not, I might give him a little bit of money. And don't forget to call the guy about the windows. You know, the window blew out. Just bring me some cake back.

JUDY SHAFFER. Okay.

JACK SHAFFER. I'll see you later.

JUDY SHAFFER. Be careful.

JACK SHAFFER. I'm always careful.

JUDY SHAFFER. Drive careful.

JACK SHAFFER. You should have that coat buttoned up. You'd better have mommy button it up.

JUDY SHAFFER. I know my husband has been late coming home a few times. First thing you think of right away is a cave-in. Because usually they're not late. They're regular coming home. But, if he is ever late, that's the first thing I think of is an accident in the mine. But they do call you right away, but still, if you're caved in somewhere in the mine, they can't get in touch with you right away and that's why any wife of a miner worries constantly, you know, whether their husband's coming back every day or not.

FRANK REYNOLDS. The heritage of an in-built fatalism about mining from a past generation persists even for the young miners, today. On December 30th, 1969, in the aftermath of the Farmington, West Virginia disaster in which 78 miners lost their lives, the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 became law, the most stringent safety law ever to be put on the books. Many new standards relating to limits on the amounts of gas and dust and other hazards must now be met. In addition, regulations for the comfort and accommodation of men, potable drinking water and toilet facilities must be provided at all working sections. In any mine, the area where the men have their lunch is called the dinner hole. They move away from the working face, away from the dust and gas.

JOSEPH DESCARO. We try to pick the safest place and the place where there's not too much noise or dust or anything. We put a back rest on the bench and you have a place to hang your coat and set your bucket on the bench and four or five garbage cans to put your trash and your lunch in and they have drinking water available, sometimes.

JACK SHAFFER. They are paying a fine now every day of—inspector comes in and

sees they are not there but the fine is so small that they just pay the fine. It's cheaper to pay the fine than go out and buy these toilets and have the drinking water there.

JOSEPH DESCARO. It's good water when it's there but it's not there and we sort of drank it all up and that's about the last we've seen of it.

JACK SHAFFER. This new mining law isn't strong enough. They passed that bill, it's been passed but they're not pushing the companies to put these in the section.

JOSEPH DESCARO. They have the law but they don't have any force behind it. I mean, it's just like saying you have to stop for a Stop sign but if you don't stop we aren't going to do anything to you, you know. So, maybe you don't have to stop, I guess.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Jesse Core, Vice President of Coal Operations, United States Steel, operator of Maple Creek Mine.

Mr. Core, if you were a miner working in one of your mines would you be satisfied that the United Mine Workers Union was doing enough to protect you, your health, your safety?

JESSE CORE. In our mines?

FRANK REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

JESSE CORE. I would think so, yes. I would. Our own record last year in our coal mining operation both in accident frequency and in accident severity would place our coal operations among the five safest industries in the country. This is a matter of record.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Do you think the Government is imposing too many controls?

JESSE CORE. I think if we had been able to advise on the subject that we would have said, well, let's have some priorities here, let's take the most important, the real problem areas in mine safety and let's get at them first. In answer to your question, I guess that if we have anything to say about that it would be the fact that we were deluged with no priorities but just to take the whole gamut and let's do something about them real quick.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. I think both the union and the industry are dragging their feet enforcing compliance with this law, and it goes back to the same old question. Every time anything comes about that concerns safety, the first thing the company does is say it's going to cost too much money, it's going to put us out of business. And, unfortunately, too often the union sits back and lets them say that and get away with it. The men who go into the mine should know that the district officials and the international officials are really in there pitching for them, really doing a job. And this is what the men don't know. This is where the men have lost faith. They don't believe in their district anymore, they don't believe in their international leadership.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Mr. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, was invited to appear on this program but refused. He left it to Lewis Evans, Safety Director of the union to respond to Kenneth Yablonski's charge.

LEWIS EVANS. To say that the United Mine Workers of America is not interested in mine safety is one of the most asinine statements that I have ever heard. It's not just an indictment against the union, it's an indictment of every safety committeeman we have at every coal mine where we have a contract in this country. It's a ridiculous statement, without any lot of truth to it. I've spent a lifetime in this industry, and I've spent a lifetime fighting coal operators.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. It's a matter of money. And these companies have to be made to know that they're going to have to spend the money to make their mines safe. The whole attitude concerning safety in the mine workers union has historically been wrong. It has been horrible under Tony Boyle. When my father ran for election in 1969 the entire Safety Division of the mine workers union consisted of one man, whose credentials, in my opinion, were rather dubious to start with.

Their attitude's been wrong. Tony Boyle, when the Farmington mine blew up, and these men were down there dying or dead, said that, well, you know coal mining's hazardous business, we're always going to have mining explosions. Well, this is ridiculous. There is no reason for a leader of a labor union to have such a stupid attitude as to say we're always going to have mine explosions. What he should be saying is that we should never have another mine explosion and I'm going to dedicate myself not to having another mine explosion. This is what my father believed in, and this is what these men in Miners For Democracy believe in. We think that all mine explosions can ultimately be eliminated.

FRANK REYNOLDS. On March 17th, an emergency meeting of Local 1248 was called. Their meeting place, the back room of the Footdale Fire House in New Salem, Pennsylvania. The conflict between the district leadership of the United Mine Workers of America and the insurgent Miners For Democracy membership within the union was reaching a point of confrontation over the election of district officers. We will return with that story after this message.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Local 1248, United Mine Workers of America, District 5. March 17th, held an emergency meeting at the Footdale Fire House in New Salem, Pennsylvania. By vote of the membership, ABC News was permitted to film the meeting. It was called because of a controversy over a district election.

NICK DE VINCE. He has another paper in his back pocket and to look at it so it corresponds, he must have got it from the district because everytime — had something up he would look at the tally so he would have the same tally as the district had. How stupid is Mike Budzanoski? How stupid does he think the coal miner is today.

FRANK REYNOLDS. The election, held last December 8th, was still in doubt and under scrutiny by the U.S. Department of Labor. One problem, alleged tampering with some of the 1200 absentee ballots. In the complex structure of union politics, it is sometimes difficult to keep track of the principal candidates. The present leadership of the United Mine Workers of America is headed by Tony Boyle, president of the international union. Individual union locals in the Pittsburgh area belong to District 5 of the international, at present a pro-Boyle group. In the election last December, members of the union locals voted for district officers. The contenders for president of District 5 were: the incumbent, Michael Budzanoski, a Boyle man, and Lew Antal, a leader of the insurgent Miners For Democracy. Nick DeVince, president of Local 1248, ran for representative of the international executive board. Local 1248 and two other insurgent locals voted overwhelmingly against the present leadership, and for the Miners for Democracy slate. But then, in a surprise move, hours before this meeting was called, the Budzanoski, pro-Boyle leadership, alleging improper voting procedures, disqualified the votes of the three insurgent locals. This would, in effect, give victory to Michael Budzanoski and the pro-Boyle candidates.

NICK DE VINCE. Do you see how they stole this election!

FRANK REYNOLDS. The men of Local 1248 were angry and bitter over this new turn. They stopped work and called this meeting.

NICK DE VINCE. They have thrown out 740 votes of mine which is going to change the election all the way around. Instead of Lew Antal being president they are going to announce that Mike Budzanoski actually is going to be president. Instead of Joe Daniels it is going to be Seddon. Instead of myself it is going to be McAllister. So I would like the secretary to read the charges that was brought forth to this local union.

SECRETARY. The District Tellers, United Mine Workers of America, District 5: We,

the undersigned contest the election conducted by Local union 1248, United Mine Workers of America, Maple Creek, for the following reasons: (1) The local union failed to provide a sufficient amount of booths considering the large membership of the local union and the anticipated high percentage of vote turnout. (2) Inadequate preparation by the local union prevented the majority of voters to vote in privacy. (3) A long plank, approximately 12 inches wide, 120 inches long, erected on blocks, nearly waist high used as a table base for voters was in the open. This arrangement permitted a voter to view the voting of those voters on either side of him. There were no separations such as blinds, plastic strips, paper strips, or strips of cloth or other material between voters standing at the long plank which would allow privacy. Signed: H. W. Roadahaver, Frank A. Shuba, Michael Truloase.

NICK DE VINCE. . . . this constitution so many times and there is nowhere in there, nowhere, that you had to have booths. And you know as well as I do, in the last district election we voted in a little cubby hole that we couldn't even have a booth.

MINER. Didn't we vote the same way for Tony Boyle down there, if I remember correctly? We voted exactly the same way for Tony Boyle as we did for Budzanoski.

