ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1971, AT 11 A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 a.m. on Monday.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, August 2, 1971, at 11 a.m.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PATRIOTISM

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Virginia Gazette, of Williamsburg, Va., has published a fine statement on patriotism written by Mr. Richard E. Baughman, editor of the magazine "Rural Living."

The statement makes the important point that if we are to foster patriotism in the Nation, all citizens must realize that they have both rights and responsibilities. I think this is a point which needs emphasizing today.

The Ruritan Clubs of the Chesapeake District of Virginia sponsored "Salute to America" programs on the State Capitol grounds in Richmond on the 4th of July both in 1970 and 1971. These programs, which are mentioned in Mr. Baughman's statement, had the purpose of giving each citizen a chance to demonstrate his patriotism. I commend the Chesapeake District Ruritans for their splendid action.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Baughman's statement be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Virginia Gazette, Friday, July 30, 1971]

THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA

American society seems to have very few patriots in the old sense of the word. Too few people today fit the mold of Nathan Hale and John Paul Jones and even the late Audie Murphy. It seems out of fashion to be patriotic and wave the flag. We have too many critics among ourselves who make mockery of our patriotism. So, thus we stew and waste our energies against ourselves.

The reasons for our fractured society are complicated and diverse, but they all add up to one inescapable flaw. Americans today have lost that sense of unity and common purpose. We need a feeling of oneness that will bind us together.

We have settled our land and fought our wars; and we have achieved the distinction of the number one nation in the world. We have done more good for more people than any other nation in the history of the world, but in the process we have created problems which have caused an increasing number of Americans to turn their backs on our shores and migrate to new lands.

Our courts seem not to work properly under modern pressures, and our legal processes are so cumbersome that we often seem to be giving aid and comfort to our very enemies. We seem like middle-aged parents who stand and wring their hands in dismay because their teen-aged son has not lived up to expectations.

The paramount problem before America is America itself. We have lost the dream that led us through the years, and now we flounder in a sea of frustration. Our domestic criminals assault us on our streets, while our foreign ones taunt us in every conceivable manner, and our young even fly the flag of our opponents.

America needs goals which will recapture the imagination of our people—meaningful goals that will provide a sense of hope and justice for all our citizens. Only hope and faith in the future can reunite our society.

Nothing succeeds like success. No matter if it be football, business, or government, there is pride in being number one. We are number one now, but to remain there we must be more demanding of our citizens.

We must demand that laws be fair, but that they be obeyed. We must demand that all citizens have both rights and responsibilities. We must demand that our government be responsive to the needs of our country. And finally, we must demand that each of us have the moral courage to stand up and be counted in defense of our country. As individuals we may be weak, but in unity toward a common goal there is strength.

The Ruritan Clubs of the Chesapeake District are leading the way in a renewed interest in patriotism. Last Independence Day, and again this 4th of July, the Ruritans presented a Salute to America program on the state capitol grounds in Richmond, Va. The purpose of the program was to voice support of America and to give the individual citizen a chance to demonstrate his patriotism.

To maintain the greatness of America, we individual citizens must be united in a common love for our homeland; for despite the faults and shortcomings, America stands head and shoulders above the rest of the world. United, we can make this Union live up to its potential greatness; and then respect will follow our actions as surely as night follows day.

RUSSIANS GAIN IN MEDITERRANEAN

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, while many in Washington discuss what they call a "reordering" of our priorities, by which they mean, essentially, a cut in defense spending and the transferring of defense funds to such domestic areas as pollution, housing, and education, the fact is that our strategic position in the world is rapidly deteriorating. In no part of the world is this deterioration more evident and more shocking than in the Middle East.

How we can fulfill our commitment to defend the integrity of Israel at the same time that the Russians are gaining ascendancy in the entire Mediterranean area is a question which the advocates of lower defense spending and strategic preparedness have yet to answer.

That our position in the Mediterranean is in a serious state of decline is beyond question. In an important report in the July 19, 1971, issue of Newsweek magazine, Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave states that—

There is no question in my mind that the Russians see America's loss of taste for international leadership as the opportunity to become the dominant power in the Mediterranean and, ultimately, in the entire Eurasian land mass and adjacent oceans.

Looking forward to the possible "Finlandization" of all of Western Europe, Mr. de Borchgrave points out:

With the proliferation of Soviet power in the Mediterranean and along Europe's oil supply routes, Moscow hopes to discourage a separate European defense effort as futile, thereby encouraging a trend toward West European neutralism.

Looking to the future, and aware of the danger of the growing neo-isolationism in the United States, not only among the new left but even among more allegedly responsible spokesmen, Mr. de Borchgrave notes:

The combination of neo-isolationism in the U.S. and neutralism in Europe could be the mix that removes the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean without a shot being fired.

Because of their fear of an imminent American withdrawal from the Mediterranean, the Newsweek editor reports:

Even Franco Spain and the colonels in Greece are doing what they can to improve relations with Moscow. For by conveying the impression that over the next few years domestic affairs will enjoy priority over foreign affairs, America is, in effect, telling Moscow: "This is your round in the Mediterranean. Make the most of it."

Our Government cannot be both sincere in its commitment to Israel and our NATO allies in the Mediterranean and be equally committed to the kind of "reordering" of priorities which places defense in a lesser position. At some point, a real choice must be made.

I wish to share Mr. de Borchgrave's article with my colleagues, and insert it in the RECORD at this time:

A MEDITERRANEAN TIDE RUNS FOR THE RUSSIANS

(By Arnaud de Borchgrave)

Aboard the U.S.S. Springfield last week, a young naval intelligence officer could hardly contain his admiration for the latest Soviet warships steaming in the Mediterranean Sea. "That's a beauty," he said, pointing to a photographic blowup of a Kresta-class guided-missile cruiser. "There's nothing like it on our side." Standing nearby, Vice Admiral Isaac C. Kidd, the commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, readily agreed. "A humdinger," he said of the Soviet ship. "Only 3,500 tons. But it's got the punch of a pocket battleship."

Nowadays, the Soviet Union packs quite a wallop in the Mediterranean. On a typical day last week, the wall-to-wall situation room (map) at NATO's surveillance headquarters in Naples bristled with symbols for Soviet men-o'-war: 55 versus 44 in the Sixth Fleet (map). And Russian political influence in the strategically important inland sea has grown apace with its fleet. Last week, the Kremlin dispatched Ambassador Mikhail Smirnovsky to the Maltese capital of Valletta in hopes of securing an embassy in the one-

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

time British possession. Both British and American spokesmen professed to see no threat to the NATO installation on Malta, doubting that its newly elected leftist Premier will turn over those naval facilities to the Russians. But there was no mistaking their fear—expressed also by Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan last week—that the successful Soviet penetration of the Mediterranean is bringing about a fundamental change in the balance of power in the area.

There is no question in my mind that the Russians see America's loss of taste for international leadership as the opportunity to become the dominant power in the Mediterranean and, ultimately, in the entire Eurasian land mass and adjacent oceans.

U.S. admirals in the Mediterranean claim to be confident that, in the event of a military showdown, the Sixth Fleet could still overwhelm the Soviet fleet and fulfill its "second strike" nuclear mission against assigned targets in East Europe and southern Russia. This claim to naval superiority is evidently based on the American fleet's two aircraft carriers, ships whose firepower the Soviet fleet cannot match on a ship-to-ship basis. But it is worth remembering that the newly installed Russian tactical air force in Egypt—which has recently been dug into 220 hardened sites—can fly cover for the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean and, if need be, attack the U.S. flattops. Moreover, some military experts are convinced that the two U.S. carriers have already been effectively neutralized by the latest Soviet guided-missile cruisers to arrive in the sea. Finally, the ships of the U.S. fleet are of much older vintage than the Russian vessels, and at the present rate of deployment, these experts believe, the Soviet Mediterranean fleet will clearly surpass the American armada in potency by mid-1972.

In the eyes of West Europeans, this expansion of Soviet power is directly related to critical changes in the American home front. The Europeans realize that the bitter taste of the Vietnam war has soured the U.S. on overseas commitments, and they are coming to believe that they may soon have to fend for themselves. But with the proliferation of Soviet power in the Mediterranean and along Europe's oil-supply routes, Moscow hopes to discourage a separate European defense effort as futile, thereby encouraging a trend toward West European neutralism. The combination of neo-isolationism in the U.S. and neutralism in Europe could be the mix that removes the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean without a shot being fired.

Raymond Cartier, one of Europe's most widely respected journalists, recently wrote: "America has given Europe a quarter of a century of invulnerability but Europe has not had the foresight to transfer some of its opulence to the problem of its own security. The withdrawal of American forces in the relatively near future is a certainty. The Mediterranean is now blanketed by Soviet naval power lapping against Europe's southern coastline. The northern front has also been outflanked by the same Soviet naval power reaching into the Atlantic."

DISARRAY

If Europe existed as more than a geographic expression, there might be an alternative to U.S. power. But many countries that now might wish to reduce their dependence on one or the other of the two superpowers regretfully conclude that there will be no European alternative for a long time to come. The European monetary union project, a prerequisite for an integrated European defense community, was dealt yet another blow in the Franco-German summit meeting last week when Chancellor Willy Brandt and President Georges Pompidou failed to reach agreement on the status of the floating Deutsche mark (page 69). This kind of European disarray, coupled with the fact that the U.S. is already in retreat—at least psychologically—means that things will continue to go Russia's way in an area of vital concern to the entire Western world.

Many Western officials and commentators, convinced that gunboat diplomacy is dead in an age of multi-headed nuclear missiles, have dismissed the Soviet effort in the Mediterranean as wasteful and useless. But the Soviets know better. When Egyptian President Anwar Sadat purged pro-Soviet plotters from his entourage two months ago, Moscow managed to more than offset its losses; it swiftly extracted from Sadat a new fifteen-year treaty that tied Egypt even closer to the Soviet Union. Among the many reasons that led Sadat to sign the treaty, presumably one was his belief that the massive Soviet presence in the Mediterranean was visible proof of Moscow's commitment to the Arab cause.

VACUUM

The same kind of gunboat diplomacy, Europeans fear, might be used in countries all along the North African and European littorals of the Mediterranean in the years to come. Nonalignment is tantamount to a power vacuum in the Soviet book, and with the withdrawal of Western influence from North Africa, the Soviets are making a determined effort to move in. Morocco, the last remaining monarchy in North Africa, is ripe for revolution—as last week's attempt to remove King Hassan showed—and the Soviets would be happy to help. Europe-oriented Tunisia, squeezed between revolutionary regimes in Algeria and Libya—and heavily dependent on ailing President Habib Bourguiba—would be another likely target.

This Soviet power in the Mediterranean basin will also make itself felt in the critically important Persian Gulf area once the Suez Canal is reopened. The gulf area supplies 60 per cent of West Europe's and 90 per cent of Japan's fuel needs. The British are phasing out of the gulf later this year and the U.S. has no intention—or desire—to fill the power gap. Moreover, London's plan for a gulf federation has collapsed and the oil sheikdoms are about to opt for independence. "A few modern Soviet warships calling regularly at these ports and entertaining impressionable sheiks will work miracles," a longtime gulf resident told me. "Especially if there is no countervailing U.S. force."

It won't be long before the sheiks realize where the real power lies. The Soviets already have twenty new warships on station in the Indian Ocean (as against two U.S. ships). Anticipating the reopening of the Suez Canal, they have also just completed construction of a new naval base at Port Sudan on the Red Sea (in return for free MIG's and tanks for the Sudanese), halfway between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Should the Soviets successfully expand their Mediterranean presence into this part of the world, they would be able to exercise additional political leverage on Western Europe by controlling its sources of oil.

DEDENTE

No one suggests that the Soviets don't have a right to be in the Mediterranean in whatever force they wish, and in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf for that matter. But what is needed is a credible countervailing force. Instead, America is pulling out, and Europe is dithering. In the past five years, NATO forces in Central Europe have been allowed to run down by 25 per cent (including the loss of 500 aircraft). During the same time, Soviet forces alone, on the same front, have increased by six divisions. Despite U.S. pledges to maintain and improve its strength in Europe, it was revealed two weeks ago that two Air Force squadrons were pulled out of Europe in 1970 without a word being said to America's European allies. "The very prospects of détente," commented the outgoing NATO civilian chief, Manlio Brosio, last week, "have created a climate in Western opinion in favor of unilaterally reducing NATO force levels." Moscow, of course, remains unencumbered by the restraints of public opinion, and whenever anyone in the West tries to halt the drift toward a lax defense posture, the Russians fire off accusations that such talk impedes détente.

Even more important than Soviet intentions, however, is the American trend toward introspection and isolation. "The steady encroachment of Congress on the President's ability to conduct foreign policy," one of Europe's leading policymakers told me recently, "means that a formal pledge isn't what it used to be." Moreover, the release of the Pentagon papers has, in a sense, vindicated those in the U.S. who regard power politics as evil and un-American. But that doesn't mean that the power realities will oblige us by simply disappearing.

Under these circumstances, Europeans are keeping their options open. Even Franco Spain and the colonels in Greece are doing what they can to improve relations with Moscow. For by conveying the impression that over the next few years domestic affairs will enjoy priority over foreign affairs, America is, in effect, telling Moscow: "This is your round in the Mediterranean. Make the most of it." It is an absolute certainty that the Russians will do just that.

SOVIET EXPANSION

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, U.S. News and World Report of July 26, 1971, contained a realistic assessment of the Soviet Union's continuing drive for global conquest. There are many who account for the lack of appropriate U.S. response to this fast-moving expansion as simply the Chief Executive's thinking that he will not be able to secure the congressional support necessary to successfully counter the Soviets.

After a close reading of the state of the world message, delivered last February by the President, it is possible to account for the lack of U.S. response in another way. On page 123 of this policy the President says—

> Historically, international adversaries have demonstrated a compulsion to seek every gain, however marginal, at the expense of their competitors. In this classical competition, the accumulation of gains over a period of time could alter the balance of power. This may have been realistic in the past; at least it was the essence of international affairs. But it is folly for the nuclear powers to conduct their policies in this manner. For if they succeed, it can only result in confrontation and potential catastrophe.

In other words, the President is saying that the incremental advances of the Soviet Union are really nothing to worry about. The balance of power cannot be altered by piecemeal expansion and incremental accumulation of geopolitical gains. It is obvious that the Soviets do not accept this 20th century foreign policy application of a fallacy commented upon by Plato. Plato said:

> The mind is deceived, as in the fallacy which says that "if each part is little, then the whole is little." And this is true in one way, but not in another, for the whole and the all are not little, although they are made up of littles.

Is there anyone who cannot understand that marginal gains made by the Soviets, such as a nuclear submarine base in Cuba, airbases on the northern lit-

toral of Africa menacing the 6th Fleet, a pro-Soviet Government in Chile, and so forth, are not important? Can anyone fail to grasp the menace posed to the United States by incremental advances of this type? Is there anyone who cannot see that the balance of power can be drastically and irrevocably altered by continuing Soviet advances of this type?

The article from U.S. News and World Report follows:

RUSSIA'S "GAME PLAN": HAS IT REALLY CHANGED?

Of all long-range worries confronting U.S., it's the Soviet Union that is far and away No. 1. A close look at Russia's latest moves makes it clear that Kremlin has never deviated from its drive for world supremacy.

Ever since World War II, Russia has been investing billions of dollars a year in promoting strife and revolution around the world, hoping to profit from resulting disruption and destruction.

All the while, other tens of billions annually have gone into building up the Soviet war machine—matching the U.S. in nuclear striking power, expanding Russian naval fleets, modernizing Soviet armies.

Over the years, that massive effort hardly seemed to be paying off for the Kremlin.

American military might thwarted Joseph Stalin's aims in Korea. Later, in 1962, Nikita Khrushchev was forced to back away and abandon plans to transform Cuba into an atomic-missile base. Soviet power plays in the Congo and Ghana went down the drain. Russia's plot to dominate Indonesia was crushed.

SHATTERED HOPES

The split with Red China shattered Soviet hopes to create a monolithic Communist empire of more than 1 billion people. Trouble for Russia soon erupted in East Germany, then Hungary, and later in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In a bid for power in the Mideast, Russia gambled billions on arms for Egypt. It all went up in smoke when Israel swept to victory in the Six Day War of June, 1967.

Question in the West was: Would Moscow continue to play this barren game, or would Soviet signals be switched?

The answer is now clear.

Russia never deviated from its "game plan." And today, Moscow is starting to show different results.

The map on page 19 (not printed in RECORD) gives graphic indication of how widespread Russian influence now is. A global map drawn at the end of World War II would have shown sharp constrictions of Soviet might and influence.

Only one power in the world set out to halt this Communist expansion.

For the U.S., the cost of that role has been staggering. To counter Russian ambitions since the cold war started, the U.S. has invested 1.2 trillion dollars in national defense spending, including military assistance to other nations. During the same period, foreign economic aid—at least partially based on military considerations—has cost the U.S. 87 billion dollars, a net figure after repayments and interest on loans. In terms of opposing Russian-supported enemies fought by American forces in Korea and Vietnam, the U.S. has lost 79,000 dead in combat and more than 403,000 wounded.

TURNING POINT

As Western analysts see it, Moscow's drive for world power entered a new and dynamic phase after the humiliating Soviet retreat in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Since then, the Russians have achieved appromixate nuclear parity with the U.S. Massive military aid has opened the way to impressive advances in the Middle East and to strategic footholds in Africa and the Far East. The Soviet Navy—second in size only to America's—operates worldwide to counter U.S. seaborne nuclear muscle.

Since 1955, the Russians have sent nearly 13 billion dollars' worth of arms to Red countries—much of it to North Vietnam—while 8 billion has gone to non-Communist states. Egypt has been a main recipient. Economic aid from Russian and its East European satellites—ladled out selectively—has helped to fuel the drive for greater influence.

The Soviet Union has had to increase its own military power to tighten its grip on restive Eastern Europe and to counter the threat posed by a nuclear-armed China. But Kremlin leaders appear confident that they can handle these problems without slowing expansionist moves.

This confidence, Western experts say, stems from the Kremlin view that America curb the global role of the U.S.

The Soviet objective is to wrest global primacy away from the U.S. without risking a nuclear confrontation. In pursuit of that objective, the Russians are orchestrating military power, arms and economic aid, diplomacy and subversion.

Area by area, this is the game the Soviets are playing in the world today—the stakes and the strategy—as seen by top intelligence authorities of the West:

MIDEAST: PRIME TARGET

Nowhere have the Russians made greater gains since the Cuban missile crisis than in the Midle East—and nowhere have they taken greater risks.

In the aftermath of the crushing defeat of the Arabs by Israel four years ago, the Soviets have converted Egypt into what Britain's Institute for Strategic Studies calls a "virtual protectorate."

Besides military equipment poured in on a vast scale to rebuild shattered Egyptian and Syrian armed forces, the Kremlin sent some 15,000 combat personnel to Egypt—air-defense missile crews, MIG pilots and security units. This is unprecedented support for a non-Communist ally. But Egypt is much more than an ally dependent upon Moscow for military and economic aid. It provides important military bases that could facilitate Soviet advances southward into the Indian Ocean and Africa and westward across North Africa and into the Western Mediterranean.

The Russians are operating air bases at Aswan, Inshas, Mansura, Beni Suef, Giyan Klis and Cairo West. Based at Cairo West is a Russian reconnaissance squadron for surveillance of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Five Soviet fighter squadrons are said to operate from the other bases. In addition, Soviet warships in the Mediterranean—now a permanent force of more than 60 vessels—use Egyptian base facilities at Alexandria and Mersa Matruh.

CALCULATED RISKS

This deep Soviet involvement in Egypt poses risks. If fighting between Egypt and Israel resumes, it will be difficult for the Russians to escape participation—and the danger of escalation. But Soviet leaders appear to believe they now hold sufficient control to prevent the Egyptian armed forces from dragging them into an unwanted war with Israel.

SPREADING INFLUENCE

Elsewhere in the Arab Middle East and North Africa, Russia has exploited the Arab-Israeli war and strong nationalism to gain influence, using military aid as the chief lever.

Syria's armed forces now are equipped almost exclusively with Soviet aircraft, surface-to-air missiles, tanks and other weapons. Russian military advisers in Syria now number about 750.

Iraq—switching from past dependence on Britain—has turned to Russia as its main military supplier, acquiring 250 Soviet military advisers. In North Africa, both Libya and Algeria are receiving Soviet military aid.

Russia's gains are not limited to Arab states. After a long period of hostility, the Soviets have scored advances in two non-Arab nations which have Western ties—Iran and Turkey.

Turkey, in the past several years, has obtained Soviet credits totaling 364 million dollars—the latest a 263-million-dollar loan to help finance construction of a steel plant in Iskanderun.

In Iran, Russian inroads have been even greater since the Shah gave assurance that he would not let his country be used for political or military pressure against the Soviet Union. With Soviet aid, Iran has just built a 760-million-dollar gas line to the Russian frontier. Moscow has signed an agreement for a 15-year supply of natural gas valued at 920 million dollars, in exchange for which Russia has built a steel mill and machine-tool plant. The yearly trade total between the two countries has jumped from 5 million dollars in 1962 to more than 100 million.

Analysts say that Russian moves in the Mideast have three immediate goals:

1. Access to the region's oil resources, which now supply 80 per cent of Western European needs.

2. Neutralization of the nuclear striking power of U.S. aircraft carriers and submarines in the Mediterranean—which hold much of Russia within missile range.

3. Advancement of the traditional Russian aspiration of a major thrust toward the warm waters of the Indian Ocean.

INDIAN OCEAN: THE DRIVE SOUTH

Step by step, the Soviets are building up a presence in a part of the world Russians have eyed longingly since the days of the czars.

More and more Soviet warships are operating in the Indian Ocean. Russians are developing a network of harbor facilities at Mauritius, Aden, Hodeida in Yemen and Berbera in the Republic of Somalia.

A large Soviet Embassy is maintained in Mauritius. The Russians have landing rights in Mauritius for aircraft carrying relief crews for the Soviet fishing fleet. Also on this island, Russia operates a permanent tracking station for its space program.

Military and economic aid to the military council that seized power in Somalia in 1969 has given the Soviets a foothold in that republic on the East African Coast.

Sudan, which dominates the Red Sea approaches to the Indian Ocean, is another target in the Soviet drive. Russian arms and advisers are being sent to the leftist military regime that grabbed control two years ago.

In Ceylon, Moscow took advantage of another opportunity to reinforce the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean. When Maoist students staged an insurrection earlier this year and Ceylonese Prime Minister. Sirimavo Bandaranaike asked for outside help, the Russians sent 6 old MIG fighter planes, 2 helicopters and 20 armored cars.

The Soviets are said to be angling for naval facilities on India's Andaman and Nicobar islands and at the submarine base which the Russians are helping the Indians to build at Vishakhapatnam on the Bay of Bengal. In addition to large-scale economic aid, Russia is increasing its leverage in India with a billion dollars in military assistance.

COUNTERMOVES

One objective of Russia's build-up in the Indian Ocean is to counter the nuclear threat created by U.S. submarines in the Arabian Sea, equipped with Polaris and Poseidon missiles.

The Soviets also are eager to counter the influence of Communist China, which is stepping up its activities in Africa and South Asia.

Further, as Britain withdraws from its "east of Suez" military role, the Russians presumably see opportunities to influence

political developments in the area with a readily available show of military power.

Reopening of the Suez Canal would give the Soviets yet another motive for a naval presence in the Indian Ocean. They could reestablish and take over Britain's old route from the Mediterranean, through the Suez, across the Arabian Sea to the Indian subcontinent.

Some strategists believe Moscow is determined to do this in line with the Kremlin policy of supporting India as a counterweight to the Soviet Union's archrival, China.

RED CHINA: THE REAL ENEMY

The Kremlin, Western experts say, now looks upon China as an adversary at least as dangerous as the U.S. and perhaps more dangerous in the long run.

Over the past five years, the Soviets have built a powerful force to face the other giant of the Communist world. Western intelligence authorities say the Soviets have deployed roughly 41 divisions along their 4,500-mile frontier with China—supported by nuclear missiles and air power.

In addition, Russia has given high priority to a policy of "containment" of Red China elsewhere in Asia. This is reflected in Soviet aid to both India and Pakistan.

GLOBAL AMBITION

Soviet policy in Vietnam also is said to be based on the double objective of containing Red China while competing with the U.S. for global supremacy. Alhough Russia has sent even more aid to Hanoi than China has provided, many Western intelligence specialists believe that Soviet leaders do not want to see a total humiliation of the U.S. in Vietnam, because they would regard this as leading to an extension of Chinese power and influence in Asia.

What seems to worry Russia's rulers most of all, however, is the fear of "collusion" between Washington and Peking at Moscow's expense—a fear now heightened by President Nixon's impending visit to China.

Kremlin concern over danger of a two-front conflict, growing out of Red China's emergence as a potentially powerful enemy, has influenced Soviet behavior in Europe.

EASTERN EUROPE: POWDER KEG

Nothing is more vexing to the Kremlin than the problem of keeping a tight military and political grip on Eastern Europe.

Russia today has 31 divisions holding down the Iron Curtain satellite countries, five more than were stations in these countries only three years ago.

The expanded army of occupation in Eastern Europe, at a time of large-scale build-up on the Chinese frontier and of an acute manpower shortage in Soviet industry, is significant of Kremlin anxieties.

The bloodless revolution crushed by Russia and its allies in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and last December's uprising of Polish workers are not only explosions that have rocked the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe—nor the last, in the opinion of most Western experts.

Since World War II, Yugoslavia and Albania have completely broken away. Every other country in this empire has demonstrated hostility to Soviet rule by rebellions the Kremlin has had to put down or by other actions. Rumania, while not in open revolt, has defied Moscow by adopting an independent foreign policy. Says a leading Western authority:

"There is no reason to assume that the Russians are immune in their empire to the forces of nationalism that swept Britain and France from their empires in the past 25 years."

This goes far to explain such turns in Moscow's policy toward Western Europe as the still-unratified nonaggression treaty with West Germany, negotiations for a Berlin settlement and the recent offer to negotiate mutual balanced force reductions in Europe in an effort to mobilize support for Soviet calls for a European security conference.

All of the Russian moves have a common aim: international recognition of the *status quo* in Eastern Europe, which would make it easier for the Soviets to consolidate their hold and give them greater freedom to concentrate on undermining the Atlantic Alliance and extending their influence into Western Europe.

Western analysts point out also that Russia's drive for world power would be enhanced if it could nail down concessions from the United States in strategic-arms-limitation talks.

LATIN AMERICA: RUSSIA MOVING IN

A low-key strategy, capitalizing on rising nationalism and antagonism toward the U.S., is paying dividends for the Soviets in Latin America.

Shunning the policy of revolutionary violence urged by Cuba's Fidel Castro, Moscow now seeks to develop and improve relations with established governments, including military dictatorships.

A big plus for the Soviets was the election last October of a Marxist-dominated coalition in Chile—the first time a Marxist regime has been elected by a democratic vote.

Quick to exploit this gain, the Russians have sent experts to help run the formerly American-owned copper mines that the Chilean regime of President Salvador Allende is nationalizing. Moscow also is expanding aid, trade and development assistance.

Bolivia and Peru, ruled by left-wing military dictatorships, are two other principal targets of the new Soviet drive into Latin America. Russian economic aid to both countries is being stepped up rapidly.

SHOWING THE NAVY

Along with economic penetration, the Soviets are trying to expand their strategic presence in this area. Russian missile submarines and other warships are increasingly active in waters off Latin America.

Despite emphasis on economic measures and diplomacy in their push into the Western Hemisphere, the Soviets have not ruled out terror tactics. This was shown last March in Mexico when the Government expelled five Russian diplomats accused of conspiring in a plot to train terrorist guerrillas.

In Latin America, as elsewhere, the aim of the Soviet game is to undercut U.S. influence and further the Russian drive to become the world's dominant power.

THE CHALLENGE TO U.S.

Leading Western specialists on Soviet affairs say this:

Significant change has occurred since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. The enormous nuclear advantage the U.S. then held over the Soviet Union no longer exists. The Mediterranean then was an "American lake"—but now U.S. sea power is being challenged there by Russia. The dynamic defense and foreign policies which Washington pursued then have been modified, partly as a result of U.S. weariness with the long and costly war against Soviet-supported Communist forces in Vietnam.

Now, as the Soviets push their expansionist policies and the U.S. moves to curtail its overseas commitments, this question is asked:

What new dangers does Russia's strategy pose for America and its allies?

The answer depends, Western authorities say, almost solely on the U.S. response to the growing Soviet challenge and on the extent to which the U.S. continues to reduce its global role.

SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE AROUND WORLD

Egypt: Russia has poured in more than 2.5 billion dollars in military supplies, upward of 15,000 "advisers." Moscow has gained access to key air and naval bases, won a foothold in the oil-rich Arab world.

Syria: Russia regards Syria as its "fall back" country in Mideast in event Soviet venture in Egypt fails, has sent military advisers and weapons to Syria's armed forces.

Iraq: Soviet Union has replaced Britain as the main supplier of arms.

Algeria and Libya: Two more Arab nations getting Soviet military aid.

Iran: Russia has built a steel mill, helped finance a 760-million-dollar gas line. Trade has jumped to 20 times its volume of 10 years ago.

Turkey: Overcoming traditional Turkish hostility toward Russia, Moscow has granted Turkey credits totaling 364 million dollars.

Somalia: Military and economic aid have given the Russians a voice in this East African nation.

Sudan: Russia has sent arms and advisers to the military regime that seized power in 1969—for a mortgage on the nation's cotton crop.

Indian Ocean: First Russian naval ship appeared in Indian Ocean in 1967. In 1970, at least 29 were reported. New agreements give Soviet ships entry to ports of India, Ceylon, Mauritius, Singapore, Yemen.

Mauritius: Russia has large Embassy here, operates harbor and air facilities, has a permanent tracking station for its space program.

Ceylon: Moscow gained favor in Colombo by sending MIG's, helicopters and armored cars to help crush Maoist student revolt.

India: Russia is making its influence felt in India through 1 billion in military assistance, plus economic aid.

North Vietnam: Hanoi gets more weapons, oil, food, other supplies from Russia than from all other sources combined. In last three years, Soviet aid totaled 1.4 billion dollars.

Communist China: Hoping to "contain" its major enemy in the Communist world, Russia has deployed about 41 divisions along the 4,500-mile border with Red China.

Eastern Europe: Russia controls its satellites—Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria—with a permanent garrison of 31 divisions, plus the "Brezhnev Doctrine," threatening military force against any East European nation that strays from Moscow's line.

Berlin: After 10 years, the Berlin Wall still seals off Communist East Germany. Four-power talks on easing West Berlin's isolation drag on.

Latin America: Thirteen of the 24 fully independent countries now have relations with the Soviets.

Cuba: Russians have spent more than 5 billion dollars in economic and military aid over last 10 years to retain an operational base in the Americas. Warships, including nuclear submarines, now use Cuban ports.

Chile: While the country swings toward Russia under the Marxist Allende Government, Soviet trade and technical assistance are increasing.

Bolivia: Russia is exploiting Bolivia's "revolutionary nationalism" at the expense of the U.S. by providing economic aid and technical advice.

Peru: Striving to profit from anti-U.S. sentiments within non-Communist military junta, Moscow has agreed to build a fishing port.

Mexico: Russia's low-key strategy in Latin America does not rule out subversion. Five Soviet diplomats were expelled from Mexico after authorities broke up a ring of Mexican terrorists recruited by the Soviets and trained in North Korea.

SENIOR CITIZEN TRANSPORTATION ACT

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleague from

California (Mr. CORMAN) and support his bill which would allow elderly persons 65 years and older to travel in interstate commerce for half fare during nonpeak periods.

Senior citizens, living on very meager fixed incomes, have very often been forced to live with no communication with their families. The submission and passage of this bill would offer great relief to our long suffering and neglected senior citizens.

Families should be together as often as they wish and the U.S. Government and this country's transportation system must make this dream a reality.

Senior citizens have for too long been overlooked by the mainstream of society. We must work for meaningful programs of economic development and social growth for our senior citizens.

We, as a nation, can no longer tolerate situations that permit millions of our fellow Americans to plead for small improvements in their daily life. They have worked too long and too hard throughout their lives to not be allowed to participate fully in American Society during their retirement years.

CHARLOTTE MORRISON'S EFFORTS TO SAVE EUGENE O'NEILL HOME

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, a recent article by Dick Davis in the Contra Costa Times described the efforts of many of us who are concerned with preserving the Eugene O'Neill homesite and giving it national historical site status. One of the indomitable spirits leading the fight in California is Mrs. Charlotte Morrison. Both ALAN CRANSTON and JOHN TUNNEY in the Senate and I in the House are also deeply committed to this goal and have introduced legislation of the same purpose.

Mr. Davis' article well explains what is involved if the Congress does not soon take up this important matter—important not only to California, but to the historical sense of all Americans. I sincerely hope that the Congress does not delay any longer.

I insert Mr. Davis' article in the RECORD, and I request the attention of my colleagues to its text:

DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS SHOULD UNITE ON THIS!

In a day we hear a great deal of lip service given to concern over ecology and the environment, few appear to be paying much attention to the campaign being waged single-handedly by a most aware Roosmoor resident.

For years now, Charlotte Morrison, 73 years young and with vitality enough for several younger people, has been concerned—deeply concerned—about seeing to it that national legislation is enacted to give National Historical Site status to the Eugene O'Neill home in Danville.

Her latest request is that Contra Costa County residents write Gov. Ronald Reagan asking him to use his influence on President Richard M. Nixon to move pending bills on the proposal out of committee.

We would suggest, however, that in drafting the letters it might be a good idea to make two carbon copies and send them along to Congressman Jerome Waldie and U.S. Senator Alan Cranston. The place for a request for immediate action should be directed to both houses of Congress.

House Resolution 5490, authored by Waldie, and S-737 by Cranston and Sen. John Tunney, are companion bills that would provide for the establishment of the O'Neill House as a National Historical site and Las Trampas Ridge as a national park, both most commendable and vital projects.

This is one instance, we believe, where a Republican Governor and our Democrat representatives in the Congress can certainly work together on a critical piece of legislation that will preserve a great deal of acreage in Contra Costa County for the enjoyment of future generations.

For two years now we have commented on a number of occasions on the worthiness of Mrs. Morrison's one-woman campaign and like Charlotte we simply can't understand the attitude of many of our lawmakers in failing to pass this urgently-needed legislation.

It's true that the O'Neill home has been entered into the National Register of Historic Places by the National Parks Service. But this is simply not enough to achieve the goal that Mrs. Morrison has been working on for six years.

As to the letter-writing campaign, conservationists, environmentalists, the Mentally Gifted Minors (MGM) participants at Los Cerros School in Danville, the San Ramon Valley Historical Society and San Ramon Valley Chamber of Commerce, along with thousands of concerned citizens throughout the San Francisco Bay Area could be of much help by joining in this drive to persuade Congress to act.

As we suggested, it might be well to write letters to the governor with carbon copies of letters to Waldie and Cranston, possibly even the President. A coordinated effort among these groups and individuals would have, we are convinced, a major impact on efforts to move the proposed bills out of committee.

But then we won't know, will we, until and unless we try? This, in essence, is what Mrs. Morrison is proposing—that at least we give it a good try this time.

Stated simply, it would appear the National Park Service is more aware of the dangers of losing the O'Neill home than the governor or the Congress. For although O'Neill died in 1953, only 18 years ago, the park service thought it was sufficiently important to make an exception to its 50-year rule to name the O'Neill home in the national register of historic places. By custom, the park service will not make such an entry until the celebrity has been dead for at least 50 years.

Adding a question mark to the Danville landmark's future is the fact that it is up for sale for $1.8 million, including its 1,013-acre site. It is possible that if these two bills are not enacted soon, the O'Neill home and this acreage will be lost for all time.

It is sad that after six years of efforts on Mrs. Morrison's part that despite all her energies expended we should have to report these visionary bills in Congress are consigned merely to committees for study.

Youngsters charge that the establishment, in many cases meaning their government, is simply not responsive to their pleas for action or change. We can't help but wonder how they would feel and just how angry they would have become by this time if they had been forced to wait patiently as Mrs. Morrison has over the past six years.

Those letters, we would hope, will begin hitting the mail this week on their way to Gov. Reagan, Waldie and Cranston in hopes that action will be taken before it is too late to preserve the O'Neill home and its acreage for future enjoyment of all of us.

WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE US

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, on May 16 my distinguished colleague from Ohio, the Honorable CLARENCE E. MILLER, was awarded a doctor of public service degree during the spring commencement exercises of Rio Grande College, Rio Grande, Ohio. In conferring this honor on Congressman MILLER, the president of Rio Grande, Dr. Alphus R. Christensen, praised our colleague for his conscientious service in the U.S. House of Representatives. Dr. Christensen, himself an outstanding public servant, has since delivered a very well-reasoned address to the 1971 graduating class of Vinton County High School, in McArthur, Ohio. It is with pleasure that I insert into the RECORD at this time, the remarks of Dr. Christensen for the interest of all our colleagues in the Congress:

WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE US

(Commencement address by Dr. Alphus R. Christensen)

Thank you, sir.

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

I am conscious of the fact that this is a rather temperamental microphone; that it is rather directional, so I will be sticking pretty close to it. If it looks like I am swallowing it, I am just sucking it to stay with it. You know, using a microphone is pretty much like courting a girl through a picket fence. Everything that is said can be heard but there is very little contact.

Initially this evening I want to congratulate this class for its accomplishment and for whatever it may mean to each individual. Particularly I want to congratulate Diana and Cynthia, because I am going to reiterate some of their remarks.

I delivered my first Commencement address in the Spring of 1938 as a senior in college—that is 33 years ago. Literally I have delivered hundreds of Commencement addresses since that time to all types of Commencement audiences. My friends, during that period there were two breaks. I took out a little bit of time for World War II and then I did not deliver a Commencement address last year—the Spring of 1970—not because I didn't have the opportunity, but because I felt that I had very little to contribute either to comfort, or to stimulate, or to inspire any graduates. I knew that the worn-out cliches and the meaningless platitudes would be useless. But, I feel that I have something to say to graduates this year.

Equally I am confident that some of you will disagree with some of the things I say this evening. Some of you may hate me for saying what I am going to say; some of you may brand me as a heretic; some may say that I am too much of the establishment; others may say that I am anti-establishment. But, be that as it may, I have to say what I think, I have to say what I believe, I have to say what I feel. I don't know how many of you remember that comic strip Pogo. Maybe it runs in some news-

papers yet, I haven't seen it for a number of years, but I remember a comment that Pogo made one time. It stuck with me, in fact it impressed me so much it is the title of my address this evening. Pogo said, on one occasion, "We have met the enemy and they are us."

Now, in this audience we have at least three generations present—the younger generation—in fact, when I delivered my first Commencement I was in your group, too, the younger generation. The parents of these students constitute another generation, the grandparents still another generation and if there are any great-grandparents present that accounts for still another generation. Now I can't speak for any generation but my own. As I look at this audience I see a few of you who are walking with me. I can remember the "Dirty Thirties"; I can remember the era of the Great Depression; I can remember when you were lucky to have enough to eat on the table; I can remember when you had to scratch around to get enough clothes to cover your back; I can remember no matter how hard you worked you might not be able to provide adequate housing. My generation can remember those things and consequently it did something to us. I'm not saying it is good or it is bad but it did do something to us. It made us "things" oriented. We became enamored with the material aspects of life and I know if you think about us, you will understand why.

When you have nothing, things have a tendency to become important. Now, this younger generation has been reared in an era of affluence. And, because they have been reared in an era of affluence they have had an opportunity to do more thinking and thank God for that, we didn't have time to do much thinking—we just had to work. But, through thinking they have become "people" oriented which in my estimation is very fine. But you see what happens: here we are, my generation, over here, "things" oriented; here is the younger generation—anyone under 25 in that category—"people" oriented. Consequently, we are poles apart.

This younger generation is an "instant" generation. They want everything now. They want change now; they don't want to wait, but they must understand that man is essentially an inert animal. He doesn't like to be moved. You sometimes have to push him but once you get man to move, he has a tendency to stay in motion. And possibly this generation, if they are willing to work with us just a little bit, maybe they can get us to do some of the things they want done—things we know should be done if we are honest with ourselves.

Now I hope there isn't any one of my generation, or any other generation, who is still harboring the idea that you judge a person by the length of his hair. I hope you have gotten over that hang-up because there is nothing to it. The length of the hair doesn't indicate the type of an individual. History shows there have been some very fine people who had some very long hair and, by the same token, there have been some very fine people who had no hair or practically no hair at all. So hair in itself is not an index of an individual. The same is true as far as mode of dress. Just because someone dresses a little bit differently doesn't make that person better or worse than you and again it is no basis for judging an individual. So I hope we have dispelled those notions because I think long hair is here to stay for awhile. I just wish I could grow more but I am getting a bald spot up there and it is a little difficult for me to do it.

This younger generation too has had a problem in respect to drugs. And it is unfortunate that they have been unwilling to accept conventional evidence and conventional advice. If you read the newspapers and if you study the situation a little bit you appreciate the fact that sometimes people who play around with drugs pay a pretty dear price for that experience, but sometimes that is the only way individuals will learn and, as I said, sometimes that is a terrible, terrible price to pay. Of course we can't denounce this generation—the younger generation—for the obscenities that are scrawled on walls or screamed at demonstrations, or riots, or confrontations because they didn't concoct them. In fact, any one over 30 in this audience probably could tell them some new ones they haven't used as yet because these obscenities have been developed by other generations—not this generation. The point of it is this younger generation is extremely honest, forthright, and aggressive, and above all, my friends, they're not afraid of us and that sometimes shocks and frightens us. They will look you straight in the eye and call you a hypocrite. And you know, sometimes you have to flinch a little bit and admit that you probably are a hypocrite because sometimes we, the older generation, operate under the philosophy of "don't do as I do but do as I say." Now if we operate that way, what else are we but being hypocritical.

My friends, I think this is a fine generation; in fact, I believe it is probably the best generation we have ever developed in this country. However, they lack a couple of things and they lack them, not because they are they, but they lack them because they just haven't been around long enough and the two things that I am talking about are education and experience. Now when I mention education, I am not necessarily talking about formal education. It could be, but it could be informal education. I am just saying this—I don't care who is sitting in this audience there is going to be a time when that person, in one way or another, through the development of a skill or the development of a talent must be able to put bread and butter on the table, to buy clothes, and to provide shelter. Sometime each is going to have to do that for himself or for a family. Consequently it is quite essential that a person develop a talent or skill. Now in respect to experience, they just aren't old enough to have had too much experience. Oh, they have crowded a lot of experience into those 17, 18, 19 years, but they haven't been around long enough to get ample experience.

Now, young people, don't get me wrong. just because a person is over 30 don't think he is experienced and has developed wisdom. That isn't necessarily true because I know 30-year-olds, 40-year-olds, 50-year-olds, 60-year-olds, 70-year-olds who have been making the same mistake over and over again but have not developed any wisdom. They have had the experience but haven't profited from the errors they have made. That is what I say when I mean by experience that a person has got to make these mistakes but you must profit by them so that you do not repeat them. Therein lies wisdom and the only way you can get that is through being on this earth for a certain length of time. All the other generations present here this evening have the knowledge that some day these graduates will be over 30 too. Isn't that wonderful! They too are eventually going to move into that category of being the older generation—that happens to everyone.

Remember, Cynthia made reference to communication and I agree it is important. Remember, too, we are poles apart because we are "things" oriented and you're "people" oriented. Now I think I can help Cynthia resolve her problem because you see when you talk about communication you must remember that there has to be a sender and a receiver. Now the receiver has to be doing something that is extremely important to complete the communication. The receiver has to be listening. You see that is what happens all too often—whether it is the older generation or the younger generation—we forget to listen. You have to listen! And you know what may happen if you do listen, you may begin to understand and if you begin to understand then you may begin to appreciate each other. So, we want to remember that in communicating we have to listen so that we can learn to understand; if we learn to understand, we will, at least, learn to appreciate.

