

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 10085. A bill to prohibit the introduction or delivery for introduction into commerce of the chemical compound known as polychlorinated biphenyl; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR (for himself and Mr. SKUBITZ) (by request):

H.R. 10086. A bill to provide for increases in appropriation ceilings and boundary changes in certain units of the national park system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 10087. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. EVINS of Tennessee:

H.R. 10090. A bill making appropriations for public works for water and power development, including the Corps of Engineers—Civil, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Administration, and other power agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Atomic Energy Commission, and related independent agencies and commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for other purposes.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H.J. Res. 803. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of the Astronauts Memorial Commission to construct and erect with funds a memorial in the John F. Kennedy Space Center, Florida, or in the immediate vicinity, to honor and commemorate the men who serve as astronauts in the U.S. space program; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.J. Res. 804. Joint resolution providing for the display in the Capitol Building of a

portion of the moon; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CARTER (for himself, Mr. HULL, and Mr. VANDER JAGT):

H.J. Res. 805. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of January of each year as "National Volunteer Blood Donor Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 806. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H.J. Res. 807. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the second full week in October each year as "National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H. Con. Res. 378. Concurrent resolution: support of gerontology centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H. Con. Res. 379. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the pollution of waters all over the world and the necessity for coordinated international action to prevent such pollution; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. Con. Res. 380. Concurrent resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

247. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the east side division of the Central Valley project; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

248. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, relative to services of the Federal Government to the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

249. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia, relative to exempting public employees' benefit and pension plans from the provisions of the proposed Employee Benefit Security Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

250. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wyoming, ratifying the amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age and older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 10088. A bill for the relief of Gabriel Edgar Buchowiecki; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUYKENDALL:

H.R. 10089. A bill to release the conditions in a deed with respect to certain property heretofore conveyed by the United States to the Columbia Military Academy and its successors; to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

113. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the National Council, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, Philadelphia, Pa., relative to Lt. William L. Calley, Jr., which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL HEALTH PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Johns Hopkins University Hospital has just opened an out-patient facility for children. The Johns Hopkins School of Medicine has pioneered in techniques to combat disease, and emphasized the importance of children's medical services.

At this point I want to insert an article from the Baltimore Sun of July 11 about the new Johns Hopkins University Hospital outpatient facility for children.

#### HOPKINS PROGRAM KEEPS KIDS WELL

(By Marion D. Gutman)

The Edwards A. Park Building, the Johns Hopkins Hospital's new out-patient facility for children, will open tomorrow and its first tenant, the Comprehensive Child Care Program, will occupy the third floor.

Dr. Robert H. Drachman, director of both this program and the new building, calls the addition to the Hopkins facilities "representative of a new and major commitment on the part of the hospital to provide comprehensive health services to the children in the area. It is the only new building in the history of the hospital that has been dedi-

cated solely and specifically to giving out-patient care to children."

The building bears the name of Dr. Edwards A. Park, internationally known professor of pediatrics at the Johns Hopkins Hospital from 1927 to 1946. It is on Monument street, just east of Broadway, and adjoins the Children's Medical and Surgical Building. Cost of construction was about \$3,000,000; most of this came from private gifts and endowments. Federal funds account for about one-fifth of the total.

A distinctive feature is the first-floor trauma center, for children only. It was established to spare children, already traumatized by their own emergencies, the sight of adults in various stages of distress.

The first floor will also contain a laboratory equipped to analyze and test minute quantities of blood, X-ray facilities, and offices for social workers, nutritionists, and school counselors.

The second and third floors of the building will be devoted to treatment of minor illnesses and preventive care. The prototype for these services, according to Dr. Drachman, will be the Comprehensive Child Care Program, generally considered a major breakthrough in providing health care to inner-city children.

#### ONE OF 60

The Hopkins Program is one of 60 throughout the country with funds allocated by the Children's and Youth Act of 1966. Baltimore has five, and the Hopkins program cares for the largest number of children.

The four others are attached to University Hospital, Sinai Hospital, City Hospitals and

the Greater Baltimore Medical Center. Each is committed to serving the disadvantaged in its immediate vicinity. Provident Hospital operates a Neighborhood Health Center, which serves adults as well as children and is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The Hopkins Comprehensive Child Care Program extends to portions of the nine census tracts surrounding the hospital. The boundaries are roughly 25th street, Harford road, and Preston street on the north; Monument, Jefferson and Orleans streets on the south; Chester street on the east, and Caroline street and the Falls way on the west.

At the time that the program was initiated, neighborhood health facilities for the well child over 5 were meager. Those 5 and under had the advantage of routine checkups and immunizations in the Eastern Health District's Well-Baby Clinics. Sick children were seen in the Harriet Lane out-patient department or in the emergency room. But the only health resources available to children over 5, with no apparent ailment, were the private physicians. Those who offered pediatric care were few and widely scattered. Furthermore, private medical attention was beyond the financial capabilities of most families.

The Comprehensive Child Care Program offers for the child under 18 routine checkups, immunizations, dental care, hearing, speech, and vision examinations, family counseling, and of course, treatment of the ill child. This service is free because of federal funding. The clinic is open until 9 P.M., Monday through Friday, for the convenience of the working parent.

Despite these services, the program encountered community hostility. A traditional distrust of the Johns Hopkins Hospital on the part of the black population all but overshadowed the advantages that the new program offered. Most of the parents who brought their children to the clinic in the early days brought their suspicion and fear with them, and the program operated well below its potential. Now, four years later, 80 per cent of the child population of the area—more than 16,000 children—are registered patients of the Hopkins Child Care Center.

While no single factor can be held accountable for this dramatic growth, Dr. Drachman may have provided a clue when he said that the program assumes responsibility for the children under its care. In his opinion, this responsibility is not discharged when a child is given a checkup, treated for an ailment, given a regimen of diet and hygiene and, with a pat on the head, told to report back at a stated time.

#### LARGE AND MULTISKILLED STAFF

Responsibility, as he sees it, extends to seeing that the doctor's recommendations are practical in terms of the family's living pattern, making necessary changes and adjustments, seeing that appointments are not only made but kept, helping the child and the family to meet strange—and sometimes frightening—situations, discovering those things not audible to a stethoscope that may impede a child's healthy development.

This responsibility, or concern for the child in relation to his total living environment, has necessitated a large and multi-skilled staff. It includes physicians, dentists, nurse practitioners, hearing, speech, and vision specialists, nutrition experts, psychologists, social workers, and the community health workers, headed by Mrs. Gladys Wattles, who are the program's pipeline to the community.

A further tie between the community and the Comprehensive Child Care Program is the Advisory Committee of Parents, consisting of 10 parents of children under care.

The Hopkins Comprehensive Child Care Program has been self-monitored since its inception by a system of computerized record keeping. Dr. Drachman describes it as a "feed-back on the effectiveness of services." He adds that although this procedure is not usual in medical care programs, no business would operate without knowing "whether it is moving in the right direction or headed for the red."

Four criteria form the basis of the evaluation:

1. The effectiveness of the medical care—whether the program is getting the results that it should.
2. The quality of the care, or an assessment of the steps that are taken to achieve the final outcome or result.
3. The satisfaction with the program of the patient, the parent, and the staff.
4. The efficiency with which the program is administered, an inquiry into such matters as whether or not the staff's time is being well utilized.

The first four years of the program's operation yield what Dr. Drachman regards as encouraging results:

The number of children receiving care is steadily mounting.

A recent study shows that for a given number of children, there were twice as many visits to the Comprehensive Child Care clinics as there were to those facilities which treat only the sick. The difference measures the growing awareness on the part of parents of the importance of the routine checkup as a preventative. It is also a measure of growing confidence in the program.

#### EFFECTIVE SURGICAL PROCEDURES

This increased confidence, combined with a more complete and thorough assessment of the child, has resulted in what Dr. Drachman

calls "significantly more elective surgical procedures" than are undergone by children outside the program. Clubfoot, crossed eyes, unsightly birthmarks are some of the conditions that fall within the "elective" category.

A national survey of dental services shows that the use of such services by children in the Hopkins Comprehensive Child Care Program is numerically far above the national average.

Studies are still in progress relating to overall improvement in health and susceptibility to disease. While Dr. Drachman believes that the results will show the impact of comprehensive care, he states that the information with which to document this assumption is not yet available.

A pilot project was recently initiated by the Comprehensive Child Care Program in order to reach those children within the area not receiving care. First-grade teachers in one of the neighborhood schools were asked to identify, by means of a simple questionnaire as well as their own observations, those children who appeared to need some special kind of attention. Twenty-five percent of the first graders fell within this category. Plans are now underway to extend this type of study to other first grades in the area.

The future of comprehensive child care programs is cloudy. No funds have been allocated to continue them beyond June 30, 1972. Those connected with the Hopkins program have expressed the hope that if funds are not forthcoming, the program will become the nucleus of an overall maintenance organization that is now under consideration. They regard their program as a landmark toward providing a healthy foundation for disadvantaged children.

#### LIBERTY AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on July 4, 1971, Mr. Axel Springer published an article entitled "July 4 and Ourselves."

Mr. Springer is an important spokesman for responsible German opinion. At a time when people are making presumptuous overtones to the East, it is heartening to note this reminder of the value of independence.

Mr. President, the American people celebrated the 195th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The ideas expressed in this, one of the most important documents in American history, are valid for men everywhere. This article points out that the people of West Germany have now established a government which respects human rights as self-evident and unalienable. As stated in the West German Constitution, the West German people have sworn never to rest until these rights have been extended to all of the German people. These stirring remarks deserve the consideration of the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "July 4 and Ourselves" published by Mr. Axel Springer on July 4, 1971, be printed in the *Extensions of Remarks*.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

#### JULY 4 AND OURSELVES

(By Axel Springer)

This Sunday the citizens of the United States of America celebrate for the 195th time their independence. The Declaration of Independence, whose chief author was Thomas Jefferson, subsequently President of the USA, became one of the important documents of human history, in language and import comparable to the Commandments of the great religions.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,— . . . These sentences are the core of the Declaration, and are valid for men everywhere.

We Germans have in the past by no means always lived by these tenets, which give every man the self-evident right to live in his own way and be happy. We fell away from God, and then followed the Fall away from man, God's image.

We allowed the rights of our own people and of others to be trampled upon in our name. And the injustices grew and became murmur.

In the free part of Germany we have today created once more a social order which, as does the American Declaration of Independence, respects human rights as self-evident and unalienable. The Constitution we have given ourselves lays down the mandate not to cease in our efforts until the same basic rights are once more granted to all our people: "The whole German nation remains called upon to achieve in free self-determination the unity and liberty of Germany." (Preamble to the West Germany Constitution).

And unspoken remains the hope one day to give these rights to all other people who today still live in bondage.

These are the thoughts of a German on the Independence Day of our American friends. Accordingly for us there can be no pact with today's oppressors of freedom. And if such a pact is nevertheless made by a Government, "It is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government . . ." This also stands in the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.

#### TORTURE IN GREECE EXPOSED

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, as a consistent supporter of the return of true, democratic government in Greece, I would like to share with my colleagues in the Congress the very informative testimony of Maurice J. Goldbloom concerning recent events of the Greek junta. Mr. Goldbloom's statement reflects his close knowledge of the heinous atrocities committed by the Greek junta in recent weeks and the intolerable complicity which the American Government wittingly or unwittingly has aided these actions through the financial support of this Government. The testimony is indeed an affront to each American who believes in the right of every human being in the world to govern him-

self free from the fear and tyranny of government oppression. As Mr. Goldbloom so eloquently states, the recent tortures in Greece are an affront to our common bond as human beings.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE U.S. COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE OF HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, JULY 14, 1971

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee: I thank you for the opportunity to testify today on the present situation in Greece and its implications for American policy. My active connection with Greek affairs began when, as a U.S. Foreign Service Staff Officer, I served as Labor Information Officer of the U.S. Economic Mission to Greece in 1950 and 1951. Since that time I have kept in close touch with developments in Greece through a number of trips to that country, through correspondence with people there and personal contact with visitors from Greece, through careful study of reports in newspapers and periodicals as well as those from official sources, and in other ways. I have also written on Greece for a number of leading newspapers and periodicals.

Two items in the current news are, I believe, unprecedented in the entire period during which I have been following Greek events. One is the decision of the Administration to give Greece \$117,000,000 in military aid for the coming fiscal year. The other is the savage torture of two American citizens, Ioannis and Nikos Koronaios, by the junta's police. Neither military aid nor torture of political prisoners is, of course, new; we have been giving Greece military aid since 1947, and the junta has been torturing its prisoners since April 21, 1967. But the amount of aid is new, and the junta's tortures have not previously, so far as I know, been expanded to embrace American citizens. The juxtaposition of the two developments makes it almost seem as if the first is a reward for the second. Perhaps a more accurate assessment, however, would be that the junta has been emboldened by our Government's eagerness to shower it with aid, to a point where it no longer has any fear of effective American displeasure whatever it may do.

The proposed aid for the coming fiscal year is more than 50 percent greater than the amount given in 1966, the last full year before the coup. While I do not have access to the precise figures for years before 1966, those figures which are available make it almost certain that the proposed amount is the highest in the last twenty years. These figures lump Greece with Turkey and other Near Eastern countries, and in recent years with South Asia as well. But for 1950 total American military grants to all of the Near East and Africa came to only \$118 million, according to the U.S. Statistical Abstract—a document which is not classified, although I suspect that some people wish it could be. In that year Greece received no credits, so that its entire military assistance must have been included in that total, most of which certainly went to other countries. There were, of course, increases in the amount of military aid in subsequent years, as a result of the Korean War. But the total amount for Greece seems never to have exceeded about eighty million dollars a year.

Before the coup, a decision had been taken on strictly non-political grounds to sharply reduce or even phase out entirely our military aid program for Greece over the next four years—the four years which have now passed since the coup. Hence even our reduced aid programs before the resumption of heavy weapons shipments were almost cer-

tainly above what had been planned before the coup. And our new, unprecedentedly high, level of military aid certainly bears no relation to any change in either the strategic situation or the state of international tensions in the past four years. The one factor which has, indeed, changed significantly among those responsible for the pre-coup decision to cut military aid is Greece's economic situation.

The two main factors in that decision were the belief that many of the items being supplied to Greece were unnecessary for the fulfillment of her NATO role, and the apparent ability of Greece to pay for many of the items previously given or sold on concessionary terms. The Greek payments situation had improved substantially in the years immediately preceding the coup, and American planners therefore assumed that the improvement would continue, and planned accordingly.

In fact, however, there has been a catastrophic deterioration in the Greek balance of payments situation since the junta took power. Mr. Davies testified on Monday that, according to a briefing he had received from Greek economic ministers, the deterioration in the balance of trades had been made up for by an increasingly favorable balance on invisibles. It is unfortunate that on this, as on other matters, the Department of State seems to have relied on information from the junta instead of looking at the facts.

Actually, the cumulative balance of payments deficit on current account for the first four years of the junta's rule comes to over one-and-a-third billion dollars—not small change even by American standards. For 1970 alone, the deficit was a record \$410.4 million; for the current year it is running about 60 percent ahead of last year's figure, so that Greece seems likely to be some \$700 million in the red this year.

At the same time, contrary to Secretary Stans's statement which Mr. Davies found "factual," foreign investment in general and American investment in particular have fallen off sharply. Indeed, most of the increase in production since 1967 has resulted from the completion of plants already begun before 1967, such as units of the Esso-Pappas complex and Pechiney aluminum. Even so, the average annual increase in industrial production, according to the Bank of Greece index, has been about 7.5 percent since the coup, as against 11 percent in the preceding four years. So much for the "Greek Economic Miracle" under the junta. (Incidentally, Mr. Noyes's statement that unemployment has declined since the coup is meaningless. Unemployment both before and since the coup was held to negligible proportions by the fact that the unemployed migrated to Northern Europe to work; approximately a fourth of Greece's industrial labor force is now employed in other European countries, especially Germany. Unemployment in Greece today—and as long as a labor shortage in Northern Europe continues to draw off the surplus workers of the Mediterranean countries—is essentially a transitional phenomenon. People leave the land where their labor is no longer needed and are unemployed until they either go North themselves or fill jobs vacated by those who do. Of course, a depression in Germany or even a severe recession there would send a flood of unemployed workers back to Greece, while at the same time causing a sharp drop in the emigrant remittances which today furnish more than a third of Greece's income from invisibles.)

The rapid escalation of the deficit has been caused in part, at least, by the junta's monumental incompetence—not surprising in a regime which started in by dismissing on political grounds a large part of its trained personnel, to its use of the country's resources

to bribe the officer corps and other groups, and to gross corruption. Two items in the balance of payments are of particular interest. Government expenditures abroad have doubled; the increase has gone partly into the creation of a system of espionage and intimidation against Greeks abroad, and partly into propaganda. Early in the junta's reign one of its journalistic organs, *Estia*, urged that it get its point of view into the foreign press even if it had to pay to do so. And where it found venal journalists the junta paid, sometimes a good deal more than they were worth. Sometimes payments have taken the form of advertising; at other times they have been outright subsidies. Thus on one occasion the publisher of a pro-junta Greek-language weekly paid his printer's bill by endorsing over a check from the Greek Consul. Of course, the major newspapers in the United States and most other countries cannot be reached by this sort of thing. But not all European papers are above suspicion in this respect, and even the best-run paper cannot be sure that no individual journalist will succumb. Indeed, in England, five members of Parliament were given a free trip to Greece in return for which they held a press conference praising the junta in the same week in which another British M.P. was arrested in Athens for placing a wreath on Lord Byron's statue there; one of the five, it later turned out, was also paid in cash by the junta's British public relations firm.

The second item is a tripling in the country's interest bill; between them, the increases in government expenditures and interest account for two-fifths of the rise in the balance of payments deficit from 1966 to 1970. The rise in interest payments is accounted for partly by the precipitous rise in Greece's foreign rates that the junta has had to pay as its borrowing became increasingly desperate. The net effect of the cumulative payments deficits has been that, since the junta came into power, approximately a half billion dollars of reserves—the official reserves and the secret gold sovereign fund, and the special drawing rights received from the International Monetary Fund—have been dissipated, and Greek debts have climbed by several hundred millions. This includes about \$300 million due within a year. The fall in the official reserves has been masked by a number of bookkeeping tricks; thus the junta borrowed \$25 million in New York at 7 percent on condition that it keep the money on deposit with the lending banks at 5 percent, and then counted this as part of the official reserves although it could not touch a penny of it. Again, it has pawned a major part of the gold reserve as security for German and Swiss bank loans, but continues to count the gold as part of its official reserves. These things are not secret from the financial world, and it is therefore becoming increasingly difficult for the junta to borrow abroad. Indeed, it was reportedly in temporary default early this year on a loan from a major New York bank. The principal factor keeping it from open bankruptcy is the fact that its creditors prefer renewing the loans to having them defaulted. Two things seem likely to occur in the near future—a devaluation of the drachma, and an appeal from the junta for American economic aid. To respond to such an appeal would of course compound the complicity which the people of Greece and of the democratic countries of Europe already attribute to the United States because of the continuance of massive military aid.

But even if the junta were composed of economic and administrative geniuses rather than of men whose only expertise is in conspiracy, it would be the enemy of everything for which the United States should stand. What we objected to in Mussolini and Hitler was not that they really did not make the

trains run on time, but that they were the enemies of freedom and justice and human dignity. And in this, if not in all the details of their rule, the Greek colonels are kin.

Here too Mr. Davies paints far too optimistic a picture of the situation even though he does not go so far in this direction as the State Department has done in previous statements. (In quoting former Foreign Minister Evangelos Averoff in favor of resumption of full military aid to Greece—a position in which Mr. Averoff, who has in the past been highly receptive to political suggestions emanating from the American Embassy, is despite Mr. Davies's assertions to the contrary alone among respectable Greek political figures—Mr. Davies neglected to quote Averoff's condemnation of the accompanying State Department statement. The omission is hardly surprising, since Averoff declared: "The American authorities have been deceived by their services, or they are seeking to put a democratic mask on Greece to appease public opinion. Contrary to the claim of the State Department, human dignity is trampled underfoot and the conditions for a return to democracy have not been created. Ignorance of that reality and support of hypocrisy do not serve either democracy or the prestige of the United States which, until yesterday, all Greeks loved and respected.")

Human dignity is still trampled underfoot in Greece and the conditions for a return to democracy are no nearer now than they were last September, when full military aid was resumed and Averoff made his comments. The establishment of the mini-parliament and the Prime Minister's consultations with a few disreputable or insignificant former members of Parliament, repudiated by their parties, are not as Mr. Davis suggests even small steps in the direction of democracy. Rather, these are attempts to introduce a measure of subtlety into its suppression. The mini-parliament, appointed by Papadopoulos from a slate "elected" by a small group of junta-appointed officials, lacks even a semblance of independence, prestige, or power. And the apparent purpose of the conversations of the Prime Minister with the politicians is the creation of a two-party system in which both parties will be tightly controlled by the junta, so that "free elections" may then be staged for the State Department's benefit with no risk whatsoever.

Meanwhile, many hundreds of prisoners—the exact number can not be ascertained, though it is certainly larger than Mr. Davies suggests—remain in prison. To be sure, most of those who were on Leros have been released, after being held four years without even the pretense of charges. Largely old and sick, these people were arrested the night of the coup and never had a chance to threaten the junta. Now, physically broken and socially uprooted, they constitute no danger to it. And those of them who it vaguely suspects might, the junta has kept in forced residence in remote villages. In the last batch of some two hundred, it announced that it was thus keeping fifty under restraint. In regard to the other groups released this year, it made no announcement, but it would be foolish to believe that they too did not furnish their quotas of victims. Nor do we have precise information on how many of those who were formerly under this type of restriction still are. But 150 would seem a modest estimate for the total of the two groups.

As to those in prison for political offenses, for whom Mr. Davies gives a figure of 350-500 and junta spokesmen one of 450, other estimates run much higher. *Eleftheros Kosmos*, a junta organ, reported on April 11 that 1985 prisoners had been sentenced by courts-

martial and 500 amnestied; from this *Agence France-Presse* concluded that there were still 1,485 convicted prisoners. Junta sources replied that the figure was only 450, since the sentences of the others had expired. But a check of twenty trials picked at random, involving 131 prison sentences, shows that only nine were short enough to have expired by now. The actual number is therefore almost certainly far higher than 450.

In addition, there is the most wretched group of all—those awaiting trial, usually for months and sometimes even for years. The best-known group, those awaiting trial on a charge of conspiring with Andrea Papandreou against the junta, consists of individuals arrested in November and December. Of some two hundred arrested at that time, less than a quarter have been tried or released. And there have been many arrested since, just as there are many who were arrested much earlier who have not yet been brought to trial.

It is these prisoners who, "under investigation," are the victims of the bestial tortures which have been condemned by the European Court of Human Rights and the Council of Europe, exposed in the press of this and other countries, and minimized by the State Department. Among those who are still held under such conditions, and who have suffered such tortures in the recent past, are Christos Sartzetakis, on whom the incorruptible magistrate in "Z" is modeled, and the American citizens Ioannis and Nikos Koronaios. The torture of American citizens by the junta's police is an affront to our country, and that the United States has not merely done nothing to prevent it but has increased military aid to its perpetrators to new high levels, is shameful. But the torture of anyone is an insult to our common humanity, and that the official witnesses before this Committee have not even mentioned it, while our government continues to treat its perpetrators as honored allies in the defense of freedom, is even more shameful.

#### VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION ACT

### HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, an amendment I will offer Tuesday, July 27, to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill for fiscal year 1972 will have three basic features:

First. Increasing from \$518 to \$575 million funds under section 2 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act and changing the allotment base for this program from \$530 to \$600 million, also specifically earmarking funds for rehabilitation facility improvement and increasing those funds by \$5 million.

Second. Increasing funds to implement the Developmental Disabilities Services and Construction Act from \$16.2 to \$30 million.

Third. Restoring to the fiscal year 1971 level funds for research and development in rehabilitation work, increasing that amount from \$24 to \$31 million.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Thursday, July 22, 1971, on page 26906, I inserted a table showing the tentative

effect my proposed increase in developmental disabilities funds would have on the respective States.

Below I have inserted a table showing the tentative effect a proposed increase in State-Federal vocational rehabilitation funds will have on the respective States. This table shows how the so-called allotment base for these funds will be distributed if my amendment to the Labor-HEW fiscal year 1972 bill is adopted. Allotment base figures differ from actual appropriations, however, in that not all States can raise enough of their own funds to match their Federal allotments, and therefore appropriations do not have to be as high as allotments. The effect of this figure is that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare must allot funds to the States on the basis of the allotment figure stated in section 208 of the appropriations bill, rather than on the basis of the \$700 million "mandatory allotment" base in the authorizing measure.

The tentative allocations under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as prepared by the Rehabilitation Services Administration, are:

#### TENTATIVE ALLOCATIONS UNDER THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION ACT

State	Committee bill	Giaimo amendment
Total.....	\$530,000,000	\$600,000,000
Alabama.....	14,387,594	16,295,820
Alaska.....	1,000,000	1,000,000
Arizona.....	5,358,465	6,069,158
Arkansas.....	8,242,313	9,335,490
California.....	34,141,345	38,669,512
Colorado.....	5,755,380	6,518,715
Connecticut.....	4,111,495	4,656,802
Delaware.....	1,048,671	1,187,756
District of Columbia.....	4,185,964	4,741,148
Florida.....	18,879,236	21,383,188
Georgia.....	15,571,337	17,636,676
Guam.....	488,175	552,922
Hawaii.....	1,702,787	1,928,627
Idaho.....	2,427,529	2,862,755
Illinois.....	18,912,533	21,420,925
Indiana.....	12,841,374	14,504,502
Iowa.....	7,450,522	8,438,685
Kansas.....	6,064,490	6,868,823
Kentucky.....	11,972,897	13,560,861
Louisiana.....	13,499,337	16,289,753
Maine.....	3,368,235	3,814,964
Maryland.....	7,854,699	8,896,467
Massachusetts.....	10,609,001	12,016,072
Michigan.....	18,554,988	21,015,935
Minnesota.....	9,784,062	11,081,722
Mississippi.....	10,523,016	11,918,683
Missouri.....	12,762,295	14,454,957
Montana.....	2,232,157	2,528,208
Nebraska.....	3,955,349	4,479,946
Nevada.....	1,000,000	1,000,000
New Hampshire.....	7,986,261	2,249,699
New Jersey.....	12,559,214	14,224,942
New Mexico.....	3,705,451	4,196,905
New York.....	28,274,410	32,024,493
North Carolina.....	18,529,820	20,987,429
North Dakota.....	2,202,073	2,494,134
Ohio.....	25,522,718	28,907,985
Oklahoma.....	8,529,694	9,660,987
Oregon.....	5,406,331	6,123,373
Pennsylvania.....	29,394,520	33,293,114
Puerto Rico.....	15,094,160	17,096,098
Rhode Island.....	2,069,415	2,343,881
South Carolina.....	10,646,130	12,058,125
South Dakota.....	2,278,134	2,580,283
Tennessee.....	14,839,660	16,807,844
Texas.....	34,416,157	38,980,770
Utah.....	3,664,579	4,150,612
Vermont.....	1,356,656	1,536,990
Virginia.....	13,858,440	15,696,485
Virgin Islands.....	353,506	400,392
Washington.....	7,315,036	8,285,229
West Virginia.....	7,003,541	7,932,420
Wisconsin.....	11,208,748	12,695,364
Wyoming.....	1,000,000	1,104,014

HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF  
HUMANITIES AWARDED TO HIS  
EXCELLENCY AMIR ASLAN AF-  
SHAR, AMBASSADOR OF IRAN

**HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT**

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, it is my honor and privilege to bring to the attention of the Senate a speech recently given by His Excellency Amir Aslan Afshar, Ambassador of Iran, at Utah State University. The speech was delivered on the occasion of the Ambassador's receiving and honorary degree of doctor of humanities from this outstanding university on a day proclaimed by the Governor of Utah as Iranian Day. I also introduce for the RECORD a copy of the Governor's proclamation which shows the strong bonds between Iran and the State of Utah. As President Glen Taggart of the university said in his presentation of this degree for humanitarian service in promoting goodwill between Iran and the United States—

This honor is dedicated to bonds of friendship between this institution and a nation half way around the world.

Dr. Afshar is the second prominent Iranian to receive an honorary degree. Dr. Ardeshtir Zahedi, a 1950 graduate of Utah State University, now serving as Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws in 1960.

Indeed, this and other great universities throughout our land have educated and trained many Iranians who have returned to prominent positions in government, education, and business in their country to assist in making Iran the strong and stable force in the Middle East. In addition to standing as a bastion of freedom and democracy in this turbulent area, Iran has also maintained close and cordial relations with the United States.

Under the enlightened leadership of the Shahanshah Aryamehr, Iran has effected a bloodless revolution—appropriately called the "White Revolution"—which has, through agrarian reform, profit sharing, a literacy corps, health corps and universal suffrage, given the people of this cradle of civilization a high standard of living in this modern world.

This speech is especially significant since it comes as we approach the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great and the Declaration of Human Rights. The Ambassador is president of the Western Hemisphere Committees commemorating this event. Mrs. Richard M. Nixon is honorary chairman and Mr. Ralph E. Becker, general chairman of the U.S. committee. The honorary committee includes Vice President AGNEW, former Presidents Truman and Johnson, former Chief Justice Warren, all Cabinet members, some of my congressional colleagues, Governors and mayor. The general committee consists of leading academicians

from universities throughout the country and directors of museums and heads of museum departments specializing in Iranian art. The U.S. committee has planned a sweeping program which will include films, exhibitions, and publications by some of the leading museums and educational institutions in this country.

It is indeed fitting that we in this country plan such an extensive commemoration of this event. The Declaration of Human Rights of Cyrus the Great was a unique and unprecedented document in the history of mankind which based a system of government on morality, tolerance, and mutual understanding, which, I think, we all find familiar as some of the basic principles in our own Constitution. It is in this light that I ask unanimous consent that the speech and proclamation be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the speech and proclamation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF HIS EXCELLENCY DR. A. ASLAN AFSHAR, AMBASSADOR OF IRAN, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, LOGAN, UTAH, JULY 22, 1971, ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING AN HONORARY DEGREE

President Taggart, distinguished guests: I am deeply moved by the honor you have given to my country and its great leader, my august sovereign, the Shahanshah of Iran by designating today as Iran Day and by bestowing this degree upon me.

I have deep and warm feelings for this great western region of America. This has been so since I gained my first impressions of the United States as an Eisenhower fellow some years ago. I then had the opportunity to travel extensively, to see what this amalgam of peoples have accomplished in one nation: to see and feel the pulse of this vast country. Therefore, this degree from the State University of Utah, located as it is in the heart of this Nation, is of particular honor to me.

We in Iran have warm feelings for this State University of Utah, which has trained so many of our fine young people who have returned to Iran to take prominent places in both our public and private sectors. The relationship is strengthened because of your State's long tradition of religious freedom and educational excellence. In Iran these two concepts are cornerstones of our modern society of 30 million peoples.

My august sovereign, the Shahanshah of Iran, has grafted these two concepts with modern ideas and technology and has effected what has been called the white revolution. It is a revolution which has brought to the country land reform. It is a revolution which aims to exterminate illiteracy by means of a dedicated group of 75,000 youths banded together in a literacy corps. It is a revolution which delivers medical services through a modern health system, which requires profit sharing for factory workers and which permits universal women's suffrage. The white revolution is a revolution because it has drastically changed the fabric of Iran's society. It is called the "white revolution" because it has been bloodless, accomplished without a tragic toll of human suffering.

The white revolution in fact had its roots in the rule of Cyrus the Great 2500 years ago. Cyrus was the ruler most noted for his humane reign, which was premised on tolerance and freedom for his people. The 2500th anniversary of his reign and his declaration of the doctrine of human rights is in fact being celebrated this year beginning the mid-

dle of October. A United States committee, headed by Mrs. Nixon and including Vice President Agnew, former Presidents Truman and Johnson, Cabinet members, prominent Members of Congress and distinguished academicians, will join with similar committees of 60 other nations to commemorate the humanity for which Cyrus the Great stands in the history of mankind. Further, many heads of state from various parts of the world will gather in Iran to mark the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian empire and the declaration of human rights by Cyrus the Great. The result of this commemoration will be a greater understanding among all people of Iran's cultural heritage and contributions to civilization, as well as an awareness of Iran's modern achievements. Further, the commemoration will mark a rededication by the Iranian people, consonant with the traditions established by Cyrus the Great.

However, Iran's contribution to the evolution of mankind derives from many centuries before Cyrus the Great. In the words of the great scholar, the late Dr. Arthur Pope, who devoted his lifetime to the study of Iran's cultural heritage and now rests in the country he loved and admired so much, "in Western education, Persia has, since the days of Xenophon, been a blank page, or at most, a footnote to the history of ancient Greece."

"Yet, scholars now agree that the Iranian Plateau was probably the cradle. First of the human race and later of civilization itself. Independent considerations have led Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. Henry Field, and Professor Ellsworth Huntington, working separately, to the belief that man emerged as hominids in the Land of Persians. That this land and the adjoining regions in the Northwest produced the first civilized communities now seems certain to most scholars."

For sixty known centuries—some even say for 7000 years—the Iranian Plateau has contributed ideas and techniques which have helped to sustain and humanize mankind. Writing, numbers, the Art of Agriculture and of working metals, the sciences of astronomy and mathematics, the beginning of religions and philosophical thinking—these all come from the Near East, and the fountainhead of much near eastern culture was on the Iranian Plateau. But these sometimes forgotten contributions to civilization have been memorialized by the Art of Iran—a fact often emphasized by our Queen, Empress Farah, who is a great patron of cultural activities in my country.

What Iran has practiced at home in bringing equality and justice to our people, Iran also practices in its foreign policy. In fact, our foreign policy has been amazingly consistent. The Empire founded by Cyrus the Great was not based on territorial acquisition alone, but also on international tolerance and understanding. The rights of all the subject nations were upheld, and their laws and customs respected. Today, Iran follows exactly this policy and has established close relations with all nations regardless of their political systems.

Peaceful settlement of disputes, understanding of the problems of others, support for efforts to maintain social justice, cooperation to bridge the gap between the poor and the wealthy countries, cooperation to combat illiteracy—these form the basic principles of Iran's international policy. These have been exemplified in the peaceful solution which we found to the Baharian problems which was lauded by U Thant, secretary general of the United Nations. As a model for the solution of international disputes. These have also been exemplified in the fruitful mediation undertaken by the Shahanshah of Iran between Pakistan and Afghanistan and between Pakistan and Malaysia which resulted in an amicable set-

tlement of thier disputes. In other words, as a founder-member of the United Nations, one of the cardinal principles of Iran's foreign policy has been respect for the charter of the United Nations and we have always adhered to the resolutions of the various councils of this world body.

We live in peace with our neighbors as illustrated by our close cooperation with Turkey and Pakistan and our friendly relations with the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. And, there is and has always been a cordial relationship between the United States and Iran, even prior to the emergence of your great country as a global power with immense international responsibilities. We have had diplomatic relations with your country over 120 years and the first American school was founded in Iran in the year 1835. Both countries recognize the rights of the individual to pursue their freedom and both countries view government as a vehicle to bring a better life to their people. Iran is most grateful, and will not forget, the helping hand extended by America during the dark days following World War II; the United States will always maintain a warm spot in the hearts of every Iranian.

Like all the modern and industrialized nations which have had to pass through various stages of development, Iran is now in the midst of such changes from a traditional, semifeudalistic agrarian and stagnant society into a modern and dynamic industrial state. The aim is to build up a peaceful, prosperous and stable society with increasingly improved living conditions for all of its citizens.

Today the per capita income of its people having multiplied several times over and economic stability having been achieved, Iran is no longer a recipient, but rather a contributor of technical aid. We welcome foreign investment today, not as aid recipients, but rather on a firm and business like basis. Considering the stability of the economy, Iran offers the best opportunities for foreign investment in our part of the world. Indeed, Iran with its independent foreign policy in the council of nations is an independent force, and the counsel and views of our great leader, his imperial majesty the Shahanshab of Iran, are valued and respected throughout the world.

We especially hope that during this 2,500th anniversary year of the founding of the Persian empire by Cyrus the Great, we will be able to convey to the American people some of the principles of our society, which Americans will find so familiar as predecessors to their basic rights, to the end that even a closer bond can be forged between our two peoples.

Let me again express my appreciation for the honor you have bestowed upon my country and the degree you have conferred upon me. Education, as exemplified by this great institution, is the light of humanity and can be the weapon to stamp out the ills which plague our world today. We in Iran have joined with the United States and other countries in pursuing this ultimate goal.

While it is important that we set lofty goals, it is equally important that we—Iran, America, you and me—give our best and most sincere efforts to achieve these goals. In other words, our generation must show by precept and example a better way of life for our next generation, if by chance we fall in reaching our goals, at least our efforts will be applauded. As it has been more eloquently stated by the great roman poet, Ovid, "ut desint vires tamen laudanda voluntas." Thank you.

#### DECLARATION

Whereas, 1971 will mark 2,500 years of existence for Iran as a country; and

Whereas, Utah has had a half century of contact, friendship, goodwill, understanding, and mutual concerns with Iran; and

Whereas, Utah State University, Brigham Young University and the University of Utah have graduated Iranian Students, many of whom now hold high positions of authority in the Iranian government; and

Whereas, Utah State University has had over a decade of contracts with Iran, and the other two universities have had shorter term contracts; and

Whereas, many Utah technicians have worked in Iran; and

Whereas, Dr. Ardeshir Zahedi, currently Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs, received an honorary doctor of laws degree from Utah State University in 1960; and

Whereas, Dr. Daryl Chase, former president of USU, was awarded the Order of the Crown from the government of Iran in 1961; and

Whereas, Utah State University plans to honor the Iranian Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency, Dr. Aseir Aslaw Afshar, by awarding him an honorary doctor's degree on July 22; and

Whereas, international understanding on a people-to-people basis is a prerequisite to international peace;

Now, therefore, I Calvin L. Rampton, Governor of the State of Utah, do hereby declare July 22, 1971, as Iranian Day in recognition of the half century of friendship between Iran and Utah and as an important step to providing better understanding, communication and friendship between our two peoples.

CALVIN L. RAMPTON,  
Governor.

#### NEW FOOD STAMP REGULATIONS— A GREAT LEAP IN THE WRONG DIRECTION

#### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to note that the food stamp regulations that have just been promulgated by the Department of Agriculture are a large step backward in the fight against hunger and malnutrition in the United States. As a result of the new regulations, it seems clear that several million impoverished households throughout the country will take a tragic reduction in the amount of life-food benefits that they so desperately need.

The regulations hit hardest in my own city of New York. In New York, welfare recipients have just suffered a tremendous blow, as the State legislature has reduced welfare grants from \$231 to \$208—for a family of four. One of the justifications for this cut was the fact that the food stamp program was supposed to be expanded and improved, thereby offsetting the loss in needed funds that a poor family would suffer under the family welfare program. Unfortunately, the Department of Agriculture regulations serve as double blow to New York's poor families. Instead of receiving \$24 food stamp benefits per month—family of four—the new regulations provide such a household with only a \$9 monthly benefit. Previously a family paid \$82 for \$106 worth of stamps;

now such a family must pay \$99 for \$108 worth of stamps per month.

The regulations are deficient for many other reasons. Contrary to the intent of Congress when the food stamp amendments were recently passed, the Department of Agriculture has established a rigid definition of the word household that will eliminate hundreds of thousands poor people from the food stamp program. Not only do the regulations exclude hippie communes from the program; many other persons will also be excluded as the result of these regulations. Under the Department's regulations, if one or more unrelated persons lived in a household grouping, then everyone in that group is ineligible for food relief. Every impoverished family, therefore, that is charitable enough to take a friend or former neighbor in from the street and provide such a person with a roof over his head, will by virtue of such admirable deeds be taken off the food stamp program. Surely, this was not the intention of Congress when the food-stamp amendments were passed.

I am also sorry to note that the Agriculture Department has established coupon allotment levels in a manner that will virtually assure the continuation of hunger in America. Under the new tables, a family of four only receives \$108 worth in stamps per month. Pamphlets written by the Department clearly state that this \$108 economy diet plan is inadequate for proper existence. In this regard, I also note that the Department of Agriculture has taken no steps to provide a food stamp program in Puerto Rico. Although Congress' trying to assure that Puerto Rico would finally receive much needed food stamp assistance, the regulations indicate that implementation of such food aid is not forthcoming. I am hopeful that a program can soon be implemented there at the same level as in the United States.

In addition, the regulations are deficient for the following reasons:

First. The "meal-on-wheels" for the elderly has been substantially watered down because the Agriculture Department refuses to provide such food service to people in a group setting.

Second. The Agriculture Department's regulations on the concurrent operation of the food stamp commodity distribution program are bad because they place the entire administrative financial burden on the States, rather than providing Federal assistance when needed.

Third. The eligibility standards for participation in the food stamp program are extremely rigid—\$4,320 income annually for family of four—prohibiting States in areas of higher cost of living from increasing the eligibility standards to reflect higher living standards.

Fourth. The Department has retained its policy of refusing retroactive benefits to people whose food stamp benefits has been wrongfully denied.

In short, the new food stamp program will be a nightmare for millions of poor people, and the administration's promise to end hunger in America will go unfulfilled. It is clear that when the ad-

ministration speaks in turn of ending hunger in America, it speaks only of hunger as a newspaper issue, and not of the brutal reality which it is for millions of Americans.

**INEFFECTIVENESS OF LARGE SPENDING PROGRAMS FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

**HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Richmond Times-Dispatch of July 25 contains an excellent editorial on the lack of effectiveness of large spending programs in combating many social problems.

The editorial describes difficulties that have arisen in connection with a program jointly backed by the insurance industry and the Government, to provide an increased supply of low-cost housing. It points out extensive damage which has occurred at a project built under this program in the State of Maryland, as reported by the Wall Street Journal.

I heartily agree with the conclusion of the editorial that the solution of major problems in the Nation will "require more than the enactment of laws and the expenditure of money."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, "Now a Nightmare," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. The editor of the editorial page of the Richmond Times-Dispatch is Edward Grimsley.

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

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 25, 1971]

**NOW A NIGHTMARE**

A recent article in the Wall Street Journal should help puncture the dangerous myth, the popularity of which we lamented only a few days ago, that the United States can solve most of its problems merely by spending money on them.

The story reported the tragic failure of the life insurance industry's idealistic efforts to help solve the housing problems of the poor. Under a program launched with enthusiasm and fanfare in 1968, the industry was to lend approximately \$2 billion for the construction of privately-owned low rent housing projects. Supplements from the federal government would enable many of the tenants to pay their rent.

A noble dream it was, but it has become a nightmare. Sabotaged by vandalism, mismanagement, rent defaults and fraud, the program is in deep trouble. Mortgages are being foreclosed, units are being abandoned and rent money is being stolen. With \$400 million yet to invest to fill the industry's pledge, many insurance companies probably wish they had never heard of the program.

The news story cited Baber Village in Prince George's County, Maryland, as a towering monument to the program's failure. Read this illuminating excerpt:

"Some apartments in the 17-building low-income housing project are boarded up. Windows are broken. Walls have been knocked

in. Deep gulleys run through clay ground. Sewers have sometimes backed up, filling bathtubs with raw waste. In two years there have been 10 resident managers, one of whom ran off with the rent money. Three months ago, to avoid foreclosure, the mortgage of Baber Village was assumed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development."

The construction of Baber Village showed what money can do; the deterioration of Baber Village shows what money cannot do. Money can construct new buildings, but money alone cannot reconstruct people. Money can provide the physical facilities a program requires, but money cannot assure a program's functional success.

Baber Village took many people out of slums, but it failed to take the slums out of many of the people. Some of the poverty-stricken tenants could not tell the difference between a garbage-disposal and a dishwasher. Some had never seen a modern bathroom and thought nothing, therefore, of flushing discarded clothing down the toilet. Some used their utility rooms as garbage bins, inviting to the new housing project that familiar ghetto inhabitant, the rat. Because of their unfamiliarity with modern housing, then, many of Baber Village's tenants inadvertently caused extensive damage. To make matters worse, vandalism was rampant. The fact the project's planners provided only a small, one-swing playground for the 1,200 children in the village helped matters not at all.

Baber Village does more than prove that you cannot solve the housing problems of the poor merely by putting new roofs over their heads. It also suggests that you cannot solve the problem of crime merely by hiring more policemen, the problem of substandard education merely by building swankier schools, the problem of poverty merely by putting more people on the welfare rolls or the problem of racism merely by forcing blacks and white together against their will. The solution of such problems will require more than the enactment of laws and the expenditure of money. Necessary too is a profound understanding of those intangible human elements that lie beyond the reach of laws and appropriations. Dramatic progress against America's problems will require, in short, more emphasis upon people, less upon things.

**ANOTHER TRANSPORTATION CRISIS**

**HON. JAMES HARVEY**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, today, four of the Nation's railroads are idle, having been struck selectively by the United Transportation Union. At 6 a.m. on Friday next, this number will reach 10. And, unless a solution is reached or Congress once again invokes temporary emergency legislation, there is no question but what the country will once again be forced into a transportation crisis.

Most of you here in this Chamber are aware that I have been urging enactment of permanent legislation to end such strikes by dealing effectively and impartially with both sides in these labor-management disputes. And, a large

number of you have expressed to me your opinion that it is time Congress enact permanent legislation as a way of preventing the seemingly never-ending demand on us for enactment of temporary measures that could be called, at best, ineffective, stopgap pieces of legislation.

The magnitude of interest of the membership of this great body is further underscored by the fact that 54 bipartisan Members have joined with me in cosponsoring legislation that would provide equitable settlements to these disputes without Congress being forced—because of an actual or threatened national emergency—into the role of arbitrator, whose function is on a temporary, strictly time-limited basis.

Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is scheduled to begin hearings on all the various bills introduced on this subject that are directed—to one degree or another—toward some form of permanent legislation. I am sure the great majority of Congressmen are hopeful that these hearings will result in a good, effective, workable piece of legislation.

I include an editorial from the July 22, 1971, Washington Post follow my remarks—not because I embrace it in its entirety—but because of its thought provoking remarks.

**The editorial follows:**

**CONGRESS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**

The railroad strike now under way and its threatened expansion ought to make it crystal clear that the time for Congress to completely overhaul the nation's labor laws is long past. A national rail strike—or a national strike in any of the other transportation industries—is intolerable. Yet the experience of the last few years has demonstrated conclusively that there is nothing in the existing labor laws that can produce a satisfactory settlement in such complex situations before a strike, or, for that matter, once a strike begins.

Talking about this in London the other day, Secretary of Labor Hodgson said, quite rightly, that the real question is whether free collective bargaining can survive. Some semblance of collective bargaining was maintained in the rail industry as long as there was fear on both sides of the table of what kind of settlement Congress might impose if no agreement was reached and a state of national emergency occurred. But that fear has diminished with each congressional intervention and now seems to have disappeared since Congress has never done more than merely put off to another year the really tough questions in these negotiations.

We think that Congress should realize that it has only two options left in dealing with labor problems that can lead to strike which are unacceptable because of the harm they would do to the national economy. One is to set itself up with the tools necessary to become a fair and final arbitrator. The other is to invent some new mechanisms which can breathe life into collective bargaining in industries, like the railroads, where it is almost dead.

The administration's proposals, which have been before Congress for more than a year, strike us more likely to achieve that latter purpose than anything else now in sight. The most interesting and perhaps the most useful of these is the "final offer selec-

tion" option which the President could invoke in transportation emergency situations. Under this proposal, the President would appoint a board which would decide, after hearings, which final offer submitted by management or labor would compromise the contract. The effect of this would be to force management and labor closer together—perhaps close enough to reach agreement themselves—by posing the threat that one side or the other would lose everything because its final offer was unreasonable.

Such a device would not only provide a way out of the current railroad mess but might have provided a way through which the problems would have been settled across the negotiating table. If seems unlikely that the unions would have been so intransigent on the work rules issues if they had feared that their failure to move on these questions might have led to a contract written precisely as the railroads want it.

The failure of Congress to act on this legislation or on some other alternative is inexcusable. The collapse of collective bargaining as we know it in the railroad industry has been obvious for a long time. If the present strike accomplishes nothing else, it serves to remind the public that Congress is as much to blame for it as the railroads or the unions by its refusal to provide some new mechanism through which these labor disputes can be resolved.

#### 4-H'ERS SING PRAISES OF MICHIGAN

**HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN**  
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently a number of young people representing 4-H chapters in Branch, Calhoun, Hillsdale, and Jackson counties of Michigan visited my office as a part of a citizenship course sponsored by the national 4-H organization.

These young Americans were not only well informed on national affairs, but they came prepared to sing the praises of Michigan.

I ask unanimous consent that the words of a song composed by Anita Stults and Adell Scott, which the group sang on the Capitol steps, be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### MICHIGAN

We all live together in the Winter Wonderland  
We all live together in the Winter Wonderland  
We all live together in the Winter Wonderland  
A big mitten for any hand. (Chorus)

We've got the cereal city of the world  
Rice Krispies, Alphabets, Cornflakes too  
We have tried them. Why don't you?  
There's a kind for everyone.

We've got the auto factories for all states  
Bucket seats, wipers, power brakes  
Air conditioning for Southern States  
All from Michigan.

Five Great Lakes you would enjoy  
Sailing, fishing, skiing, Oh boy!  
It's the best state under the sun  
There's fun for everyone! (chorus)

#### STATEHOOD FOR NEW YORK CITY

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, recently the proposal that New York City should become a separate State has once again been brought to the fore, thanks in large part to the efforts of my colleague from New York (Mrs. ABZUG).

While I share a feeling of frustration at New York City's inability to solve its financial problems, I am in doubt about the economic consequences of statehood for the city.

To illustrate the complexity of this subject, a report prepared for the Citizens Union of the city of New York is of interest. I am grateful to Mr. Gary Sperling, executive director of the Citizens Union, for making this report available. I include in the RECORD Mr. Sperling's covering letter and the report, which was prepared by Dr. Donna E. Shalala:

JULY 21, 1971.

At a time when proposals of statehood for New York City are again receiving wide publicity, Citizens Union has received a report, prepared at my request, analyzing the economic and other arguments for a "51st state." The study was prepared by Dr. Donna E. Shalala, an assistant professor of political science at Baruch College and chairman of a Citizens Union subcommittee on state and local government legislation.

The report contains extensive economic material, with special reference to the contention that the City is being "short-changed" by the State. As its title ("New York City-Statehood: An Idea Whose Time Has Passed") indicates, the study concludes that statehood is not the panacea that some have seemed to suggest, but would rather lead to seriously adverse economic and social consequences.

I enclose a copy of the report, since I feel sure you will find Dr. Shalala's analysis interesting and provocative. Citizens Union's Board of Directors will be considering the subject of statehood early in the fall and I would appreciate receiving, on behalf of the Board, any comments you may have on this study or on the general issue of statehood.

As part of its continuing effort to develop and evaluate legislative proposals, Citizens Union may be producing further studies, similar to Dr. Shalala's, on other subjects. I would also appreciate your comments as to this plan.

Cordially,

GARY H. SPERLING,  
Executive Secretary.

#### NEW YORK CITY-STATEHOOD: AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS PASSED

(By Dr. Donna E. Shalala)

#### INTRODUCTION

Autonomy for the City of New York is not a new idea. In 1861, Mayor Fernando Wood, complaining that ". . . the political connection between the people of the city and the state has been used by the latter to its injury,"<sup>1</sup> suggested secession from the state.

Five decades later, in 1921, led by its publisher William Randolph Hearst, Sr., the *New*

*York Journal American* began a campaign with banner headlines calling for a new state of Manhattan which would include the five boroughs and the counties of Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk.<sup>2</sup>

More recently mayoral candidate Norman Mailer and his running mate Jimmy Breslin made the issue part of their campaign platform.<sup>3</sup>

All of the proposals, including the current one by Congresswoman Bella Abzug, which has nominal support from Mayor Lindsay, emphasize two arguments for statehood. First, New York State government "short-changes" the City of New York in its distribution of state aid and in the selection and performance of state activities. Second, the City needs considerably more "home rule"—fiscal and general, to perform properly its governmental responsibilities.

To support their claims of "shortchanging" and the need for more "home rule", proponents of statehood have used various and sometimes questionable data sources to claim from one to one and a half billion dollar gains for the City if statehood were achieved.

The purpose of this report is to evaluate the arguments for statehood, with particular emphasis on the fiscal question, and to recommend to Citizens Union a public position on the proposal.

The analysis is divided into four parts. First, an evaluation of the fiscal relationships between the City and the State, with particular emphasis on the shortchanging question. Second, a review of some existing economic and population data on the health of the City in relationship to its metropolitan area. Third, a brief summary of the social and governmental implications of the proposal. Finally, a recommendation to Citizens Union is made based on the data and trends revealed by the analysis.

#### THE STATE AND THE CITY

Twenty years ago, three eminent New York City scholars—Robert M. Haig, Carl S. Shoup and Lyle C. Fitch—analyzed the "short-changing" question and concluded that, while the City paid 60% of State taxes and got less than 50% back, there was no apparent discrimination because "New York City is in fact stronger economically, per person, than the state as a whole."<sup>4</sup>

That the wealth of the nation was located in its large central cities as recently as fifteen years ago is apparent, and has been carefully documented by a variety of researchers. The fiscal decline of the large central city became apparent in the mid-fifties. This decline is often described as two trends which have continued to this day. First, the redistribution of population within metropolitan areas as between central city and suburbs. Second, the redistribution of economic activities within the same areas. Neither trend was random, as will be pointed out later in this report. However, it is clear that both movements left the central city in need of increasing intergovernmental aid, state and federal, to survive.

#### The discrimination argument

In its most sophisticated form, the discrimination argument deals with proportions, not absolute amounts. It runs as follows. If the City receives 45% of the total amount of state grants (the other 55% going to communities in the rest of the state), and if the State collects 50% of its tax revenue from City residents, there is said to be discrimination against the City. The basis for this conclusion is that the proportion taken in taxes is larger than the proportion of grants received. An implication of this argument is that if the City were a state the City taxpayers would be better off.

Such a crude argument raises significant questions of equity. Should, for example, all

Footnotes at end of article.

aid programs distribute funds on the basis of what the residents have paid in? Carrying this philosophy to its logical conclusion, the poorest areas of the new City-State could expect to receive aid in proportion to what they contribute. There is little more to be said about this suggested approach of the proponents of city-statehood other than that it embraces an absurd, inequitable method of financing public services. It is also inconsistent with liberal, reform ideology which has long insisted on a redistributive role for government—perhaps properly described as a "Robin Hood" role.

However, since the most vehement supporters of statehood insist on undergirding their position with the "shortchanging" issue, it must be analyzed.

In a report to the Mayor of New York, mayoral assistant Leon Panetta suggests that the City might gain as much as one billion dollars if statehood were achieved. Congresswoman Bella Abzug's staff computations indicate that the gain might be as large as one and a half billion dollars.<sup>5</sup>

Both parties arrive at such conclusions by simply subtracting direct state aid from what the city pays into the state—close to 50% by their calculations. To be fair, both parties do agree that out of the billion or so gain, the City-State would have to provide the services now performed by the State for City residents. However, they insist that when all is said and done the new City-State would realize substantial fiscal gain.

To find out whether the calculations of the proponents of statehood are accurate is not an easy task. There are four key elements in such an analysis. First, calculating how much the City residents actually pay to the State. Second, allocating the proportion of direct State aid received by the City. Third, allocating the proportion of the State Purposes Fund—the source of services performed directly by the State to the City. Fourth, reviewing the other costs the City might be expected to assume if statehood were achieved.

#### The city's contribution

Significant disagreements exist as to the proportion of the State's tax revenue contributed by City residents. The discussion can be narrowed down to how the personal income tax is allocated. The income tax is the largest single source of State revenue. New York State's figures are based on allocating to the City only income taxes paid by its residents, disregarding where the income is earned. On this basis, the City's proportion of total State revenues in 1969-70 was approximately 43%. New York City's Budget Bureau contends that all taxes derived from income earned in the City should be allocated to the City because that is where the income is earned. They also allocate to the City income earned outside the City by City residents.<sup>6</sup> Thus, they suggest the percentage is more than 50%.

The Citizens Budget Commission arrives at a comparable—47%. In the case of the out-of-state commuter to the City, the CBC accepts the City's method of allocation. They argue that "since the city provides virtually all government services used by out-of-state commuters to the City, it should logically be allocated all income taxes paid by them."<sup>7</sup>

However, the CBC suggests that a more difficult question is how to allocate revenue from income earned in New York City by in-state commuters from the suburban counties around the City. According to the CBC:

"If the City's claim were allowed for allocation of all personal income earned within the City but excluding income earned by its residents out of the City, the City's percentage of State revenues would be increased by about 2 percent, to about 48%. However,

since commuters residing in suburban New York counties and earning their living in New York City have obligations to both communities, a full allocation to the city is arguable. Barring any accepted basis of allocation, CBC has arbitrarily used the midpoint, 47 percent."<sup>8</sup>

The CBC also dismisses the City claims that the other changes in the State figures could add about two percent more to the City revenues as "somewhat dubious."<sup>9</sup>

When the CBC estimates are analyzed within the context of statehood, rather than simply the shortchanging argument, other conclusions become apparent. First, in-state commuters would, under statehood, become out-of-state commuters. Therefore, it would be highly implausible that they would pay double state taxes—to the new City-State and to New York State.

What usually happens in two states in which both have income taxes is that an agreement is worked out crediting the commuter for taxes paid in his home state against taxes paid in his work state. Thus, the City-State could not expect to receive the total amount of state taxes now paid to the State by suburban commuters and which the City currently insists should be credited as its contribution to State revenues.

In summary, then, while the areas of disagreement are significant, the resulting range can be narrowed to a few percentage points. Even if the City and CBC arguments were accepted in part or total they would have no effect on the decline of personal income tax collections in New York City as a proportion of total State personal income tax collections.

Personal income tax collections attributable to New York City residents have declined as a percent of total State collections over the past twenty years. The 1950-51 proportion of total State revenues from NYC sources was estimated by Haig and Shoup (in the study quoted earlier) at 60%. This figure includes out-of-state commuters but not in-state ones. By 1960-61 the comparative proportion had declined to 50% and by 1967-68 to 46%.<sup>10</sup>

Another way of viewing this decline is to look at personal income (not taxes) as a percent of total state personal income over the last ten years, a decline from 52% of total state personal income in 1959 to 46.7% in 1969.

TABLE 1

(Personal income in New York City as a percent of State personal income, 1959-69)

Year:	Percent
1959	52.0
1961	60.6
1963	49.6
1965	47.8
1967	47.0
1969	46.7

Source: *New York State. Statistical Yearbook 1970 and 1971*, Office of Statistical Coordination, New York State Division of the Budget.