NICK DE VINCE. Everybody, just a minute. . . . that was entitled to a fair election I want him to stand up. All right. Sit down. Without a doubt U.S. Steel is going to have us in court. But I am going to have to ask for a motion to return to work.

MINER. I'm sure that half the men or more recall a time similar to this about a few years ago. The Peabody contract was put upon us. We said to Mr. Budzanoski right here that either the card had to be changed or by God they'll get no coal. He said it would never be changed. We said, you'll get no coal. I don't think it was more than ten days, maybe at the most, to get them to change the contract. They changed it. Is that correct? And I am of the advocacy now that if we're going to tolerate this now, we'll tolerate maybe worse. So I say to the chairman, sure, we should vote to go to work, but we ain't going. Because, Mr. Chairman, I don't care what you say, I don't agree with it because we cannot tolerate this kind of action. Ain't my business but if you wanted us to go to work, say go to work, I'd say you're a fool.

NICK DE VINCE. We are on an unauthorized strike. I'm asking you to return to work. Will the secretary read—

SECRETARY. Mr. Nick De Vince, president, Local Union No. 1248 UMWA. It has been reported to this office that your mine is participating in an unauthorized work stoppage. Unauthorized work stoppages are specifically prohibited by the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement of 1968 to which the United Mine Workers of America is a party. In the event that this work stoppage does not involve any safety matters you are hereby directed to immediately take the necessary steps to have your mine resume normal operation. Michael Budzanoski, president, District Number Five.

NICK DE VINCE. A motion is in order to return to work. Motion is in order to return to work. I tell you to return to work.

MINERS. Can't you hear, Mr. Chairman.

NICK DE VINCE. Boys, I can't get you your vote back. I wish I could.

MINERS. We'll get our own votes back.

MINER. Our votes are legal. I cast my votes and nobody ever asked me. I say it is God-damn time we quit asking the Government for help. Let's help ourselves.

NICK DE VINCE. If all of you guys feel this way then follow us down to Pittsburgh tomorrow.

MINER. Tell us where?

NICK DE VINCE. At the district office.

VOICES. We'll be there. We'll be there.

JOSH DESCARO. He asked for the motion, there was no motion. He begged for the motion, there was no motion. So, evidently we are not going back to work. Strike is the only weapon. What other thing do we have to do? We tried everything else. We've tried legal measures, we've tried everything else.

MINER. Yeah, everybody suffers, at times. Hell, I suffered before, I'll suffer again.

MICKEY BRITVICH. A coal miner does never lose anything that he doesn't work for.

JOSH DESCARO. Just think what we are going to lose if we don't pull this. We are going to go back under dictatorship and back into the 1920's again. We are going to be the coal miners working in water up to here with no benefits so that's why we are doing this now.

MINER. We are going to Pittsburgh. We are going to protest.

MINER. We're going to show these people we mean business.

MINER. We are going to be out there in force.

BUS TALK. My wife says, never marry a coal miner, he will never work steady.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Although the leadership of Miners For Democracy will give no figures, they claim their movement is spreading and gaining force, not only in western Pennsylvania, but in Ohio, West Virginia and in other coal producing states.

BUS TALK. If they want violence we will give them violence. They want violence.

JACK SHAFFER. But we are not going down there to cause any trouble. We're going down to get our votes back, like Josh says. They are accusing us for not having a large enough and secret enough place to vote in. When we voted for Budzanoski we voted in a damn fruit stand along the road.

MINER. Why should somebody take the votes from us? That's why I'm here.

JOSH DESCARO. We are fighting for safety and if we go along with this crap that Boyle is trying to feed us then our families might suffer in other ways. What if one of us gets hurt in a mine? Or killed in a mine? We feel Miners For Democracy are getting us safety benefits and better sick benefits. That will help our families in the future. Sometimes it pays to suffer a little now to reap the harvest later.

FRANK REYNOLDS. District 5 headquarters, United Mine Workers of America, Pittsburgh. The men of Local 1248 and miner members of the two other locals whose votes were disqualified converged on the focal point of their resentment, the district office.

MINER. We want our votes counted and we're not leaving here until you count them.

TELLER. We tellers have a job to do.

FRANK REYNOLDS. There was anger and frustration and for a time the mood was ugly, tempers on the ragged edge of erupting into violence. Although there was little to be achieved by such a confrontation, since the contested election would ultimately have to be settled by a Labor Department ruling or possibly a court action, the passions of the men spill over. Placards, placed on the wall denouncing the union and its leadership will not amend their grievances. The butt of their anger—Michael Budzanoski, incumbent president of District 5.

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. There will be a news conference later today. Will you gentlemen please leave? Will you gentlemen please leave? Thank you. We're asking the news media to get out because a lot of these people when the news media is around makes scenes. So, the news media please leave.

REPORTER. What's the basis of the rumors of threats.

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. Mr. ——— walked over to me in the washroom and told me today was my day and they were going to get me.

REPORTER. Get you, how?

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. I don't know how. They said they were going to do it with no witnesses around. So please, will you gentlemen please leave now? I'm sorry. I don't want news media or anyone else brought up here today.

FRANK REYNOLDS. On the way to Federal Court to deal with the restraining order brought by the mine operators to end the unauthorized work stoppage, Mr. Budzanoski gave his views of the dissident members of his district.

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. This is strictly an anarchistic type of organization that wants to ruin the United Mine Workers or take over, one or the other.

REPORTER. Well, Mr. Budzanoski, now they have accused you of having some irregularities with this election. They are saying, I think, they have won the election. What do you have to say to that?

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. Well, they have not won the election and they know it, and since they haven't won it they are attempting to take over by force.

REPORTER. Have you been declared the winner, Mike?

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. I don't know whether I have been declared the winner or not—probably sometime today the decision will be rendered. If they possibly can render it. You see, this group broke in on the tellers and tore up all their tally sheets.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Meanwhile, attorney Kenneth Yablonski, representing the dissident group in court, assembled his men on a street corner.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Let's not act irresponsibly. You came down here and you made yourselves felt. They knew that you're not a bunch of queers walking around. They know you're men. You came down here and you let them know. And the Labor Department and everybody else knows that you're men. Now let's act responsible. I've already advised the judge, Nick and Chuck have told the judge that we're gonna' get you men back to work. They told me they're going to get you back to work. Let's do it.

MINER. Yes, but if we don't get our rights now we never will.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Later, Kenneth Yablonski had this to say to us.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. They came down here, sure they were a little noisy, sure, they were vociferous, but I can only say this, it could have been a lot worse under the circumstances. I think under all the circumstances concerned, I think they acted as good union men making themselves felt. The violence that Budzanoski talks about all the time, and I'm getting sick and tired of his nonsense about violence, let's look at the violence that's happened in this thing. The Yablonski's—my mother and father and sister are dead. There have been threats against my uncle, against Lew Antal. There have been all kinds of threats of violence and actual violence and it's always perpetrated against our side, and yet Mike Budzanoski has the gall to stand up and talk about our people being violent. Let him point to one lump on his head. Let him point to any Boyle man who has suffered from violence as a result of our people. It just hasn't happened. These men are just concerned, they're upset and as you've seen, they're very worried about the complexion of this thing and I can't blame them.

FRANK REYNOLDS. The press conference Michael Budzanoski promised newsmen that afternoon was never held, but two days later, at the William Penn Hotel he officially announced victory in the election for himself and the rest of the incumbent slate and said:

MICHAEL BUDZANOSKI. I wrote letters to every local union on two occasions imploring them to have booths, if possible, or some other means of voting in absolute secrecy. I told local unions that I would render my assistance in securing voting booths or places where they could vote in such a way that

everyone would vote in secret, because the Federal law requires that a man cast his vote by secret ballot.

FRANK REYNOLDS. After a two-day wildcat strike the miners went back to work on March 19th. However, by April 1st, on National Coal Miner's Day, there were still threats and calls for further wildcat action. Kenneth Yablonski tried again to get the men to cool it.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. I'm saying to you right now that if you don't act responsibly and if you don't act within the law that you claim that you want the protection of, and if you don't abide by the union constitution which you say you honor, then you disgrace the movement that you belong to. We cannot resort to irresponsible and illegal activity that will only, that will only destroy what we have worked hard to obtain. Here's Nick DeVince. How many days, how many days has Nick DeVince lost in this election effort? Are you guys gonna' blow it for him?

VOICES. No.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Well, you're gonna' blow it for him if you run out and start shutting down coal mines.

MINER. Let him get up and tell us that's the only way.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. All right, Nick, come up here. Here he is right here.

NICK DE VINCE. Just listen to Ken. Now he knows. If he says we gotta' go to work, let's go to work and let's give him some time.