Now, I know this is an intelligent group of young men and young women and I know they don't disagree with me because I know they know their history—there has never been a society that has ever existed in recorded history wherein anarchy reigned. It just can't happen because when anarchy is imminent, or if anarchy exists, the people accept totalitarianism—complete and total dictatorship. Now we have a group in this country, a small group granted—mostly young but there are some older people too, who would like to see anarchy reign in this country but I assure you that it isn't going to happen because just as sure as anarchy is imminent we will accept dictatorship first. And if we do that, my friends, it is going to be unfortunate because in dictatorship there are no freedoms except those spelled out by the dictator. If you think there is an absence of freedom today in this country in any shape, manner, or form, you just try living under a dictatorship for a while.

Well, I have preached quite a bit tonight, philosophized quite a bit, and now I would like to get down to something that is very specific and concrete. Briefly I am going to lay out an action plan for these young men and young women. An action plan, if it is implemented, can attain some of the things they want. The action plan is not too difficult. There is only one aspect of it that may be a little bit radical.

Now Congress did something a few months ago. Congress made it possible for 18-year-olds to vote. Oh, I know it has to be ratified by the several states but that job will be done and here in Ohio we are anticipating it and trying to move it along a little faster; some of the other states are, too. In fact, four states had voting rights for less than 21-year-olds long before Congress got around to it—they were Hawaii, Alaska, Kentucky, and Georgia. But when you get that right to vote, as an 18-year-old, for heavens' sake, use it because that is the reasonable, lawful way of doing things. Nominate the people who will do your bidding and with whom you agree. Get out and work for them and vote for them. You know that when we have the 1972 elections that there will be 23 million eligible voters under the age of 25, and between the ages of 18 and 21 there will be 11 million eligible voters. Now, for heavens' sake, do better than we have done with that franchise. Use it! Vote every time that you have an opportunity—in every election that you are eligible. My generation can't brag too much—our record has not been too good but you can do better with it; get out there and vote and work. That is a simple thing to do—all I am asking you to do is to exercise your franchise.

Secondly, some of you are going to be legislators some day. You are going to be law makers, you are going to be school board members, you're going to be administrators in schools, you're going to be classroom teachers, you're all going to be tax payers, you're all going to be patrons of a school district, you're all going to be citizens of our country and of a specific community. I am suggesting this—that you work to see there is instituted in every high school in this country a course that studies objectively all forms of government, past and present—all forms. There is no better way to understand your enemy or to understand yourself than by objective analysis, and by that

I mean learning the strengths and weaknesses of the various forms of government. Our form of government has great strengths; it has weaknesses, too. No use denying it—they're there. The thing for us to do is to reinforce the strengths and to eliminate or alleviate those weaknesses.

Now, thirdly, in that plan of mine is this—and you have an obligation to do this—again I can't brag about our generation. We made a little start but I hope that you will move it along with a great deal more speed than we have. I believe that every person who is a citizen of this country and I don't care what church he attends, or if he attends church at all for that matter, what color his skin may be, what his ethnic background may be, I think he deserves the right to develop himself to his highest potential. I think that is a right that is ours as citizens of this country and I think we should work to see that everyone has that opportunity.

Finally, and this is that part that you may not buy—I won't be too disappointed, but I would like to have you think about it anyhow because I think it has some merit. I would recommend, and I want you to hear me through—I would recommend the repeal of the Selective Service Act. I would recommend its repeal, and in its place I would institute a law such as this: Whenever an individual reached the age of 18, male or female, and unless physically incapacitated, that individual should give two years of his life in service to his country. I don't think that is asking too much. Now this service could be in hospitals, it could be in parks, it could be in Vista, it could be in the Peace Corps, it could be in the Job Corps, it could be in the Armed Services—but there would be two years of that individual's life given to his country. There would be many who would choose the Armed Services; there would be others who would choose other aspects of service, but I think this is a far better law and I'll tell you why I think it is better. I have a feeling, and it has grown over the years, there are too many Americans who have the idea that freedom is our birthright and, my friends, that is not true. There have been too many generations in the past which have made the supreme sacrifice in order to maintain those freedoms. I don't think it is ours to take, it is ours to earn. That is why I say that in service to our country we would have an opportunity to earn that freedom. Further, I am confident that a 20-year-old, and I have helped rear three of them myself—a girl and two boys—that a 20-year-old is a little bit more mature, has a little bit better idea what he wants to do.

Well, there are the four steps in my plan—my action plan. Vote—you have the franchise, now use it—100%. Secondly, see that there is an objective course in all our secondary schools teaching the strengths and weaknesses of all forms of government. Thirdly, see that every American citizen has an opportunity to develop himself to his highest potential. And then finally, if you like the idea, or you think it has any merit, look into this suggestion of mine—the idea of everyone serving his country for two years to help pay for the space you occupy and your freedom. Well, will you buy all four of them? Would you buy three of them? How about two, or maybe one? I would like to see, personally, all four of them implemented, but I would take one or any combination of the four from this younger generation of ours. As I said a moment ago, I think this is an excellent generation. I think it is probably the best qualified generation that we have ever developed. Some day we are going to be extremely proud to sit back and say I knew him when. Ladies and gentlemen:

Here, as a child I stand
Lifting up an eager hand.
One is dirty, one is clean,
I am the problem in between.

Yes, my friends, we have met the enemy and they are us.

THE VIETNAM PAPERS

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Buffalo Evening News, one of the outstanding newspapers in New York State and in the United States, recently ran a series of six editorials discussing the validity as history of the leaked Pentagon papers about Vietnam, pinpointing the roles of our last five Presidents and underlining the lessons which emerge from these papers. I think this series of editorials is one of the best that I have read, and I take this occasion to pay tribute to the Buffalo Evening News for their publication. I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to set forth here these editorials for the edification of my colleagues in the Congress and of the people of the United States. They read as follows:

How Valid This History?

The point has been repeatedly made that the once-secret Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war are by no means a final or definite history but just one large part of the raw material out of which that history will eventually be written.

The material, as leaked to the New York Times and finally published in nine installments so huge that one emerges bleary-eyed from a full reading of them, is described accurately in the Times' own summary by Max Frankel: "Massive but incomplete, comprehensive but by no means exhaustive, remarkably honest but undoubtedly warped by perspective and experience."

In this and several subsequent editorials, it will be The News' purpose not to reargue the legal issues involved in leaking and publishing the Vietnam papers but to learn what we can from them and to draw from them such judgments about the history of this period as we think they support. Some of the judgments must be tentative. Others may be flawed by our own viewpoints toward this war, for there is so much documentation here that some of it could be cited to support almost every preconception from ultra-dovish to ultra-hawkish.

Right there, of course, lies the greatest danger to our national peace-of-mind as we face an era of angry recriminations over both the launching and the stalemating of this bitterly divisive war. The fact that the story is so incomplete, that its tangled threads lead in so many controversial directions, seems likely to feed a generation of post-Vietnam demagogues with ingredients for a spate of scapegoat theories—some of them akin to the McCarthy era's "treason theory" of a World War II sellout at Yalta.

The dangers implicit in such a poisonous orgy of vindictiveness should not be minimized. But against such poison, the thousands of pages of documentation in the Pentagon Papers may offer the best antidote available.

For they point us toward truth, and they do it in a way that will force more and more of the full truth to emerge far sooner than it has from any previous ordeal of the sort. The answer to the claim that these papers tell only a fragment of the whole story, after all, is to bring forth other and answering fragments. Whoever thinks he looks bad in these papers has the chance and the challenge to correct the record with his own account.

That process, in fact, is already well advanced. A number of the principals, silent until now, have come out with their own sometimes angry, sometimes philosophical replies, for example: Dean Rusk, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and George Ball. Former President Johnson has his memoirs at the printers. Nearly all of the others are still alive and fully able to flesh out the story with their own recollections, notes, memoirs to the extent they feel their roles have been distorted.

This much bootleg declassification, too, is already giving powerful impetus to a drive for a further surge of declassification in all the other agencies having custody of portions of this same history. And it also now seems certain to trigger one or more thorough and deep-digging congressional inquiries which will both bring more data to light and cause it to be put in a much better historical perspective than any of the leaks to date.

Thus the raw history of this longest American war is being forced from the archives and thrust before the public sooner and more fully than during any previous war period. It is all coming out while the war is still on; indeed, while some basic decisions about its future course are still under public debate, while some of the lessons of the recent past can still be applied and while most of the principal characters are alive and fully capable of participating in the debate. Those having faith in the people—and believing, as we do, in the public's right to know—must share our belief that the more enlightened the citizens of this self-governing democracy are, the more wisely they can chart the nation's future course.

Scorecard on Five Presidents

When it comes to pinpointing basic errors or pointing basic blame, the Vietnam papers may start more arguments than they settle. That may be particularly true of any effort now to draw a retrospective scorecard on the five Presidents who, in one way or another, had to bite the Vietnam bullet; Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

For if you believe that the whole effort to keep South Vietnam out of Communist control was a mistake, then they all share in the bit-by-bit pattern of our present over-involvement. Or if you believe that "dirty tricks" and devious paramilitary tactics are never justified in modern statecraft, then you say a plague on all their houses for that.

But if you accept, as we do, the premise that the world's power balance was in serious jeopardy in the late 1940s and 1950s, and that America's interests required us to take some reasonable risks to try to contain the spread of Communist control in Southeast Asia after the fall of China, then it is hard to pin any major blame for today's Vietnam war on HST or Ike.

The JFK story is more complicated, but history will still have to call it mainly "Johnsons' war."

Truman, to be sure, can be faulted for vacillating five years when asked for help by Ho Chi Minh and later by the French. Far from being a stooge of French imperialism as some New Left historians portray him, he didn't know which way to jump. He knew Ho as both a legitimate nationalist and a man with "direct Communist connections" but his top advisers had "no solution to suggest." It was only after China's fall that Truman declared it U.S. policy "to block fur-

ther Communist expansion in Asia," and we have no quarrel with him for that.

Eisenhower, too, might be faulted for countenancing some "Ugly American" tactics in creating and then propping up the Diem regime. But he evidently did not, as often alleged, connive in Diem's torpedoing of the Geneva promise of 1956 elections—even though he regarded the whole Geneva agreement as a "disaster." Nor did he yield to any of the intense pressures to intervene militarily to save the French in 1954. In helping Diem consolidate his hold, Ike left Kennedy with a "special commitment" but nothing binding. The papers summarize Ike's role as a decision to "gamble with very limited resources because the potential gains seemed well worth a limited risk."

Then what of Kennedy's role? He escalated that limited risk gamble into a "broad commitment," but he did not, the papers show, commit ground troops and he did, at the end, show some disillusionment with the whole venture, even telling some sources (in 1963) of a firm intent to withdraw completely (in 1965).

The worst Kennedy faults were an excessive fascination with "counter-insurgency" tactics, and his most fateful decision was his acquiescence in the 1963 coup which ended in Diem's assassination. This left America responsible for the incompetent cabal of generals he had encouraged to dump Diem, and the assassination of JFK himself three weeks later left Lyndon Johnson stuck, as caretaker, on a course he would have been very hard put to reverse.

It was unquestionably the Johnson presidency, however, that pushed us past the point of no return and into full-scale war. Each Johnson step up the escalator, however, is easier to forgive than was LBJ's utter lack of candor with the public along the way. He was determined to fight "on the cheap," hoping vaguely to end the war somehow before it disturbed the homefront enough to sidetrack his Great Society. It was only when he had scraped the barrel's bottom and could raise no more troops without calling up reserves that he finally refused, in 1968, to escalate it any more.

On Nixon's role, this history is silent since it ends with 1968. But there is much in it to warn him against such perils as squandering his credibility, or putting wishful optimism above the realism of his top intelligence agencies, or of treating the civilian populations of remote countries as pawns in a great-power confrontation. If Nixon inherited "Johnson's War," he has put his own stamp on it—and not only by gradually de-escalating but also by widening it to Laos and Cambodia while he keeps the U.S. people as much in the dark as the enemy about his true price and timetable for complete withdrawal.

Any final judgment on Nixon's effort to end the war would be highly premature. If he succeeds, he can still emerge the hero of the story. But in a sense he is now the war's No. 1 prisoner and will remain so until he ends it or it ends his presidency, as it did Johnson's.

Where Did We Go Sour?

Much of the youth anti-war movement in this country is founded on the conviction that, in Vietnam, we have been fighting from beginning to end an immoral war. Under that theory, there is no point in looking for telltale clues along the way as the way as to where the U.S. commitment started turning sour, for the whole policy is seen as a ghastly mistake.

We have rejected that view of Vietnam, holding instead that there was indeed validity in the effort to contain Communist expansion in Asia. We would even assert for the most part, a conspicuous success—everywhere except in Indochina. The free world has maintained a tolerable stability, somehow, in the whole great arc of Asia from Korea and Japan through Taiwan and the Philippines to Malaya and Indonesia and around through Thailand and Burma to India.

And even in Vietnam, where Communists would have taken over long ago but for massive American intervention, the price in the early stages did not seem excessive and does not appear so to us now in retrospect.

When it started turning visibly sour was in the early 1960s, as the Kennedy administration grew more and more impatient with the excesses of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in Saigon and finally supported the military coup that ended in Diem's assassination. This whole fiasco left South Vietnam with a crumbling political structure in a swiftly deteriorating military situation.

So the really pivotal period that emerges from the Pentagon Papers was, by tragic coincidence, the immediate aftermath of the Kennedy assassination—when the new caretaker President was being pushed by all the holdover Kennedy advisers and by the threatened collapse of our wards in Vietnam to take one fateful step after another.

This was the period—from early 1964 through early 1965—when what had been a tolerably limited involvement started its cancerous growth into an intolerable overcommitment. But it was well after that—in 1967, for the most part—before any massive disillusionment began to set in among those who had initially supported the war but later turned dovish.

Even before the so-called unprovoked attack on our ships in the Tonkin Gulf in August 1964, the papers show, we had been mounting clandestine and provocative attacks in that same area. And even while LBJ was picturing Barry Goldwater as a dangerous warmonger and promising not to widen the war, or send bombers against the North, or send American boys to fight Asian boys' battles, he was being pushed in the highest strategy councils to do all these very things, as in fact he did do within the next few months.

The Pentagon Papers make LBJ look terrible for his manipulating and misleading of public opinion during this period. But they do not make it easy to fault him in retrospect for any of the specific decisions he felt obliged to make. Kennedy, at this stage, might have grimly decided to "cut his losses." Eisenhower, faced with a somewhat similar crisis in 1954, had decided against intervening militarily to save the beaten French in Indo-China. But Johnson felt largely trapped, by the necessity to salvage a commitment he had inherited from an assassinated predecessor. The measure of his frustration was expressed to his wife in early 1965: "I can't get out. I can't finish it with what I have got. So what the hell can I do?"

What he did do was escalate our troop commitment, launch the futile bombing campaign in the north (while keeping the targets tightly restricted), and start what rapidly turned into a ground war of attrition in which every division we added was matched by an increased enemy commitment. So we were no nearer victory in 1968, with 500,000 American troops in Vietnam, than we were in 1963 with 16,000 men.

The Most Tragic Figure

With good reason, the whole Vietnam story has been likened to a classic Greek tragedy. But who, among its cast of thousands, emerges as its most tragic figure?

A good case could be made for nominating Robert McNamara, the very architect of the war who later turned into a "disillusioned dove." But as we read the Pentagon study—which McNamara authorized as the war's failure to achieve expected results got more and more under his skin—he will have to settle for runner-up. The leading character of this tragedy is clearly Lyndon Johnson.

Mr. McNamara's credentials are impressive. This was, after all, his kind of war; it was even popularly known as "McNamara's War" during most of the time it was gathering momentum. It was just the sort of "flexible response," measured application of military power, that his computers and whiz-kids told him would accomplish the limited aims sought. And yet each new move somehow kept failing to work as programmed.

And so McNamara himself turned intensely pessimistic, and during most of his final year before being relieved as defense secretary in early 1968 (red, some say), McNamara was locked in running battle with the Joint Chiefs of Staff over his strong urge to de-escalate and theirs to expand both the air war and our troop commitment in Vietnam.

Thus there was quite a contrast between the McNamara of July 1965 who confidently predicted public support for further escalation "because it is sensible and courageous" and "likely to bring about a success in Vietnam"—and the "disenchanted" McNamara of May 1967 who told LBJ: "The picture of the world's greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1000 non-combatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly contested, is not a pretty one."

But the greater tragedy in the Vietnam story is Johnson himself, the man who, pushed by the McNamaras and all the other Kennedy holdovers during the early phases of the escalation, held the bag at the end after many of them had grown disillusioned.

Stewart Alsop has charitably described Johnson in Newsweek as "trying to fool not the people but himself—and temporarily succeeding." He offers the picturesque image of "a deeply troubled man resisting the awful pressures to plunge deeper into the Vietnam quagmire—resisting them as instinctively as an old horse resists being led to the knackers. The President bucks, whinnies and shies away, but always in the end the reins tighten—the pressures are too much for him."

As he moved on in, LBJ found the doubts rising among many of his civilian subordinates. But when even McNamara started urging de-escalation, there was LBJ stuck with the angry counter-pressure of the entire military for an enlarged bombing campaign and still more troops to back up Gen. Westmoreland in the field. In the end, they demanded not only a few reinforcements but a substantial mobilization of 280,000 reserves—which would have sidetracked the Great Society.

LBJ in his 1966 State of the Union message had pledged that "this nation is mighty enough" to "continue the Great Society while we fight in Vietnam." Throughout the 1966–67 escalation, he kept desperately hoping it was so. He "hoped and prayed," as Alsop put it, "that a bit more air power, a few more troops" would bring Hanoi to the table to "reason together." And yet every negotiation overture, too, turned into purest charade as each side kept angling for a climate more favorable to itself.

So the war went on and the stakes got higher, and when LBJ finally knew it wasn't working as planned, he asked the troop-hungry Westmoreland: "When we add divisions, can't the enemy add divisions? If so, where does it all end?" And the only answer he got was a glum concurrence that

the enemy would indeed raise the ante if we did, and the war might go on five years. Reinforcements, said Gen. Westmoreland, might shorten it—to three years, if he could have 565,000, maybe to two with 665,000.

That's when even LBJ finally reached the top of his escalator—and decided to check the bombing, stop enlarging the war, and prepare to go home to Texas to write his memoirs. They'll tell his side this fall.

NO VILLAINS, NO HEROES?

The authors of the secret Pentagon history of Vietnam found "no villains or heroes." They just told who recommended what while the decisions were being made. When a TV interviewer asked Daniel Ellsberg, the source of the big leak, if there were any heroes, he replied: "I hate not to find it easy to answer," but he said he couldn't actually name any "who have lived up to the responsibilities of their office in terms of not only what they did but of what they could have done, should have done."

We agree that no villains emerge full blown from the papers, and probably no heroes either, in the beyond-the-call-of-duty sense that Ellsberg means. They were all honorable men, trying urgently to do their duty by their lights. But in place of villains, there were a lot of goats; and in place of heroes, some prescient observers who offered much better advice than was taken.

Among the latter, no whole category of advisers emerges looking better than the "intelligence community"—the CIA, as well as State and Defense intelligence agencies. Almost uniformly, their realistic estimates of what would follow from a given course of action were on-target—but usually ignored in favor of the wishful optimism of other advisers, to the later repeated regret of the Presidents who made the decisions.

Probably the most prescient single voice was that of former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball. He warned in July 1965 that the only alternative to limiting our liabilities and cutting our losses—the course he kept recommending—was "almost certainly a protracted war involving an open-ended commitment, mounting U.S. casualties, no assurance of a satisfactory solution and a serious danger of escalation at the end of the road." That wasn't, unfortunately, the kind of advice that was wanted at the time.

At the presidential level, the one who emerges in best command of his own establishment is Eisenhower. He let matters go as far as he intended and wished them to go; no further. He did not get overawed by either military or civilian advice to plunge in deeper than he deemed prudent. All his successors got caught up in one way or another as prisoners of events; Ike didn't.

Of the other key figures in the story, the military come out looking generally bad. For example, Gen. Maxwell Taylor to JFK in November 1961: "The risks of backing into a major Asian war by way of South Vietnam are present but are not impressive. North Vietnam is extremely vulnerable to conventional bombing." Or Gen. Westmoreland; four days before the 1968 Tet offensive, he reported that the enemy was "increasingly resorting to desperation tactics . . . and he has experienced only failure in these attempts." The Joint Chiefs of Staff, too, pushed constantly for more men and bombing despite continual intelligence warnings that these efforts would have little net effect on the enemy's will or capacity.

There are civilian "goats," too. Both former Ambassador Lodge, the architect of the Diem coup, and White House aide McGeorge Bundy took the same crass, end-justifies-the-means view of that sorry chapter without noting its commitment-enlarging consequences. And Walter Rostow was not only more hawkishly over-optimistic than any general, but he even says he would repeat all the same recommendations today. But Dean Rusk, who defended the escalation throughout, now admits he continually "underestimated the persistence and tenacity of the North Vietnamese."

Probably the most interesting character of all was John T. McNaughton, the No. 3 Pentagon civilian (killed in a 1967 plane crash) who sounded as cold as a computer during some earlier sessions but emerged as one of the first and most outspoken of the high-level doves. In 1964, he coolly measured U.S. aims in Vietnam: "70 per cent to avoid humiliating defeat, 20 per cent to keep South Vietnam from Chinese hands, 10 per cent to permit people to enjoy a better life." But by January 1966 he saw the U.S. strategy as an "enormous miscalculation" and said bluntly: "We are in an escalating military stalemate . . . At each decision point we have gambled; at each point, we have upped the ante . . . The ante is now very high." But it kept going higher until, in March 1968, the "escalating military stalemate" stopped escalating.

LESSONS OF OUR LONGEST WAR

Looking for lessons in the Vietnam papers is not like looking for a needle in a haystack. It's more like looking for hay in a haystack. The lessons pop out all over, and everyone can find as many as he can handle. There are lessons for presidents and generals, diplomats and senators, historians and ordinary voters.

Some are complicated and technical. Others are downright elementary. Daniel Ellsberg, who is under indictment for leaking the papers, thinks the most glaring lesson was that no one in all these documents ever really worried much about the effect of our policies on the Vietnamese.

For us, the top lesson is that the President, who is chosen by and answerable to the people, really ought to trust the people instead of conning them, especially if he feels he has to lead them into war. He should beware of inching in with baby steps to avoid worrying the public about how serious it might later become.

If it's important enough to justify our being there at all, it's important enough to be defended—openly, frankly and fully— before Congress and the people. And it's worth leveling with the country about just what home-front sacrifices are likely to be required.

Here, as we read the Vietnam story, are some of its other key lessons:

1. Beware of overreacting to inflammatory incidents. They may turn out to have been exaggerated to provoke just such overreactions—like the "unprovoked" Tonkin Gulf attacks of 1964.

2. Beware, if you're a policy-maker, of brushing off a realistic intelligence estimate just because it sounds pessimistic and there are less-well-informed optimists offering advice you'd rather hear.

3. Beware of policy-making by oversimplified historical analogy. Vietnam in 1964, for example, had some similarities to Korea in 1950, but the differences turned it into a very different kind of war. Likewise, Paris is not Panmunjom, and when it comes to ending this conflict—or seeking a prisoner release while leaving "residual forces" behind—we may learn to our chagrin that Vietnam 1971 should not be confused with Korea 1953.

4. Beware the consequences of such a moral confusion of ends and means as "destroying a village (or a country) to save it"; or of imagining that we can help get rid of an unwanted ruler by coup without bearing a heavy responsibility afterward for the conspirators who did the deed; or of helping an ally invade two smaller neighbors without incurring serious obligations to the people of the invaded countries.

5. Beware of treating divisions and bombers like poker chips, and human beings like punch-cards in a computerized war game. No matter what the programmers say, it doesn't necessarily follow that when we ante three more divisions and a hundred more sorties, the other side is going to fold his hand and drop out of the game.

6. Beware of making too many arrogant assumptions about far-off lands where we have committed American power to counter communist expansion. Let us remember that our local ally in such a conflict is likely to have no interest in the cold-war considerations that motivate us, while the local enemy may be far more motivated by intensely nationalistic aspirations than by international communism. Let us beware especially of the peril of over-dependence on sheer military might in a strife-torn, underdeveloped land where the only real alternative to violent revolution is fundamental internal reform.

Finally, the most pressing lesson is the urgent necessity to finish winding down this tragic war and start binding up the nation's wounds as rapidly as possible. But in the aftermath, let us beware of letting the disillusionment of either doves or hawks touch off either an orgy of scapegoating recriminations or an overreaction of blind isolationism more damaging to our true interests than the war itself.

America must, as soon as possible after this war, regain its morale, its unity and its sense of purpose and proportion—and keep on playing its responsible leadership role in a very troubled, dangerous and complex world.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY PROVIDES NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the results of the 1970 census show a continuing movement of population from the central areas of our country to coastal and Great Lakes States. This migration not only strips rural communities of population needed to maintain a viable economy but places increasing burdens upon the already overcrowded major urban areas of our country.

However, these same 1970 census figures reveal the beginnings of a counter trend in one area of our country—the Tennessee Valley region. These figures show that the previous massive outmigration of people from the Tennessee Valley region was sharply reduced by the economic growth and resulting job opportunities which occurred in the 1960's.

Moreover, the greatest population growth in the Tennessee Valley during this period was in and near cities of 10,000 to 50,000 population. This trend, if continued and expanded, may slow the flow of people into the big cities enough to give them some chance to deal with their mounting problems.

A close look at the 1970 census results

shows that between 1960 and 1970 the population of the 201-county Tennessee Valley region grew by about 9 percent to a total of 6,730,000. This was less than the national growth rate, but more than the regional growth rate in either the 1940's or 1950's.

In those two decades, net outmigration from the region had totaled more than 1,300,000 people, as a substantial part of its population moved elsewhere to seek job opportunities. In the 1960's, however, net outmigration dropped to a total of 120,000 people.

In the 1960's the region's manufacturing employment grew at three times the national rate, more than a half-million new nonfarm jobs were created, and average personal income increased from 64 percent to 75 percent of the rising national average.

An analysis shows this breakdown of population changes in the past decade, grouped by counties according to the size of each county's largest city or town:

Counties with city of more than 50,000 people—total 1970 population of these counties was 2,126,160; growth since 1960 was 14 percent.

Counties with city of 10,000 to 50,000—total 1970 population of these counties was 1,899,528; growth since 1960 was 34 percent.

Counties with city of 2,500 to 10,000—total 1970 population of these counties was 1,923,145, a drop of 1 percent since 1960.

Counties with no town as large as 2,500 people—total 1970 population of these counties was 780,890, a drop of more than 18 percent since 1960.

Growth of job opportunities in the medium sized counties means much to the average worker. For example, he can probably find housing closer to his job than if it were in a major urban center. This means he has to spend less time commuting and has more time available to spend with his family or work in community service programs.

Job opportunities in these medium sized counties also mean much to those engaged in marginal farming activities. In years past when the level of income from farming dropped too low they faced the prospect of giving up their land and trekking to the city to seek work—work that they often could not find.

Now there are numerous cases where such families find work in the vicinity of their farm. In this way they can keep farming while holding an industrial type job. The combined incomes enable them to provide better housing for their immediate use and, for the future, to provide a better education for their children.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has had much to do with providing these new opportunities for the people of the area. TVA built the modern navigable waterway that has attracted over $2 billion of private investment. TVA provided the abundant supply of electric power that modern industry demands. But perhaps more important, TVA has recognized that its effort is only a framework upon which State and local governments, citizens' associations, and individuals, through their initiative and work, can build a better future for the region.

ROGER SPAULDING ADDRESS ON LOW-COST HOUSING

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a copy of the text of remarks of Roger Spaulding, executive director of the Contra Costa County Housing Authority in California, to the League of Women Voters in the Richmond area, and as I believe his observations of the situation in Contra Costa County as regards federally assisted low-cost housing, are indicative of the situation prevalent in the United States, I am requesting his statement be included in the RECORD.

As Mr. Spaulding has observed, the administration is inconsistent in its approach to the housing crisis for low-income Americans. While Congress has authorized construction of 100,000 units for this fiscal year and while that number is unfortunately still only one-sixth of the Nation's yearly need, the Department of Housing and Urban Development is slowing the approval of even these units and reneging in its responsibility to the Nation's poor and to carrying out the mandate of the Congress.

I am sure Contra Costa County is not alone in its predicament. I am sure other housing authorities share equally their sense of frustration over the inaction of HUD. I am calling upon HUD to assure that the full number of units authorized are approved and the money appropriated is spent so that the poor will no longer bear the brunt of the administration's lack of concern for them.

I earnestly request the attention of my colleagues to Mr. Spaulding's remarks as it has implications for us all:

REMARKS OF ROGER B. SPAULDING

Congress over 34 years ago declared as national policy "the right of every American citizen to a decent home in a suitable environment"—and recognized this as a Federal responsibility by passing the Housing Act of 1937. This is a Federal-local partnership based on the following principles:

1. Ownership and operation by local authorities.

2. Federal loans for 100% financing.

3. Subsidy in form of level debt service covering capital costs.

4. Tenant rents based on ability to pay.

5. A local contribution for conventional housing represented by an agreement to accept 10% of shelter rent as payment for provision of all services. (In the case of Section 23 leased housing, where properties are privately owned and pay full real estate taxes, there is no local contribution. The entire amount of subsidy making up the difference between economic rents paid the owner and the rent that is paid by low-income families comes directly from Washington—a true example of revenue sharing.)

After 34 years operation the basic principles remain virtually intact—and there have really been only two major changes:

1. The subsidy that took care of only capital costs proved inadequate due to inflation, and costs accelerated much more rapidly than poor people's ability to pay rent. All housing authorities faced bankruptcy. Congress is still struggling with this one, and has applied band-aide relief by such temporary devices as an extra $10 per unit per month subsidy for unusually low-income groups such as the elderly, outright payment to housing authorities for the difference between costs and rents reduced by so-called Brooke Amendment to 25% of net income, and grants for modernization and rehabilitation of older citizens.

2. In 1965 the National Association of Home Builders successfully amended the Housing Act of 1937 to create Section 23 Leasing Program. In essence all the same ground rules apply as previously except subsidy is paid on the theoretical capital cost of a unit—and the housing authority instead of building more projects leases existing housing from a private owner.

Its major advantages:

It's non-inflationary.

Instantly available.

Pays full taxes, requires no local cash contribution or an election.

Helps with modernization and rehabilitation.

Provides economic mix of families and removes so-called stigma of project living.

Its disadvantages, obviously:

There is an inadequate supply of standard rental units.

Hasn't added new housing to a critical shortage up to date.

Well, how are things going? Despite the potpourri of Federal programs enacted to meet the housing crisis, a severe gap still exists between the promise and performance, and the gap widens daily. We have 6.7 million families in this affluent society occupying substandard housing. We need 2.6 million new homes a year of which 600,000 should be for families of low-income.

The Housing Act of 1971 allocated the public housing program about 100,000 units for this fiscal year, which by itself sounds significant. While still only one-sixth of the national goals, it is still over three times the puny allocations of the past when construction of public housing averaged about 35,000 units a year.

The Administration attaches great importance to the significant increase in the number of low-rent units placed under contract annually, but no mention is made of the fact that never before have we had such a sick society that there were applications for 535,000 units on file. Neither is the fact mentioned that despite a backlog that will take over five years to clear up at the present rate, or that the administration refused to release funds appropriated by Congress which would have provided another 45,000 units which were lost forever on June 30, 1971, the end of the fiscal year.

At the County level, the Housing Authorities of Pittsburg, San Pablo, Richmond, and Contra Costa County have 1,530 units in operation for all age groups and 330 specially designed for elderly under the conventional Authority-owned program; and 1,799 units for all age groups and 89 specially designed for elderly under the Section 23 housing program.

The aggregate waiting list of eligible low-income families is 4,894 which is not very revealing as there are over 35,000 families on welfare and probably a like number who would qualify. The administration of the program is governed by State and Federal regula-

tions, which provide among other things for the appointment of Five Commissioners by the duly elected officials of the community who serve four-year terms. In the case of Richmond, the City Council elected to constitute itself the Housing Authority Commission under State legislation passed last year.

The local Board of Commissioners is a policy group who hire an Executive Director as their administrator to carry out their sole responsibility of the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for families of low-income at rents within their financial means. Operations are circumscribed by the provisions of a contract for financial assistance with the Department of Housing and Urban Development which specifies the manner and amount of Federal contributions provided to the Authority to keep rents non-competitive with the private market. HUD also annually reviews and decides how much money a local housing authority can spend through the device of an operating budget and HUD is required by Federal statute to determine the prevailing wage rate for each locality for maintenance employees which the Authority must pay. Although autonomy in establishment of occupancy policies was written into the Housing Act by Congress, HUD arbitrarily mandated a tenant selection policy a couple of years ago that neither works nor can be defined. Six months ago they mandated a tenant lease and grievance procedure that is headed for the Courts. About the only autonomy that a Housing Authority really enjoys is the selection of its administrative employees, but here again the salary ranges, qualifications and fringe benefits must by contract comply with local pertinent public comparability which in our case is the County of Contra Costa. HUD also periodically audits financial, management, engineering, and occupancy functions to see that an Authority is in compliance with Federal statutes. If an authority's operation encompasses housing in which there is no Federal interest, State law requires an annual audit, usually performed by a private firm. The State law also requires the filing of an Annual Report with the clerk of the local public agency having jurisdiction.

OCCUPANCY

Despite our waiting list of nearly 4,000 eligible low-income families, no applicant is ever turned away although many give up in despair because of the obvious length of the waiting period. Preferences for admission are extremely complicated with five priorities based on degree of need, and in each of these categories five more order of preference involving displaced persons, the elderly, veterans, etc. Before any tenant is admitted, their annual income is verified with the employer and this is rechecked annually for non-elderly and every two years for the elderly. Families who have become over-income are asked to move only if there is available standard housing within their financial means. In our case, the single qualification for admission is that the family be of low-income and we feel a social responsibility to take care of any family on the basis of housing need and make no credit check or even a home visit. Of course this results in housing some families who are unable to comply with norms. If we are unable to accomplish rehabilitation through our home counselors, the family is asked to move. If they don't move, action is taken for eviction. We ask tenants to move for non-payment of rent, unacceptable behavior patterns, and poor housekeeping. No tenant is evicted without proper notice. Other than for non-payment of rent, they are given an opportunity of a grievance hearing before an objective committee and are advised that they may be represented by Legal Counsel if they so desire.

Of the tenant body, approximately 80% receive their principal source of income from some sort of welfare. Roughly these break down to 38% elderly and handicapped, and about 42% Aid to Families with Dependent Children, leaving some 20% gainfully employed. About half of these are in the military and the other half are young kids that got married in high school and are attempting to keep their families intact on low-paying jobs that do not require much skill.

THE PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

There is no way to generalize attitudes of the poor toward their housing desires. Some applicants specify they will accept housing in no program except leasing, and others in leasing have requested transfers to our projects. The great problem of the "project" in this day and age is not the problem of communal living but rather the grouping together by the forces of our society of families having many problems other than lack of income. Because of the small size of our projects, I resent the use of the term ghetto which seems to be rather loosely applied to all public housing these days. By my definition, a ghetto is considered a place where a large number of people live very poorly. With one possible exception, which is a direct result of the local political climate dominated by racists, I do not believe any of the projects operated by this authority can be characterized as ghettos. A great many of our resident feel they are living very well indeed, particularly since they are receiving standard accommodations at a rent substantially less than one-half of what they would be paying for comparable private accommodations.

Also it is only by building projects that the Authority can provide those services over and above shelter that are so necessary when you're in the "people business." More sophisticated public housers acknowledged long ago that housing by itself did not solve all social woes. Recognizing that lack of money permits little education and little education causes the poor to be unemployed or underemployed, the Authority has continued to encourage and expand many programs in the fields of education and employment by providing rent-free space for Concerted Services Project of Pittsburg, Neighborhood House at North Richmond, four Head Start programs, three tenant councils, two teen centers, and five elderly clubs. In addition, it provides year around on-job training through Neighborhood Youth Corps for 20 to 30 young men and women and employment to project tenants through contracts with WIN, STEP, and other Federally funded work programs.

Despite these many supportive services going far beyond the provision of physical shelter, we do continue to have families who do not regard it as a privilege to live in public housing at reduced rents. Our operating costs are being inflated each year by vandalism, non-payment of rent, and special legal expenses. However, we are philosophical and consider the creative consequence of violence, problems of law enforcement, and the deliberate encouragement of non-conference by outside forces are sympathetic of the general ills of our society but are by no means peculiar to public housing.

RACIAL OVERTONES

Ever since the Housing Authority was organized some 29 years ago, it has had a policy of open occupancy. In the past six years that I have been the Director this has been the practice as well as the policy. Charts indicating racial breakdown by project indicates that integration has been achieved in all our projects, including leasing, at a rate commensurate with the pattern of the particular locality. There is complete freedom of choice and any applicant irrespective of the ethnic background can specify the project in which they wish to live. Just as soon as they are reached on the waiting list they are housed.

I must say that we have been unable to develop any leadership from HUD in this field. One week Secretary Romney releases a statement to the effect that the hope of the inner cities is to integrate the suburbs. The next week the President jerks the rug and says flatly it is not the role of the Federal government to force its will upon the suburban communities. In a few days we hear from the Attorney General that he will move in court against economic discrimination in housing in the suburbs and at the same time intimating that if suburban communities want any further help on planning, sewer and water grants, Urban Renewal and Model Cities, they better by-golly be providing some housing for all economic groups. The inference is obvious since the greatest need lies with the minority groups. This was followed by the filing in the Federal Register of a new set of eligibility criteria for low-rent housing with high scores for such HUD tests as nondiscriminatory location, environmental impact, opportunities for training and employment, and relationship to total community planning.

This Authority's long-standing policy of open occupancy and freedom of choice was rejected by HUD a couple of years ago because "there is no reason to believe the continuation of the plan is likely to result in a greater degree of desegregation." Since a greater degree of desegregation in our projects reaching the "tip point" could only mean all black projects, I formally raised such related questions as:

1. Is HUD subscribing to separatism and pushing for all black projects?
2. If not, and integration is intended, does this mean we can impose quota systems to prevent projects from going all black?
3. How do we bring about reverse integration in all black projects in Negro communities?

These are not rhetorical questions. I have all of these combinations to face in the 19 communities in which we operate. To date they have been unwilling to answer my questions.

In the field of Affirmative Action we were pursuing an employment policy long before Executive Order 11246 was issued and currently over 30% of staff working at all levels of administration and maintenance come from the minority groups. This is in a county with a total minority population of only 17%.

If the balance of my speech sounds political, it is only because it is. No one concerned with the housing plight of the poor can keep from becoming a political creature. As far as I am concerned, the greatest problem faced by public housing is the inept stewardship of the program by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

By administrative fiat or legislation they have substituted minimum construction standards and prototype costs of Federal Housing Administration for new public housing, raising serious problems of future maintenance costs. They have also mandated the occupancy policies of local authorities with the result of increasing costs, emasculated the leasing program, dictated the type and size of units in the conventional program requiring at least 60% of the elderly to live in one-room studio units, and failed to release appropriated money necessary to continue the planning and construction of public housing necessary to meet national goals.

The possibility of California housing au-

thorities developing conventional projects was dealt a severe blow recently when the Supreme Court over-ruled the finding of the three-man Federal court and sustained the requirement for a local election before authorities could proceed with construction of any public housing units in the State of California. The Supreme Court apparently was not impressed with the fact that if you are too poor to live in FHA subsidized 235 or 236 housing, you must ask the voters of the community to decide whether or not you are entitled to a decent home in a suitable environment. The sad thing about this is that it has been demonstrated over and over again that elections that are lost are because of racial overtones and effectively throttle the attempts of the minorities to better their housing conditions through the election process.

Since certain elected high State and National officials have in the last six months deliberately created in the public mind a feeling that the main reason for the highest taxes in history is the demands of the "undeserving poor" who are somehow lumped into the welfare mess, and there is not the slightest chance of winning a referendum in this county. While there might be a slight chance of winning an election exclusively for the elderly, this really does no good as by administrative fiat HUD has established a whole new set of criteria which requires a superior rating to get approval. The policy of my Board is to neither build nor lease any studio units and they prefer to use their limited allocations to maximize amenities for elderly through use of the leased housing program which pays full real estate taxes.

The City of Richmond Housing Authority did win an election for 200 elderly housing units over two years ago and are still waiting for a contract. They apparently are lost somewhere among the unapproved applications for 535,000 units which Secretary Romney referred to as his "balanced program" in justifying his refusal to release funds appropriated by Congress. The 500 units which we applied for over a year ago apparently are also lost in this pipeline.

To sum up; the direct affect of the Supreme Court ruling is to completely preclude any possibility of construction by the Authority under the conventional program and make it impossible for us to ever exercise our option to acquire any of the Section 23 leased elderly projects although this was probably dubious at the best because of the necessity of taking the property off the tax rolls. Lack of adequate funding and special criteria eliminating public housing from so called WASP communities makes a complete farce out of the administration's commitment to integrate the suburbs and the requirement of the housing element in most communities' master plan.

Currently the prospects of the public housing program fulfilling the great unmet need are hopeless.

The question is how much worse must the current contrived housing shortage become before the poor and the minorities rise up and forcefully demand as their right the achievement of the national goal of a decent home in a suitable environment!

REPORT ON OCCUPANCY, JULY 1, 1971

Project, CAL—	Location	Total units occupied	Racial composition					Elderly by age, disability, or handicap	Displaced by Government action or natural disaster
			White	Black	American Indian	Spanish American	Oriental		
11-1	Martinez	52	46	2	0	4	0	25	0
11-2	West Pittsburg	85	58	15	0	12	0	32	0
11-3	Antioch	35	32	0	0	3	0	18	0
11-4	Brentwood	44	24	0	0	19	1	25	0
11-5	El Pueblo	168	4	164	0	0	0	48	3
11-6	North Richmond	76	0	76	0	0	0	23	1
11-8	Oakley	30	7	0	0	22	1	10	0
11-9A	North Richmond	90	0	90	0	0	0	32	0
11-9B	Do	60	0	60	0	0	0	8	0
11-10	Rodeo	250	177	53	0	13	7	58	3
11-11	Martinez	50	49	1	0	0	0	50	0
11-12	Oakley	40	31	0	0	8	1	39	0
11-13	West Pittsburg	50	41	8	0	1	0	50	0
11-14	Concord	463	436	4	0	22	1	167	0
11-14	West Pittsburg	150	115	19	0	14	2	42	9
11-14	Antioch	220	202	0	0	16	2	54	2
11-14	Oakley	90	81	0	0	9	0	57	2
11-14	Martinez	287	268	5	0	13	1	121	3
11-14	Rodeo	95	79	11	1	4	0	25	1
11-14	North Richmond	83	0	83	0	0	0	44	0
	Total	2,418	1,650	591	1	160	16	928	2

Note: Tenant body—38 percent elderly; 20 percent black; 32 percent minority races.

TRADE WITH THE SOVIET BLOC

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, an article concerning U.S. trade policy with the Soviet bloc, by the late Senator Everett M. Dirksen appeared in the June 1969 issue if Reader's Digest. At this time when we are considering increasing trade with the Communists, it might be well to take another look at Senator DIRKSEN's arguments.

The article points out that trade does not necessarily promote friendly relations. The Senator gives several examples to illustrate this point. One example he uses is that of Poland:

Consider Poland, the recipient of more than $550 million in U.S. aid and the only member of the Communist bloc awarded our "most favored nation" tariff status. American assistance was supposed to mean a better life for the Polish people and to help Poland win independence from Moscow. Instead, the Polish hard-liners in control beefed up their 250,000 man army, tripled their rocket forces and quintupled their armored divisions. Exports to North Vietnam have been stepped up sharply; the regime's second-ranking official visited Hanoi to brag that Polish anti-aircraft batteries have shot down or damaged 40 U.S. planes. Not only did Polish troops march with the Red Army into Czechoslovakia, but Warsaw has promised volunteers to Ho Chi Minh if needed in the "struggle against the imperialist aggressor."