The income decline of 5.3% (52% — 46.7% = 5.3%) is greater than the population decline over the same period (in 1960 NYC had 46.4% of the State's population, in 1970 it had dropped to 43.3%, a 3.1% decline), another indication that the sorting out of population between the City and its suburbs is to the economic disadvantage of the City.

Thus, even if there was an adjustment made for a new group of out-of-state commuters created by NYC statehood, there is no evidence that the trend—a decline in City personal income as a proportion of State personal income—is changing.

In addition, it is quite possible statehood would encourage suburbanites to seek employment in suburbia. The 1970 census will report a reduction in the proportion of suburbanites commuting to the city. Indeed, the big increase in commuting has been from suburb to suburb. Establishment of a NYC-

State would probably act as an incentive for accelerating this trend.

Other than the questions discussed on the allocation of the income tax, there is no disagreement between the Citizens Budget Commission and the State's Department of Taxation and Finance on the allocation of other revenues as the following table reveals.

TABLE 2.—ESTIMATED PROPORTIONS OF NEW YORK STATE REVENUES ATTRIBUTABLE TO NEW YORK CITY SOURCES

Kind of revenue	1967-68 city percentage		1969-70 amount (in millions)	
	State estimate (1)	CBC estimate (2)	NYS revenue (3)	NYC portion (4)
Personal income tax.....	41.37	50.3	\$2,475	\$1,245
User taxes and fees.....		38.0	2,121	806
Sales and use tax.....	40.01	40.0	1,100	440
Motor fuel tax.....	27.36	27.4	368	101
Cigarette tax.....	44.93	44.9	263	118
Motor vehicle fees.....	27.36	27.4	210	58
Alcoholic beverage tax.....	54.39	54.4	116	63
Alcoholic beverage control licenses.....	54.39	54.4	34	18
Highway use tax.....	27.00	27.0	30	8
Business taxes.....		54.6	899	491
Corporation franchise tax.....	53.52	53.5	484	259
Corp. and utility taxes.....	44.77	44.8	240	107
Bank tax.....	82.16	82.2	80	66
Unincorporated business tax.....	67.19	67.2	75	50
Insurance premium tax.....	44.93	44.9	20	9
Receipts from other activities.....		62.2	331	206
Pari-mutuel tax.....	75.00	75.0	153	115
Estate tax.....	48.90	48.9	140	68
Lottery.....	65.30	65.3	28	18
Real estate transfer tax.....	44.93	44.9	6	3
Other taxes.....	44.93	44.9	4	2
Miscellaneous receipts.....	44.93	44.9	80	36
Total current revenues.....	43.40	47.0	5,906	2,784

#### Notes

Column (1) estimates are from the N.Y. State Department of Taxation and Finance. The personal income tax percentage is based solely on location of residence, not where earned.

Column (2) estimates, by the Citizens Budget Commission, accept the State estimates as valid, except for the personal income tax. The CBC 50.3% estimate is computed as follows:

(a) Full credit to New York City for receipts from out-of-state residents. The result is 47.7% of personal income tax, 46.1% of total State revenues.

(b) Add one-half credit for net earnings in the City by N.Y. State commuters from suburban counties. Full credit would result in 53% of personal income tax, 48% of total revenues. Other, more dubious, adjustments by the City could bring the total to about 50%.

Column (3) is from the N.Y. State Budget Summary, 1969-70 (August, 1969), Appendix Table 2, Current Revenues. Column (4) and the aggregates of Column (2) are computed.

Source: Citizens Budget Commission, "Does New York State Short-Change New York City?" December 1969, p. 7.

However, one revenue source, the sales tax, is one of the most vulnerable, as the discussion of retail activity later in the report will reveal.

#### State support to localities

New York State supports its localities in two ways. First, through direct aid from the State Local Assistance Fund. Second, through services provided directly to residents through the State Purposes Fund.

Footnotes at end of article.

*Direct aid: Local assistance funds*

In 1971-72, 45% of monies spent in the Local Assistance Fund will be allocated to New York City. These grants can be summarized in six broad categories: education, social services, general support, health, highways (transportation), and "other programs." This does not include of course the capital funds passed on to New York City through state bond issues—such as mass transportation. That bond issue, for example, was expected to give 47 million dollars to the New York Metropolitan area in 1969-70, according to the CBC.

The table below demonstrates the rise in the proportion of total State Aid the city has received since 1960-61:

TABLE 3.—STATE AID TO NEW YORK CITY  
(In millions of dollars)

New York State Fiscal year	Total State aid	Aid to New York City	New York City Percent of Total State aid given
1960-61.....	1,129	418	37
1965-66.....	2,111	893	42
1971-72.....	4,518	2,033	45

<sup>1</sup> Estimated.

Source: Citizens Budget Commission; and 1971-72 estimates are from NYC Bureau of the Budget; these are the figures used by Congresswoman Abzug's staff.

In addition to the downward trend in the proportion of State revenues that come from the City and the increase in the proportion of total direct State aid, the proportion of the City's budget that comes from the State has increased continuously since 1958-59.

TABLE 4.—PROPORTION OF NYC'S EXPENSE BUDGET FINANCED BY STATE AID

Fiscal years	Amount	Percent of total expense budget
1958-59.....	365	18
1970-71.....	2,069	27

<sup>1</sup> Estimated.

Source: Citizens Budget Commission; 1970-71 estimates from NYC Bureau of the Budget.

*State purposes fund*

More difficult than allocating state aid funds is to find out the part of the State Purposes Fund which directly serves NYC residents. No successful comprehensive study has ever been made of this question. The CBC did make such an attempt in 1969. They found, however, that they could only allocate approximately 3% of State Purposes Fund expenditures. Of that 3%, 33% could be clearly attributed to expenditures in NYC either on the basis of the residence of those benefiting from the service, such as students attending the State University, mental hygiene patients, and the like, or the location of the service, such as State parks.

On the basis of this finding, they concluded that the unallocable portion of the State Purposes Fund should be shared in approximately the same percentage—33%. However, if one reads this recommendation in the context of a new City-State a different conclusion must be made. First, the new City-State would have to set up new administrative offices to perform functions now performed by the State. Simply allocating expenditures by the percentage of the NYC population using them, even when administrative costs are included in the allocation, does not give a clear picture of what the actual cost would be of setting up an entirely new state government apparatus. Second, the allocations do not include the cost to the new City-State of building new offices or renting them in the

case of functions now performed in Albany. Third, for some functions that are performed in NYC through State-owned property, the new City-State might be expected to purchase this property. (NYC's own assessors valued NYS owned property located in the City at \$395,252,235 in 1970. If the State's equalization ratio for NYC, 67%, were applied, the actual value would be approximately \$527,000,000.)

*Conclusion*

Even if the CBC allocation figures for 1969 are accepted and the State Purposes Fund is allocated by a third, and assuming the argument of the statehood enthusiasts that NYC deserves half of everything is accepted, there would be no fiscal gains—no additional funds if the city went it alone.

For example:

1. In the 1969 fiscal year the total state State Purposes Fund was 2,027.0 billion dollars.

2. Statehood supporters insist that one-half should have been allocated to the City. The one-half allocation would be: 1,013.5 billion dollars.

3. The CBC suggests the City now gets 1/3 of the total State Purposes Fund which would be about 676 million dollars.

4. Statehood supporters would say that the difference of 338 million would be free money for the City to use.

But if the new City-State does indeed have to buy present state property at its actual cost of 527 million, and initiate a whole set of state services it has not been involved in before, it is difficult to understand why it would not cost the citizens of New York City more than it would save them.

Thus, analysis of the fiscal relationships between New York State and the City lead to two conclusions. First, as the City's contribution to State coffers declines, its aid has simultaneously gone up. Secondly, no matter whose calculations are used to determine the amount to credit the City for contributing to the State budget, there are probably enough initial costs and long term costs which the city would have to assume, as a result of statehood, to guarantee no fiscal gain.

There is of course considerable disagreement with this conclusion. However, it is fair to say that although there are ways to calculate a slight advantage to the City in the first two years of statehood, the trends demonstrate that this slight advantage would be wiped out in a decade and the pattern would then become one of distinct disadvantage for City residents. The economic and population trends analyzed in the next section make this conclusion abundantly clear.

TABLE 6.—MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, NEW YORK CITY AND SUBURBS (NASSAU, SUFFOLK, WESTCHESTER, ROCKLAND), 1958, 1963, 1967

Area	[In thousands]							
	1958		1963		1967		Percent increase 1958-1967	
	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs
New York.....	998.6	185.4	927.4	219.6	895.3	251.3	-10.34	+35.54

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufacturing, 1963 and 1967.

*Some additional economic concerns*

A decade ago economist Raymond Vernon concluded in a study of the New York Metropolitan Region that the central office function was New York's unique economic strength.<sup>11</sup> Whether this will continue to be the case is unclear. There are increasing reports (though as yet not systematically studied) of corporate headquarters move-outs—to NYC's suburbs, southern Connecti-

Footnotes at end of article.

## ECONOMIC AND POPULATION TRENDS

While a declining proportion of locally-raised revenues in New York City come from the property tax base, it still represents the heart of the City's revenue sources. There are three major components of this tax base—retailing, manufacturing and housing. Trends in two—manufacturing and retailing—with in the New York Metropolitan area reveal how much support the new City-State might expect in the future for needed public services.

*Retail activity*

Given the tremendous increase in retail activities in recent years, it is not surprising that in most large central cities there was an increase in the value of retail activity between 1958 and 1967. However, as the following chart on the NY Metropolitan area reveals, the increase in the suburbs outside NYC has been six times that of the City.

TABLE 5.—NEW YORK CITY'S PERCENT OF RETAIL SALES OF NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA, 1958, 1963, 1967; AND PERCENT INCREASE IN RETAIL SALES, DEFLATED BY GENERAL PRICE INCREASE IN NEW YORK CITY AND ITS SUBURBS (NASSAU, SUFFOLK, ROCKLAND, WESTCHESTER), 1958-67

Area	Percent retail sales, New York City/metropolitan area			Percent increase (real) in retail sales, 1958-67	
	1958	1963	1967	NYC	Suburbs
New York City....	72.9	67.1	64.8	9.7	60.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Business, 1958 vol. II; 1963, vol. II; 1967, vol. II.

The large increase outside New York City, (Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland counties) of 60.7% represents a shift in the location of retail activity which has long term consequences for the distribution of sales tax receipts between the state and the city.

The magnitude of the changes that have occurred in the NY Metropolitan area is indicated by the fact that in 1958, 72.9% of all retail transactions were in New York City, compared to 64.8% in 1967.

*Manufacturing trends*

Manufacturing employment has actually declined in New York City—10%—while it increased in the rest of the NY Metropolitan area—almost 36%—between 1958-1967. This reduction in manufacturing employment in the City and the increase in its surrounding counties has imposed pressures on the City's tax base and led to an improvement in those of the surrounding areas.

TABLE 6.—MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, NEW YORK CITY AND SUBURBS (NASSAU, SUFFOLK, WESTCHESTER, ROCKLAND), 1958, 1963, 1967

Area	[In thousands]							
	1958		1963		1967		Percent increase 1958-1967	
	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs	NYC	Suburbs
New York.....	998.6	185.4	927.4	219.6	895.3	251.3	-10.34	+35.54

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufacturing, 1963 and 1967.

cut, northern New Jersey and in a few specialized cases (oil to Houston) out of the region. If this moveout is indeed real, then the implications for the economic health of a variety of city businesses are enormous—theatres, restaurants and hotels would be the first to feel the impact.

*Population trends*

That NYC is not growing as fast as its suburbs is obvious from early returns on the 1970 census. The following table demonstrates that the City grew by 85,776 (or 1.1%)

since 1960, and this growth was recorded in only three of five boroughs. The surrounding suburbs—Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland—grew by 25.7 percent. What is also clear is that the growth was not random—rather it was a redistribution process within the metropolitan area. The process was similar to the one that occurred between 1950-1960 which left increasingly larger proportions of the poor, non-white, and aged in the central city. The population remaining is also a high-cost population to be serviced by a tax base not growing fast enough to support needed services.

TABLE 7.—POPULATION TRENDS: NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA, 1960-70

	1970	1960	Percent change
New York City.....	7,867,760	7,781,984	1.1
Bronx County.....	1,472,216	1,424,815	3.3
Kings County.....	2,601,852	2,627,319	-1.0
New York County.....	1,524,541	1,698,281	9.2
Queens County.....	1,973,708	1,809,578	33.1
Richmond County.....	295,443	221,991	25.1
Suburbs.....			9.7
Nassau.....	1,422,905	1,300,171	68.4
Rockland.....	229,903	136,803	67.1
Suffolk.....	1,116,672	666,784	10.5
Westchester.....	891,409	808,891	2

Source: Bureau of the Census, released Jan. 20, 1971.

#### Conclusion

The economic and population trends reveal a continuing moveout of business, industry and middle-income population. There is no indication that these trends can be reversed without a massive infusion of inter-governmental aid—state and federal. It is perfectly obvious that reliance on locally-raised revenues to reverse such trends is impossible.

#### SOCIAL AND GOVERNMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

One of the curses of metropolitan America is governmental fragmentation. As the population has redistributed itself within the metropolitan area, disparities in tax bases have increased. There is no jurisdictional line in the United States less justifiable in terms of social and economic reality than that which surrounds the country's largest central cities. For respected and thoughtful New Yorkers now to suggest that we lock in that line, in effect build a governmental wall around it, is simply unbelievable. It would cut the City of New York off forever from its wealthier neighbors. It would force the city to depend completely on the federal government to meet its fiscal needs or force it to raise taxes of all kinds to the point where anyone who could financially get out would. More importantly the proposal fails to recognize that the city is inextricably bound—socially, culturally, and economically—to its surrounding suburbs. What is probably needed is a completely redesigned governmental system for the entire metropolitan area that combines centralization and decentralization.

Instead the proposers of statehood offer the opposite, another dimension to an already overly fragmented system, which would further isolate the city and block the City forever from access to the tax base of its wealthier neighbors.

#### CONCLUSION

There are those who have suggested that the city-statehood proposal should simply be viewed as a talking point from which we all can discuss the problems of the City in relation to the state. There are others who insist that the real issue is home rule—and statehood is simply a manifestation of the desire for selfgovernment and liberty on the part of millions of New York City residents.

Neither argument is acceptable. The proponents of statehood use a faulty and even

reactionary concept—that you should get back what you pay in. This criticism must not be construed to suggest that there are not serious discriminatory patterns which exist in the City's tenuous and often turbulent relationship with New York State Government. Rather it means that the political leaders of the City should not deviate from a strong and clear position that the City should get more funds from the State because by every measure of need—fiscal and social—it deserves more. The purpose of government must be to redistribute revenues on the basis of need. To move away from that position is to suggest a fundamental shift in liberal philosophy that seems both dangerous and foolhardy.

The well-intentioned supporters of statehood have manipulated data in a way to mislead citizens of the City into believing that there will be substantial fiscal gains from the proposal. The analysis of the data presented here reveals that there will be no fiscal gain because of the variety of costs associated with becoming a state. Second, even after the initial costs are met, long-term trends suggest that the City's own revenue sources are growing too slowly to be depended upon to finance growing public costs. Third, while the City's contribution to the total state budget is declining—the proportion of state aid received by the City is increasing. Fourth, the area chosen for statehood adds no new tax base for needed revenues, and economically is declining compared to its surrounding area. Fifth, any hope for economically integrating the metropolitan area will be lost.

Statehood advocates have also claimed that even without substantial fiscal gain, home rule itself would make things better. It is difficult to understand such an argument. The lack of fiscal gain, rather, suggests that even a substantial gain in home rule would not be directly relevant to helping the City solve its problems.

While more home rule might alleviate some administrative problems for the city, it will not, as has been suggested, give a significant fiscal boost to the city treasury. Studies of localities without tax and debt limits have demonstrated that there are sufficient internal economic and political constraints that operate to keep taxes and borrowing to certain levels whether or not there are state-imposed limits.

On the basis of these findings, I recommend that Citizens Union oppose the current movement for statehood.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> As quoted in John A. Hamilton, "Should New York City Secede from the State?" *New York Times*, May 5, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Journal American*, April 4, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, May 2, 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Robert M. Haig, Carl S. Shoup and Lyle C. Fitch, *The Financial Problem of the City of New York, A Report to the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey*, June 1952 (General Summary Volume), p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Leon E. Panetta, "City Statehood—A Time for Serious Study," Memorandum to the Mayor of the City of New York, May 19, 1971; Untitled Memorandum from Congresswoman Bella Abzug's staff was distributed at a meeting of officers of the New Democratic Coalition of New York, June 29, 1971.

<sup>6</sup> This opinion of New York City's Bureau of the Budget is taken from the Untitled Memorandum from Congresswoman Bella Abzug's staff (see footnote 4) and from the Citizens Budget Commission report, "Does New York State Shortchange New York City? A New Look at an Old Problem," December 1969, p. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as *CBC Report*)

<sup>7</sup> *CBC Report*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Raymond Vernon, *Metropolis 1985*; Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis*, New York: Anchor Books, 1962.

## PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA

### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, on July 15 President Nixon made the historic announcement that he will visit the People's Republic of China before next May.

The announcement brought support and favorable comment from most sectors of our country. I personally believe his visit could be one of the great diplomatic breakthroughs in the last two decades and I am hopeful that this and other initiatives will, indeed, pave the way for a generation of peace.

I am happy to say that this attitude is shared by many in my State of Delaware and that support for this new initiative is not bounded by party affiliations or other qualifications. The city council of the city of Wilmington recently adopted a resolution commending the President for his "courageous efforts to secure a better understanding and a peaceful solution to many international problems."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire text of the city council's resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, President Nixon has announced his plans to personally visit and confer with the leaders of Chinese Communist powers; and

Whereas, his announced purpose of attempting to negotiate an acceptable peace for ending the Viet-Name War; and

Whereas, it is premature to be too optimistic concerning the success of this venture by our President; and

Whereas, opening direct communication with the Chinese leadership may enhance an early release of American prisoners of war and result in the accelerated return of our armed forces and put an end to the present casualties and hostilities; and

Whereas, conceivably a proper peace may result therefrom; and

Whereas, President Nixon has indicated that our policy will not lead to the abandonment of our friends and allies.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Council of the city of Wilmington That President Nixon be commended for his courageous efforts to secure a better understanding and a peaceful solution to many international problems.

Further resolved That the City Clerk forward a copy of this Resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States and the Honorable Russell W. Peterson, Governor of the State of Delaware, the Honorable J. Caleb Boggs, United States Senator, the Honorable William V. Roth, Jr., United States Senator, and the Honorable Pierre S. DuPont, IV, United States Congressman.

## FULBRIGHT IGNORES MIDEAST

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as I have often emphasized to the Members, the complications in the Middle East pose a far greater threat to world peace than the situation now existing in Southeast Asia where President Nixon has effectively reduced U.S. military forces while preserving the legitimate governments in Laos and Cambodia, in addition to South Vietnam. In the meantime in the Middle East, Soviet arms shipments to the radical Arab governments, the continued buildup of their Mediterranean fleet and the assistance given the so-called Palestinian guerrilla forces are all evidence of the diabolical policy being conducted by the Russians.

The complete disinterest of the junior Senator from Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the Middle East is the subject of a very timely editorial commentary in the San Diego Union of July 19 which I believe effectively makes its point.

[From the San Diego Union, July 19, 1971]  
COMMITTEE SIDETRACKED—FULBRIGHT IGNORES MIDEAST

The concern expressed so often by Sen. J. William Fulbright for the healthy functioning of the check-and-balance relationship between Congress and the Executive is not unique in American history. Congressional leaders have been sparring with presidents on this point for nearly two centuries.

However, Senator Fulbright is carving a niche of his own. Not in memory has a chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee shown such obsessive concern with the way one aspect of our foreign policy is being implemented by the Executive Branch. Foreign relations to the junior senator from Arkansas seem to begin and end with the way the President fulfills his responsibilities as commander in chief of the armed forces, and particularly in the way President Nixon is proceeding to end the war in Vietnam.

This narrow and misdirected interest of Senator Fulbright could defeat the very cause he purports to champion—fulfilling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's constitutional role in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

There is a preponderance of opinion in and out of the government that the greatest threat to world peace today lies not in Southeast Asia but in the Middle East. It would follow that the most grave decisions to be made on U.S. foreign policy lie in our approach to the Arab-Israeli dispute and the confrontation it threatens to generate between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

In this regard the record is almost unbelievable. It shows that Senator Fulbright has never chaired a full-dress hearing on the Middle East question! Indeed, the Foreign Relations Committee has conducted no public hearings on the Middle East question since 1957.

Since 1957 the lines of confrontation between Israel and her neighbors have been drawn and redrawn. The Middle East has been the scene of a dramatic thrust by Soviet power, including a military build-up in Egypt and a clear challenge by the Soviet navy to the Mediterranean forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The commitment of the United States to the survival of Israel raises questions which should stand high on the agenda of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Its chairman, however, has called the committee only into closed, executive sessions for secret briefings on Middle East developments, while open hearings have been used repeatedly as sounding boards for his personal views on subjects quite remote from foreign policy.

It may be that the course of events in Vietnam which so concern Senator Fulbright today might have been altered if Congress and the American people had been better informed about the implications of our Southeast Asian policy a decade or more ago. Now, by skirting the Middle East issue as he does, the senator is denying his committee an opportunity to prevent the very same misunderstandings from clouding our policy in the Middle East at some critical time in the future.

FREE MAN MUST BE ELIMINATED  
SAYS SKINNER

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, "Free man—is dying—society, using a new technology of behavior, must—control him." Man must give up his claims to "individual freedom and dignity" and surrender the basic rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to insure the survival of his culture; or so says B. F. Skinner, behavioral psychologist of Harvard.

From time to time the American people are offered little previews of the latest tortures being planned for them by the change makers, all designed to bring about the controlled society envisioned by the intelligentsia. Professor Skinner's comments sound frightening, but the horrible truth is that those in charge of Federal moneys to promote changes in education have far too many times used Skinner's theories as the basis for their experimentation in the name of progressive education.

Quite naturally, the deprivations of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness planned for the outmoded free man are not intended to encompass the brilliant intelligence of the new aristocracy. The intelligentsia must be exempt from the repression of a proclaimed police state so that they remain free to dream up new theoretical solutions for the problems they continue to create.

I insert a newsclipping in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, July 20, 1971]

B. F. SKINNER HAS A PLAN FOR A NEW SOCIETY;  
BUT IT IS NOT EXACTLY WHAT THE FOUNDING  
FATHERS HAD IN MIND

(By Victor Cohn)

Free man as we have known him, or imagined him, is dying.

Now society, using a new technology of behavior, must design and control him.

This will leave man "free" to act beneficially in a better world—not an Orwellian "1984," but a meaningful world without war, violence, overpopulation.

This arresting argument is made by one

of the nation's foremost behavioral psychologists, Harvard's Dr. B. F. Skinner.

In a manifesto likely to arouse anger and argument in political and intellectual circles throughout the world, Skinner says man must give up his claims to "individual freedom and dignity" and surrender the basic rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to ensure the survival of his culture.

Such "basic rights," Skinner contends, are increasingly irrelevant or harmful to development of a future culture in which men of reason would want to live. Society, he contends, has failed man badly by permitting him too much of the wrong kind of freedom.

In fact, he says, "it is not difficult to demonstrate a connection between the unlimited right of the individual to pursue happiness and the catastrophes threatened by unchecked breeding, the unrestrained affluence that exhausts resources and pollutes the environment, and the imminence of nuclear war."

"What we need," asserts Skinner, "is more control, not less" or "some other culture" will possess the future.

In the future he seeks, both behavioral and genetic engineering would be part of a design to change man's character. Men would change the genetics they inherit "with a clearer eye to the consequences," and introduce cultural practices to mold society.

Skinner's provocative demands are made in a new book, "Beyond Freedom and Dignity," condensed in the August issue of Psychology Today and to be published later this year by Alfred A. Knopf.

The argument is important because Skinner is important. He counts as scientist, technologist and social prophet.

Some will sharply criticize his new statements, but they will first listen.

Others will hate him. He expects this. Copernicus was hated, he points out, when he insulted man's cosmological view of the universe, Darwin was hated when he insulted man's biological view and Freud was hated when he insulted man's psychological view.

Skinner insults our deeply implanted behavioral view of "autonomous man of traditional theory," endowed or entitled to "individual freedom and dignity."

He says in essence:

The traditional autonomous man "is held responsible for his conduct and given credit for his achievements." Almost everyone attributes human behavior to "intentions, purposes, aims and goals." But "a scientific analysis shifts both the responsibility and the achievement to the environment." It is only when "we do not know why a person acts as he does that "we attribute his behavior to him."

Man, Skinner points out, is already controlled—by family, school, neighborhood, government, society. It is simply a question of how to do it better.

What's more, he argues, man has in fact now reached a dead end—an end in which society may die—in his long struggle to shape his destiny.

"Permissive practices," he argues, are not truly policy but "the abandonment of policy," with any apparent advantages in fact illusory.

To him, the aggressiveness and hostility of much of youth is due to "defective social environment." To refuse to control is "to leave control not to the person himself" but to the environment.

"The problem," he maintains, "is to free man not from control but from certain kinds of control . . . to make the social environment as free as possible of aversive stimuli."

As to critics like Britain's C. S. Lewis—who wrote that "man is being abolished" through Skinnerian psychology—Skinner now answers: if Lewis means today's over-au-

tonomous man, then that man's abolition "is long overdue," for he is about to destroy us.

Skinner does not guarantee a utopia, but frankly seeks it. In his utopia, people would learn to live together without wars and quarreling. They would produce the goods they need by consuming no more than a reasonable part of the world's resources. They would bear no more children than they can raise decently.

Man's attempts so far to create utopias have, he concedes, been ignominious failures. But "unplanned and imperfect cultures have failed too," and—his conclusion—"we have not yet seen what man can make of man."

Science has now learned that "behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences." This means "we can manipulate" man's environment. Man's genetic endowment can be changed only slowly, but changes in the individuals environment have "quick and dramatic results."

Therefore, by developing a "technology of behavior,"—a technology only in its infancy and for which Skinner cannot yet draw a detailed social or political blueprint—"it should be possible to design a world in which behavior likely to be punished seldom or never occurs."

Desirable actions would be reinforced in this society. Only acting well would be encouraged by the controllers.

Though Skinner offers no plan he does suggest a beginning.

He believes an intensive study should be made of man, his needs and his society—in order to see which actions should be reinforced and which conditioned out of his behavior.

To those who say, "Will not controlled man be simply a victim?" Skinner answers: there have always been the controlled and the controllers. "Those who object most violently to the manipulation of behavior now 'make the most vigorous efforts to manipulate . . ."

B. F. (for Burrhus Frederic) Skinner, 67, developed the theory of "operant behavior" to operate or shape or manipulate the behavior of pigeons or mice—or men.

He did it by combining appropriate "stimuli" with "programs of reinforcement" to lead to the "terminal behavior" that the operator desires; e.g. a pigeon is taught to play Ping Pong (as Skinner taught pigeons in the 1930s) by breaking the action into little pieces and rewarding each step with a bit of corn. Or a child is "operated" to learn geography by presenting him with a piece of information at a time, then rewarding him with the answer "correct" and the satisfaction of achievement.

He proposed a utopia based on his theories in his novel "Walden Two."

Skinnerian psychology led to programmed instruction and teaching machines. It led to behavior therapy—conditioning by positive reward—as used today in many mental hospitals, prisons and training schools for the delinquent or retarded. It led to a new view of man. It also led to a National Medal of Science and many other honors for Skinner and a position as one of the most admired—and criticized—thinkers in the world.

FORMER CONGRESSMAN BESHLIN  
PASSES AWAY AT AGE 101

### HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, former Congressman Earl H.

Beshlin of Warren, Pa., died Monday, July 12, at the age of 101. Mr. Beshlin suffered a fall in his home which resulted in a broken hip. He died in the Warren General Hospital following surgery.

Congressman Beshlin was born April 28, 1870, in Warren County, Pa., where he resided all his life. Although never attending a formal law school, he received his legal training as a clerk in a law office. He was admitted to the bar at the age 23 and had been practicing law for the past 78 years. Despite his age, he walked daily to his office in the Pennsylvania Bank & Trust Building.

Mr. Beshlin's community service began in 1899 when he served as borough manager until 1903. He was burgess from 1906 until 1909, referee in bankruptcy from 1898 until 1917, and solicitor for the borough council from 1914 to 1918. He served as a school board member for 16 years, and was chairman of the board of trustees of the Warren State Hospital from 1935 through 1939.

After being admitted to practice in the local court in 1893, he was subsequently admitted to the U.S. district court, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and as a member of the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court. He devoted most of his long career to civil court cases. The high point of his legal career was his election in 1917 to the 65th Congress. He was the only Democrat—Democratic-Prohibitionist—since the Civil War to be elected to a national office from Pennsylvania's 23d District.

Many Members will remember Mr. Beshlin when he spoke before the House on March 4, 1971, as the oldest charter member of the Former Members of Congress, Inc. I am sure you join Mrs. Johnson and I in expressing our sympathy to the family of former Congressman Beshlin in the loss of this truly remarkable man.

### PHOSPHATES IN DETERGENTS AND STREAM CHANNELIZATION

#### HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, several articles have come to my attention in recent days which discuss subjects of immediate interest to the Congress and the public.

One by Dr. Howard Tanner, director of the Department of Natural Resources in the School of Agriculture at Michigan State University, discusses phosphates in detergents. Dr. Tanner presents a most thoughtful discussion.

The second article written by Tom Herman appeared in the Wall Street Journal on July 19 and discusses stream channelization. The article very effectively spells out the problem and viewpoints of conservationists and agriculture interests.

The two articles follow:

#### REPORT ON PHOSPHATES

(NOTE.—KMB president Arthur Nelson has been asked to state KMB's position on phosphates in detergents. Nelson referred the project to KMB consultant Dr. Howard Tanner, director of the Natural Resources Department, Michigan State University. Here are Dr. Tanner's comments.)

The question of phosphates in detergents, like so many things these days, is not clear cut. Let's talk about the objective and then the possible steps to obtain the objective.

First of all, the objective is to eliminate, or drastically reduce, the amount of phosphates going into our surface waters. The role of phosphates in eutrophication of freshwater is a complicated subject in itself. However, I accept the opinion held by a great majority of authorities that limiting phosphate input into freshwaters is the most practical and effective way to slow eutrophication. There are exceptions, there are arguments, but usually this will be true. We should commit ourselves to stop the discharge of phosphate rich wastewater into our freshwaters and we should do it soon.

The question of world phosphate supply is part of the question. The world's supply is limited, but apparently not very limited. However, I am not satisfied with a projection of only this country's needs and then only for 50-100 years. Phosphates are the key element which has permitted us to expand greatly world agricultural production in the last 150 years. Presumably, it will remain a key element as we double and double again world food production. The aspirations of other countries will place an even increasing burden on phosphate supplies. I doubt if we will run out, but certainly we are going to be pushed to lower and lower grade reserves.

Is it really good long range conservation to permit the use of phosphates in detergents? My answer is, probably not. From a resource use standpoint this is not a panic question but prudence should say, let's not spend our supply of phosphates in making detergents.

So far we have looked at both ends of the question. World phosphate supply is not infinite and we need to keep phosphate out of freshwater.

The suggestion is made that phosphates should come out of detergents. The phosphates in municipal wastes are somewhere between 25% and 67% of detergent origin depending upon which "world authority" that you choose to believe, I would select 40% as a reasonable estimate. Therefore, the removal of phosphates from detergents will not solve the problem of phosphates going into our surface waters, and phosphate removal strategies must continue to be installed in municipal systems and they must continue to be improved. Whether we install biological systems as I would propose, or chemical precipitation systems, or some other system, is not at this point, relevant. But to be effective any phosphate removal system has got to be very effective—perhaps about 90%.

One more aspect of detergents: As far as I know there is presently no substitute for phosphates in detergents that fully qualifies as safe, effective, and non-polluting. If NTA is, in fact, out of consideration then I believe the availability of a substitute for phosphates is a matter of years away, not months. Some will argue in favor of soaps and soaps are part of the answer. But the challenge is to be able to enjoy the advantages that technology has given us without degrading our environment. To go back to soaps is a step backwards in convenience and will therefore be rejected by many.

Suggestion solutions: I suggest that we find economic ways to pressure the soap and detergent companies to scale down the percentage of phosphates in detergents, looking forward to the time when the content can be

reduced to zero. As one approach, I suggest a tax on detergents based on the percent of phosphates in the product, with the tax being earmarked for use in construction of waste treatment and/or waste recycling systems. This tax would be reviewed and scaled up or down annually to increase or decrease pressure on the companies. Such economic pressure towards the gradual removal of phosphates would have to be reasonable and rational. I couldn't tell you whether it would take one year or five, but it would have to be accompanied by an active search for a suitable substitute and an assurance that the substitutes proposed were, in fact, safe for human health and for the environment before they could be employed.

From the figures given earlier it should be clear that the elimination of phosphates from detergents will be only a partial solution. Assuming no phosphates in detergents, we still have an estimated 60% of the phosphates coming in from other sources; human excrement, garbage from disposal units, and fertilizers. Whichever way we go we must continue to improve our systems of extracting phosphates from sewage effluents. Any system that only removes phosphates, such as chemical precipitation does, is also only a partial answer. It solves a wastewater problem and creates a solid waste problem. Phosphates are the greatest benefit to man as a plant nutrient. Let's keep it that way. Our approach to wastes must be to put wastes back into their most suitable role—in this case, as a plant nutrient. This is the conceptual base of the Michigan State University Water Quality Management Project. Use wastewater to grow plants to be harvested for man's use. Simple.

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 19, 1971]

**WATERWAY WRANGLE: FEDERAL SOIL SERVICE STIRS ECOLOGISTS' IRE BY ALTERING STREAMS—DEEPENING, WIDENING RIVERS AIDS FARMERS, BUT SCENERY, FISH ARE OFTEN DESTROYED; A DISAGREEMENT ON ECONOMICS**

(By Tom Herman)

COVINGTON, GA.—The Alcovy River is a tranquil stream that flows through a dense forest for about 50 miles near here. Many conservationists cherish it as one of the state's most precious natural treasures. "It's one of the few remaining unpolluted rivers in Georgia," says Charles Wharton, biology professor at Georgia State University, who often brings his students here to study the river's complex ecosystem.

But the Alcovy is regarded as a big headache by scores of farmers who own land along its banks and complain that its occasional floods keep them from being able to cultivate some of their land. So in 1969 they were delighted when the U.S. Soil Conservation Service (SCS) proposed a \$10.9 million project that included straightening and deepening 73 miles of the river and its tributaries, as well as bulldozing more than 800 acres of the forests along its banks.

The state's conservation groups exploded in protest, arguing that the SCS plan would turn the Alcovy into an ugly ditch and wipe out a rich fish and wildlife habitat. After the U.S. Interior Department and the Georgia Game and Fish Commission joined the fight, the SCS reluctantly agreed to modify its plan. But the other agencies still oppose even the modified plan, and the SCS now says the project is "in limbo."

#### ECOLOGICAL SIDE EFFECTS

Controversies like the one over the Alcovy have brought the Soil Conservation Service under heavy fire here and in scores of other communities around the nation where nature lovers fear the destruction of rustic, meandering creeks, streams and rivers by

SCS bulldozers. Critics charge that the agency, which is a branch of the Agriculture Department, is so intent upon harnessing water to serve big landholders' needs that it ignores the ecological side effects of its work.

A number of critics also contend that many of the most expensive projects are economically unjustifiable. They assert that the SCS often underestimates costs and inflates benefits when pressured by powerful Congressmen who view such projects as handy reelection aids and who, if angered, could vote against the next SCS budgetary request.

All this criticism plainly angers SCS officials. "Many of these people who call themselves ecologists aren't true conservationists," says Robert Oertel, an SCS assistant state conservationist in Georgia. "They're preservationists. They want to preserve everything just the way it was back in the time of Adam and Eve. And if we followed that kind of thinking, that's just where we'd be, back in the Stone Age."

The criticism is especially galling to the SCS because the agency was, for many years, the darling of the conservationists. It was created in 1935 by Congress, at the urging of President Franklin Roosevelt, largely to combat the huge problem of soil erosion, then a major headache to farmers all across the country but especially in the Midwest's "Dust Bowl." Since then, the SCS has taught millions of landowners how to lay out their land so as to impede soil runoff, using such soil conservation techniques as terraces, windbreaks and strip cropping.

"Conservation is our middle name," says Hollis R. Williams, deputy administrator for watersheds, "and we've earned it."

Today the agency has grown into one of the Agriculture Department's most formidable bureaucracies. It employs about 14,500 people, including engineers, hydrologists, geologists, economists, biologists, agronomists, foresters, and soil scientists. Its congressional appropriation for fiscal 1971, which ended June 30, was \$287 million. Out of that, an estimated \$15 million went for "channelization," the name usually applied to straightening, deepening and cleaning out of streams.

Since 1954, when Congress first authorized such projects, the SCS has spent over \$90 million on channelization affecting 6,164 miles of streams, an official says. Of that, over \$60 million was used to dig approximately 3,000 miles of channels, and about \$30 million was used for "clearing and snagging," which often means pulling drag lines along a river bottom to remove sandbars, logs and trees.

#### 12,000 MILES OF WATERWAYS

Another 300 projects involving 8,000 to 10,000 miles of channelization now are under way. The agency is planning future projects affecting an additional 12,000 miles of waterways.

Even the agency's toughest critics concede that many of its projects have done a world of good. The soil conservation program has preserved millions of acres of rich topsoil. The small watershed program has created reservoirs and dams that serve as badly needed municipal and local water-storage facilities, storing excess water in rainy seasons and releasing it gradually in dry times. The reservoirs, which often double as recreational facilities, unquestionably encourage the growth of new industry and help local economies.

There's little controversy about that, but there's plenty when the SCS seeks to include river-straightening as part of a project. In justifying channelization, the SCS maintains that many natural rivers and river swamps need to be straightened and deepened in order to carry off excess water from upstream. "The purpose of a stream is to carry water,

not just to look pretty," says Mr. Oertel, the SCS official in Georgia. "When we channelize a river, we aren't ruining it. We're improving it."

During a recent seven-hour interview in his Washington, D.C., office, Hollis Williams, the deputy administrator for watersheds, said:

"Personally, when I see a swamp, I think back to my boyhood days in Arkansas and I think of snakes, water moccasins and mosquitos. And I think how nice it would be to drain that swamp and build a quiet lake, where a man could fish with his boy and where a Sunday school class could visit, and where a man could swim without fear. And I think that the lake could also store water for nearby towns, and prevent flooding, and maybe attract new industry. Yes, I'm biased personally, but I'm not biased as an administrator. I realize some people think swamps are valuable, and I give both sides a fair hearing."

Nonsense, reply the conservationists. Officials of assorted state game and fish commissions and the U.S. Interior Department complain that the SCS has repeatedly ignored their warnings of the ecological havoc that will be wreaked by channelization projects. An Interior Department staffer in Atlanta says, "The SCS frequently doesn't pay any attention to what they're told either by us or by other environmental groups. They listen, of course, because they're bound to by law. But then they go right ahead with their previous plans."

The subject of channelization is a particularly emotional one in the Southeast, which has an especially large number of rivers as well as heavy rainfall and is thus scheduled to undergo more channelization than other areas of the nation.

#### THUMBS DOWN ON PROJECTS

Recently, several communities have started the SCS by voting to withdraw support for channelization projects. In August of 1970, the Seminole County, Ga., board of commissioners voted unanimously not to open bids for construction of a 39-mile channel on Dry Creek. A month later, the commissioners of Floyd County, Ga., voted unanimously to withdraw the county's support for a plan to channelize about 10 miles of Johns Creek and a major tributary. In Florida, several landowners along a project on the state's west coast are holding up a channelization plan. And in Indiana, conservationist opposition has slowed development of the Lost Creek watershed.

The SCS is feeling pressure on other fronts, too. A public interest law firm, Natural Resources Defense Council Inc., is considering filing some lawsuits against SCS projects, charging that the agency is violating environmental protection laws. On Capitol Hill, Rep. Henry S. Reuss, the Wisconsin Democrat, sought unsuccessfully to amend the fiscal 1972 agriculture appropriations bill so as to block most channelization work for at least one year. "I've never seen such unanimity among conservation groups as on this issue," he says. A dozen conservation groups testified on behalf of the amendment at House hearings.

Rep. John Dingell, chairman of the fisheries and wildlife conservation subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, says he will investigate the SCS to see how well it's conforming to environmental protection laws. "The agriculture crowd is one of the worst when it comes to paying attention to environmental values," says the Michigan Democrat. "They must be brought to heel somehow, but frankly, I'm not yet sure exactly how."

Another important debate is taking place at the Water Resources Council, an inter-agency group that is proposing changes in

the way that a controversial "cost benefit ratio" is applied to various government water projects. The cost-benefit ratio weighs estimated costs of a project against its benefits over a broad span of years, and critics charge that it's currently rigged in favor of approving virtually anything that's backed by a powerful lawmaker. The Water Resources Council has proposed several highly technical changes in the ratio that would make it harder to justify projects, including channelization, but they have yet to be approved.

What especially rankles economists is that channelization projects frequently increase available farm land at little cost to the farmer. Economists like Jack L. Knetsch of the President's Council on Environmental Quality argue that "it makes little sense to me for the Agriculture Department to sponsor this while at the same time paying farmers subsidies not to plant already existing land."

But the primary complaint is the massive impact channelization has on the environment, and critics say there is more than ample scientific documentation of this. For example:

A 1964 study by two members of the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission compared fish populations in 23 channelized streams with populations in 36 nearby natural streams. Their finding: The channelized streams had 90% fewer catchable-size game fish. Their study added, "The data further revealed that no significant return towards the natural stream populations occurred within a 40-year period following channelization."

An unpublished study by the Mississippi Game and Fish Commission in 1968 showed a decrease in pounds of fish per acre in the Tappah River to 4.8 from 240.7 before channelization.

#### NOT BLIND TO CRITICISM

This research and criticism haven't gone unnoticed by the SCS. In February, Kenneth E. Grant, the current head of the agency, dispatched a six-page memo to every SCS state conservationist calling for a review of all channelization work in progress and a decision as to whether each one would have "minor or no adverse effect" on the environment, "some adverse effect," or "serious adverse effect."

"We're not blind to the criticism," says Mr. Grant. "We realize that many of these special interest groups want to protect the environment, but I want to stress that we have to think of both sides of the question. We have to look at it both from the point of view of the environment as well as the landowner."

Some conservation groups, however, fear "Memo 108" will be a waste of time because destructive channelization projects will simply be labeled as having "minor or no adverse effect," ignoring Interior Department complaints. Mr. Grant insists the review will be fair. "Congress has charged us with making the judgment on whether to go ahead with a project, and we will conduct that study fairly," he says. "Congress can always kill a project if it thinks we're wrong."

One project conservation group will be watching with special interest in the next few weeks is the Alcovy, which today is placid and unhurried. The dense hardwood forest along its banks is home to deer and raccoons, wild turkeys and various forms of microbiotic life that biologists like Prof. Wharton of Georgia State come from miles away to study. The water is ice-cold. An occasional turtle suns itself on a stone.

#### WHAT PRICE EFFICIENCY?

The SCS, which has trimmed its proposal for channelizing the Alcovy to 45 miles from the original 73-mile plan, says that straight-

ening the river and clearing its banks of forest would produce benefits of \$1.50 for each dollar in costs over a 50-year period.

But Mr. Knetsch, the economist with the President's Council on Environmental Quality, has studied the project's economics in depth, and he strongly disagrees. His finding: The project at best could produce benefits of only 45 cents for each dollar in costs. At worst, it might produce only 18 cents for each dollar invested. In fact, he contends, "it would be much cheaper to buy the entire river and the forests" from private landowners and leave them the way they are.

Robert Davis, an economist with George Washington University and the National Audubon Society, has also studied the Alcovy's economics and concluded the SCS figures "are totally farcical." Says Mr. Davis: "The SCS has made a mockery of the cost-benefit ratio by adding phony benefits."

However, Eugene C. Bule, the SCS's assistant deputy administrator for watershed planning, says: "I have no hesitancy in saying that our figures are defensible. I won't say they're absolutely accurate because they are based on judgment factors and no two economists will ever agree. But we do insist that our evaluation is based on defensible, supportable figures."

Rep. Ben Blackburn, a Georgia Republican from a nearby district, recently checked to find out how many, if any, of the farmers along the Alcovy whose lands would be cleared at federal expense are already getting farm subsidies not to plant existing cleared land. His finding: At least 79 out of the 182 landowners are receiving subsidies.

"Nobody has explained the logic of that to me," says Ben Dillard, administrative assistant to Rep. Blackburn.

#### COMMUNISTS PLEDGE DEFEAT OF UNITED STATES

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Communist countries are mellowing; at least this is the line being used to condition our people to accept ideological integration. Unfortunately, the people in the Communist countries have not gotten the word.

Today we learn of three East German men attempting by foot to escape to the West. One was killed and a second wounded by their Communist captors.

Meanwhile, from Hong Kong, President Nixon's Red counterpart again called for defeat of "U.S. imperialism and its running dogs." Chou En-lai pledged the support of his government and people to "fight shoulder to shoulder with the Cuban people, and to defeat U.S. aggressors through to the end."

It appears that the only people who think that communism is changing or mellowing are our pseudointellectuals and the communications media. But then, they are of the new aristocracy who only talk to each other and, after a while, forget that their talk is propaganda aimed at the American people and begin believing themselves.

I insert two newspaper clippings at this point:

[From the Washington Post, July 26, 1971]

#### BERLIN ESCAPE TRY

BERLIN.—East German troops foiled an attempt by three men to escape from East to West Berlin, killing one and wounding a second.

West Berlin police said the East German troops turned on floodlights and fired about 30 shots at the men as they ran across the last few yards to a fence bordering the American sector of West Berlin.

[From Reuter, July 25, 1971]

#### CHOU VOWS AGAIN TO DEFEAT U.S.

HONG KONG, July 25.—Chinese Premier Chou En-lai today reiterated a pledge to defeat U.S. aggressors in a message to mark the 19th anniversary of the Cuban sports day, Radio Peking reported.

The message, addressed to Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro, said, "The Cuban people's struggle has provided great support to the Chinese people and people of the world in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs."

"The Chinese government and people will as usual fight shoulder to shoulder with the Cuban people, help each other and learn from each other, and to defeat U.S. aggressors through to the end," it added.

#### CONSUMERISM

### HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Communications Workers of America recently held its annual convention and passed a resolution on consumer protection which I believe touches on several major social and economic issues that should be of interest to us all.

It seems particularly appropriate to me that communications workers—individuals whose occupations are predominantly concerned with the transmission and interchange of thoughts, opinions, and information—have been, and are, on the forefront of the struggle for consumers' rights. Perhaps due to the very nature of their work, they are more aware than others of the fundamental importance of the free flow of accurate information in an open society.

In any discussion of consumer legislation, I think it is wise to remember that law is supposed to be a codification of those lasting values upon which a people agree. In this country, the "marketplace ideal" is such a value. This ideal assumes that objects, ideas, customs, and products enter the marketplace and eventually under the critical scrutiny of the citizens, the best of all possibilities emerges. Abuse of this ideal, motivated by individual greed and irresponsibility, is made possible by consumer deception and leads inevitably to consumer fraud. Insofar as the law fails to regulate violations of this ideal and, in turn, protect the citizen-consumer, we have failed.

The Truth-in-Lending Act, as well as the Truth-in-Packaging Act, were solid steps in the right direction toward public policies which will protect consumers

from abuse. But I have come to realize, together with the Communications Workers of America, that freedom from something is not enough. We must have freedom for something. Freedom should not be merely a measure of safety, but a full opportunity. Freedom ought to be a means to enable consumers to enter the marketplace with confidence and security.

Mr. Speaker, these are thoughts which should stay with us as we consider legislation intended to bring a degree of fairness and equity to the marketplace. At this point I include the Communications Workers of America resolution in the RECORD:

**RESOLUTION 33A-71-3: CONSUMERISM**

The Communications Workers of America has recorded itself in favor of pending and enacted legislative proposals to protect the individual American against the misusers of the marketplace, but the struggle has reached a point which requires us to reassess where we stand and to renew our effort.

We see our attainments not having the effect that they were supposed to have, and we see our goals thwarted by a combination of phony propaganda and political pressure.

The Truth-in-Lending Act was passed after years of bitter struggle, and now a consumer can look at a bill and see exactly how much interest he is being charged a month, both in per cent and in dollars and cents. But an organization called the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws has concocted what it calls a Uniform Consumer Credit Code which would gut the Truth-in-Lending Law by establishing interest rates at 36 per cent and allowing "extra" fees and insurance overcharges. We took action against this deceitful effort in 1969, but the movement is getting stronger and stronger in the state legislature, and we should renew our efforts to block it.

No state should allow exorbitant interest rates to be charged legally, and no state should allow usurious interest rates through devices or tricks.

One particular device used to raise the amount of interest on a mortgage loan is the point system, which requires that a certain per cent of a loan—called points—be paid to the lender, in addition to the interest, in order to obtain the loan. This should be ended.

Campaigns should be initiated by organized labor and other consumer oriented groups to set a practical and realistic limit on interest in all states which now have exorbitant and usurious interest rates.

The Truth-in-Packaging Act, passed with much fanfare, has done little to help consumers, because the crucial element—allowing the government to set standard sizes for packages so that consumers could tell at a glance how much they were getting for their money—was not included.

Meat and poultry protections have also been ineffective because the industries have succeeded in keeping down appropriations for inspection services.

We need to be aware of these tactics, and we need to increase our efforts with those who legislate by calling for toughening up consumer legislation where needed, and appropriations where needed.

The major area of new consumer legislation which interests us is no-fault auto insurance, and we are on record as supporting it in principle, but we should take the additional step of recording ourselves as supporting pending legislation which has been introduced by Senator Philip Hart of Michigan and Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington (a comparable package has been introduced in the House).

President Beirne has presented testimony in both the House and Senate in support of this legislation.

The Hart-Magnuson bills would establish auto liability on the no-fault concept, so that injured persons would be protected for their medical and economic losses as a result of an accident without having to go to court, but could sue for any additional damages if they wanted to.

A vicious tirade of false propaganda has already been started against no-fault by those who have milked the premium payer for years and do not want to give up this lucrative source of income. We should do everything we can to support the no-fault package and to counter the propaganda of those who put themselves before the interests of the insurance purchasing public.

We have referred to no-fault legislation as a package, because it actually involves several pieces of legislation which are required to establish no-fault legally. These include:

Allowing group auto insurance similar to group health or group life insurance, and allowing employees to bargain for auto insurance coverage as a benefit. Employers would be allowed to deduct the costs of providing the auto insurance benefit from gross income, similar to the system used with accident and health premiums.

Requiring all cars built after July 1, 1974 to have bumpers strong enough to withstand a five-mile an hour crash without damages.

Establishing nation-wide titling and establishing diagnostic centers to inspect cars for manufacturing flaws and quality of repairs.

Requiring insurance companies to publish detailed price information.

There are other major important items of consumer legislation which we have gone on record for, and which will be before the current Congress.

We should do all that we can in support of the consumer class action bill. If this bill is passed it would mean that you, an individual, defrauded out of a sum too small to sue over because it would not be worth the legal fees, could join with others who have been defrauded the same way and sue as a group, or a class.

Now, to go into federal court, you must claim that you have been defrauded out of at least \$10,000 and claims cannot be added together to equal that amount.

The effort to create an independent consumer protection agency, instead of leaving the job scattered through various federal agencies which are not really interested in consumers, should have our renewed support.

The independent consumer protection agency legislation would also permanently establish the Office of Consumer Affairs in the White House as a strong inside voice for consumers.

Directly needed is an end to the "holder in due course" device for defrauding purchasers of faulty products. This involves the seller of the product selling the note on the product to a third party, which leaves the third party not responsible for ensuring that the product gives good service. The third party should be responsible, along with the seller of the product, and no contract should be allowed to be written that absolves either the seller or the holder in due course of responsibility to see that the purchaser has a product he can use.

Two other areas merit attention. Warranties should mean that the purchaser is protected, but too often we find that the words warranty and guarantee which were supposed to protect the buyer really protect the seller and the manufacturer. Legislation should be passed which truly protects the consumer, and this warranty legislation should include a provision extending the life of the warranty on a day-per-day basis for each day that an item un-

der warranty is inoperable and requires repair.

Also, product information produced with public dollars should be available to the public. Often, government agencies research products, but refuse to make their conclusions public. The consumers who pay the costs of the research are entitled to know the results.

Therefore, be it resolved: That the Communications Workers of America consider it necessary to enhance our efforts to improve consumer legislation so that it is truly effective, with particular attention devoted to the consumer issues set forth in this resolution.

**NIXON'S LEADERSHIP**

**HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial in the Portland Oregonian hailing President Nixon's leadership and citing in particular his efforts to ease tensions with Red China which have resulted in a major shift in public sentiment.

Without further comment, we introduce in the RECORD the full text of the editorial:

**NIXON'S LEADERSHIP**

Unlike his predecessor, Lyndon Johnson, President Richard M. Nixon has a thorough understanding of the complexities of international affairs and rarely, if ever, acts on impulse. The developing detente with Communist China did not just happen. The Nixon Administration has been working quietly toward that goal for a long time. It was prepared to take advantage of the widening political gulf between Communist China and the U.S.S.R.

Presidential leadership may not always be apparent to the public eye in foreign affairs but without it opportunities for a relaxation in international tensions and conflicts and progress toward a lasting peace cannot be capitalized. The partially opened door to the United States provided by Peking would not have come about without the unpublicized manifestations of a changed attitude on the part of the U.S. government since Nixon took office.

One consequence has been a major shift in public sentiment on the admission of Red China to the United Nations. At the low point after the Korean War, in 1954, the Gallup Poll showed only 8 per cent of those polled favored U.N. admission for the nation which was branded an aggressor by the U.N. General Assembly. As late as October, 1970, the Gallup Poll showed 35 per cent of Americans in favor of admission of Red China to the United Nations, 49 per cent opposed and 16 per cent with no opinion. This May, the poll showed a dramatic shift: 45 per cent in favor, 38 per cent opposed, 17 per cent undecided.

The greatest change was recorded among Republicans, a gain in support from 30 per cent to 45 per cent, more than twice the gain shown among Democrats and Independents. This was a direct reflection of presidential leadership in his own party as well as a better feeling toward Peking since its change in attitude. A strong President who is an authority on foreign relations can influence world affairs and at the same time build confidence among Americans for such policies.

## REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS

## HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commentary on revenue sharing:

WASHINGTON REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON

America's federal system is being challenged as perhaps never before. Americans are demanding that all levels of government—Federal, State and local—work better, become more responsive, more efficient, less costly and less confusing.

The central domestic concern of the Congress in recent years has been to find ways of strengthening and reinvigorating the federal system—to give it the ability and flexibility—to deal with problems which are growing more complex and more demanding with each passing day.

Many approaches have been considered, including expanded federal categorical grants to state and local governments, tax credits, the federalizing of welfare programs, aid to cities, and revenue-sharing.

I have long supported the concept of revenue-sharing. But as I have studied the issue, I have found myself asking more and more questions about the capacity of state and local governments to handle effectively large infusions of federal revenue-sharing funds. Revenue-sharing, I believe, must be combined with thorough reforms in state and local governments. Without modernization and reform, revenue-sharing will serve only to underwrite a system which is badly in need of change.

The Committee for Economic Development compiled in 1967 a list of outmoded state government structures which has changed little in recent years:

Only a handful of states have adopted new constitutions since 1945. Most of the state constitutions were drafted in the 1800s (Indiana's was adopted in 1851).

More than half of the legislatures still meet in regular sessions only once in each two years, and under wholly inadequate time limits, in most cases.

Many state legislatures are unwieldy in size. Less than half the lower chambers have fewer than 100 members.

Only a half dozen states give their governors the means of exercising administrative authority to meet fully the responsibilities of the office.

Almost half the states (including Indiana) deny their governors a second or third consecutive term, thus reducing the governor's ability to provide political as well as administrative leadership.

My concern about the effectiveness of Indiana's state and local governments focuses on the following points:

Executive: Executive leadership of the highest order is imperative to any large-scale organization. Since the Indiana governor is limited to one four-year term, and has limited power to appoint officials of his administration, he lacks the authority to deal with the responsibilities he faces. The Indiana governor comes to office right after a year or more of campaigning and faces immediately his most important legislative session.

Legislature: A recent study by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures rates the Indiana legislature as follows: overall efficiency, 40th out of the 50 states; functional

ability, 44th; accountability, 38th; well-informed, 41st; independence, 43d, and representative qualities, 20th.

Finances: One measure of performance is to compare state revenues and expenditures to personal income. On the basis of state taxes for each \$1,000 of personal income, Indiana raises \$51.06—as compared to \$61.65 for the 50-state average.

In the area of state expenditures for each \$1,000 of personal income, Indiana spends \$84.06—as compared to a 50-state average of \$100. Indiana spends a little more than most states on education and highways, and far less than most on public welfare. If Indiana taxes itself at the same rate as the average of the 10 states which are making the greatest revenue-producing effort, it would increase its revenue by about \$700 million a year.

All of us recognize that state and local government have made progress in increasing their effectiveness and strengthening the offices of governors and mayors. But we are going to have to move ahead more rapidly. It is my hope that revenue-sharing funds can act as a catalyst for effective state and local government reform to strengthen the federal system.

## A CONGRESSIONAL BOUQUET FOR MISS NEW YORK STATE

## HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, come September, one of the most pleasant of all U.S. folk rituals will take place at Atlantic City, N.J., as thousands gather for, and millions more will view by way of television, that annual Miss America contest.

Representing New York State will be a beautiful, brown-eyed brunette, who, I am happy to say, comes from my congressional district. She is Elizabeth Mae Condon, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Condon, 444 Lakeside Drive, Angola, N.Y.

She was chosen at the recent annual New York State pageant, conducted for the past 6 years in Olean, N.Y., which also is in my district but, I hasten to add, had no bearing on the choice of the lovely Miss Condon to represent New York State at the Miss America contest.

Charm, intelligence, grace, and a bewitching personality that bubbles like champagne are hers in abundance and it was most fitting that at that climactic moment the regal crown of Miss New York State should be placed on her head by Pamela Ann Eldred, Miss America of 1970.

For Miss Condon, a senior at Niagara University, it was an especially rewarding accolade. In 1969, she competed for similar honors but lost out.