VOICE. We're tired of giving 'em time, we're tired of the courts.

NICK DE VINCE. All right, we understand that.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. The law says that you must resort to the courts if your union officials violate your union constitution. And this is what we're going to do.

VOICE. They don't control me. They don't control me. I've got rights.

KENNETH YABLONSKI. Marty, you know as well as I know that no one in this group has ever let anybody down this, down this road the wrong way. Sure it's gonna' take a little bit of time, but let me take you back a little bit. Look how far we've come in the last 18 months.

VOICE. Nowhere!

KENNETH YABLONSKI. You think, nowhere? That's where you haven't been paying attention to what's going on then. Your vote's gonna' be restored. Your vote's gonna' be restored. And I'll say this, when the day comes. You know, you complain about the loss of a vote. What have I lost? I've got a mother and a father and a sister dead and I don't want no damn rabble-rousers ruining this thing. Act responsibly once in your lives. Don't tell me about those. . . . You don't know what it is to lose. You don't have any idea what it is to lose. I know what it is to lose. And I know that you don't have a chance if you start back into the old—I saw rebel strikes in the 50's, in the early 60's and it never got you a thing. This rebel movement never knew what it had. It never knew what it was like. It never had any chance of success until we got some real responsible leadership.

MONSIGNOR RICE. Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Coal Miner's Day, April 1st, Cokeburg, Pennsylvania. Monsignor Charles Owen Rice, known as the 'labor priest' of Pittsburgh.

MONSIGNOR RICE. I want to say a word here of appreciation for the great struggle that is being made. You men may not realize it, but all over the United States of America the name of Miners For Democracy and the name of your leaders, not only the dead Yablonski's but their living sons and

many of your other supporters, those names are on the lips of people who care for freedom and democracy all over this country. People know about it in other countries. You are people who are being observed and it's out in the open, you see, they can't work you over because it's now out in the open. Today, you have to let the people have some control over their destiny or they will lose total interest in it. You know, there is, there are fairly strong unions in the United States today but the big ones owe so much to the miners. Somebody, it was John Lewis—he made many mistakes, but one thing he did was he took your money and he guaranteed the existence of these unions. I don't know whether John should have done it or not. But the steelworkers owe you a lot and so do the auto workers, and the oil workers and the electrical workers, anybody you can name. Any industrial union today owes not only an inspiration but owes, owes its existence to the miners and the organizers that John sent out and that he paid for them. You are good strong, free American workers. You can't be beaten and you will take over this union and please God, when you take it over, you'll run it right.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Since the events reported in this program, there have been several developments involving both District 5 and the International leadership of the United Mine Workers of America.

On April 26th, a Federal district judge held the union liable for damages in a 75-million dollar civil suit for misuse of the union welfare and retirement fund.

On May 6th, a Federal jury convicted two officials of District 5, one of them president Michael Budzanoski, of conspiracy to divert union funds into the 1969 re-election campaign of UMW president, Tony Boyle.

At this moment a suit by the Department of Labor is pending, charging unlawful practices and seeking to set aside the 1969 Boyle election.

One thing seems quite clear: A new day is dawning for America's coal miners. It is late—too late for those who have died in accidents that might have been avoided and too late, too, for the victims of black lung—but when this new day arrives, it will be in part because of miners like those you have seen tonight who go to work through the Cherokee Shaft.

This is Frank Reynolds. Good night.

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION BILL— PART V

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, the Defense Authorization Bill for fiscal year 1972 includes a significant increase for naval vessel procurement over the amount provided last year. In constant dollars, it is about \$590 million more than the amount authorized last year and about \$830 million more than was actually appropriated for fiscal year 1971. The major reason given for this increase is the need to replace the aging ships in the fleet. In particular it is noted that on the average, our major ships are 6 years older than those of the Soviets. Ships commissioned during World War II and the immediate postwar years still account for a major portion of the current active force. These ships will have to be retired in the next decade or so. However, the administra-

tion has not made clear how many of these ships must be replaced.

The problem has been called "block obsolescence" and has been a source of concern to the Navy and Armed Services Committee for many years. In an excellent analysis by Arnold M. Kuzmack of "Naval Force Levels and Modernization: An Analysis of Shipbuilding Requirements," recently published by the Brookings Institution, this problem is addressed. Mr. Kuzmack argues convincingly that modernization requirements cannot be separated from questions of force levels. However, a critical examination of the administration's budget request for fiscal year 1972 suggests that there is considerable confusion on this point. For example, maintenance of the fiscal year 1972 force levels would require as much as a 25 percent increase in shipbuilding over the amount requested for fiscal year 1972. On the other hand, lower force levels such as those implicit in the administration's budget as likely to prevail in the late seventies would result in the virtual disappearance of the "block obsolescence" problem.

With concise facts and clear reason, Mr. Kuzmack shows that alternative force levels for 1980 have a direct impact on the amount of ship construction needed during the next 5 years. To arrive at alternative force level requirements, he has focused on four major elements of naval forces: attack carrier—CVA—force levels; antisubmarine warfare—ASW—carrier—CVS—force levels; the nuclear attack submarine—SSN—annual building rate; and amphibious assault lift capability. Other naval forces are in direct support of these major force elements and can be derived using commonly accepted factors. To determine the number of ships that are available, it is necessary to determine the ships which must be retired. To do so, Mr. Kuzmack has accepted the Navy's rule of thumb. Although no specific age is associated with the maximum useful life of Navy ships, it has been the Navy's experience that an age of about 30 years for surface ships, perhaps slightly less for submarines, is a reasonable maximum life expectancy for the hull, propulsion machinery, and basic installations. Using Mr. Kuzmack's methodology, it is possible to determine the shipbuilding requirements to support alternative force levels for 1980.

Two alternatives are of particular interest in reviewing the fiscal year 1972 naval vessel procurement authorization: the force levels in the President's 1972 budget; and the force levels most likely to obtain in the late seventies.

The fiscal year 1972 force levels are interesting as a measure of the adequacy of recent and proposed ship construction. However, the administration has given little indication that these force levels can be maintained through the seventies. The CVS's are nearing 30 years old but there has been no mention of their replacement—although the budget provides procurement funds for a new generation sea-based ASW aircraft, the S-3A. Rather, the Navy is trying out a new CV concept whereby both attack and ASW aircraft would operate from the current CVA's. Nor has the administration implied that there will be more than 12 CVA's. Only 11 will be less than 30 years old in 1980 and none is requested in fiscal year 1972. Even a force of 12 requires approval of an additional CVA—such as CVAN-70—in the posture statement on the fiscal year 1972 budget. Secretary Laird stated we will "keep the option open to authorize the next carrier (CVAN-70) in fiscal year 1973 or fiscal year 1974." In his analysis, Mr. Kuzmack shows that no additional escorts need be built for a 12-carrier force given the escort ships approved to date. However, should a second all-nuclear task force be desired, we would need to build the nuclear guided missile frigate—DLGN—requested in fiscal year 1972. The SSN building rate could be maintained at five—to replace all conventional attack submarines on a 1-for-1 basis for a total SSN force of 105 in the early eighties, or terminated in fiscal year 1972 for a total of 69 SSN's, or phased down and terminated somewhere between 69 and 105. Hence, a range is still of interest. As for amphibious assault ships, the termination of the general purpose amphibious assault ship (LHA) has virtually guaranteed that lift capability will not exceed 1 1/3 Marine division wing teams—MEF's—in the seventies.

Table I summarizes the major force components of these two alternatives:

TABLE I

	President's 1972 budget	Probable alternative
CVA force level	13	12
Antisubmarine warfare forces:		
CVS force level	3	0
SSN annual building rate	5	0-5
Amphibious assault capability (MEF)	1 1/3	1 1/3

These levels in turn determine the detailed force structure, including the various types of escort ships, amphibious assault ships, underway replenishment ships and fleet support ships. In general,

the planning factors used take into account the fact that, in most cases, new ships are more capable than the ships they replace. Thus, ships are generally replaced on less than a 1-for-1 basis. The results are summarized in table 2 which shows the alternatives broken down by broad ship categories:

TABLE 2.—ALTERNATIVE FORCE STRUCTURES, AS OF 1980

Ship category	President's 1972 budget	Probable alternative 1
Attack aircraft carriers	13	12
ASW aircraft carriers	3	0
Attack submarines	94	69-94
Cruiser-destroyer forces	202	163
Amphibious assault ships	76	76
Mine countermeasures ships	61	61
Underway replenishment ships	47	43
Fleet support ships	61	51-56
Subtotal	557	475-505
Strategic forces	52	52
Other general-purpose forces	19	19
Total, Active Navy	628	546-576

¹ Corresponds to alternative 1 in "Naval Force Levels and Modernization," Arnold M. Kuzmack, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1971, as updated to reflect the fiscal year 1972 budget.