Following Senator Dirksen's article, I insert an extremely interesting table taken from Anthony C. Sutton's excellent work "Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930–45"—Volume II of a three volume series. This table details the technical assistance given the Soviets between 1929 and 1945. We should recall that in spite of this munificence on the part of the West, the Soviets proceeded to annex Eastern Europe. Technological assistance did not provide the Soviets with a motive for acting in a more peaceful fashion, but rather supplied them with the material and technological basis for successful aggression against the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe.

The articles follow:

NEEDED: A REALISTIC EAST-WEST TRADE POLICY

(By Senator Everett M. Dirksen)

Seven years ago, a Senate subcommittee on which I served conducted an exhaustive probe of East-West trade and found that the United States and its allies were making a direct contribution to communist military and industrial strength.

What was then a serious situation has now degenerated into a critical one. Since 1962, American exports to the Soviet bloc have increased 56 percent, and those of U.S. allies 68 percent—to a total of $3.9 billion a year. Even more ominously, these shipments include material of undeniable military significance.

At a time when the Soviet Union and its satellites were keeping the Vietnam war going, the Johnson Administration unilaterally removed from the Commodity Control List more than 500 items previously barred for sale to the Soviet bloc without a special license. All were said to be "non-strategic"—"peaceful goods which may be freely exported without any risks to the United States' national interests." But a reading of the fine print turns up the following: rifle-cleaning compounds, properties, industrial chemicals,

crude rubber, aluminum and magnesium scrap.

Top Washington officials defended their decision to export $35 million worth of machine tools for a Soviet auto plant, on the ground that it will make the Kremlin more "consumer-goods minded" Senators protested in vain that there is nothing to stop the Russians from using these tools for making armored trucks and vehicles.

"As far as computers are concerned," a communist journal admits, "we are still living in primeval times. We are 50 times worse off than the United States, 15 times worse off than West Germany and Scandinavia." Yet, encouraged by Washington, top U.S. firms, including IBM and Sperry Rand, peddle their sophisticated electronic wares throughout the Soviet bloc.

Concern over such developments runs deep. "American policy on East-West trade is contradictory and self-defeating," reports Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, director of the University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Research Institute.

"A complete policy revision is necessary to curb the enemy's military-industrial buildup," says Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R., Calif.), one of Congress' top experts in the field.

"The United States must recognize the value of trade as a major cold-war weapon." says Samuel F. Clabaugh, research associate of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

When the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw Pact allies invaded Czechoslovakia last year, I called upon our government to institute an economic embargo of the Soviet Union. "It's the only weapon we have," I said. And I remain convinced that the Soviets have real reason to fear it.

EAST DEPENDS ON WEST

Actually, the communists are in desperate need of Western technological assistance. Spectacular Soviet achievements in rocketry and space exploration have distracted many from the fact that the Soviet economy is in dire straits. "We have the worst and most backward productive structure among the industrially developed countries," says Russian economist Abel G. Aganbegian. Industrial output per worker is one fourth that in the United States (agricultural output per worker, one twelfth), and the crisis is worsening.

The solution to the crisis lies with the West. The Soviet textile industry, for instance, is a severe drain on the economy, with its obsolete equipment and fantastic waste of manpower. Not surprising, Soviet agents have fanned out across the free world to purchase what they term "turnkey" factories. (Such factories are designed, built and installed by Westerners, who also train local people to run them, and thus turn over to Soviet managers the key to a complete, functioning plant.)

The Russians could, of course, build the factories themselves. But, as experts at the Foreign Policy Research Institute spell it out, "If they can procure the model from the West, mediocre technicians can copy it. Meanwhile, their best engineers need not be diverted from more important work."

As the State Department has concluded, "it is only with the infusion of Western technology, capital equipment and managerial and marketing support" that the communists can raise their productivity. Clearly, this dependence on Western technology represents a vulnerability that should be capitalized upon.

Bridge-Building? In recent years, President Johnson sought repeatedly to woo the communist bloc with promises of economic assistance. Trade delegations were dispatched to the U.S.S.R., Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. Lists of embargoed goods were slashed, and communist credit was guaranteed. American firms were encouraged to trade with bloc countries as a patriotic gesture, that could lessen international tensions. Meanwhile, provisions of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act—designed to bar U.S. aid to nations supplying the communists with strategic goods—were simply not enforced. By word and deed, Washington demonstrated its faith in "bridges of friendship" to the East.

Not surprisingly, Soviet bloc trade with Western Europe boomed. An Italian firm has contracted to supply the communists with $90 million worth of computers and calculators. Dangling credits before the East Germans, Bonn hopes to increase its trade here 150 percent by 1975.

But Washington has been unalarmed. Indeed, the director of the State Department's Office of East-West Trade, Robert B. Wright, suggested in a remarkable speech last year that the government felt that increased trade could end the cold war, that "we have nothing to fear, nothing to lose." But Wright and other advocates of expanded East-West trade are laboring under two delusions:

1. *That trade, by definition, promotes friendly relations.* History tells us otherwise. Germany and Russia were trading up to the very day that Nazi panzer columns rumbled across the Soviet borders in 1941. Scrap iron sold to the Japanese by business-as-usual Americans was fashioned into the bombs dropped on Pearl Harbor.

The argument is made that "winds of change" are blowing across the communist empire, and that American assistance can encourage liberalization. But does it?

Consider Poland, the recipient of more than $550 million in U.S. aid and the only member of the communist block awarded our "most favored nation" tariff status. American assistance was supposed to mean a better life for the Polish people and to help Poland win independence from Moscow. Instead, the Polish hard-liners in control beefed up their 250,000-man army, tripled their rocket forces and quintupled their armored divisions. Exports to North Vietnam have been stepped up sharply; the regime's second-ranking official visited Hanoi to brag that Polish anti-aircraft batteries have shot down or damaged 40 U.S. planes. Not only did Polish troops march with the Red Army into Czechoslovakia, but Warsaw has promised volunteers to Ho Chi Minh if needed in the "struggle against the imperialist aggressor."

2. *That "non-strategic" trade constitutes no danger to the United States.* The distinction between strategic and non-strategic trade is largely imaginary. Western goods of any kind relieve production bottlenecks and enable Soviet planners to shift from domestic to military production patterns.

At the same time, many "peaceful" items sold to the communists have clear military application. Consider the technical data supplied the Soviets for the production of polystyrene—a chemical used in air conditioners and other "non-strategic" items, according to the Commerce Department. Polystyrene has other uses: as a binder for explosives, as a rocket igniter, as a component for intercontinental ballistic missiles.

OIL WAR

Merely cutting off the export of strategic goods is not enough. The United States must begin fighting the cold war with the same weapons as its adversaries, recognizing that trade can be a powerful, perhaps crucial, weapon.

The Soviets themselves make no bones about it. "Trade policy is an integral part of our foreign policy," says top Soviet economist P. A. Chervyakov, and the record bears him out. In 1932, Stalin drastically cut purchases from the West—at great cost to Soviet economic development—in an attempt to intensity the free world's Great Depression. And a critical need for Western goods immediately after World War II did not deter the Soviets from holding such purchases to a minimum, in the belief that this would hamper Allied conversion to a peace-time economy.

Economic blackmail and political retaliation are practiced shamelessly. In 1949 when the Australians broke up a Soviet spy ring, Soviet purchases of badly needed Australian wool were immediately cut off. When Yugoslavia moved toward independence, the Soviets disregarded existing agreements and slapped a total embargo on all Russian-Yugoslav commerce. In 1958, the Russians shut off crude-oil deliveries to Finland, canceled orders and delayed trade negotiations there until certain conservative members of Finland's cabinet resigned. Such communist economic warfare is global. Prices are rigged, goods are dumped—all as part of the strategy to disrupt Western economies, to ensnare emerging nations and promote friction within the non-communist world.

Nothing demonstrates this quite so effectively as the "oil offsensive" that the U.S.S.R. has waged for more than a decade. Kremlin strategists believe that the American oil industry is the "foundation of Western political influence" throughout the underdeveloped world. "If this foundation cracks," a Soviet theoretician has written, "the entire edifice may come tumbling down."

To this end, Soviet oil is dumped in Western markets at ridiculously low prices. While Czechoslovakia is forced to pay 18 rubles per ton, for instance, Italy pays less than eight rubles. Result: the Russians acquire badly needed Western currency, and the economies of the United States and its oil-producing allies are threatened.

Despite this, Washington has on numerous occasions approved the export of petroleum drilling equipment, even of an entire oil refinery, to the Soviet bloc.

BEST WEAPON

It is time for the United States to tie its trade to global politics, to insist on getting from the communists something in return—a quid pro quo—for the scientific and technological genius they need so desperately from us. By demanding political concessions for economic favors, as Georgetown Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky suggests, the United States will be following a practical alternative to complete embargo or haphazard liberalization.

Such a policy would allow for credits and cash payments, consumer goods and producer goods. Adaptable to changing conditions, it would infuse a consistency and a rationality into our trade relations with the entire communist bloc. The list of concessions would be graded. It could include the payment of long-standing Lend-Lease debts, guaranteed access to Berlin, a hands-off attitude by the Soviets toward Latin America and the Middle East.

Such a policy, to be effective, requires what is now tragically lacking—a sense of unity among the Western industrial powers. There must be established a free-world trade organization that would supervise all exchanges with the Soviet bloc, protect free countries against the disruptive tactics of communist economic strategists, and outline effective countermeasures.

The need for a bold new policy on East-West trade is clear, as President Nixon is well aware. As long ago as 1962, he demanded that the Western powers adopt a solid trade front in the struggle against communism. "Trade and economic sanctions must be wielded as a lever at the bargaining table to move the Russians from their intransigent positions," he said. "The Berlin Wall might have crumbled in a week if we had threatened a complete economic embargo on East Germany. The Soviet Union's support of guerrillas in South Vietnam might well have been traded for the right to buy Western goods. Western productivity, technical know-how and trade add up to one of our best weapons. We must use it in the cold war."

That was true then. It is even truer today.

APPENDIX C

TECHNICAL-ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND WESTERN COMPANIES, 1929–45

Western company	Country of origin	Technical transfer to Soviet Union
Accounting and Tabulating Machine Co.	United States	Power machines.
Akron Rubber Reclaiming Co	do	Rubber-plant reclamation; training Soviet nationals.
Aktiebolaget Vallenbyggnadsbyran	Sweden	Construction of Svir Dam.
Alco Products, Inc. (Division of American Locomotive).	United States	Petroleum refineries.
Allen & Garcia Inc	do	Coal mine development.
Allgemeine Elektrizitats Gesellschaft	Germany	Electrical machinery.
American Can Co	United States	Canning processes.
Ansaldo	Italy	Shipbuilding.
Ansonia Clock Co	United States	Clocks and watches.
Audio-Cinema, Inc	do	Sound film technology.
Austin Co	do	Automobile plant construction; design of Gorki city.
Babcock & Wilcox, Inc	do	Boiler design.
Badger, E. B., & Sons	do	Wood distillation, oil refineries.
Bagley & Sewell Co	do	Newsprint manufacture.
Baldwin Locomotive Works	do	Locomotive repair shops.
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad	do	Railroad operations.
Birdsboro Steel Foundry & Machine Co.	do	Hydraulic presses.
Birmingham Small Arms Co	England	Bicycles.
Bliss, E. W., Co	United States	Power-plant design; small arms ammunition.
Blom and Kamroth	do	Meat-packing plants.
Boeing Aircraft Co	do	Aircraft.
Borsig, A	Germany	Refrigeration technology.
Brandt, Arthur J	United States	Reconstruction of AMO works.
British Thomson-Houston Co., Ltd	United Kingdom	Power stations.
Brown-Boveri Co	Switzerland	Gas blowers; aluminum mill equipment.
Brown Instrument Co	United States	Electrical recording instruments.
Brown-Lipe Gear Co	do	Gear manufacture for automobile industry.
Bucyrus-Erie Co	do	Excavating equipment.
Budd Manufacturing Co	do	1934 auto model change (21S).
Burd Piston Ring Co	do	Tractors.
Burrell-Mase Engineering Co	do	Expansion and management of Grosneft.
Casale Ammonia S.A	Italy	Nitrogen fixation; manufacture of synthetic ammonia.
Caterpillar Tractor Co	United States	Training Soviet nationals.
Cellulose de Bourges	France	Chemicals.
Chain Belt Co	United States	Conveyors.
Chase, Frank D., Inc	do	Design of foundry projects.
Cheretti & Tonfani	Italy	Design and construction of conveyors.
Chicago Kitchen Co	United States	Design of community kitchens.
Cie de Produits Chimiques et Electrométallurgiques Alais, Froques et Camargue.	France	Aluminum.
Clark, Wallace & Co	United States	Gantt methods.
Cleveland Tractor Co	do	Training Soviet nationals.
Cooper, H. L. & Co., Inc	do	Dniepr Dam.
Craven Bros. (Manchester), Ltd	United Kingdom	Special machine tools.
Curtiss-Wright Corp	United States	Aircraft engine manufacturing license.
Davy Bros., Ltd	United Kingdom	Forging manipulators.
Deere & Co	United States	Agricultural equipment.
Deilmann Bergbau	Germany	Design of mines at Solikamsk.
Demag Aktiengesellschaft	do	Manufacture of cranes, hoisting equipment and blooming mills.
Deutsche Tiefbohr A–G	do	Drilling deep water wells.
Deutz Motorenfabrik A–G	do	Construction of Deutz diesel engines.
Dewey & Almy Chemical Co	United States	Crab meat containers.
Diebold Safe & Lock Co. (Diebold, Inc.).	do	Watch factory.
Disticoque S.A	France	Coke ovens.
Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc	United States	Aircraft: DC–3.
Dow Chemical Co	do	Styrene.
Dueber-Hampden Watch Co	do	Construction and equipment of watch plant.
Du Pont (E. I.) de Nemours & Co	do	Synthetic ammonia, nitric acid and fertilizer technology.
Eastman Construction Engineering	do	Construction.
Electric Auto-Lite Co	do	Electrical equipment in autos and tractors.
Elektrokemisk	Norway	Manufacture of Soderberg electrodes.
Ericsson, L. M., A/B	Sweden	Telephone equipment.
Ex-Cell-O Aircraft and Tool Corp	United States	Stated by Soviets as agricultural implements.
Fairbanks Aviation Corp	do	Aircraft manufacture.
Farben, I. G	Germany	Chemicals.
Farrel-Birmingham Co., Inc	United States	Sykes machines.
Ferguson, Hardy S., & Co	do	Paper-mill technology.
Fiat s.p.a	Italy	Automobiles, aircraft, ships.
Ford Motor Co	United States	Automobile plant construction and auto tire plant.
Foster-Wheeler Corp	do	Petroleum refineries.
Freyn Engineering Co	do	Iron and steel plants.
Frolick & Knupfel	Germany	Design and construction of mines.
Gaillard-Parrish	United Kingdom	Sulfuric acid.
Gibbs, Harry D	United States	Chemical processes; phthalic anhydride.
Gogan Machine Co	do	Automobile bumpers.
Goodman Manufacturing Co	do	Coal cutters.
Graver Corp	do	Refineries.
Great Northern Telegraph	Denmark	Telegraph operations.
Grusonwerk, Friedrich Krupp	Germany	Manufacture of equipment for crushing plants.
Hahn, A. W	United States	Aluminum powder.
Harburger, Eisen, and Bronzewerke, A-G.	Germany	Manufacture and design of equipment for oil-crushing mills.
Heinkel	do	Aircraft.
Henshien, H. G	United States	Meat packing plants.
Hercules Motor Corp	United States	Reconstruction of Yaroslavl truck engine plant.
Hercules Powder Co	do	Nitrocellulose; cotton linters.
Hilaturas Casablancas, S.A	Spain	Coal cutters.
Houdry Process Corp	United States	Catalysts.
Humboldt-Duetz Motoren, A-G	Germany	Diesel engines (all sizes).
Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd	United Kingdom	Chemical manufacture.
International General Electric Co., Inc.	United States	Electrical equipment (all types).
International Harvester Co	Canada	Agricultural implements.
Do	United States	Training Soviet nationals.
Irving Air Chute Co., Inc	do	Parachutes.
Isacco, Vittorio	Italy	Helicopters.
Jenkins Co	United States	Petroleum refineries.
Kahn, Albert, Inc	do	Supervision of 5-year plan design and construction.
Kallitt Products, Inc	do	Electrical equipment.
Karlstad Mechaniska Verkstaden A/B.	Sweden	Construction of turbines, Svirstroi.
Klhorn, Oskar, & Co	Germany	Production of artificial silk by viscose process.
Koppers Construction Co	United States	Coke ovens and by-products.
Krupp, Friedrich, A. G	Germany	Manufacture of special grades of steel, cement.
Kugellager, Vereinigte	do	Ball bearings.
La Compagnie Générale de Téléграphie.	France	Radios.
Lockwood, Green & Co., Inc	United States	Textile-plant construction.
Loeffler	Czechoslovakia	High-pressure boilers.
Longacre Engineering & Construction Co.	United States	Apartment buildings.
Lucas & Luick	do	Gas plants and pipelines.
Lummus Co	do	Refinery construction.
Lurgi Gesellschaft für Chemie and Hüttenwesen m.b.H.	Germany	Sulfuric acid process.
Maatschappi	Holland	Saccharification of wood pulp for production of fodder and glucose.
Macchi	Italy	Flying boats.
Manchu Machine Works	Manchuria	Machine-tool plant.
Manchurian Machine Tool	do	Do.
Marietta Manufacturing Co	United States	Carbon-black plant unit.
Marshall & Sons, Ltd	United Kingdom	Locomotives for lumber industry.
Martin, Glenn L., Co	United States	Bomber design.
Maschinen und Bronze-Waren Fabrik A-G.	Germany	Machine tools.
Maschinenbau A-G	do	Manufacture of compressors.
Maschinenbau-Anstalt 'Humboldt'	do	Installation of concentrator equipment.
Mashinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg A-G.	do	Construction of MAN—Diesel engines, simple 4-cycle motors, simple and double 2-cycle motors with and without compressors, and machines and equipment for cold storage plants.
McClintock & Marshall Construction Co.	United States	Building erection for Stalingrad Tractor Plant.
McCormick Co	do	Baking-plant design.
McDonald Engineering Co	do	Industrial plants, cement, elevators.
McKee, Arthur G., & Co	do	Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant; petroleum refineries.
Mechanical Engineering (Chicago)	do	Meat-packing plants.
Merritt Engineering & Sales Co., Inc	do	Manufacture of rolled-steel railraod-car wheels.
Messer Co. A-G	Germany	Construction of autogenous welding equipment.
Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Co., Ltd.	United Kingdom	Construction of steam turbines; plants.
Midwest Rubber Reclaiming, Co	United States	Assistance in rubber-plant construction; training Soviet nationals.
Miller, Max B., and Co	do	Petroleum refineries.
Moisseiff, Leon S	do	Bridge consultation.
Multibestos Co	do	Design and technical assistance in construction of factory for asbestos products.
National Rubber Machinery Co	do	Tire-building machines.
Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.	do	Turbine construction.
Nickel, Arthur, Co	do	Iron-ore mining.
Nitrogen Engineering Corp	do	Ammonia-fertilizer plant construction and operation.
Nobile, General Umberto	Italy	Airships.
Nordberg Manufacturing Co	United States and United Kingdom.	Railroad equipment.
Oglebay, Norton Co	United States	Iron-ore mine development.
Ohio Locomotive Crane Co	do	Operation and servicing of cranes.
Oliver Farm Equipment Co	do	Tractor plows.
Otis Elevator Co	do	Moscow subway elevators.
Owens Bottle Co	do	Bottle-closing patent and machinery for silicate industries.
Parke, Davis & Co	do	Pharmaceutical products.
Passburg, Emil, and Berthold Block	Germany	Design of vacuum plants.
Penick & Ford, Ltd., Inc	United States	Construction of corn production and refining plants.
Pennsylvania Railroad	do	Railroad operating methods.
Peterson, Hugo	Germany	Peterson sulfuric acid process.
Petroleum Engineering Corp	United States	Petroleum refineries.
Pflanzennamme	Germany	Manufacture of peat products.
Polakov, W. N	United States	Management consultants.
Pontiac Engineering Co	do	Smelter construction.
Power-Gas Corp., Ltd	United Kingdom	Gas generator plant.
Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Co	United States	Stated by Soviets as agricultural implements.
Radio Corp. of America	do	Exchange of patents and information, radio and TV.
Radiore Co	do	Prospecting assistance.
Remington Rand, Inc	do	Office equipment.

APPENDIX C—Continued

TECHNICAL-ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND WESTERN COMPANIES, 1929–45—Continued

Western company	Country of origin	Technical transfer to Soviet Union
Republic Aviation Corp.	United States	Aircraft.
Richard Bros.	do	Tractor manufacture.
Riedinger Maschinen- und Bronzewarenfabrik A-G.	Germany	Metals manufacture.
Roberts & Shafer Co.	United States	Detailed designs and plant drawings, Donetz coal trust.
Rockwell, W. S., Co.	do	Furnace technology at Stalingrad.
Rosoff Subway Construction Co.	do	Subway construction (probably not implemented).
Rust Brothers	do	Rust cotton-picking machine.
Safety Mining Co.	do	Manufacture of Cardox.
Suerman Bros., Inc.	do	Equipment operation.
Savoia	Italy	Flying boats.
Sayer, E. Y., Engineering Corp.	United States	Steam electric plant.
Scintilla A-G	Switzerland	Manufacture of magnetoes and ignition equipment.
Seabrook, C. F., Co.	United States	Road construction.
Seiberling Rubber Co.	do	Sale of rubber tire plant.
Seversky Aircraft Corp.	do	Aircraft.
Sharples Specialty Co.	do	Petroleum centrifuge equipment.
Siemens-Schukert	Germany	Electrical equipment.
Smidth, F. L., A/S	Denmark	Cement plants.
Smith, C. V., Co., Thetford	Canada	Asbestos milling.
Societe de Prospection Electrique Procedes, Schlumberger.	France	Electrical prospecting for oil.
Societe Francaise Anonyme 'Lumiere'	do	Manufacture of films.
Societes du Duralumin	do	Duralumin.
Socereis de Strasbourg S. A.	do	Production of artificial silk by viscose process.
Southwestern Engineering Co.	United States	Design, construction and operation of metal plants.
Sperry Gyroscope Co., Inc.	do	Marine instruments, bomb sights.
Standard Alcohol Co.	do	Rubber technology.
Standard Oil Co. of New York	do	Operation of Batum refinery: synthetic ethyl alcohol.
Stockholms Superfosfat Fabriks Aktiebolaget.	Sweden	Construction, equipment, and operation of plant with annual production of 20,000 tons calcium cyanamid and 3,000 tons carbid (Chernorechensk Plant); manufacture of yellow prussiate of potash; construction of equipment and operation of Karabliss Cyanamid and Carbide Plant.
Stuart, James & Cooke, Inc.	United States	Coal industry; grain elevators.
Sullivan Machinery Co.	do	Mining equipment.
Sulzer Gebruder A-G	Germany	Construction of 2-cycle Sulzer diesel engines.
Swasey, Warner P.	United States	Tractor manufacture.
Szepesi, Eugene	do	Accounting systems in textile mills.
Taft, Pierce Manufacturing Co.	do	Manufacturing of tools, jigs, etc.
Telefunken Gesellschaft A-G	Germany	Manufacture of long-distance receiving sets.
Thew Shovel Co.	United States	Dragline operation.
Timken-Detroit Axle Co.	do	Automobile industry.
Torfplattenwerke A-G	Germany	Construction of plant for manufacture of peat insulation plates.
Tube Reducing Co.	United States	Tubemill installations.
Union Construction Co.	do	Drawings and specifications for dredges.
Union Switch & Signal Co.	do	Railroad automatic block signals.
United Engineering & Foundry Co.	do	Hot and cold wide-strip mills in steel and aluminum industries.
Universal Oil Products Inc.	do	Refinery construction.
U.S. Wheel Track Layer Corp.	do	Christie tanks.
Verband Deutscher Werkzeugmaschinfabrik Ausfuhr.	Germany	Organization of joint technical office bureau in Berlin for execution of designs for equipment of metal manufacturing plants; organization of machine display room in Moscow.
Vereinigte Carborundum & Elektritwerke A-G.	do	Manufacture and design of plant for artificial abrasives.
Vereinigte Kugellager Fabriken A-G	do	Manufacture of ball bearings.
Veritas S.A.	France	Technical assistance on tanker construction.
Vickers-Armstrongs, Ltd.	United Kingdom	Tanks.
Villar-Perosa Officine (RIV) s.p.a.	Italy	Manufacture of ball bearings.
Vom Bauer	United States	Electric furnaces.
Vultee Aircraft (Div. of Aviation Manufacturing Corp.).	do	Bombers.
Webber & Wells, Inc.	do	Food processing.
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co.	do	Powerplant design, aviation test equipment.
Westvaco Chlorine Products Corp.	do	Chemical industry.
Wheeler, Archer E., Engineering Co.	do	Nonferrous metals.
White, J. G., Engineering Corp.	do	Technical assistance on Svir Dam
Wilson, M. L.	do	
Winkler-Koch Engineering Co.	do	Cracking technology.
Yukon Fur Farms, Inc.	do	Organization of animal farms.
Zahn A-G	Germany	Carbon disulfide.

Note: These are equivalent to the type III concessions described in vol. I.

NIX HEARINGS ON POSTAL SQUALOR COVERED IN JOE YOUNG STORY IN WASHINGTON STAR, JULY 29, 1971

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the Postal Facilities and Mail Subcommittee of which I am chairman has been holding hearings on the squalid working conditions in the Postal Service.

Yesterday, we heard the strongest indictment of the Postal Service to come to my attention in all the years I have been in Congress.

Jim Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, listed scores of post offices around the United States in each postal region in which conditions are so bad that it is a matter of degradation for postal employees to work in them.

I would like to insert the Joseph Young story and the testimony of Jim Rademacher into the RECORD at this point.

I hope that Members of Congress will note this testimony because post offices in their districts may have been discussed.

Jim Rademacher deserves the thanks of the Congress for preparing this testimony. It is thorough. It is damning.

The material follows:

POST OFFICE "SQUALOR" HIT

(By Joseph Young)

Postal employes are working in "squalor and degradation," with conditions in some area post offices worse than in other parts of the country, the president of the AFL–CIO National Association of Letter Carriers has told Congress.

Testifying before the House Post Office Facilities subcommittee, which is investigating postal working conditions, James Rademacher described the situation in many post offices as "pestilential" and "revolting."

"In some, it is a wonder that one or another of the more repulsive epidemics has not made an appearance," Rademacher said. "In some communities elected officials and health authorities have said that if the post office were not being operated by the federal government, they would have condemned the post office building as being unsafe and unsanitary," he added.

POOR MORALE, APATHY CITED

He said the Postal Service's excuse has always been lack of money. To this, he responded "Nonsense. In the richest and strongest nation in the world there simply has to be enough money to prevent federal employes from having to work in squalor and degradation."

The result is poor morale and apathy by some employes toward their jobs, Rademacher said. "It is a wonder that in some areas the mail gets delivered at all," he added.

Rademacher listed these conditions at the main city post office here and in at least 11 stations—Anacostia, Benning, Brightwood, Brookland, Chevy Chase, Columbia Heights, Georgia Avenue Garage, Friendship Heights, Georgetown, Parcel Post Annex and Woodridge.

Overcrowding, rundown facilities, filthy toilets, insufficient room for lockers, inadequate swing rooms and loading platforms, bad ventilation and no air conditioning.

Arlington, Va., south station: 62 employes in a facility built to accommodate 20; inadequate toilet facilities, with raw sewage constantly seeping onto the floor. Employes' eating facilities adjoin the toilet. No air conditioning, with temperatures of 100 degrees frequently recorded in the summer. Electrical system overloaded and dangerous.

Arlington, Va., north station: Inspection service recommended the bulding be replaced seven years ago, but no action taken. Floors weak and sagging. Overloaded electrical system. No lockers. Last winter employes were without heat for a week because a boiler burned out. Only two toilets for 60 people and one sink for washing.

Arlington, Va., Shirlington station: Dirty building with rats and "armies of cockroaches." Overloaded electrical system.

Arlington, Va., Rosslyn, Court house and Preston King stations: Serious overcrowding and inadequate loading space.

Alexandria, Va.: Filthy toilets. Floors and cases are seldom cleaned. Ceilings leak. Plaster rots.

Unusual offer—In what he termed an "unprecedented offer." Small Business Administrator Thomas Kleppe has offered all central office SBA employes an opportunity to transfer to a nonsupervisory job in the regional or district office of their choice anywhere in the country.

No matter which geographical locale the employes choose, they will be guaranteed a job at the same salary they now have, and all travel and moving expenses will be paid.

Kleppe said he was making the offer in a move to provide maximum services to the small businessman in all parts of the country and to also help further the career opportunities of employes by giving them a chance to work in the area of their choice.

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. RADEMACHER

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: For the record, my name is James H. Rademacher and I am President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, with headquarters at 100 Indiana Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C. We have almost 220,000 members in more than 6,000 Branches

throughout all the 50 States and all our possessions.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for permitting me to come here and testify concerning the revolting working conditions which prevail throughout the postal establishment.

The leadership and most of the membership of the National Association of Letter Carriers are convinced that through the years management of the Postal Establishment has completely ignored the physical needs of the postal service and its employees.

Certainly, as you can see by reading this report, working conditions in many post offices in the nation are pestilential. In some, it is a wonder that one or another of the more repulsive epidemics has not made an appearance. In some communities elected officials and health authorities have said that if the Post Office were not being operated by the Federal Government, they would have condemned the Post Office Building as being unsafe and insanitary.

The excuse has been—(as it always has been)—that there is no money available to make the improvements necessary.

Nonsense.

In the richest and strongest nation in the world there simply *has* to be enough money to prevent Federal Employees from having to work in squalor and degradation.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, if you have delicate stomachs, you may have difficulty reading this report in its entirety. We hope this difficulty can be overcome, since the sordid story running through these pages is both true and important. The facts were gathered through our making an honest survey of conditions in the field. We stand by the findings of our men in the field.

Throughout this report the reader will find evidence—gathered directly from the employees themselves—of primitive conditions, insensitive and stupid supervisory attitudes and, on the part of management, a total disregard for the service or the convenience of the American people.

And still management wonders why morale is poor—why the employees are restive—why some employees are apathetic about their jobs.

We suggest that it is very difficult to be enthusiastic about a job that requires a man to work in dark and airless rooms filled with the stink of human wastes and supervised by persons who have no concern for the service.

It is a wonder that in some areas the mail gets delivered at all.

I suggest that the attitudes and the enthusiasm of working men are directly affected by the conditions under which they work. In many of the facilities described in the following pages it is impossible to believe that a man or a woman could operate efficiently or happily.

Some of the places in which postal employees must work are so disgusting they would turn the stomach of a not-too finicky baboon. They have to be seen—and smelt—to be believed.

There is no need for me to elaborate on these conditions. They are all spelled out in these following pages, where I have cited hundreds of specific cases where conditions are not only subnormal but subhuman.

I am submitting herewith the Agreement reached by the seven exclusive postal unions and management of the United States Postal Service during negotiations on the subject of safety and health. To attempt to correct all of the unsafe and unhealthy practices existing in the Postal Establishment today merely by a written agreement is totally inadequate. Immediate attention must be given to the needs for appropriations earmarked specifically to eliminate and terminate unsafe and unhealthy conditions especially those we have made reference to in this testimony. I trust that your Committee, Mr. Chairman, will be instrumental in seeing that these intolerable conditions are corrected in short order.

AGREEMENT

ARTICLE XI—SAFETY AND HEALTH

Section 1. It is the responsibility of management to provide safe working conditions and to develop a safe working force. The Unions will cooperate with and assist management to live up to this responsibility.

Section 2. The Employer and the Unions insist on the observance of safe rules and safe procedures by employees and insist on correction of unsafe conditions.

Section 3. To assist in the positive implementation of the program, there shall be established:

A. At the Employer's Headquarters level, a joint Labor-Management Safety Committee to consider and make recommendation on the various aspects of the Employer's Safety Program. Representation on the Committee, to be specifically determined by the Employer and the Unions, shall include one person from each of the Unions and representatives from appropriate Departments in the Postal Service. The chairman will be designated by the Employer. The Committee will be scheduled to meet quarterly and at such other times as the Committee may deem necessary.

B. The Employer will make Health Service available for the treatment of job related injury or illness where it determines they are needed. This Health Service will be available from any of the following sources: U.S. Public Health Service; other government or public medical sources within the area; independent or private medical facilities or services that can be contracted for; or in the event funds, spaces, and personnel are available for such purposes, they may be staffed at the installation. Determination of source of service shall be made by the Employer.

C. At each postal installation having 100 or more employees, a joint Labor-Management Safety and Health Committee will be established. Similar committees may be established upon request of the Installation Head in installations having fewer than 100 employees, as appropriate.

Section 4. There shall be equal representation on the Committee between the Unions and management. The representation on the Committee to be specifically determined by the Employer and the Unions shall include one person from each of the Unions and appropriate management representatives. The Chairman will be designated by the Employer.

Section 5. Individual grievance shall not be made the subject of discussion during Safety and Health Committee meetings.

Section 6. It is the intent of this program to insure broad exposure to employees, to develop interest by active participation of employees, to insure new ideas being presented to the Committee and to make certain that employees in all areas of an Installation have an opportunity to be represented. At the same time, it is recognized that for the program to be effective, it is desirable to provide for a continuity in the committee work from year to year. Therefore, except for the Chairman and Secretary, the Committee members shall serve three-year terms but shall not be eligible to succeed themselves.

Section 7. The Safety and Health Committee shall meet at least quarterly and at such other times as designated by the Chairman. The meeting shall be on official time. Each Committee member shall submit agenda items to the Secretary at least three (3) days prior to the meeting. A member of the Health Unit will be invited to participate in the meeting of the Labor-Management Safety and Health Committee when agenda item(s) relate to the activities of the Health Unit.

Section 8. The Committee shall review the progress in accident prevention and health at the installation; determine program areas which should have increased emphasis.

The Committee shall at its discretion render reports to the Installation Head and may at its discretion make recommendations to the Installation Head for action on matters concerning safety and health. The Installation Head shall within a reasonable period of time advise the Committee the recommended action has been taken or advise the Committee as to why it has not. If the Committee is not satisfied as to why the action was not taken, it may refer the matter to the Committee at Headquarters' level which shall review the subject and undertake to see to it that appropriate action, if any, is taken.

When approved by the Chairman of the Committee, on the spot inspection of particular troublesome areas may be made by individual Committee members or a Sub-Committee or the Committee as a whole. When so approved, the Committee members shall be on official time while making such inspection.

FORMER PHILADELPHIA REGION

In this region there are major problems with antiquated facilities in which working conditions are not only sub-standard but sub-human. In some cases, regional management seemed willing to correct glaring deficiencies but, somehow, never got around to it. In other cases, as we shall see below, management seems apparently indifferent to the fact that employees are living under impressively foul conditions.

Scranton, Pa. (South Side Station): For more than a year, the letter carriers have been complaining that the carrier section of this station has no ventilation, no circulation of air. In the summertime it is a Black Hole of Calcutta and the odors are intolerable. In winter it is cold. The file on this case is more than half an inch thick, and the answers from regional officials are obviously form letters, indicating no real human concern. The employees are asking for adequate fans to move the air around. A new summer has come and still nothing has been done.

Ridgewood, N.J.: The carrier section is located in a dark, dank and airless basement with a concrete floor. When complaint first was made, in 1970, 46 employees were forced to use a washroom that consisted of one urinal, one stool and one wash basin. The combination of monstrous overuse of these inadequate facilities and a deficient ventilation system made the air throughout the entire work area nauseating. The work area itself was dangerously filthy.

Management did arrange for one more toilet bowl and a wash basin and promised an additional urinal. It also promised rubber mats on the floor in front of the cases. The Postmaster's "solution" to the bad circulation problem was to forbid the carriers to smoke at their cases!

Rutherford, N.J. (Lyndhurst facility): The Postmaster at Rutherford, in a letter dated January 19, 1970, to this regional director complained that employees "are required to work in an atmosphere of cold, falling ceilings, rotting floors and window sashes and poor lighting". Regional officials proclaimed the facility as the worst they ever encountered. Both the Mayor and the representative of the Department of Health intimated they would have condemned the building out of hand if it were not being operated by the Federal Government. (The latter found conditions so unsanitary and unsafe that he recommended the building be demolished.) Money for replacing the Post Office was denied.

Woodbury, N.J.: The carrier section here is located in the cellar and was not only poorly ventilated but also a fire trap, there being only a ladder type stair case leading out of the cellar on to the main floor. When the employees filed a grievance concerning these

intolerable conditions, the Postmaster said their complaints had no merit. He did agree to cut a fire door in the cellar when funds were available.

Tom's River, N.J.: There the facility is new but the complaint concerns invasion of privacy. Despite the admonitions of Congress and the promises of management, inspectors' peep-holes were built into the facility, overlooking both the men's and women's locker rooms. The Postmaster's only reply to complaints was that the policy was to provide maximum surveillance everywhere except in toilets.

FORMER MINNEAPOLIS REGION

The Minneapolis Region (Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota) suffers from weather conditions as severe as, if not more severe than, any other region in the land. Adequate facilities are absolutely essential in an area where climatic conditions vary from one extreme to another, or, so one would think. The fact is that facilities generally are badly overcrowded, inadequate, in many cases unsanitary, poorly heated and decrepit. Significantly, in many instances, plans for replacing inadequate facilities have suddenly been dropped without sufficient reason given. Postal employees are convinced that the plans have been held up until the US Postal Service is officially installed. Then, the plans will be dusted off and the new corporation will get all the credit for their improvement. Meanwhile, the postal employees are forced to put up with intolerable conditions.

Milwaukee, Wis. (Main Post Office): This $30 million edifice is comparatively new. The architect and the planners, however, forgot to provide any space for the carrier section. The entire carrier operation has been jammed into the little area originally allotted to the special delivery messengers. There simply isn't room enough to work efficiently or to think straight.

Milwaukee (Federal Station): No ventilation; minimal heating. The toilet stalls have no doors, no privacy. There is no employee parking. Loading facilities are very poor. Management says nothing can be done because "they" are going to build a new building. But "they" never seem to get around to it.

Milwaukee (Bay View Station): Badly overcrowded. Carriers must work right next to platform doors, which are always open. This means severe cold in winter; heat in summer. The toilet facilities are very poor (3 stools, 90 men). There is no employee parking.

Milwaukee (Layton Park Station): So crowded it is a health and safety hazard. Dock space most inadequate. Plumbing is primitive. Employee parking non-existent.

Milwaukee (Fairview Station): Built in 1956 to house 50 routes. Now houses 75 routes, and 117 employees. Most overcrowded of all Milwaukee stations. Plumbing most inadequate; so is dock space.

Milwaukee (Wautatosa Station): Seriously overcrowed. Poor docking facilities.

Milwaukee (Parklawn Station): Scheduled for $80,000 remodeling job, but the job has been postponed. Heating is almost non-existent. Lighting is poor. Floors are rough; doors are drafty. Skylight leaks onto carrier cases, and has done so for years. Bad ventilation.

Milwaukee (Teutonia Station): Poor toilets; poor docking. Roof always leaks onto carrier cases. No employee parking.

Milwaukee (Hilltop Station): This facility should be closed down because of its unsanitary condition.

Milwaukee (Whitefish Bay Station): New facility badly needed. The present station is terribly overcrowded, the loading area inadequate, the sanitary arrangements inadequate and there is no employee parking.

In addition, the following Milwaukee stations report no employee parking: Harbor, Western, Mid-City, West Allis, Greenfield, Villard, Hampton, Fred John, Bradley, Upper Third, Shorewood. Most of these also report inadequate toilet facilities. Almost all stations have either no swing room at all or a very small and poor swing room. It should in fairness be added that Milwaukee NALC leaders do report very friendly and satisfactory labor-management relations at the local level.

Worthington, Minn.: Facility was built 35 years ago when the city had one-third of its present population and about one-fifth of its present mail volume. Conditions are desperately crowded. Men work back to back. Carriers have no place to put excess mail except on the floor, hoping nobody will walk by and step on it. A new building has been promised, but has been postponed.

Manitowoc, Wisc.: In this city the complaints are about the service, not the facilities. Perishable goods transported by Parcel Post from Ohio have taken 11 days and have arrived 60% spoiled. Perishable goods from South Dakota have taken 14 days and have been 75% spoiled. Perishable goods from Miami have taken 15 days and have been 95% spoiled. Parcel Post has taken 8 days from Milwaukee, 86 miles away, and 11 days from St. Louis. The men are embarrassed by these constant service failures because, inevitably, they, the men who deliver the tardy goods, are unfairly shouldered with the blame. Besides, the men want to be proud of the service and are frustrated when they cannot be proud.

Black River Falls, Wis.: Facility crowded. Men stack mail on floor and on heat registers. The Assistant Postmaster and sometimes the Postmaster do clerical work, depriving temps of work hours. Management policies in this Post Office seem antediluvian and very anti-labor.

Durand, Wis.: The workers in this crowded little Post Office have been promised a new building time and time again but nothing has happened, nor will happen until July 1. The present building has practically no heating and no air conditioning.

Menomonie, Wis.: Seriously crowded conditions. There is no air conditioning, and the carriers' cases are placed up against the east wall, cutting out all ventilation from that end, and much light. Management will not consider rearranging the floor plan so as to make conditions more fitting for humans.

Kaukana, Wis.: Management is so curtailment happy they even held back the telephone bills because the Postmaster says the phone company doesn't rate first class service. When the janitor died in December of 1968 management did not hire a successor for several months—while the dirt mounted high. There is a custodian now but he works only a 35 hour week and cannot do the job in that time. Parcel Post is a disgrace in Kaukana. The men are ashamed of the service. The Postmaster and Assistant Postmaster each clerk about two hours every day.

Superior, Wis. (annex): This is the largest facility in town and it is badly overcrowded. Toilet facilities are inadequate for the male employees. There are no facilities for women employees. They must make their own arrangements elsewhere.

Superior (South End Station): The windows in this station cannot be opened so there is no ventilation at all. There is no loading dock. Mail must be dragged in a hamper to an alley and only one vehicle at a time can be loaded.

Minneapolis, Minn. (Camden Station): Crowded, insufficient lockers, tiny and inadequate swing room. No dock facilities. Bad ventilation. No air conditioning. The one toilet is co-educational.

Minneapolis (Columbia Heights Station): Overcrowded. Minute loading dock with no protection from the weather. Inadequate swing room. Insufficient lockers. No ventilation, no air conditioning. One toilet. This also is co-educational.

Minneapolis (University Station): Inadequate dock. The station is a fire hazard of serious proportions; it has insufficient exits and no windows for ventilation.

Moorhead, Minn.: Very poor heating (in one of the coldest towns in the northern hemisphere). There are no plug-ins for engine heaters—a circumstance that wastes a great deal of time in Moorhead and is a source of frustration.

Rochester, Minn.: This is a brand new facility, only a year old. Already the furnace cuts out completely on the coldest days and the men sort mail in their mittens. Electric doors don't work and haven't worked for months. Nobody seems anxious to fix things up and maintain them properly.

Aberdeen, S. Dak.: Heating is very poor. Ventilation is worse. There is very inadequate dock space. No employee parking.

Rapid City, S. Dak.: The heating is atrocious, the lighting is low in candle power and poorly located. There are no exhaust fans and no cooling fans. Management is tyrannical and insists on almost constant street observation. This is a very unhappy office.

Carrington, N. Dak.: Here the complaint is bad service and lack of interest on the part of management in improving service. Only the *Wall Street Journal* gets priority treatment. Mail (first class) from Chicago regularly takes three to four days.

Grand Forks, N. Dak.: Management is not interested in service. It is also most arbitrary in dealing with labor. (Example: It is almost impossible to get off work to attend national or state conventions.) Supervision bullies the men who ask for sick leave. This is a very unhappy postal community. Facilities are inadequate. In the Air Base Station females are not permitted to use the one toilet and must go elsewhere.

La Crosse, Wis.: Ancient building, not adaptable to modern postal operations. Washroom facilities most inadequate for both sexes. Carrier cases are in basement with bad light and worse ventilation. Floor is so bad it swells into rolling hills during summer. Employees park in a mudhole.