The second time around proved to be a much happier experience. Standing 5 feet 6 inches, and weighing 120 pounds, Miss Condon says she is interested in a dancing career but wants to obtain her master's degree and work for the Government, possibly in an Embassy

where she can use her knowledge of Russian history, which is her speciality.

On behalf of my colleagues in the House, I offer Miss Condon our congratulations and a bountiful congressional bouquet. I know she will represent New York State with distinction at the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City. I am also including for the RECORD a story from the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News, which tells of Miss Condon's selection as Miss New York State:

ANGOLA GIRL, MAKING SECOND TRY, WINS MISS NEW YORK STATE TITLE

(By Bert Freed)

OLEAN, July 17.—A fresh, bright world of applause and adulation dawned today for the new Miss New York State, a Niagara University senior who sought and missed this same honor in 1969.

Entered as Miss Niagara, Elisabeth Mae Condon, a brown-eyed brunette who lives in Angola, brought the crown back to Western New York Friday night for the second time in three years.

Miss Condon, 20, will represent this state in the Miss America Pageant at Atlantic City in September.

At this morning's awards breakfast at the Castle Restaurant, Miss Condon was acclaimed anew and received the more tangible fruits of her victory.

Carroll Anstaett, president of the non-profit corporation that has sponsored the state pageant here for six years, presented certificates representing a \$1000 scholarship and wardrobe, jewelry and other awards worth \$3500. She also will take home a two-foot-tall trophy with a red crown.

Miss Condon, beaming in the official robe of royal blue and white, made her triumphant inaugural stroll down the Olean Senior High School auditorium runway. To her mother, seated nearby, she threw a kiss and her lips plainly formed the words "I love you."

Seconds before, seated and holding hands with Miss Marie Antoinette Sica, Miss Thousand Islands, who was announced as the first runnerup, Miss Condon's emotions exploded as she realized the title was hers.

"I got it, I made it," she exclaimed. Katherine Ann Karisrud, the retiring Miss New York, then placed the official tiara on the winner's head and assisted Miss Pamela Eldred, Miss America 1970, in draping the regal robe around the new queen's shoulders.

The winner was among three Western New York representatives who finished in the top five.

The others were Miss Amherst, Michelle Joy Forbes, third runnerup, and Miss Greater Lancaster, Deborah Jane Earsing, fourth runnerup.

Rounding out the quintet of finalists was Miss Rockland County, Georgianna Ellen Dacre, second runnerup.

The other five semi-finalists included Miss Westchester, Elizabeth Bracken, and Miss Cattaraugus County, Deborah Bender, who were both preliminary winners. The others were Miss Syracuse, Peppe Patrone; Miss Rochester, Sharon Anderson, and Miss Oneida, Carol Mudrich.

Miss Condon, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Condon, 444 Lakeside Rd., who also have a son, George, 25.

Recalling her 1969 effort as Miss Southern Erie County, the winner commented: "I really worked much harder this time."

Miss Condon praised her mother: "she did so much to help me."

The reigning beauty stands 5 feet 6 inches and weighs 120 pounds, but her other dimensions remain a secret.

It's a scholarship competition, not a beauty contest, a pageant official explained. None of the participants' measurements are disclosed until the Miss America pageant begins in Atlantic City.

It was worth it trying again.

Also coming in for a share of the credit was her vocal "cheering section."

Miss Condon registered a "come from nowhere" victory. She did not win either of the preliminary events Wednesday or Thursday. "Of course, I'm surprised. I thought I might be the fourth runnerup," she said.

The collegian was first in the talent presentations among the 10 semi-finalists. Wearing purple tights, she performed a gymnastic dance to music from the Broadway show "Applause."

The Miss Congeniality Award was voted by the other 19 contestants to Miss Batavia, Laurie Jean Allen, whose performances were handicapped by the cast that encased her right leg, fractured in a traffic accident a few days after she won her regional title.

By noon today, all 19 contestants, other than the winner, and their friends had departed for home.

Miss Condon remained behind to confer with pageant officials and start her round of wardrobe shopping and other preparations for her forthcoming adventure in Atlantic City.

Although she hopes to dance professionally after her graduation, Miss Condon plans also to work for a master's degree with the hope of entering the federal services in an overseas embassy. One of her specialties is Russian history.

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 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 talks 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 Na-

tional Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

#### FRED C. HOBSON

### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to bring to my colleagues' attention the recent announcement that Mr. Fred C. Hobson, who devoted almost 40 years to the improvement of public education, has retired from his position as superintendent of Yadkin County, N.C., schools.

This announcement provoked widespread comment among the thousands of people in and around Yadkin County who have benefited in some way from Mr. Hobson's unselfish career of service.

There has been nothing but praise for his many accomplishments, and an editorial published in a recent edition of the Yadkin Ripple expresses the sentiment that thousands in Yadkin County and North Carolina, and indeed throughout the Nation, all feel for this distinguished gentleman.

I insert at this time the text of this editorial in today's RECORD, and with it, another article from the Ripple outlining his myriad achievements. The articles follow:

#### WELL-DESERVED TRIBUTE

Friday night was a time of recognition, of commendation, of acclaim and for an outpouring of appreciation for Superintendent of Schools Fred C. Hobson, retiring after 32 years of fruitful service.

Leon F. Thomasson, chairman of the Board of Education, told the story when he read a resolution from the Superintendents of the Northwest District and District 12, North Carolina School Board Association:

"We take pride in the distinguished record of public service of Mr. Hobson, covering more than 40 years of active leadership in the field of public education, his worth having been characterized by efficiency and integrity and typical of the best in public school administration and leadership, and

"Whereas, the schools and the school system he has served stand today as monuments to his endeavors, providing meaningful educational opportunities to thousands of boys and girls. We shall not attempt to enumerate the specific contributions to the profession; however, the innumerable boys and girls and teachers who have been recipients of his guidance and leadership will long testify to his accomplishments, and

"Whereas, he has been an inspiration to the school leadership of North Carolina,

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Division of Superintendents of the Northwest District and District Twelve do pay tribute to Superintendent Fred C. Hobson of the Yadkin County Schools, do recognize that he has brought to us a blueprint of dynamic and effective leadership and accomplishment, do extend to him a permanent welcome in this organization, and wish for him a long and happy life."

The words of Miss Grace Coppedge, supervisor of education, are a fitting tribute: "... His warm, sympathetic interest coupled with

his sincerity, honesty and tolerance have made him a friend of all who have known and worked with him. Knowledge of Yadkin County... enabled him to guide our schools wisely. He has been an inspiration to all who have worked with him. His devotion to his duties and responsibilities have made of him a great educational leader."

And Board of Education member Mary Jo Zachary, after reviewing the progress during his administration, appropriately stated: "all of this program has not been easy but with a deep and abiding faith in education it has been possible. Those who follow you will be most grateful for the firm foundation you have laid—and they shall endeavor to continue to meet the challenge and to provide adequate and proper education for each and every child in Yadkin County."

These tributes to Fred C. Hobson are well deserved, and the Ripple joins with his many friends and admirers in saying "well done" and in wishing him many happy years ahead.

#### PROGRAM HONORS FRED HOBSON, RETIRING SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

The career of retiring Superintendent of Schools Fred C. Hobson was reviewed in interesting detail Friday night in the Boonville school auditorium in a "This Is Your Life" presentation before an audience of several hundred persons.

Boonville school Principal Albert Martin was master of ceremonies for the occasion. Rev. Thomas Howard, Yadkinville Methodist minister, began the event with prayer, and Fall Creek Principal Troy Matthews told of Supt. Hobson being born in 1906 near Petaluma, Calif.

The audience was then told that his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Hobson, Boonville natives, came back, and how Fred Hobson, at the age of three, "returned to the rectangular complex Nebo, Lightning Cross, Charity and Barney Hill."

His experiences as a driver of the first school bus in the county were reviewed and six persons who rode it were introduced. Eleven of 19 members of his graduating class were then introduced.

R. F. Lowry, now superintendent of schools in Northampton County, and Hobson's roommate as a senior at the university at Chapel Hill, was introduced. In speaking, he said "Due to his leadership, Yadkin County has made wonderful progress. You have here in Fred Hobson a great man we are all going to miss."

After graduating from college, the program reviewed his activities as coach and teacher at Elkin, with Surry Superintendent Sam Gentry praising the job he did. Later, he taught at Lewisville three years, followed by his appointment to the COC program as educational director, and later his marriage to Miriam Tuttle at Belmont.

At this point, their three children were introduced, Fred Hobson Jr., working on his Ph. D. degree at Durham; Jane Hobson, librarian at Georgia State University, Atlanta, Ga.; and Alice, now Mrs. Ambrose Dudley of Barrington, Rhode Island. All of his ten brothers and sisters were next introduced.

G. C. Wallace, chairman of the Board of Education for 14 years, Arnie Shore, and O. E. Boles, members who served with Hobson, were introduced, together with the present Board, Leon Thomasson, Mary Jo Zachary, Odell Groce, Bill Poindexter, Dr. John Conaway, Edward M. Speas and Jimmie R. Hutchens. Mr. Thomasson, chairman, and Mrs. Zachary both read a resolution in commendation of his services.

Marie Haigwood, now assistant to the superintendent, State Department of Public Instruction, was introduced, and praised Hobson for "quietly determiningly, serving

as a man of vision. He has not wavered or compromised. He set high goals for himself and the community. He is a master teacher with an open mind who has worked diligently for this county."

Calvin Wright, West Yadkin Principal, sang an original farewell song, and Reece Shugart, Jonesville principal, presented a resolution of teachers from the Yadkin Council Unit, N.C. Education Association.

At this point Mrs. Edith Davis presented Mr. Hobson with a 63-page book which she and Glenn Miller wrote and compiled on his life and activities, followed by Grace Coppedge and Edward Lakey who both spoke.

Bruce Matthews, Courtney principal, then announced that out of love, respect, and appreciation, friends had purchased a new Pontiac automobile for Mr. Hobson and had enough money left to also give him a check for \$1,000.

A reception followed in the school gymnasium.

## PRESIDENT NIXON HAS MADE GOOD CIVIL RIGHTS RECORD

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, this morning's edition of the Washington Post carried an article by Robert C. Maynard, Washington Post staff writer, entitled, "Six Top Black Officials Defend Nixon's Record."

As a member of the House Judiciary Subcommittee which has been hearing testimony on Civil Rights Oversight I have been struck by the apparent attempts of many so-called "white liberals" to discredit the record of the Nixon administration in the area of civil rights. While I do not question the altruism of those who, in their sincere desire to eradicate racial bias, emphasize only the prevailing shortcomings of our present system, I am totally nonplussed by the failure of these same people to note with some satisfaction the progress which has been made over the years—regardless of the party label which may be attached to the administration making such progress.

Mr. Speaker, the six Government officials who recently spoke out to defend President Nixon's record in the area of civil rights will, I am sorry to predict, have to suffer the results of their remarks. It is not popular to suggest that the Federal Government under a Republican President has built a record which exceeds that of any previous administration in the area of prosecuting employment bias cases.

Mr. Speaker, these six high-ranking Government officials have not been "trotted out" as yes-men for the administration. Indeed, their remarks are not entirely favorable toward every aspect of administration actions over the past 2½ years. What they do contribute is a sense of balance and a willingness to speak out where others have intoned the familiar epithets and slogans calculated to arouse feelings of distrust and enmity toward the President and his administration.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that we can never move fast enough to guarantee equality of rights under the law for those who should have had such opportunities from the inception of our great Republic. The same rationale which causes me to support an equal rights amendment to the Constitution with respect to women's rights causes me to demand that the Civil Rights Act of 1964—and all subsequent legislation—be enforced in accordance with both the spirit and the letter of the law. And while I do not for a moment suggest that we ever rest on our laurels, I utterly fail to see what fairness there is in denying blacks the opportunity to breathe the sweet smell of success when, through their untiring and dignified efforts, they—not paternalistic white liberals—overcome one hurdle after another in their quest for full and complete social, political, and economic justice.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I welcome the remarks made by six Government officials to the effect that President Nixon's record is commendable, and I urge my colleagues to read the article which follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 26, 1971]  
SIX TOP BLACK OFFICIALS DEFEND NIXON'S RECORD

(By Robert C. Maynard)

DETROIT, July 25.—A half dozen of the top blacks in the Nixon administration, including two who served the previous administration, declared tonight that the interests of black Americans are being better served now than in the past.

They attributed the negative reaction of blacks to the administration to two key factors—"a matter of style" and a bad press for Mr. Nixon's civil rights efforts.

They conceded that the Justice Department has not always helped their cause and winced at a mention of Vice President Agnew. But they insisted that, on balance, the Nixon administration is doing well in most areas—and better in a few—than previous administrations.

The views were expressed by Samuel C. Jackson, assistant secretary of housing and urban development; Arthur Fletcher, assistant secretary of labor; William H. Brown III, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Robert Brown, special assistant to the President; Joe Simon, associate director of the Action Corps (successor to the Peace Corps and VISTA), and Stanley Scott, an assistant to Herbert G. Klein, Mr. Nixon's director of communications.

They presented their case in an unusual 2½-hour talk with journalists arranged by Scott.

"Under this administration there is a willingness of superiors to accept the opinion of black people in making policy," said Jackson. Under the previous administration, he said "the brilliant white liberals thought they knew it all."

To a man, the black officials maintained that the central difference between Mr. Nixon's approach to black problems and that of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations is one of style.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, they argued, frequently articulated the demands of the civil rights movement, as in the case of Mr. Johnson invoking the words "we shall overcome" in introducing the voting rights bill of 1965.

"I would be the first to acknowledge," Jackson said, "that the style of this admin-

istration is completely different, but the results are far more complete."

He was asked to square that statement with the nominations for the Supreme Court of Clement F. Haynsworth and Harrold G. Carswell. "I am not even going to try," Jackson responded, adding that "on balance" the Justice Department has done a good job of civil rights enforcement.

As for Vice President Agnew's reference to black leaders as "querulous," one of the black officials said, "It pained me . . . just when we are beginning to get our message across."

In getting that message across, the black Republicans maintained that they are having a hard time because they cannot get on television to tell their story.

Scott said that he tried to arrange for essentially the same group of blacks to appear on a major talk show, but that none would have them.

The story they say they want to tell is one of progress in enforcing laws against discrimination in employment and housing. Fletcher said, for example, that the Justice Department has filed and won 90 employment bias cases, a record he says exceeds that of any previous administration.

"As far as I am concerned," said William Brown, "even though we have made some inroads, the situation hasn't changed much since 1964. It's not happening fast enough, for me. We haven't done enough, but we have done more than any previous administration."

Brown and Jackson were members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the Johnson administration.

The black officials are here to address the National Urban League's annual convention that opened today.

Earlier in the day, an Urban League official warned that whites might turn to "massive repression" against blacks.

Harold Sims, acting director of the league since the death of Whitney M. Young Jr. last March 11, said he fears the frustrations whites are feeling over international and national problems.

"There is a danger," he told a news conference, "that they will continue to blame the victims . . . like in Nazi Germany," rather than work on solutions to the problems that face both blacks and whites in America today.

## MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION AND PROTECTION OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYEES

### HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation that in several significant ways would improve and strengthen the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia. This legislation, prepared and submitted by the District government, proposes action on several different fronts to improve the lot of the working men and women in the District of Columbia.

First of all, this measure would increase the statutory minimum wage from the existing level of \$1.60 per hour to \$2 immediately and \$2.25 after 1 year. The \$1.60 per hour minimum was established in 1966 legislation and went into

effect in 1969. This is but a small step toward providing local workers with adequate incomes. Even with the increases proposed by this legislation, a worker toiling 40 hours a week for 52 weeks will only earn \$4,160 a year, roughly equivalent to Federal poverty standards.

This bill will establish a floor upon which future gains can be built. Under existing law, the Minimum Wage Board has the authority, after investigations and hearings, to raise the minimum wage on an occupation-by-occupation basis, but the wage cannot be lower than the statutory floor. Using these procedures, the Board has established rates for many District employees that range up to the new \$2.25 minimum proposed by this legislation. But the proposed legislation would give the board the basis for increasing the minimum salary of those now making less than \$2.25 an hour and also of further increasing the hourly rate of those now earning more than the \$2.25 floor that would ultimately be established.

Second, the bill would revise existing overtime standards by requiring that overtime be paid to employees working more than 8 hours in any one day. Under existing law, employees can be required to work more than 8 hours a day without receiving overtime compensation. Overtime is due only after the employee works more than 40 hours in a week. Under the legislation I am introducing today, an employee would be entitled to time and one-half for more than 8 hours work in a day, as well as for over 40 hours in a given week.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, this legislation would bring the long suffering household worker under the protection of the District's Minimum Wage Act. There are few, if any, groups in this Nation who must endure such poor working conditions for such low pay. Nationally, there are between 1.5 and 3 million household workers, and in the District, an estimated 15,000. The vast majority receive no protection at all from legislation designed to provide minimum wage and safety standards because they are exempt from the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act and, in most cases, from similar State and local legislation. Only New York, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin cover household employees within the reach of minimum wage standards.

Household workers come from the most oppressed, unrepresented, and underorganized segments of our society. According to recent studies, two-thirds of household employees are black, and 98 percent are women. They have an average age of 46, and in 1968, earned an average yearly salary of \$1,523. Beyond their failure to receive basic minimum wage protection, household workers are denied other fundamental rights that employees in other occupations have long taken for granted. Most employers of household employees virtually ignore social security legislation, and household employees rarely receive paid vacations, sick leave, or health insurance.

The legislation I am introducing today is one small step that holds out large

symbolic importance as well as the promise of immediate and financial gain for the household worker. The bill would provide the household worker, as is true of other workers, a \$2.25 minimum wage, within a year, and additional sums in overtime compensation. The Minimum Wage Board would be empowered to take into account future cost-of-living increases to order future wage hikes. Ultimately, what is most important about this legislation is that it would enact into law a public concern for the just grievances of household workers who have been ignored so long, and it would give legal recognition to the legitimacy of their claims for economic justice.

Until recently, household workers had no strong advocate, no instrument for organization that could dramatize their plight and exercise power to effect change. With the establishment of the National Committee on Household Employment and the emergence of local and national organizations to push the demands of the household worker, there is real hope for change. But the path is long and much more must be done. I, for one, will be working closely with these organizations not only to see that the legislation I am introducing today is enacted into law, but also to achieve for the household worker the basic employee rights enjoyed by other American workers.

The District government's letter of transmittal to the Speaker follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 1, 1971.  
The Honorable the SPEAKER,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Commissioner of the District of Columbia has the honor to submit herewith for the consideration of the 92nd Congress a draft bill "To Amend the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to extend minimum wage and overtime compensation protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, to improve standards of overtime compensation protection, to provide improved means of enforcement, and for other purposes."

The Commissioner is of the view that all employed persons are entitled to wages sufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect health. According to the Congressional finding and declaration of policy, as stated in section 1 of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act, employment at insufficient wages—

"... impairs the health, efficiency, and well-being of the persons so employed, . . . reduces the purchasing power of employees, and requires, in many instances, that their wages be supplemented by the payment of public monies for relief or other public and private assistance. Employment of persons at these insufficient rates of pay threatens the health and well-being of the people of the District of Columbia and injures the overall economy."

The Commissioner believes that realization of this announced goal of employment of persons at sufficient rates of pay to maintain the health and well-being of the people of the District of Columbia can be greatly aided by extension of minimum wage and overtime compensation protection to additional employees, by raising the minimum wage to provide a statutory minimum wage sufficient to achieve the level necessary to provide adequate maintenance and to protect the health of employees, and by improving the stand-

ards and enforcement of overtime compensation protection.

The bill therefore would increase the statutory minimum wage rate to \$2.00 an hour for the year beginning sixty days after its enactment, and to \$2.25 an hour thereafter, and require overtime compensation at one and one-half the employee's regular rate of pay for employment in excess of eight hours a day.

The bill authorizes the establishment of a special trust account in which will be deposited all unpaid wages recovered from employers for payment to the employees in whose behalf they were collected. Undistributed funds will become available, after being retained in the account for a period of three years, for payment to employees who were paid less than the required minimum wage.

Further, the bill would extend the minimum wage and overtime compensation coverage of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to persons employed in domestic service or other employment in or about the residence of any employer. In connection with extending the coverage of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to such employees, the bill would also relieve employers of employees in domestic service from various administrative requirements of the law.

Additionally, the bill would eliminate sections in the current law which are outdated and, therefore, no longer applicable, as well as provide for the revision of existing wage orders to provide for the payment of the statutory minimum wage and overtime compensation requirements.

The bill would also provide for injunctive proceedings to restrain any delay in the payment of unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation or unpaid compensation for split shifts, excessive spread of hours, uniforms, tools, travel, and other items of expenses incurred by an employee as a condition of employment.

Finally, the bill would conform the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967.

One of the objectives of the proposed legislation is to provide a statutory minimum wage which is sufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect the health of employees. It is believed that the interim rate will alleviate some of the impact the new minimum wage may have on employers. The existing statutory minimum wage of \$1.60, established in 1966 to be effective February 1, 1969 by graduated steps, is no longer adequate to accomplish the stated policy of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act which is: "to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate" wages insufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect the health and well-being of the people of the District of Columbia. The 1966 amendments to the Minimum Wage Law of 1918 provided, among other things, a statutory minimum wage and retained the procedure of revising the statutory rate administratively, occupation by occupation, after investigatory surveys, appointment of advisory committees, hearings, publications, and other actions had taken place. Revisions have been made by this procedure for two of the eight occupational classifications—the retail trade occupation and the laundry and dry cleaning occupation.

These revisions cover 17% of the employees covered by law. An increase in the statutory minimum wage by Congressional action will provide for all workers at the same time a wage sufficient to provide adequate maintenance instead of relying solely on the slow procedure of revising minimum wage orders one occupation at a time. The wage revision procedure is a necessary adjunct to a statutory minimum wage law but when the cost of living increases rapidly each year, it becomes

necessary to change the statutory minimum wage in order to accomplish the purposes of the law. Based on a cost-of-living budget prepared by the Minimum Wage Board, it is estimated that an employed person living alone in the District of Columbia as of August, 1970, needs \$91.16 a week (or \$2.28 an hour for a 40-hour week) in order to maintain a living standard which is sufficient to provide minimum adequate maintenance and to protect health.

Another objective of the proposal is to eliminate long workdays and spread employment opportunities by requiring compensation of time and one-half the employee's regular rate of pay for hours worked in excess of the standard eight-hour day. Although existing law requires overtime compensation for employment in excess of 40 hours a week, it does not require the payment of premium pay for hours worked in excess of eight per day. Accordingly, an employee may work more than eight hours for several days a week but will not receive overtime pay if the hours worked during such week do not total more than forty. The requirement that a premium rate be paid for employment in excess of eight hours a day should provide some protection against excessively long workdays, especially with respect to female employees.

Approximately 15,000 persons employed in domestic service in the District of Columbia receive no minimum wage and overtime compensation benefits because they are not covered by either the Federal or the District law nor are they represented by unions. The Commissioner believes that extension of coverage under the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to household workers would constitute a formidable weapon in the war against poverty by providing some economic security to a group of workers whose wages have historically been extremely low. The bill, therefore, would extend the minimum wage and overtime compensation coverage of the Act to persons employed in domestic service or other employment in or about the residence of an employer.

In connection with extending the coverage of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act to employees employed in domestic service or other employment in or about the residence of the employer, the bill provides that the employers of such persons need not comply with various administrative requirements of the Act to the same extent as the employers of persons employed in a place of business. A new section 15, which the bill would add to the Act, specifies that the authority to enter and inspect places of employment, as provided by section 5(a) of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act (D.C. Code, sec. 36-405(2)), shall not apply to the place of employment of a person employed in domestic service or other employment in or about the residence of the employer. Such section 15 also relieves employers of employees in domestic service from the provisions of section 11 of the Act (D.C. Code, sec. 36-411), requiring an employer to furnish his employee with an itemized wage statement at the time of wage payment, and to keep detailed records which are to be available for inspection by the Commissioner or his authorized representative. With respect to recordkeeping, section 15 requires only that the employer of such domestic employees "shall maintain such minimum records as the Council may prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations or orders issued thereunder". The employer of any such employee, furthermore, is relieved of the posting requirements of section 12 of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act (D.C. Code, sec. 36-412), as well as from the prohibited acts detailed by section 13 (D.C. Code, sec. 36-413) and the

penalties provided in section 14 (D.C. Code, sec. 36-414).

Another objective of the proposal is to eliminate the delay in restoring to employees the unpaid wages due them by providing injunctive relief. Very often the statute of limitations has run before the employees bring action to recover wages due and in many instances the employees are hesitant to take action to collect wages. The proposed injunction proceedings would not require active employee participation.

In the belief that the attached draft bill will be of benefit to a considerable number of persons employed in the District of Columbia and will better accomplish the purposes of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Act, the Commission strongly urges its enactment. The District of Columbia Council has expressed its support for this legislation.

Sincerely yours,  
GRAHAM W. WATT,  
Assistant to the Commissioner  
(For Walter E. Washington, Commissioner.)

#### THE LOAN BOONDOGGLE

### HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, a few days from now the House will consider H.R. 8432. We are going to be told that this is a bill to save Lockheed. But the truth is that this bill provides for eight times the risk called for in the original Lockheed bill, and not half the protection to the taxpayer. This bill is not the Lockheed bill; it is a great boondoggle to create a general industrial relief fund.

We have had no hearings to consider the concept of this legislation. We do not have any idea what it does or what risks it entails. This is needless legislation, for it does far more than necessary. It is irresponsible legislation, for it has had no serious consideration. There is no need for this unseemly haste. We are setting a terrible precedent in this bill, and we ought to act with caution.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point a copy of the views I have filed with the Committee on Banking and Currency concerning this unwise, needless and foolish legislation. I believe that we can save Lockheed, and that we should, but not at the expense and risk proposed in H.R. 8432.

The material follows:

#### DISSENTING VIEWS OF HENRY B. GONZALEZ

I am opposed to H.R. 8432.

This bill was originally intended to establish loan guarantees for one corporation. It has been made into a two billion dollar industrial slush fund that exposes the taxpayers to a risk eight times as great as envisioned in the original bill, without even the same protection provided for originally.

The bill reported by the Committee is a completely different conception from the bill that we had hearings on. Neither the House nor the Senate had any hearings on the concept contained in H.R. 8432. No one knows precisely what this bill means and no one knows what its consequences might be.

It is irresponsible to adopt a bill that has had no hearings. It is inexcusable to expose the government and taxpayers to the loss of two billion dollars without at least some

attempt to determine the need to undertake such drastic action and without some effort to provide minimal protection to the public. Yet adoption of H.R. 8432 would do exactly that.

Urgent though the needs of Lockheed may be, that is no reason for us to be stampeded into adopting the language of the Senate bill. That language had no more consideration in the hearing record of the other body than it had here. We are being urged to adopt the first thing we see regardless of whether it will do the job intended or not. It is possible to save Lockheed and protect the public at the same time—but not by adopting this bill.

I cannot vote for a bill that has had no serious consideration. I cannot vote for a bill that exposes the public to huge risks, without having heard any evidence of some need to do this. I cannot vote for a bill that no one asked for, no one testified for, no one wants and no one really needs. H.R. 8432 as reported is an irresponsible, inexcusable folly.

I believe that we can save Lockheed and protect the public interest at the same time. H.R. 8432 entails needless, senseless risks. It is far too broad for the required and desirable rescue of a single corporation and it is inadequate for the task of saving even a fraction of all corporations that might want to make use of the two billion dollars that would be available. If we are going to rescue one company, let us do that. If we are going to rescue all companies, let us do that. This bill does neither, and at the same time sets an impossibly bad precedent by creating a risk that will know no end, without providing for any protection at all to the taxpayers who will foot the bill.

#### PUERTO RICAN CONSTITUTION DAY

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, 19 years ago yesterday—on July 25, 1952—the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was officially proclaimed and the constitution drafted by the people of Puerto Rico became effective. Under this historic document the Governor, senators, and representatives of the island were to be elected by popular vote and some degree of self-government was finally granted. This historic event marked the successful culmination of the struggle launched in the late 19th century by the great Puerto Rican patriot, Luis Munoz Rivera, and carried on by his son, Luis Munoz Marin.

I am proud of the many fine achievement-Rican patriot, Luis Munoz Rivera, and the many and varied contributions they have made to our national life—in the arts, education, sciences, medicine, and sports.

This would also be an appropriate time to examine carefully our current relationship with Puerto Rico and to dedicate ourselves to working for full equality for Puerto Ricans, whether on the mainland or on the island. As I have observed on past occasions, Puerto Ricans have been treated as second-class citizens long enough and the time has come when we must stop being short-changed. We must be treated on the same basis

as all other American citizens and must be permitted to fully participate in and to benefit from Federal programs to the same extent as all other Americans.

Although we have been confronted with enormous obstacles and handicaps, our goals and aspirations are no greater than those of other ethnic and nationality groups. Puerto Ricans seek economic security and independence; full access to our educational, social and political institutions; and the enjoyment of human rights and freedoms. We desire to stand on an equal basis with other ethnic groups and to actively participate in the progress of this country. However, until the island and mainland Puerto Ricans achieve their full and fair share of Federal aid and are assisted and encouraged to the fullest possible extent, this goal will not be achieved. The Congress bears a special responsibility and must take the initiative in bringing equity to the treatment of Puerto Rico and to our fellow citizens on the island and mainland. There is no sound reason why Puerto Rico should not be treated the same as one of the 50 States and I again urge our colleagues to make certain that Puerto Rico is included and equitably treated in every piece of legislation which we consider.

I am deeply proud of my homeland and the progress which has been made over the past several decades. However, there is a great, untapped resource in the people and land of Puerto Rico and we must take all possible efforts to encourage and develop it. This potential must not be allowed to wither and die and we should promote meaningful and effective programs to help Puerto Rico achieve its destiny.

#### EMERGENCY PAY PHONE NUMBERS

### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, there are several bills being discussed in Congress that would provide for emergency numbers to report fires or contact the police. One such number, 911, has been in experimental use in several areas of the country.

I am including at this point in the RECORD a reasoned discussion of the use of these numbers in large cities such as New York. I hope my colleagues will benefit from the information contained therein:

#### SEPARATE FIRE EMERGENCY PHONE NUMBER FOR USE IN LARGE URBAN CITIES—DOUBLE O

Several Members of Congress have proposed various bills to provide grants to state and local communities who are seeking to establish regional 911 emergency communication centers.

While the idea is good, there are disadvantages to these proposals that would affect the operations of the Fire Departments in large urban cities. 911 works in the smaller communities simply because they are small.

There can be no comparison between the emergencies or the problems encountered in a large urban city and those found in a small rural city or community.

In the large urban cities (over 1,000,000 population) the use of 911 as a fire reporting media is not feasible. The Police Department will be given the added responsibility of answering fire emergency phone calls and then referring the caller or the information to the Fire Dept's Dispatcher. In some cases, the Police complaint operator may either dispatch a radio car to see if the Fire Dept is required or may decide that the call is not warranted and terminate it.

The inclusion of fire related calls to the already heavy police volume would overload the system so badly that 911 calls would be answered in minutes and not in seconds. This is one reason that the major cities never adopted 911. New York City, with well over 20,000 calls a day, has found this out. When the city is quiet, 911 works fairly well. During the peak traffic hours or unusual conditions (July 4th, other major holidays, major accidents or emergencies, civil disorders, open hydrant time, multiple fires, etc.) it becomes almost impossible to get through to 911. Calls stack up to a point where the system collapses due to the impossibility of calls being answered. Busy signals are common during this period or even no answer at all. Many calls are repetitious and greatly contribute to the backlog.

In February, 1971, the New York City Fire and Police Depts decided that once again the Fire Alarm Dispatcher would interrogate the fire caller while the 911 operator would listen in. This proved that a delay in time, wrong information, etc., took place when the caller phoned 911. In June, 1971, the Police Dept issued a directive which confirmed the above statement. They admitted, that due to the high volume of calls received at 911, the response to emergency incidents has been seriously impaired. In one peak day, the Police received 40,000 calls. Frequently during peak hours, there are as many as 1800 calls per hour. This same directive also states that calls of a non-emergency nature (auto accidents, open hydrants, dis-orderly children, water leaks, etc.) should be referred to the local precinct and not to 911. The caller must now know what precinct he lives in or works in and another phone number for him to remember. He must also decide what is and what isn't an emergency call.

The American Insurance Association (formerly the National Board of Fire Underwriters) in its Special Interest Bulletin No. 322 on 911 comments that many calls to the Police are for an action already completed, such as a robbery or traffic accident, or for an action which does not demand immediate attention. Some calls require information only or need further information or investigation. They further state that since a fire call is an emergency in progress, it is evident that such calls be handled at once and therefore suggest that the operators be Fire Alarm Dispatchers. The relaying of the message or transferring the call from a 911 center to a Fire Alarm center increases the possibility of delay, error, confusion, and even the loss of the call. This is not a desirable operating procedure.

It can readily be seen that such backlogs and busy signals can cause serious delays in the response of fire apparatus to the point where the fire develops into a catastrophe.

For these reasons I am proposing that the major cities, including New York City, have a separate telephone number for fires and related emergencies. The number should be one that is easily remembered, simple to use and readily found on the telephone dial. The only available number which fits these qualifications is:

#### O-O—DOUBLE O

The use of O-O as a fire reporting number is workable and desirable. The telephone company has already installed equipment in most cities (or shortly will) to permit implementation of this code with minimum costs. The procedure is simple. When you now dial O (for operator) a holding circuit comes onto the line and waits 4 to 7 seconds for additional digits. If none are received, the call is routed to the local operator. If any additional digits are received within the holding time, the call would be routed through a special switching circuit known as TSPS. The purpose of this is to permit direct dialing of person and collect calls.

Under my proposal, when you dial O-O to report a fire emergency, this call would be received at the telephone central office where it would be translated into machine switching language. Then, it would be forwarded, via TSPS, to the Fire Alarm center. This eliminates the middle person.

Originally, the Double Zero concept was for a call to terminate with the operator on a special line. The operator, in turn, would have connected the caller to the proper department or agency.

The reason that I am familiar with the problem is that I am a Supervising Fire Alarm Dispatcher in the New York City Fire Department. Therefore, I respectfully request that Members of Congress who have proposals for 911 communication facilities and who represent large urban cities, consider the need of a separate fire emergency telephone number for the Fire Department in their community.

#### GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE SUMMARY REPORT

### HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, section 234 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 directs the Comptroller General of the United States to prepare and send to Congress monthly, a brief summary of all reports of the General Accounting Office containing its recommendations.

I call to your attention the very informative record of reports issued and released by the Comptroller General Elmer Staats in June 1971 which all Members have received individually.

Any report on this list which may be of interest to any Member of Congress is readily available upon his request.

To insure that this information is easily accessible to my colleagues, I ask that this helpful item be placed in the RECORD.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL  
OF THE UNITED STATES,

July 6, 1971.

*The President of the Senate and The Speaker  
of the House of Representatives*

Public Law 91-510, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, directs the Comptroller General, in Section 234, to prepare and transmit each month to the Congress, its committees, and Members a list of reports of the General Accounting Office of the previous month.

Reports issued or released in June 1971 are listed on the attachment.

Part I includes reports to the Congress, its committees and Members under the classifications of the Federal budget.

Part II identifies reports issued to the heads of departments and agencies. These reports contain findings and recommendations of concern chiefly to these officials and normally are not distributed to the Congress except on request.

The title of each report, file number, date of issuance and agencies reviewed or affected are provided.

Copies may be obtained from GAO's Report Distribution Section, Room 6417. Telephone: code 129-3784 or 386-3784.

ELMER B. STAATS,  
Comptroller General of the United States.

## I. REPORTS TO CONGRESS, COMMITTEES, OR MEMBERS

### COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

Improvements needed in management of highway safety rest area program. Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation. B-164497(3) of June 2.

This review in eight States of the safety rest program of the Federal Highway Administration showed that although the Administration has issued guidelines for the States to use in selecting sites for safety rest areas, it has not required the States to construct rest areas first where most needed.

The review said the States has constructed rest areas close to developed areas even though these facilities generally were not available along stretches of highway. The report said the Administration should require that rest areas be built first where comfort and convenience facilities are not otherwise available.

Audit of the Export-Import Bank of the United States—Fiscal year 1970. B-114823 of June 21.

The financial statements—except for the method of classifying certificates of beneficial interest—a financing device) present fairly Eximbank's financial position as of June 30, 1970, and the results of its operations and source and application of its funds for the year. GAO believes that these instruments should be considered as borrowing rather than as sales of assets, as Eximbank classified them. The report also provides information about Eximbank's borrowing on the private market at substantially increased interest costs when compared to borrowing from the Treasury.

### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING

Examination of financial statements of the Government National Mortgage Association for fiscal year 1970. Department of Housing and Urban Development. B-114828 of June 14.

The financial statements present fairly the financial position of the Government National Mortgage Association at June 30, 1970, the results of its operation and the sources and application of its funds for the year. The report provides additional information considered necessary to keep the Congress informed of the operations and financial conditions of the Government National Mortgage Association and the trusts.

Controls needed over the leasing of land acquired under the open-space land program. Department of Housing and Urban Development. B-168174 of June 16.

Under the Open-Space Land Program, Federal grants are provided to States and local public bodies or grantees to acquire and/or develop land to help curb urban sprawl; to assist in preventing the spread of urban blight; to encourage economic urban development; to provide parks and recreational areas; and to preserve conservation, scenic, and historic land areas.

GAO noted that some grantees were not complying with the provisions of the open-space contracts relating to the leasing of open-space land and had engaged in such activities without obtaining prior HUD

approval. GAO believes that the actions taken or planned by HUD, to correct this situation, if fully implemented, should result in improved administration of the Open-Space Land Program.

### GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Potential savings by replacing government-owned sedans each year. General Service Administration. B-158712 of June 9.

GAO recommends that GSA's sedans be replaced each year to save the Government an estimated \$5.1 annually. Maintenance, repair, and tire costs are lowest during the first year of ownership, and the discount obtained by the Government when it purchases sedans substantially offsets the first year depreciation factor. Station wagons and light trucks are purchased and operated under conditions similar to sedans; replacing them each year should also produce substantial savings. Department of Defense vehicles are not subject to GSA replacement standards, but GAO's findings may have application in DoD as well.

Opportunities to improve the redistribution of the Federal Government's excess automatic data processing equipment. B-115369 of June 15.

This report contains no recommendations requiring legislative action by the Congress. It does contain information on weaknesses in the use of the Government's excess ADP equipment and suggestions for correction or improvement. The information should be of assistance to committees and individual Members of the Congress in connection with their legislative and oversight responsibilities relating to the utilization of the Government's excess ADP equipment.

Progress being made and difficulties being encountered by credit unions serving low-income persons. Office of Economic Opportunity. B-164031(4) of June 17.

GAO reviewed the activities of eight credit unions—six federally chartered and two State chartered—to evaluate: (1) progress made by the OEO-financed credit unions in becoming self-supporting, (2) benefits provided to low-income participants of the OEO credit union program, and (3) results of financial operation of OEO-financed credit unions. GAO recommended that the Director OEO take two steps:

Require each credit union to develop a plan showing its current financial status; its annual projections of expenses, income, and growth; and a target date for becoming self-supporting.

Provide guidance and assistance to credit unions experiencing difficulties in attaining established goals and encourage them to reduce expenses whenever possible.

Acquisition and use of software products for automatic data processing systems in the Federal Government. B-115369 of June 30.

This report contains a description and analysis of numerous management problems pertaining to the annual expenditure of between \$2,000,000,000 and \$3,000,000,000 by the Government for computer software products together with recommendations to executive branch agencies for strengthening management practices. The report suggests that the Congress explore these matters with the executive branch for the purpose of obtaining improvements in the Government operations in this area.

### HEALTH

Problems in implementation of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior. B-170686 of May 13, 1971; released by the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare, June 1, 1971.

At two Bureau of Mines administrative districts, the Bureau had made about 31 percent of the required safety inspections and

about 1 percent of the required health inspections through December 31, 1970. Bureau inspectors cited mine operators for violations and required that they be corrected. Subsequent inspections of the same mines showed numerous new violations often of the same types. The situation is attributable, at least in part, to the fact that the Bureau's enforcement practices have not been as effective in inducing the operators of the mines to comply with the new act. These practices have been, in the words of the report, "at times, extremely lenient, confusing, uncertain, and inequitable." GAO expressed belief that the mine operators have had sufficient time to become familiar with all the requirements of the act. The report included a number of proposals designed to improve the situation; all but one of these were accepted by the Secretary of the Interior.

Opportunities for improving the neighborhood health services program for the poor administered by St. Luke's Hospital Center, New York City. Office of Economic Opportunity. B-130515 of June 15.

Certain improvements are needed if the project is to fully achieve the objectives of the Comprehensive Health Services Program—to overcome the shortcomings of the existing health care system for the poor. The existing system, measured against OEO guidelines, offers services widely recognized to be "insufficient and often inaccessible, impersonal, fragmented, lacking in continuity, and of poor quality."

Lengthy delays in settling the costs of health services furnished under medicare. Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. B-164031 (4) of June 23.

This report is being sent to the Congress because of its interest in the problems which have occurred in the Medicare program relating to the reimbursement of costs incurred by the participating institutions.

Because of the lengthy delays by fiscal intermediaries in completing the settlement process, billions of dollars of Medicare funds paid out on the basis of estimated cost of services long since incurred have not been afforded an appropriate final accounting or a timely review by the intermediaries and the Federal Government.

There were delays in every step of the settlement process, from the preparation of cost reports by hospitals, through the audit of the cost reports by intermediaries, to the final settlement or agreement with hospitals concerning their actual and reasonable Medicare costs to be reimbursed under the program.

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE

Economic advantages of using American ingredients to satisfy milk requirements in Western Europe. Department of Defense, Department of Agriculture. B-172539 of June 3.

GAO believes that this report is of timely importance and interest to the Congress because it presents a way in which U.S. agricultural surpluses can be used, the economic burden of stationing U.S. troops in Europe can be reduced, and savings by the Government can be realized.

### NATIONAL DEFENSE

Problems of the deep submergence rescue vehicle program show need for improvement in management control, Department of the Navy. B-167325 of June 3.

A February 1970 GAO report on the Deep Submergence Rescue Vehicle indicated that the increased effectiveness to be obtained from producing four vehicles (in addition to two already on order (would be small in relation to their cost of purchase and operation. In December 1970 the Navy decided to confine the program to two rescue vehicles rather than six vehicles as planned. GAO's

report also noted increases in the program's cost and development time. Accordingly, a second review was made to determine the causes. This report points out opportunities, through tightened management control, to limit increases in cost and development time.

Premature production of the antisubmarine warfare directional low-frequency analysis and recording system. Department of the Navy. B-160877 of June 4. (This is an unclassified digest of a classified report.)

The Directional Low Frequency Analysis and Recording System (DIFAR) is regarded as critical to the proper operation of the Navy's latest techniques of antisubmarine warfare. The Navy awarded contracts in April 1968 for the production of DIFAR before satisfactory testing of the system, even though evidence was available that DIFAR would not meet requirements acceptably. This decision increased significantly the risk of receiving unreliable and unsatisfactory equipment and the likelihood of higher costs.

Determining Army major equipment needs—Problems and suggestions for improvements. B-163074 of June 8.

The Army relies on two computerized systems for information as to (1) its needs for major equipment—aircraft, combat vehicles, tactical and support vehicles, communications and electronic equipment, missiles, and weapons; and, (2) equipment of these same types already on hand. GAO tested the accuracy of the two systems, since information from each must be dependable for the Army to prepare accurate and timely budgets and procurement requests. Significant weaknesses existed in both systems. As a result of inadequate data, the validity of fiscal 1970 budget and procurement actions was highly questionable. Unless there is significant improvement, equipment imbalances may affect seriously the Army's ability to perform its mission effectively.

#### II. REPORTS TO HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Objective measurement and evaluation needed of foreign aid projects. (To the Secretary of State.) B-161882 of June 14.

Based on four recent reviews involving U.S. aid programs in Latin America, GAO believes that objectives and goals should be stated in such a manner that the results can be measured.

Opportunities to improve administration of the research program at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory. (To the Director, National Science Foundation.) B-133338 of June 15.

GAO made several recommendations designed to improve the system for allocating telescope observing time and for evaluating levels of research efforts.

Possible increase in export sales of surplus nonfat dry milk. (To the Secretary of Agriculture.) B-114824 of June 16.

A significant increase in sales of nonfat dry milk is possible if the Department were to modify its present restrictive procedures in order to accept all reasonable bids, and reduce prices as necessary to meet foreign competition.

Activities managed by Community Action Migrant Program, Inc., Fort Lauderdale, Florida. (To the Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.) B-130515 of June 16.

The program, in selecting participants for its various activities, should adhere to OEO's eligibility requirements, and improve its financial management.

Use of performance and delivery incentives in military contracts. (To the Secretary of Defense.) B-171644 of June 24.

Thirty-eight incentive features, or 75 percent of those GAO examined, were included in contracts when they were not needed and represented additional payments to contractors of \$35.8 million.

Capital grant procedures and policies of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration. (To the Secretary of Transportation.) B-169491 of June 30.

The Administrator, UMTA, should ensure that applications for capital grants (used for urban mass transit systems) are supported by engineering studies, studies of economic feasibility, etc., and that UMTA's evaluations and conclusions be adequately documented.

### THE MITZVAH CORPS

#### HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, today I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most interesting article which recently appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal describing the Mitzvah Corps. This is a group of young people belonging to the Southern Federation of Temple Youth who participated in a 1-month program of study and community service in the city of Memphis this summer. This type of program which instills in our young people the fact that citizens have responsibilities as well as rights certainly deserves recognition.

The article follows:

#### CORPS GIVES MITZVAH FRESH MEANING

A Mitzvah Corps headquartered in a Catholic college dormitory might seem strange to some but to the 22 Jewish teenagers participating in the first Mitzvah Corps in the South, it was an advantage to their community living project.

The teenagers, ranging in age from 15 to 18, came from four surrounding states to work together in studying Judaism and doing volunteer work in five local service agencies.

Sponsored by Temple Israel, all of the participants are members of the Southern Federation of Temple Youth (SOFTY) of reform congregations.

The one-month experiment, which ended yesterday, concentrated on making the students aware of their obligations to the community, said Steve Mallerger, a student of Hebrew College in Cincinnati, who headed the corps.

"This has really been a successful experience for these youngsters," he said. "They have the opportunity to be able to live, work, study and pray together as a community."

The members of the corps lived in a rented dormitory at Siena College and ate their meals with the Catholic students.

Each day was spent in working in the volunteer projects but the evenings were spent in studying Judaism and Hebrew. Several of the teenagers wrote innovative worship services and the group even had a Sabbath service in the edge of a swimming pool one Friday night.

"We gathered around the pool for the service and when it was over, we jumped in for a swim," Mr. Mallerger said.

The students worked during the day at Lauderdale Court Children and Youth Project, the Department of Welfare, Arlington Hospital & School, B'nai B'rith Home & Hospital for Aged and Porter-Leath Children's Center.

"The students did any type job the officials asked them to, especially in the welfare department where they worked mostly in clerical duties," Miss Sherry Sachritz of 862 Kensington, a Memphis State University graduate student who was serving as a chaperone said. "At Arlington they worked with the

mentally retarded children and at B'nai they worked with the elderly."

"The residents enjoyed them a great deal and saw them as grandchildren," Bernard Danzig, assistant director of the home said. "It made the residents feel a part of the community because of their kindness and interest."

The Mitzvah Corps was an experiment this year and Mr. Mallerger said he didn't know if it would continue next summer.

"Mitzvah means commitment and these young people are fulfilling their commitment to the community. Mitzvah is an obligation to respond to the world."

### UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION GENERAL RESOLUTIONS ON PUBLIC POLICY

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like each of my colleagues to take time to read the General Resolutions of the Unitarian Universalist Association, adopted at the Tenth Annual Assembly recently held in Washington, D.C. Several of the resolutions may appear to be of a progressive nature but I feel the Unitarian Universalist Association should be commended for taking stands on controversial issues of our time.

#### UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION GENERAL RESOLUTION

##### AMNESTY AND REPATRIATION FOR WAR RESISTERS

Because: the Canadian Council of Churches' 1969 estimate of the number of United States military refugees and draft resisters was 60,000 with projections of 20,000 per year together with substantial numbers of similar expatriates in other countries; and

Because: most of these young men left the United States after a decision of conscience over the prospect of assisting in an illegal, immoral Vietnam War; and

Because: Unitarian Universalists respect such demonstrated allegiance to personal conscience and to the affirmation of life;

Be it resolved: The 1971 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association direct its continental offices in Boston to use its powers of advocacy to bring about enactment of United States legislation which grants amnesty and repatriation to those men who are in prison or in self exile by reason of refusal to serve in the Vietnam War; and

Be it therefore resolved: That the 1971 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association affirms its support of the efforts of the Canadian Unitarian Council to raise funds from Unitarian Universalist societies and individuals to aid in ministering to the needs (physical and spiritual) of American expatriates.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

##### RIGHTS OF THE POOR

Believing that the rights of human beings include the rights to minimum income, adequate housing and legal services and dignity in old age; and

Believing that it is the responsibility of government to secure, protect and defend these rights, and to provide appropriate services to implement them;

Therefore be it resolved: The 1971 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association urges that the United States Government and the Government of Canada:

1. Provide family income through a program of income maintenance adequate to meet needs for food, clothing and housing; and
2. Commit whatever resources are necessary to provide a decent home for every American and Canadian family; and
3. Enact legislation to achieve equity in tenant-landlord relationships, protecting the rights of both tenants and landlords; and
4. Enlarge legal services for the poor and disenfranchised throughout the United States and Canada, with appropriate funding, without political harassment, manipulation and intimidation.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

#### PENAL REFORM

Recognizing that the rapid increase of violent crime accompanies a vast public ignorance and prejudice about its causes and methods of correction as seen by modern experts;

Noting that the majority of persons arrested are males between 10-30 years, suffering such social injustices as poverty, racism, poor education;

Further noting that public pressure for punishment has resulted in barbaric prison and jail systems productive of more crime;

Be it resolved: The General Assembly urges its members and member societies undertake programs to: (1) educate members and non-members on the failure and inhumanity of punishment and on existing local, State and Federal detention facilities and prisons; (2) stimulate reforms of the present systems of criminal law and justice, giving emphasis to all rehabilitative services; (3) reform practices of pre-trial justice, including Bail Bond programs or others where local efforts can have substantial effect.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

#### CHILD CARE CENTERS

Recognizing that there is widespread need for child care centers, that millions of children in North America are receiving either substandard supervision or no supervision;

Aware that growing numbers of mothers take jobs because of economic necessity, desire for job training, and continuing education; that child care centers are needed for other reasons, such as illness in the family, special problems of handicapped children, or for other compelling causes;

Acknowledging that the needs of children, our best resources for the future, must receive immediate and special attention:

Be it therefore resolved: The 1971 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association

1. Urges that highest priority be given in the United States and Canada at all levels of government to funding and activating quality, professional child care centers with effective standards, licensing, inspection and enforcement.

2. Urges that funding be accomplished additionally through private grants and fees from parents where feasible.

3. Asks that member UU societies initiate study programs so that they can intelligently participate in the structuring of quality centers.

4. Asks that societies of this denomination consider use of their facilities for weekday child care centers.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

CXVII—1715—Part 21

#### ENVIRONMENT

In view of the widespread and serious problem of pollution of our land, air and water;

In view of the rapid depletion of many of our non-renewable natural resources and the dangerous exploitation of our renewable resources; and

In view of the declining quality of life in our towns and cities, with ever increasing noise, crowding, and crime rates,

Be it resolved: The delegates at the General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, gathered in Washington, D.C.:

Urges all Unitarian Universalists individually and collectively to inform themselves about the hazards of overpopulation and pollution and to act in their personal and public lives to counteract those hazards in every way possible, and to influence others to act in the same manner;

Urges all Unitarian Universalist societies which have not already done so to establish and sustain environmental protection committees, including political action groups to influence public officials and others to act in environmentally responsible ways; and

Urges all Unitarian Universalists as individuals, as members of groups and as a continental denomination to press for legislation at all levels to diminish the level of pollution and to ameliorate the population problem in the hope that we may bequeath to the next generation a world ecologically stable and ethically sane.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

Whereas, the Unitarian Universalist Association opposes any kind of surveillance of private citizens or government employees; and

Whereas, we feel that such surveillance leads to a potential for control and intimidation that is alien to our form of government and foreign to a society of free men and women; and

Whereas our society has progressively become more information-oriented, creating a potentiality for abuse and misuse of validly gathered information; and

Whereas, the U.S. Army Intelligence and others have had at least a few of our Unitarian Universalist churches under surveillance;

Be it resolved: The Unitarian Universalist Association go on record as opposing any governmental abuse of surveillance whether by means of professional data gathering systems, census forms, federal questionnaires, interviews, Army investigations, wire tapping, or data banks; and

Be it further resolved: The General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association urges:

1. The President to exercise the moral leadership of his office as recommended by the Scranton Report on campus unrest.

2. Support of Congressional hearings to consider the total impact of data collection programs on the preservation of individual rights.

3. Congress to uphold the constitutional protection of individual rights to privacy and the right of an individual to remain silent about himself and herself.

4. That the federal government inform the recipients of these questionnaires of their rights with regard to these forms, including the fact that the forms are voluntary, and the reason for the collection of the information.

5. Citizens should have the right to examine any governmental files concerning themselves. The President and the Congress are urged to issue appropriate executive orders and to pass legislation to effectuate this objective.

6. Urges our members to join and support the American Civil Liberties Union.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

#### PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

bly of the Unitarian Universalist Association  
Be it resolved: The Tenth General Assembly of the President of the United States:

1. To order the Joint Chiefs of Staff to issue a cease-fire to all American troops in Southeast Asia immediately; also, to announce and plan a complete and immediate withdrawal which in no way will be contingent upon the progress of peace negotiations.

2. To cease all aid by the State Department, Defense Department and all other agencies of government which contribute to the military buildup of the countries of Southeast Asia.

3. To promote creation of an interim coalition government for South Vietnam which will include representatives of all political factions of any appreciable size in the country.

4. In recognition of our basic responsibility for much of the destruction in Southeast Asia, to do two things:

- a. Create an emergency relief agency charged with the responsibility for providing hospitals, medical care, food, sanitation facilities and housing.

- b. Request an immediate appropriation in the amount of six billion dollars to the United Nations Development Program, earmarking it for the development of industrial and agricultural productivity, education, public utilities, public health and social services in the countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

#### NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN

Convinced that a federally sponsored health insurance plan has become mandatory in view of the fact that the health care costs have continued to soar;

Be it resolved: The Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association urges all member societies to support a National Health Act to be acted upon by the 92nd Congress of the United States, under which the federal government would provide the legislative and administrative machinery whose provisions would be identical throughout all fifty states of the Union, to make certain that hospitalization and medical services and materials be made available to all;

That specifically:

1. Adequate pre-natal, hospital and post-natal care be provided every mother and child.

2. Family planning, birth control, abortion services and information be made available to everyone wanting them free of charge without regard to age or marital status.

3. Pediatric care, inclusive of all immunizations necessary, be made available to every child.

4. Mandatory physical examinations be made of every child before entering school.

5. Adequate health care for the physical, mental and social well being of the elderly be made available including provision for custodial and terminal care.

6. All medical, psychiatric, psychological, dental, ophthalmic and other care and/or devices be provided to every person requiring them.

7. Medical research be provided for the purpose of extending the life span of men. (According to the 1970 Census, there are 74 men to every 100 women over the age of 65. We feel that medical research should investigate the reasons and possibilities of prevention of the early death of our male population.)

8. Outpatient Family Health (medical and mental) Clinics be available in both rural and urban areas.

And that the federal government, in collaboration with competent medical, sociological, and educational authorities, establish a greatly expanded program of medical education, so that an adequate number of people are prepared for the medical and paramedical professions to adequately take care of the future medical needs of all of our people;

And that this all inclusive health plan be financed by major Federal contribution but with participation by local government units, the private sector, and, where possible, by the individual consumer.

Adopted by the Tenth General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, held in Washington, D.C., June 11, 1971.

## U.S. NAVY VERSUS SOVIET NAVY

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, if the Soviet Navy is as good as its press agents claim and has world support from the communications media as it does in the United States our Navy is out-gunned, out-disciplined, and out-praised.

I insert two related newscippings and two pertinent speeches by the Cuban-American patriot, Dr. Manolo Reyes, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 26, 1971]

#### RUSSIANS RAP U.S. SAILORS

MOSCOW, July 25.—Soviet Navy officials said today the Russian fleet is more popular than the U.S. fleet in Mediterranean ports because its sailors visit museums while the Americans are out "debauching."

They said the Soviet units had overcome Western propaganda against their presence in the Mediterranean because, in part, "the Mediterranean people got an opportunity to compare with their own eyes the two navies and their personnel."

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 26, 1971]

#### CHIEF OF SOVIET NAVY BOASTS OF FLEET'S GLOBAL NUCLEAR MIGHT

MOSCOW, July 25.—The commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy today warned "imperialists" that his fleets can attack any point on the globe with nuclear missiles.

Adm. Sergei Gorshkov used the occasion of Soviet Navy Day to proclaim: "Never before has our navy been so powerful and efficient."

Gorshkov said in an article in Pravda, "The navy's regular maneuvers and exercises are proof of the Soviet Union's ever-growing strength as a naval power."

#### CITE OCEAN PERIL

"This is not to the taste of the inspirers of aggression . . . who are trying to frighten the world public with the threat of Soviet fleets on the world's oceans."

No one has felt that new found strength more than the United States 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, which faces the possibility this year of being outnumbered and out-gunned by an expanded Russian Black Sea fleet. Up to 60 Soviet warships now regularly patrol the Mediterranean, compared to about 40 U.S. vessels.

In the last eight years, the Soviet Union has transformed a small border fleet into the world's second largest naval force.

#### HAS NO CARRIERS

The Soviet Pacific, Baltic, Black Sea and Polar fleets today boast about 25 cruisers, 100 destroyers, 1,600 smaller craft and more than 400 submarines.

The Soviet Navy has no aircraft carriers but operates two new helicopter carriers each with 30 aircraft designed to hunt and destroy submarines.

Gorshkov said the United States has developed submarine missile systems with which it "hopes to divert from U.S. territory a considerable number of possible retaliatory nuclear strikes."

"Vain hopes," he declared. "No strategy, including this so-called 'ocean strategy' will save any aggressors, who risk waging war on the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the Socialist community, from a crushing retribution."

Gorshkov's top aide, Adm. Vladimir Kasatonov, backed up the warning by proclaiming in the Defense Ministry newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda [Red Star] that nuclear submarines are now the main striking force of the Soviet Navy.