There are 71 ships that are not included in the analysis. Of these, 52 are strategic nuclear forces: the 41 Polaris submarines and their support ships. The other 19 are patrol boats and a few miscellaneous auxiliaries. The force levels of these ships are determined by considerations that are quite separate from the sort of arguments associated with the major general purpose forces. Hence, they are held constant in both alternatives.

Given these force levels, the number of ships needed can be derived. Table 3 shows the shipbuilding required to maintain the force levels in the President's 1972 budget. The table assumes that modernization will be completed by 1980 by which time there will be no ships 30 years old or older. For each type of ship for which new construction is required, the table shows the required force level shown above, the number of ships funded through fiscal year 1971 that will be less than 30 years old in 1980, and the number of additional ships needed and their cost. The types of ships for which new construction is not required do not appear in the table. Since it takes about 4 years to build most naval ships—including administrative as well as production leadtimes—ships shown in this table would have to be funded during the 5 fiscal years, 1972-76:

TABLE 3.—SHIPBUILDING TO MAINTAIN FISCAL YEAR 1972 FORCE LEVEL, MODERNIZATION TO BE COMPLETED BY 1980

Type of ship	Force level	Available	Needed	Fiscal 1972-76 cost (millions of dollars)	Type of ship	Force level	Available	Needed	Fiscal 1972-76 cost (millions of dollars)
Carriers:					Underway replenishment ships:				
CUA, CUAN	13	11	2	1,900	AF	14	13	1	45
CUS	3	0	3	935	AFS	9	7	2	85
Attack submarines: SSN	94	69	25	4,400	AOR	12	6	6	340
Cruiser-destroyer forces:					Fleet support ships:				
DLGN	8	6	2	480	AS	6	2	4	430
DDG	33	29	4	460	ASR	10	2	8	295
DD	33	23	10	860	AD	12	3	9	965
DE	94	71	23	1,195	ATS	33	3	30	840
Amphibious assault ships:					Total fiscal year 1972 prices			136	13,595
LSD	15	13	2	145	Average annual budget			27	2,719
LST (20 knot)	22	20	2	75					
LFS	2	0	2	145					

The administration's request for ship construction for fiscal year 1972 supports this alternative in several respects: construction of SSN's beginning at a rate of five per year; construction of one of the last two DLGN's needed to have two all-nuclear carrier task forces; and continuation of the DD-963 program as part of the 30-ship contract. However, it falls short of the average annual budget needed to maintain these force levels. About \$500 million would have to be made up in future years in addition to such major ships as two CVA's—or CVAN's, three CVS's and one more DLGN.

If the force levels are dropped to the levels implicit in the administration's budget as very likely for the late seventies, modernization requirements would drop considerably. Table 4 shows that a total of 55 to 85 ships would be needed at a cost of \$3,490 to \$8,215 million compared to the 137 ships needed to maintain the fiscal year 1972 force levels at a cost of \$13,595 million. Likewise the average annual rate drops about \$1 to \$2 billion.

The table follows:

TABLE 4.—SHIPBUILDING REQUIRED FOR PROBABLE ALTERNATIVE FORCE LEVELS, MODERNIZATION TO BE COMPLETED BY 1980

Type of ships	Force level	Available	Needed	Fiscal 1972-76 cost (millions of dollars)
Carriers: CVA.				
CVAN	12	11	1	950
Attach submarines:				
SSN	69-94	69	0-25	0-4, 400
Amphibious assault ships:				
LSD	15	13	2	145
LST (20-knot)	22	20	2	75
LFS	2	0	2	145
Underway replenishment ships:				
AFS	8	7	1	40
AOR	10	6	4	230
Fleet support ships:				
AS	4-6	2	2-4	215-430
ASR	7-10	2	5-8	185-295
AD	10	3	7	750
ATS	30	3	27	755
Total (fiscal year 1972 prices)			55-85	3, 490-8, 215
Average annual budget			11-17	698-1, 643

This alternative is noteworthy. The mixture of ships is quite different from that for previous years. Most of the spending is for auxiliary ships—underway replenishment and fleet support ships; in fiscal year 1969-71 there were essentially none. Conversely, there are few of the large frequently nuclear-powered warships that form the bulk of the program in recent years. In effect, we have completed most of the replacement for the warships—at this alternative force level—and now have to catch up on auxiliaries. The shipbuilding program for this alternative would thus require cancellation of a number of ongoing procurement programs. Most striking, the 30-ship contract for the new DD-963 class destroyer would be cut back to about four ships.

Finally, the average annual budget for this alternative is highly sensitive to the SSN building rate—in this case, force levels of submarine support ships, AS and ASR, must also be varied.

Even looking beyond fiscal year 1976,

only 17 major ships would have to be built to retain these alternative forces through 1985 and the average annual budget would be somewhat less than even that projected for fiscal years 1972-76. Looking further into the future and considering those ships that will be 20 to 24 years old in 1980 and thus due for replacement in fiscal years 1982-86, the average annual budget for new ship construction for the 10 fiscal years 1977-86 would be only about \$900 million, still well below recent levels. Hence, if force levels like those in this alternative are adopted for the long term the outlook is for large reductions in the shipbuilding budget lasting well toward 1990.

For purposes of comparison, table 5 shows in millions of current dollars the program for fiscal years 1969-71 and the authorization request for 1972.

TABLE 5.—SHIPBUILDING BUDGET IN CURRENT DOLLARS
(In millions of dollars)

	1969	1970	1971	President's 1972 budget
New construction	589.6	1,907.4	1,690.5	2,082.4
Conversion	438.9	406.4	509.1	497.2
Other	41.6	150.3	390.6	756.2
Total	1,070.1	2,464.1	2,590.2	3,335.8

The figures for new construction cover the cost of building 5, 10, 14, and 19 ships, respectively.

These figures can be compared with the average annual budget for new construction of the two alternatives discussed above: to maintain fiscal year 1972 force levels would require construction of 27 ships per year for about 2,719 million and the probable alternative would require construction of 11 to 17 ships per year for about \$698 to \$1,643 million.

Mr. Speaker, my amendment to hold the authorization for fiscal year 1972 to the level authorized for fiscal year 1971 does not cut specific programs or particular services. However, it appears that a very significant amount could come from new ship construction to achieve a better balanced program than that proposed by the administration and one compatible with the size and mix of forces we are most likely and able to operate in the late seventies.

DEFICIT SPENDING POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 11, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, although there is distressingly little interest in the deficit spending policies of the Government, the editorial columns of the Wall Street Journal are a notable exception.

The lead editorial in the Journal of June 10 is captioned, "The Dance of Profligacy."

The Journal says:

It is little short of dismay that the most conservative—for lack of a better

word—Administration in years shows such scant regard for federal financial restraint.

The Journal then cites evidence that deficits are soaring.

And, indeed, they are.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point a table which I have compiled showing deficits in Federal funds and interest on the national debt 1961-72.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEFICITS IN FEDERAL FUNDS AND INTERESTS ON THE NATIONAL DEBT, 1961-72

(In billions of dollars)

	Receipts	Outlays	Deficit (-)	Interest
1961	75.2	79.3	-4.1	9.0
1962	79.7	86.6	-6.9	9.2
1963	83.6	90.1	-6.5	10.0
1964	87.2	95.8	-8.6	10.7
1965	90.9	94.8	-3.9	11.4
1966	101.4	106.5	-5.1	12.1
1967	111.8	126.8	-15.0	13.5
1968	114.7	143.1	-28.4	14.6
1969	143.3	148.8	-5.5	16.6
1970	143.2	156.3	-13.1	19.3
1971	139.1	164.7	-25.6	20.8
1972 ¹	153.7	176.9	-23.2	21.2
12-year total	1,323.8	1,469.7	145.9	168.4

¹ Estimated figures.

Source: Office of Management and Budget.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. One will note that the accumulated Federal funds deficit for the last 3 years of President Johnson's administration was \$49 billion; the accumulated Federal funds deficit for the first 3 years of President Nixon's administration will be \$62 billion.

Thus, during the 6-year period, the accumulated deficit will total \$111 billion.

Is there any wonder that the dollar is depreciating in value? Is there any wonder that inflation continues?

Inflation is a hidden tax and hits hardest those on fixed income and those in the lower and middle economic groups.

The Journal editorial is a thoughtful one. It justifiably commends my distinguished colleague and deskmate, the senior Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIER).