Kenosha, Wis.: The new wing of the Post Office is only seven years old, but it was badly planned. Heating system is totally unreliable. There is no ventilation of any kind in the washroom. It is necessary to keep the door open in order to survive while using it. To make matters worse, supervision in this Post Office tends to be tyrannical and arbitrary, driving employees morale even further downwards.

FORMER WASHINGTON, D.C. REGION

The Washington Region is the headquarters region of the postal service. It contains the nation's capital, as well as Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.

One would think, with all that going for it, that this region would be the show case of the postal establishment, the area with the best facilities, the happiest employees, the most efficient service. Unfortunately, this is very far from true. Conditions in this region are as bad as they are in any other region, and worse than they are in some.

Baltimore, Md. (Clifton Station): The only "show case" detail in this filthy hole concerns the toilets which face plain glass windows at the street level so the public can look in on the men on the stools. Quite a showcase. Clifton Station is rat infested. It is dark and dirty, without air conditioning and without parking.

Baltimore, Md. (Raspeburg Branch): This Branch Office is a converted bakery. There are fifty employees in this Branch Office and they are hideously crowded. The Supervisor and his Assistant do not have offices, so they operate from a table in the middle of the floor. Sometimes the office becomes so crowded that sacks of mail have to be left on the sidewalk

outside. There is no loading dock and no platform.

Baltimore, Md. (Main Post Office): A new building is being erected. However, the plans do not call for parking spaces for employees.

Washington, D.C.: The following conditions are common to the main Post Office and at least eleven stations (Anacostia, Benning, Brightwood, Brookland, Chevy Chase, Columbia Heights, Georgia Avenue Garage, Friendship Heights, Georgetown, Parcel Post Annex and Woodridge): Overcrowding, run-down facilities; filthy restroom conditions, insufficient room for lockers; inadequate swing rooms, inadequate loading platforms, bad ventilation and no air conditioning.

Arlington, Va. (South Station): There are 62 employees in this facility, which was designed to accommodate 20. There is only one urinal and 3 commodes. All three of the latter leak, so raw sewage is constantly seeping out onto the floor. The only place the employees can eat is a table right next to this restroom. With the evil smells permeating the atmosphere, the men's appetites are not too strong. There are only 30 lockers for 62 employees. There is no air conditioning and temperatures of over 100 degrees are often recorded on the workroom floor. During the summer cases of employees fainting from heat prostration are common. The plaster is peeling off the walls and ceiling. The electrical system is overloaded and constantly blowing fuses. Someday a fire will result. The newspapers and the public have been demanding this eyesore be torn down, but the employees of the richest and most powerful nation in the world must still work in it.

Arlington, Va. (North Station): The Inspection service recommended this building be replaced seven years ago, but no action has as yet been taken. The floors are weak and sagging. There are serious holes in the floor. The electrical system is overloaded, creating a fire hazard. There are no lockers, no swing room. During last winter employees were without heat for a full week because a boiler burned out. The building was built to accommodate 14 employees; there are now 60 employees working in it. There are only two toilets for these sixty people and only one sink for washing up.

Arlington, Va. (Shirlington Station): This is a dirty building with rats and armies of cockroaches. The electrical system is overloaded and dangerous. Very little loading space.

Arlington, Va. (Rosslyn, Courthouse, Centra, Preston King Stations): All these facilities report serious overcrowding and inadequate loading space.

Alexandria, Va.: The reports from this Post Office and its stations are depressingly similar. Through them runs the obvious theme: management has lost pride in the Post Office and this melaise is spreading to the employees. Rest rooms are almost universally filthy. Floors and cases are seldom cleaned. Jeeps and trucks are hardly ever washed. Ceilings leak and nothing is done about it. The plaster rots in the restrooms and nobody replaces it. Management has not seen fit to put either air conditioning or heat into the rest-rooms. However, this Post Office also suffers from serious management failings, resulting in poor service and bad morale. Management, for example, has decided that all mail boxes, except those on main streets, will be collected only once a day. Active union members are placed under special surveillance when they work. Complaints from patrons are never investigated; instead, they result in disciplinary action against the letter carrier whether the complaint has substance or not. Carriers cannot get help on busy days. Second and Third Class Mail is left in Stations over week-ends and not worked to carriers until the Monday. There has to be a great deal of re-organization in Alexandria before morale and service can be improved.

Woodbridge, Va.: Approximately six months ago, about 90% of the houses in Woodbridge were re-numbered. This has created a terrible problem for substitutes and new carriers, and mistakes are endemic. Management does not help. It has refused permission to send the Form 3579 on magazines addressed according to the old numbers. Management tells carriers to forget about write-ups if they cannot be done within the 8-hour period. First class write-ups in this office remain untouched for a week or more. Management-labor relations in this office are very strained and unsatisfactory. Woodbridge has a new post office building but employees say heating and lighting are inadequate and badly planned. There are no lights on the cases, for example, and the overhead lights are not nearly strong enough.

Roanoke, Va.: All stations and the main post office report overcrowding. Hollins Branch also reports badly leaking roof, which has leaked for months. Williamson Road station reports no ventilation, no air conditioning. Main Post Office reports the same.

Norfolk, Va.: Here the complaints are mostly about service curtailments which have crippled the service in Norfolk. In this city management has cut back collections drastically and the collections are performed for the benefit of post office schedules, not the convenience of the patrons.

Salem, Va.: The usual complaint: Very cramped quarters, inadequate plumbing (one urinal for all carriers) and one basin for wash-up. The parcel post is processed in a neighboring shoe store because there is no room in the Post Office.

Charleston, W. Va. (Marmet Station). Lighting inadequate, and electric wiring grotesque. (Coffee pot, water cooler, time clock and floor fan all plug into the same outlet.) There are frequent fuse problems. Security is poor at all Charleston stations and loading is often done in public areas where the mail is in no way protected.

Wheeling, W. Va.: The Main Post Office was built in 1966 but it has never had proper heating or air conditioning during the five years it has been in operation. Management seems to have given up any ideas of remedying the situation.

Wheeling, W. Va. (Elm Grove Station). This is a flat-roofed building which contains the heat. There is no air conditioning and no windows in the work area. Temperatures ranging from 97 to over 100 degrees have been recorded in this building during summer months. It's a terrible place to work.

Huntington, W. Va.: The Main Post Office was built in 1907. There is no off-street parking for patrons, government vehicles or employees. Every morning the police block off one lane of Highway U.S. 60—the busiest street in town—to provide some parking for patrons. This causes a monster traffic jam, but it's the best solution anyone has come up with. The rest room in this Post Office is beyond belief. It is crawling with dirt. The toilet stools are out in the open, without partitions, without doors. They (and those using them) can be seen from the work room floor whenever anyone opens the door of the rest room. The men feel this arrangement dehumanizes them.

Huntington, W. Va. (Guyandotte Station). There is no parking for patrons, government vehicles or employees. The patrons are very upset about the inconvenience, but nothing is done. At Guyandotte it has been impossible to motorize the routes because there is no place to park the vehicles. There are no facilities for docking, either, so loading has to be done the hard way on a hit or miss basis. In other words, the entire operation is a mess. Management in Huntington has done its best to reduce morale to a minimum. For instance, it insists on the right to conduct street supervision of letter carriers at all times, without consultation and without warning.

FORMER NEW YORK REGION

The State of New York is called "The Empire State", and this name is intended to be a compliment. But, as far as many postal facilities and as far as postal management are concerned, conditions are reminiscent only of the Mongol Empire of the thirteenth century: primitive, ignorant, nasty and cruel.

Physical conditions in the New York Region are as bad as they are anywhere else, and management seems just as reluctant to make improvements as it is anywhere else.

Rochester, N.Y.: Five times in recent years teams of investigators have come in to look over the Rochester Post Office. Five times they have recommended either remodeling or building a new facility. Nothing has been done. The area where 125 carriers work is dirty, dark, crowded and badly ventilated. For five years, now, "temporary" wiring has been hanging down over the workroom floor causing a serious fire hazard. This is a most depressing and dangerous place to work.

Rochester, N.Y. (Panorama Station): This facility was built to accommodate 8 carriers. There are now 25 carriers working out of the station. Conditions are over-crowded and work space is dirty.

Gansevoort, N.Y.: This, admittedly, is a very small office but the people working in it are just as important as those working in a major office. The office has no running water, and no toilet facilities. One rural carrier brings an electric heater from home to keep warm.

Schenectady, N.Y. (Crane St. Station): The building here should be condemned. Every Congressman and every Inspector who has looked over the premises agrees that it should be abandoned, but the men still must work there. The main beam in the cellar is badly cracked, making use of the facility hazardous. The water "system" in the building is grotesque. For at least 6 months there has been no water in the urinals! The stench is overpowering. If one flushes a toilet, the pressure in the water cooler goes down to zero and remains there for some while. Every time it rains, the lobby is flooded because of a sieve-like roof. This has to be one of the most disgusting postal facilities in America—but postal employees are still there.

Pittsford, N.Y.: The men complain bitterly about the almost complete lack of ventilation and the inadequate custodial work which has permitted the Post Office to become a pig-pen. The loading facilities are so inadequate that minor accidents are numerous, yet there are no first aid equipment handy. The working areas are overcrowded, the rest room facilities scanty.

Elmira, N.Y.: The carrier cases have been set up so they block the windows and cut off ventilation. Almost no circulation of air. The office is so jammed with equipment that movement is constricted and hazardous. There is no parking space for the public or for employees.

Yonkers, N.Y. (176 Annex): The building is crumbling into dilapidation. Bricks are falling from the walls. The window cleaning contractor refuses to send his men up to clean the windows because the building is unsafe. The Regional Health and Safety people once made an inspection and were horrified at what they found. They promised to condemn the building and build a new one. Nothing has happened.

Yonkers, N.Y. (Centuck Station): Very poor heating. Very crowded conditions. Some routes which should work out of this Station are working out of Tuckahoe, six miles away. There is no room for them in Centuck, and management refuses to rent a vacant store to handle the crisis. This puts an unnecessary burden on the employees.

Throughout Yonkers there are complaints about arbitrary supervision. Management, for example, hardly ever accepts an employee's statement about being sick. It automatically marks the man as AWOL. Management also insists on the right of maintaining strict street supervision over carriers at all times.

Dunkirk, N.Y.: Greatly overcrowded. It is very difficult to move around on work room floor. Management is addicted to harassment of employees. New Postmaster insists on almost constant street observation of carriers.

Brooklyn, N.Y.: The roofs are leaky in Brooklyn. Brownsville, Stuyvesant, Blythbourne and Green Point all complain about this irritating defect. Management does nothing to correct. Poor lighting is also reported at Gravesend, Adelphi. The facility for Green Point Station is evidently decaying day by day. The exhaust fan doesn't work. Roof leaks, mentioned above, are numerous and steady. Swinging doors are unhinged, concrete is crumbling. The building is a mess and management seems to have lost interest in it.

East Northport, N.Y.: Management is evidently interested in economies, not at all in service. Drivers are told to take out postal vehicles that have obvious and dangerous defects, and are more or less told they will be in trouble if they don't go along. (One driver had a steering wheel which consistently "locked" when he was cornering. He was still ordered to use it.) Also, substitutes are very badly treated in East Northrup. Parcel Post here is more of a swindle than it is, even, in most other places.

Shirley, N.Y.: The Postmaster here is so tyrannical that at least three letter carriers have had nervous berakdowns, and have undergone psychiatric treatment, because of his policies and attitudes. His performance became so weird that his own Assistant wrote to the Region describing the unbearable conditions he was creating. The Region keeps saying something will be done—but nothing is done. This is a Post Office in turmoil.

Pearl River, N.Y.: There is no swing room. There is no air conditioning. The conditions are extremely crowded, and there is no fire exit from the basement where Parcel Post personnel work. There is only one urinal for 43 employees (and 2 bowls). Facilities for loading are totally inadequate. There is no employee parking. The area around the Post Office is metered, so employees must park a long way off.

Levittown, N.Y. (North Station): The North Station is supposed to be temporary. So it has been in operation more than two years, and no relief in sight. There is one toilet bowl for the men. It is in a small and dirty room without a lock on the door. There is no facility for female carriers. The men are thinking in terms of building a "wildcat" outhouse behind the Post Office.

Jericho, N.Y.: This Post Office has finally received air conditioners after a long period of sweltering. The building was planned to accommodate six routes; now it has 16. Ventilation is terrible. Toilet facilities are disgusting, but management turns a deaf ear to all pleas for relief. Alterations and remodeling won't do the job in Jericho. They need a new Post Office.

Mamaroneck, N.Y.: Ventilation is terrible. Lighting is terrible. There is no swing room for the men, and the women's has been "Incomplete" for a full year. There are no First Aid Facilities. The place is a mess.

Nanuet, N.Y.: In Nanuet the carriers don't complain about the physical facilities; they complain about the service. Management often curtails first class mail and sometimes delays third class as much as nine days. It will do anything to prevent an hour's overtime. Very slack supervision here, with apparently little regard for the needs of the people they are supposed to serve.

Deer Park, N.Y.: In Deer Park, management does not seem to worry itself about agreements, national or local. It does what it pleases. It is particularly eager to mix the crafts which causes considerable resentment as well as indignation among proud unionists.

Oswego, N.Y.: A local publisher has too much influence with local management and has postal employees doing work they should never do. (For instance, going over to the publisher's office, on the clock, to correct his mailing list for him). Employees could not use parking lot this winter because Postmaster said it cost too much money to clear off the snow. For a long while now, Parcel Post has been loaded through a window. The window could be made into a door and everyone would be happier. Management says this would cost too much money.

Jamaica, N.Y.: There is no housing for Post Office vehicles. This winter they were parked in a monster mudhole. Carriers were up over their ankles trying to reach the trucks and jeeps.

Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico: The Post Office is more than a hundred years old. It does not come near meeting minimum requirements There is no swing room, no place to take lunch, no lockers for personal belongings. The roof leaks badly, and nobody fixes it. There is one toilet and one wash basin for the entire employee force.

San Juan, Puerto Rico: (General Post Office) No swing room. No place to eat or relax. The so-called Fire Exit door has been locked because it was a safety hazard! There are two toilet bowls and two urinals to serve 265 employees. All parking privileges were suddenly stopped, without previous consultation, causing great inconvenience.

Management in San Juan is capricious. A mail sack with a small burned hole in it was found. Consequently, all carriers are forbidden to smoke in the small and disgusting men's room. Management shoots off letters of warning at the slightest provocation, without listening to the employee's side of the story. This is an unhappy office.

FORMER WICHITA REGION

The Wichita Region is the least populated of all the postal regions. By and large, it is an approximation of "Marlborough Country", wide open spaces, reasonably clean air, uncrowded cities. It is the heartland of America, or the breadbasket, depending on which way your fancy takes you.

In any case, it is not an area where one envisions slums. Not as a general rule. Nowhere, that is, except in the Post Office, where slumishness is a way of life.

Kansas City, Kans. (Bethel Station): Out in Marlborough Country they cannot find parking spaces for the customers, let alone the employees. The one toilet overflows regularly and is never competently fixed. The water pipes freeze each winter, leaving the station without water. When the warm weather comes around nobody thinks to insulate the pipes because nobody needs insulation *then*.

Kansas City, Kans. (Northwest Station): The Station consists of two buildings, both of which are disgusting. The mail has to be pushed from one building to the other via the sidewalk. The smaller Annex building has no fresh drinking water and has no urinals—only two toilet bowls in different locations. The larger building's walls are so cracked one can see right through them and temperatures inside vary by as much as 20 degrees at any given time. The washroom facilities for the men are inadequate but there are no such facilities for the female employees. When a female employee wants to use the facilities a scout must proceed her and clear the men out of the washroom. Many floor tiles are broken. The place is absolutely under siege from cockroaches and, in summer, fleas. The building is not air conditioned and the place in summer can be an inferno. Paint hangs from the walls. There is no parking for employees. Although 10 mounted routes and numerous scooters must load from this Station, the dock can handle only two vehicles at a time. There is no swing room in either of these two buildings.

Kansas City, Kans. (Fairfax Station): Inadequate loading dock, inadequate employee parking. The wiring is plagued by dangerous short circuits. Supervision solves this problem by turning off the electricity. Someday there is going to be a serious fire here unless some constructive steps are taken. There is no hot water laid on in the building, a circumstance which makes janitorial services inadequate.

Kansas City, Kans. (Packer Station): The building is old, unsafe, dirty and dilapidated. It should be abandoned.

Kansas City, Kans. (Rosedale Station): The present structure is in horrible condition but, in this case, a new building is in the works. Meanwhile the employees work in squalor.

Oklahoma City, Okla. (Village Station, Lakeside Station): No air conditioning.

Oklahoma City, Okla. (Shartel and Britton Stations): No loading docks.

Omaha, Nebr. (Offutt Branch): This is an old army barracks, not designed for postal work, totally inadequate.

Omaha, Nebr. (Ralston, Ames Avenue, Millard, West Dodge): All facilities inadequate. All have either (1) No parking facilities or (2) very inadequate parking facilities.

Omaha, Nebr. (West Omaha): Inadequate building. Parking lot is a mud hole overlooking a 15 foot drop into a creek. There is no guard rail. This lack of a guard rail has been a safety item on the agenda for four years but nothing has ever been done about it.

Omaha letter carriers also say that the leased vehicles they must use are "junk". They are not only dangerous to drive but, in appearance, they are a disgrace to the US Postal Service.

Stillwater, Okla.: In this Post Office the air conditioning broke down in June 1970. Despite all kinds of managerial promises, no repairs were made and the employees are still waiting for repairs while another summer has come. Stillwater in summer can be as hot as any community in America.

FORMER DENVER REGION

The Denver Region is the land of wide-open spaces and great distances. In the Post Office, unfortunately, it is the land of crowded facilities and exceedingly bad working conditions. Here are some of the more obvious examples:

Colorado Springs, Colo: Conditions are so crowded that Parcel Post must be stored on the dock, unprotected from the elements.

Pueblo, Colo.: Here, too, the parcel post must be stored outside because there is no room inside. However, in Pueblo the Postmaster has curtailed Parcel Post deliveries, even though substitutes are not getting 40 hours a week. Thus, instead of moving the Parcel Post as rapidly as possible through his Post Office he is adopting policies which slow up its movement and prolong its delays.

Fort Collins, Colo.: Carriers work in a basement under intolerable conditions.

Longmont, Colo.: The carriers work in a crowded Quonset Hut. The nearest toilet is a long block away.

Green Valley, Ariz.: Here the complaint is against the service. The region is denying city delivery to residents who should be getting it, solely for budgetary reasons.

FORMER SAN FRANCISCO REGION

To most persons the San Francisco Region sounds like a delightful place to work, even for postal employees. Unfortunately, as far as the postal employees are concerned, the region is just as bad as any other. The San Francisco Region has its horror shops (Milpitas, Alta Loma, Buena Park and others),

and they are just as bad as their counterparts in other regions. Most facilities are crowded; employee parking spaces are almost non-existent; plumbing is scarce and inadequate.

Los Angeles, Calif.: All stations except Briggs and Broadway-Manchester are inadequate—and the latter has a deficient ladies room. Dockweiler Station is antique, uncomfortable, inefficient and should be replaced. East Los Angeles and Barrington have wretched lighting; candlepower reading at carriers' desk is only 35. Oakwood, Westburn and Wilshire-La Brea suffered structural damage during the earthquake and are now unsafe. But they are being used.

Garden Grove, Calif.: The heating and the air conditioning are practically non-functional but no effort has been made to fix them. West Garden Grove station is enormously overcrowded and unpleasant to work in.

San Diego, Calif.: The Post Office consists of the main office and 22 stations. Most stations are simply old stores or decrepit old buildings. They are dirty and inadequate and few have any parking at all.

El Cajon, Calif.: The main office is a new building, but carriers are not permitted to work there. They are housed in an old abandoned building with no parking. Bostonian Station has inadequate plumbing.

Chula Vista, Calif.: The Rancho Del Rey Station's cesspool has overflowed and is overflowing. The soil, evidently, can no longer handle the action. Therefore the toilets in the station cannot be used.

Vista, Calif.: Post Office is so crowded as to be unsafe. Ventilation is a scandal. There is no parking here.

Oceanside, Calif.: The Main Office is very overcrowded and inadequate. The Annex is an old, abandoned store. No one should be asked to work in it.

El Centro, Calif.: *Very* old building, very inadequate.

Claremont, Calif.: The building is unsafe. There is no hot water. No lounge for women. Heating is poor and there is no air conditioning. The roof leaks. Concrete floors rough on the legs of employees.

Covina, Calif.: Custodial service highly inadequate. The office is a pigpen.

La Puenta, Calif.: Management reduced the size of the locker room to provide space for a lunch room. In doing so they created crowded and unsatisfactory conditions in both rooms.

Pasadena, Calif.: Poor parking is endemic here. So is poor lighting. The Main Station is unsafe because of inadequate exits. It also has inadequate plumbing. Rose Bowl Station is sadly deficient in plumbing: three toilets for 75 male employees.

Pomona, Calif.: Diamond Bar Station has a highly inadequate restroom which is shared by the men and the women.

Montclair, Calif.: Does have two restrooms but there is no partition between the man's and the women's, and no exhaust fans.

West Covina, Calif.: This office has 150 employees and not a single available parking place. Emergency exits are poor and create a hazard.

Chowchilla, Calif.: Management has been promising a new post office for quite some while but plans have been postponed. Present building very inadequate. Lighting is terrible.

Stockton, Calif.: The Post Office has an air conditioner on the roof which hasn't worked for years. (Stockton gets very warm indeed in summer.) Restrooms have no vents. Management here insists that unassigned substitutes wait in the swing room in case an assignment becomes available. This is greatly resented by subs.

Oakland, Calif.: Main office has dirty, inadequate toilet facilities and totally inadequate lighting. The ladies' toilet facilities in all fifteen stations are deplorable.

Walnut Creek, Calif.: This is a new office but the arrangement of cases is so bad that ventilation in the carriers' section is impossible. The cases are lined up to coincide with the inspectors' peep-holes in the ceiling, instead of vice versa.

Marina, Calif.: Old building. Bad lighting. No air conditioning. Bad ventilation.

Monterey, Calif.: Facilities are poor in every respect and the labor-management relations are worse.

San Luis Obispo, Calif.: The carrier annex is an abandoned second-hand tire shop which is falling apart. It has very low ceilings, terrible ventilation and excessively crowded conditions.

Seaside, Calif.: Present building is old and decaying. The public and the employees have been promised a new building. Once again, the new building has been mysteriously delayed. There is no air conditioning in this office and very poor ventilation.

Watsonville, Calif.: Very crowded; no air conditioning. The interior planning is faulty but management will not listen to reason.

Napa, Calif.: Management is anti-union, and particularly anti-NALC. Heating is poor during winter and ventilation is faulty.

Sebastapol, Calif.: Heating is bad; no air conditioning; no employee parking.

Petaluma, Calif.: A new building to replace the present old horror has been promised for a long while. For some reason it has not been started. Meanwhile employees work in crowded, unventilated misery, and without parking facilities.

St. Helena, Calif.: Crowded, ineffective air conditioning (St. Helena is a hot spot in summer) and practically no parking.

Ukiah, Calif.: Men's restrooms are abominable. There are no women's restrooms. The office is crowded and unventilated. Lighting is poor. Parking is very awkward.

Sonoma, Calif.: The restroom situation is bad. The heating is bad. The parking is bad.

Crockett, Calif.: Dirty building, dirty office, dirty workroom; dirty restroom. Bad lighting. Poor management at this office.

Rodeo, Calif.: Dirty office with paint peeling off the walls. No heat; bad lighting; very crowded; inedequate swing room.

Richmond, Calif.: Main office and all stations complain about toilet facilitities, and particularly the women's arrangements. Mar Vista Station has placed its toilets (which are always crowded) right off the lunch room. Mar Vista has no loading dock. The vehicles are loaded at a friendly gas station, two blocks away.

Berkeley, Calif.: All stations complain about the plumbing, especially the plumbing for women. Elmwood Station is old, dirty, dark and abominable.

Fowler, Calif.: Ancient building, no heat, no air conditioning.

Woodlake, Calif.: Old, non-equipped, decrepit, unusable.

San Bruno, Calif.: This is a new building. Nonetheless, the heating and the air conditioning are bad. The restrooms are poor. The dock is inadequate. The parking is atrocious.

Mountain View, Calif.: The Annex is a dangerous old monstrosity; no fire exits despite overcrowding; no air conditioning; bad ventilation. The building is a former warehouse. Management is highly unreasonable here and morale is noexistent.

Saratoga, Calif.: New building, but a mess. Badly planned. Badly constructed. Poor air conditioning; poor heating; poor lighting. No parking space.

San Mateo, Calif.: Bad ventilation. Bad heat. Bad cooling. Overcrowded. Bad parking.

Menlo Park, Calif.: Five Stations, all overcrowded. In most stations there is not enough space for parking government vehicles let alone employees' cars.

Milpitas, Calif.: Though it has competition, this is very possibly the worst Post Office in California. For all-around wretchedness, it should be ranked nationally. The Annex is an old warehouse without windows or ventilation. It *has been officially condemned by the City of Milpitas* on the grounds that it is (1) a fire trade; (2) unhealthy and (3) hazardous. (With dangerous dangling electric wires all over the place, management didn't even provide a fire extinguisher!) There is not a more dangerous or more disgusting facility in the entire Postal Establishment—but still it is used.

Campbell, Calif.: It is amazing how so many new Post Offices in California are inadequate. Campbell is a case in point. It is overcrowded already; it has poor heat and inadequate ventilation. Surely something must be wrong with regional planning to have so many new post offices suffer from the same complaints.

Morgan Hill, Calif.: Small building is overcrowded. Dock is much too inadequate. There is no air conditioning, and very poor ventilation. Interior planning is wretched. No parking.

Gilroy, Calif.: Air conditioning very substandard (Gilroy is *hot* in summer, and sometimes in other seasons). Building is crowded and so is the dock. Bad parking.

Los Gatos, Calif.: Management is the trouble here; very arbitrary and dictatorial. Lighting is inadequate.

Cupertine, Calif.: Poor heating; poor ventilation; poor interior planning.

San Francisco, Calif. (Station F): Overcrowded to the point of being hazardous. Toilet facilities very inadequate. Ventilation is wretched.

San Francisco, Calif. (Station J): This Station was so overcrowded that management moved eleven routes out and put them in an abandoned and condemned building. It is still overcrowded and hazardous.

San Francisco, Calif. (Station O): This station is the complete headache. It is an abandoned bank on some of the most expensive property in the city, and is in no way suitable for postal work. Carriers work on mezzanine and main floor. Elevator is unsafe. Conveyor belt has no safeguards on the sides. Relays fall off belt and it's a wonder no one has been maimed for life. Supervision is very poor here.

San Francisco, Calif. (Diamond Heights Station): Here the complaints are against the leased vehicles, which are perilous. (They were bought at a GSA auction and then leased to the Post Office.) The Highway Patrol has cited the vehicles several times for being unsafe but management still insists on their use.

San Francisco, Calif. (Sunset Station): This building is old, crowded and inadequate. Supervisor is notorious throughout the service for his unreasonable attitudes.

San Francisco, Calif. (West Portal Station): This building has been remodeled by the owner. It still meets none of the minimum standards. It is crowded, unsafe and insanitary.

San Francisco, Calif. (Mission Station): The Supervisor here is considered the worst in the city, totally devoid of respect for those who work for him. Leased vehicles here are all unsafe. Morale is very poor.

San Francisco, Calif. (North Beach Station): Small, crowded, archaic office. Owner refuses to remodel or change and management still does business with him.

San Francisco, Calif. (Parcel Post Station): Needs complete re-organization. No Parcel Post route has been examined in five years. Crowded, insanitary. Unsafe. A bad situation.

San Francisco, Calif. (Rincon Annex): Four stations under one roof. Extra crowded conditions. One urinal and three stools for more than 200 employees.

San Francisco, Calif. (Station P): The very worst of a bad lot of stations. The building is rat infested. It is archaic, inadequate, dark, overcrowded and dangerous. Health is a constant problem here. Owner refuses to do anything about conditions and management still lets him get by with it. A dreadful place.

Buena Park, Calif. (Main Office): The postal system in California should be a happy hunting ground for the Women's Lib people—particularly in regard to plumbing. Buena Vista has one toilet for 35 female employees. The heating and air conditioning units are located on the roof. Neither of them works, and nobody is fixing them. During the rainy season the loading dock is constantly under water—12 to 14 inches of it at a time. The carrier cases are badly lighted. Locker space is limited and so is space for carriers to change their clothes. The vehicle entrance to Post Office is very dangerous. Several accidents have occurred here, still nothing is done about it.

Buena Vista, Calif. (Station A): There is only one toilet here. The carriers are crowded and there is almost no ventilation. The smell in summer is quite something. There is no dock space. Vehicles are parked on a mud field and must be loaded on the street.

Ontario, Calif. (Annex): One commode for more than 59 employees. Swing room far too small. Heating is poor. Conditions are crowded.

Upland, Calif. (Main Office): Bad lighting. Leaking roof. Air conditioning ineffective. Not enough lockers. Men must share with others.

Upland, Calif. (Annex): Bad lighting. Leaking roof. No toilet for women employees. Shortage of clothes lockers. Dock can handle only two vehicles, though there are 20 routes in the Annex.

San Jacinto, Calif.: Cooling and heating quite inadequate. Windows should have blinds; the glare is intense. Conditions are crowded and planning is almost nonexistent.

Alta Loma, Calif.: For bad planning, inadequate facilities and general wretchedness, Alta Loma is just about as bad as any other post office in the State. The two restrooms, for example, are what seem to be converted closets and can handle only one person at a time. To make matters more sporting, the water heater is right next to the women's commode. This makes going to the bathroom quite exciting. There is no swing room, but then, there's no Postmaster's office, either. This condition means that it is impossible for employees to have a private conference with their boss. Storage space is so scarce that supplies and equipment are jammed behind doors and under tables. Heating is not circulated, so one end of the building is broiling and the other freezing. There is no loading dock. Mail is unloaded at the back of the building and then hauled through the entire Post Office to be worked. No parking lot. Trucks are stuck in a muddy lot next door and are not protected. Thieves strip them almost at will. Space is so limited it is necessary to move things around two or three times just to receive the mail, work it and get out to deliver it. This is a grotesque operation.

Brea, Calif.: Management is very anti-labor here. Only two carriers in the past three years have received quality step increases; all supervisors have received them. Postmaster says there is no such thing as a good carrier. He insists that carriers run their routes.

Fullerton, Calif.: Management is tyrannical. Carriers are "counselled" and warned after only two misdelivered or misforwarded letters. Supervisors are intimidating. They practically insist, for example, that carriers take their defensive driving lessons off the clock.

Van Nuys, Calif. (Irvin Street Station): This building is an abandoned meat market. It is inadequate in every sense. There is one toilet for thirty employees and one must go outside to get to it. Bad parking here as at all three other stations in Van Nuys.

North Hollywood, Calif.: Conditions are wretched now but understandable. Present quarters are temporary because of earthquake damage to the Post Office. However, conditions will be overcrowded in the old office when it is reopened for business. Sixty employees are working where only thirty were intended.

Beverly Hills, Calif.: Carriers work in the basement. The exhaust from the trucks outside come right inside the work area. Sometimes this gets dangerous and someday somebody is going to get too much carbon monoxide. Exits are inadequate. There is no parking.

The following other Post Offices in California report extreme overcrowding because of the mushrooming growth in their areas:

Canoga Park (3 Stations).
Thousand Oaks.
Simi.
Santa Paula.
Glendale.
Redondo Beach.

In addition, at least 100 other Post Offices in California report no parking space or a very limited parking area.

FORMER DALLAS REGION

The entire story of how the Blount Administration raped the postal service in Texas is told admirably by Victor Smiroldo, Counsel for the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and his colleague, Albert C. Briggs, in a *"Staff Investigative Report on Postal Service in the State of Texas"*. (Committee Print No. 7, U.S. Government Office, 1971). It is unnecessary to add anything here to the grim story that Messrs. Smiroldo and Briggs have already told.

We shall therefore concentrate on the physical conditions prevailing in a few (selected out of many) key post offices in the states of Texas and Louisiana.

Houston, Tex. (Genoa Station): The septic tank for handling human wastes is small and inadequate. Consequently, effluvia constantly seeps upward, soaking the ground and poisoning the atmosphere. In warm weather the smell is beyond belief and management has done nothing helpful to correct it.

Houston, Tex. (Roy Royal Station): Bad lighting. Drafty and exceedingly cold in winter time.

Houston, Tex. (Sharpstown Annex): This building is a mess. It has low (eight foot) ceilings which frustrate the circulation of air and hinder air conditioning and heating. There is no hot water, and no swing room for the employees. There are only two toilet bowls (no urinals) for more than 50 employees.

Houston, Tex. (Southmore Station): The roof leaks and has leaked for a long while. It leaks so badly the wash room floor was being flooded with every sizeable rain. Management went to the heart of the matter in this case. It placed a 24 gallon can in the wash room to catch the rain. (Good thinking! Right on!) Sheet rock has fallen throughout the station and now the insulation is pushing through the ceilings.

Garland, Tex.: Ninety male employees and the washroom has two toilets. It is neither air-conditioned nor heated and has no ventilation fan. There are 26 carrier cases jammed into an area 30' by 36'. Lighting is abominable but management refuses to put lights on the cases because this would make it too difficult to move the cases around. The controls for heating and cooling are locked and the Assistant Postmaster is the only one who has a key. In case of a change in the weather, the employees must suffer until the Assistant Postmaster arrives at 8:30 with his key.

Waco, Tex. (Baylor Station): This is a terribly overcrowded facility. There is insufficient room for lockers, and many employees must share a locker with someone else. There is no swing room, so the coffee pot is kept in the toilet. The loading dock is inadequate and unsafe. Accidents have occurred there, but no changes have been made.

Metairie, La.: Post Office was built in 1955 and was overcrowded the day it opened. A new office is on the drawing board but employees must continue to work under present intolerable conditions. The roof is presently being held up by jacks because it has been weakened by the weight of collected water and of the many layers of roofing that have been added over the years.

Metairie, La. (Park Manor Station): This is a new and permanent building. It has one stairwell and no fire escapes. Management refuses to believe this is dangerous because the building is supposed to be fireproof.

Alexandria, La. (South Park Station): This is a leased building. There is talk of a new Post Office in the near future, but employees must now work under most primitive conditions. The air conditioning is antiquated and goes out several times each summer. There are no windows which can be opened, so heat becomes intense. There is no loading dock, so loading must be done in all weathers on a blacktop surface.

Alexandria, La. (Main Post Office): Parcel Post trucks have to load from an old wooden building that was condemned 15 years ago. This is a very unsafe facility. For example, just recently an overhead door collapsed and shattered an employee's arm.

FORMER SEATTLE REGION

Frankly, it is amazing to us how little concern postal management has for the provision of and maintenance of basic plumbing and sanitation. As one can readily see from the examples listed from the Seattle Region, below, management is almost monumentally insensitive to the desire for human dignity among postal employees, particularly in the smaller communities.

In the larger cities (Portland and Seattle) management does better with toilets, but falls down on service. (Throughout the region, almost inevitably, one or the other stinks—and often, both.)

Port Angeles, Wash.: There are 12 carrier cases and 3 clerk cases in less than 950 square feet. Ventilation is bad; lighting is worse. Rest rooms are in the basement.

Kent, Wash.: The Carrier Annex Station is a reformed bakery. There are 35 employees and just one toilet bowl, which is shared by both male and female employees. There is no swing room, and no telephone, official or otherwise. Lighting and ventilation are abominable.

Renton, Wash: Conditions abominable. Overcrowding, wretched ventilation, impossible lighting.

Spokane, Wash. (Station B): The whole station can be described as a slum going somewhere to happen. The work room is dangerously filthy; the swing room is too squalid to use. There are 20 carrier cases (with wings) in an area of 1200 square feet.

Anchorage, Alaska: The city engineer has declared the building unsafe. It is still being used.

Missoula, Mont.: Another filthy post office with bad lighting and ventilation. Office is far too crowded for comfort or safety.

Billings, Mont.: Carrier Annex is a warehouse with a tin roof. In winter it is freezing; in summer it is broiling. There is no loading dock, a deficiency which makes loading and unloading very hard. The building was never designed for postal operations and no attempt has been made to adapt it.

Seattle, Wash. (Riverton Station): Forty-five men and twelve women work in this Station under highly primitive conditions. The work area is filthy; the ventilation and lighting bad. Washroom facilities are inadequate.

Seattle, Wash. (Magnolia Station): Magnolia is overcrowded, with 22 carrier cases and wings and 2 clerk cases jammed into 950 square feet. Conditions are no better than at Riverton (above). At Magnolia there is also a most inadequate loading dock.

Seattle, Wash. (Broadway Station): The Station consists of two former grocery stores. Neither converted store is adequate for postal work. Toilets are given to overflowing; they flush out, not down.

Seattle, Wash. (Wallington Station): This dirty old building should have been condemned years ago. The floor is badly rotted and will soon give way. Lighting and ventilation, as usual, are bad.

Seattle, Wash. (Georgetown Station): After eight years of constant protest, a new Station is on the drawing board. Meanwhile employees continue to work in this monstrous old firetrap.

The Seattle Post Office operation generally is known for making arbitrary curtailments of service without discussing them in advance with local NALC leaders, as the contract says they must do. For example, in the past six months the number of collections in almost 700 letter boxes was reduced, without warning, to one a day. This, of course, means that a patron who does not make the deadline on time has no chance of getting overnight service on his letter. The letter spends the first day *en route* inside the letter box, going nowhere.

FORMER CINCINNATI REGION

The Cincinnati Region was the first postal region to be created (1954). The whole purpose of regionalization was to move management out into the field where the problems are and where meaningful decisions can be made on the spot. The decentralizers boasted that they would be able to prevent "thousand dollar problems from becoming million dollar catastrophes".

One of the helpful things they would be able to do, it was thought, was to anticipate growth and plan the development of facilities to accommodate such growth. This is precisely what did not happen. Post offices in the Cincinnati region are among the most crowded in the nation and, in terms of rebuilding or enlarging them, they have become a billion dollar catastrophe.

Fort Wayne, Ind.: Desperately overcrowded. Forty letter carriers work in the old swing room in the basement of the Post Office. The windows are barred and there is only one door. In case of a fire, explosion, earthquake or some similar disaster the trapped men wouldn't have a chance.

Youngstown, Ohio: Main Office is very crowded. Poor lighting, poor ventilation, no parking for patrons or employees.

Youngstown, Ohio: West Side Station is almost collapsing with age. This facility is shamefully overcrowded. No parking for patrons or employees.

Youngstown, Ohio: Northside Station is intolerably crowded. Plaster is falling off the walls. Ventilation is bad. No loading space for vehicles. This station did have a parking lot but it is now torn up.

Youngstown, Ohio: The Annex is also greatly overcrowded. There are no toilet facilities for females and they must walk a full block to find a rest room. Parking exists but is poor and scanty. In bad weather this facility is surrounded by a sea of mud.

Akron, Ohio: Ellet Station is not only overcrowded, but the carriers have not been assigned their proper share of what space is available. They work in congested squalor and Third Class Mail is usually stored all over the building, wherever there is a flat area. Dock facilities totally inadequate (only two vehicles can be loaded at one time). Ventilation is horrible. The building is hot and stuffy in summer, freezing in winter. Toilet facilities are dirty and inadequate.

Cleveland, Ohio: Very overcrowded, so much so that it abrades the tempers of employees and causes ill feeling and low morale. The parking facilities are worse than poor.

South Bend, Ind.: Installation much too small. Employees are overcrowded. Parking is poor.

Gary, Ind.: The authorities have been promising a Post Office for more than four years. Nothing has been done. Very badly overcrowded.

Valparaiso, Ind.: Here the new Post Office has been promised for three years. Nothing has been done. Facility is inadequate, conditions fantastically crowded.

Richmond, Ind.: The employees and patrons have been promised a new Post Office for two years. Nothing has happened. Conditions are poor. Employees are overcrowded.

Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio: The State Road Station in this community reputedly the richest *per capita* in the land, has very little ventilation and no air conditioning. It stands next to the loading dock of a super market. When the trucks make deliveries the drivers keep the motors running and carbon monoxide keeps flooding the work room. Some employees have fainted, others have become nauseated. Still, nothing is done and nobody seems to have any intention of doing anything.

Columbus, Ohio (Beechwold Station): Vastly overcrowded, with aisles only 1½ feet wide. Empty mail tubs litter the floor, making movement hazardous. Lighting is most inadequate and heating is a farce. There is no parking. Loading dock is for midgets. Building is also a firetrap.

FORMER ST. LOUIS REGION

Complaints in the St. Louis Region seem to center around managerial attitudes at the regional and the local levels. There is a great deal of complaint concerning the breaking of agreements, violation of time limits in Grievance and Adverse Action cases and the refusal to adjust routes, even when apartment houses have been built on them.

Our Regional Field Director intimates that in smaller towns letter carriers are timid about reporting on poor facilities and obnoxious policies because of reprisals.

One perfectly ridiculous situation continues to be a bother throughout the region. On about 50% of the new Kaiser Jeeps in the region, the locks will not work. Management refuses to change or fix them. So letter carriers are receiving letters of charges for not locking their vehicles, which cannot be locked in the first place.

Des Moines, Iowa: The facility in Des Moines is awful and the service is worse. The local newspapers have been writing indignant stories but the Postmaster keeps curtailing service and reducing services to the public. The toilet facilities in the Carrier Annex are disgusting and the work room itself is revolting. The tops of the eating tables are filthy. The stairs are almost never swept. The lighting is inadequate. It is also inadequate in the new postal facility which will be opened for use next December.

Fort Dodge, Iowa: The complaints from this city concern the service. The Postmaster insists upon eliminating afternoon delivery to business areas without even a semblance of consultation with the carriers. The carriers have successfully resisted the attempt, but they feel it is only a matter of time.

Sioux City, Iowa (North Side Station): The loading facilities here are grotesque. In order to load relays, pouches and parcel post the men must pass through the front lobby. At the back exit the drivers have to throw their pouches down two flights of stairs to the work room floor. The men then must drag the mail into the Station. The Station is overcrowded and the ventilation is execrable. (The lighting is bad, too.) The restrooms are awful. The Safety experts from the region examined the Station and admitted its inadequacy and dangerousness. However, nobody's talking about a new facility here.

FORMER ATLANTA REGION

The Atlanta Region is plagued by poor facilities, lack of adequate air conditioning, lack of adequate heating in winter and the usual managerial insensitivity to the comfort of the employees. Here are some glaring examples:

Pinella Park, Fla.: The facility is overcrowded to such an extent that work is hazardous. In winter heat is supplied by an old one-burner Duo-Therm heater. In summer coolness is supplied by three small wall fans and three undersized, underpowered window air conditioners. All doors but one, leading to the carriers' work room area, are kept locked thus creating a real hazard in case of a fire or other calamity. There is one commode (no urinal) to accommodate thirty employees. Also one wash basin and one drinking fountain.

Miami, Fla. (Ocean View): The facility is filthy. On occasion employee complaints cause a general cleaning but this is always considered as a one-time thing. Nobody cleans again until the employees' complaints grow loud enough. The Superintendent here works at clerical jobs to save overtime or use of subs. She also has mail handlers doing the work of carriers and clerks.

Miami, Fla. (Olympia Heights): Another typically dirty facility. This station has no janitor. Somebody "does" it once every two weeks, which is not nearly often enough.

Miami, Fla. (Coconut Grove): This is a new facility, but it has been in operation for some while. Still, no one has seen fit to assemble the employees' lockers which are lying around on the floor and getting in everyone's way while many of the men have no place to hang their clothes.

Marietta, Ga. (Station A): Badly crowded, dirty and poorly ventilated. It is rumored that a new facility will be acquired soon, but not till after July 1.

Columbus, Ga.: Bad ventilation and inefficient air conditioning. This is still another overcrowded facility.