#### 87 ATOM SUBS

Latest figures reported by the U.S. Defense Department show the Russians have 87 nuclear submarines and have achieved parity with the United States.

Since 1968, the Soviet Union has been adding a nuclear submarine to its fleet at the approximate rate of one each month.

The Soviets still lag in the number of submarines capable of firing nuclear missiles—17 to 41—but U.S. naval experts feel this gap will close by 1973.

#### SPEECH BY DR. MANOLO REYES, LATIN AMERICAN NEWS EDITOR, WTVJ

In this the Twentieth Century, man has made his greatest technological and scientific discoveries and advancements. At the same time, civilization has created its greatest means of self-destruction.

The Second World War was an irrefutable example of how great devastation by naval and aerial power can be. In the last decade with the marvels of technology and precision, man has reached the Moon. Also during this decade, the unsuspectable limits of nuclear power have increased, incrementing the possibility of self-destruction with the development of the intercontinental offensive missile system.

I believe that the decade which is beginning with this year 1971, will have as a common denominator, man's submarine power. To support this theory is the fact that the United States, always in search of world peace, is trying to achieve on the highest level, a treaty to ban "submarine weapons."

By submarine weapons, I understand them to include the fixed nuclear missile silos on the ocean floor as well as the nuclear submarines themselves.

Perhaps to those who do not fully comprehend this matter, it might sound illogical to place nuclear weapons on the ocean floor, but this does present several high-low ranges. At 160 to 200 feet of depth a nuclear missile silo could be placed on a submarine platform without being detected by reconnaissance airplanes.

Precisely a few months ago on the 26th of February of this year, I read something which caught my attention. The prestigious newspaper "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires on page three, printed a cable received from United Press International, stating:

"In Mexico the Soviet Union announced that they are helping Cuba in their search for petroleum in the Caribbean. The announcement made in a news bulletin of the Russian Embassy in Mexico states that a group of specialists of this nationality are building a platform to be used in primary exploratory experiments in Cuban waters. A

representative of the Russian Embassy declined to point out the exact location where these experiments will be carried out, or how many technicians are taking part in said affair."

This has filled me with doubt. It is apparently submarine work and the decade which is beginning is one to be dominated by those with submarine power. And Cuba (well-named the key to the Americas) is now more than ever the key to submarine power for the present and future of the Western Hemisphere.

Lamentably, Cuba is today the first colony of the Soviet Union in the American Continent. But, I trust that it will be the first and last. It is inconceivably threatening to imagine a collective Soviet force in the heart of the Americas.

On the 7th of August, 1962, we were the first to alert of the presence of 5,000 Russian soldiers in Cuba. At first we were not believed. Twelve weeks later the missile crisis of October 1962 occurred.

The 28th of April, 1969, we again announced the Russian military buildups in Cuba. Three months later, July 26th, a Soviet naval squadron visited Cuba for the first time in the history of Cuba and the American Continents.

During the last year we have personally gone on four occasions to the floor of the Congress of the United States and once to the Special Commission for the Security of the Organization of American States to denounce the Russian military presence in Cuba.

This month, only a few days ago, we went before this Commission of the Organization of American States to denounce the presence of Russian nuclear submarines in Cuban waters.

I would like to make clear . . . as I have always . . . that I am not an expert, much less a technician on naval or military matters. But I have received, and continue to receive, many reports from the Cuban Patriotic Resistance whose members risk their lives so that the free world may know the true situation inside the martyr island of Cuba.

They were my source of information when I reported the presence of a Russian nuclear submarine, displacing 5,000 tons and approximately 390-feet long, in Cuban waters last May. This type of nuclear submarine, the analysis indicated, was equipped with eight rockets or missiles called "Shaddock", (with a range of 500 miles). These rockets are surface-to-surface type.

Precisely one of the modern weapons which is of greatest expense is the nuclear submarine. These are those who have estimated their cost of construction at approximately eighty-million dollars. Hence, care and maintenance are very important.

In this sense, essential to the care of the nuclear submarine is a change of crews. We have learned that the training of a nuclear submarine crew lasts no less than three years. The selected personnel are hand picked for particular traits. It appears that if hostilities break loose among the men, the nuclear submarine rarely will come to surface. Thus the importance of a change and rest for the crew of a nuclear submarine is great.

The United States has three known bases in the world for their nuclear submarines. Officially, the Soviet Union has none. I maintain my opinion that, according to the reports from my fellow compatriots, the Russians do now have a base in Cuba.

Their base is in a Russian naval complex on the southern part of the island of Cuba, bounded by the Bay of Cienfuegos, Key Largo, Playa Giron and the Island of Pines.

The Bay of Cienfuegos, or Jagua Bay, discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1494, is 370 miles from the Bay of Guantanamo. Admiral Mahan, one of the greatest strategists

of the United States, noted in a statement published in "Commercial Cuba" in New York in 1898, that the Bay of Cienfuegos was the most important strategic point in the Caribbean.

Alcatraz Key, in the southeast portion of the Bay of Cienfuegos, is small, but larger than an aircraft carrier. The Russians have diligently been building for the last few months on its surface. The Cuban Resistance informed us that much of the material used in Alcatraz Key was pre-fabricated and brought from Russia.

Six Russian naval squadrons have been in Cuba since July of 1969. Many of the units of these squadrons have been to Cienfuegos, mainly at Alcatraz Key.

Precisely there were two large barges stationed there for quite a while. The Cuban Patriotic Resistance reported that in September 1970, there was a small leak of radioactive contaminated water from one of the Russian barges which caused the death of thousands of fish.

The area of Alcatraz Key has been taken-over totally by the Russians. Almost three-quarters of Cienfuegos Bay is in Russian hands and the Cubans have been removed from there. They are not even allowed to visit or fish in the area.

The buildings built in Alcatraz Key in the last months are two very long barracks and the Resistance reports that Russian sailors and military personnel are lodged there. There is also an area for the Russian officers to live.

In the center of Alcatraz Key there is a great recreation field, probably for playing football or soccer. The Resistance calculates the field as about one hundred meters long.

According to information received from the Resistance, Alcatraz Key has an enormous dock situated to aid in the unloading of nuclear submarines. In the surrounding area, there are storage warehouses for rockets or missiles. These warehouses are close to the northern coast of Alcatraz Key. It is common knowledge that submarines must have calm water for loading or unloading missiles. The calm waters of the Bay of Cienfuegos are exceptionally suited for this.

Alcatraz Key is not the Russian naval base. Alcatraz key is for logistic support of the Russian nuclear submarines and the Soviet Navy. It is there, according to Cuban Resistance reports, that the submarine units undergo mechanical checks and repair, and the Soviet crews can be based for change or rest and relaxation.

The true Russian Naval Base is located in the southeast of Cienfuegos, in Key Largo. Since 1960, Key Largo has been in Russian hands. The presence of Cubans, or their sailing nearby, is prohibited.

Over there is a Russian Naval High Command. The northern coast of Key Largo was dredged a few years ago by the Russians and readied for nuclear submarines. On the Eastern Coast, running water installations have been built. A large road crosses Key Largo from one side to the other. There is a vast airport on the western section and great installations used for the embarking and disembarking of the Russians at the Key. The Caribbean waters surrounding Key Largo are very deep and the Resistance states that submarines can enter and leave, and it is very difficult to detect them.

To end this exposition, I wish to publicly announce two reports received from the Cuban Patriotic Resistance.

First, it is very probable that the Fidel Castro Regime is awaiting the arrival in Cuba of a new Russian naval squadron—apparently larger than the former ones—for a display of naval force on the 26th of July.

We understand this second report to be of greater importance too. The Resistance states that the Russian military and naval presence in Cuba continues to increase. The

Russians are penetrating all levels of life. Previously, their presence was felt only in the national order. But during the year of 1971, they have been appearing in groups in local life in the villages and small towns on the island.

Work especially directed for the submarine base by the Russians continues throughout the island. The most recent activity being on the northern coast of Oriente, in a place known as Saetia, near Nipe Bay, and in the province of Pinar del Rio on the peninsula of Guanacabibes.

All of this has led the Resistance to believe that if there were a confrontation in Cuba (on the exterior or interior), it is probable that the Russians would retreat as they did in the missile crisis of October 1962.

But the Resistance leads us to understand that if a year and a half more were to pass without a confrontation, and the Russians continue to become militarily and navally strong—particularly with their submarine installations—then they might not back down.

Therefore, the time for dramatic balance is NOW!

BEFORE THE SPECIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SECURITY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES: JUNE 18, 1971

The undersigned, Dr. Manolo Reyes, Cuban Citizen, of full age, presently transitory resident at 243 S.W. 26th Road, Miami, Florida, without any representation of the Cuban People, but exercising the right to liberty and respect of human rights established in the Fundamental Letter of the Organization of American States, appears and respectfully declare:

That on November 24, 1970, I was officially invited to declare before the full Special Advisory Committee on Security of the Organization of American States, in connection with the Russian military increment inside of Cuba.

As it can be well remembered, at that time we stated the degree of Russian intervention in Cuba and the offensive presence of troops and Soviet military equipment inside the island. The Committee on December 11, 1970, informed the President of the Permanent Counsel of the Organization of American States about my accusation.

As essential element of said accusation was that I was pointing out, for the first time, the presence of nuclear submarines of an offensive nature in Cuban waters.

Today, I appear before the Committee to ratify with new information and material the most recent appearance of these Russian nuclear submarines in the Caribbean and in Cuban waters. These facts have been sent by the Cuban Patriotic Resistance.

DENOUNCEMENT

On July 27, 1970 and for the second time in less than a month, I appeared before the Congress of the United States to expose and denounce the Russian military incrementation in Cuba—particularly in the naval aspect.

Several days before—on June 29th—I also made a declaration before the Subcommittee of Internal Security of the United States Senate on that respect.

On July 27th, I testified before the Subcommittee on International Affairs of the House of Representatives.

On said appearance—which appears on page 179 of the U.S. Congressional Record—I stated that a naval Russian squadron was station in the Caribbean, on a permanent basis, and that said squadron was directed by a Russian nuclear submarine.

The President of the House Subcommittee, Congressman Dante Fascell, asked me in what place would said Russian naval squadron be based in the Caribbean, to which I answered, "In Cienfuegos or in Havana."

Today, after having received new information from the Cuban Patriotic Resistance. I

ratify that the Russians have in the Caribbean a naval squadron directed by a nuclear submarine of offensive nature and that they use as a base ports and bays in Cuban waters.

The Cuban Patriotic Resistance informs that very recently, on May 1971, the sixth naval Russian flotilla arrived in Cuba, composed of a mothership AS-905 and a nuclear submarine, both from the Soviet Union.

This ratifies the first averment I made before the United States Congress on July 27, 1970.

Nuclear Russian submarines maraud in the Caribbean and frequently visit the Cuban waters.

The Cuban Patriotic Resistance informs to us that the nuclear Russian submarine that was seen in Cuban waters during this month of June, displays approximately five thousand tons and has approximately 390 feet longitude.

From the information received by the Resistance, we have come to the conclusion that the above mentioned submarine has a core with a uranium nuclear reactor and pressurized water. It also has two steam turbines. This nuclear Russian submarine has six torpedos having 21 inches in the prow.

Furthermore—and this is what we consider most serious—this nuclear submarine that just visited the Cuban waters has eight missiles named "Shaddock" with a thrust of up to 500 feet.

These "Shaddock" missiles are installed in the nuclear submarine in cylindrical launchers. The length of each "Shaddock" missile is 14 meters and the fuselage diameter is of approximately 2½ meters.

This missile, to which a nuclear head can be adapted, is of great naval importance. And it is a missile from surface to surface.

Therefore, the presence of nuclear Russian submarines in the Caribbean—using Cuba as their base—is a proven dramatic reality.

According to the Cuban Patriotic Resistance, a central operation base of these offensive nuclear submarines is located in Key Largo, southwest of Cienfuegos.

In Key Largo, Russian submarines can come and go without hardly being noticed. As well as the Russian military and naval officers, without having to go through highways or aerodromes, where they could easily be seen by the Cuban People. Since 1960, Key Largo has been practically a Russian possession, surrounded by the very deep waters of thousands and thousands of feet, of the Caribbean sea.

THEREFORE

I wish to inform you of all this, which constitutes a real threat, up-to-date and very serious against the security of the American continent.

Miami, June 18, 1971.

DR. MANOLO REYES.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Diggs) for arranging this Special Order so that we may properly expose the shallowness of the Vice President's recent remarks in Spain.

I was appalled that in his remarks, Mr. AGNEW, attempted to distinguish among Americans on the basis of color. Ignoring the basic democratic principle that America has been built on a government of and by the people without regard to

race, color, or creed, the Vice President chose to single out black leaders in a comparison with the black leaders of Africa. In my 11 years in the House of Representatives, this is the first time I can ever recall an elected official from this country using a trip abroad as an occasion for verbally attacking our citizenry. Is this part of the administration's strategy to "bring us together?"

The Vice President is critical of American black leadership for failure to support this administration. But, he has failed to win that support in large part because of the administration's failure to utilize the broad source of qualified policymakers and administrators among black Americans. A more important reason may be that the Vice President's remarks disclose a subtle but detectible racism which is abhorrent to many Americans, black, and white.

I am shocked the Vice President could make a statement that black leaders in America did not accurately reflect the sentiments of ordinarily Negro citizens, an observation which completely overlooks the outstanding achievements of men like Roy Wilkins, Ralph Bunch, Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King and Whitney Young, Jr., "ordinary Negro citizens" who knew how to relate to the needs of their brothers.

It was also amazing to note how comfortable Mr. AGNEW was in his travels in some African nations where economic, social and political discrimination are the expressed policy of the government. Living under such a government, it is not surprising that these African leaders would be unable to justify the publication of top-secret Pentagon papers on the Vietnam war. But to American leaders, black and white alike, the publication of these papers were vital in protecting the public's "right to know."

The Vice President's trip was originally planned as a good will mission to enhance America's reputation abroad, I regret Mr. AGNEW lost sight of that objective and feel that an apology to our distinguished black leaders is in order.

#### PUTTING THE BLAME ON NIXON

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the columnists, Evans and Novak yesterday charged that a so-called conference scheduled in Washington this week on the Pentagon papers is being held for the purpose of shifting blame for the Vietnam war to President Nixon.

This is outrageous.

It shows the depths to which those who hate the President and his success in ending this war will sink.

For the edification of all my colleagues, I attach the Evans and Novak column which appeared yesterday in the Washington Post:

#### PUTTING THE BLAME ON NIXON

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Internal memoranda show that this week's conference on the Pentagon papers arranged by militant antiwar Democratic congressmen has a partial hidden motive of trying to deflect in Richard Nixon's direction some of the political shrapnel coming from the documents.

The Group, an informal organization of 13 prominent left-liberal Democratic House members, which is sponsoring the conference, includes congressmen unhappy that the political fallout from the Pentagon papers has hit the last two Democratic Presidents, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and not President Nixon. That's not a case of loving Mr. Johnson more but of loving Mr. Nixon considerably less.

Late in June, shortly after the Pentagon papers were leaked, the question was raised at a meeting of two New York members of The Group, Reps. John Dow and William Fitts Ryan, with staffers. A July 6 memorandum on that meeting reveals they proposed a conference on the Pentagon papers with the purpose of "arousing public pressure on the Congress" for a Vietnam pullout resolution.

"An inquiry aimed specifically at the policies and decision-making processes of the Nixon administration," says the memorandum on the Dow-Ryan meeting, "could effectively transfer the public outrage from the past tense of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations into the present tense of the current administration."

The agenda for the weekly meeting of The Group on July 7 makes this strategy explicit: "The political focus must be shifted away from the Kennedy-Johnson administration. Nixon will argue in 1972 that he ended the war that the Democrats got the country into. It is critical that he not succeed. Only by undermining his present policies and by obtaining a Democratically-sponsored congressional action forcing the acceptance of the present Vietcong proposal can we recover lost ground."

The same theme is followed through in The Group's list of potential participants for the conference on the Pentagon papers—as in the case of Melvin Gurtov, one of the authors of the Pentagon papers who has just resigned as an analyst for the Rand Corp. think tank. In suggesting Gurtov, a staff memorandum notes that he has been "highly critical of the Nixon administration and says it is following the same policy as previous administrations . . ."

A footnote: Some members of The Group told us that the sole purpose of their forthcoming conference is to improve public understanding of the Pentagon papers and that the memoranda indicating a political motive reflect only the over-active imaginations of young staffers. Other members of The Group, however, confided to us that they regard as accurate the intent of the conference as outlined in the memoranda.

#### AMERICAN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO PAKISTAN

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on June 29 I sent a letter to Secretary of State Rogers asking him to comment on American arms shipments to Pakistan in

light of the civil disturbances there. My specific concern, as expressed in the letter, was with our policy regarding military equipment in the supply pipeline prior to the administration's freeze on new transactions in late May.

Secretary Rogers' reply, as expressed through his assistant, Mr. Abshire, was completely inadequate. I was sent a general arms policy statement, with only a passing reference to my original question.

I feel that the situation in Pakistan is urgent enough to warrant a complete cessation of arms shipments from the U.S. Congressman GALLAGHER's amendment to the foreign aid bill, adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee on July 15, would have this effect. I urge passage by the House of this portion of the bill as it stands.

We must exercise all our influence with the Khan regime to settle its differences with the East Pakistanis peaceably. Supplying Pakistan's Army with the means with which to butcher its own population does not further this end.

With this in mind, I include my correspondence with Mr. Rogers:

JUNE 29, 1971.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State, Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The Wall Street Journal reported recently that American arms are still being sent to Pakistan. It is my understanding that no new licenses have been granted to U.S. exporters; the Government is allowing these firms to fulfill previous contractual obligations. In some cases, this equipment had been transferred to Pakistani representatives prior to a March 25 cut-off date. Although still in the U.S., these arms are legally the property of Pakistan, and are therefore not subject to any military aid embargo.

A similar situation exists in regard to British military sales to South Africa. There was debate in the U.K. as to the morality of selling arms to a regime which might use them to repress a sizable portion of its population. Mr. Heath's government decided to continue sales as a matter of policy; by so doing, that government gave up any claims to neutrality on the matter of apartheid.

In light of the brutality involved in the subjugation of Bengal, I fail to see how America can continue to ship arms to Pakistan. Our position is very much like that of Britain's in South Africa; we cannot hide our failure to make a moral choice behind the verbiage of good business. By supplying arms to the Khan regime, we ally ourselves with its policy of systematic terror and bloodshed. It is an alliance that should be suspended.

In view of the urgency of the situation, I would appreciate a statement of policy from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, D.C., July 21, 1971.

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARRINGTON: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of June 29 requesting a statement of our military supply policy toward Pakistan.

In view of the considerable public interest in this matter, and with the object of clarifying misunderstandings which have arisen, we have prepared the enclosed full state-

ment of our policy, including an explanation of the actions we have taken as a result of the outbreak of civil strife in East Pakistan. I wish to point out that our earlier statement on military supply policy referred to the suspension of deliveries by the Department of Defense after March 25, 1971, of military equipment from its stocks under the Foreign Military Sales program. While this covered many important supply items from a military point of view, including ammunition, it did not take account of FMS and commercially supplied items previously licensed and still in the pipeline. I wish to assure you, however, that there was no intention on the Department's part deliberately to conceal or mislead.

The enclosed statement provides a complete explanation of our position on this matter. I hope this information is helpful to you. Please continue to call on me whenever you believe we might be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,  
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Enclosure: Statement on Military Supply Policy.

**JULY 1, 1971—STATEMENT ON U.S. MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY FOR PAKISTAN**

In 1965 when hostilities broke out between India and Pakistan, the United States placed an embargo on the supply of all military equipment to both countries. All grant assistance was terminated and none has been resumed except for modest military training programs.

In 1966 the embargo was modified to permit the sale to both countries of non-lethal end-items such as communications, medical and transportation equipment.

In 1967 the policy was further modified to permit the sale of ammunition and spare parts for those items of military equipment, such as aircraft and tanks, provided by the United States prior to the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict. A one-time exception to the continuing embargo on lethal equipment was announced in October, 1970. This authorized the sale to Pakistan of 300 armored personnel carriers and about 20 aircraft.

This policy on military supply to Pakistan has been based on the judgment that it is desirable for the United States to continue to supply limited quantities of military items to Pakistan to enable us to maintain a constructive political relationship. We have also wanted to ensure that Pakistan is not compelled to rely exclusively on other sources of supply.

The Government of Pakistan purchases Munitions List items either through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) Program or commercially from the manufacturer or distributor. Items under the FMS program are purchased either from stocks which are under direct Department of Defense control or from the Defense Department's commercial contractors. All equipment either obtained commercially or delivered under the FMS Program to Pakistan Government representatives in the United States must be licensed for export by the State Department's Office of Munitions Control before it may be exported.

There are also items which are common to military as well as civilian use (such as certain automobile and truck spare parts) which are not on the Munitions List, but which may require a Department of Commerce license.

In light of the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan on March 25-26, we have taken certain interim actions with regard to military supply for Pakistan. While no formal embargo was imposed, the following interim actions were taken in early April:

(A) A hold was put on delivery of FMS

items from Department of Defense stocks; no such items have been released to Pakistan since then.

(B) The Department of State's Office of Munitions Control has suspended the issuance of new licenses and renewal of expired licenses (valid for one year) for items on the Munitions List—for either FMS or commercial sales.

(C) We have held in abeyance any action on the one-time exception arms supply offer announced last October; no item in that offer has been delivered to Pakistan or its agents, and nothing is scheduled for delivery.

By early April, when these interim actions were taken, the Government of Pakistan or its agents had obtained legal title to, and were in possession of, some items still physically in the United States. In addition, DOD commercial contractors under the FMS program, and other commercial suppliers, continued to utilize valid licenses issued before the actions taken in early April. Some of these items, legally the property of the Government of Pakistan, have been shipped to Pakistan from U.S. ports and it is likely that additional military supplies, under valid licenses, will be shipped in the future.

Our overall military supply policy toward Pakistan continues under close review.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
July 23, 1971.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State, Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have received your letter of July 21 regarding our military supply policy toward Pakistan. Although informative, your reply does not deal satisfactorily with the problem of material already in the pipeline. My question to you was about this specific area of concern.

I do not question the validity of Pakistani claims to ownership of certain equipment still physically within the confines of the U.S. I would not deny them what is theirs. But it is incomprehensible to me that we could allow these supplies to be shipped out now with the almost sure knowledge that they would be used by the Pakistani Army in a continuation of its policy of terror and violence in East Pakistan.

I see no reason why the Government cannot follow the example of Canada and suspend shipment of all military goods destined for Pakistan, regardless of who holds title. That equipment already owned by the Khan regime could be maintained by its representatives in this country; they simply would not be allowed to export it until the civil war is settled. American supplied arms have done enough damage in East Bengal; such a measure would at least insure that they would do no more.

I would appreciate a reply to this letter as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON.

**GUARANTEED INCOME PLAN  
COSTS EXORBITANT**

**HON. JAMES M. COLLINS**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's Dallas Morning News I read more comments on H.R. 1. The News keeps pounding out the facts every day. Dick West writes column after column on this timely subject of deficit welfare.

Our deficit last year was \$26 billion. Just how high will it become if this guaranteed income bill ever becomes law?

Here are some of the highlights from the editorial of July 25 in the Dallas Morning News. The editorial director of the News, Dick West, gives you one more good reason to vote no on H.R. 1:

Last month, in Washington, the House of Representatives passed a new welfare bill. It has been called "The Monster."

Critics fear that its cost to the taxpayer will be prohibitive and that more people than ever will be on the rolls.

The reason is a highly publicized new feature called FAP (Family Assistance Plan). A family of four, if it qualifies—and it won't be too hard to qualify—will get a guaranteed annual income of \$2,400 a year; with more than four, it is \$3,600.

As in Social Security, that base of \$2,400 will be increased gradually by politically conscious congressmen.

The "guaranteed annual income," fought by conservatives for years because they think it will bankrupt the government, was conceived by the Nixon administration.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House modified Nixon's proposals somewhat, but the basic features are retained in the new bill. It will be heard soon in the Senate, which killed a similar bill in a previous session.

Liberals in Congress and the Welfare Rights' Organization already have denounced the new bill as not going far enough in the annual subsidy: The \$2,400, they say, should be around \$6,000.

All of this, mind you, is tax-free.

A congressman who fought the Family Assistance Plan declared that "two sisters on welfare, plus income from their boy friends, could live together with an annual income of around \$25,000—all tax-free." Welfare payments are not taxed.

It's a vicious circle—cost of the present program is now running nearly \$500,000,000 a month. At the last count, around 10 million people were on the rolls.

But you haven't seen anything yet.

An exhaustive study by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, based on state-by-state data and census counts, predicts that the new bill will make 25,000,000 people eligible for welfare.

Sen. Russell Long, warning about the new guaranteed annual income, predicted that "in eight years we would be living at a program level where aid to families with children would cost \$100,000,000,000 (billions) a year."

On Feb. 1 of this year, Texas had 352,000 family members on AFDC (Aid to Dependent Children). Under the new bill, Texas would have 1,198,300 family members eligible—a 240 per cent increase—in 1973.

As we mentioned in previous articles, no welfare plan can be remotely successful unless sufficiently policed.

There must be constant investigation of families who get monthly checks.

The abuse under the present program are incredible.

But under the proposed new FAP (Family Assistance Plan), the stakes are higher—which means the temptation for graft will be higher. Average payment per month in the Dallas area is \$117 a family; it will be \$200 and up in the new bill.

If 25 million are eligible under the new program, you can imagine what the policing job will be.

One congressman said "an organization 1,000 times the size of the FBI" couldn't even scratch the surface.

At any rate, the prospect is for more cost to the taxpayer regardless of what happens. We have reported how costs are going up

under the present program—they are now \$500,000,000 a month.

But if FAP is adopted—well, hold on to your wallet!

And if you "guarantee" some people a check every month, how many will get off the rolls and go to work?

### D.C. ENVIRONMENT: THE CHIEF JUSTICE ON SURVIVAL

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the depths to which this once great city, Washington, D.C., the capital of the free world, has plummeted is astonishing. Crime is rampant; it is reported that even the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has taken to opening his door at night with "pistol in hand, not knowing what might be lurking on his steps."

It seems a shame that the Supreme Court does not follow the lead of the Chief Justice and stand ready to mete out swift and sure punishment to the criminals of the land—instead of handing down decisions that handicap the law enforcement agencies and keep them from properly enforcing the law, or letting known criminals go free under legal technicalities.

By action, even if not by word, the Chief Justice is opposed to gun control.

I insert related news articles at this point:

[From the Manchester Union Leader, July 24, 1971]

#### CHIEF JUSTICE AT BAY

When the Chief Justice of the United States feels so insecure in Washington, D.C., that he greets reporters who call at his door in the evening with a loaded gun in his hands, this tells us more about conditions in our nation's capital than 10,000 words on the subject. It is certainly ironic that it is previous decisions of the same Supreme Court over which Chief Justice Burger now presides that are in large part responsible for the increase of crime in this nation.

At the top of our back page today we reprint a column from the Hampton Union entitled "The Big Wheels." This column gives not only an account of Chief Burger's gun toting but describes also two terrible events which recently happened, one of them, incidentally, while this writer was in Washington.

The rape and murder of the young woman took place NOT in some slum area of Washington, but instead in the parking lot of one of the best eating places in Washington. The murder of the naval officer and his son took place on a much traveled and well known public highway.

Sentimental judges and juries who have more sympathy for the wrong-doer than the victim, and the philosophy that it is not the criminal but society which is in the wrong, all have contributed to the freedom from fear which criminals in the United States now feel and this, of course, has led to increased crime.

This newspaper repeats, when the Chief Justice of the United States feels so unsafe in his own home that he has to come to the

door with a gun in his hands, it is time for a change—and a mighty big change.

WILLIAM LOEB,  
Publisher.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, July 24, 1971]

### COLUMNIST WRITES ABOUT LIFE IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL: RAPE, MURDER, AND THE ARMED CHIEF JUSTICE

(By A. Spokesman)

Hogate's is one of the famous restaurants in Washington. It is on Maine Avenue which runs along the Potomac River just a few blocks from the White House and the Capitol.

On a recent evening a couple married only two years and in their 20s finished dinner and left the restaurant for its parking lot to ride home in their car.

Only a few paces from the door they were accosted by two men, one of whom put a gun to the couple. The young man and his wife were forced into their auto and forced to drive a short distance to an alley. There the young wife was brutally raped repeatedly, and murdered. The young husband had been bound and forced to witness this heinous crime.

A few evenings later a Naval Commander took his wife and children to see the fireworks on the Washington Monument grounds. Enroute home in their station wagon, the Commander was needlessly harassed by a tall-gating vehicle carrying several persons, including one female. As the Commander's wagon approached a traffic light the other vehicle sped around it and drew up sharply in front of it. The Commander got out of his car to protest the actions of these devils and was immediately pounced upon. His 16-year-old son ran to the rescue whereupon one of the hoodlums drew a pistol and killed the Commander and his boy in cold blood.

On another recent evening two newspaper reporters knocked at the door of one Warren Burger, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. The Chief Justice opened the door cautiously with pistol in hand, not knowing what might be lurking on his steps. As awful as are the foregoing facts, they related the times as they are in the city which is the home of our federal government.

You can't tell us such a condition is necessary if the people who run that government—all of them—were all doing their job. And if the leaders of government were truly marshalling the decent citizens of the land to do away with permissiveness and tolerance of wrong and lenience of punishment.

Samuel Leibowitz was a tough New York judge for some 30 years. He protected the innocent but meted out severe punishment to the scum guilty of crimes against public safety and public order.

The other night retired Judge Leibowitz was on the Dave Susskind show. He called for a return to respect for parents, and to fear of God, and to effective punishment of the guilty.

It's too bad New York can't return the Judge to the bench. It's too bad the City of Washington and the 50 states don't have many judges like Leibowitz.

### HIRE THE VETERANS

## HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the veterans now returning from Vietnam face serious obstacles in finding jobs. The opportuni-

ties seem to be few and far between for these men who have just returned from putting their lives on the line for their country.

One solution to this problem materialized with the inception of the U.S. Veterans Assistance Center. In a speech given to the Alpha Beta Gavel Club, Janice Vernon, a veterans benefits specialist and one of my constituents from Glenarden, Md., presented the accomplishments and goals of this program, as well as suggestions on what we can do to help.

I insert the text of this speech in the RECORD for my colleagues' consideration:

#### HIRE THE VETERAN

(By Janice Vernon)

Do you know that over 1 million servicemen and women will be discharged from the Armed Forces of the United States within the next several years because of the reduction of Armed Forces and withdrawal from Vietnam. Where do the veterans go after returning from Vietnam and other places around the world. Home, of course. That's first. Home to hugs and handshakes. Home to the family. Home from thousands of anonymous assignments around the world. BUT—after the uniform is off—what then? Where do they go with their maturity, their abilities, their ambitions? What will they do with the skills they've acquired in service—manual and technical skills, administrative and professional skills? What will become of the \$3 billion yearly investment the Armed Forces spend for training? How will they use the over \$1 billion available annually for education and training under the GI Bill. Do they go to work—or do they go to waste? It's up to you to help to hire the veteran. Perhaps you say to yourself—what can I do? Do you know that on January 30, 1968, President (Lyndon B. Johnson) directed that One Stop Assistance Centers be established for returning Vietnam era veterans. The purpose was to provide services and counseling over the total range of veterans benefits available with special emphasis on the transition of the recently discharged veteran to civilian life.

On February 19, 1968, the first center was opened at 25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. Nine others followed as a part of a pilot project. As a result of the experience gained from these centers, there are now 71 centers providing assistance of this type over the United States. The USVAC in Washington, D.C. is unique. In this center, we have established our job bank which is successful and adding this dimension to the job bank of Department of Labor as well as the personalized services of the Staffing Assistance of the U.S. Civil Service Commission makes this office one of the most successful operations of the Veterans Administration. The Veterans Administration also assists widows and dependents in finding employment. If you have a job to give or a veteran seeking employment refer him to 25 K Street, N.E., telephone 638-2966. As you all know the President, Richard M. Nixon, has named Mr. James F. Oates, Jr., as National Chairman of Jobs for Veterans. Over 900,000 letters were mailed to employers all over the United States asking to hire veterans in direct hires; on-the-job training as well as apprenticeship type programs. Also on the local level, Veterans Administration mailed over 400 letters to employers of the Metropolitan Washington Area asking them to participate in the program. The response has been so successful, the office has assigned a Veterans Benefits Specialist to full time duty assisting these employers in the area of processing papers for on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs. One Veterans Benefits Specialist concentrates on making direct contacts for

immediate employment. Most veterans returning to civilian life seek jobs. For many, this is a period of uncertainty and difficulty. Veterans are trained to stay alert . . . think fast . . . learn fast. They've put a lot into the life they are leaving and gotten some valuable things out of it—self reliance, self discipline, maturity and training. Don't forget the disabled veterans they too have special vocational training. You can become a part of the job campaign—jobs for veterans—by telling your friends and prospective employers in helping to get veterans hired. Each returning veteran deserves the opportunity to find his place in our economic system. The challenge to the nation is to make effective use of the talents of all who have served. So Don't Forget Hire The Veteran.

REPORT BY EXPERTS PREDICTS  
ALARMING ENERGY SHORTAGE

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I am not assuming the role of alarmist when I say that the energy supply outlook for the United States is bleak—even alarming—unless some changes are made in Government programs and policies with respect to energy industries.

It is true, of course, that our Nation still has a tremendous energy resource potential. But this potential can be realized only through use of effective incentives for the development of additional domestic supplies of energy fuels and a realistic coordination of effort between Government and industry. The potential supplies are no good to us unless we can use them.

This is not just my opinion. An interim report by the authoritative National Petroleum Council on the U.S. energy outlook, following an appraisal made at the request of the Department of the Interior, raises a warning red light which we will be well advised to heed.

The National Petroleum Council concluded that, as matters now stand, the United States will have to increase petroleum imports fourfold between now and the year 1985. Such an increase would amount to 57 percent of domestic demand. The prospect of having to rely on undependable foreign sources for so much of our needed supply of petroleum is, to say the least, an unsettling one.

The report also declared that a searching review of the present system of Federal regulation of the natural gas industry is urgently necessary. I quote from the report:

Continuation of Government policies would result in available gas supplies being equal to only about one-half of potential market requirements in 1985.

Mr. Speaker, that is only 14 years from now.

According to the National Petroleum Council, if existing policies continue in effect, gas supplies from the 48 contiguous States will drop from 21.8 trillion

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

cubic feet in 1970 to 13 trillion cubic feet in 1985. This decrease would more than offset the amount of gas which it is estimated will be available under existing policies from Alaska's North Slope—when it becomes available, as to which there is no solid information at this time—synthetic gas from coal and naphtha, and imports of natural gas, liquified natural gas, and liquified petroleum gas from Canada.

On the basis of these estimates supply from such sources in 1985 would fall 17.4 trillion cubic feet short of demand.

The basic problem lies in the constantly growing gap between total energy consumption and domestic energy supplies. The National Petroleum Council expects consumption to increase at an average annual rate of 4.2 percent while domestic supplies are increasing at a rate of only 2.4 percent. The result of this shortfall would be a drop in the proportion of the U.S. energy market supplied by domestic sources from 88 percent in 1970 to 70 percent in 1985.

It is hardly conceivable that our demand for energy sources will drop. This Nation lives on energy. Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is of imperative importance for this Congress to make a start toward placing our national energy policy on a sound and realistic basis.

A modest, but necessary, beginning can be made by enactment of legislation to place the stamp of validity—which is now lacking—on sales contracts between natural gas producers and interstate pipeline companies. This simple step is an essential one to encourage the search for and development of additional natural gas reserves. True, many other things must be done to alleviate the threat of a consumer-damaging shortage of a fuel for which the demand is constantly growing, but validity of contracts is a most important item.

If the gas producer could know how much he will be paid for his gas, how long he will be paid the price agreed on, how much gas he must deliver, and how long he must make deliveries—none of which he can know under present law—he would have greater incentive to go out and look for new supplies. This is the least which is needed.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW  
LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 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?

A REVIEW OF SOVIET RUSSIAN  
TOTALITARIAN IMPERIALISM

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, on July 22 as a part of Captive Nations Week celebration, I addressed a representative group of Americans concerned with Captive Nations in Cleveland. At that time it came to my attention a pamphlet comprising a review of Soviet Russian totalitarian imperialism as set out in documents of court proceedings of Captive Nations Week held in Cleveland this year. This book, "A Review of Soviet Russian Totalitarian Imperialism" was prepared by the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University. It is an excellent and informative piece of work which was edited with introduction by Dr. Michael S. Pap, Ph. D.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the book be printed in the RECORD.

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

A REVIEW OF SOVIET RUSSIAN TOTALITARIAN  
IMPERIALISM

INTRODUCTION

This monograph on the Captive Nations is the result of the testimonies by representatives living in the United States of the oppressed nations under Communism. The reader is introduced to the history of Soviet Russian colonial practices. It is an irony of history that the most reliable allies of the free world are living under the totalitarian communist system and are almost completely forgotten and ignored by the West.

A glance at a world map shows what has happened since the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. One-third of the land surface is now communist reflecting the profound changes which have transpired during this short period. A new political order was established now embracing over one billion peoples—an order which endangers the very foundations of our democratic society.

In November, 1917, the world was surprised to learn of the sudden emergence of a new force on the ruins of the Tsarist empire. A mere 40,000 revolutionaries, calling themselves Bolsheviks, succeeded in overthrowing the Russian Provisional Government under Kerensky's leadership—a government which was recognized by the United States in March, 1917, and termed by our President Wilson as a "fit partner for a league of honor." The Provisional Government was unable to solve the pressing problems of peace, was reluctant to introduce the immediate land reforms and refused to acknowledge the right of the non-Russian nations within the former Tsarist empire to self-determination. It collapsed, therefore, a short seven months after its inception.

The Russian Bolsheviks, on the other hand, under Lenin's capable leadership, recognized the existing reality, introduced slogans acceptable to the great majority of the people, and won not only an easy victory in Russia itself, but initiated a blueprint for world conquest. As soon as Lenin assumed control, he declared that with the establishment of Bolshevik rule in Russia, the world was divided into two belligerent camps—that of socialism and capitalism—and he added that these two camps cannot coexist for a long period of time—one or the other must con-

quer. These declarations were not only made public, but the Bolsheviks insolently announced that they would use any means to reach their ultimate goal.

Once in power, Lenin continued the imperialistic policies of the Tsarist government, imposing Russian communism on neighboring countries. Among the forces which desperately fought the Russian Bolsheviks were the military units of the non-Russian nations who were defending their independence. In Russia proper, some remnants of the former Russian army took a stand against Lenin because they preferred to remain white rather than become Red.

The non-Russian nationalities took up arms in united opposition to the new Russian imperialist power—now camouflaged behind international slogans. These forces in the Ukraine, in Byelorussia, in the Baltic States and in the Transcaucasian Republics succeeded, at that time, in pinning down the Russian Bolshevik forces which otherwise might have been used elsewhere in Europe. Having recognized the communist danger from the very beginning, these non-Russians appealed to the Western democracies for assistance. Regrettably, this help was withheld from them at a crucial time in 1918 and, when it was reluctantly offered, it was too late.

Stalin continued the policy of genocide and during the Great Purges of 1934-1938 liquidated some twenty million persons termed "enemies" of the Soviet regime.

The Nazi-German attack on the Soviet Union came in June, 1941. In the initial period, the population of the Soviet Empire, especially the non-Russians, welcomed with open arms the invading German army and pledged its support in defeating the Kremlin's dictatorship. However, it soon became apparent that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union with the purpose of exploiting its peoples and resources. So long as these aims were hidden, the German army advanced rapidly and by the middle of 1942, it stood at the gates of Moscow. Whole divisions of the Red Army gave up the fight for the survival of Stalin's bloody regime. At the beginning of 1942, there were 3,500,000 Red Army soldiers in German prisoner-of-war camps. It is a historical fact that Hitler's cruel policies toward the peoples of Eastern Europe doomed him and rescued the Soviet system from a total collapse. Stalin himself admitted at the end of 1941 to Averell Harriman that he would not have survived without Hitler's blunders.

Acknowledging his helplessness, Stalin, a well-trained expert in propaganda tactics, utilized fully Lenin's teachings on taking advantage of all circumstances. He turned to the Western Powers for assistance in the struggle for "democracy." He issued a declaration by which he "changed" Soviet foreign policy. Without any hesitation or moral obligation, Stalin proclaimed on November 6, 1941:

"We have not nor can we have such war aims as the imposition of our will and our regime on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny and then to accord them the possibility of arranging their lives on their own land as they think fit, with absolute freedom, no interference of any kind with the domestic affairs of other nations!"

This was a fine proclamation for export, although Stalin did not believe the Western Powers would forget Kremlin's deeds. He proved to be wrong. Churchill and Roosevelt felt that Stalin was sincere. They insisted that the Red dictator had learned his lesson of history. The ensuing events proved beyond a shadow of doubt that this was nothing but an old Russian propaganda maneuver

designed not only to ensure the survival of the Soviet regime, but was also an attempt to strengthen the communist revolutionary movement all over the world with our unwitting assistance. Millions of people, among them even those who knew the Bolsheviks well, misinterpreted Stalin's declaration as his final retreat from Lenin's doctrines. These maneuvers won the Western Powers' readiness to grant the Soviet Union unlimited material and moral aid. Suddenly, the Soviet aggressions which were a part of the Hitler-Stalin conspiracy in 1939-41 against Poland, the Baltic States and Finland were forgotten. The cruel Stalin of yesterday became the likeable Uncle Joe of today. As soon as he was assured of our help, he ordered thousands of experts to work out plans for the rearrangement of the post-war world. We were interested in winning the war; Stalin was interested in expanding his empire.

To impress the Soviet Government with Western good intentions and trust in the future peaceful co-operation between East and West, the Western Allies made many concessions and often deviated from some of the most important principles upon which our democratic societies are based. We agreed not only to the Soviet occupation of large areas in Europe with a total population of over 100,000,000 people but also to the forcible repatriation of the former prisoners of war, about 3,000,000 who survived the Nazi concentration camps and found themselves in the Western-controlled areas.

We agreed to this despite the fact that Article 133 of the Soviet Constitution provides that desertion is "punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes." We betrayed Poland, turned the Baltic States over to Stalin, ignored the pleas of millions of peoples of East Central Europe not to leave them at the mercy of the Russian Communists. All in vain; the price of friendship with the Soviet Union was never regarded as exorbitant!

The Yalta Agreement of 1945 gave Stalin a chance to enlarge his empire to include: Latvia; Lithuania; Estonia; Poland; East Germany; Czechoslovakia; Hungary; Rumania; Bulgaria; and Yugoslavia, which fell under the Soviet sphere of influence. The Yalta Conference will stand in history as a disgusting monument to the stubborn idealism and naivete of the attending American delegation. It has always been a distinguishing mark of American foreign policy that we deal with each major problem as an end in itself. The First World War was the war to end all wars. Yet our victory did not prevent the Second World War. Nonetheless, we again felt that once Nazi Germany and Militarist Japan were defeated, a viable peace would be assured. Winning the war was one thing—securing a lasting peace was another. The thought that the two might be essentially related was put aside as complicating matters.

Some of our diplomats were aware of the basic tenets of communism, and of the many acts of the Russian government that had been in direct opposition to the principles necessary for a peaceful world under God. Yet, they continued to reassure themselves that the Soviets were going to be good boys from now on. Of course, the Bolsheviks had flagrantly violated treaties in the past; of course, the Bolsheviks had never given a second thought to depriving men and nations of their natural rights; of course, the Bolsheviks had murdered millions, lied, cheated and committed every crime in the books—but they are not going to do these things anymore. We will have amicable relations for 100 years with our traditional friends, the Russians. The President wanted to be sure Stalin understood our sincerity.

After Stalin's death the Soviet empire once again was facing an internal crisis of major proportions. Khrushchev initiated a policy of peaceful co-existence and secured our promises not to interfere in the affairs of the communist-controlled nations. As soon as the crisis within the Soviet Empire abated early in 1957, Moscow returned to the policy of blackmail, intimidation, provocation and saber rattling, all designed to paralyze our will to defend and promote liberty.

It must be stressed that the Soviet leadership does not desire a major conflict. It realizes that its aggressive expansionism has aroused the West to a point where further unveiled military moves would entail the definite risk of total war. The Kremlin is, therefore, shifting from overt expansionist tactics to a strategy of wooing the neutral nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and of seeking to create conditions for future seduction and subversion. As Khrushchev stated:

"I am sometimes told that I too often stress that Socialism will win, will get the upper hand over Capitalism. Yes, I wholeheartedly believe that in the peaceful competition of the two systems the Socialist System will triumph. And as long as our heart beats in our body, we will not give up our teaching because it is the correct progressive teaching. The days of Capitalism are numbered. . . . We are marching toward Communism without war. We do not need war, it would undermine our cause."

How do we fare against such zig-zag tactics? While in the economic sphere we are successful and our military is still superior, in the realm of psychological and ideological warfare we are very weak. Our policy toward the Soviet colonial empire is based on confusion, uncertainty and, often, indecision in times of potentially great opportunities.

In order to see the state of complete confusion about the most important aspect of our strategy against Russian colonialism, all we need is to compare the statement of Dean Rusk making Georgia, Armenia and the Ukraine a part of the Russian historical state, with that of Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson before the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 25, 1961. Mr. Stevenson identified the Kremlin masters as colonialists by pointing to the brutal Russian oppression of the once independent national states of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and others.

The question is, who is right? Who knows the facts? What actually is United States policy toward this last Colonial Empire of Moscow? The communist strategist will have little difficulty in counteracting this regrettable lack of appreciation on our part of the historical reality of East-Central Europe and the diplomatic inconsistencies it creates. The basic reason for this confusion is that our diplomats become aware of the many crucial problems of our time only after leaving their responsible positions within the Government.

The documents of the Court Proceedings on the 10th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Captive Nations Resolution should serve as a guideline for our foreign policy towards the Communist Empire. These documents demonstrate the essential truth that the nations under communist domination will never tire of strugglings for their rights to self-determination and freedom. These Captive Nations must be regarded as the best allies of the Free World. The tragedy is that Moscow knows this only too well while the Western Powers are often reluctant to recognize this reality.

MICHAEL S. PAP., Ph. D.,  
Director, Institute for Soviet and East  
European Studies, John Carroll Uni-  
versity.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK,  
July 8, 1970.

His Excellency A. DOBRYNIN,  
Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the  
United States, Embassy of the U.S.S.R.,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN: You are hereby advised that members and friends of the American Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland have organized and will hold a forum directed to world public opinion, on Friday, July 17, 1970, from 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., at St. John's College Auditorium, Cathedral Square, E. 12 and Superior, Cleveland, Ohio.

The subject of the forum will be the alleged subjugation of the captive nations of Europe and elsewhere through communist oppression, and involving concomitant issues such as Soviet imperialism, colonialism, oppression of religious, racial and nationality minorities, and whether the Soviet Union poses a threat to world peace by its current policies.

Granting that this forum does not possess jurisdiction over the principal parties nevertheless the above matters will be explored on moral grounds in order to review the conduct of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis the captive nations for the purpose of reminding world public opinion of such events as affect world peace, sovereignty of nations and true independence for all peoples.

A number of representatives for the captive nations will present five minute statements. A panel of judges, comprised of leading jurists and leaders of this community will preside. A prosecutor will present and summarize the case against the Soviet Union. In the tradition of fair play you are invited to attend and to respond to the accusations which will be presented at that time.

Naturally, only a representative of the rank of ambassador, or at the least, a first secretary of the embassy, will be satisfactory for these purposes so that a sufficiently authoritative defense may be contemplated.

In addition to the group of speeches above mentioned the agenda will also include, we anticipate, a spokesman for the Jewish community regarding alleged Soviet Anti-Semitism.

At the conclusion of the statements a final summation will be made by the prosecutor. If you send a delegate for the purpose of response every courtesy will be extended to grant equal time for defense and final argument. The chief judge will then, with the judicial panel, take the matter under advisement, and thereupon submit the issues to world public opinion.

These proceedings have been prepared in commemoration of Captive Nations Week, initiated by Congressional Act passed on July 17, 1959, which authorized former President Eisenhower to declare the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. A photocopy of that resolution is enclosed.

Because of this commemoration this world forum of local persons and personages intends to appeal to world public opinion to review recent historical events so as to confirm the fact that such events, detrimental to world peace, have not been forgotten nor pardoned. This invitation is courteously extended to you in the hope that you may see fit to arrange for a suitable representative to appear and respond.

Yours truly,

NICHOLAS A. BUCUR,  
Program Chairman.

[Public Law 86-90, 86th Congress, D. J. Res. 111, July 17, 1959]

JOINT RESOLUTION providing for the designation of the third week of July as "Captive Nations Week"

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to

CXVII—1716—Part 21

achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religion, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Viet-Nam, and others and these nationalities were added to the list; Cubans, Croatians, Serbians, Slovaks, Slovenians, and Jews; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

Approved July 17, 1959.

[Proclamation 3303—Captive Nations Week, 1960—By the President of the United States of America]

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas many nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Soviet communism; and

Whereas the peoples of the Soviet-dominated nations have been deprived of their national independence and their individual liberties; and

Whereas the citizens of the United States are linked by bonds of family and principle to those who love freedom and justice on every continent; and

Whereas it is appropriate and proper to manifest to the peoples of the captive nations the support of the Government and the people of the United States of America for their just aspirations for freedom and national independence; and

Whereas by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959, the Congress has authorized and requested the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July, 1960, as "Captive Nations Week," and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world:

Now therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 18, 1960, as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the peoples of those captive nations.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this seventeenth day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

By the President:

[Declaration of Independence, Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1776]

CREDO FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness . . .

AMERICAN NATIONALITIES MOVEMENT OF GREATER CLEVELAND, OHIO, INC. CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—JULY 13TH TO 19TH, 1970 WORLD FORUM FOR CAPTIVE NATIONS, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE AUDITORIUM, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Bailiff Jack Dudek: This extraordinary session of the World Court for Captive Nations is called into session and is open for business pursuant to adjournment. The Honorable Ralph J. Perk, Chief Judge, presiding. Ladies and gentlemen, you may be seated.

Honorable Ralph J. Perk: The court offers its greetings to the people, the panel, the distinguished guests and participants, as well as to the audience, the friends of all Captive Nations. The World Forum for Captive Nations is now open. This Forum is sponsored

by the American Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland.

Our purpose is serious. No demonstrations will be permitted. The atmosphere of a courtroom and decorum will be respected. It is requested that there be no applause. I repeat, no applause.

Captive Nations Week was started by an Act of Congress approved on July the 17th, 1959, which authorized the President of the United States to declare the third week of July as Captive Nations Week until freedom and independence have been achieved for all of the Captive Nations. Since 1959 there has been no lessening of world tensions due to the aggressive conduct of the masters in the Kremlin and their allies, who have provoked one crisis after another. The world has overlooked the real historical conduct of this super power. It stands accused today of genocide, brutality, tyranny, suppression and subjugation of small nations. We shall hear testimonies from accusing witnesses regarding these accusations.

As in every trial, the judge introduces the participants; and in this case, we will introduce the judges. I shall first introduce our distinguished panel who represent not only the law but also wide areas of public opinion in our community including education, labor, business, science, art, politics and the minorities.

Starting on my left, at the judicial bench in front of me is William Petro, Sr., distinguished attorney and businessman; towards the center from Mr. Petro is Professor Michael Pap, Director of the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, at John Carroll University. On his right, the distinguished professor of law, Howard Oleck, of the faculty of Cleveland Marshall Law School and Cleveland State University. To his right is Mr. James Iafelice, District Director of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO. On the elevated bench to my right, is the honorable Norman Fuerst, Judge of the Cleveland Municipal Court and former member of the Ohio Legislature. To his left, is the honorable Perry B. Jackson, Judge of the Common Pleas Court, a former legislator and a former councilman. To my immediate left is the Honorable Mr. William O. Walker a member of the cabinet of the Governor of Ohio, a former councilman, and the editor and publisher of the *Cleveland Call & Post*. To his left, is the Honorable Alvin I. Krenzler, a member of the Board of Cleveland State University and judge of the Court of Appeals. My name is Ralph Perk. I shall act as the Chief Judge.

The bailiff who opened this session is Jack Dudek who is the bailiff of the Common Pleas Court and former National president of the Fraternal Order of Police. I should like to introduce at this time the gentleman on my right, in front, Attorney Nicholas A. Bucur, who will act as Chief Prosecutor in these proceedings. The Chief Prosecutor will present the accusing witnesses in alphabetical order.

As I previously stated, our purpose is the presentation of accusations by persons who represent various Captive Nations. Obviously, this panel of judges, and I, and all participants, are all aware of the fact that we do not have jurisdiction over the subject matters of this proceeding. We intend, therefore, to present the evidence in order that world public opinion, which will act as the jury, may be apprised and reminded of the allegations herein presented for such action as world opinion and posterity may face. We do this not to castigate nor insult nor to degrade any nation or people; but to inform and enlighten world public opinion in the interests of freedom, justice, and peace for all people.

The Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Dobrynin, has been invited to appear with us to hear the accusations and to respond. He has neither replied to the invitation, nor appeared, nor has he sent a representative on his behalf. I

have nevertheless noted that on the stage here is a chair which is assigned to the Soviet Union.

Each accuser will present a five-minute statement on behalf of each Captive Nation represented here today. That will be followed by filed information by the Prosecutor. At the closing by the panel of judges and myself, these proceedings will be concluded with ecumenical prayers for peace—the latter being not in regular courtroom proceedings, but necessarily in this extraordinary session.

Mr. Prosecutor, will you proceed?

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen of the World who serve as our jury, permit me to inform you first of all that the accused party herein, that is, the Communist Government of the Soviet Union, was notified of these proceedings by Certified Mail. An invitation was sent to Anatol Dobrynin, Ambassador to the United States. At this time, I offer you as evidence the letter which was sent to Mr. Dobrynin, consisting of two pages, and I further offer into evidence the return receipt card signed by an attaché of the Embassy.

Due to the fact that Mr. Dobrynin has not seen fit to respond to this invitation, the defendants will be tried in absentia; and therefore, I cannot make the usual opening statement customary in proceedings of this kind. Instead, I shall waive a formal opening statement and at this point interject the plea on behalf of the defendants of "not guilty," of which fact the court is now apprised; and the defendants will be symbolically represented by the sign at the chair stating "Soviet Union."

At this time, therefore, I shall proceed with the prosecution. Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, so that you may know which people are the Captive Nations, I shall read the list to you. Not every nation from this list will be represented here. We have approximately fifteen witnesses. But this is the list contained in the Derwinski Resolution in the House of Representatives of April 20, 1970, which is the latest: Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Ukraine, Southeastern Republic, Turkestan, Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and others in Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Hungary, East Germany, Mainland China, Tibet, North Vietnam, and Cuba.

It is on behalf of these people that the accusations are brought. I call as my first witness a representative for the Byelorussian delegation. Born in France of a Byelorussian father, he studied in Europe two years ago and has recently graduated from a large Mid-Western university. He will speak on Russia's extreme measures of genocide, political terror, and cultural genocide against the people of Byelorussia, especially during the long reign of—Joseph Stalin. I present to you Mr. Andrei Orlovich.

*Mr. Andrei Orlovich (Byelorussia):* By the Treaty of Riga on March 18th, 1921, about two-thirds of Byelorussia was handed over to the Soviet Union; Poland acquired the rest. Russian suppression of its new conquest, however, came long before 1921. Throughout its history, Byelorussia, or White Ruthenia as it was called, has been the prey of the surrounding predatory powers.

First, during the Portions of Poland in the later 18th century, Russia acquired all of the Byelorussian sections, which was then known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Tsars, on the other hand, eagerly suppressed all free expression of culture and even the use of the people's language in the schools.

During the first two decades of the present century, Byelorussian youths and students were active in organizing various revolutionary groups. Their purpose was not the immediate overthrow of the Tsars, but the

eventual independence of their country from the Poles and the Russians. The police, however, were quick to halt any anti-Russian publications.

The Communists have not behaved much better than their royal predecessors. After the Bolsheviks were finally established in Moscow, they sent out agitators to Byelorussia to recruit members for the Communist Party. They only seem to have succeeded among the non-Byelorussian urban proletariats. In early 1919, the BSSR (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) was created, and the Communist Party declared token independence for the country. This and later attempts on the part of the Soviet Union to grant the BSSR constitutional rights were a mere facade in the face of the world.

In reality, however, Russia is the one in full control of the nation's life. Often, Byelorussia has received the brunt of Bolshevik anger when the latter has been in a good international and internal position. From 1922 to 1928, Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced, though armed uprisings and other anti-Russian expressions were common in the Republic at this time. The Byelorussian Communist Party membership was only 3,000. Russia had to find a way to appease its northwestern conquest. Many schools were closed, including the State University in Minsk, the nation's capital. The cultural Byelorussian forces had taken advantage of the opportunities given by the NEP to further their own good and literature, the arts and sciences had flourished.

Russia was anxious to Russify the country. The suppression of the peoples' language was only one method used in Russification. About 1929, Moscow launched its campaign of systematic genocide and political terror. Those Byelorussian officials who openly opposed Soviet colonialism were quickly ousted from their posts and replaced by Russians. The height of the terror was the forced collectivization imposed on the people, many of whom were imprisoned or exiled because of non-cooperation. They responded with acts of sabotage against the intruders by destroying homes and livestock. The arrests increased in number and frequency while the labor camps of Siberia became more and more crowded.

The 1930's witnessed three great waves of mass arrests. The concentration camps became filled with Byelorussian government officials, writers, scholars. Many were falsely accused of belonging to secret, underground anti-Communist groups, and of cooperating too closely with the rebellious Ukrainians. Death was Russia's answer to such a problem.

In the early 1930's, Moscow also caught wind of a supposedly planned revolt set in 1933 or 1934 against Russia, and promoted supposedly by the Polish General Staff and the Ukrainian National Organization to free Byelorussia. All Byelorussian intellectuals who might be linked with these plans were soon deported. Thirdly, the wave of arrests of 1936-1938 victimized many writers, and others in the arts. Many Byelorussian Communists, charged with treason, were also caught. Many of them committed suicide.

Moreover, if the accused was ever given a trial, it was a mere formality. The person charged was considered guilty from the start. Sometimes there were "Show Trials" staged for the public. These "trials" made ideal propaganda since it was the prisoner who was forced to ask for his own punishment.

It is hard to estimate the actual number of people that Russia destroyed during its reign of terror. It is known that during the short period between 1929 and 1931, the process of forced collectivization claimed one and one-half million lives; while the total number killed during the Communist rule of Byelorussia surpasses four and one-half

million. This, of course, does not include those killed indirectly through famines resulting from the reduction of the natural increase by the Soviets.