I ask unanimous consent that these remarks and the Wall Street Journal editorial of June 10 be printed in Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE DANCE OF PROFLIGACY

It is little short of dismay that the most conservative—for lack of a better word—administration in years shows such scant regard for federal financial restraint.

The evidence is as abundant as it is disturbing.

Deficits are soaring. Most observers figure they will be considerably higher than estimated both this fiscal year and next; it's reckoned that the cumulative red ink of the first three years of the Nixon administration could be more than \$60 billion. Nor is there any hint of diminution in the farther future.

Recently the federal debt ceiling was lifted (only the 14th time it has been raised or extended since 1961, as the Tax Foundation Inc. notes). The new "temporary" level

is \$430 billion. Current projections indicate that by the end of fiscal 1972 the gross federal debt may have increased by \$155 billion just since 1955. In this and other ways, Congress happily joins the dance of profligacy.

The Federal Reserve Board, for the time being anyway, seems to have gone farther than it had intended toward acceding to the administration's desire for easy money. Of late the money supply has been growing at an annual rate of around 10%.

Now of course all this is in part quite deliberate. Through most of its term the administration has seriously tried to halt the inflation, although its efforts may not have been as vigorous as they should have been. But the officials naturally do not care to think of presiding over a recession as the 1972 election approaches. This understandable political motivation does not, however, mean that present policy is in the best interest of the taxpayer, the anti-inflation fight or sound government management.

"Never have I been more discouraged about the government's financial position," says Virginia's Senator Harry Byrd—"or more alarmed."

Very well, some may object; that is what you would expect a conservative to say. So let us hear from an outstanding liberal on the subject. Democratic Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin is demanding cuts in the frills, fat and waste of social programs in order to prevent the federal government from becoming an engine of renewed inflation.

Mr. Proxmire observes that "while the big spending has been for the military, space, highway and public-works programs, all darlings of the conservative forces, liberals have their pork barrels too. These must be examined critically." He proceeds to cite specific candidates for close scrutiny.

One is urban renewal. Over \$10 billion has been spent on this program, and yet "it has destroyed more than 400,000 housing units which, by definition, housed the poor. While some 200,000 units may eventually be built on urban renewal land, only about one-tenth of these or 5% of the number destroyed are earmarked to house the poor."

Another is Medicare, which Senator Proxmire deems a necessary program: "But costs have gone through the roof." In 1965, when it was enacted, costs for 1975 were estimated at \$4.3 billion; they have grown to \$11.7 billion. "By official estimates, the Medicare deficit over the next 25 years is an astronomical \$242 billion. We must halt Medicare overruns just as we must stop weapon-systems overruns."

He mentions other programs, notably education and farm subsidies, and plainly the list could be extended beyond that. The point is sufficiently obvious: There is no difficulty whatsoever in pinpointing areas of waste where sizable savings could be made to the enormous benefit of efficiency and sound economic growth. What is needed is determination plus an end to this noxious notion that government spending and deficits are the keys to prosperity.

Like Senator Byrd, we profess to discourage that sensible policies will reappear any time soon. How is that to be envisioned when liberal Democrats such as Senator Proxmire talk in far more frugal tones than supposedly conservative Republicans?

BOOKS ARE HIS BAG

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of Steel Labor, the official publica-

tion for the United Steelworker of America, carried an article about a constituent of mine who has distinguished himself in the eyes of his family, his friends, and his community.

The subject of the article was Mr. Joseph Kotcka, a retired steelworker from the city of Clairton, Pa., which is a part of my 20th Congressional District. Mr. Kotcka has spent more than half his life quietly enriching the lives of perhaps thousands of people who never realized they had an unknown benefactor from a small steeltown. This warm, generous man, a school drop-out, has donated over the past 50 years more than 26,000 books, valued at least \$75,000, to various colleges, universities, seminaries, and other institutions.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride, therefore, that I insert the following news article into the RECORD as a small tribute to a man who has done so much for so many:

BOOKS ARE HIS BAG: RETIRED STEELWORKER PRACTICES LABOR OF LOVE

CLAIRTON, PA.—There are no memorials or plaques to be found calling attention to Steelworker Joe Kotcka's 40 years of service in the basic steel industry but the books he has distributed to the nation's educational institutions are certain to enshrine his memory long after his life span ends.

Mr. Kotcka, who retired in 1965, was a metallurgical inspector at United States Steel Corp. operations in the Monongahela Valley. He was a member of USWA Local 1557 at the Clairton Works, where he spent 20 years, and a member of USWA Local 2227, Iron Workers, where he toiled an additional 20 years. While his primary interest centered on helping turn out the best steel possible, only his closest friends and associates knew that he felt that he had another mission in life.

This interest was focused on building brotherhood and love for his fellow man. During the past half-century, Mr. Kotcka estimates that he has given away more than 26,000 books valued at over \$75,000. Most of these have gone to Catholic colleges and universities, seminaries and other institutions.

University of Notre Dame officials estimate that he has given the South Bend, Ind. school around 13,000 books valued at \$50,000. St. Bonaventure at Olean, N.Y. received several thousand books worth more than \$10,000. Other Catholic schools in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Connecticut, Missouri and Ohio have shared in his generosity.

Mr. Kotcka, a bachelor, was a school drop-out in the eighth grade. When his father was killed in a steel mill accident, he had to go to work early to help support his mother and sister. He never lost contact with the priests at his home parish, St. Joseph's in Clairton. They stirred his interest in reading and education. They had an immense collection of books in Slovak and English. They tutored him in Slovak—loaned him books on theology and philosophy.

While working, he continued his education in his leisure hours. Off and on he attended school for almost nine years as a special student at Carnegie-Mellon, Pittsburgh, and Penn State University Campus in McKeesport. His studies centered on typing, English and metallurgy. But all the while, he continued to distribute his valuable and treasured books.

Paul Byrne, director of the Library at Notre Dame from 1922 to 1958 and now retired at Syracuse, N.Y., said: "His gifts were much appreciated because they were given at a time when our funds for books were not what they should have been. He filled an awfully big need."

His books to Notre Dame totaled \$1,500 to \$2,000 annually—even during the Depression. He admits that the foreign-sounding names of Italians and Slovaks on the grid teams of the "Fighting Irish" might have had something to do with this. But the relationship was so good that Notre Dame used to send him tickets for some of the best football games—in appreciation for his assistance.

For a number of years, he corresponded with the late Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk whose "Seven Storey Mountain" and "Waters of Siloe" became best sellers. "He helped bring me back to my faith at a time when I was wavering," Mr. Kotcka confessed. Merton taught at St. Bonaventure for a time and the university has a collection of his letters to which the Clairton Steelworker has donated nearly a dozen of his own from Merton.

Mr. Kotcka places inspirational words inside the cover of his donated books. On one, he wrote: "Countless people want to know 'What can I do?' . . . keep in mind that God has given you a mission in life that He has given no other, and that He will be with you in lonely moments of crisis."

The veteran USWA member has no regrets as he faces the Golden Years of retirement at his home on Lafayette Drive in Clairton. He figures that the fortune he has spent on books will somehow enhance the fellowship of God and the brotherhood of man.

THE TRUTH IN FOOD LABELING ACT

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I have agreed to cosponsor the Truth in Food Labeling Act which would require that all ingredients contained in a food product be listed on the label. The principal sponsor of this legislation is my distinguished colleague from New York, Representative ROSENTHAL.

Presently, all ingredients are not required to be listed on the labels of many foods. These are products which the Food and Drug Administration accepts as "standardized," such as mayonnaise, margarine, vinegar, ice cream, Coca-Cola, and macaroni. Even some nonstandardized foods are exempted from identifying certain ingredients. And those which do show ingredients do not reveal quantity and proportion.

It is just unbelievable that pet foods are more informatively labeled than human foods. All we have to do is look at two cans of stew—one for humans and another for dogs—to see the difference. The beef stew for humans lists all the ingredients—which is somewhat unusual—but not by percentage. The beef stew for dogs includes not only all the ingredients, but a percentage analysis by nutrient so that the pet owner can get the best nutritional buy for his dog.

Maybe the dog lobby in Washington is stronger than I thought, Mr. Speaker, but, frankly, I have trouble accounting for this absurd disparity. Not only should everyone have the right to know what he is eating, but it is especially important for people with allergies, high cholesterol, and other dietary problems to

know precisely what is in the food they are buying.

Mr. Speaker, the Truth in Food Labeling Act is a relatively simple and basic bill which would provide a remedy to this ridiculous situation. I urge my colleagues to give it their serious consideration.