FORMER MEMPHIS REGION

Primitive working conditions, primitive facilities and primitive managerial attitudes are widespread through the Memphis Region. Nashville, Tennessee is generally considered one of the most up-to-date communities in this area and yet the working conditions in the Post Office there would disgust a ringtailed baboon. Conditions elsewhere in the region tend to be worse than they are in Nashville.

Nashville, Tenn. (Uptown Station): This building, which dates from the Civil War, has been condemned by the city several times, but the Post Office just continues to use it. Uptown Station is located in an arcade and serves mid-town Nashville. It is one of the busiest stations in the entire South. The basement is below sewer level and in the rainy seasons the water seeps in, runs across the floor and into a well where a sump pump pushes it into the sewer. The men's toilet is also below sewer level and is equipped with a pump. The pump often leaks, permitting the sewage to run across the floor unto the well. The headroom in the basement is only 5 feet, 6 inches. To get to the toilet a man has to walk the whole length of the basement, doubled up. Also the lockers until very recently were in the basement. (They have been temporarily moved upstairs, but only until the space is needed for mail processing.) The personnel in the Uptown Station are almost equally divided between those with permanent stoops and those with very sore heads.

Nashville, Tenn. (Melrose Station): Up until last month this Station was located in an abandoned fruit stand. The building was

several times condemned but postal management paid no heed. The station was finally moved to new quarters only because it was necessary to make room for a highway.

Nashville, Tenn. (Woodbine Station): In 1958, when the present building was first occupied, it held nine routes. Today there are 31 routes and one rural route, and a total complement of 58 employees. There are two one-fixture wash rooms. These are reserved for the men. The women employees must use a service station about half a long block away. This is one of the most crowded and most uncomfortable stations in the country.

FORMER CHICAGO REGION

For some reason or other, Chicago has always been a by-word for inadequate postal facilities. Around about the turn of the century the basement of the Main Post Office was called "The Tomb" because so many people who worked there contracted tuberculosis and died. During the first decade of this century the Illinois State health authorities inspected the Chicago facilities (without informing the postal authorities) and declared them filthy and far below minimum standards in private industry. The postal authorities refused to improve the facilities and fired the postal employees who complained to the health authorities.

Chicago, Ill.: Our correspondents tell us that half the stations of the Chicago Post Office are rat infested, AUBURN PARK being the worst. (There they sometimes try to nest in the pigeon holes.) All stations have inadequate loading space. Some (particularly RAVENSWOOD and IRVING PARK) have crumbling masonry making it very hazardous to work or stop near any of the walls. The toilet facilities are generally horrible and, for the female employees, totally inadequate.

Montgomery, Ill.: The Post Office is in a building that has been condemned. It is totally inadequate.

Royal Oak, Mich. (Annex): The carriers have been moved down into the basement where they share the area with a huge boiler and an old fashioned furnace. When the men get to work at 6 a.m. in the winter the temperature in the basement is in the eighties, and by the time they leave for their routes at 9 a.m., it is in the mid-nineties. A more unhealthy situation cannot be imagined. The Annex is also a fire trap and the means of exit are limited.

ADVERTISING PROGRAM

HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, on March 1, 1971, the Army began an experiment to measure the effect of advertising on new enlistments. The $10.6 million program, completed June 15, is now under intensive review by experts both in and out of Government. This is an interim report, with recommendations, on the success of that program and the future of paid advertising in the effort to attract volunteers to the military services:

THE PURPOSE OF THE ADVERTISING PROGRAM

A Defense Department Fact Sheet lists the purposes of the advertising program as follows:

(a) To test and determine what messages and media will increase inquiries at the recruiting stations and subsequently increase the number of enlistments.

(b) To provide current data to assist in designing the most effective advertising plan.

(c) To test and determine what broadcast medium or a combination thereof will most effectively reach the primary target audience of 17–21-year-olds and the secondary audience of influencers.

(d) To increase the awareness and knowledge of the primary target audience of those opportunities available in the Army by means of the television and radio media.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

Over ten million dollars was reprogrammed from the Army budget for use of the advertising program from March 1st through June 15, 1971. This effort included seventy-two weekly spot commercials on the country's top one hundred stations with at least thirteen in prime time, and at least twenty-four weekly radio spots in one thousand selected markets. Eight cities were singled out for more intensive efforts where the number of spots was doubled.

The advertisements were directed at 17–21-year-olds. The nature of the ads, however, were important to a secondary group—parents, older friends, guidance counselors and others—who influence the potential recruit. General in content, the ads in the first phase emphasized the modern Army, with opportunities for advancement and training. The second phase of the program concentrated on new enlistment options, notably the guaranteed sixteen-month tour in Europe for those enlisting into the combat arms branches.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Early data shows an over-all positive increase in recruitment. For instance, there was a steady number of calls received by Listfax Service—contracted to receive inquiries resulting from the advertising. The first 120,000 responses produced nearly 7,000 live leads. Magazine coupon returns increased from a monthly average of 3,000 before the campaign to approximately 22,000 during the campaign. Walk-in traffic at local recruiting stations increased by an estimated thirty to forty percent.

Total enlistments are up from the same period last year by approximately fourteen percent. In addition, delayed enlistments are up approximately six hundred a month over last year's figures. In the delayed entry program, an individual actually enlists in the service, with an entry date sometime in the future.

As a result of advertisements for the combat arms emphasizing the guaranteed tour in Europe, enlistments in those military specialties are up about six hundred percent.

INTERPRETATION OF PRELIMINARY DATA

It is, of course, true that increases in enlistments during the advertising campaign are not exclusively nor directly the result of the advertising campaign. On the one hand, publicity surrounding such manpower reforms as the elimination of KP at some bases, permission for longer hair, and new privileges on leave and dress have no doubt contributed to the increase.

Furthermore, there has been an intensified recruiting effort, notably an expansion of the number of recruiters, improvement in recruiting practices and the innovative use of recruiting assistants.

On the other hand, however, there are several reasons to have expected enlistments to have dropped substantially rather than have risen during this period.

First, the Army is suffering from its worst image in decades, reeling from the My Lai incidents, scandals involving PX's and NCO clubs, and increased eagerness to terminate the war in Vietnam. It is hardly a time when there is universal encouragement for young men to sign up in the Army.

Secondly, the pressure of the draft has dropped significantly with the institution of the lottery. Steps taken to make the draft more equitable and to reduce the period of exposure has focused the threat of the draft on only a small portion of a single age group. Draft calls themselves are down some twenty percent as the size of the military is returning to roughly its pre-Vietnam level.

Third, talk of the impending volunteer army is widespread. The prospect of ending the draft in the near future, is, to be sure, causing second thoughts for those who might enlist under the threat of the draft.

The above reasons, coupled with the general turbulence of society, the hesitancy to commit oneself to a course of action which cannot voluntarily be terminated within a set period, and skepticism of the institutional nature of the military contributes to a general climate not conducive to an increase in voluntary enlistments.

Finally, activities this spring, running from the Laos invasion to the May-Day demonstrations, must have put a damper on wavering prospects.

EVALUATION

The advertising program was an experiment. It is fully appropriate to review the program before committing the government to a major permanent advertising program which may not pay off. Such review is underway—within the government—by Rome Arnold contracted to the advertising agency who handled the program, and by two independent analytical research outfits under contract to the Army and of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense.

If the analysis is to be useful, it must answer the following questions:

1. What is the most effective media for reaching the prime audience of 17–21-year-olds? What media mix, time period, style, content, and credibility factors are the most effective?

2. What is the role of secondary influences on the enlistment decision and how are these influences themselves affected by the advertising? What thrust of advertising content is best for these purposes and to what extent is advertising desirable for influencing the secondary group?

3. What was the effect of the advertising program on those not directly concerned with enlistment? What was the effect on those who will be eligible for enlistment in several years? How were women and older generation males affected? How has the public image of the services been affected and what relationship does this have to enlistment?

4. What surrounding circumstances must be considered in interpreting the effectiveness of the advertisement program? Those who are contracted to do an analysis for the Army have indicated their intention to consider the broad range of issues and circumstances facing the recruitment of young men into the service and the effect of these issues and circumstances on the development of future advertising programs. Factors both inside and outside the government are relevant here and include such items as public opinion, economic conditions, structure of military pay and manpower objectives.

There is no single outside factor more important than the effectiveness of the recruiting delivery system. Extensive advertising is meaningless unless recruiters can build on the initial interest sparked by the ads. How effective this process was during the experiment must be looked at intensively. Were telephone calls answered? Were live leads followed up? Did recruiters have up-to-date information on new programs and initiatives in the military? Questions on the effectiveness of the recruiting command are endless. Nevertheless, short of a major review of the recruiting system (overdue anyway) some relevant information would be valuable in judging whether the recruiting system can take advantage of any advertising campaign.

5. What was the response of the media themselves to the advertising campaign? Special attention must be given to the experiment's effect on public service advertisements? Will stations continue to run public service ads whether or not they are carriers of the paid ads? Is the proportional discontinuation of public service ads significant?

6. How effective was the advertising agency who conducted this program in the technical aspects of their business? It is understood, naturally, that the Army's ad agency for the past four years, N. W. Ayer, had very little time to prepare for a contract which was six-fold increase over previous Army contracts. Nevertheless, if future contracts are to be effective, two more questions must be answered about the advertising agency.

First, what are the industry's standards for efficient application of advertising principles, avoiding waste, maximizing impact, cost effectiveness of media purchase time, and the like? And second, how well did N. W. Ayer carry out is functions based on these industry-wide criteria?

At first glance, such an examination might seem unfair. But if the United States government is to get its money's worth, the Army should be prepared in future bidding to demand the highest levels of competence and expertise. The above analysis can provide the Army with the tools to make such a judgment.

7. What is the best method for selecting advertising agencies in the future? While much of the controversy surrounding the selection of N. W. Ayer for the experiment has been eliminated by the revelation of efforts by the Army to solicit bids from several major agencies, there is still room for improvement. There is no reason why a full scale presentation and bid process similar to that conducted in the private sector should not be undertaken in selecting the next agency. The amount of funds involved suggests that there will be a high-quality bidding process, which can only enhance the final product sold.

8. What on-going analysis of recruiting advertising is appropriate and how should this be carried out? Attractive manpower reforms will continue, and the image of the military will change, as will the domestic climate in which recruiting takes place. New factors develop which may well require a shift in advertising emphasis, revised media selection, new formats and other changes. A program for regular, intensive surveillance of the advertising program to insure maximum effectiveness is necessary.

Analysis of the advertising program for the Army cannot disregard its effect on the other services. It would be foolish to consider a ten million dollar advertising campaign in the vacuum of one service. For instance, there has been a slight increase in Marine enlistments over the last six months compared to 1970; Navy enlistments are relatively constant; but Air Force enlistments have dropped significantly enough to warrant close scrutiny. Are the Army ads increasing interest in the military generally, or is it instead taking men who would have enlisted into another service anyway? This question can be answered partially by use of surveys of young men who have enlisted in the last six months and those who are expected to enlist over the next several months.

Great care must be given to avoid encouragement of competition among services. This is true both in terms of money and of content of advertising. It may be necessary for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs to assume responsibility for the advertising program. Coordinating a combined advertising effort designed to help each service would prevent counterproductive and wastefully individualistic efforts. This is not to ignore, to be sure, the individual quality of each of the services and their respective emphasis in attracting those who might be more interested in their services. Advertising can increase the over-all enlistment potential without jeopardizing the specific attraction of each service.

THE FUTURE OF ARMY ADVERTISING

The results of the current investigation, if complete, should provide a sound basis for determining the effectiveness of radio and television advertising. During the first quarter of fiscal year 1972, the Army advertising program is expected to continue at a rate substantially above that of previous years.

It would be fully appropriate to consider a second major radio and television advertising program when the results of the first program are in. At that time, the practical experience of the first program could be applied, and with new and detailed measurement of results, a policy determination could then be made on the future of the program.

GREEKS HAVE WORD FOR IT: FOOL

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, before the military coup of 1967, all Greek Governments and the great majority of the Greek people were bound to the United States by firm ties of friendship. But the military aid and apparent political support which the present dictators have received from the United States, while destroying their country's liberties, have undermined that friendship and threaten to create a permanent rift between the United States and the people of Greece. To avoid this, it is imperative that the United States take a clear position on the side of Greek democracy and the Greek people, and against their oppressors. A major step in this direction is the amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill, proposed by Congressman WAYNE HAYS and adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, cutting off military aid to Greece.

The dangers inherent in the present situation are well described by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in a report from Athens which appears in the Washington Post of July 29, 1971.

The report follows:

GREEKS HAVE WORD FOR IT: FOOL

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ATHENS.—Orders from the Nixon administration to the U.S. embassy here to do nothing that might antagonize Prime Minister George Papadopoulos' vise-like dictatorship would be ludicrous if they weren't so damaging to long-range U.S. interests.

Thus, until very recently, when Ambassador Henry Tasca began long-overdue conversations with the foremost parliamentary leaders ousted by the Junta in the 1967 colonel's coup, these leaders were seeing far more of envoys from the Soviet Union (and major European countries) than they were of Tasca.

Calculating political dividends at some future time, the Soviet ambassador has been lunching regularly, on cozy terms, with most of the ex-parliamentary leaders for the past four years, particularly those left of center. With the sizeable (but distinctly minority) Communist Party unnaturally quiet, Moscow obviously bargains for a violent, spontaneous explosion in which the U.S. universally regarded as the Junta's friend, will suffer consequences only slightly less damaging than Papadopoulos himself.

When that happens, the Russians will have useful contacts with the Junta-hating underground world of politics. At the proper time, they will also unleash their guerrilla apparatus, kept silent to avoid a premature buildup of Papadopoulos as an anti-Communist hero. The Russians view Papadoupoulos as an asset to be cashed in at the proper time.

Perhaps the fact of Greek politics is now coming home to Washington. Tasca, a tidy, unimaginative diplomat who obeys the letter of Washington's law, has until recently shunned contacts with top leaders of the two major parties now outlawed: the conservative radical-union and the moderate-left center-union (irrationally regarded by zealous American military men as quasi-Communist).

Moreover, Tasca has been on so short a leash that he can say nothing out loud about the embassy's genuine efforts with Papadopoulos on behalf of jailed politicians or civil liberties, now buried in the dust below the Acropolis. It would offend the Junta.

Several weeks ago, Tasca held his first meetings with top-ranking political ex-leaders, after leaving them in cold storage for 15 months. Then he journeyed to Porto Ercole, north of Rome, to see King Constantine, loathed by the Junta, for the first time.

None of these encounters would have occurred without an order from Washington, whose policy has been to treat Greece as a chunk of geography vital to U.S. security, not as the home of 10 million Greeks.

Whether Tasca's burst of diplomacy marks a genuine turning-point is still questionable as this is written. Top figures in the Junta, along with cynics among the old-pro politicians, believe his new orders suited only one purpose: to appease U.S. congressmen angry over the snuggle-bunny relationship between the U.S. and the dictatorship. Tasca testifies in Congress next Tuesday.

But even if Tasca's cautious overtures signal more than that, it may now be too late. Papadopoulos' police-state machinery, although invisible to the tens of thousands of tourists swarming Greece, is now in place and working. True, he confronts two immediate hazards: a soaring foreign debt, which has forced him to slow imports (which raises another hazard—inflation) and growing divisions within the Junta, the extent of which is unknown.

Neither of these is yet at the crisis stage. Papadopoulos' truculent self-confidence, in fact, has reached such a point that on July 16 he virtually dared President Nixon to stop military aid (resumed last fall with much false fanfare about an imminent return to parliamentary government). He hinted that such a radical shift in U.S. policy would rally the country around him, making him the hero of anti-U.S. chauvinism.

Thus, the chickens hatched by the grievous error of arms resumption last year have now come home to roost, and Papadopoulos finds himself in position to make thinly veiled blackmail maneuvers against the U.S. which, if successful, guarantee the continuation of both arms aid and dictatorship.

Playing the Junta's game, the U.S. has been played for a fool. As the Soviet charge d'affaires commented privately to a friend at Tasca's July 4 lawn party, "I think we are back in business." For President Nixon, NATO, and the people of Greece, the remark had ominous overtones.

WAIT A MINUTE

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, on July 15, 1971, the Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Maurice H. Stans, addressed the 25th anniversary meeting of the National Petroleum Council.

In his remarks, Secretary Stans discusses the problem: How do we develop public and private policies in which economics and technology are factored into every environmental assessment? His reasoning and analysis are noteworthy, and offer much food for thought to those individuals who oft times replace reason with emotion.

The speech follows:

WAIT A MINUTE

Mr. Brockett, members of the National Petroleum Council, I am very pleased to be with you this morning, to share this podium with my Cabinet colleague, Secretary Morton, and to talk to you about one or more of the matters affecting your industry.

You are the leaders of a great industry which is a very key element in the American economy and as Secretary of Commerce during the last two years I have regarded it not only as a duty of my office but as a special privilege to work with you, your associates and members of the industry in many matters of importance to the country.

I suppose your relationships with the Interior Department are more direct than those with Commerce, but my interest in your industry is no less for that fact. The oil matters in which I have participated in one way or another, and the general prosperity of your industry, are both part of the total overall economy.

America runs on oil, so you and the country have concerns and responsibilities that inevitably interrelate and intertwine.

When I was asked to speak today, I was told I could talk on any subject of my choice. I realize that Secretary Morton has already covered many of the topics that would be of interest to you—energy policy and matters of that type—and for that reason I would like to take a broader subject to explore, one that is of direct interest to your industry but that also has an extension far beyond the oil industry and relates to American business throughout the economy.

I am speaking of the matter of environment and the antipollution movement in the country. It is a very emotional one in many quarters. It is a political one in many quarters. The public is demanding action; actively, vocally, impatiently, demanding immediate action. And this is what presents the difficulties.

Now, we all know that the environment ultimately has to be cleaned up, that pollution has to be dealt with.

President Nixon has declared that the nation has been long overdue in halting its abuses of the air, land and water. He has made a commitment to eliminate pollution and to cleanse the atmosphere and conditions in which we live.

The question is, how do we go about doing this? And in the most sensible way?

PRIORITIES

Understandable as the public's interest is for immediate solutions, and justified as the impatience of the public may be, we have the obligation to see the problem in the whole, not just piecemeal.

We cannot have single track minds in which the environmental issue overrides everything. But that is how some of the people would have us look at our problems.

If we settle for quick, immediate solutions to one set of problems, we can catapult ourselves into others that are much more serious, and we are beginning to find that out.

So we have to begin to look a little farther down the road.

I think it is high time for the entire nation to weigh the needs against the demands and say: "Wait a Minute, what are our priorities?"

We need to weigh the requirements against our resources and say: "Wait a Minute, which can we afford? Which can we achieve?"

We need to weigh technological capabilities against the timetables and the options and say: "Wait a Minute, how can we get there from here?"

We need to weigh environmental goals against economic reality and say: "Wait a Minute, how do the benefits compare with the costs?"

PROBLEMS

In other words, the problem is: how do we develop public and private policies in which economics and technology are factored into every environmental assessment?

Let me start at this point.

Industry has been indiscriminately accused by some of ignoring the pollution problems of our times and being responsible for most of them.

The charge is dead wrong and it is unfair.

The fact is, without denying industry's share of the blame, that many of the worst polluters are outside of industry—municipalities, other governments, agriculture, and the public itself. Witness the fact that hundreds, perhaps thousands of American communities pour untreated sewage into waters every day.

RESPONSE

Moreover, American industries, almost across the board, have launched vastly complex and expensive efforts to help clean up the air, water and landscape of the country.

For example:

The chemical industry in 1970 spent $600 million for pollution abatement.

The iron and steel industry has spent more than a billion dollars on air and water facilities, and almost two-thirds of that in the last two years.

The automobile industry currently is investing a quarter of a billion dollars a year in pollution research and development.

The electric industries will spend two-thirds of a billion dollars on pollution control this year alone.

Your own petroleum industry is spending more than $500 million in pollution control this year, and in addition is developing expensive facilities in other countries to reduce the sulphur content of fuel oils being shipped here.

The oil and tanker industries are working closely with the government to eliminate oil discharges and accidental spills into the oceans.

The fact is that, on average, American companies will have increased their pollution control spending by almost 50 percent this year over last year. They will spend some $18 billion over the next five years to meet the requisite standards.

Unfortunately business has failed to make these achievements credibly known to the American people, and the idea still persists in many quarters that business is doing nothing and what it does do is only because it is being dragged across the line. Neither is true. Business has been working at pollution control for a long time.

PRESSURES

So we have come to a troubled time by a very direct route.

Critics press the public to insist upon quick solutions to these complex problems.

The people, in turn, press the Congress. Timetables have been imposed, and regulations applied, giving some people a false feeling that the problems will all go away if we only put enough squeeze on business to act.

The trouble is that in the development of these pressures reason sometimes get lost and extremes become the result.

Many of the results have been beneficial to be sure, but some have been ill-conceived and harmful to people, to business, and to the country.

PHOSPHATES

I would like to give you a few examples, starting with detergent phosphates—the washday ingredient that has recently come to typify the pollution villain.

State and local governments all over the country have begun to ban the sale of detergent phosphate on a crazy-quilt basis, geographically.

But in the rush, perhaps someone should say: "Wait a Minute, what are we really doing here?"

Laws to ban phosphate detergents may give the public the notion that the problem is solved, while nutrients, including phosphates, continue to flow into the lakes and rivers from other sources—agricultural and natural as well as manmade. And some of these cannot be controlled.

So if people assume that just a legal ban on phosphate detergents will do the job, they may only lull themselves into neglecting far more significant scientific efforts to help purify our waters through phosphate removal techniques in municipal waste treatment plants.

DANGERS

Then—and this is perhaps even more important—some hastily devised phosphate substitutes can be more harmful and dangerous than many people believe the phosphates are.

One substitute developed by manufacturers at a cost of many, many millions of dollars, was temporarily put aside at the request of the government because there were concerns it might create some health hazards. Additional safety tests are now being completed and the situation may be changed.

But some of the other substitutes now reaching the public contain caustic materials that are dangerous, especially to children. If those products get in their eyes, they can blind—or if they are accidentally ingested, they can maim or even kill.

To limit these risks, the FDA has instituted labeling requirements for caustic detergents.

Unfortunately, the fact is that small children creeping on the floor next to the washing machines can't read those labels.

Some chemical substitutes for phosphates also wash out the flame-proofing in children's cotton sleepers which the textile industry has been working hard to develop.

Now, my purpose in citing these points is not to defend phosphates, or the industries that use them, or the products that contain them.

Instead, it is a way of saying:

"Wait a Minute." Before we rush helter-skelter into immediate responses to such problems of nationwide concern, isn't it prudent first to take the time to know what we are doing? To weigh all the factors and the consequences involved?

POWER PLANT SITINGS

For another example, take the siting of new electric power plants.

It is all too familiar to many of you, I am sure. If anything, it is even more difficult than siting new refineries.

The nation's need for more electric power is rapidly outrunning our capacity to generate it. The answer would seem to be simply to build more power plants.

But in many areas of the country it has become almost impossible to do so. As many as 40 approvals may be necessary, many of

them involving environmental grounds, and even the last one can be reversed as easily as the first.

We all know that New York City has had these troubles for years.

Houston is another case in point. It has all the ingredients of growth except enough electric power. But it can't start to build a new generating plant it urgently needs because the effluents, even after a costly cooling, would raise the temperature of the waters that receive it some two degrees above the temperature that would support present marine life.

Isn't it time someone said: Wait a minute.

If we fix the right priorities—if we integrate our environmental, technological and economic interests—all of them can be served without one dominating the other.

The President has urged the Congress to enact legislation to resolve the power plant siting problem, and wants public agencies designated to assure public discussion of plans, proper resolution of environmental issues and timely construction of the facilities.

DDT

Another case at point is insecticides.

We all know there are valid arguments against some of them, but in the rush away from them, we can create massive new problems.

For example, in New Jersey, without DDT, more than one million oak trees have been blighted and face destruction by the Gypsy moth.

Without DDT, forest insects are running rampant in Sweden, eating away the raw material of that country's biggest industry.

In Ceylon, without DDT, malaria cases have become far more prevalent, involving 10 percent of the population. Without DDT in India there would be 100 million cases of malaria each year instead of a few hundred thousand.

In parts of the United States, without DDT, insects have made it increasingly difficult to grow lettuce, lima beans, sweet corn, and so on.

Now, in time, perhaps, substitutes for present insecticides can be developed and proved out. But in the meantime, most of the substitutes are uncertain or don't even exist.

The whole question is whether by precipitous action we will create an expensive gap between the present means and the later solutions.

Again, this is not a brief for DDT. This is just a way of saying:

Wait a Minute. Before we act precipitously and ban products for one reason, shouldn't we at least be certain that the cure is not worse than the disease?

ONE-INDUSTRY TOWNS

What about one-industry towns? Today a growing number of small communities across the country are fearful that they will lose their economic life if their single sustaining industry is forced to close, either because of rigid environmental protection controls or because they can't cope with the economic cost of complying.

Isn't it time for someone to say "Wait a Minute"?

Are the environmental dangers so imminent, so critical, that we have to throw thousands of productive people out of work? Are the dangers so great, so immediate, that whole communities must be run through the economic wringer?

Isn't it time that we first measure all the evidence, recognizing legitimate concerns on the one hand, weighing them fairly against valid considerations on the other, then act reasonably and carefully to protect both the environment and the jobs? It may take a bit longer but the end result would be far more satisfactory.

SST

For another example, Congress killed the SST.

But shouldn't we as a nation have said "Wait a Minute"? Are we so afraid to build just two experimental airplanes that we would willingly sacrifice thousands of jobs, jeopardize the economic health of an entire city, forego the technological advantage of an entire industry, and deny major benefits to our balance of payments?

Isn't it time we weigh our potential against the risk in every reasonable case?

PIPELINE

What about the Trans-Alaska Pipeline? Some of you have an interest in that.

Again, people have said, "Let's not build it because of the possible adverse consequences to the environment."

No one suggests that we ignore these possible dangers. Everyone agrees that we must take every known precaution to protect the environment.

But there is another side of the coin, the nation's need for the oil and the benefits to Alaska.

Isn't it time somebody says on things like this, "Wait a Minute"?

We already have the technological means to provide reasonable protection against dangers to the Alaskan environment. Are we so afraid of what might happen that we will sacrifice the enormous new sources of oil we need for our homes, our cars, our jobs, our country? Will we sacrifice potential jobs for thousands of people who would be employed in the shipping industries, in Alaska and elsewhere? Will we turn our backs on all of the economic benefits to that state and to the country?

The risks are recognized, but isn't it time we recognize that other considerations also must be taken into account in the national interest?

EMISSION STANDARDS

And what about the tougher emissions standards for transportation? Certainly they should be sought and should be achieved.

But—wait a minute—in the past decade the amount of hydrocarbons given off by an automobile has already been reduced by 80 percent, carbon monoxide emissions by 70 percent. And with existing capabilities, these improvements can continue.

But a mandatory standard of the Clean Air Act demands a 90 percent reduction below the remaining emission levels by 1975.

For hydrocarbons, that level is as much as foliage gives off in the average yard of the American home in the average suburb.

One person has estimated that every car would have to be parked for two days after getting its tank filled—literally—because gasoline going from the pump to the car gives off at least twice the daily allowable hydrocarbons for that car.

Spreading one ounce of house paint uses the same daily quota of hydrocarbons.

Burning up two logs on the fireplace likewise uses the daily quota.

The list of examples could go on.

The Environmental Protection Agency report to Congress last week said that we do not have the technology to comply with some of the standards that have been set in accordance with law.

To try to achieve these standards will result in millions of dollars of added costs, which inevitably have to go into higher consumer prices.

If we try to solve our environmental problems more quickly than our technology permits, not only will we raise costs sharply and suddenly, but we will also increase the number of false steps that we take along the way. The incomplete state of our knowledge leads directly to pitfalls that can't be foreseen.

So isn't it time to say: Wait a Minute. Let's weigh each need against the technological realities and let's not impose any more arbitrary deadlines that can't be met with the technology in sight.

Let's do the things we can do first, while making orderly progress against the others.

OFFSHORE DRILLING

What about offshore drilling? Certainly we should take every possible practical step to stop polluting the oceans.

But—wait a minute.

Before we make offshore drilling too difficult let's recognize that by the end of this decade, offshore wells will have to provide 30 percent of our oil. And it will also provide much of the low-sulphur fuel that is urgently needed for clean air.

PROPOSALS

As all of you know so well, there are many other matters which we could cite and say "Wait a Minute." These examples make the point.

Let me give you some specifics as to guidelines in dealing with these matters in the future.

First, a determination of the economic impact should be required before environmental acts are mandated.

The public must know what the costs will be, what the alternatives are, and whether it will get its money's worth.

Second, a technological determination should be prepared in connection with any governmental action, indicating the time required to carry it out.

Third, we must avoid panicky, ad hoc approaches to the problems of air, land and water pollution, and develop feasible, long-range plans to deal with them on a balanced basis of regular, gradual improvements, always with consideration of the public interest and of the economic and technological factors involved.

Fourth, government should study whether companies and industries can finance the improvements that they are being required to make without prejudice to their financial security or their normal capital improvements, and consider whether assistance might be required.

Fifth, the Congress should be urged to support all of the President's environmental improvement plans relating to other than the business areas, so that industry's progress will be matched by progress in municipal disposal and other nonindustrial pollution problems.

Sixth, coordinated methods should be developed for governments to reach prompt and conclusive decisions on power plant locations, as proposed by the Administration, in order to end those critical delays.

And finally, antitrust attitudes should be reviewed to determine the possibility of cooperative industry attempts, working together to resolve environmental problems.

OBSERVATIONS

Let me add this set of simple observations before I finish.

First, none of the major problems we face can be resolved instantly. All of them are too complex. They call for long-range programs and careful consideration of priorities and financing.

Second, business alone cannot be held responsible for all of our pollution. The burdens of responsibility and cost must be shared by all levels of government, by agriculture and by the public.

And third, the technology we need in order to solve our problem must still be developed in many fields. We have a tremendous flow of uncoordinated, uncertain, imprecise data about the environment, and industry faces a severe shortage of environmental engineering specialists.

Fourth, we have to achieve greater conformity of state and local actions dealing with pollution control before we bog down

the whole country in conflicting regulations and deadlines.

MANKIND

Finally, we have to recognize that even our manmade problems, in some instances, are essential to satisfying human existence on this planet. After all, every new birth brings us instantly a new polluter. But even the most ardent of the environmentalists have yet to call for "no new starts" there.

Here again I suppose we could say, "Wait a minute."

But what I am talking about is the necessity to recognize that the pollution problem exists in a real world, and it calls for balance and objectivity.

I can reduce it all to absurdity:

If we had no cars on the street, there would be no automobile pollution.

If we built no power plants, we would have no pollution from utilities. If we had no phosphate detergents, we would have no pollution of our waterways, and so on.

But what kind of country would we have left?

The line between that kind of nonsense and the kind of sense we need to resolve the problem requires a sense of reality in dealing with the economic and technological factors, and the impatience of those who would like to clean up the country overnight.

CONCLUSION

The time has come to bring these things into focus and stop overheating the view that we are killing ourselves today.

Without pause or equivocation, we must continue to halt pollution of the world, but we must do it realistically, soundly.

I have support for this point of view from people like Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy Sciences, who just a few weeks ago said this: "My special plea is that we do not, out of a combination of emotional zeal and ecological ignorance, romanticizing about the 'good old days' that never were, hastily substitute environmental tragedy for existing environmental deterioration. Let's not replace known devils by insufficiently understood unknown devils."

So all we seek fundamentally in all these considerations is a balancing of values, a weighing of proper priorities, a measuring of the costs against benefits.

And, gentlemen, if we approach our problems in that spirit of balance and fairness, we can meet our ecological needs, clean up the country, and do so without undue economic risks for anyone, all within the framework of continued technological progress.

That is the way I think we ought to do it.

THE INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE BRINGING PARKS TO PEOPLE

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing legislation that would expand the present boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Five years ago, this body approved the first legislation creating that national lakeshore, but at the time certain important pieces of land were not included; and since then, it has become obvious that certain other additions are necessary to protect the original investment that has already been made in land purchases for the present national lakeshore.

The proposed legislation reflects my intention to save some of the irreplaceable dunes and wetlands surrounding the present park boundaries, which are now threatened by urban and industrial development.

Thus, I would include certain buffer zone additions, wooded dunes parcels, in the West Beach area; certain semideveloped lands, such as the remaining sections of the town of Beverely Shores still outside the park where there are many valuable dunes; wooded and moving dunes in the Ogden Dunes region.

This bill would include a unique Blue Heron nesting haven in the Little Calumet Wetlands area, an important wildlife refuge and potential recreation spot for hikers and wildlife enthusiasts; also cattail marshes, dune ridges and oak groves in the Old Glacier Lake Dunes unit which is an area that provides a unique display of successive stages of the old lake bottom and shoreline dunes.

Presently, there are small areas surrounded by but not included in the boundaries of the national lakeshore in Porter County; these I believe should be included. Toward Gary, we need to add a Long Lake extension unit, in order to control the entire watershed of Long Lake to prevent future pollution damage to the waters in the present park area. To preserve the flood plain and adjacent slopes of Little Calumet River and a tributary, known as Salt Creek, in unspoiled condition, I am recommending a conservation easement. This bill would also seek to protect Pinhook Bog from pollution, a region of intense botanical and ecological significance, by enlarging its boundaries.

These areas and others, involving some 6,900 acres are included in the bill I am today introducing. About 4,520 of these acres are to be acquired by purchase, some 2,300 are in the form of an easement. Throughout, the effort has been to avoid including areas where there has been a great deal of improvement.

It is impossible to assess the value of these lands for our present and for the future. What we are dealing with here is an area with rare scenic, geological, ecological characteristics; a region that should serve as a prime recreational area, an area in which to learn firsthand about nature and observe unimpeded ecological balances in operation. Such an area cannot be replaced or reproduced. Unless we act now, some of the lands involved, the land forms, and the wildlife will disappear permanently, for other uses will be made or proper care will not be used to make sure the flora, the animal life, the dunes themselves, are preserved.

This then is a very unique, a special kind of recreational area; one with scientific interest and ecological value. Those of you who live in or near the Midwest are aware of the importance of this national lakeshore as a prime recreational area for a highly urbanized region. Some 10 million people live and work within easy access to the present and the proposed additions to the Indiana Dunes national lakeshore area.

In February of this year, President Nixon talked about the importance of bringing "parks to where the people are" in his environment message to the Congress. I could not agree with him more, in fact that was the whole intent of the original Indiana Dunes legislation passed 5 years ago for the area served by this first urban national park. By 1980, it is estimated that population figures within a 100 mile radius of this area will reach more than 11 million people, and by that time or possibly sooner, annual visitation to the lakeshore is expected to reach 2 million.

For these millions of Americans who might enjoy the many natural advantages offered by this area, I hope the Congress will approve these additions to the Indiana Dunes national lakeshore, thereby conserving this area for the present and the future.

DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI AWARDS MADE BY PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, each year Distinguished Alumni Awards are made by Pennsylvania State University. Just recently these awards for 1971 were issued.

Two individuals prominent in public life were the recipients of this award, one of which was Mr. Benson L. Dutton, Director of Federally Assisted Construction in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the other being Brig. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, White House physician.

Because the pertinent citations reveal some interesting dimensions with respect to these two important personalities, I insert these citations in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and recommend them to the attention of my colleagues:

BENSON L. DUTTON

Citation: *To Benson L. Dutton, a builder of bridges both structural and human, for his distinguished accomplishments in not one but three professions—engineering, education, and government service; and for his award winning bridge designs; for his equally effective molding of young minds; and for his dedication and concern for his fellow man which have earned him rsepect and recognition from the community.*

All men are shaped by their pasts, but some prefer to forget the struggles and trials of earlier years. Benson L. Dutton, his career established, his reputation secured by his distinguished accomplishments in engineering, education, and government service has not forgotten.

Responding to his selection as a Distinguished Alumnus of the University, he recalled in a letter "the sacrifices of my parents (whose income during the 1929–33 depression years barely kept us in food, clothing, and shelter) in providing me with funds and encouragement to complete my undergraduate work."

And he found time to pay thanks to his undergraduate advisor (the late Julius E. Kaulfuss) and to the family "in whose home I lived and received kindness (Professor Eugene Bischoff). To all of these—my parents my Alma Mater, and my friends—I am appreciative of the help and inspiration they have given me."

Today, Mr. Dutton is director of Federally Assisted Construction in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and lives and works in Washington, D.C. But he was born in Philadelphia and matriculated in its public schools before obtaining his bachelor of science degree in civil engineering in 1933. (He also holds the professional degree of civil engineer which was awarded him by Penn State in 1949.)

After his graduation, Mr. Dutton found a job as chief of surveys in Philadelphia, later becoming a construction engineer at the Naval Ammunition Depot and a project engineer with the National Park Service. Then in 1940 he turned to education and accepted an assistant professorship in engineering at Hampton Institute, where he also spent a year as acting business manager. Eight years later he moved to Tennessee State University as a professor, and from 1950 to 1956 he served as dean of their School of Engineering.

During these years, Mr. Dutton maintained a private engineering practice and in 1956 returned to Philadelphia to become chief design engineer of bridges for the city. His plans for the Spring Garden Street Bridges over the Schuylkill River won him a third prize award for structures from the Lincoln Arc Welding Foundation and an Award of Merit for Bridges from the American Institute of Steel Construction.

In 1965, Mr. Dutton went to work with the U.S. Office of Education, first as a construction management engineer and later as chief of the Operations Branch of the Construction Services. He has held his present post since last year.

A fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers and a member of the American Public Works Association, Mr. Dutton has played a prominent role in civic and community activities. He has been particularly interested in the YMCA and was honored with a Philadelphia YMCA Membership Award Plaque and the Germantown YMCA Service Award Plaque.

During his years in the Quaker City, Mr. Dutton served as a trustee of the Bureau of Child Care, as a director of Fellowship House, and on the North Area Board of the Health and Welfare Council.

BRIG. GEN. WALTER R. TKACH

Citation: *To Walter R. Tkach, physician to the President, for his distinguished medical and military careers which earned him appointment as White House Surgeon; for his devoted care of the nation's First Family and Cabinet Officers; and for his skill, performance, and professional dedication in the service of humanity.*

As a doctor, Brig. Gen. Walter R. Tkach has rather an exclusive office setting—not to mention a highly selective list of patients. For General Tkach is the physician to the President of the United States and heads the White House Clinic which is responsible for the health of the First Family, Cabinet members, and White House staff.

Born in LaBelle, Pa., General Tkach was graduated from Penn State in 1941 with a bachelor of science degree in chemistry. He obtained his medical schooling at the University of Pittsburgh and interned there at Mercy Hospital.

At the same time that he received his doctor of medicine degree, the young physician was granted a commission as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserve and upon completion of his internship in 1946 began active duty in the U.S. Army Medical Corps as a student in the Basic Doctor of Medicine course at Fort Sam Houston, Tex. His first assignment took him to Japan, where, until 1948, he was a medical inspector and later a general duty medical officer with the occupation forces. Transferred to Washington, D.C., he joined the 7004th Area Service Unit (General Dispensary) as a medical officer.

In 1949 General Tkach decided to switch services and became an officer in the U.S. Air Force. He attended the Basic Aviation Medicine course at the School of Aviation Medicine, Randolph Air Force Base, Tex., for nine months and was then assigned as flight surgeon to the 314th Medical Group at Sewart Air Force Base in Tennessee. Returning to Washington in January 1951, General Tkach went to Headquarters, United States Air Force, with the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Intelligence. While there, he took courses in strategic intelligence and medical aspects of nuclear energy.

A tour of duty at the White House followed in 1953 when General Tkach was reassigned to the Medical Officer Staff in the dispensary there. He later became assistant to the personal physician to President Eisenhower.

It was May 1961, when General Tkach reported to the 818th Medical Group at Lincoln Air Force Base, Neb., as assistant to the commander. Later, he himself became commander. The following year he was named chief of the Professional Division and deputy surgeon at Strategic Air Command Headquarters, Offutt Air Force Base, Neb. From 1965 to 1968, he was assigned to Pacific Air Forces Headquarters, Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii, as director of professional services and deputy surgeon. Remaining in the Far East, he went to Vietnam as command surgeon for Headquarters, Seventh Air Force, until in January 1969, President Nixon asked him to become White House Surgeon.

General Tkach holds the aeronautical rating of chief flight surgeon. His military decorations include the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, Air Medal, Air Force Commendation Medal, and the White House Service Medal.

REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN ED ESHLEMAN

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just recently sent my constituents a newsletter. I am including the contents of that newsletter in the RECORD at this point:

REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN, ED ESHLEMAN

GOOD INTENTIONS, BAD RESULTS

The welfare issue is discussed quite forcefully in a recent issue of the *Atlantic* magazine. The article is based on Alexis de Tocqueville's thoughts on "pauperism" in 1835. Tocqueville wrote, "There are two incentives to work: the need to live and the desire to improve the conditions of life. Experience has proven that the majority of men can be sufficiently motivated to work only by the first of these incentives. The second is only effective with a small minority. . . . A law which gives all the poor a right to public aid, whatever the origin of their poverty, weakens or destroys the first stimulant and leaves only the second intact." The Atlantic article goes on to show how this reasoning applies to our present welfare problems and concludes with this very interesting observation: "The family is, in our society, a vital economic institution. Welfare robs it of its economic function. Above all, welfare robs the head of the household of his economic function and tends to make of him a 'superfluous man.' Welfare, it must be remembered, competes with his (usually low) earning ability; and the more generous the welfare program, the worse he makes out in this competition. It is surprising, then, that—unmanned and demoralized—he removes himself from family responsibilities that no longer rest on his shoulders? That he drifts out of his home—or is even pushed out of his home—into the male street-corner society of the slum? . . . To raise such questions is to point to the fundamental problems of our welfare system, a vicious circle in which the best of intentions merge into the worst of results.

STAMPS FOR STARTERS

On July 1 the Post Office Department became the new, independent U.S. Postal Service. To commemorate that occasion, Postmaster General Winton M. Blount came over to Capitol Hill to present a special album of stamps featuring the official insignia of the Postal Service. The above picture was taken at that ceremony.

FEDERAL TAX WARNING

The tax law passed two years ago gave tax cuts to most Americans. However, due to the way the law was written, your present withholding may not be covering your tax obligation. You could find that you still owe a sizeable chunk of cash come next April 15. The reason is this: The tax cuts were aimed chiefly at low income groups. The withholding tables were not adjusted to reflect the impact of those cuts on middle income people. Therefore, those with salaries of $10,000 or more who take standard deductions, or itemized deductions which total less than 13 percent, won't have had enough withheld from their earnings to cover their tax liability for this year. If you're a wage-earner who might be affected by this situation, you are urged to check into either cutting your exemptions or adding to your withholding to avoid having to make a lump-sum payment in April of 1972.

QUOTE FROM CAPITOL CORRIDORS

Treason cannot be justified on the grounds of "freedom of the press" any more than rape can be justified on the grounds of "pursuit of happiness."

POLLUTION: A CRISIS FOR EVERYONE

A major issue

In Washington, when an issue begins getting a great deal of public attention, it is said to have a "high profit." Today pollution and the effort to save the environment are high profile issues. Just about everyone is aware of and concerned about the huge task we face of cleaning up our polluted air and water. In addition, we have become aware of other assaults on our environment such as noise, radiation, solid waste and population growth. The stream of information which has poured forth since pollution became a high profile issue has left no doubt that better control is essential if mankind is to enjoy a tolerable future—or, in the opinion of some, any future at all. Although there may be room for dispute on the degree of urgency, virtually all of us agree that current pollution controls are inadequate and the improvement is mandatory.

It's a personal thing

Too often, I'm afraid, we think of saving the environment in terms of what someone else should do. But the responsibility for cleaning things up cannot be delegated to just government, or just industry, or just some other segment of society. What ordinary people do and don't do is of vast importance. The war on pollution, if it is to be successful, must be waged by everyone, everyday, everywhere.

Why me?