When discussing Communist aggression against Byelorussia, one must also consider the campaign of cultural genocide of the 1930's. Religious works and buildings, some dating back to the 12th century, were systematically destroyed. Many fine churches, Orthodox and Catholic, as well as Jewish synagogues, lost valuable works in sculpture and paintings because of this vandalism.

Literature also received the brunt of the attack. In 1935 alone, were destroyed 10,773 listed names of books and journals numbering some 12 million copies. Among these were collections of Byelorussian folk literature and the Byelorussian archives and academic journals.

Religion, because it posed ideological problems for the Bolsheviks, had also to be eliminated. A Byelorussian priest, reporting before the U.S. Select Committee to investigate Communist Aggression, stated: "We priests were sent to Siberian slave camps or shot. By 1937 all the clergy of Byelorussia were liquidated; the churches locked or destroyed; services completely stopped. While speaking about freedom of religion in their Constitution, Communists closed all churches, approximately 2,000, at the same time in the whole of Byelorussia. All the bishops and clergy were arrested, starved to death, tortured, or lost in the slave camps of Siberia."

Another revealing fact is that of the 2,445 churches and 23 monasteries existing before World War I, there was in 1941 not a single one truly serving the religious needs of the population of the USSR. In all, the Communists were not only destroying churches merely as religious symbols, but also as national symbols. Signs of a national spirit, however, are still alive despite repeated suppressive attacks.

These same years, the 1920's and the 1930's, witnessed the establishment of numerous Byelorussian underground organizations. All these, of course, were soon liquidated by the Russian police; but their very existence created a renewal of national spirit in the people. Even the Byelorussian Communist Party was soon infiltrated by National Democrats.

The 1940's were not much more propitious for the Byelorussian people. First, there was Stalin's wave of terror; then came the Second World War resulting in the occupation of the western part of the country by the Red Army. Byelorussia is still controlled by the Russian Communists today.

What presently goes on inside Byelorussia, does not make as many international headlines as does Czechoslovakia, but the situation is similar in both countries. These people want true independence. Both people have suffered at the hands of foreigners, the Russian invaders. It is time for independence that the people declared for themselves on March 25, 1918. It is time for freedom.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Your Honor, ladies and gentlemen of the Jury, I'm going to ask that the remaining witnesses be sure to limit their remarks to five minutes. We have quite a number to cover; and while the first one lasted a little longer because it laid the groundwork in the foundation for most of the other remarks and the context in which they will be said, I shall ask you to discuss only the high points of your evidence. In the event that the remaining witnesses do not at the expiration of five minutes finish their remarks, I will ask that the remainder of their remarks and any of the material which is supplementary to their statement plus documentary evidence and data, be offered into evidence, and accumulated at the end of the entire case, in the interest of saving time.

I call as my next witness Mr. Theodore Abjanic, on behalf of the Croatian people.

*Mr. Theodore B. Abjanic (Croatia):* Honorable Judges: The case of the Croatian Nation held captive under the communist regime in multi-national Yugoslavia is hereby submitted for the attention and judgment of this tribunal and the Free World.

Yugoslav communist imperialism has been patterned after the Russian communist imperialism since it was under the aegis of the Russian trained Tito and the power of the invading Red Army which established communism and all of its attendant horrors in the forcefully recreated Yugoslav state after World War II.

Whenever atrocities are mentioned today in connection with the Second World War, Americans quite naturally tend to think of the horrendous nature and scope of crimes committed by their World War II enemies. Equally abhorrent, however, were the atrocities committed by America's communist allies particularly in the aftermath of the war when power was being consolidated and centralized by the new Eastern European regimes, and to which scant attention and very little, if any, public opinion was engendered against.

In communist Yugoslavia alone, hundreds of thousands of Croations, in particular, were brutally liquidated. Widespread and indiscriminate slaughter marks the history of newly communist dominated Yugoslavia whose rivers, fields and mountain ravines tainted by unending piles of mutilated Croatian corpses, military and civilian. The plan was successfully carried out under the slogan "Croations must die so that Yugoslavia may live".

Thus, during the immediate postwar days, *Milovan Djilas*, (the then fiery Minister of Propaganda and Provocation), together with *Koca Popovic*, one of the highest ranking members of the present Belgrade regime, and *Aleksander Rankovic*, the organizer and long time head of the infamous Yugoslav secret police, and *Mitija Ribicic*, the newly appointed Yugoslav Foreign Minister, and *Josip Broz Tito*, continuing head of the regime, were the chief order-givers to squads of order transmitters and executioners who carried out one of the bloodiest peacetime purges in the annals of civilized man.

So horrible and extensive were the killings and imprisonment that *Time Magazine* had finally alluded to them near the time they were taking place. On page 28 of the September 16, 1946 issue, *Time* reported that Tito's secret police patterned after the Russian NKVD and headed by "the able, notoriously cruel Aleksander Rankovic," together with the Partisans liquidated an estimated 200,000 people and imprisoned an estimated 100,000.

A recent article in the February 21st, 1970 issue of *London Spectator* noted that under the newly appointed Yugoslav Foreign Minister, *Mitija Ribicic*, thousands of anti-communist nationals were murdered in the forests of western Yugoslavia after the war. According to the documents and eye witness testimonies compiled by Croat sources and revealed in the recently published book *Operation Slaughterhouse* at least 80,000 Croats were murdered at the massacre sites attributable to "Mitija the murderer". Literally, 600,000 Croations have been liquidated in Yugoslavia from 1945 until today. Many thousands of Croats are still imprisoned in Tito's labor and torture camps while several hundred thousands more have been fleeing Yugoslavia these many years and constitute 80% of all exiles in the free world from Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav communist government still continues a terroristic campaign against those opposing the Yugoslav state. This has been done through deploying the Yugoslav secret police, U.D.B.A., on extraterritorial assassination operations. During the last two years, in West Germany alone, ten Croatian

exile leaders were assassinated and several others were wounded in attacks by U.D.B.A. agents. Tito, himself, announced such a policy in his speeches and the official Yugoslav press has boasted about the "silencing" of the "emigres and diverslonists living abroad". This was reported in the *London Times* in early November, 1969 issue and in the *Los Angeles Times* in the November 2nd, 1969, issue.

As the spokesman for Captive Croatia, I submit the above information to this Forum for consideration and judgement and further submit the following summation of facts pursuant to the Croatian position in Yugoslavia:

1. The Croatian Nation finds itself still in an oppressive dual captivity of totalitarian communism and a forcefully established state, the so-called Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

2. The Croatian Nation has never declared itself in free elections for this nor any other Yugoslavia but that this state was imposed on Croations through fraud and force and is being held together through the dictatorship of the League of Yugoslav Communists comprising the central Belgrade regime.

3. The central Belgrade regime is exploiting the Croatian people not only politically, socially and economically but, moreover, is deliberately destroying its national identity, its national culture, its national language and all those traits which make it a separate nation with a proud tradition, and a long heritage and history.

Therefore, having all the above stated facts in mind, in behalf of Captive Croatia, I accuse the Yugoslav communist Government of crimes against humanity through its genocide perpetrated against the Croatian Nation and through its systematic suppression of Croatian national, economic, social, religious and cultural development and demand:

1. The removal of the one-party, totalitarian, communist regime and police dictatorship in Yugoslavia through the establishment of free elections and other democratic procedures.

2. The establishment of a free, independent and democratic state of Croatia and the freedom of the other nations held captive in Yugoslavia because this is the only natural solution for a better and happier future of all these nations, and is the condition by which their peaceful coexistence in the community of the free and independent nations of the world will be assured.

Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* I call as the next accusing witness, Mr. James Kocian from the Czech community.

*Mr. James Kocian (Czechs):* Honorable Presiding Judge Ralph J. Perk and Honorable Members of the Jury: From 1948 to 1967 the situation in Czechoslovakia became so critical (falling economy, rigid press censorship, etc.) that the younger and more moderate forces in the ruling Community Party realized that a change in the methods of ruling the nation was necessary. After a protracted struggle in the Central Committee of the Party and its Presidium, the Stalinist, Novotny was replaced as First Secretary of the Party by the comparatively young Slovak, Alexander Dubcek (Jan. 5, 1968) who finally was also compelled to resign as President on March 5, 1969.

This change in leadership was accompanied by a restoration of freedom of speech and the press, a review of the political trials of the 1950's, the establishment of new economic reforms and an independent judiciary, and a general easing up of travel and other cultural limitations.

This whole movement from January to August 1968 has often been characterized as socialism with a "human face," and the transition from the hard-line Stalinist poli-

cies to more liberal policies took place non-violently and almost democratically.

But, with all its liberal tendencies and humanistic facets, it must also be noted that Czechoslovakia still strongly asserted its strict adherence to the Warsaw Pact alliance. In other words, the Czechoslovak leaders wanted conditions improved internally (humanistic reforms for the people) while at the same time asserted that they would follow the Moscow Line in foreign relations.

The Soviet Union, however, soon began to take a very dim view of the course Czechoslovakia appeared to be taking. The Soviet press stepped up its criticism of the Dubcek regime, the Soviet troops were being deployed along the Czechoslovak border. The result of crucial talks with Soviet leaders, held at Cierna and later in Bratislava, was at first considered favorable to Dubcek, but proved to be abortive. The Soviets wasted little time in dispelling any doubts about their attitude to Czechoslovakia's humanistic experiment. On August 21, 1968, the USSR—assisted by Bulgarian, East German, Hungarian and Polish contingents—invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia.

A complaint was lodged at the U.N., but no action was taken. The invasion was justified according to the Soviets by the "Brezhnev Doctrine" which holds that the community of socialist states (Moscow's satellites) has the right to intervene in any single Socialist state in which internal developments are endangering the survival of socialism. In practice, of course, this amounts to an assertion of the full right of the Soviet Union to intervene in any socialist state in which there are developments disapproved by Moscow—which is utterly incompatible with the U.N. Charter (of which the Soviet Union is a party too).

The aftermath of the invasion consisted of the repression of all liberals (both inside and outside of the Party), the replacement of liberal high government and party officials by pro-Moscow hard-liners, and virtual economic collapse due to the passive resistance of the Czech population.

The new Prime-Minister, Gustav Husak, is following Moscow now, and for that reason, he is unpopular with the people. He is also being criticized by the ultra-conservative Trotskyites who want even stricter repression of any party deviates.

The end result is that the people of Czechoslovakia maintain faith in Western values (freedom and justice as interpreted by Masaryk) but have given up hope for much help from the West.

As a prosecuting representative of the free Czechs and their captive homeland, I am charging the Soviet Union in their invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21st, 1968, with violating the territorial rights of this country, oppressing 15 million Czechs and Slovaks, damaging historical buildings, hospitals, homes and factories and killing without cause many unarmed civilians.

Also, at this time, I would like to be granted permission to call upon a witness, whose brother was killed in 1968 by the Soviet soldiers on a street of the city of Prague:

What is your name?

My name is Jindrich Gref.

Where did you come from, Mr. Gref?

From Prague, Czechoslovakia.

When and how was your brother killed?

On the way to work my brother was killed by fragments of a shell from a tank gun shot by the Soviet soldiers on August 21st, 1968 in Prague.

Thank you Mr. Gref, no further questions.

Honorable Judge and Jury: You have heard a witness of just one Soviet atrocity in Czechoslovakia. His statement will give you a clear picture of the inhumanity of the Soviets and their imperialistic deeds.

I am asking at this trial for the free world to impose upon the Soviet Union the strongest penalties possible.

This is their record in my homeland.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Honorable Perk: At this time I should like to make this comment, that it took a good deal of courage on the part of the previous prosecuting witness, Jindrich Gref, to take the stand in the full glare of publicity and to state what happened to him and his family having full knowledge that everything that is said here can be, and is, communicated abroad.

I call as my next witness Toivo Karios on behalf of the Estonians.

*Mr. Toivo Karios (Estonia):* Gentlemen of the jury, Estonia is the northernmost Baltic country with a small population of one and a quarter million people and an area of about 18,000 square miles. On February 24th, 1918, Estonia proclaimed her independence as a democratic republic and was subsequently recognized by the allies and all the rest of the free world. On November 28, 1918, the Soviet Union attacked Estonia, thus violating her own declaration proclaimed on November 15th, 1918 according to which all peoples of former Tsarist Russia were declared free to secede from Russia. On February 2nd, of 1920, after having valiantly repelled the Communist invaders for 14 months, Estonia succeeded in signing a Peace Treaty with the Soviet Union, by which Russia unreservedly recognized the independence and autonomy of the State of Estonia and renounced voluntarily and forever all rights of sovereignty held by Russia over the people and territory of my country. For approximately 20 years Estonia enjoyed the fruits of democracy and proudly joined the rest of the free world nations.

But with the outbreak of the Second World War, Estonia again was placed under the sphere of Soviet influence by a treaty signed in Moscow by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. In September of 1939, under threat of war, a mutual assistance pact was forced upon Estonia by which the country was compelled to establish a number of Soviet naval and air force bases on its territory. The following year the Soviet Union presented an ultimatum demanding the establishment of a new government "friendly" to the Soviet Union and the granting of a free passage for additional Soviet troops to my country. On June 17th, 1940, the day following the ultimatum, the Soviet army marched into and occupied Estonia. A new government, completely subservient to the Soviet Union, was imposed on Estonia.

With these steps, my country was converted into a Soviet colony. This transition was effected in all the Baltic countries according to the same blueprint. The Sovietization of the country was effected under unprecedented terror in order to purge the country of all undesirable elements and to force the country into submission. From the very onset, the Soviets led mass arrests and executions. The arrests were usually carried out at night to heighten the sense of terror throughout the nation. During this period, the following atrocities were committed by the Soviet Union.

Arrested were almost 8,000 persons of which 1,950 were later exhumed from mass graves, most of them being shot in the neck. The remaining were never found or were sent to prison camps in the Soviet Union. In June, 1941, 10,205 persons of all ages, many of them women and children, were deported. In addition, 33,000 were recruited into the Red Army and upon retreat these men were taken into the Soviet Union. One of them was my Father. During this period, close to 60,000 Estonians, the majority of them young men and women, as well as government leaders and public servants, skilled workers and farmers, were lost by Estonia. This number represents about 5% of the total population of the country at that time.

Estonians are suppressed and exploited but will never reconcile themselves to the status

of the Soviet colonies. Soviet colonialism is a strange oddity especially at a time when the principles of freedom and self-determination for all peoples in the world have found universal recognition as a guiding idea of the century and is being practiced in all parts of the world. We accuse the Soviet Union of the aforementioned atrocities and for the denial for the Estonian people freedom and self-determination.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* At this time, the prosecution calls Mr. Joseph Bauer who will speak on behalf of the East German people.

*Mr. Joseph Bauer (East Germany):* Your honors. With no disrespect or sympathy for other nations, whose place in the world is being dictated by the armed might of the Soviet Union, the case of Eastern Germany must certainly represent the most blatant subjugation of the people in the annals of modern history. The pages of history are often filled with the examples of Great Walls being erected as a means of protection of people inside, but one would have to look very long and hard to find an example of free people constructing a wall to imprison themselves.

Facts speak for themselves.

And because the facts so speak for themselves nowhere in the world can one find a more vivid example of complete failure of a system of government imposed by the Soviet Union upon the people as well as the complete servitude enforced by the presence of their armies. The Berlin Wall has, and should be, considered a monument—the monument for the entire free world to observe for what it really symbolizes, the complete subjection and imprisonment for the populace behind these confines as well as the complete failure of the government imposed upon the people.

Pages upon pages can be filled with examples of the ruthless and barbarian act of tyranny imposed upon the people of East Germany as I'm certain will be offered this evening by other nations within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. As in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the East German people have risen and fought their oppressors with stones, fists, and yes sticks, only to be humiliated and put into place by guns and tanks and the armies of the Soviet Union. Mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, children and friends, longing only to embrace each other, speak to each other through barbed wire under the watchful eye of the armed guards with their hearts filled with despair at the sight of the loved one so close and yet in another world.

As once said by our late President, John F. Kennedy, on his visit to Berlin: "There are people who say the future belongs to Communism. Let them come to Berlin!" Yes, let the world come to Berlin. Let the world witness East Germans, including mere children, ripped apart by bullets from the Soviet Union laying in the barbed wire wall, pleading for mercy in their agony yet allowed to have their lives slowly seep from their bodies. And after witnessing such a slaughter, let us reflect as to the reason for such brutality. Are these people murderers? Spies, or thieves escaping the authorities? No. Merely men, women and children tortured to a point when a faint hope of freedom has driven them to an attempt to gain such freedom even if they're most certainly to lose their life in the attempt. These acts, above all else, are a dramatic proof of the desperation and despair of those persons residing behind the Wall.

By analogy, how many persons have tried to climb the barricades in an attempt to enter East Germany? All of the rhetoric, arguments, and fancy slogans ever published by the Soviet Union cannot hide the Wall. It is the symbol of their brutality and failure not only in East Germany but in the entire world. On behalf of the people behind such walls, not only in East Germany but all of

the enslaved nations, let us here tonight condemn the Soviet Union and resolve her complete and everlasting destruction. Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* The prosecution calls at this time Mr. Geza Irati on behalf of the Hungarians.

*Mr. Geza Irati (Hungary):* Honorable judges. The Hungarian people accuse the Soviet Union of being the most aggressive Communist Nation in the world. After World War II, the Soviet Army induction service deported 500,000 Hungarians, civilians, as well as military, to the Soviet Union, namely in Siberia. From these, only 400,000 returned, many of them crippled and incurably sick. Since the Communist Party could not receive more than 13% of the vote in national elections, they were forced to resort to terror. They liquidated or jailed anyone who dared to resist their orders. Their main targets were churches of all denominations, all types of business, landowners and the intellectual class and their descendants.

When the Treaty of Paris took effect on September 15th, 1947, the occupation of Hungary came officially to an end but the Soviet Army remained using more than 80,000 motorized Russian infantry and several tank units. Through false accusations, they sentenced Cardinal Mindszenty to life imprisonment. This was the start of mass arrests and terror.

Non-Communist organizations were forbidden. I could call several witnesses from within the City of Cleveland who have been arrested, badly tortured, and have suffered from the inflicted sickness of the jail. In 1952, four years after I joined the Catholic Youth Group, I was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in prison for active membership "in a philosophical conspiracy against the Peoples' Democracy". By 1952 there were 20,000 people either in state prisons or concentration camps. This was called the Big Leap Towards Communism.

Outside of the prisons the workers were denied the choice of jobs. Everybody worked in the factory to which he was assigned. The farmers have been forced into collectives. Students from the age of 14 have been assigned to different types of schools according to their parentage. College education was denied to anyone who had intellectual parentage.

In 1956, the Hungarian people revolted to regain freedom and independence. The demands came from many sources, meetings, resolutions, and radio broadcasts. The Hungarians wanted only national independence with a multi-party and a parliamentary system with free elections.

In addition, these people called for an end of their economic exploitation by international communism and terror. On October 31st, 1956, all these goals were reached. The Russians had to evacuate the country, the multi-party system was re-established, prisoners were freed, and concentration camps abolished. Freedom of press and speech was assured. After ten years of suffering, with bare hands, Molotov cocktails and revolvers, the Hungarian people gained back their national freedom, independence and self-esteem.

On November 4th, 1956, the Soviet army attacked Budapest. 300,000 troops, 2,000 tanks and the Soviet air force held the capital under siege for days, and after a valiant struggle, in which 20,000 Hungarians lost their lives, Hungary was again occupied by the Red Army. The U.N. declared the Soviet Union as an aggressor against the Hungarian people. Meanwhile, the new Communist puppet government fully cooperated with their masters and reprisals against the Hungarian people began. They executed even the revolutionary Prime Minister along with several other politicians, writers, students, and Freedom Fighters. About 80,000 young students

and workers were deported to Siberia. Many thousands are still languishing there.

The Hungarian Puppet government invited and agreed to keep 60,000 Russian troops which are stationed even today throughout occupied Hungary. The case of the one hundred and fifty Hungarian Freedom Fighters who were imprisoned and not tried for two years until they reach the age of eighteen, because the "law" did not permit death penalty under eighteen years of age created world-wide outrage. Their execution took place in May of 1958 in spite of an international press campaign. Even worse, a genocidal abortion system was introduced and encouraged in Hungary. Encouragement is a very mild word—it should be "enforced." Her natural increase has faltered and fallen to the extent of being the lowest in Europe.

Now even the cynics have to agree that there is something in the vision of a nation's slow but sure death in the middle of Europe. May I call the honorable judges' attention to something I learned when I was seventeen years old, which was taught to us in a Hungarian school. "The Soviet Union won the territory of the Soviet Union in the First World War. The Soviet Union gained half of Europe in the Second World War. In the Third World War, we will rule the world."

I hereby solemnly testify, therefore, against Soviet Russia and her agents in the Communist Party in Hungary now called the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party. They, and their co-conspirators, contrary to the principles of humanity, peace, and dignity, have participated singly and collectively over a period of years since 1945 in depriving the thousand-year-old independent country Hungary and the Hungarian people of their freedom and dependence. All of these acts were committed willfully against the will of the Hungarian people by using terror, unlawful methods, tricks and complete economic exploitation of the oppressed people of Hungary. Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Your honors, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the next witness will testify regarding oppression of minority groups within the Soviet Union. Testimony thus far has been with regard to Captive Nations. Inasmuch as the Soviet Union itself is not a Captive Nation, but is accused of being the Captor, testimony will be in a slightly different vein.

I call at this time upon Dr. Herbert Caron who will testify regarding allegations of Soviet anti-Semitism.

*Dr. Herbert Caron (Anti-Semitic):* Your honors. Members of the court, I am grateful for this opportunity to speak on behalf of 3 million Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union. These people represent one-quarter of all Jews remaining in the world after the murder of 6 million in Hitler's death camps. The Soviet Union defines the Jews as a nationality; and if so, they are truly a captive nationality. They're not newcomers in this part of the world. For example, the Jewish community of Soviet Georgia is at least 2,000 years old. These are three points to be made in the brief testimony.

First, the Soviet Union is willfully attempting to crush the Jewish sense of identity and self-respect by eliminating Jewish culture and religion. It has even deleted references to Judaism in standard encyclopedias and history textbooks.

Second, the Soviet Union has willfully slandered the Jewish people in public propaganda and is encouraging anti-Semitism among the masses of people when it publishes openly anti-Semitic books, cartoons, and newspaper propaganda.

Third, the Soviet Union has denied Jews the right to leave the country and to settle elsewhere. This is a serious deprivation in view of the intolerable conditions imposed on this Jewish community in the Soviet Union.

I'll take these points in order. First, the official crushing of Jewish identity and self-respect. Officially, Jews are a nationality in the Soviet Union; but there is no organization that represents the large Jewish community. In the last reported census, 1959, 20% of the Jewish population declared "Yiddish" or "Jewish" to be its native language; yet there's not one single Jewish school or other educational institution whether in either Yiddish, Jewish, or Russian. As recently as 1940, there were 90,000 youngsters in Jewish schools in the Soviet Union serving an estimated 20% of all Jewish youth. In 1934, there were 467 Jewish schools in the Ukraine alone. After World War II, Stalin destroyed this educational apparatus and his successors have continued this policy.

Article XXI of the Soviet Constitution guarantees that instruction in the schools be provided in the national language. There are forty-five languages of instruction in the Soviet Union, but the Jews remain an exception. Yet the 3 or 3½ million Jews are not a small or insignificant group in the USSR. They are actually the 11th largest nationality in terms of population, and they have made significant contributions to the life of the country. Yet references to them have been practically eliminated from official Soviet history. In a recent article, William Quary documents an analysis of 15 elementary and secondary school history textbooks used in Soviet schools, and I will submit this in evidence rather than read it. He points out that encyclopedias as well have seriously deleted the number of Jewish references. I'll refer to just one small section in the major Soviet encyclopedia *Bolshava*. In the 1932 edition Jews were given 117 pages; in 1952, there were only 2 pages devoted to Jewish history.

In the same way, even Jewish heroes have been removed from the published lists of medal winners, even though they were very active in the fight against the Nazis. The list only goes by nationality groups—Ukrainians, Moldavians, etc., but the Jews, although they are separate nationalities, are simply lumped under "Other Nationalities."

In this cultural deprivation, Jewish children cannot grow up with the knowledge or pride in their tradition or pride in the contributions their people have made to their country. Even the famous poet Yevtushenko was severely criticized when he published "Babi Yar" which is essentially a poem in memory of the Ukrainian Jews slaughtered by the Nazis.

On the other hand, and this is my second main point, anti-Jewish writings are praised and encouraged by the Soviet governmental agencies. The notorious anti-Jewish book by Norman Klichkov *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published in 1963, describes Jews as parasites who were taught by their religion not to work but to live off others. Anti-Semitic cartoons—I'll show you some of them here, and I'll submit these—shocked the world with their similarity to Nazi propaganda. This one for example shows a Jewish man in a prayer shawl and a long nose reaching into a till of money, presumably at a synagogue. When letters of protest were received about such provocations, the Soviet government defended them. This was called a "scientific" book and was finally withdrawn from circulation after protests by the French and Italian Communist Party. However, the author, Norman Klichkov was honored again in October, 1967. Although he has written more extreme anti-Jewish works, his works are mild compared to some of the more recent publications, particularly by Yuri Ivanov. All of these, of course, are official publications of the Soviet Union, and must be officially sanctioned. Keep this fact in mind in interpreting the charge published in the D'agastan official newspaper *Kommunist* "that Jews sold diluted Moslem blood which

they drank as a holy ritual." This anti-Semitism was published in a predominately Moslem area.

Even in international broadcasts, distortion and slander can be documented. On December, 1968, the British Broadcasting Company picked up a broadcast to Arab countries and Africa indicating that a large group of Jews had received 100,000 ampules for sterilizing the Arabs, and these Jews were about to embark on a massive campaign of sterilizing Arab people. It need hardly be said, of course, that this story is entirely false—it's not even believable.

The whole picture of Soviet Jewish policy certainly shows amazing degrees of hatred and prejudice, expressing the official action of a "model nation." How can it be explained? There are various interpretations. Some, of course, tie it to the Soviet efforts to win favor with the Arabs against Israel. Others tie it to the crudity and personal anti-Semitism of the type of person who typically achieves high leadership under the Communist system. Still others tie it to the failures of Communism to provide a satisfactory life for its people. A public scapegoat is needed. The public is told "Blame all your troubles on a minority group—the Jews—and leave the government alone." This technique may have some merit—at least, it seems to work. Perhaps all three explanations are true.

In the words of the International Commission for Jurists—a party affiliated with the United Nations—anti-Semitism represents the most dangerous form of racialism in the world. No question of expediency can ever justify its use as a political, social, or economic weapon. This Commission did a detailed study of the recent wave of economic Show Trials in the Soviet Union. These Show Trials were largely directed against Jews, where 300 people were executed, 80% of them Jews. And the Commission report—and I'll put this in evidence—concludes latent anti-Semitism in the USSR, possibly being used by the Soviet authorities as a weapon to render unpopular economic offenses which appear to be rampant. This is probably the most charitable view to be taken of the apparent anti-Semitism which seems to have influenced Soviet policy. It is earnestly hoped that even if this were the dominating factor, they would continue to realize the real and grave injustices which must be dealt in such accord.

Finally, a brief word on emigration. It is almost impossible, as we all know to leave the Soviet Union. Even Jews who may have been separated from their families during the holocaust in World War II, would usually lose their jobs and homes if they emigrated. 50 Jews recently signed a statement that they would like to leave and recently we have read that many have been arrested on what is clearly a trumped-up charge of high-jacking an airplane. I think this is the first case in which the hi-jackers were clearly hi-jacked. They were not even on the plane. They were accused of having the intention of hi-jacking a plane.

In conclusion, Jews remember with sadness that in the present generation, in the present century, anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia have been second in violence only to those of Nazi Germany. The civilized world cannot tolerate the rebuilding of an atmosphere in which vicious mass hatred may again break out. A dangerous illness is incubating that may run a long and devastating course if not checked in its beginning stages. This illness is the concern of the whole world, for unchecked, it makes a dangerous precedent and destroys the security of all nationality groups. Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* At this time, the prosecution calls upon the Latvian representative Mr. Erics Ievins in the Case of Latvia and the People of Latvia Versus the Communist State, commonly known and identified as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or Soviet Union.

*Mr. Erics Ievins (Latvia):* Latvia is one of the three states on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, the other two being Estonia to the north and Lithuania to the South. To the east lies Russia. Since the Soviet Union is a historical extension of the Tsarist Russian Empire, it has retained many features of Tsarist Russian regime. These include:

1. Colonial Imperialism and Expansionism.
2. Lies and Violence as instruments of policy to implement article one.
3. International Treaties used as a vehicle of and for enslavement of nations bordering Russia.
4. Exploitation and forced Russification of nations and their territories subjugated to Russian rule by deceit and/or military conquest.

5. Total terror and physical and mental torture as instruments of policy enforcement in the areas conquered.
6. Mass deportations to slave labour camps and, in conjunction with article 5, physical and mental destruction of people suspected as so called "enemies of the state". These are primarily people of non-Russian origin in the conquered territories.

The free and independent State of Latvia, all treaties to the contrary notwithstanding, from the years of 1940 to 1941, and from the years of 1944 to 1945 to present, has been illegally occupied by the Soviet Union and is a victim of the policies of the Soviet Union as described and delineated in some of their major aspects in the articles preceding.

Therefore, the Latvian people in Latvia, as well as those deported by the Soviet Union to Siberia and other lands of Soviet Union, as well as those thousands of Latvians who have been brutally tortured and murdered by the Soviet Union, as well as those thousands of Latvians who are in exile in the free world seeking refuge from the atrocities of Soviet Union, as well as Americans of Latvian descent residing in numerous communities in the United States coming to the aid and defense of their ancestral homeland enslaved and held captive by the Soviet Union:

*Do herewith charge and accuse the Soviet Union with the following major premeditated criminal acts of violence and aggressions against international justice and humanity in the case of the illegal occupation and detention of the free and independent State of Latvia, against the free will of the Latvian people.*

*Charge 1: Violation of the Treaty of Riga of 1920 in which the Soviet Union recognized the free and independent State of Latvia.*

*Charge 2: Violation of the non-aggression pact of February 4, 1932 which on April 4, 1934 was extended to December 31, 1945.*

*Charge 3: Planned and premeditated genocide of Latvian people and forced Russification of their ancestral homeland.*

*Charge 4: Persecution of all religious denominations and those who believe in God.*

*Charge 5: Violation of United Nations declaration on national rights of independence.*

*Charge 6: Violation of United Nations Declaration on Colonialism.*

*Charge 7: Violation of United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Note on charges 5, 6 & 7: Soviet Union is a charter member of the United Nation and a signatory on the documents whose violation is cited.*

*Charge 8: Total denial of the basic rights and freedoms to the Latvian people.*

In support of the charges concerning genocide in Latvia a volume listing the names of Latvians deported to the Soviet Union during the first year of Soviet occupation is presented for examination. This list contains over 30,000 names. The total loss of life in the first year of Soviet occupation of Latvia exceeded 34,000 out of a population of 1.9 million people. In the appendices of this list is a map showing the major slave labour camps in the Soviet Union and translations of Soviet direc-

tives concerning the mass deportations of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. To date, by careful evaluation of all available intelligence data, it is calculated that approximately 200,000 Latvians have been deported to the Soviet Union and the forced Russification of Latvia continues.

The plaintiffs demand in the court of World forum that freedom and liberty must be restored to Latvia and the Latvian people and that the Soviet Union must pay reparations to the renewed free and independent state of Latvia to at least recover the massive material and economic damage caused by the Soviet exploitation and that the Soviet Union must repatriate all deported Latvians to their ancestral homeland of Latvia.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* The prosecution presents at this time Algirdas Sirvaitis on behalf of the Lithuanians.

*Mr. Algirdas Sirvaitis (Lithuania):* In late September, 1939, the Soviet Union began to actively carry out its ambitions in the Baltic Region. It is known that the Soviet Union wanted to absorb Lithuania and the other Baltic States. Stalin himself spoke of this intention as early as 1925, five years after the Bolsheviks had signed a Peace Treaty with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, renouncing forever any territorial claims in the Baltic area.

Stalin's pact with Hitler in 1939, which divided eastern and southern Europe into spheres of influence, laid the groundwork for the Soviet Union's *carté blanche* manipulations in the Baltic area. In order to cover up their intentions, the Soviets forced on neutral Lithuania a treaty of Mutual Assistance whereby 75,000 Soviet troops were to be stationed in the country.

On October 10 of 1939 after the Lithuanian government was coerced into signing the Mutual Assistance Pact, the Deputy Commissar of the NKVD, Serov, signed a document in Moscow forshadowing a nightmarish future for the Lithuanian citizenry. The Soviet secret police (NKVD) issued order #001223 in Moscow whereby a program for a massive purge in Lithuania was put into operation. This included not only the deportation of Lithuanians into uninhabited regions of Siberia for slave labor, but also the extermination of what the Soviets considered potentially dangerous elements of the Lithuanian population. That order was supplemented later by procedural considerations—apprehending, processing, loading into wagons, and destination. NKVD officers prepared an initial list of 700,000 persons to be purged. The list included in its own words, "socially and politically dangerous elements" regardless of concrete data concerning anti-Soviet activities.

During the year of Soviet rule, from June 15, 1940, to June 22, 1941, the Lithuanian nation lost upwards of 60,000 of its people in two massive purges. One of the massacres was on the night of June 14th and 15th, 1941, a week before Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Citizens were also arrested individually throughout that year. Frequently they were never to be heard of again, although some were subsequently found in shallow graves in NKVD prison compounds.

The Soviet massacres of Panevezys, Rainiai and the labor camp in Praveniskes, merits particular mention for they are comparable to the well published Soviet massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest in 1941. In northeastern Lithuania, the entire student bodies of the Plunge Commercial School and Telsiai Latin School were mutilated and killed. NKVD's documents show that there were to have been more purges, but the German attack on Russia in 1941 spoiled those plans.

On June 14, 1940, at 11:30 p.m., Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs presented to the Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at that time in Moscow, a Soviet ultimatum with an eight hour deadline. The

Kremlin demanded prosecution of certain government officials of the Republic of Lithuania, formation of a new government, and free passage for Soviet troops through Lithuania. Even as the ultimatum was issued, an additional 350,000 Soviet troops stood at the Lithuanian border ready to invade the country.

The Lithuanian government reluctantly agreed to yield to the Soviet ultimatum. The Red Army began to invade within hours. The next day the Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs V. G. Dekanozov, with some Russian functionaries and the Secret Police officials, arrived in Lithuania and pieced together the so-called People's Government. It was one of the first examples of a mode of Soviet behavior which was to repeat itself many times in the next quarter century, dramatized most recently by the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviets immediately began a massive reorganization of Lithuanian political, social, cultural, and religious life exemplified by arrests and dismissal of priests, teachers, administrators, and others. All teaching having to do with the Lithuanian nation was forbidden. Songs, poems, books and prayers were banned. Private property was confiscated, with no compensation. All industries and businesses were nationalized. Farmers were forbidden to improve the land. All were warned that they would soon be living on collective farms. Production dropped and there was a panicky run on consumer goods. The Secret Police were ever present and added new victims to their lists. By their own admission, the Soviets destroyed a valuable democratically-oriented and social system. I quote: "In one year, we have knocked down what it took the Lithuanians 20 years to build," boasted a Communist official in declaring the country's salvation, from what he termed "bourgeois decadence."

It is no wonder then, that when the Lithuanians staged a bloody rebellion it cost them twice as many casualties in one week than two years of fighting the wars of independence following World War I. The Soviet return in 1944, disrupted the Lithuanian nation with renewed vengeance. Another reign of terror began as the Soviet secret police issued new massive purges. In the five months between August to December, 1944, 37,000 Lithuanians were deported or liquidated while tens of thousands of refugees streamed westward in search of safety. In subsequent purges, upwards of 600,000 more Lithuanians were deported or liquidated. These purges ran from 1945 until early 1951.

Aside from policies of genocide, one of the greatest signs of the arbitrary oppressive nature of the Soviet rule was the massive national resistance movement which kept Soviet forces on a war-time alert for 2 years after World War II.

The vestiges of the anti-Soviet partisan movements remained until the death of Stalin in 1953. Human bondage, both moral and physical, continues under the Soviet Lithuania today, though it is more subtle than in the previous quarter century. Education in occupied Lithuania is still aimed at Sovietization and Russification.

A decree in 1958 made the Russian language the major tool for teaching various subjects. Similarly, cultural activities of the regime are aimed subtly but consistently at inculcating Russian culture in all Soviet occupied areas.

However, the people have evolved the cultural resistance, just as they had done under the Tsarists. In order to stifle nationalistic tendencies among the Captive Nations of the Soviet Union, the regime imports large segments of the population from Lithuanian cities in hopes of washing out Lithuanian culture. Several years ago the Soviets had been reported summoning 40,000 persons from Asiatic Russia into the major Lithuanian

population centers. This program of Russification was a calculated policy of cultural genocide. Forced labor continues, but it is not on the same level as the slave labor of the 40's and the 50's. About 10,000 persons per year are deported to various remote areas of Russia, including Siberia, where they stay for designated amounts of time.

The war against religion continues unabated in Soviet ruled Lithuania, a nation with a long-historical tie with Christianity. Of 1,022 parishes, missions, and other churches, less than one-half are open today. In 1940, there were 37 monasteries in Lithuania. Today, there are none! At the same time, there were 3 rabbinical academies. Now, there are none. Similarly, the Protestant theological academy is no longer in existence. Religious youth associations, having memberships in the hundreds of thousands in the pre-War days, have been banned. In their place, the Soviets have formed the Supreme Council for Atheism, which finances various anti-religious activities under the auspices of the Communist Party. According to Soviet sources, teachers are all required to give periodical anti-religious lectures. Scientists are to concentrate on destroying the value of religion, etc.

Statutes #96 and 97 provide three-year prison terms for any parent taught teaching religion to his children, and children are encouraged to report on their parents.

The other fundamental freedoms of speech, press, assembly, which we take for granted here, are non-existent in Soviet-ruled Lithuania. Lithuania, as the other Captive Nations, has experienced for the past quarter-century the Orwellian world of 1984, which we here in America view with disbelief, for indeed that world is out of tune with the spiritual and intellectual progress man has made in this modern era.

For the aforementioned reasons, including terror, purges, genocide, exploitation, suppression of human rights, and fundamental freedoms, her stifling of our nation's heritage and culture, we accuse the Soviet Union of permitting and continuing an international crime against Lithuania.

The Soviet Union has violated, and continues to violate, the United Nations Charter, the Atlantic Charter, the Convention on Suppression of Crimes and Genocide, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All these documents bear the signature of the Soviet Union. We appeal to the conscience of mankind to perceive the magnitude of the injustices perpetrated upon Lithuania and to support efforts toward the restoration of liberty to Lithuania and the other Captive Nations. Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* I must ask again that the remaining witnesses confine their remarks to five minutes, and that if the remarks are over that period of time, to tender them as an exhibit to the Court. The last testimony was ten minutes. I will ask you to please bear in mind that the other witnesses had consideration for the remaining witnesses.

The next witness is Mr. Richard Jablonski for the Polish group.

*Mr. Richard Jablonski (Poland):* Honorable judges, representing 35 million Polish people, we submit the following accusations against Communist Russia from September 17, 1939, to the present day.

1. For signing an Aggression Pact with Hitler, and for the invasion of Poland and the stealing of Polish land from the River Bug to the eastern boundary.

2. For sending and deporting 2 million Poles in 1940 and 1941 to all parts of Russia, and especially to Siberia, where the temperatures range to 50 below 0. Making matters more unbearable, this was done in the middle of winter in cattle trains with no food or water. The weaker and hungrier the Poles got, the further the Russians sent them, hoping that death would intervene.

3. For stealing and impounding all materials, equipment, and machinery, private and government property.

4. For hunger, and for issuing the Death Sentence for the smallest infraction and for inhumane treatment of the old and sick.

5. For breaking the agreement of giving amnesty to all political prisoners, in the Autumn of 1941, and in the Spring of 1942, and for refusing to transfer Poles to Iraq and Persia after granting such amnesty.

6. For the brutal murder of 10,000 Officers, professors, doctors, and intellectuals in Katyn Forest. All evidence secured proves to this day that Moscow was responsible for this horrible act.

7. For breaking diplomatic ties with the Polish Government-in-Exile in London and for releasing propaganda against the Polish people and everything they stand for.

8. For the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. As Churchill and the Polish Government in London believed, Stalin deliberately waited until the Polish Home Army had been liquidated. As Stalin said, the Soviet troops had to wait while their defenses were strengthened because the German hold in Warsaw was too strong, but the Poles who survived the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 had no doubt as to Moscow's motives in allowing Nazi planes and tanks to destroy Warsaw. The Vanguard of the Polish Underground Movement supported the Polish Government in exile. Many Poles charge that Stalin wanted this group to be liquidated so that he could replace it with a puppet government.

9. For creating the first Communist Polish Government in Lublin, Poland, and completely ignoring the true government in London. This Lublin Government persecuted the remaining citizens in Poland which was headed by the Polish Communist Boleslav Bierut.

10. For the sell-out to Russia at the historic Conference at Yalta in 1945. On July 5, 1945, Stalin took Poland for himself. Although a diplomatic agreement it was done fictitiously and underhandedly.

11. For the imprisonment after the Yalta Agreement of the Polish Home Army, headed by General Okulicki who in turn was liquidated in Moscow. Many Poles died in Russian prisoner and labor camps.

12. For forcing the present Communist Polish Government, headed by Walter Gomułka, to approve and sanction the Russian invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

13. Finally, for the constant creation of havoc, misunderstanding and turmoil throughout the world, especially in Viet Nam and Cambodia. We all are aware of the Russian plan which is to dominate and rule the world with Communism.

The United States, as the leader of the Free World, must be on guard and ever on the alert against the cunning tactics of Communist Russia. And as the Poles say all over the world, we must never again permit another Yalta. Thank you.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Thank you Mr. Jablonski. The prosecution at this time calls upon Miss Ljubica Chukovic who will speak on behalf of the enslaved Serbian people in Yugoslavia.

*Miss Ljubica Chukovic (Serbia):* In the name of the enslaved Serbian people in Yugoslavia I accuse the Soviet Union and International Communism of enslaving the Serbian people by the Red Army in 1944, and imposing the Communist Dictatorship in the person of their puppet Josip Broz Tito, who was appointed by Moscow as Secretary General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1937.

I accuse, the drunk barbarian immoral conquerors of the Red Army for breaking the Tehran and Yalta Agreements, for committing countless murders of innocent citizens,

looting, and raping, children and grandmothers.

I accuse, Yugoslav Communist leaders who were thoroughly indoctrinated, as well as fully acquainted with Soviet interests and the Party line, who had been completely trained in the Soviet Union for the mission which was assigned to them, and for committing innumerable crimes during the revolution until the present time. Thousands and thousands of Serbs of every walk of life and every age have died without trial, their remains are scattered throughout the Serbian land, in the so called "dog graveyards"!

I accuse, Tito's Communist Regime for murdering over 10,000 Serbians in Kocevje in 1945.

I accuse, the Communist conquerors of Yugoslavia for mobilizing over fifty thousand Serbian teenagers who were sent to the "Sremski Front" in 1944, barearmed, without any military training, to be crushed between Hitler's tanks and Soviet "Kacusas".

I accuse, Communist tyrants for eliminating the elite of the Serbian people, their intellectuals, political and national leaders, also the high spiritual leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church. I accuse them for murdering General Milan Nedjc, Metropolitan Joanikeje and Metropolitan Josif, numberless scholars, and especially I accuse them of sadistically murdering my God Father Bishop Varnava, who was born in Gary, Indiana.

I accuse, the Communist dictators for their political murder of General Draza Mihajlovic who was murdered on this day 1946, who was deprived the right of fair trial, deprived of the right of witnesses. Over 600 American fliers whose lives were saved from Germans by Draza's Cetniks were not permitted to testify at the so-called "trial". In expressing the gratefulness for this humane and heroic act toward the American soldiers, President Truman decorated the deceased General Mihajlovic with the highest medal given to a foreigner, The Congressional Medal of Honor.

I accuse, tireless terrorist Josip Broz Tito for active support of the bloody and "peaceful" subversive activities of the Kremlin in South East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and South America.

I accuse, the blood-thirsty cynical Stalinistic Regime of Josip Broz Tito for the unknown number of murders of Serbian students throughout the universities in the bloody summer of 1968-1969.

At last I accuse the Communist Regime of Josip Broz Tito for torturing and murdering my father and my uncle and terrorizing my mother and other members of my family.

Due to the lack of time, for Communist crimes are immense, let me finish by quoting the Soviet author Arkadije Beilkof who turned in his Soviet Writers Association Membership card in August, 1968, and said "I am turning my card in because I consider it unworthy of an honorable man to remain in the organization which with the 'faithfulness of a dog' serves the most cruel, the most inhumane, and the most unmerciful political regime human history has ever known!"

*Mr. Frank Stipkala (Slovaks):* Honorable judges, we Slovaks, as representatives of the great majority of our people in the city of Cleveland who are anti-communist and desire the liberation of the Slovak nation from communist tyranny and oppression in their historic homeland of Slovakia, go on record in accusing the government regime ruling Czecho-Slovakia the past quarter of a century (1945-1970) of the following crimes perpetrated against the Slovak nation:

1. The imposition of a postwar communist rule by force and violence in violation of every democratic principle of freedom, self-government and self-determination.

2. A rule of terror, imprisonment and death on a nation-wide scale since the end of World War II.

3. Wholesale persecution of the Church by the following official measures:

a. Imprisonment of hundreds of priests, nuns and Religious leaders arbitrarily.

b. Confiscation of Church properties.

c. Confiscation of monastic properties.

d. Suppression of all Religious Orders.

e. Confiscation of hospitals administered by Religious person (nuns).

f. Suppression of all private schools.

g. Disbanding all Religious Orders.

h. Interference with Church administration.

1. Prevention of candidates for admission to Religious life.

4. Economic exploitation of the country by outsiders.

5. Censorship of the news media, namely, the press, radio and television.

6. Censorship of writers, poets and playwrights.

7. Censorship of the mail.

8. Discrimination practiced against native Slovaks in government positions, industry and education.

9. Confiscation of private lands under the guise of "collectivization" accomplished by terror, force and violence.

10. A concerted and consistent anti-American propaganda campaign in compliance with the policy of the Kremlin as a long-range measure and weapon designed to destroy our effectiveness morally, and militarily.

We, therefore, accuse both the Soviet Union and its subservient ally, the government of Czecho-Slovakia, as guilty of the above-mentioned crimes before the bar of international justice and the tribunal of God.

We do not seek revenge . . . only justice . . . we are free American Slovaks who speak for fellow Slovaks who are not free in their own country in which they are victims of a tyrannical government regime imposed upon them against their volition.

United with all other nations suffering unjustly under communist domination and oppression, we dedicate ourselves to the objective we all hold in common, namely, the liberation of all these peoples whose human rights to life, freedom and peaceful existence in God's world have been trampled upon for too many years by a godless regime that respects no law either of God or man.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* Your honor, we have two more witnesses remaining. At this time the prosecution calls upon Mr. Milan Zajec on behalf of the Slovenians.

*Mr. Milan Zajec (Slovenia):* Your honor, my name is Milan Zajec, I was born in Slovenia, Yugoslavia. I am now a citizen of the United States and live in Cleveland, Ohio.

During the last war I joined the Slovenian Home Guard Army. This Army of volunteers was organized for the sole purpose of preventing the Communist terrorist from terrorizing the Slovenian population and to prevent the reprisals by the Occupators. This army has never fought outside Slovenian territory and has in the course of the war, rescued many Allied fliers shot down over Slovenian territory. Many of its officers were arrested by the Nazis and sent to concentration camps, after their anti-Nazi activities were discovered.

In the Spring of 1945, the Red Army entered Yugoslavia, contrary to an agreement between the Allies. The Soviets brought with them Communist brigades and the Slovenian Home Army left the country to reach the Western Allies. At camp Viktring, near Klagenfurt, Austria, our Army asked for the protection of the British Army. Instead, we were forcefully repatriated to Yugoslavia and the whole Army, around 15 thousand men was massacred by the Communists within three weeks.

I too was brought to the place of massacre, but the bullet missed me and I fell in the mass grave alive. For five days I watched as hundreds upon hundreds of my friends and

comrades fell dead and wounded into the grave. Finally I was lucky enough to escape and later reached safety in Italy.

I should stress that at no time during our captivity, was any of us given any kind of a trial or a chance for defense.

I, therefore, accuse the Yugoslav and Slovenian Communist Party as well as the Soviet Communist Party, of the greatest, most horrible mass murder in Slovenian history.

To support my accusation I respectfully submit for the record of this Court, copies of the White paper, written in English, describing the circumstances of the above mentioned crime, and a copy of *Bela knjiga*, a Slovenian language book, which contains the names of about a half of all the victims of the Communist revolution in Slovenia as well as the names of about six thousand members of Slovenian Home Guards, who were returned to Yugoslavia by the British and massacred by the Communists.

I beg this Court to do all in its power that the full magnitude of this crime against Slovenian people be made known to the American and world public.

*Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur:* And now our last witness on behalf of the Ukrainian people, Mr. Bohdan Futney.

*Mr. Bohdan Futney (Ukraine):* Your honors, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, we accuse the Russian Communist Party and equally the Russian Communist Government of the following crimes against the Ukrainian people:

#### *Armed aggression*

Armed aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic, an independent and sovereign state, in 1918.

#### *Political subjugation and persecution*

A. The invasion and occupation of the Ukrainian National Republic by Russian Communist forces in 1918-20 in full violation of international treaties and solemn agreements as follows:

Treaties of Brest Litovsk (Feb. 9, 1918) and (March 3, 1918).

De facto recognition of Ukraine by France and Britain.

De jure recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic by the Russian Soviet Government, Dec. 17, 1917.

B. The invasion and occupation of Ukraine in the Second World War in 1939-1945.

C. The imposition by force of arms of a puppet Communist Government upon people of Ukraine.

D. The destruction of democratic political and social forces in Ukraine by forcibly imposing an alien, totalitarian, one party system. The Communist party became the only legal party in the new political structure and non-members of the Communist party reduced to second-class citizens.

#### *Religious persecution*

A. The destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches.

B. The deaths, through brutality, imprisonment or execution, of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox hierarchy and clergy.

C. The closing of substantially all churches in Ukraine.

D. The closing of all Ukrainian Seminaries and religious institutions, schools, and publications.

E. Stripping of Ukrainian Churches of their religious and art treasures.

F. The destruction of many ancient and historical church buildings in Ukraine.

G. The persecution of other Ukrainian Christian denominations, Ukrainian Jews and adherents of the Islamic faith; the closing of their houses of prayer; and arrest of their religious leaders.

H. The creation of militant atheist institutions for waging a relentless war against all religions in Ukraine.

## Genocide

A. Creating a famine in 1932-33 to subdue the entire Ukrainian nation and to force collectivization on the Ukrainian farmers resulting in the deaths by starvation of some seven million Ukrainians.

B. The executions of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians for political dissent by the State Security Police (Cheka, GPU, NKVD, NVS, & KGB.)

C. The deportation of millions of Ukrainians to Asia (Khrushchev stated at the XXth Communist Party Congress in 1956 that Stalin wanted to "deport all Ukrainians").

D. The murder of 12,000 Ukrainians in Vinnytsia by NKVD between 1937 and 1939, whose mass graves were discovered in 1942.

E. Executions, imprisonment and the deportation of members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), and Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

## Political murders

Murders of Ukrainian leaders by the Soviet Security Police operating in the free countries:

A. Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, assassinated on May 25, 1926 in Paris, France.

B. Col. Eugen Konovalets, head of the OUN, assassinated on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, Holland.

C. Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer, assassinated on October 12, 1957, in Munich, Germany.

D. Stephan Bandera, head of the revolutionary OUN, assassinated on October 15, 1959, in Munich, Germany.

## Cultural persecution and Russification

A. The waging of a relentless war against Ukrainian cultural and social institutions, and progressively limiting the number of Ukrainian language publications.

B. The down-grading of the Ukrainian language. The imposing of the Russian language upon Ukrainian schools, institutions and administration in Ukraine.

C. Denial of the enjoyment of Ukrainian cultural life to eight million Ukrainians residing in the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic and other parts of the USSR by prohibiting Ukrainian schools, Ukrainian language publications and the development of Ukrainian institutions.

D. Conducting a population policy detrimental to the Ukrainians.

E. Conducting purges against Ukrainian intellectuals resulting in the death of thousands of Ukrainian scientists, writers, poets and educators.

F. The deliberate destruction of Ukrainian historical documents and records; archival treasures; and historical and ancient monuments.

## Economic exploitation

A. The economic exploitation of Labor and National resources of Ukraine by the Russian Communist Government and the Russian Communist Party.

B. The Destruction of a traditional free farming system in Ukraine and imposing collectivization against the will and welfare of the Ukrainian people.

C. Taking indiscriminately from Ukraine all industrial and agricultural output with little or no return.

## Secret trials 1965-70

For conducting illegal secret trials (1965-70) at which hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals (writers, scientists, and educators) were sentenced to imprisonment or deported to slave labor camps.

Your honor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, this is the evidence I ask for your help so that we once again may restore free-

dom of an individual and freedom of Ukraine. Thank you.

Chief Prosecutor Nicholas A. Bucur: Thank you Mr. Futey.

Distinguished judges, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Nationalities Movement, friends, people of the world who serve as the jury!

It has been my duty to serve as Chief Prosecutor at this forum, having been assigned this task by the American Nationalities Movement of Cleveland; and they have chosen to commemorate Captive Nations Week in this particular way, by having this World Forum for Captive Nations.

It was originally created—Captive Nations Week—by an Act of Congress on July 17, 1959, as was told to you by our Chief Judge, the Honorable Ralph Perk.

My first comment in the course of exercising my prerogative as a Prosecutor is to say to you that I am extremely grateful that men so distinguished in their vocations and their professions, genuine Judges, professors, laymen, lawyers, heads of unions, heads of newspapers, have been gracious enough to serve on our panel of judges, and that they have taken of their invaluable time to listen to the parade of witnesses who approached that microphone.

I'm grateful to the very brave witnesses who testified, because many of them have relatives in the nations of which they spoke. I'm grateful to Mr. Jack Dudek for having served as our bailiff.

And also I'm grateful to you ladies and gentlemen who came here tonight to participate in this World Forum. It isn't easy to sit and listen to a long parade of people saying many of the same things. I can't say that it gets boring, because no recital of terror, of murder, of atrocity, can ever become boring. If any of you are ever privileged to truly sit in a real trial, you will observe that it takes sometimes days merely to select a jury; it takes days sometimes just to hear one witness who is exposed to direct examination and cross examination; and you have had the privilege this evening of hearing in capsule form the life history of nations, in an hour and a half! And so you have not made a great sacrifice by coming. You have paid tribute with your presence to the courage of oppressed people who are still in the Captive Nations.

I just wonder where are the many others who could have graced this audience with their presence tonight to give further moral support to this cause, because the cause is meritorious and solemn. There are still many, many millions of people who cannot enjoy the prerogative of coming to a meeting of this kind and sitting and listening to a recital of atrocities by a government. You have seen a total of 16 witnesses, from the nations whose names I read to you as we progressed.

The obligation of a prosecutor is to review the evidence that he has presented and interpret it for the jury from his point of view. You may not agree with me, as you listen to my recital—my interpretation. You may say in your own minds that I am wrong. That is your prerogative. That is the prerogative of any jury; but it has been my function to present the witnesses who will by their testimony prove—establish by burden of proof—beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused is guilty of the charges brought against him.

That is the burden of proof in the usual criminal trial: beyond a reasonable doubt. Now whether that has been done in this case, for there's been no opportunity for the Soviet Union to cross examine (although they were given the opportunity to appear at this tribunal and given due notice)—it's for you to decide. When I say you, I mean not only the people sitting in this audience but the people of this land and people of this world who serve as a jury

through their public opinion; because these proceedings are directed to the world that the world may know and record what we have said here!

And so—the jury—the world—will decide in its good discretion, for itself and for posterity—for history—the truth of our allegations.

In the usual criminal proceedings, there are a number of elements that have to be established; and they're talked about in a normal trial: the nature of the accusation; the nature of the offense; the defendant himself; motives; the victim or victims; injury; damage; possibility; punishment; defenses such as ignorance or mistake; lack of information; lack of capacity; alibi; rehabilitation; but above all in criminal cases, there's an interesting doctrine which is known as the Doctrine of Similar Acts, and I shall call upon you to recall that Doctrine by analogy in these proceedings, Your Honors, because if there is one thing that has stood out from the parade of witnesses before you this evening, it has been the steady pattern of brutality, of coercion, of murder, of confiscation, of deportation, of genocide, from each and every witness! Which means that we can invoke the Doctrine of Similar Acts and can say that since this pattern has occurred in all of these cases, then certainly intention, design, and plan can be demonstrated without doubt.

Therefore, it is my view, gentlemen of the panel, that we have clearly established the guilt of the Soviet Union from *direct testimony*, some of which was adduced by witnesses who spoke of their own particular grief and sorrow; and also by reason of *Similar Acts*.

Now we are faced with a dilemma. This World Court does not have jurisdiction over the sovereign nation of the Soviet Union. We can't even get the Ambassador to come here because we don't have the power to *compel* him to come. We don't have jurisdiction over the Kremlin Masters; and while a number of different actions may be taken, in certain world courts between sovereign nations, which mutually *consent* to submit to the jurisdiction of that particular international court, we have yet to see International Law evolve to the point where private individuals may, on their own, file petitions and bring in a sovereign nation on a petition to respond to charges. And so jurisdiction is non-existent here, legally speaking. But we can do this. We can examine the issues; we can judge the issues; and we can submit them to the world for further action. And that is to apprise the world of the real, historical conduct of the Soviet Union in the past in order that we may better cope with the world tensions of the present.

May I say to you that no later than this have we noted with grave concern the problem of rising tensions in the Middle East of which President Nixon said in an interview with three network executives—newsmen—that the Middle East is now "terribly dangerous." It is like the Balkan area, wherein some nations are now Captive Nations a tinder-box before World War I. In the Middle East, two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, can be drawn into a confrontation that neither wants because of differences and conflict between much smaller powers.

And so it is our purpose here to remind ourselves and the world of the true nature of the defendant . . . the accused Soviet Union which, while it purports to support the United Nations Charter is guilty of hypocrisy in not carrying out the directives of that Charter in its historical conduct.

Our goal then is to search for truth. To strengthen ourselves for this task we unite here. We search for truth not on the basis of emotion, not on the basis of name-calling or condemnation, but objectively and dispassionately.