THE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION AND RURAL AMERICA

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, a previous engagement prevented me from joining my colleagues on Monday, June 7 when Mr. MELCHER and Mr. PICKLE each reserved one hour to emphasize to this House some of the major problems facing rural America.

Often, Mr. Speaker, when we speak about rural America to our city friends, they get the impression that we refer only to the farmer and his family. While I consider the farmer a vital source of our Nation's strength, he is actually in a minority in rural America. Many rural residents actually work in small towns or even the big cities. There are many older folks in rural areas who have retired from farming or other occupations. Many live on meager social security or old age assistance checks. All of these folks are residents of rural America. And I would like especially to mention to my friends and colleagues who represent our great urban areas, that there is a vast group of rural Americans about whom they should be especially concerned—those who live in poverty.

Mr. Speaker, the poverty in rural America is no less severe than it is in the big cities, but throughout the years many of the poor in the countryside thought things were better in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, or Philadelphia. While I know these cities and others have tried to cope with the welfare problem, it must be attacked at its source—in the rural areas. I have felt that we might take some pressure off these cities by stopping the rural exodus to the city. The House Agriculture Committee will hold hearings on rural development beginning on July 6. These hearings will be, in my opinion, the most important we have held in a great while. We hope to make rural America a better place in which to live, but this will not be easy, of course.

While much work lies ahead, I do feel that we have programs that have already done much to help develop our rural areas. Today I want to discuss one such program briefly—the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended. When the act first became law, only 11 percent of America's farms had electricity. Today 98 percent have some degree of electric power. There is a great need to update this service, because many rural areas

have inadequate electric service. For instance, it takes a great deal of electricity to operate a dairy with its sophisticated milking machines and cooling equipment.

In 1949 this act was amended to provide loans to provide rural telephone service. At that time only 39 percent of our farms had telephone service, but now 83 percent have telephones. To be sure, many rural residents have multi-party lines, but great progress has been made through the rural telephone program.

Mr. Speaker, not many weeks ago this Congress passed legislation which has now been signed into law, creating a Rural Telephone Bank. The purpose of this bank is to provide supplemental financing for companies and cooperatives that provide telephone service to rural areas. This supplemental financing is critically needed, because there are pending before the REA telephone loan applications totaling almost a half-billion dollars.

While the Congress has been generous in providing telephone loan funds to the REA, it is clear that other sources of income must be found. I think the Rural Telephone Bank will do a great deal toward supplying this financing.

For several years we also attempted to create a Rural Electric Bank which would provide supplemental financing for electric cooperatives. This bill was bitterly opposed by the private power industry which paraded witness after witness before our committee, condemning this legislation as a threat to the Nation's electric industry. Yes, representatives of the same industry which for so many years refused to serve rural America, fought this legislation to its death. At the same time, these witnesses bitterly criticized the present REA 2-percent loan program.

Time and time again, I pointed out that the creation of this bank would enable many REA borrowers to move away from the 2-percent program, leaving those funds to borrowers who had to have the 2-percent interest rate—those borrowers who serve the most sparsely settled areas. However, the private power industry was not interested in this. Not only did they want to kill the bank bill, they wanted and still want to destroy the current program as well.

Of course the existing program survived this challenge and is still providing the financing for rural electrification. However, the electric cooperatives need more money and I still feel that they need and deserve an opportunity to have a source of supplemental financing which would initially be supported by the Federal Government. The electric bank which I proposed, would have repaid completely this Federal investment. We have started such a bank in the telephone program, and I am confident that the telephone bank will follow in the footsteps of the farm credit system, which has paid back every dime invested in it by the Federal Government.

I do want to applaud the electric coop-

eratives for organizing their own private source of financing in the form of the National Rural Utilities Cooperative Finance Corp.—CFC. This certainly will help and I am confident it will be successful. However, there is no doubt that CFC will need considerable time to get on its own feet, and the need for financing in the rural electrification program is immediate.

Again, I refer to the telephone bank by pointing out that I have been deeply disappointed by the fact that the Office of Management and Budget has been negligent so far as the funding this bank. The Congress is on record as supporting the initial Federal financing of the telephone bank this fiscal year, 1971. The language in the conference report of the telephone bank bill is just as clear as it can be, but it apparently has been ignored by the OMB. I remain hopeful that the administration will recognize the need to fund this bank just as soon as possible.

I know all of us who are interested in the telephone bank will want to watch it closely, as it becomes operative.

Surely the need for supplemental financing is just as acute in the electric program, and certainly the private power industry has done a great disservice to rural development by so violently opposing the creation of a rural electric bank which would enable folks in the countryside to receive adequate electricity—the same as their neighbors in the city.

I applaud the efforts of Mr. Hamil and his staff at the Rural Electrification Administration. They have done well with the funds provided, and I want to conclude by saying that I know of no other programs which have done more to develop rural America than have the rural electrification and the rural telephone programs.

TO BEGIN WITH

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Goos, of Treynor, Iowa, brought to my attention an excellent article in the current issue of the Farm Quarterly. In his column "To Begin With" Mr. Thomas Huheey paints a perceptive and prophetic picture of the reflections of the midwestern farmer on his current financial plight and the apparent disregard of the administration for agricultural concerns. The article is well worth the attention of my colleagues, since the fate of rural America and the agribusiness economy affects every one of their constituents.

The article follows:

TO BEGIN WITH

(By Thomas Huheey)

It's warm and dry in Grundy County. It's mid-April and time to decide things like planting rate and planting depth. We sit on

the rich Iowa soil, our backs against the tractor tire, protected from the chill wind.

The talk varies. Our comments punctuated with the sound of dirt clods which we hurl against the pickup bumper. We have a few lighter words to say about our ping pong team in China and about the local wedding the Sunday before when they handcuffed the bride to the best man and told the groom to take a honeymoon for three.

There is the easy banter of men who have done hard, physical work together for a long time, but most of the talk is serious, concerned and angry.

"The President flies in to Des Moines for a day," one of the men says. "He tells us he wants to use rural areas to get people out of the cities. He says that the only way to get them out of the old cities is by making the country full of new cities and he doesn't spend three minutes on commercial agriculture."

"Norman Borlaug is an American Nobel Prize winner and he has yet to have dinner at the White House," I add. "I wonder how long it took our Presidents to invite the other winners."

"I heard southwest Texas was a mess," added a third man. "The worst drouth since 1956. There is wheat heading out at six inches and nobody has planted cotton or grain sorghum. Cattle herds are being sold off."

I wadded up the paper sandwich bags, refueled the tractors, slid into the pickup and drove back to the house of a friend, where I was staying.

My thoughts, as I drove the dusty, gravel Iowa side roads, were as concerned, as serious but not as angry as the men I had visited. I was fed up, as they were, with the planners and predictors, the white shirt solutions and the Big Lie for a Noble Cause, whatever the source. I had had it with people who thought that the end justifies the means, the drones and leeches among our own. I was fed up with the thinkers who had forgotten, if they ever knew, that the cornerstone of American freedom is the idea, radical in 1776 and still radical today, that the common man can be trusted to own land.

This year, 1971, may offer the people of agriculture a chance to drive home an object lesson to the urban population and their spokesmen about our life and our role in the world. We do not yet live in a predictable and orderly universe. We are at the mercy of things beyond our control. We, the food producers of this country, cannot forever fight our natural battles of weather, disease, insects and weeds if we are continuously harassed by ignorant intrusion into our affairs and urban manipulation of our lives and property to affect solutions to problems of the city.

The fate of the President's war on inflation may well be decided on the prairie soils of our heartland. If the drouth has seriously affected 90 percent of the 3.5 million acres of winter wheat in Texas, if western cow herds are sold off and if there is a particularly serious outbreak of corn blight, drouth or insect damage in the Corn Belt, then we could see \$2 corn in the fall.

If we see \$2 corn and the corresponding price levels of the other feed grains, then we will also see a decline in broiler, beef and hog numbers, which should cause a substantial increase in meat prices.

Hamburger at \$1.25 a pound will trigger cost-of-living pay increases in the contracts of major unions. It will also ignite demands for pay increases from those unions which do not have cost-of-living clause, and we will see new demands for higher pay for government employees, social security pensioners and welfare recipients.

Once again, those who work will be treated to the beatings of ambitious politicians anxious to use the proceeds of those who earn their own living to buy the votes of those who don't.

I pulled into the drive and cut the ignition. All in all, it was more than our crops we were planting this spring. It was the seeds of this nation's future. Now we, and the rest of the nation, too, must wait and see what we have done.