Each of us must bear part of the responsibility in the great clean-up because each of us contributes greatly to the problem. When we drive our cars, turn on an electrical appliance, utilize our community's sewage facilities, fill our garbage cans or do one of the thousand other things which make up

our daily lives, we become polluters. Last year, for instance, each man, woman and child contributed about one ton of pollutants to the air. Household wastewaters carried off by municipal sewage disposal systems amounted to approximately 100 gallons per day for each person, or 20 billion gallons each day nationwide. And because our Nation has a consumer economy, it is also a throw away economy which means that we are being buried under an avalanche of solid waste. Last year we threw away 50 billion cans, 30 billion bottles and jars, 4 million tons of plastics and 7.6 million television sets. Those are rather starting figures, but they help point out why we must each face up to our own roles in the environmental crisis before there is any hope of dealing with it.

The problem we face

In a crime, when the criminal is identified and prosecuted, the victim gets some satisfaction. But in the case of pollution, the "criminals" and the victims are one and the same. Just as we all contribute to the problem, we all suffer from the problem too. It is a part of our daily lives. To go from one place to another in our cities is to pass through an unhealthy cross-section of pollution—through the exhaust fumes of motor vehicles, across dirty and sluggish streams, under the intense noise of construction projects, and past the belching smokestacks of industry. Even getting beyond our urban centers and out into the country does not mean escape from pollution. In rural America one finds littered highways, lakes and streams that are victims of industrial and municipal waste, and wildlife that are the prey of man's indiscriminate use of pesticides. Whereas environmentalists were once fighting remote battles to save some trees or conserve some other natural resource, today their fight has come into everyone's life. It is a fight not just to conserve what we have left, but to restore what we have lost.

Some sense and nonsense

Faced with nearly any crisis, our general reaction is to ignore it as long as we can. Then, when we do acknowledge it, we inevitably tend to overreact and magnify the problem to incredible proportions. That's exactly what has happened in the case of the pollution problem. It is beyond question that we are faced with an environmental crisis. But, despite the claims of some scientists and some public officials, the world isn't coming to an end yet. The absurd exaggerations that the planet is about to become a vast wasteland if every speck of pollution is not cleaned up have caused some needless fears and some unrealistic emotionalism. The fact is that if we stopped pollution of all kinds, it would be as disastrous as continuing the present pattern of uncontrolled pollution. There are so many people on earth today that lacking transportation, electric power, mechanized and chemicalized agriculture, heat and other causes of pollution, we would plunge into chaos with starvation at the end of the road. The key to dealing with environmental deterioration is balance. Pollution control must be achieved without pollution hysteria. That means programs aimed at a cleaner environment which also recognize that there is probably an irreducible level of pollution below which we cannot go. Such programs will stress development of a new concept of man's relation to nature, learning to control our own numbers, development of effective land-use policies, and finding new measures of public and private success which emphasize quality rather than mere quantity.

Cost of cleaning up

Cleaning up the environment—even keeping its present unhappy state from growing worse—will be a long-term, very expensive undertaking. Very often that the cost has been expressed in terms of dollars, billions of dollars—$100 billion to $125 billion over the next several years. This kind of spending could mean, of course. higher taxes. But the cost to the individual citizen may be even greater than an increased tax bill. Pollution control could shrink the consumer dollar. A considerably quieter aircraft engine, for example, could bring higher air fares. For the electric power industry to install equipment sufficient to prevent thermal pollution of waterways, higher electric bills will have to be charged. Pollution control could mean lower product performance. A slightly grayer washday collar might be the price of getting a pollution-free detergent. A little less getaway power might be the price of a pollution-free auto engine. And it might not go as far on a gallon of gas. Pollution control may mean inconvenience—a return to returnable soda bottles or traveling to airports sufficiently removed from populated areas to avoid the worst of the air and noise pollution of the big jets. Pollution control could mean a further shift of governmental power toward the center. More and more governmental centralization probably will be used to assume control of air and water standards and regulations for land use. Pollution control could mean tighter restrictions on what industry and people are free to do. And, pollution control could mean something as dramatic as a set of measures calculated to slow down or bring to a halt the growth of the American population.

The congressional job

Congress, of course, can translate public concern about pollution into legislative action. In fact, for more than a decade, an increasingly tougher anti-pollution program has been formulated on Capitol Hill. The Environmental Protection Agency was created to wage the battle against pollution. A series of Water Quality Acts have been passed in an effort to save our lakes, streams and oceans. Air quality laws, in particular the new and tough Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970, are designed to make our air breathable. But all of this action, and future action which is certain to come, will mean nothing if individual citizens do not support the environmental efforts. My sponsorship of anti-pollution bills, and I have sponsored and co-sponsored several, is almost meaningless if each American does not resolve to take some action himself.

Okay, what can I do?

Because pollution is a personal thing, there must be some individual effort and sacrifice to combat it. Here are some suggestions of experts about what you might do: Help cut waste by selecting products wrapped in a minimum of packaging; by substituting cloth for paper in towels, napkins, handkerchiefs and diapers; by buying milk in returnable glass bottles; by carrying reusable shopping bags; and by installing and using a litter bag in your car. Help clean and save water by using no color-dyed tissue; by cleaning with low- or no-phosphate soaps and detergents; by consciously trying to cut personal water usage; and by avoiding use of pesticides. Help clean the air by burning low- or no-lead gasoline in your car; by keeping your car engine well tuned; by traveling as much as possible on mass transit; and by using fireplaces and outdoor grills sparingly. It's a matter of doing what Teddy Roosevelt once described as "dealing intelligently with what we have."

THE NEED TO ACT

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, 2 days of hearings held by my subcommittee on H R. 1264, the Youth Camp Safety Act, has generated concern for recreational safety. From the testimony presented, it becomes apparent that legislation to establish safety standards in summer camps is urgently needed. Last year, the Select Subcommittee on Labor, which I chair, was largely responsible for the formulation and passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act which covers approximately 58 million working men and women in this country. Professional camp personnel are covered by this public law. Yet, the thousands of young children who each year are entrusted to these people are not protected by comparable health and safety laws.

Few parents are aware that only a handful of States regulate the health facilities of camps and in fact, some States do not even require that qualified medical personnel comprise the supervisory staff of a camp. Many more States do not hold camp directors responsible for the administrative operation of their own camps. My colleagues would be shocked to learn of the inadequacy of camp standards in their States. In my own State of New Jersey, we have not even established basic sanitation laws for camps.

The problem is essentially one of enforcement. Voluntary standards, which provide the only form of safety regulation in some States, do not insure that the conditions of a camp are safe. Standards must be mandatory and strictly enforced. Although several national organizations, such as the American Camping Organization, certify camps, compliance with requirements cannot be enforced and a noncertified camp can still operate on a profit basis.

Unfortunately, tragedy often brings to our attention the need for prevention and remedy. I would like to call to the attention of Congress the following article which recently appeared in the Washington Daily News. The senseless death of a young boy is, in itself, sufficient reason for us to immediately act upon youth camp safety

The article follows:

SON NEEDN'T HAVE DROWNED, HE SAYS: FATHER FIGHTS FOR SUMMER CAMP SAFETY

(By Joseph Volz)

Mitch Kurman, a Connecticut furniture salesman, has been conducting a one-man crusade for a camp safety law since his son was drowned six years ago in an accident which could easily have been prevented.

Yesterday, Mr. Kurman testified before a sympathetic Rep. Dominick Daniels, D–N.J., chairman of the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, who has introduced a safety bill giving the Health Education and Welfare secretary broad regulatory powers.

Mr. Kurman presented a bleak picture of ill-trained counselors, unsafe camp buses and operators who would rather save money than lives. He admitted there are many fine facilities among the nation's 10,000 camps but said "one bad camp can leave a scar in the form of a haunting reminder."

MAINE SLUICE

Mr. Kurman's tortured crusade for a federal law goes back to a dangerous logging sluice in Maine. A New York YMCA camp counselor had taken Mr. Kurman's son to the state on a canoeing trip. The counselor had limited knowledge of canoeing and had never been to the creek before. The canoe was

smashed in the frothy water and Mr. Kurman's son drowned.

Mr. Kurman listed other avoidable camping accidents:

A Baltimore school teacher led a camp group to the Canadian Rockies but dropped out at 8,000 feet because of altitude sickness, sending the boys up the mountain without him. An avalanche buried the group at 9,000 feet killing seven.

In California, a YWCA camp rented an open flatbed trailer for a trip to the beach. Five children were killed when the truck, driven by an inexperienced operator, somersaulted.

Seven Long Island children died after their chartered bus—the operator did not have a license—went off a rain-slicked road near Allentown, Pa.

Mr. Kurman wants counselors to prove they are knowledgeable woodsmen before they are hired. He also urges that a Red Cross representative be present at camp waterfronts and camps should frequently be inspected.

BILL STALLED

But Congress, so far, has not been aroused by camping accidents. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., has been introducing a bill, largely because of Mr. Kurman's persistence, since 1966 and it has never cleared the Senate Labor Committee.

This year, the bill appears to have a better chance because Sen. Harrison Williams, D-N.J., new chairman of the committee, is a co-sponsor of the measure. Altho the bill would give government officials broad regulatory powers, it does not spell out Mr. Kurman's proposals.

NIXON'S LATEST ACHIEVEMENT: MORE PROTESTORS THAN EVER BEFORE

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration is constantly and proudly announcing its major accomplishments and goals as the biggest, the best, or the most revolutionary in history.

As I picked up my newspaper this morning, I learned that the administration has announced its two most recent accomplishments. The first did not come as much of a surprise. The administration announced that the budget for the fiscal year which ended last month showed a $23.2 billion deficit—the second highest since World War II.

However, I was somewhat amazed to learn of the administration's second achievement. According to Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, more protesters have come to Washington to protest under the Nixon administration than under any of its predecessors. This may well be true, but I am surprised that the Nixon administration actually takes pride in this accomplishment.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD an article about the Deputy Attorney General's speech at the Hotel Washington yesterday which appears today in the New York Times.

The article follows:

KLEINDIENST SEES PROTESTS EBBING
MITCHELL AIDE SAYS YOUNG
FEELS THEY ARE HEARD

WASHINGTON.—Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst said today that he thought the wave of youthful protest was subsiding "because our young people feel they are being heard."

Mr. Kleindienst also told a Rotary Club luncheon at the Hotel Washington that President Nixon regarded the drug problem "as second only to war and peace."

ADMINISTRATION PRAISED

Mr. Kleindienst attributed the widespread use of drugs to the frustrations of young people resulting from the war in Vietnam and social problems at home.

He said the war had been "badly explained."

"We are sending people off to fight without understanding why they are going," he asserted, "and we are not asking many sacrifices from those who are left behind."

In his speech, titled "The Programs and Priorities of the Justice Department in the Seventies," Mr. Kleindienst praised the way this Administration had handled the mass protest demonstrations in Washington. He said that more protesters came to Washington to protest under the Nixon Administration than under any of its predecessors.

A Rotarian asked him why there had been so much dissent under this Administration. Mr. Kleindienst blamed "what this Administration inherited—the war, the economy" and "more interest, particularly by young people, in some of the controversial political questions."

"The temper is subsiding," Mr. Kleindienst maintained, because youth feels it is being listened to.

REPRESSION CHARGED

He said the Administration had taken pains to ensure that radicals advocating violence "get a full public hearing" so that it was clear that "they have no viable alternatives for America."

"You won't see much of that in the future," Mr. Kleindienst predicted. "I think they've discovered that if they're really freely permitted to speak, they don't gain any allies."

Some liberal observers have said the Nixon Administration is anything but open to mass demonstrations in the capital. Several of them called the Administration's handling of the Mayday protests here last May "repressive." Thousands were arrested at that time and confined in temporary jails.

Mr. Kleindienst said "the concept of this President and this Attorney General" is to drive the issue of crime into two categories: "The long-range solution [involving] the elimination of poverty and racism and the ennoblement of man's soul; and enforcement of the law."

It is "a fundamental difference" from the last Administration, he said, that the Justice Department deals only with the second.

Mr. Kleindienst identified the department's priorities as anti-trust enforcement, civil rights, organized crime and drugs.

THE CASSANDRAS IN AMERICA

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith a perceptive article by a most distinguished American citizen. Its author, Corliss Lamont, was a professor for many years at Columbia University and the author of many volumes on philosophy and humanism.

It is encouraging to note that Mr. Lamont, born in 1902, possesses an abiding faith in the fundamental love of freedom of American citizens.

The article entitled "The Cassandras in America" appeared in the New York Times on July 25, 1971. The article follows:

THE CASSANDRAS IN AMERICA—FEARS OF FACISM ARE NOT REALISTIC DESPITE NEW THREATS TO CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Corliss Lamont)

The cry of calamity is contagious. Repeatedly in the public prints and in conversation, we have read and heard that fascism or neofascism is just around the corner for the United States. This shadow flung across the immediate future portends a police state with rigid censorship, suppression of all opposition, a one-party system and complete nullification of our democratic procedures.

It is true that during the last two or three years American democracy has been disgraced by a number of recent events: the wholesale jailing, for instance, of some 13,000 antiwar demonstrators, most of them illegally arrested, in Washington, D.C., in May, 1971; the widespread brutality of city police; the shooting of students at Kent State, Ohio, and Jackson, Mississippi; the proliferation of lists of "subversives" by government agencies, both Federal and local, and the passage of repressive new laws such as the antiriot provisions of the Civil Rights Act and the clearly unconstitutional provisions in the Crime Control Act and the Drug Control Act.

But are these the symptoms of a creeping or leaping fascism? I think not.

The Cassandras who respond to such dismal facts by crying "fascism is coming" are forgetful or ignorant of American history. Certainly the civil-liberties crisis today is serious. But as a vigorous supporter of the Bill of Rights for some forty years, I am aware that some sort of civil-liberties crisis is almost always with us. The current situation is not nearly as grim as after World War I and the Russian Revolution, when the notorious Palmer raids took place; or as during the fifties when there was a spate of antifreedom legislation and McCarthyism was blighting almost every area of our culture.

Those fearful of a fascist take-over also overemphasize the negative and overlook the considerable gains American democracy has achieved in recent years. The witch-hunt investigating committees of Congress, typified by the House Un-American Activities Committee (now the House Internal Security Committee), are less of a menace today. Much progress has been made toward full constitutional rights for the Negroes and other racial minorities, including the all but total disappearance of lynching. The courts, especially the U.S. Appeals Courts and the Supreme Court, have in general lent support to the Bill of Rights over the last decade.

It is possible that an Appeals Court or the Supreme Court, even with Mr. Nixon's appointees, will reverse the conviction of the Chicago Seven and declare unconstitutional the antiriot statute under which they were held guilty. Indicative of the Supreme Court's stance on civil liberties was its recent decision that The New York Times and The Washington Post could not be restrained by the United States Government from publishing the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war.

In New York City in May, 1971, a jury acquitted thirteen Black Panthers of conspiracy to murder policemen and to commit other violence, while in New Haven the same

month the Government dropped its prosecution of Panther leader Bobby Seale for conspiracy to murder.

Those who are haunted by the specter of fascism also do not consider that certain rightist tendencies may well represent out of those temporary swings of the political pendulum typical of our history. Much of today's reactionary legislation is an overreaction to student riots and the seizure of college buildings, to the senseless bombings by the Weathermen and right extremists, and to the murder of considerable numbers of policemen year after year.

Finally, the capitalist class in the United States does not need a fascist regime in order to maintain its dominance. The radical and revolutionary movements are weak and disunited. A large majority of the trade unions are conservative, and are actually part of the Establishment. We shall always no doubt have with us crackpot rightist and superpatriotic groups yelling about the "Communist conspiracy," but I do not see in the offing any constellation of forces that could put fascism across here.

With all the factors in American life that violate or threaten democratic principles, they still do not add up to a clear and present danger of fascism. True, things could change drastically. But crying wolf meanwhile dangerously confuses the situation. If the conviction grows that facism is here or almost here, unrealistic retreat may spread. The sound position is for us never to quail in fright of an alleged fascist threat, but always to stand fast and do battle for freedom.

Corliss Lamon, author of "Freedom Is As Freedom Does: Civil Liberties Today," is Chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

HECKLER EULOGIZES DOROTHY ANDREWS KABIS

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my deep sorrow at the recent death of Dorothy Andrews Kabis, the 33d Treasurer of the United States. Mrs. Kabis was both a personal friend of mine and an outstanding citizen of the United States, and this country has truly suffered a loss at her death.

I first came to know Dorothy Kabis when she served as president of the National Federation of Republican Women, a post she held longer than any other woman. She brought a dimension of warmth and sincerity to this office, and touched those who came in contact with her with her radiance, joy and devotion. In addition to these great human qualities, she was undoubtedly one of the most dynamic and unifying leaders of this organization, and a prime force in making the National Federation of Republican Women the effective and viable organization it is. The strong and respected position of the National Federation of Republican Women in today's political world is a tribute to the efforts of Dorothy Kabis.

Today's government at all levels is striving to include women, but when Dorothy Kabis began her political career, extraordinary skill and perserverence were demanded of a woman. Mrs. Kabis never failed to demonstrate these qualities.

Through her political activity, Dorothy Kabis made a very significant contribution to the efforts of women to achieve equality in public life. Contributing to many social and political endeavors, she impressed all who knew her with her diligence, warmth and loyalty. It is through women like Dorothy Kabis that the cause of women will be most effectively advanced, for by her work she demonstrated how valuable a woman can be in the political field.

In the late 1940's, Mrs. Kabis entered politics to work for honest elections procedures in Delaware, and throughout her career continued to be an example of integrity, honor and responsibility in political field. In her work as a Grange official, she devoted her efforts to the establishment of voting machines and other election reforms. She then became involved in Republican Party politics in Delaware, and was active in campaigning and organizing women's groups.

A charter member and cofounder of the Delaware Federation of Republican Women, Mrs. Kabis was president of the State federation in 1954. As a delegate from Delaware to the Republican National Convention in 1956, 1960, and 1964, she was also a speaker at the convention in 1964. She served on the Finance Committee of the Republican National Committee and the Republican Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees in 1968.

In addition to her political activities, Dorothy Kabis was active in many worthy social and community functions.

Mrs. Kabis was devoted to her church throughout her life. She served as financial secretary of St. Paul's Methodist Church in Odessa, Del., where she was a past assistant lay leader, a steward and trustee, and chairwoman of several committees.

Dorothy Kabis received many honors for her activities. In 1964, the League of Women Voters chose her as one of the twelve outstanding Women in American Politics. She was honored by the Delaware State Federation of Women's Clubs as Woman of Achievement for the year in 1966. Proclaimed "Woman of the Year" by the GOP in 1967, she more than lived up to the meaning of that title by her personality, activity, and achievement.

In 1969, Mrs. Kabis was appointed Treasurer of the United States by Richard M. Nixon, a position she filled competently and honorably until her death. Her enthusiasm and genuine love for her work made her a most popular figure in Government. This was one of the President's finest appointments, and in this position, Dorothy Kabis was truly happy.

Mr. Speaker, as a woman, a Republican, and an American, I would like to express my deep sense of loss at the death of Dorothy Kabis. Her contribution to the Government of this Nation should long be remembered and honored.

NIX COMMENTS ON TESTIMONY OFFERED ON PHILADELPHIA POSTAL WORKING CONDITIONS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Al Rosen, president of the Philadelphia Postal Union, testified before my Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Mail on the 21st of July.

As a local and distinguished labor leader, he explained the problems experienced by postal unions in trying to protect postal workers from the deplorable working conditions in the Postal Service.

It appears from Mr. Rosen's testimony that local Philadelphia postal management cannot or will not respond to the need for correcting conditions which are blighting any hope of reviving a dedicated Postal Service.

It is often said that the spending of more money should be sufficient for the correction of the condition of the Postal Service.

I think it is a shame that the Postal Service cannot or will not today keep up even a housekeeping function. I doubt whether we can expect much from a postal management which will not perform minor repairs. The spending of billions by such a management is not the answer because new buildings will quickly become postal slums without proper maintenance.

I want to thank Mr. Rosen for coming to Washington, D.C. and giving us the benefit of his views.

The statement of Mr. Rosen follows:

STATEMENT OF ALBERT ROSEN, PRESIDENT, PHILADELPHIA POSTAL UNION

Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, I am Albert Rosen, President of the Philadelphia Postal Union, an industrial local union formerly an affiliate of the National Postal Union and now affiliated with the American Postal Workers Union, AFL–CIO. We have about 5,500 members representing all Postal Crafts, and we are the exclusive representative for the clerks, motor vehicle operators, maintenance employees and the special delivery messengers in that office.

Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, thank you for offering me this opportunity to bring to your attention for possible correction, some of the serious problems that we face in the Philadelphia Post Office. There are many problems that exist here, some of them are universal, some are unique I believe, with the Philadelphia Post Office. I will, however, limit myself to the most pertinent.

Let me begin with the one I feel is most important, and which I have pursued with total failure to resolve, up to the Regional Level, the elimination of substitute employees in our office. The use of substitute workers in the Postal Service is a labor anachronism. These employees are not guaranteed an income of any kind. If they are scheduled to report for duty, they are then assured of two hours work, they are not, however certain of being scheduled. When they are hired, they listen to an enhanced version of the job's potential while its disadvantages are toned down. Many of these newly

hired employees give up full time jobs on the outside because of what seems to be an excellent job with great potential for improvement, only to find, to their regret, that they gave up a living wage for a starvation income.

A worker, when hired, should be able to relax in the knowledge that his job will assure him a living. The guaranteed annual wage is a reality in many industries in the civilian sector. Here in the Postal Service, Federal employees quite often must live on subsistence income only. The cure is an easy one. Legislation must be proposed, outlawing substitute service in all Federal employment. This legislation should instruct the applicable Federal agencies to immediately convert all such substitute employees to full time positions, and outlaw the hiring of such workers in the future. If any of these agencies find themselves overstaffed as a result of such legislation, this condition will quickly correct itself by normal attrition. We have known employees in the special delivery messenger craft who worked for over 15 years as substitutes earning a precarious living in this capacity until finally achieving regular status via the death, retirement, removal or quitting of the incumbent regulars.

This is no way for a supposed model employer to maintain a work force. We have known other substitute employees who were confronted with punitive action for letting a second job in the private sector interfere with their duty in the Postal Service. Yet, it was essential for these workers to hold this second job in order to meet their family obligations. It is a strange commentary regarding this situation that these employees are also subject to punitive action by their agency for failure to pay their just debts, yet they will deprive them of an opportunity to earn enough money to pay these debts by first, not guaranteeing them a living wage and secondly, making it difficult for them by poor scheduling, to maintain outside employment.

Another major problem facing Philadelphia Post Office employees and which for 36 years, the U.S. Post Office Department and now the U.S. Postal Service, has made no effort to correct, is parking for postal workers at the 30th Street Post Office Complex. This comprises three buildings, the General Post Office, the Truck Terminal Annex and the Post Office Vehicle Garage. Between nine and ten thousand people work in these buildings, seven days a week, 24 hours a day, every day in the year. Absolutely no provision was made for parking any of their vehicles that they use, to convey themselves to and from work. As a matter of fact, no provision was made for customer parking, an item that is first on the drawing boards when private business plans to open a new establishment. It goes even beyond this. Post Office vehicles are being parked illegally on the sidewalk interfering with and endangering pedestrians every day because there just is no available parking space in this tremendously busy area. Even worse, and costing money that could be better spent for employee salary, for comfort, or to improve mail handling processes; trucks, tractors and trailers are being parked on leased property about a mile from where they are needed because of this parking lack.

Employees must park, when parking can be found, blocks away from the Post Office. These places are dark and often lack police protection. Employees have been assaulted and robbed, and cars have been stolen and broken into, all in the vicinity of the G.P.O. Complex. Night time travel, by public transportation, to and from their work, is a hazard for all workers, but more so for our female employees. This category of postal worker is increasing every year. To subject them to the alternative of using dangerous public transportation or to hazardous highway parking, is nothing less than criminal.

The correction for this was brought to everyone's attention by myself on two separate occasions. The Post Office sloughed it off in their usual off-hand fashion, agreeing to the need, but begging off for some reasons that were totally unacceptable. When business needs parking space, it gets this space because not to have it becomes too expensive a luxury. I have attached copies of all of the correspondence involved in this matter and it is self-explanatory, except of course, why it has not been given consideration. My only hope in bringing this to the attention of the members of this Committee, is that your prodding will be more effective than my writing in helping Philadelphia acquire this most urgent facility.

My third and final appeal to you is to help provide us with a new Postal Facility, one which is planned and built to efficiently and economically process mail in accordance with modern concepts and to provide employee comforts and necessities that should be expected to be found in any Government Building for its employees.

The present General Post Office was completed in 1935. At that time, the inner platform was still being used to load horse and wagon routes for center city delivery. I sometimes think that I still detect the odor of horse manure from the inner driveway, although it has been about 30 years since the last horse drawn vehicle took out parcel post. Loading platforms lack the space and the equipment for modern mail handling. Vehicles frequently must be loaded or unloaded in hazardous fashion because of a lack of the properly designed conveyor belts, overhead conveyors, adjustable ramps, etc., etc. Exhaust fumes drift from the driveway to the work floors and are a constant annoyance to the workers on the platforms.

The volume of mail on the inner platform frequently necessitates hazardous, snakelike passage for the small electric tractor, pulling a loaded platform truck to its destination. These conditions must be seen to be properly appreciated.

On the work floors which were originally planned for a much smaller work force, distributing mail at the old-fashioned pigeon hole cases, there is more peril than should be found. I don't know how likely it is for fire to break out at this office. I do know that if this ever happened, it would result in many more deaths and injuries than would result if the building had been erected to meet the requirements of a modern postal facility. Workers are blocked off from fire exits on three sides and must take a circuitous route, losing many precious minutes to reach the fire exits. In an over-zealous, if thoughtless effort to improve security, fire exits have been protected to such a degree that people trying to escape during a blaze, could be killed trying to get through a closed door. With an eye on economy rather than on job safety, far too few fire drills are held so that all workers around the clock should familiarize themselves with the devious route that must be followed in case of fire. I have attached a copy of an article written by one of our locals' representatives which describes, in graphic detail, his own experience in a mistaken emergency. Can you picture the horror that could have resulted in a real emergency?

Air-conditioning was installed as an afterthought to provide the proper atmospheric conditions for the new machinery which was also a case of fitting a round peg in a square hole. The General Post Office was never built to accommodate so much machinery, nor was it planned to process mail by today's concept. Lighting is far from sufficient for workers' health and comfort by accepted standards and the noise level often requires shouting to make yourself heard.

In brief, the 36 year-old Philadelphia Post Office Complex has outlived its usefulness as a mail-processing facility. If mail is to be moved safely, efficiently and economically, a new properly planned, properly located, and properly engineered facility must be erected. One that utilizes modern machinery, materials, and concepts, and that takes into account the needs and comforts of the workers who will be required to staff this plant. The present building was erected when women in postal service was a novelty. There wasn't one women's toilet on any of the work floors. In fact, when women first started to work in the Philadelphia Post Office, they were provided with a toilet and locker room on the fifth floor and some had to travel quite a distance during emergencies.

Though this has been corrected to a degree, much still remains to be done. Rest rooms, locker rooms, drinking fountains, the cafeteria, all are in either short supply or outdated.

Postal employees who perform a unique and essential service for every segment of the American public, deserve the best working environment available. The mail-using public deserves the best service it can get and that it is paying for. Both could be achieved through a new Mail Processing Plant.

On behalf of myself, our entire membership, and the mailing public, I beseech you to formulate the necessary legislation to accomplish the correction of the three most important problems that I have brought to your attention in this statement. Thank you, gentlemen, for permitting me to take up your time and to bring these problems to your attention.

PUZZLE IN PANAMA

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, consistent with my previously expressed concern about the repressive Government manifesting itself in Panama, I now put before the eyes of the Members of Congress comments on the most recent developments there. The article, entitled "Puzzle in Panama," which appeared in the June 17 Wall Street Journal paints an accurate overview of the Panamanian situation. I also have included for the information of the Congress my correspondence with the State Department and related articles pertaining to particular situations in Panama brought to my attention by Mr. Phillip Harman, of Los Angeles. All of these are self-explanatory. As a final word, I would add that this serious situation deserves our constant observation and reevaluation.

The material follows:

PUZZLE IN PANAMA: TORRIJOS BRINGS CALM, PROSPERITY TO NATION AT EXPENSE OF FREEDOM

(By James C. Tanner)

PANAMA CITY.—Over lunch of chicken and rice in the sprawling white headquarters of the National Guard, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos, the nation's dictator, tells this story: While visiting peasants recently, he tried to explain his agrarian-reform plan. But they talked and talked and wouldn't let him get a word in. Finally, he exploded, "For Pete's sake, who's the dictator here?"

Actually there's no doubt who the dictator of Panama is. The only doubt is the direction in which this country may be headed under the 42-year-old strong man. The U.S. is con-

cerned, of course, because of key U.S. military bases here and the strategic Panama Canal.

That U.S. stake in Panama will come under scrutiny this month, when the U.S. and Panama begin negotiations in Washington covering controversial treaties in effect since 1903. The talks will concern replacing these pacts with new ones governing the operation of the bases and the canal.

Aided by a heavy flow of U.S. financing, Gen. Torrijos has brought a goodly measure of prosperity and what he calls "social peace" to this volatile S-shaped isthmus since the National Guard took over in a bloodless coup in late 1968.

The general, supported by the powerful paramilitary guard he commands, controls Panama's provisional president and a puppet cabinet. For the moment, at least, he has silenced all opposition by jailing or driving into exile major foes and by abolishing the national assembly, banning political parties and muzzling the press.

But now Gen. Torrijos is setting out on a bold new course to build popular support and possibly to put new pressure on the U.S. as the treaty negotiations approach. He openly admires the leftist military regimes of Peru and Bolivia, and he is beginning to steer his government to the left also.

Observers see in the trends ominous hints of an anti-U.S. campaign designed to wring new concessions from Washington regarding the 50-mile-long canal, which splits Panama geographically and psychologically. For the coming talks, Gen. Torrijos handpicked the three negotiators, whom he decribes as "the new intellectual aristocrats" of Panama. Some Americans here fear that major demonstrations against the U.S. will follow, perhaps leading to mob violence and riots similar to those that began in 1964.

A PROBLEM OF JURISDICTION

Gen. Torrijos agrees that there may be violence. But he says this will occur only if the U.S. again balks on the hot issues of jurisdiction over the 10-mile-wide canal zone and of Panama's share of the waterway's growing revenues. The U.S. has repeatedly refused Panamanian demands to give up its control of the zone and to increase the flat royalty of $1,930,000 that Washington pays annually to Panama.

Gen. Torrijos insists, however, that he has been making sweeping changes among top governmental officials not because he wants to pressure the U.S. but because he is looking to the poor of Panama for the power base he lacks. With some success he is wooing peasants, workers and students. At the same time he has decreed stiff new taxes and other measures equally distasteful to the oligarchy—the wealthy families who traditionally have owned most of Panama's resources and, until the National Guard assumed power, its politics.

In the process, some known Marxists are finding work in key government agencies, and critics of the government contend they are being encouraged to do so by the leftists Gen. Torrijos named to top government posts. Indeed, the Moscow-leaning Communist Party in Panama is operating openly although all political parties and politicking are outlawed by the Torrijos government. (But a Peking-oriented Communist group has been smashed by the National Guard.)

MAJOR CAUSE FOR CONCERN

It was a recent cabinet shakeup by Gen. Torrijos, however, that is causing the most concern among businessmen, who worry that the backgrounds of some of the new ministers are a clear indication of the government's leftist push.

Most of the new ministers term themselves pragmatic nationalists. "I believe in a social reordering that will bring justice," says Jose Guillermo Aizpu, the new finance minister. "If it's necessary to call that socialistic, then I may be a little bit to the left."

Even some of the dictator's most avid supporters have been saddened by his appointments of Juan Materno Vasquez to the prime post of minister of government and justice and of Romulo Echobar Bethancourt as rector of the University of Panama. Vasquez is a brilliant but controversial jurist known to have been a Marxist, and Escobar is an extreme leftist who numbered among his friends Cuba's late Che Guevara.

Both are former classmates of Gen. Torrijos, who praises their political expertise and staunchly defends them. "As an adolescent one gets to be an anarchist by virtue of social injustice," the dictator says. "But if after reaching 30 he still follows that line, he is a fool."

Gen. Torrijos firmly declares: "Those who oppose us brand us Communists. But the humble classes of people who make up nine-tenths of our population are more concerned with the intentions of the government than its origin." Then he adds, "The first rule of government is not to fall."

Following this rule, the dictator stumps the interior by helicopter to increase his popularity among peasants and workingmen. To keep the oligarchy in hand, he exercises an old tactic of dictators—fear.

Even if critcism of the government weren't a crime—and it is—there wouldn't be any place to voice it. The six daily newspapers are run by publishers appointed by the government. All political meetings are banned. Former politicians are afraid even to be seen talking with a foreign newsman. Through an intermediary a meeting is arranged with a former president. But on the way to the site the reporter is taken on a twisting path through back streets so that anyone following will be thrown off the trail.

Many Panamanians insist that their phones are tapped and complain of harassment by the government. It is well-known that the government has built a network of informants. The investigative arm of the National Guard openly appeals for additional informers. In a series of newspaper ads, it urged that "suspicious persons" and "important information" regarding "security of the country" be reported to the Guard.

Government spokesmen insist that no political prisoners are being held. Other sources maintain that at least 200 are in Panama's jails. Just after the 1968 coup, there were an estimated 1,600.

WELL-TRAINED, LEAN, AND MEAN

But plotting against the government continues despite arrests and other harsh restrictions imposed by the Guardsmen, whom one U.S. military analyst describes as "well-trained, lean and mean." One recent plan to topple Gen. Torrijos was postponed at the last moment. But many Panamanians opposed to the dictator say any change in government depends largely on the U.S.

Some are bitter because the U.S. hasn't at least choked off funds that help the general stay in power. And a former holder of a high Panamanian political post says the U.S. is "morally obligated to intervene."

Except for a handful of Congressmen who charge that the Soviet shadow is beginning to reach across the Panama Canal, U.S. officials generally disagree with the theory that Washington should intervene. These officials note that President Nixon's approach is to deal with governments as they are.

Because of the restraints against politicking and criticism, there apparently isn't anyone closer than Miami who has a chance of overthrowing Gen. Torrijos. The most likely prospect is Arnulfo Arias, the legally elected president of Panama.

BATTING AVERAGE: THREE FOR THREE

Mr. Arias is perhaps the most popular and controversial political figure ever to emerge in Panama. A former wealthy plantation owner and Harvard-trained surgeon, he has always drawn strong support among the nation's poor. But some in the oligarchy scorn him, and the National Guard has always fought him. He has been elected president three times, only to be ousted by the Guard on each occasion. The last time he served as president for only 11 days. Now nearing 70, Mr. Arias lives in exile in Miami.

Mr. Torrijos, a major in a province garrison at the time, surfaced as one of the instigators of the October 1968 Guard revolt against President Arias. Subsequently, Mr. Torrijos emerged as the leader. In December 1969 while the general was on a trip to Mexico, a group of colonels in the Guard staged a countercoup—brief and unsuccessful. Gen. Torrijos hustled back to Panama, marching triumphantly into the capital just in time to intercept telegrams intended for his would-be successors.

Moving to strengthen his political base, Gen. Torrijos appointed as provisional president Demetrio B. Lakas, a Panama contractor and trusted friend. Speaking in a Texas accent after seven years spent in that state, President Lakas bridles at talk that the general now is turning to the left. "I will never follow a Communist," the president declares, "but I will follow a man with social sensibility."

A suggestion of this "social sensibility" came a year ago. In a letter to Sen. Edward Kennedy, Gen. Torrijos predicted the emergence of "a new type of military" in Latin America "convinced of the value of peaceful changes that promote the replacement of old structures."

EXCEDRIN HEADACHE—LATIN STYLE

Today Gen. Torrijos doesn't give any indication he plans to restore constitutional government any time soon. "One thing proved in the Americas," he says, "is that the parliamentary systems and political parties are obsolete museum figures." He contends that "every country has to look for its own brand of aspirin to cure its own headaches."

Indications that the general was setting out on a deliberate course to cross the U.S. began appearing months ago. First, he refused to renew an agreement on U.S. use of the Rio Hato air base, from which Americans now have withdrawn. Then he told the Peace Corps to go home. And he recently announced that Japan was interested in bidding on construction of a new sea-level canal across Panama, a waterway that many authorities believe will soon be needed to handle increasingly larger ships.

Whatever his differences with the U.S., Gen. Torrijos is getting some plus marks at home. His government attracts bright young men with advanced degrees from U.S. universities who are pleased at the social challenges and the lack of bureaucratic red tape. To get laws passed, all they have to do is persuade the general to issue a decree. "Technicians and intellectuals disappear from the political arena when a government is dangerous. Here there is a remigration of brains," says Hernan F. Porras, the minister of commerce and industries.

The streets of the capital are free of garbage—long a political issue—and the gross national product of Panama has reached $1 billion and grows in real terms at a rate of 4% to 5% a year. Per-capita annual income approaches $625, ranking third or fourth in Latin America.

THE ROLE OF THE CANAL

The canal is a big contributor. In payrolls and purchases, it adds about $160 million a year to the Panamanian economy. The U.S. has lent Panama $100 million in the past 10 years, much of it since Gen. Torrijos has taken power.

How much of the prosperity is due to government pump-priming isn't known. It has borrowed heavily from abroad, and some observers suggest that Panama may be nearing a credit crunch. "What happens when the money runs out?" one observer asks.

The government, however, is beginning a push for tourists and is trying to attract more

foreign investments. A wave of such investments is coming in from South America, Europe and Japan, and U.S. companies have already invested $1 billion here.

"For peace and prosperity we are giving up certain intangibles, like freedom of speech and the other political rights," a Panamanian businssman says. "How soon we get to the point where the sacrifice of intangibles no longer is equal to the tangibles we have gained is the big question."

PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT ORDERS MILITARIZATION OF STUDENTS

(English translation of an article that appeared in the PATRIA newspaper on April 23rd, 1971, Miami, Florida.)

(Meeting of the heads of Isthmian Communist Party to proclaim violent action against the cattlemen, industry, and merchants. Special information direct from Panama.)

Continuing the line that the Panamanian government has established, which is the imitation of Castro, they have just passed a decree into law whereby students are obligated to have 2 hours a day of military training, to create a students' militia. The new cabinet of April 13th, 1971, made possible this decree inasmuch as the cabinet members all have open and frank communistic tendencies.

THE COCAINE CASE

The press released last Tuesday the information related with the confiscation of cocaine by the United States authorities in which Joaquin Him Gonzalez was involved. The Panamanian Secretary of State came to his defense with the nationalistic issue.

Everything indicates that Him Gonzalez has talked openly and now the Panamanian Government accuses him. Concerning this we can say the scandal will be very big. "Patria" published this news long before the press picked it up.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIST MEETING

At the Elks Club at II Rio Abajo in the City of Panama, a meeting of more than 200 members of the Communist Party, took place to celebrate the 41st anniversary of the Communist Party in Panama. At this meeting the strength of the Communist Party and what it has accomplished in Panama was brought up. The fact that this meeting took place publicly is evident demonstration of the Government's approval.

At this meeting were present all the former members of the Communist Party that Torrijos had made prisoners and later sent in exile. He later invited them back and gave them important positions in the government.

Representatives came from Chirqui, Bocas del Toro, Veraguas, Los Santos, Herrera, Cocle, Colon and the well known leaders were Martha Matamoros, Angel Gomez, Juan Nieto, Domingo Barria, Moises Carrasquilla, Adam Castillo, Pedro and his wife, Euribadies Herrera and his wife, Ramiro Vazquez Chambonett, Florencio Munoz, Roberto Gomez, Rafael Garcia, Cesar Carrasquillo, Filiberto Morales, Pipo Sanchez, Guillermo Mass, Emilio Peralta, Pedro Pereira, Rolando Armuelles, Julio Bermudez, and Romulo Escobar Betancourt, a magistrate.

The meeting was initiated according to the International. Documents were given to members of families that had disappeared and to those who have distinguished themselves in the "fight against Yankee imperialism."

It was agreed to demand from General Torrijos that newer and important positions be given to them in the government. Also, the control of the students through the creation of a militia (Torrijos has just pleased them with this and the organization of the National Confederation of Farmers).

It was discussed concerning the necessity to have a stronger control of the press so that they could stop all free opinions and to increase the radio propaganda against the cattlemen, industry, farmers, and the merchants who were all accused of being against the revolution.

In this Torrijos has also pleased them with the official accusation against the executives of private enterprises, and the Cattlemen's Association whom he accuses of "plotting against the Revolution."

It was also agreed to be in a state of alert in regards to all "popular organizations" in view of a possible overthrow. It must be remembered that Castro always announced an invasion everytime he imposed new restrictions.

Answering the demands from the meeting at the Elks Club, Torrijos surprised the country with a change of cabinet as a form of "purge" by announcing the admission in the government of stronger communists and taking out those he qualified as "weak ones."

In Panama, they are living in days of expectation. Although the agreement is not to move too fast until they feel more powerful.

CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOR PANAMA IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

(Translation of speech of Fernando Manfredo, Panamanian Negotiator, June 2, 1971, Panama City, Republic of Panama.)

Fernando Manfredo, Panamanian negotiator for the new Panama Treaty, said yesterday that the virtual saturation of the capacity of the Canal and the inability of the U.S.A. of realizing the third lock project for lack of water resources, favor Panama in the negotiations to eliminate the conflicting causes of exploitation of an interoceanic canal by the U.S.A.

Speaking before a large group of residents of the San Miguelito district, Manfredo the negotiator, explained the actual canal has practically reached its saturation point of 18,000 transits annually and that the inclination of the U.S.A. for a third lock addition, instead of negotiating a new treaty, cannot be realized because of lack of water facilities. This is the first speech to the people in regards to the negotiations.

Manfredo said the actual capacity of water barely supplies the maximum capacity of the actual locks. The North American project will need the creation of new hydrographic dredgings, he explained.

It was stated by Dr. Carlos Lopez Guevara, the other negotiator, who with the Ambassador Jose a. de la Ossa and Mr. Manfredo for the Panamanian negotiating team—Ratify the International legal justification of Panama to demand the abolishment of the 1903 treaty.

Dr. Lopez Guevara said that Panama is aided not only by reason of the classic international law but also by the new international law that was endorsed at the San Jose conference. "The treaty of 1903 is contrary to the United Nations charter", Lopez Guevara said in a previous speech before a meeting of the business executives where he had explained the legal points that favor Panama in her arguments with the U.S. in regard to the canal treaty.

The explanations of Manfredo and Lopez Guevara were presented to an attendance that included the U.S. Ambassador, Robert M. Sayre, Lt. Col. Armando Contreras, representing General Omar Torrijos, and provincial and municipal authorities.

It is the first of a series of meetings with the people of Panama that will be held by the Panamanian negotiators, to explain the position that will defend Panama in the new treaty negotiations.

Manfredo indicated that the existing treaty does not concede the right that the U.S. has taken in a unilateral interpretation of the same. He mentioned among other things, the exploitation of civilian services and the defense system with which the U.S. "has interpreted the 1903 treaty for their exclusive benefit."

The ex-minister of Commerce and Industry said the defense of the Panama Canal should not be located in Panama. He made reference to modern missiles of great power and said that this practice could affect Panama.

"We are going to end with that of Panama giving everything and receiving practically nothing", he added.

Another point that will be emphasized, Manfredo explained, is the relation of Panamanian participation in regards to the administration of the new sea-level canal. Panama, he said, should have the right to be heard with the purpose of avoiding conflicts and arbitrations, in regard to problems that could be solved in the administrative structure.

"The Treaty should have clauses in regard to Panama's rights. All that is returned to Panama should be in good shape and this country should reserve the right to receive it or not", he added.

Manfredo said that the Panamanian aspirations face difficulties, "We are conscious that we will not get (our aspirations) because they want to be just to Panama . . . the policy of the U.S. is to give something in return for something else."

Manfredo added, "On this occasion we will not be imposed to a treaty like in 1903."