It would be easy to resort to name-calling, but this is not the purpose of the sponsors of this event. It is our purpose to seek—based on what you have heard here—a constructive and meaningful approach to the solution of our world problems; to seek the ways in which the Captive Nations can be free and that all people anywhere in the world may be free.

And so the question of the Captive Nations is not passe; it is not a moot point decided once and forever—done and forgotten—it is still a thorn in the side of justice!

So, people of the world, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, we cannot forget—we cannot forget the Captive Nations. We are here to speak for souls who cannot speak for themselves. The silent victims of tyranny, terror, oppression, still under the shackles of barbarism, cannot give voice to their agony. We are here resolved to speak for them; and that is what we are doing here and now. Let history record that on July the 17th, 1970, there was a panel of judges composed of distinguished men who sat and listened to a recital of accusations against the Soviet Union . . . that we met here—in this place—with these people for that sacred task, and let them take note of what we have said here.

The "prosecution" has the burden of proof. We believe that we have presented sufficient evidence to convince reasonable minds beyond a reasonable doubt. We have no guidelines of International Law to guide us. We could only offer you testimony in the flesh, the living proof of our witnesses.

We have a second dilemma; and that is, the dilemma of the Nuremberg Principle. Is it that the might creates right? Do the conquerors decide the guidelines for the war criminals? Are losers perforce war criminals? If we should wait until some holocaust has occurred before we record our opinion for the world, then we would be guilty of contributing to the notion that only the conquerors decide the issues; and so we have "tried" the Soviet Union here today on moral grounds, for crimes committed against humanity. We serve as a tribunal for lack of a better one, a real one and hopefully, a future one.

The day of the small nation has not passed; and the day of the empire has not come again. Are men such wretched creatures that only men like Tamerlane, Genghis Khan, Napoleon, Hitler and Stalin, shall triumph and be noted in history? Tamerlane who allegedly built a mountain of the skulls of his conquered foes in front of a city as a warning that no one may trespass there. Hitler, who murdered millions of Jews in the most horrendous and massive fashion—in the most terrible campaign of genocide in history, and Stalin, who cynically murdered millions more to seize and keep power. Are these the men who shall be recorded in history? These subjugators and brutal oppressors? Can the meek inherit the earth from such as these? Is there hope?

I remind you of the Charter of the United Nations, which says: "We the peoples of the United Nations determine to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, and the equal right of men and women, and of nations, large and small. . . ." We are told by the founders of the United Nations that there is hope. That every human being has the right to pursue happiness; to earn his piece of bread; to enjoy the fruits of his labors, to live in a beautiful and peaceful world, and to be free. Many nations signed this noble document, including the Soviet Union!

What kind of hypocrisy is this? How can we deal with this defendant now that we've proved our case? How can the Kremlin Mas-

ters pretend to support principles of this kind and yet mount a campaign of tyranny against the Captive Nations? Against a captive people within its borders, Russian Jews?

I'm here, therefore, not only to review the evidence for you, but to suggest what should be done. As chief prosecutor, I respectfully urge you, honored judges, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, people of the world, to join in a crusade of world public opinion. We live in an astounding age. We live in an age when men have reached the moon. I appeal to your reason and good will. We live in an age when information is communicated by satellite, through television, instantaneously around the entire globe; when men and women everyday are becoming more and more enlightened—more and more self-determining. It's a question of time until all the peoples of the world can unite and with enlightenment and good will sufficiently influence their leaders—in the Soviet Union, here, everywhere—to desist from tyranny and war. Live and let live, is our cry!

Let the human spirit rise with your voices on this Blessed Oasis in space. Let not guns and bombs be substitutes for words. Let people everywhere awaken to the fact that they can change a world by using their public opinion. Let us take the path of peace, the alternative path in lieu of war for mutual recognition of mutual rights. Make our voices heard in Russia, here, in the neutral nations, everywhere; because I remind you that the men of the Kremlin are only men. They were born, and they die like any other man! It's what they do during their lifetime that men should be concerned with. They cannot ignore united world public opinion.

And so we have surely established the pattern of tyranny, imperialism, oppression and conquest. Why? Because we must know with whom we deal. Can we now believe the Soviet Union? Is the Soviet Union of the 1920's the same as the Soviet Union of today? The Soviet Union which invaded Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, now, in July, 1970 appears ready to invade Romania? Let me digress a moment because Romania should be one of the nations to be discussed here today; but I could not take off my hat as prosecutor and walk over to the other side to serve as a witness. But I say to you that Romania today struggles to gain independence in the face of titanic odds. Some of her people have been deported to Siberia by Soviet invaders. Her resources have been looted. Though under Communist rule she seeks independence from the shackles of the Russian masters, in spite of tremendous pressure and coercive tactics. But I cannot reiterate all of the points as to each Captive Nation. You have heard them all. You will decide the issue of guilt. Having done so, enlist others to help. Let world opinion make its effect known. Let world opinion eliminate genocide. Let world opinion fulfill man's greatest realization of his dreams. I call upon you in the name of mankind, in the name of human compassion, in the name of survival, to declare your verdict!

Speak out, people everywhere! Join our voices in one great unified irresistible human cry which no tyranny can stifle for long. Let our voices influence our leaders so that in this world we may have no more wars, no more genocide, no more Captive Nations! Let there be freedom, justice, and peace for the Captive Nations. Freedom, justice, peace for all peoples in Russia, the Soviet Union, Europe, Asia, Africa, and here in the United States for people everywhere—freedom, justice and peace for everyone! Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!

Your honors, the prosecution rests.  
*Honorable Ralph Perk:* On the basis of the testimony given here today, the prosecutors appeal to this panel of judges to take action. The judges have listened attentively and have formulated the following course of action.

#1. That this case be certified by this court to the United Nations and further that it

be given over to the jury, which is world public opinion, for its final verdict to be recorded in history.

#2. That these proceedings be bound in a complete written record, to be prepared in book form. This publication to be made available to scholars, librarians, institutions of learning, and such parties as are interested in these matters.

#3. That an appropriate resolution be prepared and sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, and to all persons who are interested in these proceedings. On behalf of the judges, the prosecutors, the accusers and all participants in these proceedings, the court now turns this matter over to the jury, which is world public opinion, for further deliberation and for such action as the people of the world in their good sense, in their spirit of human compassion, and in the need for survival, to decide and implement a positive and constructive action.

The court requests the following clergyman to read ecumenical prayers for world peace.

Reverend Gaide, pastor of the United Latvian Lutheran Church in Cleveland; the Very Reverend Branko Kusonjich, pastor of St. Sava Serbia Orthodox Church, and Canon Leo Telsh-Catholic Chaplain of Polish Veterans.

After the prayers, the bailiff will conclude the proceedings; so please wait for his final instruction.

We are grateful for your attendance, participation, cooperation throughout this World Forum for Captive Nations, which has not at this point come to an end; but is merely a reminder that we may now go about the business of building a better world. I call upon the reverend clergy without further introduction.

*Reverend Gaide:* Let us pray. Heavenly Father, Creator of all. We turn to Thee in this hour of need, as we do so often, knowing that our counsel and our strength are as nothing unless we receive Thy grace and blessings. We turn to Thee, as we remember the deadful waves of violence against free countries and millions of innocent people. We turn to Thee as we remember our brothers and our sisters, friends, and children, the ones who were taken from their homes, and their loved ones, and deported to mass slavery and mass graves in a far and unkind land. The captivity of our brothers, their sufferings and their death, then as even now, remind us again and again to ask that freedom be restored to those nations and people to whom it rightfully belongs. We turn to Thee, O Lord, to thank for the freedom we all enjoy here in this land; protect this country and its people; bless this government, by the people, for the people, of the people. Teach us to comprehend and accept Thy grace, which descends each new day upon us. Make us more mindful of all of the blessings we receive. Bless all those who fight for its just peace and freedom in the world. Help us to do more than to feel pity for the oppressed. Help us to keep faith for ourselves and to help others to keep it. Faith in Thee. Faith in human dignity. Faith in freedom and justice for all. Help us form the hearts of men everywhere that they exalt peace above war, service above gain, and righteousness above glory. Help us always to witness in word and deed. Help us to be witnesses of freedom, justice and peace—here and forever. Thy will be done. Amen.

*Reverend Kusonjich:* In the name of the Father, and the Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. O Lord, Almighty God our Father, demand Thy faith from us who are assembled here, far from the lands of Aurelian war, and successors, and who call upon Thee with all our hearts, incline Thine ear and hear our prayers. Remember, O Lord, all the territories of these lands, on which Thou hast poured forth abundant benefits, and grant them progress in all virtues. And remember, O Lord,

all Thy faithful believers. Thank them and enable them to rule out and extinguish every impiety whose valour won and speedily destroyed freedom.

Remember, O Lord, our brothers and sisters enslaved in all the lands who are sentenced to hard labor in concentration camps. Protect them and strengthen them—who continue their Faith in Thee till death; but remember, O Lord, our brethren. They are to be remembered, particularly those martyrs who laid down their lives in defense of the Faith and who lie asleep in unmarked graves and repose in Thy kingdom. Remember, O Lord, the youth in slave camps. Send down into their hearts, their minds, and their lips, the spirit of wisdom, of understanding, of piety and reverence for truth, that they may become instructed in the Divine Law; and we pray that the people of the United States of America be strengthened in unity, to preserve the enlightened principles on which this country was founded. And that these nations shall continue to lead people everywhere to freedom from oppression, enslavement, and even aggression. Hear us, Oh God, the Hope of all ordained together, and show mercy upon us, sinners, and be merciful unto us. We ask this, Oh God, in the Name of your Son, Jesus Christ. Amen. (repeat "in the Name of your Son, Jesus Christ" in whatever language that you wish to use.)

*Canon Leo Telsh:* My prayers are taken from the liturgical book of the Catholic Church, and I need your participation. Kindly, if you don't mind, participate with its prayers since the ethnic powers have no means to solve the problems and bring your help to the Captive Nations.

Ask God Almighty to bring us all together, children of God, and bring peace condescending on all nations. In the Name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all. I am the Resurrection and the Life. He who believes in Me, even if he dies, shall live; and whoever lives and believes in Me, shall never die. God our Almighty Father raised his Son, Jesus Christ, from the dead. Let us ask Him with confidence to save His people, both living and dead. We ask this in faith. My brothers and sisters, let us join together in prayers to God for all the victims of persecution, also for the Silent Church in the Captive Nations, for the peace of the world, and for our own salvation. Let us pray to the Lord. Lord hear our prayer. That all the deceased, killed and murdered, who receive the promise of eternal life at Baptism, may have everlasting fellowship with the saints, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.)

That all our brothers and sisters who died under the yoke of persecution and who were fed with bread of eternal life—the Body of Christ—may be raised to life on the last day, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) That God may welcome into the light of His presence all who died in prison with the hope in the resurrection, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For all who suffer persecution, the love and pain of separation, that God console their hearts, and alleviate their misery, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For those who died of violence and war, our Light of Love care that they forgive and we accept forgiveness with a contrite heart, let us pray to the Lord (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For the pastors of the Silent Church throughout the world, especially in Captive Nations, that their preaching may be reinforced by the example of their heroic life, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For all who serve us in public office, that they may work for justice and the peace, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For all who suffer

pain in mind or of body, that they may never feel that God has abandoned them, let us pray to the Lord. (—response: Lord, hear our prayer.) For all of us gathered here in faith and unity that we may feel a share with every man the warmth and radiance of a true commitment and someday be gathered into the Lord's kingdom, let us pray to the Lord. (response: Lord, hear our prayer.) Let us pray with confidence in the Father in the words Our Savior gave us:

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 trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Deliver us Lord from every evil, and grant us peace in our day. In your mercy, keep us free from sin and protect us from all anxieties as we wait in joyful hope for the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the kingdom, the power, the glory are yours now and forever. Amen.

The peace of the Lord be with you always. May Almighty God bless you—the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

*Bailiff Jack Dudek:* Hear ye! Hear ye! Hear ye! This extraordinary session of the World Forum for Captive Nations, held and convened this 17th day of July, nineteen hundred and seventy, at St. John's College Auditorium in Cleveland, Ohio, is now in adjournment. God speed to all of you who have been here this day and to all who were not. Whoever you are, wherever you are, may you live as long as you want and never want as long as you live. God bless you.

#### APPENDIX

The Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland protest against the Lenin Centennial Resolution in the United Nations

On Thursday, April 21, 1970, a plenary session of the Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland was held with over 200 representatives of the 22 nationalities present. At this session the Resolution prepared by Dr. Michael S. Pap, Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies was unanimously adopted. This Resolution was sent to the President of the United States, Richard Nixon; The Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant; The American delegation in the United Nations; and the Ohio Senators and Congressmen. The Resolution is as follows:

The Representatives of the American Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland (Albanian, Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Croatian, Cuban, Czech, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Puerto Rican, Rumanian, Russian, Russin, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian) assembled on this 21st day of April 1970, the Eve of Lenin's Centenary (He was born on April 22, 1870, in Simbrsk) protest vehemently against the Resolution adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Commission at the 25th Session in March, 1969, which approved arrangements for a "Centenary of Lenin and notes the historical influence of his *humanistic ideas* and activity on the development and realization of economic, social and cultural rights."

We applaud the United States Delegation for voting against this resolution which makes a mockery of Human Rights. We are at a loss to understand the logic of the resolution passed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission for the following reasons:

1.) Lenin established in November, 1917, the most antihuman regime in Russia, using systematic terror against anyone who dared to challenge the Bolsheviks' right to impose their will on the majority of the nations of the former Russian Empire.

2.) Lenin brutally suppressed the Constituent Assembly, the only Legislative Body in

Russian history elected by free, secret ballot, after only one day in session in January, 1918 (the Bolsheviks controlled only 24% of delegates).

3.) Silenced the growing opposition to his terror system by suppressing the non-Bolshevik newspapers, books and other media of information and communication. It was the "humanist" Lenin who coined the phrase: "When in doubt, liquidate."

4.) Ordered the Red Army to invade, terrorize and silence the neighboring countries, which proclaimed their independent and democratic states after the downfall of Russian Empire, known as the Prison House of Nations. With complete disregard of the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, loudly proclaimed by Lenin before the revolution, he ordered the Russian occupation of Byelorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Cossackia, and Turkestan.

5.) In the name of Lenin and Leninism, Stalin extended the Soviet Slave Empire after World II by imposing brutal communist dictatorship over formerly independent states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany, Yugoslavia, and aided communist takeover in China, North Korea and North Viet Nam; while Nikita Khrushchev, in the name of Leninism, aided Communist takeover in Cuba.

6.) It was the "humanist" Lenin who initiated the greatest hate campaign in history of mankind against liberty and democracy and divided the world into two belligerent camps—Capitalism and Socialism—and promised a bitter struggle until the Communist victory would be achieved.

7.) It was the "humanist" Lenin who made a mockery of the elementary human rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, worship, ordering his Secret Police to silence individuals and nations demanding this right.

8.) In the name of Lenin and Leninism, Stalin murdered over 20 million non-Russians and held more than 10% of the population in the dreadful concentration camps; his successors, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, insist on the validity of Leninism by silencing intellectual opposition.

9.) In Lenin's name, the Communist Parties the world over are busy undermining peace; waging guerrilla warfare; creating anarchy, lawlessness; engaging in assassinations, wholesale murders; and plotting the overthrow of the non-Communist political systems.

For these and many more reasons, we protest the United Nations resolution which makes a mockery of Human Rights for the protection of which United Nations was organized.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

The American Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland held a World Forum for Captive Nations on July 17, 1970, at St. John's College Auditorium, Cathedral Square, East 12th and Superior Avenue, at seven thirty in the evening.

Accusations against communist oppression of Captive Nations were presented by "accusers" on behalf of each oppressed nation.

A panel of judges presided over this World Forum representing various areas of public opinion: labor, business, science, art, politics, education and minorities.

Among the judges were: Appeals Court Judge John M. Manos, Common Pleas Judge Alvin I. Krenzler, Common Pleas Judge Perry B. Jackson, Cleveland Municipal Court Judge Norman Fuerst, Professor Michael S. Pap, Institute for Soviet Studies, John Carroll University, Professor Howard Oleck, Cleveland Marshall Law School of Cleveland State University, Mr. James Tafelice, District President of the International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO), Attorney William Petro, Sr. and Honorable Ralph J. Perk, founder and chairman of the Movement, who acted as Chief Judge.

The chief purpose of the World Forum was to commemorate Captive Nations Week and to remind ourselves and the entire free world of the real historical conduct of the Soviet Union, marked by genocide, brutality and tyranny. The World Forum ended with eumenical prayers for all victims of communist persecution and for world peace and freedom for all nations.

Some 500 persons were in attendance.

### AGNEW'S BLACK LEADERS

## HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Raspberry has written a most perceptive article in the Washington Post which I want to share with my colleagues. Mr. Raspberry's column entitled, "Agnew's Black Leaders" points up the fact which many people have missed; namely, "The Vice President's quarrel is not with black leaders as such; it is with those who have 'arrogated unto themselves' the role of black leadership."

AGNEW's problem, as Raspberry indicates, is that we as black leaders have not climbed the ladder which white America has set up—and the Vice President resents the fact that we have made it to the top through this so-called self-arrogation. For if we followed those rules which AGNEW favors we would undoubtedly still be at the bottom rung.

Raspberry states that AGNEW does not like this new black trend and the roots of his dislike stem from his experience as Governor of Maryland—at that time he ordered black leaders in Baltimore to end the civil disturbances which confronted that city and get the blacks back into line. "The black leaders ignored him—walked out on him, in fact, and he has been understandably unforgiving ever since."

Well, we do not intend to follow those old procedures which blacks once had to follow to get to the top. We have made it to the top with the support of the blacks in this country and we will always keep their interests at heart. If that means "complaining and carping," we will do just that. This administration, with the help of our illustrious Vice President, has demonstrated over and over that its concerns do not lie with black America. If Mr. AGNEW cannot stand the heat of our "querulous complaints and constant recriminations" he can always get out of the kitchen.

The article follows:

#### AGNEW'S BLACK LEADERS

(By William Raspberry)

Spiro T. Agnew is a subtle man, and it is no surprise that so many people have misinterpreted his recent criticism of "those in the United States who have arrogated unto themselves the position of black leaders."

The Vice President's quarrel—and this is the point most people missed—is not with black leaders as such; it is with those who have "arrogated unto themselves" the role of black leadership.

The acceptable way of becoming a black leader is not through self-arrogation but through ordination. No black man can lay just claim to the title "black leader" until he has gone through the proper ritual and been appointed by white folk. (The ritual, you may recall, entails a certain amount of shuffling, head-scratching and Tomming.)

The whole procedure used to be common knowledge. It didn't matter whether you were preacher, principal or supreme exalted potentate of the local lodge, you weren't a black leader until white people said so—or more specifically, until white reporters came to ask you what black folk were thinking about the latest racial controversy.

But this protocol, like so many ancient virtues, has been abandoned by the young and headstrong. Black people no longer are waiting for white ordination but are "arrogating unto themselves" the right to decide who their leaders shall be.

Mr. Agnew, who remembers the old way, doesn't like the trend. I'm not even sure he was aware of the trend until the spring of 1968 when, as governor of Maryland, he ordered Baltimore's black leaders to do something to halt civil disturbances and otherwise keep black folk in line. The black leaders ignored him—walked out on him, in fact—and he has been understandably unforgiving ever since.

Nor is that all that's bothering him. He might have been able to make the necessary adjustments, one supposes, except for another breach of protocol.

Black leaders not only are refusing to be selected by white people, but they also, Mr. Agnew observed, "spend their time in querulous complaint and constant recrimination against the rest of society."

It might as well be said right now: The Vice President was right.

Show me a black leader in the United States and I'll show you a "querulous" complainer. Mr. Agnew, being a gentleman, didn't name names, but you know who he's talking about.

Take the congressional Black Caucus, those people who have "arrogated unto themselves the position of black leaders" in spite of the fact that they were mostly elected by black, not white, people.

They engaged in "carping and complaining," to use the Vice President's words, because they sought, and were refused for 14 months, an audience with the President.

Roy Wilkins and other officers of the NAACP have been "carping and complaining" because they believe the administration is more concerned with politics than with the rights and dignity of black people.

Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims have been, well, querulous, because their cattle herds have been poisoned in Alabama, proving that white people won't leave you alone even when being left alone is all you want.

George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization has been particularly querulous in his insistence that the country can afford to make a reasonably adequate income a matter of right.

Bayard Rustin was in town just the other day to complain, querulously and very eloquently, that the administration is inadequately committed to ending racial discrimination in housing opportunity.

And so it goes. About the only black leader who isn't behaving querulously, who in fact spends a lot of time praising the Nixon-Agnew administration, is Clay Claiborne, head of the Black Silent Majority Committee.

Since the seed money for Claiborne's organization was put up by the National Republican Congressional Committee (which is to say, white people) it appears he has taken the traditional route to black leadership.

It still isn't clear who his followers are.

### A CLARIFICATION

## HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, last month, I caused to be published in the RECORD an account of some shortcomings in the new Amtrak railroad passenger service that had been prepared by an old and cherished friend, Oliver H. Williamson, of Del Mar, Calif.

Mr. Williamson described the adventures and misadventures experienced by his wife and himself on a recent rail roundtrip from Del Mar to San Jose. In wry detail, he told of locked depots, overcrowding, hit-or-miss eating arrangements and other circumstances to test the resolve of even the most determined passenger.

In response to my RECORD entry, I have received a detailed letter from the California Railroad Association, expanding on some of the points made by Mr. Williamson, taking issues with others.

Since I do not feel the RECORD can be complete in this matter without the views of the California Railroad Association, I am including at this point their letter of July 2 to me:

CALIFORNIA RAILROAD ASSOCIATION,  
Sacramento, Calif., July 2, 1971.

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,  
Congressman, 37th California District,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VAN DEERLIN: Reference is made to your comments appearing in the Congressional Record of June 7, 1971. A portion of your statement is devoted to the reproduction of a letter from Mr. Oliver H. Williamson recounting the experiences and frustrations encountered during his trip from Del Mar, California to San Jose, California and return on the new Amtrak system.

It is not my purpose to answer the allegations made by Mr. Williamson nor to belabor the points he has raised, as I am sure Mr. Williamson is most sincere in relating his feelings toward the incidents he has reported. I would appreciate, however, setting forth the problems to be encountered had Southern Pacific acted in accordance with Mr. Williamson's recommendations regarding the movement at San Jose on May 30, 1971.

In his statement Mr. Williamson states as follows:

"... Back to San Jose Sunday morning. In the absence of posted signs, we asked at the ticket counter where we should go to get aboard the Amtrak train. Track 5 was the answer—down a ramp, through a subway. Okay.

"By the time the train was due to arrive there were about 30 passengers with approximately 120 pieces of luggage lined up aside track 5. Two-thirds of these were children under 12 and women over 50. Track 5 seemed the proper one to come in on, as all other tracks in the yard were filled with San Jose-Sunday. But when the train came, the operator in the tower threw the switch to bring it in on track 1, where it could not possibly get through.

"I thought it would be a simple matter to back the train 500 feet, call the tower and get the proper switch. But no, Southern Pacific had a different idea. Send for a yard switcher to remove the commuter cars ahead..."

Mr. Williamson continues to relate that the passengers were required to handle their own baggage through the subway back to Track 1 to board the train.

The situation to which Mr. Williamson refers arose because an inexperienced interlocking operator erroneously lined Train 98 down the wrong track, and the Western Seniority District engine crew, which operated on the train out of Oakland, was not aware of being lined down the wrong track. The crew was not familiar with the trackage, since, under AMTRAK, the train operation was new; during Southern Pacific operation, the train originated at San Francisco and was handled by a Coast Seniority District engine crew through San Jose.

However, under the applicable provisions of the agreements between this company and the organizations representing engineers, conductors, firemen and brakemen, as interpreted by decisions of various tribunals, once a road crew has yarded its train on a yard receiving track, it is a contract violation to thereafter require it to perform any service in connection with that train, based on the conclusion that it constitutes the performance of yard service. Therefore, once train No. 98 was yarded on Track 1 at San Jose, to have required the road crew to back up said train and yard it on Track 5, as Mr. Williamson suggests, would have caused the railroad to pay each member of the road crew an additional day's pay at the yard rate.

In addition, the railroad would also have been subjected to claims for a day's pay at yard rate for the three switchmen who stood for the service on the extra list at San Jose, on the basis that they should have been used to perform the yard service involved.

Furthermore, the facts which we have developed from railroad personnel who were at the scene, including the General Yardmaster, differ considerably from what is stated by Mr. Williamson.

Mr. Williamson states that Track 1 was blocked by commuter passenger cars, while the railroad's investigation discloses that Track 1 was clear, but it was necessary to wait for a herder (switch tender) to line a switch to enable that train to enter said track. The reason for the delay was due to the fact that the herder (switch tender), who also expected Train 98 to use Track 5, after properly lining switches at the west end of the passenger yard for Train 98 to enter Track 5, had proceeded to and was at the east end of said yard lining switches in preparation for the departure of said train. Where herders (switch tenders) are employed other employees are prohibited, by union agreements, from handling switches involving the movement of trains.

Mr. Williamson states "... about 30 passengers with approximately 120 pieces of luggage . . ." were waiting alongside Track 5 to board the train. The railroad was unable to ascertain how much luggage was involved, however, it is believed there were considerably fewer number of pieces because the records show that only eight passengers (Mr. Williamson, his wife, and six others) entrained at San Jose.

In connection with Mr. Williamson's remarks about handling baggage, while there is an employee assigned to handle checked baggage, there are no employees assigned to handle baggage on the platform, but there are self-service carts available for use of patrons in handling "personal" and "carry-on" type luggage.

Mr. Williamson is correct in his statement that, on his arrival at San Jose at 7:15 p.m., May 28, 1971, the ticket counter was closed, but this situation has since been corrected and the ticket counter is now manned until 7:30 p.m., after the arrival of train No. 99.

As is often the case what would appear to be a simple solution to the uninitiated is often impractical or impossible and beyond

the control of the railroad. The contractual agreements between the railroad and its employee representatives allocating work to specific crafts are inflexible and often deny the railroad the efficient and logical use of its facilities.

The modernization of our outdated agreements and work rules is of prime importance to the railroad industry. The current dispute between the United Transportation Union and the railroad industry is over the very work rules which are involved in this instance. The modernization of the antiquated work rules in the railroad industry will contribute greatly to the modern, efficient form of transportation the public expects from the AMTRAK system. Mr. Williamson concluded "... A termite exterminator is needed. There are worms in the woodwork." Modernization of our work rules will exterminate one of the worms to which Mr. Williamson referred.

Sincerely,

LEONARD M. WICKLIFFE.

#### MEDIC ALERT FOUNDATION FILLS GREAT MEDICAL NEED

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, we all know about that proverbial pebble, which when tossed into a pool, spreads ripples to each shore.

Fifteen years ago, something in that spirit was started in the city of Turlock, Calif., by a creative physician, Dr. Marion Collins.

A daughter of the doctor needed emergency medical care and received a dose of a medicine which was toxic to her. The girl suffered immensely from the medicine, administered by a competent practitioner, who simply could not and did not know of the allergy.

Deeply concerned, not only because his daughter was involved, but because he realized that similar situations probably were happening daily across the country, Dr. Collins went to work immediately to seek and find a solution to such a widespread problem.

The result was an organization, known as the Medic Alert Foundation, located in Turlock. From its small beginnings, the Medic Alert Foundation has grown, received national attention and recognition for filling a great medical need—supplying immediate, special, and accurate medical information about its members to medical practitioners in emergency and routine situations.

For years, Medic Alert has acted as a round-the-clock information bank for hundreds of thousands of people across the Nation, and probably is responsible for saving countless lives of persons who suffer allergies to various types of medication, or who need special treatment by medical practitioners.

Thus, for the information of the Members and to show the national recognition the Medic Alert Foundation has received, I insert Sylvia Porter's "Your Money's Worth" column, which appeared in the July 16, 1971, edition of the *Stockton Record*, in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*:

#### YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

(By Sylvia Porter)

Say you're allergic either to tetanus antitoxin (as I am) or to penicillin, you're away from home and you're injured in an auto accident. Unconscious, you are rushed to the nearest hospital, where the emergency physician—unaware of your allergies—routinely orders shots of both tetanus antitoxin and penicillin. The results could be tragic.

You wouldn't get those damaging shots, though, if you had a Medic Alert identification on a neck chain or bracelet which alerted the physician or nurse about your nonobvious condition and by so doing averted the chance of error.

This weekend the summer '71 vacation travel season roars into full swing—and now the more than 40 million of us who have a hidden medical problem may be needlessly putting ourselves in danger. Our nonobvious conditions may range from the simple wearing of contact lenses to the taking of anticoagulants for a heart condition, to allergies to penicillin or tetanus antitoxin, to a long range of serious diseases.

#### CONSEQUENCES

Whatever the hidden condition, improper medication or treatment can have serious consequences. And whatever the problem, an American Medical Assn. study indicates that one of every five of us—possibly one member of every family—lives in constant danger that in the event of an accident or emergency our condition will not be recognized. (How many strangers would recognize your allergy?)

In familiar surroundings at home, our families or friends may be some protection. Away on a vacation or business trip—particularly if you're alone—the situation is entirely different.

Thus, a medical-financial bargain for you well may be a lifetime membership in the non-profit Medic Alert for \$7, tax deductible. This provides you with a stainless steel bracelet or disc on which is engraved your medical problem, a serial number and the telephone number of Medic Alert's computerized central answering file at Turlock, Calif. You also get a wallet card with additional medical information. If the information on the disc or card is not sufficient, any physician, nurse, police officer, etc., can call the center collect 24 hours a day from anywhere in the world for additional facts.

#### FIFTEEN YEARS

Although I've just learned about Medic Alert, it was founded back in 1956, now has more than 425,000 members and is gaining new members at the rate of 1,000 a week.

Businessmen have become key supporters, with many companies offering paid memberships to employees as a fringe benefit. Among them: S. C. Johnson & Son, New England Life Insurance Co., IBM World Trade Corp., Scovill Manufacturing Co., Industrial Indemnity Co., Olin Chemicals. S. C. Johnson and Industrial Indemnity go a step further and extend the offer to retired employees and dependents as well.

The membership is not mostly older people, though. Among the 60,000 who joined last year, the largest single groups were 19, 20 and 21-year-olds. The reasons they joined were in order of frequency: Penicillin allergy, diabetes and contact lenses.

Also, says Dr. Marion C. Collins, founder and president of the organization, many well-known people apparently have no objections to wearing an identification disclosing a medical problem. Among them: Dan Rowan of Rowan & Martin's TV show "Laugh-In," diabetes; New York Mets manager Gil Hodges, a heart condition; pro football player Chuck Walker of the St. Louis Cardinals, contact lenses; actress Joan Fontaine, allergies; pro hockey player Bill Hicke of the California Seals, asthma.

Medic Alert's whole support, Collins says, comes from the \$7 membership fee plus some contributions—and the lifetime service, he adds, is assured by the fact that part of the fee goes into a trust fund held by a Chicago bank to guarantee its continuation.

#### OPPOSITION TO ADR

### HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, the Treasury announced that it had issued multibillion-dollar depreciation regulations—the ADR system—over considerable public opposition.

(See exhibit 1.)

As I have repeatedly warned the Treasury, these expensive regulations are an unlawful encroachment by the executive on the congressional taxing power. The view has been reflected in numerous editorials across the country. I introduce some of those into the RECORD for consideration by my colleagues.

(See exhibit 2.)

The unlawful Treasury action is especially disturbing because of the undemocratic and closed Treasury decisionmaking process. I personally testified at the IRS hearings on the regulations and was disturbed at the refusal of Treasury and IRS officials to consider alternatives to the issuing of illegal regulations. It would have been easy, for example, for the Treasury to propose legislation to Congress for careful consideration.

(See exhibit 2.)

The unlawful Treasury action is especially disturbing because of the undemocratic and closed Treasury decisionmaking process. I personally testified at the IRS hearings on the regulations and was disturbed at the refusal of Treasury and IRS officials to consider alternatives to the issuing of illegal regulations. It would have been easy, for example, for the Treasury to propose legislation to Congress for careful consideration.

That Treasury had prejudged its decision and regarded the hearings as an unwelcome formality was clear to news reporters present. I enclose for the RECORD several accounts of the undemocratic Treasury decision process as reflected at the hearings.

(See exhibit 3.)

I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing this multibillion-dollar usurpation of congressional powers by the executive branch.

#### EXHIBIT No. 1

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, June 23, 1971]

#### BUSINESS TAX CUT, NADER SUIT THREAT

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon's plan to spur the economy by permitting businessmen to cut their tax payments by \$39 billion over 10 years was formally adopted yesterday by the Treasury Department.

An associate of consumer advocate Ralph Nader immediately said he would file a suit in an effort to convince the courts to overturn the action. He said only Congress has the authority to enact such a tax change.

The Treasury's action—final unless the courts intervene—set forth new regulations to permit businessmen to accelerate by 20 per cent the depreciation tax writeoff on machinery and equipment. The regulations are retroactive to last January 1.

The Treasury estimated the measure would reduce total business tax liabilities by 5.8 per cent.

Mr. Nixon announced the plan January 11 to stimulate business investment which would, in turn, create jobs and help combat unemployment. The jobless rate at the time

was—as now—6.2 per cent, the highest since 1961.

The measure already has touched off a lively political controversy. Senators Edmund S. Muskie, Birch Bayh and George McGovern, all potential Democratic candidates for President, have denounced the plan as a giveaway to big business.

Thomas Stanton, a Washington lawyer and a Nader associate, said the Treasury's public hearings on the proposed regulations were a farce because opposition views were not considered. He said Treasury officials "had already committed themselves to the outcome" before the hearings began.

Director Randolph W. Thrower of the Internal Revenue Service conceded that the officials did not face the hearings with an open mind.

"The fundamental decision was not affected by the presentations that were made in opposition to it," Thrower said. "These were pretty well taken into consideration (and rejected) in advance."

The new regulations are amendments to a depreciation liberalization adopted in 1962 as part of an effort by President John F. Kennedy to wrench the economy out of a slump.

The 1962 regulations imposed "guideline lives" for depreciation of various types of machinery and equipment.

Mr. Nixon's plan permits a businessman to adopt any depreciation period he chooses from 20 per cent shorter to 20 per cent longer than the guideline lives. For office furniture, that would be an 8-12 year range.

#### EXHIBIT No. 2

[From the Dayton (Ohio) Journal Herald, July 5, 1971]

#### CORPORATE TAX BREAK

(By D. J. R. Bruckner)

The Administration's new business tax rules—called the accelerated depreciation range (ADR) system—distort the tax system. Treasury put them into effect June 22. It tried to in January, but protests from members of Congress and public interest groups induced it to delay. Now some of these protesters intend to sue in an attempt to void these new rules.

ADR is really a corporate tax break, continuous and cumulative, worth \$3.9 billion a year for the next decade on the average, and probably more thereafter; it is the biggest tax break of its kind in history and was instituted without congressional action. Treasury announced it, but it was mostly concocted under direction of the White House staff.

At the heart of ADR is an option allowing U.S. businesses to depreciate, or write off their assets against income for tax purposes, either 20 percent faster or 20 percent slower than writeoffs allowed under 1962 Treasury guidelines.

Those guidelines, and a set of standards called the Reserve Ratio Test, were established in an attempt by government to roughly relate depreciation to the real usable life of plant and equipment, and the actual time an asset was used by business. ADR eliminates the Reserve Ratio Test and accelerates depreciation, which is already the great bookkeeping game these days.

If a business has equipment which it uses for 10 years, it can write off against income in eight, or in 12 years, as it chooses. Since tax is calculated and paid annually, a spread of four years in 10 can make a great difference in a corporation's cash flow. The White House claims this gimmick will stimulate investments and jobs, and thus the economy.

Most economists say this is nonsense; investment is undertaken with the prospect of increased sales and profits, and investment is drawn as needed from capital markets. One suspects the ADR will simply increase profits.

The tax break will grow with a boom and contract with a recession, which is an effect precisely opposite the White House's claim.

Thus, corporate net income for tax purposes will always be severely understated as compared with net income for, say, a stockholders' report or any other report in which the corporation wants to look good. Treasury rulings and legal changes in the last 20 years had already introduced gaps between real income and taxable income; the ADR system challenges the very concept of a tax on the real income of business.

Treasury's statement on ADR talked at length about the difficulties of administering Reserve Ratio Tests and old guidelines; it amounts, in fact, to a confession of administrative breakdown. So, under the new rules, there will be an office of industrial economics, (OIE), to determine from tax returns and studies how guidelines, repair allowances and other tax-determining criteria can be updated.

These fellows just have to be kidding. Business has been startlingly successful ever since 1954 in obtaining tax breaks from a large, stubborn, conspicuous Congress, you can just imagine what kind of influence it will be able to bring on a small, unprotected, bureaucratic OIE—which has the power to recommend rule changes, changes which mean tax savings and increased cash flow.

Thomas F. Field, director of the public interest lobby Taxation and Representation, raises some philosophical questions about all this: "We seem to have moved far from the basic concept of tax on income," he says. "Are income taxes really fair any more? Whatever happened to the idea of income tax as envisioned by the liberal reformers of the early 20th Century, the idea of the fairest, most equitable, efficient tax? Should not Congress consider present tax laws and rules in the light of that question? Or should it consider moving to an entirely different type of taxation?"

Disturbing question. Income tax still appears to be the fairest. Well, the idea looks that way. The practice looks otherwise more and more, for some privileged and influential people.

[From the New York Times, June 24, 1971]

#### ERODING THE TAX BASE

Despite the probability of a challenge in the courts, the United States Treasury is putting into effect its liberalized tax depreciation rules, retroactive to Jan. 1. The Treasury has sought to buttress its new rules against legal challenge by linking the useful lives of plant and equipment as claimed for depreciation purposes to the actual lives of such assets.

Meanwhile, the cost of the depreciation speed-up has been boosted; the Treasury now estimates that the revenue loss will amount to \$39 billion in the next decade. So huge a tax cut to business should have been determined by Congress after a full examination of its costs and benefits in relation to the nation's urgent and growing need for funds. In the years ahead, as both the President's annual economic report and the Brookings Institution review of the 1972 budget have shown, the country is going to be strapped for funds to meet expanding social needs. Through the first half of the 1970's, Federal expenditures already in the budget will increase as fast as full-employment revenues, even assuming an end of the Vietnam war. No scope will be left for new programs unless taxes are raised. In the circumstances it is irresponsible for Congress to permit a tax cut of nearly \$4 billion a year—a 5.8 per cent reduction in business taxes—to be instituted without full debate on Capitol Hill.

In the absence of such open discussion and decision by Congress, public interest

groups are now seeking to sue the United States Treasury as a means of blocking this huge surrender of public resources. The court test is likely to turn on the legality of so huge a tax cut by administrative action—and on the right of public interest groups to sue the Treasury. Both are important issues. But the even more crucial issue is that of allocating funds to meet the nation's social priorities—an issue that only Congress not the courts, can resolve.

[From the New York Times, July 14, 1971]

#### POWER OF THE PURSE

Ralph Nader, Representative Reuss of Wisconsin, John W. Gardner's public-interest lobby Common Cause and a number of other plaintiffs have brought suit against the United States Treasury to force it to withdraw its new Asset Depreciation Range (A.D.R.) system that would reduce business taxes by an average of \$3.9 billion a year over the next decade.

Each of the plaintiffs charges that his interests have been injured by the new rules, which would allow businesses to write off new capital equipment 20 per cent faster than heretofore. Representative Reuss raises the novel complaint that the Administration has undermined his fiscal responsibilities as a Congressman and thwarted his efforts to achieve "an equitable distribution of tax burdens." Others charge that the cut in business taxes would reduce revenues needed to finance Federal programs they support.

The Treasury, insisting that it has the authority to adopt the new depreciation system under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, contends that faster write-offs will increase capital investment, raise productivity and accelerate economic growth. Hence, the Treasury argues, the gross loss of \$39 billion in tax revenues over the decade may be more than offset by higher tax revenues.

Economists, using different econometric models, reach different conclusions on the probable stimulative results of the new depreciation rules, ranging from no effect at all to a strong thrust. There is general agreement, however, that liberalized depreciation is unlikely to have more than a modest impact on business investment right now because the economy is in a period of excess capacity and is recovering from a long investment boom. Many economists believe that liberalized depreciation rules are a less effective stimulant to business investment than would be the restoration of the investment tax credit, which Congress repealed at the request of the Nixon Administration in 1969 in order to damp down the capital spending boom and shift national priorities from investment to consumption.

While economic issues are not the basis of the public-interest suit before the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, they serve to emphasize the significance of the legal issue of whether the Administration has the right to adopt so huge and far-reaching a tax change without asking Congress for legislative authority.

The Administration would be well advised to ask Congress either for a new depreciation system or for restoration of the investment tax credit if it now believes that additional stimulus to investment is needed. It has only created problems for its economic program and uncertainty for the business community by circumventing the legislative process.

[From the Sacramento Bee, July 12, 1971]

#### NADER'S ATTACK ON BUSINESS TAX BREAK

Ralph Nader, the David in many a battle against Goliath interests, now has tackled the United States government over the Nixon administration's granting of a \$39 billion tax break to big business by allowing business swifter tax write-off depreciation allowances.

Nader contends—in a lawsuit in federal court which cost him only a \$15 filing fee—

that the administration's unilateral action, without congressional taxing-power approval, is illegal.

The accelerated depreciation tax benefit, he claims, amounts to a direct revision of the taxing structure of business and this is a power the Constitution reserves for Congress.

At the time President Richard Nixon gave business the tax break many critics contended it would not achieve his announced goal—that of stimulating business to expand its capital investment in order to juice up the economy.

That was in January and economic surveys indicate it has had no such result. The economy lags and capital investment has fallen far short of Nixon's expectations. Meantime, however, the tax concession stands as a break for business through tax savings estimated to run \$3.5 billion a year for the next 10 years.

Whether Nader will be successful in his court action—in which he has been joined by Common Cause, headed by John W. Gardner, and several labor and consumer groups—remains an open question. Ticklish points of law are involved, such as whether the plaintiffs have what is called "a standing" in court with a direct economic stake. The decision on this could be historic because it would mean public interest groups do indeed have such standing.

Nader pledges to take the issue all the way to the US Supreme Court if necessary. Even if he fails, Congress still has the power to assert its taxing prerogative and by legislation overturn the President's questionable windfall to business.

[From the Washington Post, June 28, 1971]

#### GIVE POOR A TAX BREAK

(By William Raspberry)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: If I understand your proposal for liberalizing tax deductions for depreciation of plants and equipment—and I'm not at all sure that I do—it is a scheme for encouraging manufacturers to replace aging equipment and, thereby, increase capital outlays and quite possibly jobs.

In short, the \$3 billion-a-year tax break is aimed at stimulating the nation's lethargic economy.

The trouble with your proposal, which some opponents, including Ralph Nader, have branded outright illegal, is that its direct benefits would accrue only to the rich, the owners of big companies. The rest of us would have to have faith that the big businessmen would reinvest the savings and "trickle down" to us such benefits as increased employment.

Faith being an increasingly scarce commodity, let me suggest, sir, that if you are serious about wanting to use tax breaks to stimulate the economy, you are starting at the wrong end.

Big business might well decide to reinvest the tax savings that your proposal would provide; then again it might decide to increase dividends to stockholders. That is much too "iffy" a cure for a very sick economy.

But if there is any certainty in the universe, it is that poor people will spend at least all the money they have; they really haven't a choice.

This being the case, my proposal is that you move to grant a tax break to poor folk.

The "trickle down" effect of tax breaks for big business is a matter of big business's options; the "trickle up" effect of tax breaks for the poor would be a certainty. Poor folks, if they obtained such breaks, could be counted on to buy more television sets, cars, furniture—whatever the manufacturers manufacture—and everyone would be happy.

Poor folks would be happy with their new purchasing power, and big business would be happy with its increased income. (Why should a businessman care whether his bank

account grows fatter through tax breaks or through increased sales?)

Nor should there be much difficulty in working up a proper rationale for such a policy.

Your justification for the \$3-billion tax break is that, since equipment purchases come out of a business's profits, it is fair to permit businessmen to deduct the cost of such purchases for tax purposes. Depreciation is simply a device for deducting such costs over a period of years rather than all at once. Your proposal would permit a businessman to shorten by 20 per cent the period over which equipment would depreciate to the point of theoretical worthlessness.

Administration spokesman acknowledge that not all equipment wears out, or becomes outdated, at the same rate. But to work out item-by-item depreciation schedules would be too burdensome, they say.

What you propose, in effect, is to let each individual businessman decide for himself his own depreciation rate. That strikes me as a little risky, but that's another question.

The justification for my own scheme is based on the common knowledge that poor people pay too much for nearly everything, whether appliances, loans, rent, groceries—or taxes. They also get the worst of governmental services: schools, police and fire protection, sanitation, and so on.

Any competent government statistician could work up figures to show by approximately what percentage poor people pay more and get less. That would furnish the basis for granting a tax abatement of 30 per cent or whatever the figure turned out to be.

The attractive feature of my scheme is that it is calculated to work itself out of existence. A poor family that got a 30 per cent tax break might soon find it possible to move to a neighborhood that offered better schools and police protection, which would reduce the need for the income tax abatement.

More important, the things they would buy with their newly available cash would lead to more production, which means more jobs. And with more jobs open to the poor, there would be fewer of them and therefore, fewer people getting the tax break.

The result would be more of everything for everybody, and more taxes for the government. If you move quickly enough to institute my scheme, it might start to show results in time for the 1972 elections.

In any case, I'll leave the timing and the details to the experts on your staff. I am, after all, just a newspaper guy.

Sincerely,

[From the Baltimore Sun, July 10, 1971]

#### NADER FIGHTS \$37 BILLION TAX GRAB BY THE UNITED STATES

He doesn't have a suite with an outer office. He doesn't have a secretary. He doesn't have a car. At 37, he doesn't even have a wife. He is Ombudsman, dedicated and self-appointed, to the American people.

Yes, Ralph Nader—son of Lebanese immigrants; he now has another little job on his hands, to stop a tax grab of \$37 billion. But it is a special kind of give-away, engineered by the Nixon administration itself. It has overtones more important than the money.

They involve a constitutional point: who has the right to levy and collect taxes, any way? Congress or the White House? And there is another point likely to go right up to the Supreme Court: the right of the little man to have "standing" in a court. Traditionally you cannot bring a suit—you do not have standing—unless you have a direct, economic or similar stake in an issue, not even if you are a taxpayer and you think the government is preparing illegally to give away some of your money.

Recently courts have broadened this idea of standing. Now the thing will have a bigger test. Ralph Nader, and John Gardner's Com-

mon Cause, and a consortium of other hard-headed idealists have had the impertinence to bring suit against the United States Treasury.

Laughable, eh? That's the way General Motors felt when Ralph Nader first took out after it. He was just a whippersnapper from Princeton and Harvard Law School, and had written his book in 1965 "Unsafe At Any Speed." GM feels differently now. GM is the world's largest industrial corporation. Its annual revenue is greater than that of any foreign country save the Soviet Union and Britain. It has around 750,000 employees and it hired as one of them a detective to investigate Mr. Nader's private life when he began to get difficult. Result: out-of-court damage settlement to Mr. Nader in 1970 of \$425,000.

And he has brought the whole damn auto industry under government regulation. Also he has got major changes in meat inspection, in health, in federal regulatory agencies and is even trying to get the government to do something about enforcing its laws on coal-mine safety.

Well, so now we come to the big new chapter. The subject is so crashingly dull that just to mention it is a switch-off phrase, so I will try to creep up on it. I am closely associated with two boys, 9 and 7, who have recently been given a new walkie-talkie. What is the life expectancy of the outfit? With the judgment of sad experience I would base the rate of depreciation for tax purposes at about five days.

And now that we have got into depreciation, the government has guidelines for the assets of 50 groups ranging down from gas and electricity transmission—30 years; railroads—14; mining—10; aerospace—8. As assets depreciate, taxes fall under these complicated guidelines, and steel plants are like walkie-talkies.

Last January, the administration announced it was allowing companies to depreciate their assets for tax purposes over a period shorter by as much as 20 per cent over the old 1962 guidelines. It was like telling the two small boys that a reasonable life expectancy of their walkie-talkie was four days and not five and there would be no reprimands if they made it go that long. This action meant a tax bonus to big business of something over \$3 billion a year for 10 years, or a total of around \$37 billion.

Ralph Nader was en route to Japan when this happened. But he has a garrison of permanent Nader's Raiders in Washington, mostly fresh out of law school and with a controlled zest for the public interest surpassing that of a Wall Street tax lawyer drooling for a half-million-dollar fee.

So Tom Stanton (who gets paid by Nader \$4,500), and his colleague Sam Simon, on their own initiative immediately filed suit the same day, January 11, pointed out that the Treasury had said nothing about public hearings, which are required by law. The Treasury caught its breath, coughed and said it had merely forgotten to mention them. It was the first of several coincidences.

Mr. Nixon, in his original statement, said that it was "essentially a change in the timing, and the Treasury Secretary at that time, David M. Kennedy, said it just meant a "postponement" of tax payment.

"These statements are false," observed a Northwestern University tax expert, Robert Eisner, at the subsequent hearing. Senator Edmund S. Muskie released a confidential memo from John Nolan, deputy assistant Treasury Secretary, warning his bosses that the big tax giveaway might be illegal without consulting Congress. Mr. Nolan quickly said that he had changed his mind.

It was also shown that last September a presidential task force led by a former member of the Nixon-Mitchell Wall Street law firm explicitly said that Congressional action would be needed.

A big tax loophole for business means that others must pay more taxes. That was the

argument Mr. Nixon used in vetoing the school bill a year ago he call it "painful, but necessary" to save taxes. It was peanuts compared to this, only \$453 million.

[From the Rural Electric Newsletter]  
CONVERSATION PIECE: NADER ON TAX REGULATIONS

(Note.—Ralph Nader, well-known for his advocacy of consumer causes, is a co-plaintiff in the suit against Treasury's new Asset Depreciation rules, along with NRECA and others (see story, page 1). Following are a portion of his remarks at a press conference held Wednesday. These comments point out the compelling reasons why all Americans have a vital stake in the outcome of the suit.)

A national tax system has a number of callings if it is to promote respect for its burdens by the citizenry and achieve its fiscal and motivational goals with equity and reason. It is clear that during the past several decades these callings—proper authority, proper procedure, proper rationale, proper administration and access—have been distorted or destroyed by the rapaciously relentless impact of special interest corporate groups on the Treasury. Similar pressures at crucial times have been exerted on the Congress which has centralized within itself decision making initiatives in tax policy in the hands of a very few members of that institution. But Congress is not as convenient a forum as the Treasury for these lobbies for a number of reasons inherent in the difference between a legislative body and a rule-making, administrative body in the Executive branch of government. Thus, there is constant pressure to widen the discretion according Treasury in its rule-making function well beyond what was provided through Congressional enactment. Treasury, with its penchant for secrecy in deliberations between itself and business groups right to the point of decision-making, if not beyond in some cases, has become an ideal access for the manipulation of the kind of administrative discretion which violates the authority accorded it by the Congress.

The Asset Depreciation Range System, promulgated without proper authority, procedure, proper rationale and, predictably, proper administration, "relieves the taxpayer of the duty to estimate any actual useful life for assets in his business" and is "inconsistent with the depreciation principle of Sec. 167 of the Internal Revenue Code, which requires that the useful life of property in the taxpayer's business be the benchmark of depreciation deductions." The main beneficiaries of this drain on the Treasury—estimated by the Treasury to be about \$39 billion over the next ten years—will be large corporations. The rate of \$3.9 billion a year is about \$50 per individual taxpayer annually.

Given the high government deficit, this big business tax break may well affect Federal spending on important programs of alleged national priority. Last year, for example, President Nixon vetoed the Education Bill because Congress exceeded his request by \$453 million, and the Housing Bill because it exceeded his request by \$514 million. As the President said at the time, "My veto of these bills is painful, but necessary to hold down the high cost of living. We cannot have something for nothing. When we spend more than our tax system can produce, the average American either has to pay for it in higher prices or higher taxes. . . ." The multi-billion dollar tax break that is ADR will similarly be paid for by the ordinary taxpayer, either in higher taxes or in reduced government services.

The action taken today can be considered a challenge to a growing trend by Treasury, under special interest pressure, to usurp the prerogatives of the Congress under the U.S. Constitution and the Internal Revenue laws. From the initial challenge, last January to

the present action, the process of citizen-taxpayer advocacy has raised issues relating to the Treasury Department's administration of the tax laws and its propensity to make tax law far beyond its allowable discretion which will relate to other decisions, past and present, which have been or will be made without regard for the several critical callings of an equitable and authorized tax system.

EXHIBIT No. 3

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 4, 1971]  
TREASURY'S HEARINGS ON EASIER GUIDELINES FOR DEPRECIATION BEGUN

WASHINGTON.—The Nixon administration opened three days of hearings on its proposed liberalization of depreciation guidelines for business, with the architects of the proposals sitting as judges.

Sixteen witnesses testified at yesterday's session, conducted by Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Randolph W. Thrower and his chief counsel, K. Martin Worthy; Edwin S. Cohen, Assistant Treasury Secretary for Tax Policy, and his deputy, John S. Nolan; along with several other IRS and Treasury officials.

All the witnesses reiterated previous contentions about the proposals. Supporters claimed that the earlier write-offs were essential to stimulate investment and meet foreign competition and that the Treasury has the authority to make these changes administratively. Opponents generally charged that the "tax cut" for business is economically undesirable and only could be implemented by Congress.

The treatment accorded the witnesses differed sharply, however. Critics of the administration proposals frequently were peppered with technical questions, particularly from Mr. Cohen and Mr. Worthy. But advocates of the changes often were praised for their "definitive" analyses or for being "recognized experts" on the subject and often were only asked to elaborate on the benefits of the liberalized depreciation guidelines.

Although Mr. Cohen promised yesterday that all views expressed at the hearings will be considered, the administration has repeatedly emphasized it plans to implement the changes regardless of what transpires at these sessions.

The administration proposals would create an "asset depreciation range" where businessmen could take depreciation deductions up to 20% shorter (or 20% longer) than currently allowed in the IRS' standard guidelines. The proposals also would abolish the "reserve ratio test" requiring businessmen to prove they're actually writing off equipment at about the same pace as they're replacing it, and would allow a larger deduction in the first year.

The Treasury estimates that the revenue loss from the liberalized depreciation would be about \$3 billion in fiscal 1972, starting this July 1, and that through fiscal 1980 the tax loss would total about \$36.8 billion.

Some critics of the proposals were visibly annoyed by yesterday's proceedings. "Worthy looked like he was conducting a cross-examination rather than listening to the important contributions that were brought out," charged Thomas H. Stanton, a lawyer with Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group. Another opponent complained that supporters of the liberalized write-offs "were thrown one lob after another" in the questioning.

The question of the Treasury's authority to administratively activate these changes also was sharply debated. Two Illinois Republicans, Sen. Charles H. Percy and Rep. John B. Anderson, strongly defended the Treasury's authority to act administratively on depreciation guidelines and said Congress wasn't being illegally bypassed.

But Democratic lawmakers, including Sen. Birch Bayh, of Indiana, Rep. Charles A. Vanik of Ohio and Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wis-

consin, argued that only Congress could make such changes. Sen. Bayh said he "strongly suspects that all of us here today merely are participating in an elaborate charade." Rep. Vanik worried aloud about "rumors" that "we're just here to celebrate a hanging that's already been decided."

Mr. Cohen insisted this wasn't the case and said he's "certain there'll be some changes before the final promulgation of new depreciation guidelines."

Others testifying against the proposals were Nathaniel Goldfinger of the AFL-CIO, Robert Eisner, a Northwestern University economist; Martin David, a University of Wisconsin economist; Richard Pollock, a University of Hawaii economist, and Bernard Wolfman, dean of the University of Pennsylvania law school, who was representing Common Cause.

The other supporters of the changes included Clifford D. Siverd of the Manufacturing Chemists Association; Dale W. Jorgenson of Data Resources Inc., testifying on behalf of American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; Norman B. Ture of PRC Systems Sciences Co.; Ernst Anspach of Loeb, Rhoades & Co.; C. Lowell Harriss, a Columbia University economist, and John Ellicott, counsel for the National Machine Tool Builders' association and the American Machine Tool Distributors' association.

[From the New York Times, May 4, 1971]  
BAYH TERMS BUSINESS TAX CUT HEARING A "CHARADE"

(By Eileen Shanahan)

WASHINGTON.—The Internal Revenue Service began three days of hearings today on the Administration's plan to cut business taxes by allowing bigger deductions for depreciation—hearings that the first witness, Senator Birch Bayh, characterized as "an elaborate charade."

Senator Bayh, an Indiana Democrat, based his charge on "the repeated statements by high Treasury officials" that the proposed changes in the depreciation rules "will go into effect regardless of what is said or done at these hearings."

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Edwin S. Cohen, responding to the same accusation when it was made by another witness, said that he could "assure" the witness that "it will be a meaningful hearing, and we will take into account your views."

WANT PLAN WITHDRAWN

Mr. Cohen added that he was "certain there will be some changes" before the new rules are promulgated.

Senator Bayh and other opposition witnesses asked, however, not just for modifications but for complete withdrawal of the proposed rule changes, which the Treasury has estimated would reduce the taxes paid by businesses by \$3-billion to \$5-billion annually.

There was, however, no indication from any of the Government officials who participated in the hearings—all of them officials of the Treasury Department or the Internal Revenue Service—that there was any possibility that the rule changes would be scrapped.

Those who were questioning the witnesses—Mr. Cohen, his deputies, John S. Nolan and Joel E. Segall; Internal Revenue Commissioner Randolph W. Thrower, and others—all made clear their support for the proposed changes.

SEE BENEFIT FOR NATION

The witnesses who supported the proposed changes disputed opponents' contentions that the Administration did not have the authority to adopt the planned liberalization without asking Congress for authority. They did not, however, speak to the issue of whether the hearings themselves were being conducted improperly.

The advocates, instead, voiced their belief that shortening the period of time over

which businesses could depreciate their equipment—which is the principal feature of the proposed rule changes—would benefit not only the economy but also the nation.

A typical spokesman for this viewpoint was Clifford D. Siverd, president of American Cyanamid Company, who testified on behalf of the Manufacturing Chemists Association.

Mr. Siverd said that national concern with pollution of the environment "has accelerated obsolescence in the chemical industry" to a degree that was not foreseen when the present time periods for depreciation equipment were set in 1962. He said that larger depreciation deductions were needed if the chemical industry were to have the money needed to minimize its pollution.

Opponents of the changes criticized both their legality and their probable economic effectiveness.