JERUSALEM

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday Charles W. Bray III, a spokesman for the State Department, stated that he interpreted the construction of apartment house projects by Israel in Jerusalem to be in violation of a convention on the protection of civilians in wartime that was signed in Geneva in 1949.

Those in the State Department responsible for Mr. Bray's statement must be living in some fantasy land. Are they not aware of the fact that in 1967, notwithstanding Israel's beseeching Jordan not to enter the war and guaranteeing its borders if it did not, Jordan violated the 1949 armistice and crossed into Israel to wage war. Thank be to God and Israeli capabilities they were defeated instead of achieving their goal and Jerusalem was united under Israeli rule.

Does the State Department really believe that Israel will ever permit the old city of Jerusalem to be handed back to the Jordanians? In my judgment it is malicious mischief on the part of the State Department to engage in such Statements which indicate that the Department is out of touch with reality. Has there ever been a statement issued by the State Department deploring Jordan's invasion of the West Bank and Jerusalem when it seized and incorporated both into the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan in violation of the U.N. resolutions of 1948?

In the 20 years that Jordan occupied the ancient city of Jerusalem it constructed buildings, and my question is, Did the State Department ever in that 20-year period issue a statement condemning the construction as being in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949 to which it now refers? Or, worse still, did the Department condemn the destruction of Jewish property by the Jordanians in the old city of Jerusalem? Mr. Bray must know that the clock will not be turned back, nor should it be.

From every point of view—history, religion, government, human psychology, the fortunes of war—the city of Jerusalem belongs to the State of Israel and, at least figuratively speaking, to the Jews of the world. In ancient times it was the city of David. Even in modern times, however, prior to the creation of the State of Israel it was a city in which the

majority of citizens were Jewish. For 20 years after the founding of Israel it was a divided city, half under the rule of Jordan, half under the Government of Israel. Today, of course, as a result of the Six Day War, it is entirely under the control of Israel. It will stay that way.

The alternatives are distressing even to contemplate. To return half of Jerusalem to Jordan is to consign that portion of the city to urban blight as well as religious and political intolerance. It would place the entire city in danger of constant strife and place the Middle East, and perhaps the world, in danger of international war. Jordan, it must be remembered, kept its half of the city in a state of degradation. It refused for 20 years to allow a single Jew to enter the area even to visit the sacred Western Wall. It refused to allow Moslems who were Israel citizens to pray in the mosques of the Jordanian sector. It destroyed all but one of the 35 synagogues in the Old City and during the Six Day War used ancient Jewish tombstones to construct barricades. Its forces callously shelled the ancient Christian Church of the Dormition on Mount Zion.

To place any part of Jerusalem under international control is to make it once again a divided city and to visit upon it all the problems of such a municipality, in addition to the enormous problems that face any metropolis today. Although an international authority could not possibly do less than Jordan did or would do for any part of the city which might be placed under its control, it cannot conceivably do more than the Government of Israel has already done and will continue to do for a united city, which is its capitol and chief pride and joy. Inevitably, moreover, any international zone will become a hotbed of espionage and intrigue and therefore a source of severe strife and international war. International control of the holy places of Jerusalem is unnecessary since Israel has repeatedly agreed that if allowed to retain control of the entire city it will put each and every holy place under the control of the religious interests which hold it sacred.

The most important factor remains to be considered—the human or emotional factor. To no other people is the city of Jerusalem as a city more sacred as a place and symbol than to the Jews. This is so not merely on a religious level but also politically, socially, and culturally. Three times daily every devout orthodox Jew prays to God:

Return in mercy to the City of Jerusalem and dwell in it as thou has promised; rebuild it soon in our days.

At the conclusion of major religious holidays every Jew, devout or not, orthodox, conservative, and reform greets his fellow Jews with the traditional salutation "Next year in Jerusalem." It stands to reason that a city which is so central in the thoughts and aspirations of a people as Jerusalem is to the Jews is best left to their tender and loving care—knowing they will protect it for all mankind.

A NEW TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE BILL

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill on the floor of the House which would require the Interior Department to issue a new draft environmental impact statement on the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline, and would require congressional approval before the pipeline could be built. I was joined on this bill by the following nine cosponsors:

Representative WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD of Michigan;

Representative JAMES A. BURKE of Massachusetts;

Representative DON EDWARDS of California;

Representative MICHAEL HARRINGTON of Massachusetts;

Representative ROMANO L. MAZZOLI of Kentucky;

Representative WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania;

Representative THOMAS M. REES of California;

Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of New York, and

Representative ROBERT O. TIERNAN of Rhode Island.

According to the bill, its purpose is to insure the integrity of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 which requires that the appropriate Federal agency prepare a report on the expected environmental consequences of any Federal project. The Interior Department issued its draft impact statement in January and held public hearings on it in Alaska and Washington in February. It is expected to issue its final impact statement on the proposed 800-mile trans-Alaska pipeline, which would run across Federal lands, by September.

This bill would require Interior to issue a new draft statement, and then hold new hearings in Alaska and Washington, before it could issue its final impact statement—which would then have to be approved by Congress. It lists the areas which the draft impact statement did not discuss in a meaningful way, including:

The risk of oil spill due to earthquakes splitting the pipeline. (The Alaska pipeline would cross numerous major seismic areas with a Richter rating of 6 or more);

The impact of the pipeline on the permafrost, the permanently frozen ground that much of the pipeline would traverse;

The possible dangers involved in transporting the oil by tanker from the Alaskan city of Valdez to the west coast;

The impact of the pipeline on fish and wildlife resources;

The impact of the pipeline on the Alaskan natives' way of life;

The effect the pipeline would have on the streams and rivers the pipeline would cross;

Whether there is an alternative to transporting the oil by means other than the pipeline;

The possibility of alternate pipeline routes such as a trans-Canadian line; and

Whether there are alternate methods of construction of the pipeline itself which might prove to be ecologically safer than the one presently proposed.

This bill also criticizes the Interior Department for stating in the draft statement that the development of the pipeline is necessary for the national security. Such an argument has no place in an environmental impact statement. The question is beyond the scope and purpose of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and serves to mislead those to whom the statement is directed.

The purpose of this bill is not only to get a final decision on the pipeline made on the basis of thorough and objective data, but to insure that NEPA, one of the best proenvironment laws ever passed by Congress, is not subverted by bureaucratic sleight of hand. Virtually any law, no matter how well-written, can be weakened, distorted, or de facto vetoed by inadequate enforcement. The draft impact statement on the Alaska pipeline prepared by the Interior Department was shoddy in almost every respect. It casts very serious doubt on whether the Interior Department will be able to do an adequate job in this area without active public and congressional participation.

STEEL IMPORTS FROM JAPAN KEEPS GROWING

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 10, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, "Industry Week", one of the Nation's leading industrial publications carried two articles in its latest issue which I believe are of significant interest to my colleagues.

The first headlined the fact Japan has widened her lead over the United States in steelmaking productivity. She first overtook us in 1969, taking 6.91 man-hours to produce a ton of raw steel as compared to 7.17 man-hours used here. Last year, 1970, Japan reduced her time to 5.70 man-hours whereas the United States increased its time to 7.31 man-hours.

In the same issue, in fact on the same page, "Industry Week" also reported Japan's No. 1 steelmaker, a Mr. Shiego Nagano, as favoring the continuation of his country's voluntary restraint arrangement with the United States. Mr. Nagano was quoted as being "satisfied with the present formula."

I have news for Mr. Nagano. I represent a steelmaking district in this country and I am not satisfied with the present formula. I am not satisfied with the

manner in which Japan kept her word in the voluntary arrangement. I am not satisfied that foreign steel flowed into this country at a record pace in the first quarter of this year, running 62-percent ahead of the same period last year and more than 11 percent ahead of 1968 when the former all-time import tonnage record was established. I am not satisfied that a slight decline in specialty steel imports during January-March is an indication of a change in attitude on the part of Japan.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD and call it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From Industry Week, May 24, 1971]
JAPAN OUTSTRIPS U.S. IN STEELMAKING PRODUCTIVITY

Japan now outstrips the U.S. in steelmaking productivity.

The Land of the Rising Sun made raw steel in 1970 with only 5.70 manhours per net ton (2,000 lb.), 22% less than the 7.31 manhours required in the U.S. that year.

Japan first passed the U.S. in this measurement of productivity in 1969 when it made raw steel with 6.91 manhours per net ton, 3.8% fewer than the 7.17 manhours used in the U.S.

For the last decade, both Japan and the U.S. have been improving steelmaking productivity, but Japan's achievements are immense. In 1960, Japan needed 20.63 manhours to make a net ton of raw steel, while the U.S. used only 10.56.