Lopez Guevara said, explaining the negotiating mission in one sentence: "We represent the aspirations of a treaty that will be just to Panama for her contribution to the canal; only there is one negotiator and that is the people of Panama."

MAY 26, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
State Department,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Recently, the enclosed articles—the original and its translation—were brought to my attention, concerning the militarization of Panamanian students.

I would appreciate a report from you relative to this potentially explosive situation in the Canal Zone.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

JEROME R. WALDIE,
U.S. Congressman, Fourteenth District.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 2, 1971.

Hon. JEROME R. WALDIE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WALDIE: This is a follow-up to our interim reply of June 7, 1971 to your letter dated May 26, 1971. The U.S. Embassy in Panama has reported that it has heard of no decree or plans to militarize students in Panama. It would appear that the article in PATRIA was in error.

I hope that this information has been responsive to your inquiry. Please continue to call on us whenever we can be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID M. ABSHIRE,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

ECOCIDE AND THE GENEVA PROTOCOL

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's recent announcement that he will travel to the

People's Republic of China has produced considerable optimism throughout the country. I am encouraged by Mr. Nixon's new initiative, and I know that the overwhelming majority of my colleagues share this sentiment.

There exists yet another opportunity for the President to promote peace and understanding among the nations of the world. I am speaking of the 1925 Geneva Protocol which prohibits the use of chemical and biological methods of warfare, a document which the United States has, unfortunately, failed to endorse.

The following article by Craig Johnstone, found in the recent edition of Foreign Affairs, gives a lucid account of the problems we have had interpreting this protocol with respect to the use of tear gas and herbicides. Mr. Johnstone's conclusions are worthy of note and I highly recommend them to my colleagues:

ECOCIDE AND THE GENEVA PROTOCOL

(By L. Craig Johnstone)

In fighting the Indochina war, the United States has made extensive use of two chemical agents: tear gas and herbicides. As debate on the Geneva Protocol banning chemical and biological warfare continues within the U.S. Senate and the Administration, two highly charged issues—Vietnam and man's destruction of his environment—are likely to merge. For it is the Administration's contention that the United States should ratify the Protocol with the understanding "that it does not prohibit the use in war of riot-control agents [tear gas] and chemical herbicides." A large number of Senators, however, consider that the Protocol prohibits the use of both, and feel that the Administration understanding dilutes the significance of U.S. ratification. Consequently, the members of the Foreign Relations Committee are not likely to vote the Protocol out of committee in its present form. And until the President replies to their criticism it appears that no action will be taken on it.

Although debate both within the Administration and before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has centered around the wording of the Protocol and how it is to be understood, partisans on both sides of the question admit that the issues involved are considerably broader and more complex. In addition to the question of the use of herbicides and tear gas in South Vietnam, the progress of current chemical and biological warfare discussions at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva may hinge on the outcome of the current "understanding debate" and the ultimate fate of the Protocol.

To date, the Nixon Administration has compiled an excellent record in limiting chemical and biological weapons. In November 1969 the President reaffirmed the renunciation by the United States of the first use of lethal chemical weapons and went beyond previous policy statements by including incapacitating chemicals as well. The President also unilaterally renounced all possession and use of biological weapons even on a retaliatory basis and went so far as to impose limitations on research in this field. In February 1970 the President extended these renunciations to include toxins (biologically produced chemical agents). Elaborate plans for destruction of existing stocks of various agents are presently being put into effect.

After the President submitted the Geneva Protocol to the Senate in August 1970, the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam ordered an end to the crop destruction program and a phase-out of the defoliation program. The momentum of this sequence of moves has contributed significantly to international efforts to reach agreement on prohibiting chemical and biological warfare. Much of this momentum will be threatened should the President be unable to obtain ratification of the Geneva Protocol or if the ratification should be obtained with understandings or interpretations which would bring the United States into dispute with many of the nations already parties to the Protocol.

Ironically the United States first proposed the Geneva Protocol in 1925 and now stands as the only major nation which is not a party to it. The substantive provisions of the Protocol read as follows:

"Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world; and

"Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and

"To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike conscience and the practice of nations;

Declare:

"That the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration."

The Protocol was submitted to the Senate for advice and consent in 1926. After extensive lobbying by the U.S. Army Chemical Service, chemical manufacturers and veterans' organizations and others, it was sidetracked and never brought to a vote. It was returned to the President as part of a housecleaning effort during the Truman Administration many years later. No further action was taken until it was resubmitted to the Senate by President Nixon.

II

Although much could be said about the legal interpretation of the Protocol, the history of negotiations indicates that it is not possible to come to a definitive legal conclusion. Therefore, it seems more important to evaluate the alternative understandings on the basis of their contribution to the national interest. The following components of U.S. interests must be considered: the military consequences of alternative policies, both now and and in the future; the impact of the current understanding on the intrinsic strength of the Protocol as an arms-control mechanism; the impact of the current understanding on other U.S. policies and objectives; and finally, but most significantly, the ethical and moral considerations.

Despite the American use of tear gas in Vietnam since 1964 there has been no systematic study of its utility in that country. (President Nixon recently ordered such a study but results are not expected until early 1972.) Almost all the data presented on the subject, both pro and con, have been anecdotal, and in Vietnam anecdotal information can be found to support or refute almost any contention. Clearly, in some circumstances, tear gas has proven to be operationally effective. Military commanders have noted that the use of tear gas had some beneficial effects initially, but has had less effect as enemy forces have become increasingly familiar with the tactic. Tear gas cannot be used effectively against disciplined armies provided with gas masks except when surprise plays an important role. Masks in use by the National Liberation Front (NLF) in South Vietnam include the Soviet Shiem mask, a Chinese mask and various field expedients. It is well within the logistical capability of the NLF and North Vietnamese Army (NVA) to provide masks, and recently, according to one U.S. military commander in the Delta, almost all main-force enemy troops have been so equipped. Despite its acknowledged utility in some circumstances, the use of tear gas in Vietnam has recently decreased to only a small percentage of the previous rate.

A desire on the part of the United States to keep options open for the use of tear gas and herbicides implies that these weapons will be more useful to the United States than to any potential enemy in future wars. Many military experts have questioned this assumption. First, in view of the superiority of the United States over potential enemies in conventional warfare it is doubtful that the use of tear gas or herbicides would markedly change any balance of military power. Second, enemy use of such weapons against the United States or its allies might well create as many difficulties for the United States as its own use would impose on the enemy.

In guerrilla or insurgency warfare, where the United States would most likely find itself in the semi-state counter-guerrilla role, gas would probably be a tactical asset to the guerrilla because of his greater mobility and lesser vulnerability to surprise. Gas has considerable potential for use in situations where a guerrila force surpises and attempts to overrun a fixed defensive position. Tear gas was used for this purpose in a recent successful attack on a U.S. fire support base in Vietnam. It is unlikely that it will play a significant role in major power confrontations or large-scale conventional wars. Certainly American use of gas would be precluded altogether if allied nations interpreted the Protocol to prohibit such use.

Chemical herbicides are used in war for defoliation and for crop destruction. Defoliation is used to facilitate observation of enemy troop movements and to deny areas to such troops. In cases of defoliation for observation purposes, once an area is defoliated and while it is undergoing regular surveillance, it is unlikely that the enemy will use it. There are frequently many alternative routes by which guerrillas or other forces can reach most destinations, particularly in a country like South Vietnam. The defoliation of one area merely forces the enemy to change his habits of movement, at most a logistical inconvenience. The use of defoliation for area denial has been more effective. An example can be found in the extensive defoliation of the Rung Sat Special Zone, south of Saigon. Here the defoliation program destroyed most of the mangrove forest in the area, effectively denying its use to large enemy units. The area, however, remains partially under the control of smaller enemy units.

Although defoliants have been used to clear roadsides, their effectiveness for this purpose has been disputed by many military commanders who have argued in favor of the use of Rome Plows and other methods. Evidence from enemy documents indicates that the primary concern of the Vietcong with respect to the defoliation program deals with the effects the defoliant might have had on personal health, not on strategic considerations.

Herbicides have also been used in the crop destruction program, considered by many to be the least effective U.S. program in the war. Long after food denial ceased to be a serious strategic objective the crop destruction program continued. The generally effective logistical structure of the Vietcong made efforts to control rice production and distribution ineffective.

Neither the crop destruction program nor the defoliation program was anything but a liability to pacification. Surveys conducted by local interview teams demonstrated that the use of defoliants was a matter of major concern to South Vietnamese peasants. A wide variety of real or imagined ills were generally attributed to their use. Accidents involving defoliants were not unusual and the bureaucratic procedure of the Vietnamese government in settling claims was not able to cope with the problems when they arose. In short, the use of herbicides in South Vietnam has carried with it several negative consequences which significantly outweigh their limited utility. This factor as much as any other led to the Administration's decision earlier this year to discontinue the crop destruction program and to phase out the defoliation program.

While the effectiveness of tear gas and herbicides in advancing U.S. objectives in South Vietnam may be open to further debate, it seems certain that neither chemical has played a major role in the war. Clearly the military need for the use of these agents in South Vietnam is not, in itself, sufficient justification for the U.S. position on the Geneva Protocol. This becomes increasingly true with each withdrawal of ground combat forces and the resulting decline in tear gas use.

III

The strength of the Geneva Protocol as an arms-control mechanism depends largely on the degree to which the parties to the Protocol agree on the nature of its prohibitions, and the extent to which the prohibitions can be clearly defined. In December 1969 a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly, designed to include both tear gas and herbicide use within the meaning of the Geneva Protocol, passed by an 80 to three margin with 36 abstentions. (Portugal joined the United States and Australia in voting against the resolution probably because of Portugal's use of herbicides for crop destruction and defoliation in Angola.) There can be little doubt as to where the majority of nations stand on this issue. If the United States ratifies the Protocol with the present understanding, the socialist nations, the majority of neutrals, and a sizable number of allies will not agree with the American position. However, if the United States took the initiative in interpreting the Protocol to include the prohibition of these chemical agents there is no doubt that a near unanimity of opinion could be obtained. This would greatly strengthen the Protocol.

In the interest of making international agreements enforceable, boundaries, prohibitions and limitations must be easily definable and conform as much as possible to natural dividing points. For this reason it has proven most desirable for international boundaries to be along rivers, mountain peaks, even clearly defined international geodesic lines, etc. When this principle is applied to the prohibition of gas in warfare, it dictates that a line should be drawn at a clearly definable point on the scale between "no gas" use and "total gas" use. It is argued by some proponents of the noninclusive Protocol interpretation that the distinction between the use of lethal gas and riot-control agents in warfare is a sufficiently clear distinction to allow all parties concerned to understand and abide by it.

This, however, is a dubious proposition. First, it must be understood that there is no agent which can be used in war with military effects which is nonlethal under all circumstances. Even the highly perfected tear gas, CS, used by the United States in South Vietnam, can be lethal where the victim is very old, very ill, or unable to escape the immediate area. While mortalities are very rare with the use of CS, there is no assurance that an enemy will necessarily use this form of tear gas. Therefore, some agreement would have to be reached on the exact degree of lethality which would be permitted. If, in fact, an agreement could be reached, it would be extremely difficult to determine whether a gas was causing three percent or five percent fatalities, or whether increased fatalities were due to stronger gas or increased quantitative use.

Another argument used by proponents of the U.S. interpretation is based on the "domestic-use" criterion; they argue that the Protocol should not prohibit for use in war chemical agents which are commonly used in time of peace. Domestically, tear gas is used for civil law enforcement and herbicides are used for agriculture. This argument has been widely used but it breaks down when we consider that the use of these chemicals in time of peace is quite different than it is during war. Nowhere in peacetime is tear gas used indirectly as a means of inflicting lethal casualties. Herbicides are not used for crop destruction or systematic forest defoliation in their normal domestic applications. In Vietnam, tear gas is delivered by mortars, artillery, helicopters, fixed-wing aircraft and mechanical blowers, none of which is used in domestic applications. In Vietnam, herbicides have been used to kill crops; in domestic use the purpose is to kill weeds in order to grow crops.

Problems associated with a less than comprehensive definition of gas restrictions can be seen by considering the difficulties of the U.S. Government in its attempt to enforce a tear gas policy in Vietnam. The public outcry over the use of tear gas in March 1965 led to a temporary ban on the use of such agents in South Vietnam. The weapons were not removed from the field, however, and it was only a short time before the use of gas began again. When the policy review on the matter was undertaken the same year, the State Department agreed that gas could be used in Vietnam if its use was confined to criteria set by Secretary Rusk. In a news conference on March 23, 1965, the Secretary stated: "These weapons will be used only in those situations involving riot control or in those situations analogous to riot control." Military expediency eroded the restrictions, however, and the attempt to limit the use of tear gas was a failure. The "riot-control" criterion was ineffective because it was ambiguous. Just as efforts to limit the use of tear gas at other than the "no tear gas" level broke down under the strain of combat, so, too, will the efforts to limit gas as a whole be severely strained under anything but the "no gas" interpretation. As Thomas Schelling notes in "The Strategy of Conflict": " 'Some gas' raises complicated questions of how much, where, under what circumstances: 'no gas' is simple and unambiguous . . . there is a simplicity to 'no gas' that makes it almost uniquely a focus for agreement."

While the potential for escalation of gas warfare is essentially qualitative, the potential for escalation of herbicide use is quantitative. In South Vietnam the United States has perfected the use of herbicides as anti-crop agents to a sufficiently high level that further qualitative efforts would not seem necessary. The techniques used in South Vietnam to destroy large quantities of crops can be used by other nations on almost any scale, including the systematic destruction of a nation's food production capability. Herbicides are used and manufactured for agricultural purposes in many countries of the world. It is well within the economic and technical capability of almost any nation to produce chemical herbicides as instruments of war, and to develop methods for delivering them. Using simple crop-dusting aircraft or converted military aircraft, a small nation can create enormous devastation in an opposing country at a fraction of the cost of other mass destruction techniques (except perhaps bacteriological warfare). Without benefit of "no first use" taboos such as those associated with the use of nuclear weapons, it is difficult to distinguish a level at which herbicidal escalation could be stopped or reversed.

The use of herbicides raises important environmental questions. Does the United States wish to be identified with a program which can so drastically affect environmental balances where it is used? Some of the forests of South Vietnam have been seriously damaged by the use of herbicides. Over large areas, the dead trees are quickly replaced by bamboo, making reforestation difficult. The herbicide-treated mangrove forests of the Rung Sat Special Zone and other areas have been completely destroyed. Many scientists have expressed concern over the possible effects of herbicides on humans. The principal military herbicide, Agent Orange, was banned from further use in 1970 due to preliminary evidence of the possibility that it produced birth defects after it had been used extensively in Vietnam. Of the two remaining agents used there today, neither is allowed for general agricultural use in the United States because of possible environmental and toxic effects. At a time when the United States is experiencing a growing environmental consciousness and can be expected to embark on a campaign for worldwide attention to environmental problems, the extension of a policy allowing systematic environmental destruction is both inconsistent and counterproductive.

IV

Ethical arguments have been advanced on both sides of the Protocol issue. Proponents of the Administration's understanding have argued that tear gas is basically a humanitarian weapon which should not be prohibited for use in war. In most domestic cases tear gas is used by police because the offenses committed do not warrant the use of potentially lethal weapons. The Geneva Protocol by any interpretation would not limit the use of tear gas in normal police activities, even within a country at war. At the time of the policy debates on the tear gas issue, many felt that there were some unique humanitarian applications possible in war. It was argued that in cases where civilians were being used as a screen by the enemy, tear gas could incapacitate all parties involved, allowing time for separation and identification. In addition, it was felt that tear gas could be used to capture prisoners from tunnel complexes or caves. It was these humanitarian uses of tear gas which formed the most compelling arguments in the interagency debate in 1965, leading to Secretary Rusk's declaration that year.

The policies of 1965, however, have not proven realistic. Unfortunately, the use of tear gas in Vietnam has demonstrated conclusively that rather than being a humanitarian weapon of warfare, tear gas is most frequently used as a conventional military weapon to bring about indirect lethal effects. Since the Rusk statement in 1965 the use of tear gas in riot-control situations and in situations analogous to riot control has represented only a small fraction of the total use.

The use of herbicides to destroy crops also involves highly significant ethical considerations. In the course of investigations of the program in Saigon and in the provinces of Vietnam, I found that the program was having much more profound effects on civilian

noncombatants than on the enemy. Evaluations sponsored by a number of official and unofficial agencies have all concluded that a very high percentage of all the food destroyed under the crop destruction program had been destined for civilian, not military, use. The program had its greatest effects on the enemy-controlled civilian populations of central and northern South Vietnam. In Vietnam the crop destruction program created widespread misery and many refugees.

It must be asked whether such a policy does not violate the nation's basic ethical standards. I believe it is a fair assumption that the national security is not only involved with physical security but also embraces the democratic and ethical concepts which form the basic raison d'etre of the nation. It is important that the tactics used by the nation to preserve its security not come into conflict with the basic concepts which these tactics seek to secure. It is contrary to the broader meanings of the U.S. national purpose to perpetuate the use of tactics such as crop destruction in warfare.

It is important that the future of the Geneva Protocol not be solely dependent on the complex arguments relating to the immediate national interest. At this time, more so than at any other, the United States is in a position in which it can have a profound effect on the future of mankind. Historically, this era will be judged according to its ability to advance its technological capabilities for growth and development and to retard or restrict these same abilities for destruction. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 was a relatively small effort to achieve these objectives, but it was an important one. In this spirit the United States has recently taken the lead in efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, to propose negotiations which could lead to arms limitations, and to take a stand in opposition to the use of biological and lethal chemical weapons. It is in keeping with this historical trend that the present Administration must decide the fate of the Geneva Protocol. The alternatives facing the President are clear. If the current U.S. understanding is reversed or modified to include prohibitions against tear gas and herbicide use or if a concrete means can be presented to the Senate whereby the issue might be resolved among the parties, the Protocol would likely move to prompt Senate ratification. If not, there is little likelihood that the Protocol will be ratified during this session of the Congress. In making its decision the Administration must balance short-term military expediency against the long-term objective of prohibiting chemical and biological warfare.

In recognition of the dangerous consequences of eroding the meaning of the Protocol, and in recognition of the rapidly decreasing requirements for chemical herbicides and tear gas in South Vietnam, there is little question that the United States should now strive to obtain a unanimous interpretation of the Geneva Protocol to prohibit the use in war of all gases, bacteriological weapons and herbicides.

BIG BUS BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, still another of our Nation's leading newspapers has editorialized in favor of my position on the big bus bill, H.R. 4354. The following editorial appeared in the July 29 edition of the Wall Street Journal:

BIGGER BUSES

The government has been doing a lot of talking about highway safety; but not all the agencies of the establishment appear to be getting the message.

At any rate, the House has passed a bill to permit wider buses on interstate highways. We don't know exactly what effect such vehicles would have on safety, although we'll admit that even the existing ones make us a bit uncomfortable as they roar past at 65 miles an hour or more.

That, in fact, is just the point: no one knows what the buses would mean to safety. In Public Works Committee hearings on the bill, the Transportation Department, and the National Transportation Safety Board objected to the measure because of a lack of safety research.

But the committee approved the bill anyway. "By so acting," said Rep. Fred Schwengel (R., Iowa), "the committee has shown a callous disregard for the safety of the motoring public. The committee in effect has voted in favor of special interest groups, the bus owners, and against the general public."

Perhaps members of the Senate, unlike their House colleagues, will remember whom they're really supposed to represent.

OHIO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SMITHSONIAN'S FESTIVAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, one of the memorable events of the Washington year has come to be the Smithsonian Institution's annual Festival of American Folklife. This Festival brings to the Mall all that is best in American life. The Festival is a lively illustration of the diversity of our culture and the various ethnic and regional traditions which weave together to make up "American folklife." I am happy to say that this year the featured State of the Festival was Ohio. More than 50 Ohioans came to Washington to present their skills and talents, ranging from dulcimer making and stained glass cutting to such unexpected arts as bagel making. The richness of what Ohio had to offer was most impressive and, I think, an education in Ohio life for the many thousands who visited the Festival. Participation of Ohio was made possible by the leadership of our Governor, John Gilligan, and the bipartisan cooperation of the Ohio delegation. It was a happy task to help to bring this fine presentation of Ohio folklife to Washington.

Mr. Speaker, in the program of the Festival of American Folklife appeared an excellent article by Mack McCormick entitled, "Glimpses of Ohio Folklife," and I include it in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. Mr. McCormick expresses the philosophy of the Festival of American Folklife well when he says—

It is based on the deeply held conviction that folklife, with all its concomitant lore and art and skills and other riches passed from one person to another, is found inevitably and invariably in every community of people. One need not sail to an exotic island nor venture into far hills to find this ritual sense of life. It exists at the corner grocery store.

So the Festival helps us to look at ourselves and to see the beauty and richness of even the simple tasks of daily life.

A visit to the Festival is a valuable and rewarding experience. Our thanks go to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, S. Dillon Ripley, to Jim Morris, Director of the Division of Performing Arts, and Ralph Rinzler, Festival Director, for bringing the Festival into being. I hope it will continue as an annual event for many years to come.

GLIMPSES OF OHIO FOLKLIFE

(By Mack McCormick)

The Festival of American Folklife has no strict operative definition. The best statement of its character is the festival itself. A sign at one of the first festivals suggests what I mean. It reads: "Folklife is what the people do."

Each year, the gathering of the Festival—the practical organization behind it and the search for participants—begins early. It is based on the deeply held conviction that folklife, with all its concomitant lore and art and skills and other riches passed from one person to another, is found inevitably and invariably in every community of people. One need not sail to an exotic island nor venture into far hills to find this ritual sense of life. It exists at the corner grocery store.

Consider, as examples, some random glimpses of the state of Ohio, glimpses in which any casual passer-by sees not only the fabric of tradition but also the tension and interchange that occurs as one tradition, one kind of ritual, one way of life, touches another:

Steubenville, Ohio: in a window above Kuntz's Kosher Food Mart hangs a Christmas wreath

Superior Avenue, in Cleveland: a neon restaurant sign advertises Hungarian & Soul Food

A factory suburb in Cincinnati: one of the finest bluegrass bands thrives in an easy-going neighborhood tavern called the Minute Man Inn

Blocks from the state capitol in Columbus: a unique black jazz band plays every Friday and Saturday evening at the Elks Franklin Lodge No. 203, not jazz for tourists but music for the people of the community

Holmes County, Ohio: a horse drawn buggy carrying an Amish family shudders sideways as an eastbound truck roars past

Take the case of the buggy and the truck. Theirs is not just a matter of new ways shoving aside old ways, but, rather, of coexistence. The Amish family have their traditions: plain, buttonless, dark clothes; thick beards on married men; a fierce striving to go about life without mechanization.

And in his fashion, too, the truck driver in his eastbound rig has traditions. At coffee stops, he'll trade stories with other drivers, stories that grow out of the work. The drivers talk about accidents, near-accidents, and bad equipment. They add to the legend of the driver who jackknifed his rig to avoid hitting a small dog in the road. They tell about the driver who lost his brakes and died on a steep grade in the Ohio hills but managed to slow his truck enough so that his helper could leap to safety. The drivers' lives, too, are bound in ritual.

"First thing you do, you got to blow up the salamander. Now you probably don't know what the salamander is, but that's the residue in a blast furnace, the steel at the bottom that cools and hardens when the furnace is shut down. That salamander might be ten feet thick and it's got to be dynamited out before you can go in there and rebuild that furnace."

So it is in all people's lives. Food, speech, memories, day-to-day activities—all give a group its character, its points of identity. Folklife is a suburban baby shower as well as an Amish barn raising. The festival sign said it best: "Folklife is what the people do."

There are 150 participants at the festival from the state of Ohio. Who are these people? And why were they and not others included? Examples are better than any general answer to that question.

The two men pictured playing dulcimers, a father and son, were invited. The older man makes and plays his own dulcimers. He plays banjo in a fine frailing style and sings a treasury of songs that are in the heart of the American country music tradition. He was invited because the newspaper editor at Quaker City, Ohio, mentioned him to us and because, in turn, a string of friendly neighbors directed us to his isolated house on RD #4 outside Carrollton, Ohio.

Another man was invited because someone began leafing through the Yellow Pages one night in Cleveland and started to wonder about the artists who do gold leaf lettering. This wondering led us to the man whose gold leaf work is seen on banks, cigar stores, and lawyers' offices all over Cleveland's business district. You might have seen this artist at work there, surrounded by a crowd of watchers, his brush flicking up to his hair to pick up a charge of static electricity which, in turn, picks up the delicate sheet of hammered gold and carries it to the surface of a plate glass window.

The dulcimer player is from a rural area; the other, from the center of a big city. We do not maintain that either is typical, but, rather, that each is important. The same applies to the baker whose specialty is bagels and to the family who comes to make cheese. To the Moravians with their sacred "love feast" ceremony and to the venerable craftsmen who design and construct stained glass windows. To the lady who makes buckeye-head dolls and to the gunsmith. Each is important and together they make a statement about the variety of life in one of the fifty states.

Even though our field work in Ohio spanned seven months time, we do not imagine our results to be definitive. Our choices were necessarily influenced by a field worker's intuition causing him to drive down a certain street to ask the right question at the right time, which led him to a particular person's door. Yet, while admitting this element of chance, we have to note that one Friday night in Norwood, Ohio, one of our people, feeling a bit self-satisfied for having discovered a neighborhood tavern full of rich, living music, looked up from his table to see another field worker walk in the door. Both had arrived at the tavern for the same reason, but by wholly different routes.

In a sense, it is the function of the Festival of American Folklife to show the American people to themselves. In this, it both succeeds and fails. Over the months of traveling in Ohio, through all the looking and selecting of people to invite to Washington for five hot days in July, we are constantly aware of that which is omitted.

Many things cannot be brought to the Mall in Washington. Some elements of life cannot make the journey without suffering damage or significant change. There are, for example, several important kinds of traditional music and song that are not meant to be taken as a performance. The commonplace lullaby that you might hear from a front porch rocking chair is one; a child's skiprope rhyme is another. Only rarely do such things come in a form that can be carried to Washington and put before an audience.

Each year the festival takes on a bit more. Each year it becomes a broader representation of what people do and involves more of the special folklife of large communities of people. At this year's event, for example, there are several important industrial craftsmen from glass factories in the Ohio River valley. There is a man who cuts glass in traditional patterns with such names as the Fan, Hobb's Star, and Strawberry Diamond. There's also a mold maker—a man who chisels these or similar patterns into the heavy steel molds from which pressed glass is made.

The gathering of each year's festival is an incremental process: one event or development suggests in turn something further to incorporate, the results of one field trip amplify or expand upon the possibilities suggested by the earlier visits to Ohio.

Yet we concede the possibility that we could do it all over again and come up with 150 different people from the state of Ohio, equally as appropriate as the 150 Ohioans who are taking part in the festival. Not only do we concede the possibility, we delight in it. America is too vast a place to let any one flow become the mainstream. The human community is infinitely varied in its possibilities and prospects. The 150 at the festival comprise those whom, we thought, as a group, could suggest and represent the 10.5 million people who could not be present but whose ways and traditions make up Ohio folklife.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 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 National Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

RAY ZAUBER, EDITOR OF THE OAK CLIFF TRIBUNE, WRITES ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the July 21 edition of the Oak Cliff Tribune relating to the editor's opinion with respect to the Pentagon papers.

[From the Oak Cliff Tribune (Tex.), July 21, 1971]

PENTAGON PAPERS POINT TO CLASH IN BASIC ISSUES

(By Ray Zauber)

The Pentagon papers decision has created mixed emotions for this typewriter.

As a newspaperman we are deeply concerned with freedom of the press. As an American citizen who cherishes freedom, we realize that our defense establishment and state department must conduct a considerable amount of their business in secrecy.

However, our bureaucracies have mushroomed to unwieldly proportions and Scratchpad is incensed when two-bit public servants classify what should be routinely released as public information.

Since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the executive department has continually increased its tendencies to hide behind classified labels on matters of public interest.

Much of what we have read in releases from the Pentagon papers should have never been secret to begin with. Rather than military strategy or foreign policy, the report seems to be a harsh analysis by one group of men judging some of their peers.

Since the New York Times and The Washington Post spent so much time sorting material, we feel reasonably certain that these liberal newspapers did show enough responsibility to withhold any information which might prove damaging to United States interests.

However, if The Oak Cliff Tribune had been the recipient of documents marked Top Secret, we believe we would have reacted differently. Scratchpad thinks he would have asked the justice department to help him find the culprit who stole them and the courts to decide whether or not we would jeopardize our national security by publishing them.

The issues in this case are so tremendously important that we were amazed to see the Supreme Court render its quickie decision. Those justices who wanted to remand the case to the lower court for full development of the facts, were, in our own opinion, treading on sound ground.

While our journalistic instincts run counter to secrecy in government—and some of the classification decisions are absolutely ludicrous—we still doubt that the First Amendment is absolute.

Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once

observed that 'free speech does not include the right to shout 'fire' in a crowded theater."

Nor does free speech include the right to slander, libel, threaten, intimidate or blaspheme our fellow man. Albeit the court has stretched the limits out of proportion in some of these issues.

Another thing that bothers us is the political philosophy of the newspapers involved in these test suits. The Times and The Post are two of the most anti-war publications in the land.

And although the editors and writers might try earnestly to present excerpts from the 47 volumes with balance, we would suggest that a dovish summary would be inevitable.

Scratchpad recalls in 1964 and 1965 that The New York Times was among the more militant hawk voices. While it is no sin to change positions, some of the men who assimiliated materials for the documents on the war in Vietnam may have also changed their opinions.

There seems to be little chance for rebuttal by the principals in this drama. Jack Kennedy is dead and many other key defense and state department leaders have long since left government service. Many of the military spokesmen are retired.

In our humble opinion, the Supreme Court should look into the matter at greater length during the fall session and draw guidelines for future filching of secret government documents.

In the meantime, the justice department should throw the book at Daniel Ellsberg who is a traitor and a thief in the opinion of this scribe. No man has the right to substitute his conscience or his judgment for the government. And the Rand Company's security clearance should be weighed by the courts.

There are better remedies for the flaws in our system than stealing government secrets.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, this annual congressional observance reminds us that the world map remains stained with too many dictatorships in which people are denied the right of self-determination.

It also reminds us that despite our own problems, much of the world still looks to us to provide moral leadership and direction not only against communism but in favor of the blessings of liberty. I therefore welcome this opportunity to speak for self-determination and freedom of individual expression.

When we consider the term "captive nation" we think most readily of Eastern Europe, for here is where genuine aspirations of people contrasts most dramatically with the oppression fastened upon them. It is here where the "Czech Spring" of 1968 took place only to see the hope of "communism with a human face" sink under a ruthless Russian invasion and reversion to the dullest dogmatism.

In the long run, we must believe that the greatest moving force in the world must be a man's craving for freedom and for a just share of the blessings of life. It is apparent, moreover, that the strongest "ism" may well prove to be nationalism. And that these forces will, in the long run, free the "captive nations."

All this, of course, is of little consolation to this generation in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the Ukraine, and elsewhere. Theirs is a deep personal and national tragedy. We should never allow ourselves to forget it.

NIX SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON SQUALID WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE COVERED BY FEDERAL TIMES

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Times carries a story on my subcommittee's investigation of working conditions in the Postal Service, based on testimony before the subcommittee.

Patrick Nilan, the legislative director of the American Postal Workers Union, gave testimony to our subcommittee which should shock the conscience of the Congress as to the deplorable working conditions in which postal workers are employed. His union will later offer a supplementary statement which will spell out these conditions in even greater detail.

Mike Conlan, the Federal Times reporter, who so ably covers the Hill for the Federal Times, summarized the testimony of Mr. Nilan and Mr. Al Rosen of Philadelphia, the president of the Philadelphia Postal Union.

At this point, I would like to submit Mr. Nilan's testimony for the RECORD, so that all the Members may have a chance to read it:

POSTAL UNIONS ASSAIL WORKING CONDITIONS

WASHINGTON.—Branding working conditions in the postal service as "deplorable," a union spokesman has warned a House subcommittee that the situation is getting worse, not better.

Patrick J. Nilan, legislative director of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), told the subcommittee on postal facilities and mail:

"Next to wages and fringe benefits, the accomplishment of reasonable and satisfactory working conditions are of tremendous importance to the more than 300,000 postal workers we represent here today.

"We are confident in some post offices the absolute need for improved working conditions may even equal or exceed the need for improved wages and other compensations."

Also urging quick rehabilitation of the U.S. Postal Service before Rep. Robert N. C. Nix's subcommittee was Albert Rosen, president of the Philadelphia Postal Union.

The hearing, conducted July 21, promises to be the first in a long series.

Nilan, who could not be fully candid because of the continuation of collective bargaining with the USPS, told subcommittee members that a more detailed statement would be filed with the unit sometime in the week ahead.

At that time, Francis S. Filbey, APWU national president, is expected to testify. Other union leaders are scheduled to appear before the group, which is part of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

During the hearing, Nix introduced his own statement, which in part said:

"I believe that the last resource of the declining postal service is the dedication of postal workers.

"That resource has been long wasted by postal management which comes and goes like Christmas help with the political tide. It has been abused to such an extent that postal management brought the first nationwide strike of federal employees in 1970 and had to go through the motions of using the Army in order to break the strike.

"The strike came about because postal management insisted on delaying a much needed postal raise until it obtained by legislation an all powerful postal corporation."

However, Nix asserted that the new USPS, with its many powers, has not become "more responsible to the public or to its employees."

Nilan, who cited numerous abuses at postal facilities around the nation, complained that along with decaying buildings, unsafe working environments that management has arbitrarily instituted a host of unfair personnel policies.

One of his illustrations concerned the Chicago Post Office. "Postal workers there in many instances were immediately denied requests for sick leave, even when supported by a medical certificate," he said.

"Coffee breaks were immediately denied and tables and chairs were removed from the areas."

Turning to another subject, Nilan said, "We continue to wonder when we can expect the 100,000 reduction in force that spokesmen for the new U.S. Postal Service said is possible under efficient management."

Nix said the subcommittee would pursue the questions of occupational health and safety "until we get action in behalf of postal employees."

Nilan and Rosen had much to say on these issues.

For example, the APWU legislative director noted that the increased noise brought about by automation is a problem that to date has not drawn serious concern from postal management.

"As a matter of fact," Nilan said, ". . . the entire subject of health and safety is one in which the USPS can take little, if any, pride.

"Great promises often emanate from the 'ivory towers' of the postal service in Washington. However, convincing postmasters in the field to effectively and realistically police these promised programs is another thing entirely.

"Unfortunately, everyone in postal management is dollar conscious to the extent that safety and health is a good place to 'save' and we are getting more and more evidence from the field that this is altogether the case."

Nilan suggested that the subcommittee "investigate and if necessary legislate" a program that would force the USPS to eliminate the noise problem from post offices.

He said with the introduction of automation overcrowding has become the norm in many postal facilities, noting:

"Such situations, basically, are brought on by poor planning in physically locating mechanized facilities in the nation's post offices by postal management." He mentioned that facilities in Pittsburgh, New York, Washington and other areas would be worth investigating.

LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE THE MERGER OF THE AMERICAN AND NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATIONS

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join a number of my distinguished colleagues in introducing legislation to authorize the merger of the American and National Baseketball Associations. The bill is a simple one which permits two or more professional basketball leagues to combine their operations in an expanded single league, if such an agreement does not decrease the number of professional basketball clubs.

The proposed bill would not give the merged league immunity from any Federal antitrust prohibitions now applicable to the activities of the two leagues as separate entities. No subject other than permission to form a single league is involved.

At the present time, the entire future of professional basketball is being threatened by a war for players between the two leagues. Without a merger, no team in either league can afford to stop the bidding war. At the same time, none of the teams can afford to continue the bidding war for much longer. Meanwhile, salaries and bonuses are being paid which in no way reflect the economics of professional basketball. Some estimates are that as few as three of the 28 teams in the two leagues operated at a profit last year. And, this is true despite an amazing increase in attendance of 238 percent during the past 5 years.

I am aware of the fact that some professional basketball players are determined to prolong the bidding war as long as they can. True, this might be to their short-term economic benefit, but in the long run the players, as well as the fans and the teams themselves, would be better off with the proposed merger. Merger would mean economic stability and continued job opportunities for the players. A merger would restore a balance to the earning capacities of untried rookies, who now make the big money, and proven veterans. Moreover, the collective bargaining power of the players would be strengthened by their combination into a single industrywide bargaining unit. This is evidenced by the results obtained by the combined professional football players association.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that the fans of professional basketball would be the biggest winners of all in a merger. They would have the opportunity to see the stars of both leagues competing against one another. They would be assured that their now shaky local franchises might be stabilized, and they would be given the chance to have an undisputed champion of the sport.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the bill I join in sponsoring is fully in the public interest, and I hope it will win early approval.

"HI-HO, IT'S THE SAME OLD AGNEW"

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial in yesterday's Washington Star, Frank Getlein discussed Agnew's recent jaunt around the world and the Vice President's ill-conceived remarks about black leaders at home. Mr. Getlein poignantly observed how:

Carping and criticizing by our leaders throughout history has proved beneficial to our Nation. The carping and criticizing that so distress the Vice President are the American genius. In other lands or other times, the oppressed and exploited eventually are driven to bomb the palace or to take to the hills with rifles. The suggestion that American black leaders model themselves on those of Africa is a blueprint for disaster.

The editorial concluded:

Around Washington, the rumor persists that Agnew will be replaced in the second heat, not by the administration but by himself, to take advantage of what are said to be irresistible offers from television to do his thing for pay. His easy way with words, attractive physical appearance and total ignorance of elementary distinctions of thought, all qualify him for the tube.

I commend Getlein's remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the Washington Star, July 28, 1971]

WASHINGTON CLOSE-UP—HI-HO, IT'S THE SAME OLD AGNEW

(By Frank Getlein)

In the permanent paranoia that much of the press has declined into, journalists often look over their shoulders to see if Spiro Agnew is gaining on them.

This is a waste of time because he never is, having made his total mark in the race with his first sprint, and because, if he overtook them altogether, he couldn't lay a glove on them.

John N. Mitchell, as an attorney general without any serious idea that the Bill of Rights may actually mean something is indeed a clear and present danger to the press and to more than the press. But Agnew is a joke and one that gets a little less funny with every retelling.

One recent retelling took place while he was being kept safely out of the country so that the grownups could execute the Chinese gambit with as little embarrassment as possible. En route from Africa to assist at the anniversary celebration of the murder of the Spanish Republic, Agnew, serving as our goodwill ambassador to the chief murderer, took time out from these weighty concerns to give the press a penetrating analysis of black leadership in the United States and to offer a formula for improvement.

The trouble with American black leaders was that they were always carping and criticizing. (You could tell Agnew was off-duty because, had he been in full fig, their carping and criticizing would have been captious and contentious.) The way they could get improved, in the Agnewian analysis, was to take a lesson from the black leaders of Africa, some of them the vice president had just been visiting.

It's hard to choose between examining the suggestion from the point of view of the interests of the United States and from that of the interests of Spiro Agnew himself. Either way, the suggestion that American black leaders model themselves on those of Africa is a blueprint for disaster.

Broadly speaking and allowing for the occasional exception, black leaders of Africa fall into two categories, primary and secondary. The primary leaders are those who have led their nations into independent existence, chiefly by Mau Mau-ing the colonialists.

The secondary leaders are those who have taken over, almost always as commanders of armed forces who have betrayed the republics they were sworn to defend.

The carping and criticizing that so distress the vice president are the American genius. In other lands or other times, the oppressed and exploited eventually are driven to bomb the palace or to take to the hills with rifles.

In America, we have a different way. It's called carping and criticizing. It began with people like Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson carpingly criticizing George III and has continued to Eugene McCarthy carping Lyndon Johnson right out of the White House, to say nothing of Martin Luther King Jr. criticizing the country into the beginnings of racial justice.

Around Washington, the rumor persists that Agnew will indeed be replaced in the second heat, not by the administration but by himself, to take advantage of what are said to be irresistible offers from television to do his thing for pay.

His easy way with words, attractive physical appearance and total ignorance of elementary distinctions of thought, all qualify him for the tube. In the meantime, he is the only vice president we have. Let us pray for Richard Nixon.

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON EXHIBITS HIS CONCERN FOR PRISONERS OF WAR AND MEN MISSING IN ACTION

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as many in this body know, I have been vitally interested in the welfare and the future of our prisoners of war and missing servicemen ever since my first trip to Vietnam some 6 years ago. I have worked at great lengths with the wives and families of these men as well as all of our major veteran organizations.

Recently, I had the opportunity of discussing with Mr. Bill Timmons of the White House staff my great concern for these men during the present negotiations and I think the following letter which I have received from President Nixon should be of tremendous assurance to their families and to those in the country who might have felt that they have been abandoned.

WESTERN WHITE HOUSE,
San Clemente, Calif., July 9, 1971.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TIGER: Bill Timmons has told me of his recent conversation with you concern-

ing our prisoners of war and missing servicemen in Southeast Asia.

The plight of these brave men and their families is of the deepest concern to me, as it is to all Americans. Throughout our negotiations with the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, this issue has played a prominent part. In addition to our formal negotiations, we have also endeavored to enlist the assistance of many other nations throughout the world to intercede on behalf of these men on compassionate grounds. I am most hopeful that through these intensive efforts, we can soon achieve not only an honorable peace, but also the welcomed release of these valiant men and a true accounting of all those still missing.

I am proud and inspired by the courage and faith shown by the families of these men. Despite the anguish of separation and uncertainty, they have remained steadfast in purpose and have worked unceasingly to awaken the humanitarian concern of men of all nations. Their dedication has been a source of great spiritual strength to me and the country can indeed be proud of them.

I would like to assure you, as I have assured the families publicly, that our men will not be abandoned. My Administration shall persevere in this cause, sparing no effort to obtain the release of the prisoners and a strict accounting of those who are missing at the earliest possible time.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

THE LOCKHEED BILL IS NOT FOR SMALL BUSINESS AND DOES PROVIDE FOREIGN JOBS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, two issues on which a good deal of confusion has been generated are: Does the Lockheed bill really aid small businesses? Is more foreign employment generated by the L–1011 than by the DC–10?

Fact Sheet No. 1 makes it abundantly clear that this bill is not a small business bill but is simply a smokescreen for bailing out not only the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., 24 of the largest commercial banks in the United States and some of the major air carriers in the country, but is also a bailout for additional major industrial corporations. In fact, very few small businesses are substantially affected by the Lockheed program.

Fact Sheet No. 2 concludes that ironically, the structure of the L–1011 program has provided in foreign countries nearly twice the number of jobs that it now is sustaining in the United States.

The two issues follow:

FOREIGN SUBCONTRACTORS SHARE OF THE L–1011

Both Lockheed and the Administration contend that the company's L–1011 airbus program holds such a prominent place in the nation's economy that irreparable damage would result from termination of aircraft production.

However, Lockheed displayed far less concern about the benefits the L–1011 could bestow on the nation's economy when it launched its airbus program. Data supplied by the company itself during the House Banking and Currency Committee hearing on the Lockheed loan guarantee legislation shows that foreign subcontractor costs amount to at least 24 percent of the overall price of each L–1011 produced.

Lockheed's Board Chairman, Daniel J. Haughton, testified that L–1011's will be priced at about $15 million when the planes go into production. Of that total $3.5 million will represent foreign subcontractors' share of the cost.

These findings have been confirmed by aerospace and civil aviation executives, engineers and technicians who conducted an exhaustive study of economic consequences of eliminating the L–1011 program. In addition to verifying the Lockheed data, their study showed that only 12 percent of the overall price of the McDonnell-Douglas DC–10, Lockheed's chief competitor in the airbus market, is reflected in foreign subcontractor costs. The group found that $1.8 million of the DC–10 cost will go to foreign subcontractors—almost entirely to one subcontractor, a McDonnell-Douglas subsidiary in Canada.

Moreover, Lockheed-supplied data shows that not only will a large part of the revenue generated by L–1011 sales flow out of the country, but in addition Lockheed's foreign subcontractors employ almost as many people as are directly and indirectly working on the L–1011 in the United States.