Dean Bernard Wolfman of the University of Pennsylvania Law School also challenged the legality of the hearing on the ground that the Treasury had never made public the economic basis for its decision to liberalize the depreciation rules. Therefore, he said, opponents were not able to make an adequate response.

[From the Washington Post, May 6, 1971]

NADER CHARGES ADR PREJUDGMENT

(By James L. Rowe, Jr.)

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader, who initiated the attack on the administration's proposed liberalization of depreciation policies, yesterday told the leading Treasury tax official that he should resign from a panel hearing testimony on the proposals.

Nader cited a newspaper article quoting Edwin S. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy as saying businessmen could rely upon the depreciation rules going into effect.

The rules—called the Accelerated Depreciation Range system—would permit businessmen to write off the cost of their investments 20 per cent faster than they can now, cutting business taxes by \$3 billion next year and \$37 billion over the decade.

Tuesday, Cohen refused to retract the statement while questioning one of Nader's Public Interest Group tax lawyers, Thomas Stanton.

Nader charged yesterday, "This explicit prejudice means that the many earnest and able speakers before you have been talking into a void, whenever their comments touched upon the basic unlawfulness of the ADR regulations."

Cohen told Nader he would give the disqualification request "my every consideration." However, he said, his position was the necessary one "unless those who propose the regulations do not pass upon them." The Treasury proposed the specific regulations in March.

Cohen said he conceived of his obligation to "think these proposals through as much as possible in advance," before making them specific. He said his assurance to businessmen meant that in the hearings "nothing so fundamental will be called to our attention that will cause us to change our mind completely."

The Treasury's proposals would also abolish the so-called reserve ratio test—a test instituted in 1962 which forces businessmen to justify the length of time taken to write off investments as being the actual length of time the asset is used.

Nader cited deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John Nolan's statement Monday that a large number of corporations have failed the reserve ratio test—they wrote off their equipment faster than they used it up.

Nader said, "One must wonder whether this is not a classic example of a special relationship existing between the Treasury and favored constituents. Rather than enforce the regulations to the best extent pos-

sible, the Treasury simply proposes in the ADR system to abolish the otherwise applicable law."

The Treasury claims enforcing the reserve ratio test presents unfathomable administrative problems.

The three days of hearings on the proposed regulations ended yesterday with 53 witnesses testifying either in support of, or against, the regulations.

The Treasury panel, including representatives from Treasury's tax policy branch and the Internal Revenue Service, will re-look at the proposals.

Treasury officials predict some final determination—which will probably be a modified form of the current proposals—by early next month.

There is currently legislation in both Houses of Congress to block the regulations and Nader's group has promised to fight the proposals, which it considers unlawful, in the courts.

CAN THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS BE SOLVED?

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, everyone who has ever paid a doctor bill, a hospital bill, insurance premiums, and paid out-of-pocket for what insurance fails to cover knows there is a medical care crisis in the Nation. It is a crisis felt by rich, poor, and middle-income Americans alike as shortages of health personnel persist, as access to regular medical care becomes increasingly difficult, and as dissatisfaction with long waits, impersonal treatment, and high prices mounts.

The question is not whether we have a health care crisis, but whether the present health care crisis can be solved.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it can. I believe we can begin to make a quality system out of the present nonsystem of health care through enactment of the Health Security Act of 1971, which I have co-sponsored along with 79 of my colleagues in the House. Apropos to this, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article by Alice M. Rivlin which appeared in the Washington Post on Sunday, July 25. The article outlines the barriers to solutions to the health care crisis, but points out that uncertainty should not be an excuse for inaction. At the very least, Miss Rivlin concludes, the Government should act to reduce the uncertainty. Had it done so 10 years ago, Miss Rivlin continues—through a vigorous program of experimentation with new forms of medical care and new types of reimbursement—we would at least be at the stage where we could ask how we can further refine our health system rather than, "Can the health care crisis be solved?"

The article follows:

OBSTACLES TO SOCIAL PROGRESS—II: CAN THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS BE SOLVED?

(By Alice M. Rivlin)

Some of the major problems of American society seem at first glance to be easily soluble if anyone really wanted to solve them. Take the medical care crisis, for example.

One would think that a nation with our technical competence—we do pretty well on telecommunications and rocket design, after all, not to mention open heart surgery—could solve the relatively simple problem of making sure that everyone gets medical care. Yet we are obviously not doing so.

Millions of poor families in cities have no access to regular medical care. They depend on the desperately understaffed emergency rooms of dismal city hospitals. Whole areas of the countryside are without any doctor at all. Moreover, one does not have to be poor to be dissatisfied with the medical care system. Long waits, impersonal treatment, high prices and the bankrupting cost of major illness have left almost everyone with a strong sense that there must be a better way to run a medical care system.

The easiest explanation of this dismal state of affairs is a villain theory. If a problem this basic is not getting solved maybe someone is preventing its solution. A typical villain theory casts the doctors as grasping insensitive clods who are not genuinely concerned about giving quality care to the poor or even the middle class. All they want is to make money and drive a Cadillac to the golf course on Wednesday afternoons. Subsidiary villains are the hospitals—how could they have the gall to charge \$100 a day for that crummy room?—and the insurance companies with their pious advertisements and their high rates that never seem to cover one's particular illness. Moreover, after watching the medical establishment veto appointments to high posts in Washington, it is not hard to believe that they have political power and that they may well be using it to prevent solutions that would provide more people with better care. Senator Kennedy voiced this view recently when he said, "The American Medical Association puts the lives and well being of American citizens below its own special interest in ordering its priorities."

The medical establishment on the other hand has its own villains. It points the accusing finger at government bureaucrats with their endless forms and hypochondriac patients who just want attention and want someone else to pay for it.

An alternative explanation—the powerlessness theory—holds that there actually are few villains on the medical stage. Doctors, nurses and other medical personnel are mostly dedicated, hard-working people, doing the best they can to serve their patients. The basic trouble is that everyone—doctors, hospital administrators, insurance executives—are caught in a system which they are individually powerless to alter and that system has a whole web of perverse incentives built into it. It offers doctors irresistible monetary rewards for practicing in the suburbs rather than in the ghetto and for entering rare specialties rather than dispensing family medicine. The fact that most people have hospital insurance rather than more comprehensive coverage encourages over-use of hospitals and emphasizes treatment rather than prevention of disease. The rules under which insurance companies and governments reimburse suppliers of medical services give the latter little or no incentive to hold costs down. The whole system is just too badly designed to deliver good care efficiently to those who need it.

So why don't we get busy and design a better system? The main reason seems to be that, although almost everyone is dissatisfied with the present set up, no one is sure what a better one would be like or how to get there.

The essential difficulty in designing a better medical care system is not so much reconciling the interests of different people, but reconciling objectives that are held by almost everyone. Most people would agree that the first objective is to ensure everyone care. The

idea that medical care should be a basic right, not a luxury for the fortunate, is now widely accepted. The second objective—harder to define—is good quality care. No one wants second rate medicine. The third is reasonable efficiency. No one wants to pay the costs of wasting scarce medical resources. The real problem is that these objectives conflict and it is hard to design a system that satisfies all three of them at the same time.

An obvious first thought is to make medical care freely available to everyone either through a national health service or through a comprehensive national health insurance system. National health insurance would accomplish the first objective of ensuring everyone care, but it might endanger the efficiency objective by reducing both the doctor's and the patient's incentive to economize. If the government or some other third party is paying the bill, doctors tend to put patients in hospitals who do not absolutely need to be there and to order expensive medical tests or even surgery of less than clear necessity. Moreover, third parties have traditionally reimbursed supplies of medical services for their actual costs or customary charges without exerting much pressure to keep costs down.

One approach to controlling costs is to have the patient pay part of the bill, perhaps through a health insurance policy with deductibles and coinsurance provisions. The theory is that if the patient pays an appreciable portion of the cost both he and the doctor will be more cautious about embarking on unnecessary hospitalization, drugs, or surgery. Moreover, doctors and hospitals will try to hold their prices down because they know the patient is burdened with part of the bill. But such an approach penalizes the poor, denying care to those who need it but cannot come up with their share of the bill. Moreover, third party payment is already so widespread, and patients are at such a disadvantage in negotiating with doctors and hospitals—or even understanding what they are buying—that it hardly seems realistic to rely on the cost consciousness of patients to hold prices down.

A different approach to controlling costs is to change the way in which doctors, hospitals and other suppliers are reimbursed for their services. Third party payment need not lead to waste if the third parties give the suppliers incentives to be efficient and to give only the services the patient actually needs. The most usual suggestion for change is to reimburse doctors or hospitals for the care of a given number of patients for a specified time, rather than for particular services rendered. One version of this idea, currently being touted as a solution to the efficiency problem, is the Health Maintenance Organization (HMO), a group of doctors connected with a hospital which undertakes to provide each enrollee with needed care for a year for a single fee. Here the theory is that an organization which is paid a fixed sum for taking care of a patient for a year, regardless of the number and kind of services performed, will give the patient only what he needs and will emphasize preventive medicine lest the patient develop a more costly illness through lack of foresight.

But here one runs into the third objective: maintaining quality. Will doctors or groups of doctors give second-rate assembly-line medicine if they are being paid only on the basis of the number of patients they handle?

Enthusiasts of health maintenance organizations have two answers to the quality question: peer review and competition. They claim quality can be ensured by regular reviews of the organization's procedures by qualified professionals who do not work for the organization. Moreover, dissatisfied patients should be free, as they are now, to move to other competing health mainte-

nance organizations or to other doctors—a threat which should encourage efforts to keep patients satisfied.

The point is not that no solutions can be found—indeed some other countries seem to do better than we do—but that the problem is complex and no solutions are obvious. At the moment it seems reasonable to hope that HMO's can deliver good care in a more efficient manner than conventional medical organizations but the reasonableness of the proposition is about all we have to go on. There is some evidence that existing HMO's, like Kaiser-Permanente in the West and Group Health in Washington deliver good care at a comparatively reasonable price and that the hospitalization rates of their patients are lower than average. But the populations served by these plans are self-selected and in some respects untypical. It is not yet clear that the results can be replicated on a wider scale or how patients and doctors would react to the spread of prepaid group medicine. Even more uncertainty surrounds the possible impact of new cost-reducing reimbursement plans for hospitals or for doctors who are not members of HMO's.

But uncertainty should not be an excuse for inaction. At the very least the government should act to reduce the uncertainty. If a vigorous program of experimentation with new forms of medical care and new types of reimbursement had been undertaken 10 years ago there would now be a body of experience to answer questions like: How do alternative systems work, what do they cost, how do patients like them, how doctors like them, and do they produce better health? The surprising thing is that not much effort is going into answering these questions even now. Maybe it is not too late.

## DRUG-ABUSE CONTROL PROGRAMS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on July 15 I submitted an incomplete compilation by the administration of Federal agencies which operate drug-abuse programs. Although still not entirely comprehensive, the following list includes additional programs in the Veterans' Administration and the National Institute of Mental Health:

LIST OF FEDERAL DRUG ABUSE CONTROL PROGRAMS COMPILED BY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

#### Prevention

The Department of Agriculture has been involved in drug abuse prevention efforts through its 4-H educational programs. These programs are underway in at least a dozen States. For a brief description of several of these programs, see attached letters. Other informational efforts are directed toward farmers and aimed at the identification and eradication of marihuana.

#### Treatment

No programs.

#### Research

No programs reported which are directly related to nonenforcement aspects of the drug abuse problems.

#### Training

No information available beyond what is contained in the attached prevention program descriptions.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Prevention

Information and preventive campaign involving American Forces Radio and Television Service and wide dissemination of information including posters, handbooks for commanders, programs currently in operation for military dependents in Pacific, Atlantic, and European areas. More than nine dependents' high schools have established pilot programs involving the use of high school age students to communicate about drugs to younger students. These programs are modeled after Dope Stop in Phoenix, Arizona. Implementation of drug abuse prevention education in Overseas Dependents' Schools cost \$85,472 in school year 1970-71. The Domestic Action Program of DOD can also be seen as being preventive in nature providing alternatives to youth involvement with drugs (see attached article).

Treatment

DOD reports that information to reply to this section is not available at this time. New reporting procedures will furnish this information for future reports.

Research

See DOD report for description of types of research being conducted and surveys to determine (1) percentage of hard drug users in the separated population, and (2) prevalence of drug abuse and demographic factors related to the problem.

Training

The Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps have all had personnel attend DHEW-sponsored drug abuse training programs. (Only figure reported indicating the numbers of personnel involved was 94—that many spaces were provided to the Air Force at one of the DHEW Training Centers.)

The Navy has been operating a Drug Abuse Education Specialist School since early this year. The school has a current capacity of graduating 20 students a month. Plans are underway to increase this capacity to 30 per month. An East Coast school is also contemplated. Current training capacity would then be 240 students per year. As plans are imple-

mented training capacity could increase to 360 or double that amount if an East Coast school with identical capacity is opened.

Fifty dependents' school teachers will receive training in drug abuse educational procedures during the period June 21-June 17, 1971 in Wiesbaden, Germany. Hq. U.S. Army (Europe) has received funds from the Educational Professional Development Act for this purpose.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Prevention

The Office of Economic Opportunity is authorized to conduct a "Drug Rehabilitation Program" under Section 222 (a) (9) of the 1969 Amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The authority relates to discovering the causes of and providing treatment and rehabilitation for drug dependency and narcotic addiction. The major emphasis is on treatment and rehabilitation services, developing community support, and utilizing neighborhood resources and ex-addicts as staff. Community education and prevention activities take place in the context of comprehensive treatment and rehabilitation programs rather than separately, and our programs are by and large funded in such a way that they relate closely to existing OEO-funded Neighborhood Service Center and Neighborhood Health Center delivery systems. Research activities are service program oriented. Funding levels are as follows:

Fiscal year 1970.....	\$4,500,000
Fiscal year 1971.....	12,800,000
Fiscal year 1972.....	18,000,000

(Requested budget, about \$15,000,000 would be available for new programs)

TREATMENT

See Table 1, Treatment Program for Heroin Addiction and Other Drug Dependencies.

Also, in the area of treatment and rehabilitation there are two contracts for operational Integrated Addict Rehabilitation-Manpower Training Programs: one in Baltimore, Maryland, and one in New Orleans, Louisiana. Each contract will run for a 24-month period, will cost about \$1,000,000, and will serve 650 addicts. (That is, the total for the two

contracts will be \$2,000,000 with 1,300 clients served.) The projects will utilize methadone maintenance, counseling, residential services, and supportive modalities. In addition, Department of Labor funding (about \$1,500,000 for each project) will be obtained to provide job-training and employment services. This will be a major effort to develop a coordinated system of services and to open up the private employment sector to ex-addicts. Followup, evaluation, and cost effectiveness systems will be a major part of the effort. The REP is out and proposals will be due about July 15, 1971.

Research

A national evaluation contract which will provide a base for comparative drug treatment program evaluation is scheduled for completion June 30, 1971. This project is to evaluate OEO-aided Drug Rehabilitation Program, providing comprehensive analysis of relative program effectiveness including descriptions of various program components, their relationships to each other, and patterns of client-flow through various services.

Training

A grant is being made for the period 6/1/71-6/31/72 in the amount of \$430,000 to the Center for Human Services to operate a National Training Institute in Washington, D.C. This will provide an intensive 6-month training program for ex-addict staff from various local projects with followup back at the local program. It will also provide shorter courses for professional staff and program administrators, especially focused on the peculiarities of an OEO-funded program in terms of its orientation toward the community and its goals of assisting clients out of poverty in addition to providing drug treatment services. There will also be a technical assistance capability to help local programs utilize ex-addict staff more effectively and to develop career ladders and certification procedures. The training project is based on a previously funded research grant which looked at present patterns of utilization of ex-addict staff, effectiveness of ex-addict staff, and current training practices. No capacity for this training endeavor was given.

TABLE 1.—TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR HEROIN ADDICTION AND OTHER DRUG DEPENDENCIES

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced	Total expenditures
Detroit, Mich.....	July 1, 1970 to July 31, 1972.....	Outpatient methadone maintenance (Therapeutic community serving 50 clients to be developed)	1,200	\$1,200,000 1,000,000
L.A., Calif. <sup>2</sup> .....	July 1, 1970 to Aug. 31, 1971.....	Drug-free outpatient with hospital detoxification, counseling, crisis intervention, job placement	800	690,000 340,000
Washington, D.C.....	July 1, 1970 to July 31, 1972.....	Youth program (under age 17) utilizing drug free residential treatment, outpatient counseling and family service.	300	480,000 110,000
Chicago, Ill.....	Aug. 1, 1970 to Dec. 31, 1971.....	Hospital detoxification, residential (halfway house), outpatient counseling and vocational services. Drug-free.	300	330,000 120,000
Boston, Mass.....	July 1, 1970 to Sept. 30, 1972.....	Outpatient and residential services for youth (under age 16) experimenting with drugs.....	500	550,000 150,000
New Jersey (Hudson, Essex, and Monmouth Counties) <sup>3</sup> .....	Aug. 1, 1970 to Aug. 31, 1971.....	Drug-free therapeutic community. Outpatient counseling and supportive services. Small methadone maintenance (about 50 clients) being developed.	200	1,000,000 500,000
New York City.....	July 1, 1971 to Sept. 30, 1972.....	Part of comprehensive system involving primarily drug-free inpatient and outpatient modalities.	1,500	4,000,000 4,000,000
Philadelphia, Pa.....	July 1, 1970 to Dec. 31, 1971.....	Methadone maintenance (outpatient) with supportive services.....	200	250,000 110,000
Atlanta, Ga.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Methadone withdrawal, methadone maintenance (about 100 clients), drug-free outpatient and inpatient services, group therapy, counseling, crisis intervention and supportive services.	500	900,000 250,000
El Paso, Tex.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Community outreach, followup and counseling services. Development of contacts with existing methadone maintenance and drug-free modalities for low-income Mexican-American heroin addicts.	400	580,000 250,000
Tucson, Ariz.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Similar to El Paso project.....	300	500,000 150,000
Southern Alameda County, Calif.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Outpatient and residential drug-free modalities for low-income youthful drug abusers.....	300	550,000 150,000
Vermont (statewide).....	July 1, 1970 to Dec. 31, 1972.....	Drug-free inpatient and outpatient services primarily to drug abusers (nonopiate). Therapeutic community being developed.	400	550,000 150,000
Richmond, Va.....	July 1, 1970 to July 31, 1972.....	Therapeutic community and outpatient counseling, supportive and rehabilitative services. Drug-free modalities for heroin addicts. Also provides supportive services for methadone maintenance program.	500	730,000 220,000
Los Angeles, Calif.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Drug-free residential, supportive and job-placement services for incarcerated and heroin addicts.	300	590,000 300,000
South Carolina (Statewide).....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Counseling and group therapy services for addicts and drug-dependent persons in correctional facilities coupled with supportive services in community pre-release centers.	500	830,000 250,000
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Methadone maintenance and therapeutic community (drug-free) services for heroin addicts.	200	350,000 100,000
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1973.....	Residential, outpatient, group therapy, counseling, and supportive services. Part of ex-offender halfway house system.	200	350,000 120,000

<sup>1</sup> All figures given represent annual estimates.

<sup>2</sup> Non-Federal funds.

<sup>3</sup> Funding to be assumed by NIMH.

<sup>4</sup> Inpatients.

<sup>5</sup> Outpatients.

<sup>6</sup> Adults.

<sup>7</sup> Youth.

## DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education  
Prevention

OE has funded a wide variety of preventive efforts in FY 71. \$6 million was appropriated for programs to be conducted in FY 72.

\$2 million will go in grants to 55 State Education agencies to support continuing programs to train educational personnel.

Twenty-six comprehensive community projects will be supported for a total of \$2,100,000. These projects are intended to involve a variety of community agencies and groups in a cooperative effort to deal with local drug abuse problems.

Twenty college-based projects have been funded for a total of \$700,000. These are intended to serve as pilot projects. They are initiated, designed, and directed by students.

Eleven drug education projects have been initiated by local school districts using \$1.3 million in ESEA Title III funds. These programs call for heavy community involvement.

Seventeen programs are being supported by the Office of Nutrition and Health Services of OE. The programs for the most part are being funded under Title I of the Higher Education Act. ESEA Title III funds are also being used as well as funds under Title IV Regional Research Program. These programs are primarily educational and informational in character, intended to involve and educate a variety of target groups including students, teachers, law enforcement personnel, hospital and nursing home staffs, and the general public regarding drug use.

For a list of 13 projects supported by the Bureau of Higher Education under Title I, HEA, see attached chart. According to the information given, these projects with two exceptions are due to be completed on or before June 1971. An estimated 11,460 persons have been or will be involved as participants in these programs which are primarily, but not exclusively, educational in character. (For other projects specifically concerned with training, see section on Training below.)

## Treatment

While no OE funds have supported treatment programs per se, \$197,847 from the Bureau of Adult Vocational Technical Training has been awarded to the Blackman's Development Center in Washington, D.C. for a multi-occupational training program designed to offer occupational alternatives to drug users and addicts. (According to Department of Labor figures approximately 200 drug addicts are serviced by the Blackman's Development Center.)

## Research

The National Center for Education Research and Development of OE is supporting a project which is designed to study and evaluate current trends in drug abuse education. This project is being conducted by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in Berkeley, California and is scheduled for completion late this year. It has received \$44,712 in Federal funds.

## Training

A total of \$2 million will be expended to provide formula grants to State Departments of Education. In 1970 over one million educators and students were trained through the National Drug Education Program.

The Awareness House project will be expanded to serve as a training center for community personnel who will be trained to develop community drug abuse prevention projects. It will be funded at a level of approximately \$200,000. No information on the capacity of this project is given in the OE report.

A project to train 50 teachers in schools for Department of Defense dependents in drug

abuse educational procedures has been funded at a cost of approximately \$100,000.

Of particular interest in a program being funded in FY 72 by the Division of College Support, under EFDA, Part E, entitled "Institute on Drug Education for Personnel of Eight Black Colleges," Alabama A&M, Huntsville, Alabama (\$68,000). No estimate as to the number of participants is given.

Several of the projects being funded by the Bureau of Higher Education involve training programs. An estimated 100 persons participated in a training program entitled "The Development of Resource Personnel for Community Drug Abuse Programs" (University of Georgia). Another BHE project for FY 71 was entitled "Seminars for School Personnel on Personal Problems of Teenagers with Special Emphasis on Drug Abuse." An estimated 2,000 school personnel and youth counselors participated (Medical College of Virginia—Virginia Commonwealth University).

BHE has also funded a project entitled "Students in Community Service" involving some 500 students as participants. These students have worked under faculty direction with a community of young people at Odyssey House in Newark, New Jersey. The purpose of this project is to provide social support for the patients at Odyssey House.

Food and Drug Administration  
Prevention

FDA efforts in this area are minimal.

## Treatment

No programs.

## Research

The Bureau of Drugs of FDA reports that its efforts in research related to narcotics and dangerous drugs are concerned with drug testing methodology and with the screening of new analgesics—defining their propensity for causing habit formation and physical dependence.

## Training

No programs.

National Institute of Mental Health  
Prevention

NIMH prevention activities take the form of promoting the development and dissemination of education materials. These materials and their distribution are described in the attached Fiscal Year 1971 Summary and "A Guide to Drug Abuse Education and Information Materials."

## Treatment

The National Institute of Mental Health funds treatment and rehabilitation programs for narcotic addicts and drug abusers under both grant and contract mechanisms. The grant program includes staffing grants to comprehensive drug treatment centers under Part D of the Community Mental Health Centers Act and special project grants for single or separate services under P.L. 91-513, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. The contract program is limited to the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 (NARA).

The grant program. Currently there are twenty-three community-based grant funded programs for the treatment of narcotic addicts and drug abusers. Eighteen of these funded programs are now operational and the additional five are in the process of commencing operations (New Orleans, D.C., Pittsburgh, Miami, Philadelphia). The number of individuals treatment approaches and location for these grants are shown in the accompanying Table T<sub>1</sub>. At the present time, it is not possible to separate funds used for treating narcotic addicts from those used for other drug abusers. The Institute is currently reviewing grant applications pursuant to section 256 of P.L. 91-513 (detoxification, institutional, aftercare services). It is anticipated that up to fifteen new programs will be

funded in Fiscal Year 1971 with the \$5 million appropriated under this authority.

The contract program. The contract program under NARA includes examination and evaluation services, inpatient treatment services, and aftercare services carried out in facilities other than Fort Worth and Lexington Hospitals. The majority of examination and evaluation and inpatient treatment services, however, is carried out at these two hospitals. On March 31, 1971 there were 2,074 individuals in the NARA program distributed as in Table T<sub>2</sub>.

The FY 1971 expenditures for the NARA program are as follows:

Examination and evaluation	\$276,000
Inpatient treatment	1,197,000
Aftercare services	5,721,000
Fort Worth CRC	4,805,000
Lexington CRC	6,422,000

Total 18,421,000

The number of NARA contractors by State is shown in Table T<sub>3</sub>.

## Research

The attached materials (Attachment Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6) describe grant and contract research activities of the Division of Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse. Although not specifically prepared for this report, they are written in a style intended to be comprehensible to a layman.

## Training

The NIMH has funded three regional training centers under contract since September 1970. The centers have trained more than 600 physicians and more than 900 allied health personnel, educators, law enforcement officers, students and government officials. These centers are located in New Haven, Conn., Hayward, Calif., and Norman, Oklahoma. The total expenditure for these centers in FY 1971 is \$1 million.

In addition, four drug abuse training grants have been funded in FY 1971 for a total of \$292,695 as follows:

1. University of Kentucky Research Foundation Grant #T01 MH12257-01, \$57,652. To train students for careers as professional sociologists specializing in deviant behavior including drug abuse.
2. Los Angeles Center for Group Psychotherapy Grant #T15 M12319-01 \$81,443. To train 90 school counselors, probation officers and mental health professionals in group techniques appropriate for treating adolescent and young adult drug abusers.
3. Roosevelt Hospital (New York) Grant #T15 MH12320-01, \$3,222. To train physicians in the scope of the drug abuse problem and prevention and treatment techniques.
4. University of California (Berkeley) Grant #T01 MH12564-01, \$150,378. To establish a specialized drug abuse training unit in the Post-Master's Community Mental Health Program of the Department of Social Welfare.

Social and Rehabilitation Service  
Prevention

SRS has supported a number of projects in the prevention area.

Examples include the Community Services Administration's support of family life education efforts in various locales and other educational programs which include a focus on drug abuse prevention among children and youth.

The Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration of SRS has supported or is supporting a variety of projects in the area of drug abuse prevention. These include the recently funded project of Boston Model Cities Administration. This project focuses on an informational approach to prevention as well as providing counseling and referral services. Other projects in this

area supported by YDDPA include the "Drug Use, Misuse and Abuse Education Program" conducted by the State Planning Bureau in Atlanta, Georgia; the Youth Drug Abuse Prevention Project conducted by Flight, Inc., in Rochester, N.Y.; and the "Store-Front Drug Program" conducted by the Berkshire Farm Institute For Training and Research, Inc., Canaan, N.Y.

**Treatment**

See Table 1, Treatment Programs for Heroin Addiction and Other Drug Dependencies.

Also in the area of treatment and rehabilitation, the Rehabilitation Services Administration is planning to stimulate and implement 15 to 20 Expansion Grant projects aimed at increasing substantially the number of drug abusers rehabilitated into gainful employment.

**Research**

The major emphasis of the demonstration project of the Oregon State Mental Health Division is to evaluate the effectiveness of two methods of treatment on the vo-

ational rehabilitation of young adult drug abusers. Pre- and post-data on performance variables and psychological and social functioning will be collected and compared. This project is being supported by Division of Research and Demonstration Grants, SRS, monies.

The Division of Disability Services, Rehabilitation Services Administration, SRS, is planning to develop and initiate four to five Research and Demonstration projects designed to find new and improved methods for rehabilitating the drug abuser.

The Community Services Administration of SRS is soliciting information on whether adult public assistance recipients are known by the public welfare agency to be suffering from drug addiction.

**Training**

The Rehabilitation Services Administration of SRS plans to support five bi-regional training conferences for State rehabilitation agency staff in rehabilitation of the drug abuser.

The Rehabilitation Services Administration also supports a training grant program

authorized under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. This program is aimed at increasing the supply of personnel in the rehabilitation fields by helping training programs to expand and by offering aid to students. The objectives of this grant program also include working with professional groups to improve the quality of preparation; facilitating communication and working relationships among the professional rehabilitation fields; and to give workers in the rehabilitation field opportunities to improve their skills. No figures were given as to the capacity of these training efforts.

The Community Services Administration of SRS has supported a variety of training programs sponsored by State public welfare departments. The purpose of these training programs included the development of the skills and capacities of a variety of social service staff. Community Services Administration does not maintain data on the capacity of these training programs for prevention, community organization, and treatment personnel in specific problem areas such as drug abuse.

TABLE 1.—TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR HEROIN ADDICTION AND OTHER DRUG DEPENDENCIES

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced	Total expenditures
Washington, D.C.	Fiscal year 1971	VR services to methadone maintained	240	\$112,008
Minneapolis, Minn.	do	VR services to hospital inpatient narcotic addicts	75	27,770
Nassau County, N.Y.	do	Evaluation and VR services to disadvantaged addicts	250	25,810
Hartford-Waterbury, Conn.	do	VR services and counseling	75	38,330
Tulsa, Okla.	do	Counseling and psychiatric	25	12,500
Portland, Oreg. <sup>1</sup>	do	Individual or group psychotherapy, detoxification and medical, vocational, social, occupational, recreational, and educational services in addition to family casework services and religion.	100 clients annually	\$194,095
Brooklyn, N.Y. <sup>2</sup>	July 1, 1970-June 30, 1971	Detoxification as often as necessary under medical supervision, group treatment (Guided Group interaction model).	25 girls, ages 12 to 16	168,866
Anchorage, Alaska <sup>3</sup>	Not given (recently funded)	Halfway house to aid drug users in kicking their habit and reentering society	150 to 250 youths, 16 to 22	55,414

Note: The first 5 programs are in the Division of Disability Services of SRS. There is no data available on drug dependence or addiction treatment per se from the Office of Service Delivery, SRS.

<sup>2</sup> 2d year, \$209,000; 3d year, \$207,000.

<sup>3</sup> These programs are funded by the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, SRS.

<sup>1</sup> This program is in the Psycho-Social Study Section, Drug Abuse Research and Demonstration Project, SRS.

**DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

HUD was unable to comply with the deadline set for receipt of information because this information is available only through its regional offices. The regional offices of the Department have been contacted and should be responding to the request for program information within a week or two. HUD will then send this information to NIMH to be collated and forwarded to the White House at the earliest possible date.

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

**Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Prevention**

The Prevention/Public Education program has been attended to largely in Large City/County Special Grants Program. Likewise, the Narcotics and Dangerous Drug Control Program (K-1 and K-2) have also provided a vehicle by which this area can be addressed. The major focus of prevention has been directed at the nation's youth through the development and implementation of preventive

education programs in all grades of the public school system; e.g., grammar, junior high, and senior high. State and local medical, educational, and law enforcement personnel have worked jointly in the preparation and presentation of these programs. The National Institute of Mental Health and BNDD have likewise assisted in the development of informational materials for this purpose.

A second major focus of the Prevention/Public Education response to the narcotics/dangerous drug abuse problem is seen in programs developed for presentation to parents, civic groups, church organizations, and other interested citizen bodies. The intent here is perhaps three-fold: (1) to inform the adult community of the nature and extent of the problem; (2) to inform adults of what is being done; and (3) to prepare them for a possible personal confrontation with drugs as it may affect their own children.

**Treatment**

See Table 1, Drug Abuse Programs (Discretionary Grants Only—Action Grants Not Available) FY/71 Available Data.

**Research**

Information regarding only two discretionary grants involving research/data collection is available for FY 70-71. These are the Police/Community Information Program in Anchorage, Alaska funded for \$40,000 and the Commission on Drug Abuse-Treatment Program and Facility, Memphis, Tennessee, funded for \$75,000. The Anchorage, Alaska project involves establishing a data and information bank. The Memphis, Tennessee project involves studying and researching the causes of alcoholism and drug abuse related problems.

**Training**

Intensive training for the members of these special enforcement units have been emphasized throughout LEAA programs, the establishment of close liaison between local and state agencies and BNDD have been insisted upon regarding development of training programs, utilization of existing programs, and further continuous unit training. No figures representing the number of persons trained or to be trained were given.

TABLE 1.—DRUG ABUSE PROGRAMS (DISCRETIONARY GRANTS ONLY—ACTION GRANTS NOT AVAILABLE) FISCAL YEAR 1971 AVAILABLE DATA

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced	Total expenditures
Broward County, Fla.	Aug. 1, 1970-July 31, 1971	Detoxification, physical and psychiatric evaluation, rehabilitation through psychiatric treatment and counseling, guided group interaction therapy.	500 (30 to 40 in residential care program).	\$200,000
Chicago, Ill. (drug abuse rehabilitation program—addict offenders).	Aug. 24, 1970-Aug. 23, 1971	Group and individual counseling	200 to 300 addict offenders.	200,000
Boston, Mass. (Norfolk County comprehensive interconventional drug addict treatment program).	Apr. 15, 1971-Apr. 14, 1972	Includes methadone maintenance and a self-help-type halfway house, therapy, and counseling.	No estimate given	154,318
Whitmore Lake, Mich. (serving adolescents from Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, and Highland Park) adolescent drug use limitation and treatment.	Aug. 15, 1970-Aug. 14, 1971	do	360 adolescents	92,475
Royal Oak, Mich. (alcohol and drug abuse treatment center).	Fiscal year 1971	No information given	No information given	101,045

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced	Total expenditures
St. Louis, Mo. (community-based treatment and supervision of selected offenders—narcotics).	Dec. 1, 1970–Dec. 30, 1971....	Prewithdrawal counseling, withdrawal under medical supervision, short-term residential accommodations, crisis intervention, varied counseling and guidance.	Estimated 200 can be handled on a post-release basis.	79,285
Trenton, N.J. (drug addiction treatment, rehabilitation, and prevention)	July 1, 1970–June 30, 1971....	Includes residential treatment center (modeled after Dayton Village, New York City, with total utilization of ex-addicts as staff).	Residential center designed to serve 70.	139,600
Columbus, Ohio (preventive program for metro narcotics and drug abuse enforcement).	September 7, 1970–September 6, 1971.	Includes medically supervised withdrawal program.....	No information given.....	75,000
Memphis, Tenn. (commission on drug abuse-treatment program and facility).	August 15, 1970–August 14, 1971.	Psychological and sociological counseling included in voluntary treatment program.	22-bed facility.....	75,000
Travis, Texas (comprehensive treatment program for young drug users).	September 7, 1970–September 6, 1971.	Inpatient and outpatient therapy, including voluntary "walk-in" referral and crisis services.	No information given.....	52,470

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs  
Prevention

BNDD's efforts in the area of prevention include a public inquiry program which responds to requests for information on the problem of drug abuse, drugs being used, and various aspects of the drug problem as related to preventive enforcement and the problem of illegal drug use in the community. In addition, a community organizational program involving 13 pilot projects is being conducted. The emphasis of this is to promote a total community effort to prevent drug abuse, which includes law enforcement and other elements in the criminal justice system.

BNDD's preventive efforts also include a dissemination of information on drug laws and regulations to the registrants under the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970.

Other preventive efforts include stimulating program activities among the pharmaceutical manufacturers and associations. Other developmental activities in which the Bureau has been involved have recently included a conference for artists to explore means of utilizing the artistic community at

the local level in providing alternatives to drug abuse. Other activities have involved the clergy, educators, law enforcement, and media people.

## Treatment

BNDD has no treatment programs.

## Research

See BNDD report (attachment 1).

## Training

No estimate of numbers of persons who can be or have been trained through BNDD was contained in its report.

Major training efforts are conducted for professionals in the enforcement field and related areas to orient them to the need and the advantages of preventing drug abuse as opposed to concentrating only upon the enforcement aspects of the drug problem.

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## Bureau of Prisons

## Prevention

No programs reported on.

## Treatment

Two categories of treatment programs: one functioning under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA); the other—Drug

Abuse Program—treating offenders currently in the Federal prison population who have drugs as a contributing cause to their criminal behavior and who do not qualify under NARA. See Table 1, Treatment Programs for Heroin Addiction and Other Drug Dependencies.

## Research

No research findings as yet to report. Collection of data in progress to help determine significant variables affecting treatment outcomes.

## Training

Since NARA provides for an aftercare phase, a series of conference workshops with community agencies and probation agents have been held. (No figure is given as to the numbers of persons who have participated in these programs.)

Of some interest is the fact that several of the releases from the NARA programs have been hired by community organizations who are concerned with the "drug problem." The releasees are functioning as counselors and lecturers to various groups in the community. The Bureau of Prisons has contracted with some of these releasees to help in the continuing development of an effective treatment program.

TABLE 1.—TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR HEROIN ADDICTION AND OTHER DRUG DEPENDENCIES

## A. NARA (NARCOTIC ADDICT REHABILITATION ACT)

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced (capacity)	Total expenditures
Danbury, Conn.....	Fiscal year 1971.....	Primarily therapeutic community approach.....	200.....	See below.
Milan, Mich.....	do.....	do.....	50.....	Do.
Alderson, W. Va.....	do.....	do.....	100 women.....	Do.
La Tuna, Tex.....	do.....	do.....	100–50 women.....	Do.
Terminal Island, Calif.....	do.....	do.....	100 men, 50 women.....	Do.
Five programs funded for.....				\$560,400

\* Salaries, \$436,200; operating costs, \$124,200. Also, \$525,000 in aftercare contracts have been let with community agencies, fiscal year 1971.

## B. DRUG ABUSE PROGRAM (FOR THOSE NOT QUALIFIED TO RECEIVE TREATMENT UNDER NARA)

Facilities at Lewisburg, Pa.; Petersburg, Va.; Terre Haute, Ind.; El Reno, Okla.; and Lompoc, Calif., will be providing treatment in fiscal year 1972 for drug abusers who do not qualify under NARA. To date, \$80,000 has been allocated for fiscal year 1971 to cover the costs of construction.

The major emphasis of the information program on drug smuggling and abuse by the United States Bureau of Customs is to stress law enforcement activities. This serves several purposes: one, it reinforces that there is a drug abuse crisis and tells the public what is being done to combat the problem; two, it asks the public to cooperate with local, state and federal authorities so that more can be done to solve the problem; and, three, it acts to deter amateur smuggling of illegal drugs into the United States.

This information program by Customs is implemented: from the speaker's platform; through news releases that generate editorials, news and feature articles; and, by use of posters, flyers, and radio and television public service announcements to inform the public of certain inconveniences they may experience because of the search for illegal drugs.

The Bureau cooperates with the travel industry and other government agencies in programs to slow drug smuggling and abuse in the United States. It has also participated

in presentations by the White House for the television and radio industries on ways to curb drug abuse in America.

Additional information may be obtained from the Bureau of Customs, Office of Information and Publications, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. 20226. Telephone 202-964-2475.

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

## Prevention

A special film and other educational materials are being developed specifically for lower class and inner city populations because of the paucity of suitable material for Job Corps training programs. Guidelines for conducting drug education and counseling have been prepared for use in Job Corps training programs.

## Treatment

See Table 1, Treatment Programs for Heroin Addiction and Other Drug Dependencies.

Other efforts supported by DOL in the treatment and rehabilitation area include

the VERA Institute of Justice of New York City which takes people arrested for less serious crimes and, prior to trial, gives these people (many of whom are drug addicts) an opportunity for rehabilitation and training.

Another similar program—not specifically geared to drug abusers but involving many—is Project Crossroads in Washington, D.C. This project is sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth and funded by the Department of Labor. It is a pretrial diversion program for youthful offenders. The program stresses career development, using employment, training, and other supportive services. Project Crossroads, like the VERA Institute of Justice program, relies heavily upon nonprofessional staff.

## Research

DOL has contracted with the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission to make some special tabulations from an ongoing survey of drug use among the general population of New York State in August 1970 which would show the extent of drug use among different occupational

groups in the labor force. See the attached report for further specifics regarding the survey findings.

#### Training

A most extensive training effort has been undertaken by the Job Corps in DOL. The Job Corps organized a series of nine technical assistance seminars which could aid in the

recognition of symptoms and in dealing with drug users. The first seminar was held in mid-January 1971 in Washington, D.C. Other seminars are scheduled for June 21-23 in Philadelphia. The six remaining seminars will be conducted July through September 1971. No specific information is given as to the number of persons who can participate

or who have participated in each technical assistance seminar. The DOL report states that approximately 70 people in each Manpower Administration region were found to need background information and training in the drug area. This would bring the intended number of participants to no less than 630 persons.

TABLE 1.—TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR HEROIN ADDICTION AND OTHER DRUG DEPENDENCIES

Locale	Period	Modality	Approximate number serviced	Total expenditures
Washington, D.C., Residential Manpower Center....	Mar. 15, 1971.....	Methodone treatment (program for detoxified addicts who are physically and psychologically capable of undertaking job training).	No information given....	No information given.
Baltimore, Md., Westinghouse Learning Corp.....	Fiscal year 1971....	Job training and placement of ex-addicts.....	3 treatment programs but no information re-number services.	Do. <sup>2</sup>
New Orleans, La., New Orleans Association of General Contractors.....	.....do.....	Job training and placement of ex-addicts.....	No information given....	Do. <sup>3</sup>
Washington, D.C., Blackman's Development Center.	February 26, 1971.	Institutional training program for rehabilitated drug addicts (training courses 26 weeks in length).	200.....	\$325,000 (plus \$198,000 from HEW).

<sup>1,2</sup> Other similar demonstration projects are scheduled to begin prior to the end of fiscal year 1971 at 2 other Job Corps yet to be announced.

<sup>2,3</sup> On both of these projects DOL is working in conjunction with OEO. OEO plans to award operating contracts for 8 more cities in fiscal year 1972.

#### VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

##### Prevention

No programs reported on.

##### Treatment

The VA began a special medical program for treating drug dependent veterans in the middle of FY 1971 by establishing five drug dependence treatment units in existing VA Hospitals, which are located in these cities: Houston, Texas; Battle Creek, Michigan; New York, N.Y. (Manhattan); Sepulveda, Calif. (Los Angeles area) and Washington, D.C. Another 13 treatment units will be activated July 1, 1971. For the first five drug units in FY 1971, the VA allocated \$330,000 for six months of operation. The FY 1972 budget calls for \$3,060,747 for 18 units, and the FY 1973 budget is projected at \$14,926,835 for 46 units. If resources permit, the VA plans to treat an estimated 9,000 drug dependent veterans in the next two years, with each center reaching a maximum caseload of 200 outpatients. Units average 15 beds for necessary inpatient care. Various treatment modalities will be used.

##### Research

A new approach to evaluating the effectiveness of several therapeutic modalities and of the treatment units is now being designed for inclusion in the program of each unit (also see report).

##### Training

VA has extensively utilized NIMH training facilities at Hayward and Yale as well as training facilities at Lexington, Kentucky and Fort Worth, Texas.

In June 1971 an administrative conference was held with representatives of each planned drug unit in attendance. Other training sessions have been held and is being encouraged. (No estimates of numbers receiving training given.)

#### IN COMMEMORATION OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK AND THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

### HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, I trust that last week's observance of Captive Nations

Week helped to remind all of us of our individual responsibilities to each other in renewing our devotion to the heritage of our national resolve and conveying to the long struggling, freedom-seeking peoples of the captive nations of the world our warm understanding and sympathy for their aspirations in continuing to maintain the dignity of man, restore their individual national recognition among all countries and achieve their independence.

Many of those fortunate enough to escape from the horrors of oppression and tyranny are now citizens of our own country who recall the fear as well as the fierceness of the battle. The date of October 23, 1956 will mark the 15th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution that sought free elections and the end of the Communist government that had taken control of the Hungarian people in 1947. By October 30, 1956 the revolution had succeeded but the Hungarian people's independence was shortlived and the Communists regained control the following month. It is estimated that 160,000 Hungarians fled the country and several thousand lost their lives in the fighting.

As a nation comprised of people of all nations, many of whom are descendants of or have personally experienced oppression and tyranny in foreign lands, our United States of America is deeply sympathetic to the plight of these people. We are linked by bonds of family and principle to those who love freedom and justice on every continent; our democratic process has achieved a harmonious national unity of people with the most diverse of racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and as a united people we recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations throughout the world upon each other. In fact, it was upon this preamble that the Public Law of 1959 was enacted authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to issue an annual proclamation designating the third week in July as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

It was a distinct pleasure for me to

join my colleagues in last week's highly important commemoration and to speak out in tribute to the courage, fidelity and dedication to the principles of representative democracy manifested by the pioneering efforts of the people of captive nations throughout the world. This past week gave all of us an opportunity to consider the fate of some of these countries including Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, East Germany and Albania. It was most reassuring to note from my participation in this solemn observance that these courageous people are encouraged and continue to provide renewed hope to their homelands that they will once again be free and I am indeed pleased to have had the opportunity to make known our deep concern for these people in order to keep alive their independent spirit and deep desire to continue their pursuit of freedom and happiness, achieve their national goal and share the just and rightful endowment of our free world which they so richly deserve.

#### TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today we should take note of America's great accomplishments and in so doing renew our faith and confidence in ourselves as individuals and as a Nation.

Asked what he liked about America Bob Hope said:

In a few paragraphs it isn't an easy assignment. America has a sense of humor. Everybody seems to want to laugh. Cab drivers, salesmen, elevator boys lean on you with the latest story.

The torch on the Statute of Liberty has been my Aladdin's lamp. I rubbed it and have received bounty and blessings beyond anything I could have dreamed or asked for. I cast a few crumbs upon the water and get the whole bakery.

## THE HUMAN STORY OF WELFARE

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert into the RECORD a series of articles describing the personal lives and problems of some of our people on public assistance. The articles, which appeared in the Detroit Free Press, were written by Helen Fogel, one of the country's finest journalists. They are stories pointing out the unmet human needs of these individuals, which must be recognized if ever we are to secure effective and meaningful welfare reform.

The articles follow:

## ANNA ELIZABETH, BOOTS, AND WELFARE

(Sometime this month, Congress will begin to debate the first major welfare reform with a chance of becoming law since the Social Security Act established aid programs for those who cannot work back in the '30s.

(The reform bill has at least one feature which almost all critics of the current legislation applaud: It would establish an income floor, \$2,400 for a family of four, throughout the country.

(It would also make welfare primarily the business of the federal government rather than that of the states and counties.

(It probably would not decrease welfare costs. More people would be eligible for benefits than ever before because, for the first time in some states, working people would be eligible for benefits.

(Whether or not the new legislation would eliminate what the experts see as the worst evil of the present system remains to be seen. This is the denial of human dignity to those who must resort to welfare to live.

(Authorities say too that many of our ideas about welfare recipients are myths. For instance, statistics indicate that only two percent of those now on welfare could work if work were available.

(Though there is some fraud among welfare clients, almost all of it is of the penny ante variety and administrators say it costs more to chase it down than it does to pay for it.

(Welfare can become a very impersonal thing—a matter of statistics and huge sums of tax money—to those who are not its recipients.

(But for every welfare statistic there is a human being with problems of great magnification to him or to her. To help readers keep the human being in mind as Congress debates welfare reform, the Free Press today begins a series describing incidents in the lives of some Detroit welfare clients.

(No special effort has been made to report hardship cases. The stories are about people picked at random.

(All of the names are fictitious, because in each case the person felt shame in having his identity as a welfare recipient revealed. The incidents are real, however, either witnessed or documented by staff writer Helen Fogel.)

(By Helen Fogel)

Anna Elizabeth Brown sucked her lips in thin and stared up at her teen-age son, Liberty.

On the table between them sat a shiny bright pair of new patent leather boots, ankle-bone high and narrow, with elastic insets and a loop in back to pull them on with.

"You mean to tell me," Anna said softly, "that those boots only cost you \$4.50?"

"That's right, Momma," said Liberty. "They were on sale." He ran a soft finger over the

boots. Then he lowered them carefully into the plain gray bag.

Anna Elizabeth continued to look up at her son, and for a moment he glanced into her direct glaze. He uttered a funny, gurgling little laugh and looked down at the table.

At 15, Liberty is Anna Elizabeth's oldest son—the closest she has to a man in the house.

Out on the streets, among his friends, Liberty is already a man, and his mother doesn't like to put him down at home.

She knows as sure as she does it too often, Liberty won't come home at all. At least now she knows where he is part of the time. She wonders where he could be when the counselors say he isn't in school.

Anna Elizabeth has been this route before. That's how she happens to be on The Welfare.

## ANNA'S GROWING UP DAYS IN INKSTER

Though she doesn't look it, Anna is close to 40 now, small and plump—a sweet, high brown woman with a merry smile.

She's the kind of lady that folks call "fine." Recently, she's been going without a wig some, and the silver threads stand out clearly in her short, kinky black hair. But somehow her own hair makes her look even younger and softer than before.

She grew up in Inkster with her mother who did day work to support Anna and her brother.

"I haven't seen my Daddy in 20 years," she said.

Growing up, she learned how it was to be without things the other kids had and never to have enough of the things she needed. She learned how it was to have her Momma away all day, tired and cross at night—and lecturing, always lecturing.

Mothers who can't be at home to see what their children are doing sometimes try to build fences with words.

"It was a hard struggle," says Anna off handedly.

As she talks you can almost see the young Anna, full of mirth, skipping school and sneaking away from her grim and earnest mother whose sole protective stance was reproach.

Anna understands her mother better now, but then all she wanted was to laugh and dance and have fun. Anna's Momma didn't allow dancing.

"I never did make it to high school," says Anna, shaking her head.

After eighth grade, she just didn't go back to school.

Instead, she looked for the brave new life that she would control herself.

She married her boyfriend and together they moved to Chicago.

## HER HUSBAND, A DRINKING MAN

Now she shakes her head and twists her face into a wry mask—another sweet dream gone astray.

As she talks about her marriage, you can tell she is still struggling with the love dream where the two pretty people marry and live happily ever after, with only the sort of problems that bring lovers closer together.

Now she chuckles heartily at her own naivete.

Only her dark somber eyes betray the pain born of a small nagging belief that it was not the dream but she who was wrong.

After all, one has to hope for something.

After 16 years of marriage I had to pack up and leave. I couldn't get along with my old man, I tried," she said.

Her eyes are soft now, and they rest gently on the narrow head of 7-year-old Daniel, the youngest of her six children. Then she glances into the living room where Liberty is sprawled on the floor in front of the television set.

"One reason, I tried to stay with my husband was I knew how it was to grow up wanting this and that," she explains.

Her husband, she says, was a drinking man. "I was afraid of him. So were the kids."

Almost defensively, she adds, "I tried to stay, but I'd get knocked around." She shows you the scars on her face.

"Finally one day, I said, 'I don't have to take this,' and I packed up everything I'd paid for and left."

That was four years ago.

She came back to Detroit and got a job as a checker in a dry-cleaning shop, and a divorce, in that order.

Her eyes crinkle up at the corners and the laughter returns to her face as she assures you the divorce is real and legal.

"That was one man I wanted to get rid of," she said.

For the first two years after she returned home, she worked first in the dry cleaners for \$1.45 an hour and then as a waitress in a chain operation. As a waitress, she worked the night shift for 90 cents an hour so she could be home in the day with the kids. With tips, she usually made a little more than she did as a checker.

She worked hard—going in at 5 in the afternoon and not getting home until 4 or 5 in the morning.

"I couldn't hardly take those hours," said Anna.

But she thought she was making progress. She'd paid for her divorce, and she was working towards a separate home for her family. They had been living with her mother which made it possible for Anna's grandfather to babysit with the children.

"It was with my oldest girl the problems started," said Anna.

Suzie at 17 was having emotional problems. "She wouldn't do anything my grandfather said," said Anna. She was gone from home a lot and from school—sometimes days at a time.

The social workers thought maybe it had something to do with Anna's working.

So Anna quit work and went on welfare. After the prescribed 90 day period she was approved for Aid to Dependent Children.

She believed then that her ADC grant was a short-term expedient. She would get her family back together and go back to work. For Anna working was not so much for the money which was less than \$3,700, as it was for pride.

But by now, Anna's oldest daughter was a heroin addict and the mother of a baby. The following year, Suzie had another child. She left both children with Anna who took both babies in.

"My mother told me I should find Suzie and make her take care of her children," said Anna. My little boy is in school now. I didn't need any more children.

"But what was I going to do?" she continued. Put them up for adoption? Throw them out on the street?

"I don't have the money to spare for looking for her," said Anna. "If I found her she would only leave again. She'll never take care of the babies now."

Then a year ago, Anna's next-to-oldest daughter got pregnant too. She now has a three months old child. Like her mother she's a welfare baby.

But this time Anna is making different plans. With reality as a guide, Anna will see that this daughter takes the Pill. She has begun to nag too—like her mother. She wants her daughter to go back to school.

At the same time, she's looking forward to the day when all the youngsters will be in school. Then she wants to go back to school to learn to be a nurse's aid.

Then she will have a skill.

In the meantime, she's doing the best she can to feed, clothe and house her family on an ADC grant—and to overcome the effects of their earlier demoralization in spite of the strain.

## BACK TO LIBERTY AND HIS BOOTS

Her chief concern is Liberty. She's satisfied the others are making some progress.

School does not interest Liberty much, and he shrugs off all Anna's moralizing about what will happen next year or five years from now.

"I could choke him," says Anna with sudden savagery.

But Anna Elizabeth Brown is a determined woman and she hopes to win this one.

Before Liberty left for school in the morning, Anna had given him a \$10 bill, all the money she had, to shop for some much needed shoes to replace his one pair—out at the sole and badly worn. She told him not to spend more than \$5.

She needed the rest to buy food, a little meat and some vegetables to go with the beans. The family was out of fresh milk too.

Anna stared over at her son who looked back uneasily.

"The boots really were on sale, Momma," said Liberty.

"I believe that," said his mother. She wanted to scream and curse and hit her child hard. At least that would relieve her pain.

Instead, quietly controlled, she pursued the subject.

"What happened to the change?" she asked.

"I took the bus and bought lunch and I had some expenses at school," Liberty explained, his eyes fastened to the edge of the table.

"You had \$5 worth of expenses?" asked his mother in a pleasantly terrible voice.

"Liberty," she demanded, "What happened to the change?" Liberty sighed deeply and looked up at his mother.

"There wasn't any change, Momma," he said.

## AND HER DESPAIR IS TOTAL—HONORE'S CRIPPLED AND ALONE

(This is the second in a series that looks at the lives of some welfare clients in the Detroit area. No special effort has been made to report hardship cases. Today's story, like others in the series, is about a person picked at random. The names are fictitious, but the incidents are real.)

(Contrary to popular myth, almost no one goes onto welfare rolls expecting to stay there. Almost all cases are off the rolls within five years. When this is not true, as with people who are physically unable to support themselves, despair is total. Today's installment addresses itself to such a situation.)

(By Helen Fogel)

She drops it like a small rubber ball—right into the middle of a militant dialogue about the evils of the welfare system.

"I really don't want to live any more."

For a moment, you think she's kidding.

But she sits there, eyes down, her crippled legs stretched out in front of her, and her hands, balled up in fists, scrunched in tight between them.

Before you have politely managed to conceal the horror on your face, she has seen it.

"But you asked me about my problems," she said. "This is one of the problems I have—that I'd rather go ahead and die—because I don't want to go on living this degrading life."

Honore Ryan who now receives an Aid to the Disabled grant was not always a welfare case or even a poor woman.

Her husband was in real estate, and he and Honore and their daughter lived well. They had all the things they needed and other things too, like the nice home in a fashionable affluent northern suburb.

Honore and her daughter still live in that house which has begun to look a little worn now because a welfare check doesn't stretch to property upkeep.

Several years ago, Honore's husband quit

his \$30,000-a-year job, his wife and his child, and went to Puerto Rico to make a new life with another woman, younger and prettier—and healthy.

## HER BODY WRACKED WITH PAIN

In spite of the fact Honore manages to get around with crutches, she is severely disabled. As a child she had polio and rheumatic heart disease, which left her with a weak heart. She now suffers from rheumatoid arthritis.

Over a period of years, both before and after her marriage, she had 31 operations including three spinal fusions.

When the weather is bad, she has trouble sleeping because her body is wracked with pain.

She says, however, that she kept a cheerful face throughout her marriage, and her husband always came home to a warm meal on the table—even those nights when he came home late.

They'd had some marital problems. He didn't like her to have an allowance. When she needed food in the house or something for herself, he bought it and brought it home.

She'd argued with him about it and even seen a marriage counselor. In the end though she had relented and done things his way.

Maybe Honore was too good—too perfect to live with.

For whatever reason, her husband left for good without telling her. Since he was often away on business trips, Honore didn't know he was gone until a bill collector came to her door and told her he had left his job.

When he left, Honore had a little food in the house, but nothing else. She had no money at all.

## SUBURBANITES DON'T UNDERSTAND

Honore broke off suddenly in her narrative. "Suburbanites," she said bitterly, "Don't understand the poor. Out here people are so affluent." Her voice broke and she just shook her head.

A welfare mother from the Cass Corridor might find it hard to believe she and Honore had anything in common. Honore has her home with its spacious, though somewhat seedy back yard. There's even a little patio in the building—made from used brick scrounged from building sites well after dark.

Poverty is a relative thing, and Honore believes it is harder for her to manage at the poverty level than it is for people who have been poor all their lives.

At one time, she was used to having nice things, and she has a richer set of neighbors to keep up with.

But she had to turn to welfare because she had no alternative.

## STILL SICK OVER VISIT

She remembers the first time the social worker came to her fine home. She still feels sick about that first visit.

The worker, a middle-aged hard-bitten man, went over all her precious possessions—her paintings, her grand piano, her furniture—even her lace-edged underwear.

Each time he came upon something new, he said, "You'll have to sell this. You know you're on welfare now."

"My daughter was 11 at the time, thought her world was falling apart," said Honore. "First her father was gone and then there was this."

"Besides," she continued angrily, "He lied. You don't have to sell your personal possessions."

Honore believes the worker was intentionally trying to humiliate her—kick her when she was down.

She acknowledges that people have asked her why she continues to live in an affluent suburb "where no one understands."

She explained her house payments have been less than what she would have had to pay for an apartment. Now that may change too, because taxes are going up . . .

The other things—furniture, paintings and clothing were already paid for.

Honore has plenty of room in the house now, and she'd like to take in a boarder. If she did, she'd have to report the income and it would be deducted from her welfare check which hardly makes the work worth the trouble.

## ONE OUTFIT OF CLOTHING

During his first visit, the worker explained in some detail to Honore and her child, those things they might have even though they were now on welfare.