U.S. slips—From 1960 through 1970, Japan's improvement in productivity was unbroken. The U.S. string of improvement from 1960 lasted until 1969. A loss of productivity caused the U.S. to need 7.31 manhours, about 2% more time, to make a net ton of raw steel in 1970 than in 1969.

Helping slightly to lower the Japanese figures is Japan's practice of contracting some maintenance work that in the U.S. would be done by plant crews.

Measurement of Japan's progress in steelmaking beyond the raw steel stage is more difficult because mill shipments figures comparable to those of the U.S. are not readily available. However, Industry Week was told by a steel industry analyst that Japan has reduced the manhours per ton of steel mill products from 44.2 in 1960 to 14.0 in 1969 and to an estimated 12.4 in 1970. In comparison, the U.S. steel industry reduced its manhours from 15.0 in 1960 to 11.7 in 1969, but lost ground in 1970 by using 11.9 manhours.

The route—The giant strides in manhour reduction in making raw steel in Japan appear to be the result of the great extent to which that country has replaced the open hearth method of steel melting with the more productive basic oxygen process. In 1960, Japan made 67.96% of its raw steel tonnage in open hearths and 11.88% in basic oxygen furnaces. In 1970, only 4.13% of Japan's steel came from open hearths, and 79.13% came from basic oxygen furnaces. The remaining 16.74% came from electric furnaces.

In comparison, the U.S. made only 48.22% of its raw steel in basic oxygen furnaces in 1970. Open hearths accounted for 36.60% and electric furnaces, 15.18%.

Japan leads—In October 1970, Kaiser Engineers, Chicago, reported that Japan had the highest basic oxygen furnace steelmaking capacity of any country, 88,820,000 net tons. In addition, capacity for an additional 21,400,000 tons were to be completed in 1971.

The U.S. is second in basic oxygen furnace capacity. Kaiser Engineers listed the U.S. capacity as 73,050,000 net tons, with 12,500,000

tons to be completed between late last fall and sometime in 1973.

Complementing Japan's efficient steel-making furnaces are its blast furnaces, some of which are the world's largest.

The great improvement in productivity in raw steelmaking and a low employment cost give Japan a substantial advantage over the U.S. in steelmaking costs. Employment cost per manhour worked in the Japanese steel industry in 1970 was \$1.80. In sharp contrast was the U.S. figure of \$5.68.

The decade of productivity gains was marked with a multifold increase in the flow of Japanese steel into the U.S. From 601,375 net tons in 1960, Japanese steel imports into the U.S. grew to 7,294,380 net tons in 1968, then subsided to 6,252,654 tons in 1969 and 5,935,475 tons in 1970 as pressure from U.S. steel producers influenced foreign producers to put limits on their steel exports to the U.S.

Biggest competitor—Japan's ability to sell steel below U.S. prices, supply high quality material, and market aggressively has made it the biggest foreign competitor in the U.S. market. While Japan was supplying the U.S. with 5,935,475 net tons of steel in 1970, U.S. mills shipped 84,810,459 net tons to the domestic market.

Japan was the world's biggest gainer in 1970 over 1969 in raw steel production. Its 1970 output, at 102.9 million net tons, was up 12.3 million tons—more than half of the 21.1 million ton increase in the world. In contrast, U.S. raw steel production declined 9.9 million tons.

Japan is the world's third largest steel producer. The U.S. is still first, and the USSR is second.

NAGANO FOR EXTENDING STEEL QUOTA PLAN

Extension of the voluntary steel quota arrangement with Japanese and European producers has the support of Japan's No. 1 steelmaker. Shigeo Nagano, Nippon Steel Corp., Tokyo, tells Industry Week: "We would like to continue the voluntary restrictions in concert with European steel producers."

The Japanese and American steel industries in particular have been closely related because of an exchange of technology, points out Mr. Nagano, and he would like to see such a relationship continued. "Good relations between the U.S. and Japan in economics and all other fields are most important for us (Japan)," says Mr. Nagano. "Because Japan must buy all of its raw materials

from abroad and must sell goods in order to buy those raw materials, we must think of the interests of the other countries. We can't think only of our own interests."

CHANGES?

Whether Mr. Nagano's spirit of cooperation will extend to agreeing to tighten the arrangement is still a question. All he'll admit is that, "I am satisfied with the present formula." As far as any changes go he says, "There has to be a meeting point of various and mutual interests."

The original three-year formula called for Japanese and European Economic Community steelmakers to hold steel exports to the U.S. to 5.75 million tons each in 1969—allowed for a 5% annual increase in the quota—and promised that traditional product mix and geographic distribution patterns would not change greatly.

Domestic steelmakers contend that the 5% annual growth rate is too high since it's about double the average annual growth rate of U.S. demand and that product mix pledges have been violated as more of the higher priced grades of steel are coming in.

Negotiations on any extensions have not yet started but informal talks will begin soon, Mr. Nagano says.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, June 14, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Thou hast given a banner to them that fear Thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth.—Psalm 60: 4.

O God, our Father, we thank Thee for this day, this national day, when we pledge allegiance again to the flag of our country and rejoice in the fact that such a banner is ours. We are grateful for the faith in freedom and the devotion to democracy it symbolizes. May other nations and oppressed people seeing it be thankful and take fresh courage.

Though the road to peace be difficult, still may we walk on it with clear minds and warm hearts with our flag ever before us leading us on to the time when war shall be no more and the light of liberty shall be the life of all men.

In the spirit of the Master of Men we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 7016. An act making appropriations for the Office of Education and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to

the bill (H.R. 7016) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Office of Education and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. PROXIMIRE, Mr. MONTROYA, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CASE, Mr. FONG, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. PERCY, Mr. BROOKE, and Mr. YOUNG to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 91-605, appointed Mr. BAYH, Mr. GRAVEL, Mr. BUCKLEY, and Mr. WEICKER as members of the Commission on Highway Beautification.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of June 2, 1971, the Chair declares the House in recess for the purpose of observing and commemorating Flag Day.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

FLAG DAY

During the recess the following proceedings took place in honor of the United States Flag, the Speaker of the House of Representatives presiding:

FLAG DAY PROGRAM, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 14, 1971

The United States Army Band (Pershing's Own) and United States Army Chorus entered the door to the left of the Speaker and took the positions assigned to them.

The honored guests, Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Joint Chief of Staff, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard, en-

tered the door to the right of the Speaker and took the positions assigned to them. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower was seated at the desk in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The United States Army Band (Pershing's Own) and the United States Army Chorus (conducted by Col. Samuel R. Loboda, U.S.A.) presented *Stand Up for America*.

The Doorkeeper (Honorable William M. Miller) announced the Flag of the United States.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The United States Army Band (Pershing's Own) played *The Stars and Stripes Forever*.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY BAND

Col. Samuel R. Loboda, Homer City, Pa.; Sgt. Maj. Richard H. Mains, Sr., Hamilton, Ohio; M. Sgt. Charles R. Bassett, Alexandria, Va.; M. Sgt. Michael A. Cefaratti, District Heights, Md.; M. Sgt. Bruce C. Cornue, Arlington, Va.; M. Sgt. Eugene L. Drifmeyer, Cincinnati, Ohio; M. Sgt. Robert B. Ferguson, Memphis, Tenn.; M. Sgt. Lewis M. Fripp, Savannah, Ga.; M. Sgt. Arthur S. Greenwood, Arlington, Va.; M. Sgt. Leo B. Hurst, Franklin, Va.; M. Sgt. Anthony B. Korcel, Conemaugh, Pa.; M. Sgt. Edward E. Korcel, Conemaugh, Pa.; M. Sgt. Paulino Mandragona, Richfield Park, N.J.; M. Sgt. Robert J. Pallansch, Falls Church, Va.; M. Sgt. Henry S. Smith, Arnold, Pa.; M. Sgt. Elviro D. Todino, Lakewood, Ga.; Sp7 Roger H. Ayers, Fancy Gap, Va.; Sp7 Savoyd Beard, Memphis, Tenn.; Sp7 Robert A. Lewis, Lanham, Md.; Sp7 Arthur B. Moreland, Vienna, Va.; Sp7 Charles C. Welker, Jr., Lantana, Fla.; Sp6 Richard S. Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sp6 James A. Burrier, Westchester, Pa.; Sp6 Michael C. Faulhaber, Madison, Wis.; Sp6 John R. Freeman, Columbus, Ohio; Sp6 John P. German, Conrad, Mont.; Sp6 Benjamin D. Goldberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Sp6 Stephen Greennagel, Arlington, Va.; Sp6 Frank B. Harmantas,