"He said my child could have one pair of underwear, one slip and one dress. I asked him when I would wash these things, and he told me they could be washed on the weekend."

"He wanted to make me feel small and worthless," Honore continued. "The more he tried, the more the dander in me came out."

She and her daughter learned to cope.

Her daughter learned to sew, and would vary her wardrobe by taking her old clothes apart, washing the material, and making new skirts and dresses.

As bitter as Honore is about the welfare system, she saves her special venom for the church and a society that calls itself Christian.

She is particularly angry with those who tell her her predicament is "God's will."

Irish to her toes, Honore is a gut Catholic—practicing, believing—a real moral nag.

"God does not will that her children suffer," she fumed. "God loves you."

"Senator Eastland gets welfare," she declared.

"Farmers who don't plant crops get paid for not planting them. That's welfare," Honore charged.

"Our Michigan legislators wanted to vote themselves a dental care plan. On Aid we don't get money for dental care."

The legislators, she said, do not understand the moral nature of the decisions they make.

Honore believes in the equality of all souls, and does not believe God rewards the Good with affluence and punishes the Bad with poverty.

But she also understands that many of the assumptions that Americans have about the poor derive from the Calvinistic doctrine.

So she continues to make a nuisance of herself with churchmen.

When she sees a church yard being paved or a new building being raised, she makes a point of seeing the clergyman of the parish and asking him what the church had done for the poor in its congregation—before it had started construction.

As she described her conversations with the clergy, her eyes began to twinkle, and her laughter bubbled out. You realize that calling a hypocrite by his real name is one of the few pleasures Honore Ryan can afford.

Other than that, she has her daughter.

Most of her family acquaintances deserted along with her husband and the \$30,000-a-year income.

The few that stuck, she considers friends, and she has joy in them.

In complete innocence, she admits that what she misses most about being rich was her freedom to be Lady Bountiful.

But what really worries her is the situation with her daughter.

She wants the girl, who has been a welfare child for nine years, to be free when she gets through school. She does not want her to be chained to caring for a sick mother.

So, daily, she sits alone in her unheated home and mulls over what she can do to insure her daughter's freedom from the welfare bureaucracy.

At night, when the pain is too much for sleep, she gets up and slowly paces the floor on crutches thinking over and over again how she must send her daughter away and never see her again.

As things are now, that is the only way Honore can save her daughter from having to support her when she has graduated and found a job. The state insists on relatives who are able supporting a member of the family who is disabled.

But Honore has not really discussed these matters with her child, and she does not know if the girl will go, even if Honore insists.

So when she is alone or the pain is to great, though every fibre of her body screams, "sin," she considers a darker alternative.

#### FOR JOSEPH—NO JOBS, NOT EVEN SWEEPING

(It is harder for a man to accept public assistance than it is for a woman. Common belief in a woman's social role in the home protects the woman on welfare to some extent from public scorn.)

(Take for instance the story told in this third installment of a series telling the human side of Detroit's welfare problem.)

(Society considers a man inferior, a bum, if he does not work. Increasingly, however, men are unable to get work and so far the Work Incentive program—a program designed to give welfare clients enough skills to find basic jobs—hasn't even scratched the surface.)

(By Helen Fogel)

Joseph stared glumly out of the car window into the bright blue day.

"I'm not proud of what I do," he murmured, "but I will do anything to see my children do not starve."

He had just finished explaining how he answered newspaper ads offering free pets to good homes, how he lied to get the pets, and how he took the animals and sold them to buy milk for his children.

"It is not that I do not love animals," he explained carefully. "It is only that I love my children more."

Joseph feels bad about the animals. He described one of them, a beautiful dog, lovingly in great detail. He would like to have such a pet himself.

He also feels bad—but less so—about the batteries and hubcaps he stole from autos parked in an area of west Detroit.

These too, he sold to make money for food for his five young children.

Joseph was a skilled tradesman until a drunken driver plowed into his car at an out-state intersection. The accident left him with permanent back injuries which made it impossible for him to do the heavy lifting which was part of his job.

So Joseph became an unskilled worker and one with a disability upon which industrial personnel people didn't want to take a chance.

He couldn't even find a job as a sweeper. Joseph is a proud man with all the entails to one of Mexican-American descent.

He's painfully aware of his wife's middle American background and his own minority status. Even now he can't tell her family of their problems.

He did not want to go to the County for money to support her.

He believes now the pride which kept him from the welfare rolls while the food in the house dwindled to nothing and his children went hungry, was false pride.

He sold everything he had—the home furnishings, his tool box, his wife's jewelry—even her wedding rings, until he had nothing left to sell.

It was not until even his infant son had nothing but sugar water to drink, and there was no prospect of buying more sugar or anything else that he turned to welfare.

Like all people who seek welfare, he first went to the county for emergency and general assistance. He was eligible for Aid to Dependent Children of Unemployed Fathers (ADC-U) and if everything worked as it should, he would have received it within 90 days after he began receiving general assistance.

But as it often does, the welfare system failed. His application for ADC-U was delayed more than 18 months leaving him to fend with the County staff which everyone acknowledges is overburdened, overworked and sometimes mean.

(It is little wonder the County assistance workers seem callous. They are expected to deal with at least 40 cases during their 8-hour day—40 cases of tragedy each day.)

Joseph and his family live in the bottom half of a duplex on one of the most wretched blocks of Detroit's inner east side where the dingy houses in their dusty, littered yards tilt at small crazy angles as though they were trying to avoid one another.

When a visitor knocks, his wife moves the curtain ever so slightly, then quickly opens the door enough to permit entry. As quickly, she closes and locks the door. Joseph's wife is afraid of the neighborhood she lives in.

She is a small, sweet-faced woman with long blond hair.

Her face is incredibly young, but her compact, broad-hipped body in the old apron-covered pink sleeveless dress moves in hurried starts and jerks. Her bare feet are shoved into worn scuffs. She peers at you with nervous eagerness through thick glasses.

She is happy to have company, and you can understand why.

Their home is a crush of four tiny, hot rooms where her four older children (the oldest is five) play. Her youngest, a five-month old infant, is crying in the crib.

Not many people come to see the family, and the children are excited by the novelty, too. In the excited running back and forth, the toddler, barely a year old, cracks his head against the corner of a table, and he begins to cry too—bedlam in the four close little rooms that smell of bug poison.

Joseph's wife flies, first after this child, then that. She picks up the crying infant and rubs the head of the crying toddler.

She smiles an apologetic "I don't know what's got into them," and turns angrily to the older children. "Your Daddy's going to get you," she hisses.

She seems childishly vulnerable, sitting on the edge of her chair in her little locked-in rooms, surrounded by her children. She looks like a little girl playing at being Mama in a cruelly infinite game of House.

Joseph and his wife believe it is unsafe for her and the children to venture outside unless he is with them. So, though the day is sunny and bright, they stay in their self-imposed prison. She keeps a long kitchen knife on the ledge of the locked window beside the door.

She points out that the dope house down the block, raided the day before, is already back in business. There are others she says, that haven't been touched at all.

Besides that, there are the street attacks she has heard about, and the break-ins. So even when people come to her door, she doesn't open it unless she knows them.

A neighbor woman drops by to say a jitney will be leaving some food on the neighbor's steps. Joseph's wife scolds her for letting it sit out without watching.

She returns to perch once again, on the edge of her chair, and once again she assaults your emotions with that bright, expectant look.

Mostly she talks about the horror experiences the family has had as general assistance clients.

How she was refused admittance to a hospital when she was in labor because she hadn't been to their clinic and how she was sent into the night with a drunken ambulance driver to Wayne County General.

How the doctor found her anemic and refused to let her nurse the child, but how the welfare worker denied Joseph money to buy baby bottles and a sterilizer saying, "If your wife weren't so lazy, she'd nurse the child," so her husband sold blood to get the money.

How the rats jumped out of the stove when Joseph opened it to light it; and how the rats kept jumping at him until they were killed, and the family was sure the rats must have been rabid.

How the County delayed in replacing the glasses which were stolen off her face and she couldn't see and tripped over a chair and dropped her infant son.

How when Joseph decided he must get a vasectomy, the County denied him funds, but offered to finance a sterilization for his wife.

Though she tells her story unemotionally, the anger is there.

You can feel it when she declares that she will make sure her kids "know how it was so they will never treat others the way we have been treated."

And there is defiance in her statement, "My husband and I are not going to let the welfare people put us down."

But there are other things too.

There is fervent love and respect.

"I am so proud of my husband," she said "Other men would have walked away from things like this. He could have walked out anytime. I wouldn't have blamed him."

And they have hope.

They have finally qualified for ADC-U, and they expect to find a better place to live.

If financially troubled Wayne County Community College manages to stay open, Joseph is going to school to learn a new way to make a living. His tuition will be paid by scholarship.

"I know when he finishes school, he will get a good job," said his wife.

All things being equal, there will be no more children. Joseph obtained a privately financed vasectomy. His wife, just to be sure, is taking the Pill.

And they are making happy plans for the children. they do have. This one will be a pilot—that one, a doctor.

Joseph's wife is calmly confident when she says, "Their sights will be higher than ours have been."

#### MEET A VICTIM OF POVERTY PARANOIA

(Most people who come fresh into the welfare system, the victims of bad fortune, still have a feeling of their intrinsic worth as human beings.)

(Trying to survive, they are shattered by the message they get from the massive, overburdened welfare machinery:

"To us you are just another case. Nothing so special about that.")

(Self-preservation makes some persons adopt a state of mind which may be called poverty paranoia.)

(It's easier for that person, trapped in the inertia of welfare bureaucracy, to believe he is the victim of persecution, than it is for him to admit he is so unimportant and impotent that he cannot even move another human being when he is screaming for help.)

(Such a victim of poverty paranoia is described below in the fourth of a series on Detroit welfare clients. The name is fictitious, but the incidents are real.)

(By Helen Fogel)

There's an echo of the World War II era in Elinor Faltroni's self-conscious the-show-must-go-on style.

You can almost see her, as a kid, modeling herself after the big movie stars of the day. Back in 1949, her efforts were rewarded when she was named Miss DSR. That moment is still with her.

Now, head erect and shoulders firm, she walks into an unknown future with a tight little wiggle, a bright smile poignantly pasted under the little-girl eyes in her heavily pancaked face.

She is Betty Grable dancing through a hundred heartaches, and spunky Betty Hut-ton chasing the wolves from her little sister's door.

But for some who do not see her as she sees herself, she is a damn nuisance.

She is a woman who will not stay in her place at the end of the bread line. She demands her rights—and some of her wrongs too.

Those who would put her down, she threatens with her connections—the Ku Klux Klan, a cop she dates, newspaper reporters, the governor of Michigan.

Like many women, she has come to welfare by way of the divorce court. She is currently receiving General Assistance and is in line for Aid to Dependent Children.

Her divorce has been one where, though the decree has been granted, the bitter fighting continues—over payment of child support, over visitation rights, over custody of the children.

In a few short years, in her frantic attempts to get people to do things her way, she has alienated the Friend of the Court workers, the police, the sheriff's deputies, her own attorneys, her case worker, and the judge.

As this story is written, she is facing a long-delayed custody hearing. Her two beautiful children have been removed from her care by the court and placed in a children's home.

#### VICTIM OF A PLOT

She says to one and all who will listen that she is the victim of a plot, instigated by her ex-husband whom she suggests has sinister underworld connections.

Her story is filled with references to drug-addicted teenage hustlers, pushers with long conviction records, late night visits by men who break her windows, and possible syndicate men who pose as welfare workers to gain entry to her home.

Judges, police, social workers—everyone—maybe even her own attorney, she says, are in league against her—under the influence of her husband's underworld connections.

She has her story haphazardly documented in a big black notebook filled with records of convictions of those whom she says wish to destroy her. There are records of court appearances and letters from a variety of officials to certify she has been to see them or talked to them about the case.

The collection ends triumphantly with reports from two psychiatrists which indicate she is neither emotionally unstable nor incapable of caring for her children.

She shows the collection to anyone who evidences sympathy.

She mutters how the Klanner men from her southern Ohio family would know how to handle her ex-husband's intransigence.

After she finishes her well-knit narrative, you have only one question: "Why wasn't some one who was that great a threat to the underworld powers done away with long ago?"

No answer.

It takes quite a lot of calm reassurance to talk Elinor out of one of her flights of fancy and into a state where she can act in a realistic frame of mind.

#### SHE MUST STOP NAGGING

Her attorney you assure her is working very hard in her behalf. She is very lucky to have such a high type, well qualified attorney. Not all people in her position do.

She must stop calling and nagging him about her case—demanding, demanding. He'll throw her out. He's already done it once, and she has had to get someone less qualified and she lost her kids as a result.

He'll get them back if she just stays cool.

She mustn't call and threaten the people at the home where her children are. They'll put her back in jail.

Her welfare case worker is just a welfare case worker, you explain. He wants to be her friend. She's very lucky to have one who is really sympathetic to her cause.

#### WHERE ARE GRANDCHILDREN?

Then, Elinor's aged mother who has been sitting in the corner of the shiny white kitchen of the far eastside home listening to you and Elinor talk, begins to weep.

"Where are my grandchildren," she sobs. "What have they done with them? Why can't I see them?" Her voice gets thinner and higher and she snuffles like a child, and wipes her nose with the back of a thin-skinned, blue-veined hand.

"I brought my children up to do right. Why did they take our children. We have always been God fearing people."

She is really crying hard now, and her old body shakes with the great sobs and the tears flow in rivers down the loose skin of her wasted face.

"Why," she begged, "Why are they doing it to our children."

#### MEET MICHAEL, A CLIENT-ORIENTED SOCIAL WORKER

(The Welfare World is a Grimms' fairy tale place with the case worker cast as the hateful stepmother humiliating clients, denying them basic necessities, making them wait hours or days, even months for a check to pay the gas bill or have an aching tooth removed. That is the client's perspective. In today's story, the sixth of a series examining the human scene in Welfare, we get a welfare worker's point of view.)

(By Helen Fogel)

Michael Murphy doesn't look like a Gothic figure. He looks like the kid in the second row, left, at a Steppenwolf concert.

His tall, lanky, jean-clad frame is topped by a luxuriant mane of shining hair that falls well below his shoulders. He does not sit in a chair as much as, with unconscious grace, he drapes himself over it.

Though he looks like a Grosse Pointe rebel, he's a veteran of the welfare wars. A welfare child himself, he's grown up to become a welfare case worker.

He freely admits that wasn't the way he planned it, but that is the way it happened. In his own way, now, he's dedicated to making the best of what he believes is a very bad scene.

You may not have recognized him right away, but Michael Murphy has appeared in these stories before. He is the man whom Elinor Faltroni believed might be a syndicate spy gaining entry to her home by saying he was from the welfare department.

Murphy shrugged his shoulders at the story.

"Nobody trusts a person who doesn't give them what they need," he said. "We case workers don't trust our administration."

He gives you a long searching are-you-going-to-laugh-at-me-if-I-say-this look and plunges on.

"In fact, I have this assumption," he said. "They are effectively keeping us so confused, there is no way we can get together and say we have to stop this madness."

The Department, he explained is undergoing reorganization. Divisions are moving about. All-important papers get lost.

Non-degree people are being hired to do the massive intake work which, hopefully, will free the social workers to do social work—make home calls and seek services for their clients.

However Murphy said, the new system will have some built in hang-ups.

Intake work, dealing with whether people are eligible for welfare benefits, is among the most complex of the many duties the department performs.

Eligibility for welfare in general and each benefit specifically is determined by as dazzling and complete a set of rules and regulations as was ever created by legislative or administrative fiat.

Almost every day brings a memo eliminating an old rule or adding a new one.

With more than three years experience in the Department, Murphy believes he could spend his entire working day trying to keep on top of what the newest regulations are on eligibility.

In addition to that, intake workers are the welfare clients' first contact with the Department of Social Services. The new workers will be the least experienced and least paid members of the staff.

"Clients think they're getting taken now," Murphy groaned. "Just wait, in a couple of weeks, all hell is going to break loose around here."

And, of course, the number of cases each worker will be responsible for will be increased, because, theoretically, at least, the work load is being decreased.

Now Aid to Dependent Children workers may handle as many as 100 cases. The new intake workers will be expected to keep track of the eligibility of 250 cases—each one a person with needs as great as any we have written about, each one a person down so low, the Department of Social Services looks like up to him.

#### IT'S MORE THAN A JOB

Murphy considers himself, like his clients, a victim of the misery business the welfare system has become. Rationally, he knows he is better off than his clients because he is making a regular income which is well above the poverty level (though not above the moderate income level) from the system.

Rationally, he knows, if he picks his companions carefully, at the end of the workday, he can leave the misery business behind him and think of other things. His clients must live with it all the time until they find a way to become self-supporting.

But, says Murphy, he doesn't manage to get away from it.

He is one of the group of case workers in the department called "client oriented."

For them, their work is more than just a way to make a living.

They sympathize with the client's problems. They understand his point of view, and try to make the system work to his benefit.

For such "client-oriented" social workers, the welfare system is a source of endless frustration.

Murphy wraps it up in a succinct sentence. "You do the state's work first, then the client's work."

The state's work includes paperwork in multiple copies for every request, it includes the regular checks on current client's eligibility. It includes more paperwork because regulations require several documents to justify each expenditure.

#### HOW TO GET TEETH FIXED

For instance, getting teeth fixed for a welfare client is a little like getting an automobile repaired by an insurance company. The client must go to the dentist and get cost estimates and an estimate on whether the bad teeth are undermining his health.

The social worker collects the estimates and certification of necessity and requests an expenditure for the service. He sends it on its way.

Along the way, it must get signatures of approval from each supervisor on the line, each of whom may send it back to the social worker for more information and documentation, and the process starts all over again.

If final approval comes, it takes several months.

Murphy says it is practically impossible to get an approval for repair of teeth. Most welfare clients with tooth problems have the teeth pulled.

"A client must be practically without teeth and starving from inability to eat before-

the Department will approve bridgework," said Murphy.

All requests for expenditure must go the same route and get all supervisors signatures before the checks are disbursed. It's a hassle that can last weeks.

Now because of the reorganization, papers sometimes get routed to the wrong place and may lie on someone's desk for weeks before they get properly rerouted.

Murphy has his favorite story.

An ADC client of his, living in a west side neighborhood where rats abound was having a problem with her children.

The kids would wake at night screaming either from the reality of rats or from terrible nightmares caused by the presence of rats in their yard and alley.

The house was shabby and in poor repair, so Murphy requested a strong rat wall be put up to keep the rats outside.

Such a request is fairly routine, he explained. It is justified and usually gets prompt attention. No one in the department wants a child injured by rats as the result of delay.

So Murphy sent the request along with great faith. Weeks went by, and he didn't hear from it. He began to check the stops the request would make along the route. No one knew where it was.

He was about to start the process all over again when he stopped to visit a friend in another division of the department. As he sat and chatted with his friend, his friend's supervisor called out "Does anyone know anything about—?" He gave the name of Murphy's client.

Murphy yelled and ran for the office.

There it was, neat as a pin—the authorization for his client's rat wall, completely off its prescribed routing pattern.

It's one of Murphy's few happier-ever-after tales, and he tells it with obvious gratification.

#### THEY TRY OTHER WAYS

Many workers with Murphy's commitment to the client simply do not last in the Department. Unable to deal with their own frustrations, they quit and look for other ways to do what they think the department should be doing.

Murphy quit once too. He had taken his college degree in speech and drama. He tried to make it in radio and TV but didn't.

He looked for other jobs, but jobs were scarce. He lived for a while on credit. Unfortunately, he says, his credit was good. In the end, he built up such a string of bills, he had to take the only job available. So he went back to the Department of Social Services.

He believes he has learned to handle his frustration better now.

"It's odd," he mused, "How you can get used to people needing furniture—beds. You're just past it all."

Now, he said, he works on the assumption that when his clients need something, there is someplace he can get it—if not through the Department of Social Services, somewhere else.

In each case of need, he goes the route of every public or private resource he has learned of in his years of trying to provide for people who can't pay.

He does everything he can to teach his clients to take advantage of all the workings of the system to get what they need. Then, if everything fails, he is at least satisfied he has done his part to make it work. That way, he explained, he escapes the bitterness of acknowledging personal failure.

#### FRUSTRATION FOR ALL

All Department social workers, he said, suffer in some degree from his own sense of frustration, whether they are "client-oriented" or not.

"Even those who are just here to do the job," he said, "want to be able to do a decent job. Nobody wants to be a bad guy."

"I'm very pessimistic," he said. "It's going to get so much worse."

He reminisced briefly about his growing up as a welfare child—his inability to keep up with his schoolmates in clothes and style. He spoke of the high school teachers who took him aside and worked with him to raise his sights. Because of their extra time and work, he went on to college—the only child in his family to do that.

He doesn't believe many welfare kids in the Detroit schools get that kind of break.

He spoke of how he came into the welfare system to work, aware of the social worker's pitfalls—having seen them from the other side of the fence. He knew what he didn't want to be.

But he shook his head at the terrible, final futility of all his good intentions.

"I find myself," he said, "doing the things that were done to us."

#### WE CAN CLEAN UP THE WELFARE MESS

(By Helen Fogel)

Generally, we learn of the horror of our nation's welfare mess through statistics.

We learn that 6.3 percent of the population, or 13.5 million persons, are receiving welfare payments that cost the nation \$14.2 billion last year and that next year's cost will be even greater.

We learn that nationally seven out of 10 of the people on welfare are white, that in Michigan a family of four on welfare receives \$3,720 a year for personal and household needs compared with the Bureau of Labor Statistics lowest standard budget of \$4,922 a year.

We learn that the average time spent on welfare is 2.1 years.

If we would let them, the figures would tell us that we have failed.

We have failed both the poor and the taxpayer. Those who must foot the bill for the skyrocketing welfare costs are not getting results for their money.

Over the past five days, the Free Press has tried to present the welfare story in a different way—through the experiences of welfare recipients and case workers.

None of the four people, whose stories we have written, is on welfare because he or she wants it that way.

Anna, an ADC mother, had family problems and had to quit her job to care for her children. She had no marketable skills, and could not make a living wage if she went to work.

Honore is totally disabled, Joseph no longer has a trade and is unable to find an unskilled job.

Elinor, who was a computer punch-card operator, didn't work while she was married and now must get a training brush-up before she can get a job.

Michael Murphy, the welfare worker, explained the dilemma of the case worker, the middlemen in the mess. Pressured, hassled, overworked, some of them react by taking their frustrations out on the welfare clients. Almost all of them have to turn themselves off to the din of misery stories they hear constantly in order to function at all.

In the cases of Anna and Honore, we see the pressures poor families must cope with in a society where affluence is the norm. In the case of Elinor we see how much deprivation can effect a person's ability to function rationally.

If we are sensitive and thoughtful people, we know their problems are our problems because we have created a society where material things are a badge of worth and poverty is a badge of shame.

We have created a society where minorities and women do not have the same opportunities to learn and earn as white men. We have created a society which worships the young and the strong and would like to ignore the infirm, like a careless housewife sweeping the dirt under the rug.

Our poor come predominantly from these classifications, the old, the infirm, women and minorities.

It is unfair at this point to blame the poor for the monster, we, as a people, have created.

As philosopher cartoonist Walt Kelly wrote, "We have met the enemy and they is us."

The question must not be "Should we do something?"

The question must be "What will we do and how?"

The welfare system should not be reformed. It should be replaced.

We must design a system that is not a welfare system at all. We must design a system that is an income maintenance system as President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP) is at its best.

The only eligibility requirement should be lack of income at a certain level. The suggested FAP level is \$2,400 which critics say is too low.

The government should become an employer of last resort—provide work for those unemployed who are able to work, but such work should be paid at the minimum wage, not at the \$1.20 an hour suggested in current legislation—either FAP or the plan designed by Wilbur Mills.

To force the poor to work at less than the minimum wage is the rankest sort of discrimination and punitive action.

Besides it doesn't do the job. Even workers making the minimum wage are poor. They do not make in a year of 40-hour weeks more than the Social Security Administration's poverty line figure of \$3,960.

We must change the welfare system, because it's right that we do—because it is our mess and we have created it, and because it is our country and our future which is at stake.

#### PRIVATE BROADCASTERS UNDER ATTACK

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, another incident in the series of concerted attacks which seem to be designed to undermine the public confidence in free enterprise broadcasting occurred July 22, 1971.

A tax-free grant supported institution calling itself the Stern Community Law Firm has petitioned the FCC to force broadcast stations to disclose heretofore private yearly financial statements. Profit to people like the Sterns is immoral.

The next logical step is to force these broadcasters to disclose all of their activities, connected with broadcasting or not.

Such activities that follow the pattern established by the contrived uproar over the congressional attempt to cite CBS for contempt can only result in a public cry for nationalized broadcasting systems—one of the last steps that this country must take to reach total socialism.

I ask that a related news article detailing the filing of this petition by a firm operating under a \$150,000 tax-free grant from the Philips M. Stern Family Fund be inserted in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Star, July 22, 1971]  
**FORCE DISCLOSURE OF BROADCASTERS' FUNDS,  
 FCC URGED**

(By Stephen Aug)

A Washington public-interest law firm has urged the Federal Communications Commission to force broadcast station owners to disclose their heretofore private yearly financial statements.

The Stern Community Law Firm requested in a petition filed late yesterday at the FCC that the commission amend its rules to make annual financial reports public.

At the same time it proposed that the FCC also require broadcasters to state just how much money they are spending on various types of public service programming.

The firm argues that only through such information can the public determine whether a broadcaster is devoting adequate resources to operating his station in the public interest.

The proposed rule, which is likely to be strongly opposed by the broadcast industry, would also require each broadcaster to list separately programming expenditures for news, public affairs, locally produced programs and other non-entertainment programs.

#### OTHER GROUPS INVOLVED

The Stern Community Law Firm—which has been operating about a year largely through a \$150,000 grant from the Phillips M. Stern Family Fund—filed the petition in its name and on behalf of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting and The Citizens Communications Center, both Washington-based organizations involved in broadcast research, the media problem and activities at the FCC which include obtaining greater citizen participation in broadcasting.

In justifying the proposal, the petition notes that both the FCC and the courts have said that a broadcast station's performance should be measured at license-renewal time in substantial part by the extent to which it reinvests its profits and resources in locally oriented programming.

"Nevertheless, the commission rules have placed the financial information it receives in confidential status, hidden from public view," the petition says.

#### IMPORTANT YARDSTICK

As a result, community groups which want to evaluate the performance of their local stations at renewal time are told that one important yardstick of past performance is the station's dedication of profits and revenues to community-oriented programming.

"Yet, at the same time, they are told that the financial information by which that decision is measured is unavailable to them," the petition argues.

The FCC has made financial information available in the past, but only when it was convinced there were persuasive reasons for making it available. However, the Stern group notes that when this information "is occasionally and reluctantly released, it is provided in a form which does not reveal the actual extent to which stations devote their resources to specific programming categories—such as news, public affairs and other community service programs."

#### PREVIOUS REQUEST

The proposal follows by less than a week a request by the Stern firm for permission to inspect the annual financial reports of three major television stations in Albuquerque, (New Mexico)—KOB-TV, KOAT-TV, and KGGMTV.

In the New Mexico matter, the Stern firm is representing with out charge the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres, a New Mexico group whose stated aim is to eliminate discrimination against Mexican-Americans. It represents more than 3000 families, of whom

more than half earn less than \$3 thousand a year—the national poverty level minimum.

The move to seek the financial statements is likely in preparation to file petitions urging the FCC to deny license renewals to nearly every broadcast station in New Mexico. The Alianza believes that Albuquerque broadcasters in particular have not devoted enough of their time or resources to the problems of the Mexican-American population, the largest single minority group in New Mexico.

#### LEGISLATION TO AID SPONSORS OF NONPROFIT HOUSING

### HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation designed to provide the District government the tools to mount an attack on the severe housing crisis facing this city.

One of the most pressing problems facing the District of Columbia is the need for decent, safe, and sanitary housing for persons of low and/or moderate income. It has been estimated that over 100,000 families—one-third of the households of this city—live in dilapidated, overcrowded, or overpriced housing, of whom 51,600 consist of low- or moderate-income families that would qualify for housing construction under existing federally aided programs. The housing need in this city is not less than 10,000 new or rehabilitated housing units per year. Anything less than that will be inadequate because it will mean that in 10 years this city will still not have an adequate number of housing facilities. Right now, over 30,000 families are within the range of public housing which has a waiting list of over 5,000 applicants.

The Washington metropolitan area will need 270,000 units within the next 10 years if it is to meet the rise of population. There has been no progress toward that goal. Unless progress is realized, people will continue to live in overcrowded and substandard housing. At least 10 percent of the District's housing is overcrowded with more than 100,000 children growing up here under housing conditions which create psychological, social, and medical impairments that render home life all but absolutely intolerable.

The difficulty that has been faced in attempts to develop additional housing units for low- or moderate-income families under existing Federal mortgage programs has been the inability of potential nonprofit sponsors of such housing to obtain needed funds prior to construction so that such organizations can move forward with worthwhile housing plans. This legislation would create a revolving housing seed money fund from which nonprofit sponsors could borrow, with no interest, to defray preconstruction costs.

This city's housing crisis cannot be overstated. The development of new housing through nonprofit sponsors could make a significant contribution toward alleviation of the distressing housing conditions of many moderate-income persons and families. By establishing the

proposed revolving fund to provide preconstruction capital—"seed money"—for these sponsors, a beginning would be achieved in the direction of meeting these urgent needs.

I have set forth below a detailed analysis of the bill which was transmitted in a letter from the District government to the Speaker:

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,  
 Washington, D.C., January 26, 1971.

THE SPEAKER,  
 U.S. House of Representatives,  
 Washington, D.C.

My DEAR Mr. SPEAKER: The Commissioner of the District of Columbia has the honor to submit herewith a draft bill "To establish a revolving fund for the development of housing for low and moderate income persons and families in the District of Columbia, to provide for the disposition of unclaimed property in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes."

The proposed legislation is composed of two titles.

Title I, to be cited as the "District of Columbia Housing Seed Money Act", establishes a revolving fund consisting of appropriated monies, monies repaid to the fund, and sums from any other source, including monies from unclaimed intangible property in the custody of the District Government. These monies would be loaned to nonprofit housing sponsors for planning purposes. A more detailed summary and justification of this title of the bill is attached.

Title II, to be cited as the "District of Columbia Unclaimed Property Act", would adopt for the District of Columbia the Uniform Disposition of Unclaimed Property Act now effective in eighteen States. The legislation would make the Government of the District of Columbia the custodian of unclaimed intangible property in the District. A more detailed summary and justification for this title is also attached.

For the reasons stated in the attached justification the Commissioner of the District of Columbia urges the enactment of the bill by the Congress. The District of Columbia Council has expressed its support for this legislation.

Sincerely yours,

GRAHAM W. WATT,  
 Assistant to the Commissioner.  
 For: WALTER E. WASHINGTON,  
 Commissioner.

SUMMARY AND JUSTIFICATION OF PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT BILL "TO ESTABLISH A REVOLVING FUND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING FOR LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME PERSONS AND FAMILIES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO PROVIDE FOR THE DISPOSITION OF UNCLAIMED PROPERTY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES"

#### TITLE I—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOUSING SEED MONEY ACT

One of the most pressing problems now facing the District of Columbia is the need for decent, safe, and sanitary housing for persons of low or moderate income. An approach to providing such housing showing significant promise for alleviating the housing shortage for those most in need is through existing federally aided mortgage programs which enable nonprofit organizations to enter the housing development field. To some extent there has been encouraging activity in the District of Columbia on the part of nonprofit groups which indicates that through private initiative much can be accomplished in meeting these needs. Nevertheless, there is clearly an urgent demand for many additional housing units to be developed under the sponsorship of nonprofit organizations. It has been estimated that approximately 51,600 households in the District

consist of low or moderate income families that would qualify for housing constructed under existing federally aided programs. However, the difficulty that has been encountered in attempts to develop additional housing units for low or moderate income families, under the existing federal mortgage programs, has been the inability of potential nonprofit sponsors of such housing to obtain needed funds prior to construction so that such organizations can move forward with worthwhile housing plans. This inability to obtain so-called "seed money" frequently frustrates attempts to develop this vitally needed housing.

Section 101 of title I of the draft bill provides for a short title. Section 102 contains definitions.

Section 103 of title I establishes the District of Columbia Housing Revolving Fund. It provides for the payment into the fund of monies appropriated for that purpose; monies repaid to the fund by those receiving advances from the fund; and any sums made available for the fund from any other source. It also authorizes the Commissioner to deposit into the fund monies received pursuant to the proposed District of Columbia Unclaimed Property Act (title II of the bill). Such monies from dormant accounts are expected to provide a significant source of revenue for the proposed District of Columbia Housing Revolving Fund. Although no information is available at this time with respect to the amount of revenue such dormant accounts might produce, it is believed that they may provide sufficient sums for deposit in the revolving fund so that appropriations for the fund may not be necessary.

Section 104 authorizes the Commission to make noninterest bearing short-term advances to nonprofit housing sponsors for housing projects. Such advances may be used only to defray the preconstruction costs of such projects.

Section 105 authorizes the District of Columbia Council to make rules, regulations, and orders to carry out the purposes of the title. The final section of the title authorizes appropriations to carry out its purposes, to the extent there is need for such appropriations.

The housing crisis in the District cannot be overstated, and the development of new housing nonprofit sponsors under existing federally aided mortgage programs could make a large contribution toward alleviating the distressing conditions of law and moderate income persons and families. By establishing the proposed revolving fund to provide the preconstruction capital for such sponsors, a major step would be achieved in the direction of meeting these urgent needs.

#### TITLE II—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA UNCLAIMED PROPERTY ACT

Enactment for the District of Columbia of the 1966 revision of the Uniform Disposition of Unclaimed Property Act approved in 1955 by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and by the American Bar Association, already in effect in eighteen States either in its original form, or in the revised form, would provide a fair and adequate basis for dealing with the troublesome problem of unclaimed intangible property, such as dormant bank accounts, unclaimed funds held by life insurance companies, deposits and refunds held by utilities, undistributed dividends and distributions of business associations, property of business associations and banking or financial organizations held in the course of dissolution, property held by fiduciaries, property held by the courts and by public officers and agencies, and miscellaneous personal property held for another person. This title also deals with the matter of multiple liability on the part of a holder of unclaimed property over which two or more jurisdictions seek to assert a claim. Finally, the title makes it possible for those persons who have unclaimed property in their

possession to close out the account relating to it, thereby relieving themselves from maintaining a current record of the property.

The foregoing is not to say, however, that the owner of any such property would be deprived of his rights in it. The Uniform Disposition of Unclaimed Property Act is custodial in its nature, and its operation does not result in the loss of the property rights of the owner of the unclaimed property which is made subject to the provisions of the Act. Under title II, the District of Columbia would, after a specified period of time, take custody of the property and remain the custodian in perpetuity. This means, of course, that the District would have to keep a record of the property on a permanent basis, so that if the owner of the unclaimed property should present a claim for it, his claim would be honored. In this respect, the proposed legislation differs from the escheat type of statute, under which the right of the owner of the property is foreclosed.

Title II consists of thirty sections, the first two of which respectively provide for a short title and define terms. These are followed by sections defining and describing the circumstances under which various classes of property are to be presumed abandoned under the title. Separate sections deal with property held or owing by banks or other financial organizations, insurance corporations, public utilities, other business associations, trustees in corporate dissolution proceedings, fiduciaries, and courts and other public agencies. Section 210 is an omnibus section covering all other items held or owing "in the ordinary course of the holder's business." Section 211 is the key section of the title, for it contains the provisions which preclude the possibility of multiple liability being imposed upon the holder of unclaimed property against which two or more jurisdictions seek to assert a claim. The remaining sections of the title deal principally with procedural matters, including the reporting of unclaimed property, the giving of notice to owners, delivery of property into the custody of the District, and various provisions pursuant to which the owner may subsequently present his claim to the District and recover his property.

The proposed Uniform Disposition of Unclaimed Property Act, if enacted for the District of Columbia by the Congress, will serve to protect the interest of owners; relieve the holders of such property from annoyance, expense, and liability; preclude multiple liability on the part of the holders of such property; and give the District the use of considerable sums of money that otherwise will remain dormant and unproductive.

#### SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD FUNDING EXAMINED

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which recently appeared in the Washington Evening Star. This analysis of the Subversive Activities Control Board is worthy of every Member's attention and I believe it would be advisable for all to consider the arguments contained in this editorial before deciding on this important issue tomorrow. It follows:

#### FUNDED AND IMPOTENT

The Senate has come up with a masterpiece of illogic in its plans for the future of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

First, by a vote of 47 to 40, the senators defeated an amendment that would have killed the board by cutting off its funds. Then, by a vote of 51 to 37, they opted against expanding the board's powers as requested by President Nixon. This means, if the Senate has its way, that the board will continue to exist for at least one more year, that its five members will continue to draw \$36,000 salaries, that it will have \$450,000 to spend and that it will have nothing to do.

The legislators should have adopted the suggestion of Senators Proxmire and Ellender. They should have let the bureaucratic anachronism fade away along with the other memories of the witch-hunt years. But they didn't. And so the conference committee must now choose between the Senate version of the appropriation bill and the administration proposal, accepted by the House, that would expand the board's duties and responsibilities. Given those dismal alternatives, the committee should go along with the Senate.

That means that the taxpayers will be shelling out close to half a million dollars a year to maintain an organization that is approximately as effective as a stuffed dinosaur. On the other hand the alternative proposal of bringing the beast back to life is even less appealing.

The President's move to expand the board's activities to the investigation of all suspected subversive groups was an acknowledgment that times have changed since the days when Joseph McCarthy held the Senate and nation in thrall. Today there are other things to worry about in addition to Reds. There are nutty right-wing organizations, too, and some whose goal appears to be disruption and destruction without any discernible ideological alternative to the present system. But a witch hunt is not made more acceptable by adding demons and goblins to the game.

Subversion is now and always has been a threat. There are those who believe that bombing is a proper way to redress a grievance, that revolution and violence are the logical means of effecting change, that the rights of others are expendable. But there are laws. And there are law enforcement agencies on the local and federal levels that are trained and equipped to take action when specific laws are violated.

The surest way to fan the spark of revolution and violence is to over-react to the threat, to curb constitutional liberties in an attempt to maintain the status quo, to lose faith in the due process of law, to establish bureaucratic vigilante committees to inquire into the thoughts, the words and the associations of citizens of the United States.

#### AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED TO LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATIONS BILL FOR DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, mental retardation is one of our most neglected national problems, and the lack of trained personnel in this area keeps thousands of retarded children from achieving meaningful education and training for the difficult life which lies ahead of them.

The Labor-HEW appropriations bill, H.R. 10061, which will be considered on

the floor tomorrow, contains no money for the construction and operation of new university affiliated facilities for the mentally retarded, despite the fact that it is there that the best, most modern training can be obtained. Mrs. MINN, Mr. RYAN, and I intend to offer an amendment to the bill which would provide, in fiscal year 1972, \$10 million for operation and \$5 million for construction of such facilities.

Retarded children are a heavy financial burden on their families and on society. Compassion requires that we assume some responsibility for them. Our amendment, whose text I will include in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, is designed to help insure that there will be adequate facilities to train the personnel who can educate these children to take care of themselves and to assume a productive role in society. We hope that you will give it your full support.

The amendment follows:

H.R. 10061

Amendments to Title II to be proposed by Mrs. ABZUG:

Page 12, line 9: delete "\$266,704,000", insert "\$281,704,000."

Page 12, line 20: after "90-457)", add "; \$5,000,000 shall be available without fiscal year limitation for grants for construction of public and other nonprofit facilities for persons with developmental disabilities which are associated with a college or university, pursuant to section 121 of the Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Act (42 U.S.C. 2661); \$10,000,000 shall be available for grants to cover costs of administering and operating demonstration facilities and interdisciplinary training programs for personnel needed to render specialized services to persons with developmental disabilities, pursuant to section 122 of the Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Act (42 U.S.C. 2661a)";

#### WICKES CORP. SHARES IN A UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

### HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I bring to the attention of all Members a most unique business enterprise involving an American company, the Wickes Corp., with headquarters in our Eighth Congressional District, Saginaw, Mich., the Blood Indians of southern Alberta, Canada, and the Canadian Government. Formal dedication of a new housing plant at Standoff, Alberta, took place on July 10 with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Alberta Premier Harry Strom participating in the ceremonies, along with Wickes Board Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Daniel M. Fitz-Gerald; Chief Jim Shot Both Sides, chief of the Blood Indians; and Roman Catholic priest, Father Denis Chatain, industrial development coordinator for the unique project.

I intend to include at the close of my remarks a newspaper article by Business

Editor John D. Tucker of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich., of July 18, which provides all the details on the Kainai Industries Plant on the Blood Reserve. The plant will employ 250 when in full production and produce three sectional houses per day.

The uniqueness of this project is not that it just involves an American company, the Blood Indians and the Canadian Government, but that labor actually hired management.

Officially, Red Crow Developments is the corporation representing the 4,500 Blood people on the 352,000-acre reserve. They are part of the Blackfoot Confederacy. The agreement was signed with HaiCo Manufacturing of the nearby community of Lethbridge, a Wickes subsidiary. Red Crow Developments financed and owns the fixed assets of the \$1.4 million plant and HaiCo provided the \$1 million of operating capital. Together they formed Kainai Industries.

Canadian governmental agencies, both on the Federal and Provincial levels, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provided incentive grants and loans to Red Crow Developments to complete a joint effort.

I also share the comment made by Mr. Fitz-Gerald who said that the project could be the forerunner of other self-help projects in both Canada and the United States. I have taken the liberty of writing to Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton to determine if this type of cooperative venture could be applicable for our own American Indians residing on reservations.

The complete article follows:

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, July 18, 1971]

#### WICKES, INDIANS NEW PLANT LINKS

(By John D. Tucker)

Formal dedication of a new plant at Standoff, Alta., has focused attention on a unique agreement between Saginaw-based Wickes Corp. and the Blood Indians of southern Alberta.

Highlighting the recent event was the presence of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Alberta Premier Harry Strom.

Kainai Industries plant at Standoff is on the Blood Reserve. It covers 80,000 square feet, is owned by the Blood people and employs 100 Indians in the manufacture of sectional housing. It will employ 250 when in full production and provide Standoff and the area a \$1 million annual payroll.

Production, now at one house a day, is expected to exceed three a day later this year. All production has been sold for the next three years.

Officially, Red Crow Developments is the corporation representing the 4,500 Blood people on the 352,000-acre reserve. They are part of the Blackfoot Confederacy. The agreement was signed with HaiCo Manufacturing of nearby Lethbridge, a Wickes subsidiary. Red Crow Developments financed and owns the fixed assets of the \$1.4 million plant and HaiCo provided the \$1 million of operating capital. Together they formed Kainai Industries.

More importantly, and what makes the operation unique, labor hired management.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion provided \$876,000 in the form of a regional incentive grant to Kainai Industries and Blood people also provided a loan of \$410,000 to Red Crow Developments for fi-

nancing the plant. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provided a loan of \$694,000.

The Kainai board is made up of three representatives of Red Crow Developments and three from HaiCo. Manufacturing, Todd Halbeck, president of HaiCo Manufacturing, Ltd. is also president of Kainai.

The Blood People provided the initiative for the plant through establishment of an Economic and Industrial Development Committee. The committee hired a Roman Catholic Priest, Father Denis Chatain, as industrial development coordinator.

Said Father Chatain, "We have many places in Canada where manufacturing plants have been established on reserves but this is the first time where the Indian people will own the fixed assets and are in effect hiring the management of the plant."

In working with HaiCo, the Bloods are dealing with a firm whose parent company, Wickes, has been in business for more than 100 years. Wickes has mobile home manufacturing plants in seven states and is the largest distributor of building material in the world.

Since Kainai went into production, a supermarket has been opened by the Blood people on the reserve and the Bank of Nova Scotia has opened a branch at Standoff, the first on an Alberta Indian reserve.

Prime Minister Trudeau, making his first visit to the area, received an enthusiastic welcome by the several thousand spectators who swarmed about his helicopter as it landed in the prairie country.

The prime minister toured the plant before making his way to the speakers' platform in front of the plant. He greeted workers as he made his way through the sectional home assembly line, stopping to ask questions and taking time to commend the individual Blood Indians at their jobs.

Speaking without a prepared text, the prime minister congratulated the Bloods for their initiative. He termed it a demonstration of cooperation among the people, the government and industry.

He delighted the group with his informal speech and a keen sense of humor. When Fr. Chatain made the inevitable adjustment of the microphones, the prime minister turned to him with a smile and asked, "Are you trying to hide my face?"

Earlier, while donning a hard hat for the factory tour, he took the hat from an Indian and commented, "Perhaps I should have a feather in it."

Chief Jim Shot Both Sides, who has headed the Blood people for 14 years (his father was chief for 42 years) called Kainai Industries "a wonderful reality".

He said, "It demonstrates that there are many ways for us to become masters of our own destiny. It has given new life to many Blood Indians and deeply affected the lives of all of us. It has also affected the lives of Indian groups across Canada because if we can do it, so can they."

Kainai did more than give the reserve a plant. Because of Kainai, basic services were brought to Standoff—water, sewer, industrial power, natural gas, telephones. What's more, 35 new homes have been completed, there is a new recreation center, a kindergarten is under construction and an elementary school is planned. There are also the supermarket, the bank, a post office and snack bar.

This fall a shopping center will be built. It will also house new tribal administration offices, a public health clinic, a medical-dental clinic, a restaurant, Blackfoot Radio and Kainai News for the Indian news media and a junior department store.

Chief Jim Shot Both Sides said, "we seek out companies who are willing to provide management training and expertise while we maintain ownership and control. Kainai Industries is totally owned by the Blood

Tribe. Management is provided by contract with HaiCo. As our people acquire management skills, HaiCo Manufacturing will phase out. This is not a vague promise. It is the very basis of our management agreement with HaiCo.

"We are proud", the chief said, "of our association with the business world. Together we have opened new doors. We are proud to call you our friends."

Premier Strom also commended the project.

Wickes Board Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Daniel M. Fitz-Gerald also spoke.

"Although we represent two sides of a national border," he said, "our interests are the same—the success of Kainai Industries."

He said the operation at Standoff served a social as well as economic need.

"The initiative exhibited by the Blood Indians in this enterprise indicates, even at this early date, that this kind of project is practical, that it is meaningful and that it will succeed.

"This enterprise is unique in Canadian and United States industrial history. The transition by the Blood Indians from welfare to employment has resulted in, what Father Chatain has very aptly called, a 'positive revolution of hope.'"

Fitz-Gerald said Kainai Industries had a third partner in the Federal and Provincial governments, "without whose dedication and cooperation we would not be here today."

He said the project could be the forerunner of other self help projects in both Canada and the U.S.

Kainai is also unusual in that it offered a working situation to people who had never had one before; men in their 50's having a work situation for the first time in their life.

Philip Aberdeen, who checks on training and on absenteeism, also a Blood, attributes most absenteeism to drinking.

"Monday is bad," he said. "On an average Monday, absenteeism will average 10 with the highest hitting 19."

He thinks the plant is "really good. It is very bad for us people with our education, but we have young people getting more schooling . . . our aim is to cut down on welfare. We have to do it."

Aberdeen feels alcoholism is more prevalent among the younger Bloods who feel hopeless. "They feel," he said, "they are nothing, no schooling, no training."

Larry Rabbit, 28, is an electrician apprentice. Both he and his wife, Patsy, work for Kainai. She runs the cafeteria.

"It is a great opportunity for us," said Rabbit. "Me, I've got a trade going."

He said the plant was something the Blood people needed.

"It is my feeling," he said "it is the best thing that ever happened."

Rabbit has his own home. He paid \$12,000 for it about five years ago.

"I have 20 years to pay for it," he said. He is grazing 80 head of cattle with his father. Rabbit has two sections of land while his father, Bill Rabbit, farms more than 300 acres.

His children go to school at Fort McLeod although the youngest—5 years old—went half days to Cardston, some 45 miles from home.

"It was pretty rough on a 5 year old," he said, "and in the winter she only went about twice a week. This year she goes fulltime, making the 90 mile round trip daily.

Mrs. Florence Scout, a home visitor employed by Kainai, visits the wives of employees and looks for domestic problems.

"I think the plant is great," she said. "It gives the guys a chance to get a job. We have more than 100 employees and they are building nice homes."

Mrs. Scout has two children and her husband, Wallace, farms 270 acres. They also have a half section of grassland for haying.

Sturdy, friendly 70-year old Eli Walter from a nearby Hutterite colony has high praise for the new industry.

"I know half the Indians," he said. "They are all good. That Plant is all right."

His colony of 99 people occupies 10,000 acres. All goods are owned in common.

#### GEORGE H. BLACK

#### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention yet another installment in the continuing saga of George H. Black, the world's foremost brickmaker and one of my most famous constituents.

As many Members of this House will recall, Mr. Black made a name for himself several months ago when CBS News correspondent Charles Kuralt found him, at age 92, busily at work behind his house in Winston-Salem, making bricks.

Mr. Black's unusual talent was the subject of a feature on the CBS Evening News, and the gentleman was shortly thereafter summoned to the White House by President Nixon.

The President offered Mr. Black a diplomatic mission to the developing nation of Guyana, and George Black became Ambassador Black, brickmaker extraordinaire. He was given the job of helping the Guyanese learn the art of brickmaking as part of their growing development program.

As I reported to my colleagues some time ago, Mr. Black's diplomatic assignment was a complete success. He won the respect of thousands of Guyanese and dined regularly with that nation's Prime Minister.

Back in the United States now, Mr. Black continues to pile honor upon honor. The North Carolina Brick & Tile Service, Inc., last month inducted Mr. Black as an honorary life member of their organization in ceremonies in Winston-Salem.

I know my colleagues in this Chamber wish to join me in congratulating Mr. Black for this latest of many awards, and we wish for him continued success in his notable endeavors.

At this time, I insert in today's RECORD an article from the June 25, 1971, edition of the Winston-Salem Journal, reporting on Mr. Black's recent award and on his future plans. The article follows:

#### WINSTON-SALEM'S BEST-KNOWN BRICK-MAKER GETS NEW HONOR

George H. Black, Winston-Salem's 92-year-old brick-maker, says more pictures have been made of him recently than "anyone in the world." And another was made yesterday as he received another award.

The North Carolina Brick and Tile Service, Inc., a clay products promotional organization, inducted Black as an honorary life member at a luncheon meeting at the Holiday Inn North.

Black was given a plaque and certificate of membership. The man who has shaken hands with President Nixon and dined regularly with the prime minister of Guyana thanked

the group and said he would like to see them in heaven.

"You folks have treated me with no mind about black and white, and that's what I think heaven will be like," he said.

He and his granddaughter, Miss Evelyn Abrams, watched as a CBS News film narrated by Charles Kuralt was shown. The film shows Black at his brickyard behind his home on Dellabrook Road, Black walking by buildings in Old Salem made with his bricks, and Black explaining how he and his brother walked from their home in Liberty to Winston-Salem in 1889.

Kuralt spent a week with Black in Guyana and filmed a second story on the South American trip which probably will be shown as a half-hour special this summer.

Black's fame has grown so in the last year that orders for bricks have begun pouring in to Winston-Salem. One prominent colonial-style architect has requested several thousand bricks for his next building.

Black talked about his goodwill mission to Guyana, sponsored a few months ago by the Agency for International Development. "I never seen a place that needs more bricks," he said. "And the women learned how to make bricks faster than the men."

Black, his granddaughter and two assistants spent March and April in the tiny banana republic on the north coast of South America. The country builds its buildings with lumber, and Black and his helpers supervised the building of one brick works and picked the sites for two more.

Black and his assistants are repairing his mud mill which has not been used for about a year, because four men from Guyana will be coming to Winston-Salem in a few weeks for more training in the art of brickmaking.

Black uses a cane to walk, but his desire to travel has never been bigger.

"I might go back to Guyana next December," he said. "It don't get cold down there, and I can help the people learn brickmaking all winter long."

#### THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Northern Ireland continues to serve as an insult to free people the world over. The denial of basic rights to the minority in Northern Ireland must stop. I have introduced a resolution expressing the sense of Congress in support of a plebiscite of all Irishmen to permit them to determine their own future.

I am inserting at this point in the RECORD an article from the Irish Independent dated July 19, 1971. I know my colleagues will find the information reported therein most shocking:

#### "A CAMPAIGN OF TERROR"

(By Martin Brennan)

Residents in Catholic areas in Derry are locking their doors in fear of the soldiers of the Royal Scots Regiment who have been accused of "carrying out a carefully-calculated campaign to outrage the Catholic community."

Last night S.D.L.P. M.P. Mr. Ivan Cooper, attacked the troops of this regiment for their vicious conduct and language.

The first daylight searches of houses the Creggan area began over the weekend and

these were followed by angry confrontations between the soldiers and residents.

Eye witnesses said they saw soldiers spitting at Catholics and there were numerous complaints that the soldiers used vulgar, foul and filthy language against the residents, the Pope and girls living in the estate.

Mr. Cooper, who has a dossier of complaints and has visited all the searched houses, said last night that as many as 20 homes were searched and at least one house was damaged. Articles were taken from other houses.

He accused them of driving their Saracen armoured cars and Landrovers recklessly through the streets of the Creggan estate without care for playing children.

He also demanded to know if, in fact, the soldiers were out of control, and recalled that early yesterday a stone was thrown at him by a British soldier.

Since the "Jocks" arrived in Derry, a double line of fortifications has been strung around the Bligh's Lane Army post and with their base secure from attackers the troops are now patrolling the streets carrying rifles and sub-machine guns.

Mr. Cooper has called for the evacuation of the Bligh's Lane post by the British Army.

"This is a planned campaign on the part of the Army or else the troops are out of control," he said.

"Yesterday morning workers entering the Essex factory at Bligh's Lane were stoned again by the Scots.

"This is nothing, other than provocation and I have got the impression that the British soldiers are trying to provoke another Sharpville."

At the weekend when Mr. Cooper, Father M. Rooney, the priest in charge at Creggan, and leaders of youth clubs and tenant associations in Creggan, went on a deputation to the Army they were refused a hearing and told to make their complaints through the proper machinery—the R.U.C.

The complaints have now been reported to a Chief Superintendent of the R.U.C. in Derry.

#### FEDERALIZING STATE JUVENILE COURTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, judicial tyranny under the guise of "judicial reform" in this country has taken another giant step down the road to absolute Federal control of independent State judicial systems through a dialog leading

to a uniform code of laws and standardized judicial procedures for juvenile courts.

The implications of the announcement of the creation of a "justice" panel that would "seek to formulate national standards of justice for those under 18 years of age" are shocking.

The problems faced by the youth of New York City are not the same as those faced by the young people of a small country town. To attempt to impose a "national standard of justice" through uniform codes of law and standardized judicial procedures on young people from which such radically different environments is absurd unless we are ready to admit our children are no better than robots.

I include a news article from the New York Times on Monday, July 26, 1971, at this point in the RECORD.

#### TWENTY-SEVEN APPOINTED TO JUSTICE PANEL: TO ADVISE ON A 1-YEAR U.S. STUDY OF JUVENILE COURTS

The names of the 27 persons—judges, lawyers, public officials and others—who will serve on an advisory committee for a one-year study of juvenile justice to be coordinated by the Institute of Judicial Administration were made public yesterday.

The project was announced in June by Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who said it would seek to formulate national standards of justice for those under 18 years of age. It will be financed by a \$164,341 grant from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

The institute, in announcing the names of the advisers, said in a statement:

"Recidivism among juveniles is discouragingly high. According to one source, 74 per cent of juveniles found guilty of an offense will later be rearrested. Critics of the present juvenile system argue that rather than rehabilitating youthful offenders, the system is creating future criminals."

#### "BASIS FOR MODEL CODES"

The statement noted that "public concern about crime and the availability of Federal funds make this an excellent time to start significant reforms in court proceedings as well as such important related areas as police and correctional practices." It went on:

"The standards which result from this project would provide the basis for model codes and administrative guidelines for such diverse topics as the selection and training of judges and other criminal justice personnel, the role of prosecutors and defense attorneys, probation and parole procedures, diversion of cases for nonjudicial treatment, and correctional programs."

The chairmen of the advisory committee are Roger M. Blough, the president of the Institute of Judicial Administration, and Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

The other committee members are: Judges Florence Kelley and Nanette Dembitz of the New York Family Court; Deputy N.Y.C. Police Commissioner Theresa Melchionne;

Arthur Zitrin, a professor of psychiatry at New York University;

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, former United States Attorney General and now the general counsel to the I.B.M. Corporation;

Allen Breed, director of the California Youth Authority;

Justice William H. Erickson of the Colorado Supreme Court;

Judge William Fort of the Oregon Appeals Court;

William T. Gossett of Detroit, former president of the American Bar Association;

Erwin N. Griswold, United States Solicitor General;

Patrick Healy of Chicago, the executive director of the National Association of District Attorneys;

John Irving, the director of the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission;

Jacob Isaacs of New York, the chairman of the American Bar Association's section on family law;

Judge Norman H. Johnson of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia;

Norman Lefstein, the deputy director of the District of Columbia public defender agency;

Judge James Lincoln of the Detroit Probate Court;

Richard Lindsey, the chairman of the Pennsylvania Board of probation and parole;

Judge Sam P. McKenzie, of the Georgia Superior Court;

Monrad Paulsen, dean of the law school of the University of Virginia;

Cecile Pool of San Francisco, chairman of the American Bar Association's section on individual rights;

Milton Rector of Paramus, N.J., executive director of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency;

Mrs. Margaret Rosenheim, professor of social service administration at the University of Chicago;

Ivan Scheler, a psychologist, of Boulder, Colo.;

Daniel Skoler of Washington, the staff director of the American Bar Association's commission on correctional facilities and service;

Robert Switzer, a psychiatrist at the Menninger Clinic, Topeka, Kans.;

Mrs. Patricia Wald, a lawyer and a member of the Center for Law and Social Policy, Washington.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, July 27, 1971

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*My soul, wait thou only upon God: For my expectation is from Him.—Psalm 62: 5.*

Eternal God, our Father, who art the source of wisdom, power and love, whose mercy is over all Thy works and whose will is ever directed to Thy children's good, grant that with increasing faith in Thee we may find light to lead us, strength to sustain us and spirit to steady us in the midst of the swiftly moving scenes of these days.

CXVII—1718—Part 21

Bless thou our country with the power of Thy presence—our leaders in church, in state, in court, in business, in labor, and all our people that we may stand before the world as a nation devoted to righteousness and justice, to truth and good will.

In the mood of the Master 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 without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 4762. An act to amend section 5055 of title 38, United States Code, in order to extend the authority of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to establish and carry out a program of exchange of medical information.