Haughton testified that a total of 33,800 people are working on the L–1011 or employed by that program's domestic subcontractors. Rolls Royce of England employs 30,000 persons alone to produce the L–1011 engines.

Ironically, the structure of the L–1011 program has provided in foreign countries nearly twice the number of jobs that it now is sustaining in the United States. Haughton has said that direct and indirect domestic L–1011 employment has been reduced to 15,800 since the beginning of the year. By the same token, production of the L–1011 will automatically mean a substantial division of employment between the United States and foreign countries. In sharp contrast with this, McDonnell-Douglas's DC–10 program work force is comprised almost entirely of United States taxpayers.

Obviously, termination of the L–1011 program and the switch of wide-bodied airbus orders to McDonnell-Douglas will mean increased employment in the United States.

DOES THE LOCKHEED BILL (H.R. 8432) REALLY AID SMALL BUSINESS?

Statements have been made that the Lockheed loan guarantee proposal, with its $2 billion potential commitment of the taxpayers' money, is a big business bailout bill. Others have claimed that this is not true, that H.R. 8432 is a bill to assist thousands of small businesses who are Lockheed suppliers. Figures have ranged from 1500 subcontractors on the L–1011 program to 35,000 for all of Lockheed's business.

The facts clearly indicate that practically all of the assistance being given Lockheed's subcontractors by keeping the L–1011 commercial jet program afloat would go to big businesses, not small businesses. In fact, this aid would go to a relatively small group of large industrial corporations who supply the bulk of Lockheed's subcontracting needs.

Information submitted to the House Banking and Currency Committee by the Treasury Department indicates that there are only 66 companies involved as subcontractors providing "developmental type equipment costing in excess of $2,500 per airplane" and providing "raw materials or non-development parts costing in excess of $10,000 per airplane." These 66 suppliers are currently furnishing $687 million worth of supplies to Lockheed for the L–1011 program. This is an average of $10.3 million per company. Clearly, this does not fall into the category of small business as most people understand the term.

This situation is even less "small business" than indicated above when one looks in more detail at the breakdown of subcontracting for the L–1011. The top 10 Lockheed subcontractors account for 75 percent of the total for the 66 principal suppliers. Of these top ten suppliers, seven are among the 300 largest corporations in the United States, and nine of the ten are in the top 1000. The contracts with these 10 companies range from $11.7 million up to $300 million.

It is abundantly clear from the above data that the claim that H.R. 8432 is a small business bill is simply a smokescreen for bailing out not only the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 24 of the largest commercial banks in the United States and some of the major air carriers in the country, but is also a bailout for additional major industrial corporations. In fact, very few small businesses are substantially affected by the Lockheed program.

LOCKHEED'S 10 LARGEST U.S. SUBCONTRACTORS

Name of company	Rank by assets [1]	Total commitments to Lockheed as of May 24, 1971
AVCO Aerostructures Division	81	$299,293,100
Menasco Manufacturing Co.	(2)	56,722,000
Hamilton-Standard Division (United Aircraft Corp.)	67	38,732,600
Collins Radio	225	32,567,800
Sundstrand Aviation (Sundstrand)	250	25,423,500
Murdock Machine & Engineering Co., (CCI)	654	17,847,600
Sperry-Rand Corp	75	13,299,000
Curtiss-Wright Corp	300	13,027,000
Aluminum Co. of America	30	11,860,400
Instruments Systems Corp	912	11,784,000
Total		[3] 530,557,000

[1] Fortune Magazine, May 1971.
[2] Not available.
[3] 75.8 percent.

PREDATOR PROTECTION ACT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing legislation today which would restrict the use of poisons—such as thallium, 1080, and strychnine—for predator control of our public lands.

Very briefly, the problem is this: wildlife, including endangered species, is being poisoned at an alarming rate on our public lands.

The Department of Interior presently conducts a poisoning program which last year killed 73,093 coyotes, 8,403 bobcats, 121 mountain lions, and 403 black bears.

However, many more animals were killed by State officials and local ranchers or were not discovered by Interior officials, and, thus, were not tabulated.

In addition to the Department of In-

terior poisoning program, States and local organizations conduct mass poisoning campaigns. Over the last 3 years, total sales of compound 1080 have averaged approximately 2,600 pounds annually. While the Interior Department uses 24 pounds, which when diluted in bait is sufficient to kill 73.4 million coyotes, a large part of the remainder goes to private individuals.

The poisons placed on public lands are not selective. Any bird or animal that consumes the tainted bait may die. Moreover, any bird or animal which consumes the vomitus or the carcass of an animal that fell prey to compound 1080 may also die. Thus, endangerd species, such as the eagles and the California condor, which feed on dead animals, are likely to succumb to deadly poisons that do not break down chemically.

Mr. Speaker, fortunately, there are other ways in which to protect livestock from predators. According to the League of Conservation Voters:

Kansas and Missouri have programs to teach farmers and ranchers to trap the specific animal doing the damage, and those programs have proved more effective and less costly than efforts to wipe out an entire species. Predator losses in Missouri have been cut 80% since this program began, but cost only 5% as much as the Division of Wildlife Services program in Oklahoma.

This legislation would prohibit the placing of certain poison on public lands—lands owned by all the people of the United States. The public lands are not intended to be the private reserve of the ranchers to carelessly poison the wildlife that many of us would hate to see eliminated from the face of the earth.

If, in a specific instance, the Secretary of Interior, in conjunction with the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, determines that it is necessary to set poison on public lands in order to kill an individual predator—such as a rabid coyote—they would have this authority.

I appreciate the support, the counsel, and the advice of many of my colleagues who have offered to cosponsor this legislation. A list of cosponsors follows:

Mr. BINGHAM of New York, Mr. BRADEMAS of Indiana, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. DENNIS of Indiana, Mr. DELLUMS of California, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. GOLDWATER of California, Mrs. GRASSO of Connecticut, Mr. HALPERN of New York, Mr. HARRINGTON of Massachusetts.

Mr. HAWKINS of California, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HORTON of New York, Mr. KASTENMEIER of Wisconsin, Mr. KOCH of New York.

Mr. KYROS of Maine, Mr. LENT of New York, Mr. LONG of Maryland, Mr. MAZZOLI of Kentucky, Mr. MIKVA of Illinois.

Mr. OBEY of Wisconsin, Mr. PEYSER of New York, Mr. PREYER of North Carolina, Mr. REES of California, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. RODINO of New Jersey, Mr. ROE of New Jersey, Mr. ROSENTHAL of New York, Mr. ROYBAL of California.

Mr. RYAN of New York, Mr. SARBANES of Maryland, Mr. SAYLOR of Pennsylvania, Mr. TIERNAN of Rhode Island, Mr. WALDIE of California, Mr. WYMAN of New Hampshire.

REMARKS OF MR. TED JOHNSON TO THE KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, 1971, Mr. Ted Johnson of Colorado gave his president's address to the Kiwanis International Convention in San Francisco. Because I have had occasion to talk with Mr. Johnson about the Kiwanis program during the past year, I was most interested to read his message on his year as the head of one of the world's fine voluntary service organizations.

The speech contains considerable food for thought; not only for Kiwanians, but for all Americans. Consequently, I am pleased to insert some of the highlights of the speech into the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, JUNE 28, 1971

President-elect Wes; my colleagues on the Board; Distinguished Past International Presidents; Gentlemen and Ladies of Kiwanis; my own family; and guests at this great San Francisco Convention.

A year has passed since I stood before you in Detroit, accepted the responsibility of this office and promised that, God willing, I would do my best. The proof of any pudding is in the eating, and you must be the judge if this year is to your liking. Three-fourths of our administrative year is now past, and it is only fair that you should know what has transpired.

On two occasions it has been my honor to visit with President Nixon. In February a private discussion in his office at the White House, and again in April as a member of the Board of the National Center for Voluntary Action. The President is well aware of what we are doing, and his interest in Kiwanis has not waned in spite of the pressures of his office. Plans are proceeding to meet with the Premier of Canada in Ottawa during September.

It is thrilling to stand before you tonight and address each of you as dear, dear friends—friends who travel the same path of community service, determined to "reverse the trend" and to improve the quality of life. A president has never served with such tremendous support as has been mine this year. Every one of our thirty governors and each member of the International Board has worked overtime to make this an unprecedented year for all to remember.

As one pursues this course he is constantly reminded of the tremendous effort that is expended in the name of Kiwanis, and in the interest of the community. From our newest club and the youngest member to our founder Harry Young and the "daddy of us all" the Detroit #1 Club, there is devoted interest in seeing that the impact of Kiwanis is felt and recognized. We have taken on a new vitality and a reason to exist with our Major Emphasis Programs, with an increasing pride in Kiwanis membership as we experience a rebirth of dedication to and respect for our objects and what they mean to Kiwanians and Kiwanis everywhere.

We have learned that to succeed we must be relevant—and in that relevancy we are no longer just giving lip service, we are practicing what we preach. We have had the initiative to start, and the ability to back up and support programs that are meaningful, not only to our own communities but to the whole world. Why did fate dictate that we should get into Operation Drug Alert and the Environmental Programs? Was it that we knew deep down in our hearts what was good for all of mankind? And, that there was no better time to start than—right now? It is interesting to note that Drug Abuse and its treatment is of the highest priority at National Government level today. One could, if so inclined, get heady over the accolades that have been heaped upon us in recognition of our collective efforts to improve the quality of life. The lessons learned and the manner in which information is disseminated is superb, and millions, not yet born, will benefit by what we have started.

We might ask—what then remains to be done? Well, my friends, we have just begun the task—a task that will be with us as long as we live. The behaviour of man is unpredictable, and the future we can only guess, so while the best we can do is probably not enough, with determination and resolve—we can and we will make this a better world in which to live.

Proudly I have waved the flag this year because world wide we are confronted with incidents. Incidents that could happen only in our great lands where Freedom is a birthright. Too many are mistaking freedom for license of self expression, with everything being permitted under its guise. Recently it has been brought to our attention that to require respect for our flag and to pledge allegiance to it violates a person's rights under the Constitution. Well—I am only one voice— but I say that if any member of Kiwanis, Key Club or Circle K refuses to pay respect and homage to the flags of our nations, then he has no place in our great family of organizations. To me it is not old fashioned to be patriotic and I hope that I would be struck down dead when I do not thrill at our anthems, or the flags passing in review, or if chills no longer run up and down my spine when our colors are posted as they were last night.

Many, many times you have expressed your alarm at what our children are being taught. We all must ask—Are they getting a good liberal education? Or, are they getting a superb education in liberalism? There is a big difference and that difference may very well dictate the future of our countries. Kiwanians everywhere are concerned that many public and tax supported educational institutions not only condone, but teach anarchy and disloyalty, upheaval and overthrow. Think about that.

Even though we have done much to combat indifference and apathy there is still much to be done. We see our countries torn by strikes and disturbances of every kind. Is this necessary? Or have we been reduced in our thought processes to the point where we rationalize and permit anything just so long as it doesn't interfere, disturb or interrupt our own selfish way of existence? My friends, our existence is at stake as every day we see more and more of our freedoms eroded. All of us must be willing to stand up for what we believe and speak out. I have represented Kiwanis this year in sessions where it was plainly said that—the family, the basic unit of society is passé, and that some agency can raise our children better than we. Where was it that this same line was propagated and applied? Remember—it was not too long ago that we decried such

action as inhuman—yet right here we are being exposed to such ideology. For some old fashioned reason I still believe that the best government is one that is servant to the people and not vice versa, and I will always believe that the family is the basic unit of society and that this generation and others to follow will be better for parental guidance and discipline. It is in the home that children should first be taught respect, love and the dignity of man.

The incidents created and the problems we face are ours to solve. As long as we stay strong, keep informed on issues and face them we have no reason to fear for the future. Here we are—a sleeping giant—and we are only one of the many Voluntary Organizations whose principles are based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood and dignity of man. The world is crying for Leadership to deliver us from this age of rationalization—where every ill can be rationalized and permitted under the banner of Freedom. Where else could such be permitted except here in our lands of precious freedoms?

Kiwanians have always been doers; we have made our reputation by rolling up our sleeves and digging in, with no task too small or too large.

Well—we have our work cut out for us, and I appeal to you to put first things first, as we "Reverse the Trend." Let us assume our rightful place as leaders of men in our communities. Let us exert and practice Parent Power, where the family is the source of discipline, respect and dignity.

Let us stand up and speak out for what we believe.

God Speed you Leaders of Men. There is much to do and little time to do it.

CLOSING SCHOOLS FOR BUSING DOES NOT MAKE LOGIC

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this morning's mail brought a typical letter that is hard to answer. With the busing issue on in Dallas, it has been suggested that different schools be closed.

This young man, who wrote me, graduated 2 years ago. He is proud of Tech, just as all of our citizens are. Read this letter and if you have any logical explanation, I would appreciate your expression. Here is this morning's letter from John L. Fulce of 2116 South Harwood, Dallas, Tex.:

When I graduated in 1969, from Crozier Tech High School, you sent me a certificate and a letter, saying if I ever needed you just write you a letter. Well, Mr. Collins, I now need your help very much. It was proposed by Dr. Nolan Estes, Superintendent of the School Board, that Crozier Tech would be closed down.

Mr. Collins, I most definitely am not the type to just stand by and let this terrible thing happen.

Crozier Tech right now has an almost perfect balance in races, blacks, whites, and browns. It also has had no great things said about it, only heresay bad things. It has an almost perfect unity between the races, and a fellowship to each and everyone of the students.

Mr. Collins, as you probably know, Crozier Tech is the first and oldest of all high schools in Dallas. It is such a place, that should be honored, not torn down, and especially for some very unfactual reasons.

The point I'm trying to make is . . . on July 26th, I called your Dallas office. I talked to a young lady who works for you, and also admires you a great deal. She also agreed to what I was saying. She told me to get in touch with you, and see if you can help *us*.

On August 8, 1971, at 2:00 p.m., in front of Crozier Tech High School, there will be a rally held in protest of closing down Crozier Tech and various high schools.

CONGRESS MUST ACT FOR METRICATION

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the final report on the U.S. metric study conducted by the National Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce reached me today. As one who has supported a program of conversion to the metric system, I want to commend this report to my colleagues and to the people of the Nation. The recommendations of the Secretary of Commerce set forth in this report deserve our early attention and prompt action.

Mr. Speaker, as I have noted on this floor at other times, ours is one of the few remaining nations in the world today which does not now utilize the metric system as a basic system of weights and measures—or which has not yet established a program for conversion to the metric system.

Mr. Speaker, the development of international agreements on uniform standards suggests the need for our early action in order that we may fully participate in such international agreements and fill a complete role in world trade and commerce in accordance with those international standards which apply in virtually every other nation of the world.

Mr. Speaker, the cost of conversion to the metric units of measurement has been the roadblock to conversion at earlier periods. The cost will be greater today than if we had converted at an earlier time but delay will contribute to even greater costs. At any rate, the added costs which will result will be shared by all. They may cause temporary diminution of profits in some cases but in general the consumer, the purchaser, will pay for the temporary added costs which will be incurred. Indeed, there are many reasons to believe that in the long run costs will be reduced and many long range economic advantages will be secured. It should be pointed out that in many cases of conversion in Great Britain new methods of manufacturing and modern techniques have been adopted which have resulted in reducing the costs of manufactured products. To some extent this is bound to follow in our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have not yet completed reading the full report. However, my initial examination leads me to the conclusion that it is objective, realistic, and deserving of early attention and action by the Congress.

In accordance with the letter of communication from Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, it would appear incumbent now upon the Congress to devise the legislative means by which a program of metrication may be carried out within a time frame with which American business and industry can comply and which can serve the best interests of our Nation and of the world.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL LEGISLATION NEEDED IMMEDIATELY

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, recent newspaper articles have reported that the increasing pollution of many of the Nation's waterways is beginning to threaten the health quality of the water on which we all depend. It is obvious that we must do more, immediately, to stop pollution and clean up our waterways.

As an example of the type of pollution control legislation which we need, I would like to enter in the RECORD at this point my testimony, presented today, to the House Public Works Committee. The committee is in the process of developing a comprehensive water pollution control bill, and it is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that this Congress can enact a truly strong water pollution control law which will meet and solve the environmental crisis facing our Nation. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES A. VANIK

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before this distinguished committee.

I have several points I would like to briefly raise before your committee.

First, *I believe that the waste treatment construction grant formula should be changed. The Federal Government's share of each project's cost should be increased.*

I have introduced legislation, H.R. 4010, to increase the maximum level of Federal grants from 50 or 55% to 70%. This would leave 30% of the cost on a project which meets state water quality standards to be borne by a combination of state and local governments.

I believe that this legislation is necessary because the burden of constructing necessary and demanded waste treatment plants is becoming more and more onerous—and this is particularly true in urban areas where antiquated and inadequate sewer and pollution control facilities desperately need up-grading but are prohibitively expensive.

This can be seen by the fact that up to now sewage control construction has not gone to the areas with the largest sewage problems. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, between the inception of the waste treatment constuction program in 1956 and last November 30, cities of more than a quarter of a million—which in 1970 accounted

for about 21% of the population—received only 29% of the total number of construction grants and 12.2% of the construction money. At the very moment when our large cities face their most critical financial crisis, they are being instructed to construct new and improved pollution control facilities.

A typical nightmare example of the financial situation facing the large cities can be seen in the urban area which I represent, Cleveland, Ohio.

On December 10th, 1970, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency gave Cleveland, Detroit, and Atlanta 180 days to take necessary action toward stopping water pollution. There is no doubt that the City of Cleveland is a major polluter and that it needs to take action. As Mr. Ruckelshaus noted in his 180 day warning, "Cleveland—is behind the implementation schedule with regard to primary and secondary treatment facilities. The combined sewer system of the City of Cleveland is a major contributor of pollutants into Lake Erie, pouring raw and partially treated sewage from 700 points of overflow into the lake and area streams." On June 11th, EPA announced that Cleveland had agreed to take necessary steps to correct its deficiencies. The agreement calls for advanced waste treatment capable of removing between 95 and 99 percent of impurities from wastes at Cleveland's Southerly plant as well as 92 percent phosphorous removal by May 1, 1972. A high degree of secondary treatment will be required at the city's other two plants—Easterly and Westerly—with 89% phosphorous removal required at Easterly by December 31, 1971, and Westerly by 1973. All plant construction in Cleveland is to be completed by September 1, 1975, with the final hook-up of sewer extensions to 32 suburban communities set for December, 1977.

Since that announcement was made, Cleveland has suffered another expensive set-back in its pollution control efforts. On June 25th, the Cleveland Easterly Treatment Plant, a $30 million facility under-going a $13 million up-grading experienced a water back-up which flooded the plant to a level of 14 or 15 feet. Expensive machinery was damaged, but even worse, 5 million gallons per hour of raw, untreated sewage was by-passed directly into Lake Erie for nearly a week. Despite round the clock efforts, the plant was not able to return to full treatment of wastes until about July 13th. The coliform count at some neighboring beaches went up to 1300—over four times the level permitted by the Ohio Health Department. Beaches as far East as Erie, Pennsylvania were closed. The cause of the accident is still unknown but part of the problem probably lies in the fact that this facility is nearly 35 years old. It has reached the age where breakdowns can occur anytime—thus Cleveland not only has to expand its facilities, it must improve its existing ones.

But the City is incapable of financing the needed facilities by itself. In the next four years alone, Cleveland and its suburbs' primary and secondary treatment needs are estimated at $226 million with an additional $311 million for desperately needed interceptor and storm sewer needs.

Yet Cleveland, which has approved a $100 million bond issue for water pollution control construction, faces a budget shortage of $6.5 million in this year's operations. The taxpayers of Cleveland, who have had a recent drastic increase in the assessed value of their property, have seen the tax rate escalate beyond toleration. The people are up to their ears in taxes. As a result, a vote on increasing the city income tax from 1% to 1.8% was defeated last November, and in a special election this February 2, an attempt to increase the tax from 1% to 1.6% was again defeated. Because of this defeat, from the beginning of the year, nearly 1500 employees of the City have been laid off. Vital, fundamental city services are being curtailed; sanitation service is deteriorating; 193 policemen were laid off July 1st; recreation services are being cut—yet we are being asked to spend over half a billion dollars on pollution control.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, that there is virtually no help coming from the State in the foreseeable future.

The need for the Federal Government to assume a larger burden in meeting these pollution control costs is self-evident—and immediately needed.

At the present time my Committee on Ways and Means is in executive session considering revenue sharing. A number of witnesses who appeared before the Committee suggested that instead of revenue sharing, the Federal government should assume a larger proportion of the cost of constructing such items as treatment works. They pointed out that additional Federal aid in this area would be one of the most helpful things that the Federal government could do in meeting the fiscal crisis facing localities all across the Nation.

While the present—and proposed Administration—grant formula ranges, on the average, from 30% to 55% of cost, Federal aid has fallen far below this level. The National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors has noted that in fiscal year 1970, cities over 50,000 in population received only $234 million in Federal assistance toward $1.3 billion in eligible project costs. This comes out to an average Federal participation of only 18 percent. Late in fiscal year 1971, Federal participation had risen to about 23 percent—"far below that assumed when the grant-in-aid program was initiated." EPA in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee said that under new legislative proposals, the cost to the Federal government of the Administration's proposed $12 billion dollar construction program would average 48.5 percent—hardly adequate when one considers the financial problems of our cities.

I might add that there is a corollary to this point. If the Federal Government picks up a larger share of the cost of constructing each plant as a form of *directed revenue sharing*, then it follows that the authorization for Federal construction money must be higher.

Starting with fiscal year 1972, the Administration, in H.R. 5962, is requesting an authorization of $6 billion divided equally over each of the next three fiscal years. The Administration says that at the end of 1970 they surveyed the Nation's municipal waste treatment needs and found a need for $15 billion through 1974. I believe that a more adequate statement of need is provided by the National League of Cities and U.S. Conference of Mayors. The groups' survey covered 1105 communities covering about 95 million persons. Interpolating from this figure and taking account of factors such as inflation, the storm water overflow problem, and the need to extend sewage service to 45 million Americans in urban areas that are not served by sewers, the group finds that between $33 and $37 billion is needed in the next five years. Given the stiffening of water quality standards and increased pressures on local communities to conform to these tough standards, I am sure that this figure is closer to reality than the Administration's study.

To meet this need, I urge that your Committee report a higher level of authorization than is provided by H.R. 5962. I am a cosponsor of a bill introduced by Representative Dingell (H.R. 6722) which would provide $5 billion over each of the next five years. Assuming a better Federal grant level of 70% and a need of $35 billion in construction, H.R. 6722's $25 billion authorization would meet the Nation's needs and indicate our commitment to truly meeting the pollution crisis.

In addition, I am concerned about the new formula proposed by H.R. 5962 for allocating grant money among the respective states. The new formula provides up to 25 percent of the appropriation to be allotted to those States which have "existing reimbursables" for which full grants have not been made because of lack of Federal funds under current and prior appropriations.

These reimbursements are "due" to the States which have moved ahead on their own to meet their pollution problems. We ought to provide an authorization and an appropriation to pay these states and localities immediately. I hope, however, that it does not become part of the grant formula. If it does it will relatively reduce—often substantially—the level of funds available to 41 of the 50 states—including all of the lower income states which have not been able to independently finance construction projects. Under the Administration's authorization-appropriation level of $2 billion, there will be 2.25 times as much money available in this fiscal year as compared to the last fiscal year. In fiscal year 1971, Ohio received $40.8 million. In fiscal year 1972, it should receive 2.25 times as much or $92 million. Because of the reimbursement factor in the Administration's proposed allocation formula, however, she will only receive $79.5 million. Again, let me repeat that the states which have moved ahead on their own should be reimbursed. I would simply hope that it could be done all at once or through the excess money which might be provided by the proposed $5 billion authorization contained in H.R. 6722.

The second point I would like to make relates to Pollution Disaster Areas. I have introduced legislation (H.R. 6898) to provide for a pollution disaster fund to deal with pollution accidents—such as the Santa Barbara and San Francisco Bay spills—and pollution disaster areas—such as Lake Erie, San Francisco Bay, and New York City Harbor.

I first introduced this legislation in the 91st Congress with 29 co-sponsors. This year I introduced it with a number of changes. Basically the bill creates a revolving fund of $1 billion to be spent on areas where there has been a pollution accident or where it is declared that there is a pollution disaster area. A pollution disaster area is defined as any area of the United States, the continental shelf, or the Great Lakes, in which the water is in immediate danger of becoming unsuitable or harmful for the uses to which it has been traditionally put because of the accumulation of pollutants or other human-induced changes in the environment and ecology, and which is beyond the clean-up capability of any community or the individual states. Under the bill, such an area would be eligible for waste treatment construction grants at a Federal support level of 90%, and low-interest loans to small business would also be available. In addition, to this assistance, and immediate clean-up assistance, other forms of aid might be available.

For example, to save Lake Erie, which certainly deserves to be called a disaster area and which needs a massive input of assistance, it might well be worthwhile to provide massive aeration of the major tribu-

taries flowing into it—such as the fire hazard known as the Cuyahoga River.

There are any number of rivers, lakes, bays and estuaries that could be eligible for assistance and must be saved if we are to save our Nation's environment. There can be no question that whole areas are becoming dead seas. The Eastern basin of Lake Erie is only one example. Presently, approximately 8% of the Nation's shellfish grounds have been declared unsafe for harvesting and human consumption purposes. As of January 10th of this year, the Environmental Protection Agency listed some 91 beaches in the United States as closed or posted as polluted. These are areas that can be and should be called environmental disaster areas. To solve the problems of these areas will take a special commitment. We need to make that commitment now.

My third and final point relates to assistance under EPA programs to cities which need to separate storm and sewer systems. I have introduced legislation, H.R. 9764, which has been referred to this Committee, which would allow a fifty percent grant by the Federal government "for a project for separation of storm and sewage facilities so as to prevent the flow of untreated or partially treated sewage into any of the navigable waters of the United States during or after heavy storm flows." The separation of storm and sanitary sewers is an important—and expensive—aspect of combatting the problem of pollution. As I indicated earlier, the cost of constructing such facilities in my county alone may be over $300 million. The present basic water and sewer grant program in the Department of Housing and Urban Development is totally inadequate.

In the last year, HUD funded only forty separation grants for a total cost to the Federal government of $28.2 billion. The water and sewer assistance program of HUD has been consistently underfunded. The National Association of Counties estimated that in June of 1970 there were 4,308 unfunded grant applications with a total project cost of $5.5 billion. Not all of these, of course, are separation proposals, but the figures give an indication of the need. The fiscal year 1972 appropriation for HUD basic water and sewer grants will probably be $700 million—but new applications are coming in all the time. In addition, very few of these grants go to the big cities which generally have the most serious combined storm and sewer problem. For example, since fiscal year 1968, $660 million in water and sewer grants have been made, but only $35 million of this amount has gone to cities of half a million and over—this amounts to 5.2 percent of the total grants. I would hope that the Committee could consider extending EPA assistance to this type of project so that we might truly attack all aspects of the pollution problem.

Thank you for your time.

"LEST WE FORGET"

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in a land of progress and prosperity, it is often easy to assume an "out of sight, out of mind" attitude about matters which are not consistently brought to our attention. The fact exists that today more than 1,550 American servicemen are listed as prisoners or missing in Southeast Asia. The wives, children, and parents of these men have not forgotten, and I would hope that my colleagues in Congress and our countrymen across America will not neglect the fact that all men are not free for as long as one of our number is enslaved.

I insert the name of one of the missing.

Maj. John Wayne Held, U.S. Air Force, [redacted] San Antonio, Tex. Married and the father of four children. The son of Mr. and Mrs. John Held, Elwood, Ind., 1958 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. Officially listed as missing in action April 17, 1968. As of today, Major Held has been missing in Southeast Asia for 1,198 days.

CUSTOMS SEIZES $500 MILLION IN NARCOTICS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have reported before, here in the RECORD, on the fine job that the Bureau of Customs has been doing in combating illegal drug traffic. I was very pleased, therefore, to note in the New York Times of July 26 that nearly $500 million in narcotics has been seized by U.S. Customs in the year ended June 30. Again, the Customs Bureau is to be commended for its fine record, and I am pleased to call the following article to my colleagues' attention:

$500 MILLION IN NARCOTICS SEIZED BY CUSTOMS IN YEAR

(By Felix Belair, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, July 25.—Narcotics worth nearly half a billion dollars were seized by United States Customs in the year ended July 30 and included 937 pounds of heroin worth $409 million on the street, the Bureau of Customs announced today.

The heroin, taken in 503 separate seizures by Customs inspectors and investigators, was more than the total intercepted in the preceding eight years, according to Commissioner Myles J. Ambrose. In the preceding 12 months, there were 200 seizures totaling 46 pounds.

"These record-breaking figures point up the fact that intelligence operations by our special agents, coupled with the intensified inspection of persons, baggage and cargo by the Customs Service at ports of entry, are bearing fruit on an escalating scale," Mr. Ambrose said.

"We are hopeful that the combined actions by Customs, other Federal agencies and state and local police will further tighten the squeeze on drug smuggling and eventually choke off the supply."

In the same 12 months ended last June 30, Customs agents seized in 176 hauls 360 pounds of cocaine that had a street value of $49.2 million. In the preceding year, there were 88 seizures of 108 pounds of cocaine. Customs figures the street value of heroin at an average of $6 a dose and cocaine at about $7.50 a dose.

Marijuana and hashish seizures also jumped during the 1971 fiscal year and brought to $492,512,598 the street value of the four major types of narcotics taken during the period. The value of opium and other seized drugs like LSD brought the total to nearly the half-billion-dollar marks.

The 1971 fiscal year saw the first expansion of the Customs Service since the Presidency of Calvin Coolidge. The number of inspectors at ports of entry was increased from 2,500 to 4,500 and the number of investigators from 334 to 800. Another 1,500 inspectors and 250 investigating agents will be added by the end of this calendar year.

Seizures of marijuana increased from 4,115 for the fiscal year 1970 to 5,953 in the year ended June 30, and the volume taken jumped from 104,304 pounds to 176,408 pounds. Hashish seizures went from 646 to 1,395 and from 3,121 pounds to 3,163 pounds, Customs figures showed.

Opium seizures had been declining in recent years, but in the period ended last June there were increases in the number of seizures and the volume taken. The volume was 38.2 pounds in the latest period from 141 seizures compared to 42 seizures and 20.6 pounds in the fiscal year 1970.

Several factors contributed to the increased capability of Customs to crack narcotics smuggling operations during the year. One was an adminstrative agreement restoring its ability to work with foreign enforcement agencies and develop its own intelligence sources overseas.

But the most important contributing factor was the increased manpower voted by Congress, which permitted inspectors and agents to devote more attention to individual travelers, baggage and cargoes.

More intensive inspection techniques paid off only two weeks ago in New York when the son of a Panamanian diplomat was apprehended while attempting to push several suit-cases containing 175 pounds of heroin through J. F. Kennedy International Airport on a diplomatic passport.

An alert inspector noticed that the passenger was ticketed through to Paris while his baggage had been tagged for unloading at Kennedy. He was seized on the spot, and a confederate who already had been passed through the line was observed on the balcony level taking in the proceedings.

Customs officials arranged with the telephone company to delay any calls to Panama City for an hour and to report the location of the calls. Twenty minutes later the company reported a call placed from a public phone at Eighth Avenue and 42d Street. Agents arrived at the scene in seven minutes and took the confederate into custody.

The two implicated four others, who were arraigned the next day. The heroin had a street value of up to $27-million and was the largest suit-case seizure on record.

The largest heroin haul in the fiscal year 1971 was made in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and was also the largest in the 182-year history of the Customs Service. A search of an automobile uncovered 247.5 pounds of pure heroin in hidden compartments.

"CHANGE, ANYONE?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it is total self-deception, in my opinion, to expect that the opening of contacts between the United States and Red China portends true friendship or cooperation

in the future. Certainly President Nixon's acceptance of the invitation to visit Red China can be viewed as a breakthrough, but whether the proposed meeting will bear fruit is another matter.

Quite frankly, I am not convinced that normalization of relations with China should be our goal, given the history of Red China and the true posture of the Chinese Communist Government. Unfortunately, those who hail the President's upcoming visit as a dramatic coup laden with hope must fail to recognize that the Peking Government still represents a self-selected, self-imposed and self-perpetuating tyranny over 800 million Chinese people.

Strange indeed that the United States would disregard the tyranny that exists under the Red Chinese regime at the same time it allows its relations with other countries to be governed by internal political conditions in those nations. Look, for example, at our refusal to recognize or deal with Rhodesia. Yet the fact remains that Communist China is one of the most repressive nations in the world.

Most puzzling to me is this question: On what concrete change in the position of the Communist Chinese is President Nixon predicating his reversal of policy? Surely, it cannot be based on a few ping-pong games.

Let us look at what presidential candidate Richard Nixon said in New Hampshire on February 28, 1968:

> Why do we resist the Chinese coming into the United Nations? It is because they at the present time are engaged in a course of aggression against members of the United Nations and they do not qualify as a peace loving nation, in effect, as the United Nations charter does require.

In September of that same year, candidate Nixon said over a Milwaukee, Wis., radio station:

> Any American policy toward Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China. This does not mean, as many would simplistically have it, rushing to grant recognition to Peking, to admit it to the United Nations and to ply it with offers of trade—all of which would serve to confirm its rulers in their present course . . .

I can understand when a public official changes his position in light of changed circumstances. Although personally steadfastly dedicated to sticking by principles, I do not advocate nor do I practice blind adherence to what might become a fossilized position in the face of progress or changed conditions. But what changed conditions can the President point to in justifying his 180 degree turn from isolating Red China to friendly, conciliatory gestures? What evidence is available showing that Red China is any less aggressive and anti-American than it was when Richard Nixon was running for the Presidency? There has been no change whatever in the bitter Communist Chinese attitude toward the United States.

China remains an unpredictable, aggressive and dangerous country, consistently flouting international law. The implacable antagonism of Red China's regime toward the United States is clear to anyone who does not have his head in the sand. Ping-pong diplomacy notwithstanding, the country is drenched in anti-American propaganda. Two weeks after the smiling welcome given the American table tennis team, virulent anti-American slogans were shouted in the streets of dozens of Chinese cities on May Day. Every Chinese Communist propaganda organ denounced "U.S. imperialism" as the "common enemy."

Perhaps the massive propaganda assault in this country from the left and from Red China has deluded some into believing the situation has changed. The climate may be improved, but the basic situation has not changed. The leaders of Red China hate the United States. If they do in fact want U.S. recognition, it is only for whatever advantage would accrue to them. Peking's leaders have merely decided that Chinese national interests supersede ideology for the moment. Those who are banking on any benefits to our country stand to be sorely disillusioned.

VIEWS OF UNITED METHODIST CHURCH ON ABORTION

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement issued by the Methodist Board of Social Concern. This statement called upon the United Methodist Church to advocate the removal of all restrictions governing abortion.

Because of the serious split in many Protestant denominations and because of my own strong feelings with respect to the basic humanity of the unborn child, I would like to take this opportunity to present the other side of the coin.

Paul Ramsey, a Methodist theologian, wrote an article for the summer, 1970, issue of Religion in Life. "Feticide/Infanticide upon Request" deftly parries the remarks of the Methodist Board of Social Concern. Mr. Ramsey has made a strong defense against the liberalization of abortion laws—both from the medical and from the moral point of view.

I insert this article in the RECORD at this point for the perusal of my colleagues.

1. FETICIDE/INFANTICIDE UPON REQUEST

(By Paul Ramsey)

We as United Methodists affirm the sacredness of persons. Personhood develops as one is loved, responds to love, and in that relationship comes to fullness as a child of God.

Since personhood is more than physical being, we affirm that the fetus is not a person, but rather tissue with the potentiality, in most cases, for becoming a person, also recognizing that personhood is not possible without physical form.

We call upon The United Methodist Church, its Boards and Agencies, and our common society to: . . . Assist the states in removing the regulation of abortion from the criminal code, thereby placing it under regulations relating to other procedures of standard medical practice. The decision, then, would be solely in the hands of the patient and her licensed doctor.—Statement on Responsible Parenthood, adopted by the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, October 8, 1969.

What do these statements mean? What do they now entail? What practices do they lead to? What are the Christian warrants for making any such statements? What, if any, are the medical reasons on which to base them?

These questions need urgently to be pressed—since this must be the first time in the history of religion (certainly of Christianity) that some of its leading spokesmen have endorsed the "tissue" interpretation of unborn human life.

Perhaps the remaining states should "liberalize" their abortion laws, following the 13 that have already done so. Perhaps the law should simply absent itself from the regulation and control of abortion. But when did it become the church's chief business to assist the states in so doing on the narrow grounds that this is solely a medical problem to be decided by a woman and her physician? Wiser were the words of Dr. E. Fuller Torrey of Stanford University in the introduction to the book he edited on *Ethical Issues in Medicine:* "Abortion is no more purely a medical problem just because the physician wields the curette than chemical warfare is purely a problem for pilots because they press the lever releasing the chemical." [1]

Perhaps the woman and her physician should have the casting voice in this matter, or alone be the persons to decide. Even so, unless we mean still further to evacuate a Christian view of things from this civilization and from our churches, our chief concern should be to address and clarify the question of the morality or immorality of abortion. How else will physicians and their patients, if they are striving to lead a Christian life have sustained or formed in them a proper conscience on the matter?

This the "tissue school of thought" can never do. That viewpoint simply declares that there is no moral problem because there is only one patient of medical care. Instead of "traditioning" to ourselves, our congregations, and our children some Christian comprehension of the fact that life at its maximum helplessness, which exists wholly at the mercy of others, most claims protection, are we now systematically to go about brainwashing sensitive women and physicians, our fellow churchmen, with this grossly miscalled "liberal" opinion?

In this connection, it was refreshing to read recently a scientist (biophysicist) at Michigan State, the late Leroy G. Augenstein, who was able to write quite simply that "as a practicing *Protestant* I believe that a fetus is a life." [2] That was a man whose knowledge of his religious and moral heritage was not taken from the newspapers, nor gathered from committee morality.

There is no Protestant theologian who has given prolonged attention to the morality of abortion, and brought to bear on that question the whole idea of God and man as we Christians know it, who could believe his eyes upon reading the statement on responsible parenthood now issued in the name of one denomination of Christ's people. Karl Barth in *Church Dogmatics,* (III/4, pp. 415–23), Helmut Thielicke in *The Ethics of Sex* (pp. 226–47), and Dietrich Bonhoeffer in *Ethics* (pp. 173–83), may be instanced to

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Footnotes at end of article.

show that never before has Protestant theological ethics subscribed to the nethermost estimate of nascent life which we are now invited to hold as truth. That dreadful premise does not even underlie the defense of a more extended practice of abortion made in an excellent study pamphlet issued by the Church of England several years ago.[3]

If I had the "gift" of "teaching" (I Cor. 12:28), I would urge that these documents and others within hailing distance of the common Christian respect for the sanctity of nascent life are the ones that should be studied in the churches, if ever there is hope of moral renewal. Then might our officebearers be able to speak for us, and to us, a lively ethical word, even when there is a drought of the faithfulness of God in the land generally.

It may also be asked, "What became of the ecumenical age and spirit?" Should not the call be for United Methodists, their boards and agencies, to seek together with, say, Baptists, Lutherans, and Catholics until together we find, if possible, a common Christian word to speak on the matter of the morality of abortion? Instead, new fissures are being opened that will not soon be bridged with our fellow Christians.

In the unlikely event that United Methodists come to believe what is here proposed to us, it would thereafter be impossible for us to be ecumenically open to the best even of Jewish teachings. True, Judaism teaches that only after birth is there certainly a human life, certainly a *nefesh adam*. Before that, the fetus is not certainly a *nefesh adam*, or even is certainly not. True, Jewish teaching speaks of the fetus as a "part" of the woman's body; but a most unusual and a precious part, not "tissue." There was rather a holy awe in the presence of unborn life, signally expressed in the fact that to save a fetus was, no less than saving a conscious, breathing human being, sufficient reason to violate the most holy days of Jewish celebration, the Sabbath and Yom Kippur.[4] If the fetus title to be born is so weighty, then some of the not unimportant claims of breathing lives (of "persons") may not be morally overriding. At least, there is a possible conflict of duties in deciding about abortion.

Churchmen seem to have a penchant for saying today what the surrounding culture said twenty-four hours earlier. Clearly, that word is "feticide upon request." It has already been spoken. Possible warrant for this position, however, in Christian morality—the law's permission ought not primarily to concern us—cannot be imagined. Instead, one cannot imagine a clearer case of acculturated Christianity, or rather the abolition of Christian teachings and their replacement by secular timeliness and social problem-solving (i.e. solving other problems by means of abortion) in a medical-technological and an increasingly pagan age.

I

Here are some of the facts that are obscured or ignored in our contemporary attempts to justify the discretionary liberty of conscious human beings to destroy unborn human lives. The fetal heartbeat can be heard by an ordinary stethoscope between the sixteenth and twentieth week of gestational life. Heartbeat can be monitored via the mother as early as twelve weeks, and it is known that heart pumping starts by the end of four weeks, at about the time the mother begins to wonder whether she is pregnant or not. While "quickening" may occur to the mother's perception between the twelfth and sixteenth week, the fetus is capable of its own spontaneous motion at ten weeks and it responds to external touch or stimulation much earlier. All essential organ formations, except limbs, are present at eight weeks; the human being in the womb is by then an integrated human organism. All that comes later is growth of these essential features of the human being within the womb, not the development of something new.

Tissue, anyone?

Notably, there is a readable electrical activity of the fetal brain at eight weeks. "Thus, at an early prenatal stage of life," writes Dr. Hannibal Hamlin, "the EEG [electroencephalogram] reflects *a distinctly individual pattern that soon becomes truly personalized*," in contrast to readings of heartbeat and other tests for life.[5]

We must surely insist upon a reasonable consistency in the criteria of life and death that should regulate disposal of fetuses and of terminal cases in this age when many people want to get rid of both. If the "breath of life" (respiration) is today taken to be the crucial evidence that a woman has a child or that a man and a woman have become parents (i.e. at "birth"), why should breath be more and more minimized among the tests for telling whether that same child grown up and now terminal is still alive? If EEG is to determine the moment of death, it would seem that EEG should be decisive in determining the moment of life's beginning. (We know the unborn child's brain to be active at eight weeks.) If respiration should ever be discounted as an indication that a brain-damaged patient is still alive, why then count the respiration that begins at birth as of crucial importance?

Only tissue—at the first of life for one reason (absence of respiration in the presence of long-established human brain activity) and the same at the last of life for the opposite reason (total absence of brain activity in the presence of continuing respiration)?

Comes the outcry: by human life we mean "personhood" and that develops "as one is loved and responds to love." That only is sacred. Well now, from quickening the mother feels and cherishes the unborn child's self-movements, and the fetus in turn hears the lower tones of its mother's voice and somehow may limitedly respond. Long before birth the fetus sucks its thumb "at will." If the last two words are a sentimental attribution, so are most of our projections of humanity upon the infant after birth. (By valuing him so, he becomes so.) If we wait for proof of personhood, we shall have to wait, well beyond birth, until the child at about one year of age enters upon the power of speech which is the unique glory of mankind. That only then does he, in the continuum of biological development, achieve the sacredness of personhood has, in fact, independent scientific confirmation. At about age one an EEG reading of the child's brain shows the rhythmicity which indicates the full activation of the higher (cortical) capacities of the human brain. Otherwise, the human brain was there and active at eight weeks *in utero*.

This explains, and justifies, the startling title of this article. The word "abortion" is already a prejudgment. It is the woman who is aborted, i.e. her uterus is emptied, her pregnancy terminated ("interrupted" is even more of a euphemism). Thus, the word "abortion" and the expression "interruption of pregnancy" beg the question as to who is the human being and whether there is only one human being "most immediately involved" in a decision to have or to perform this operation. If only the woman is "aborted," of course she is the only one most immediately concerned.

I grant that the word I adopt may err on the other side, because of its association with "homocide," "infanticide," etc. I use the word "feticide," however, rather more descriptively, to indicate that there is another "life" of some sort "immediately involved." As homocide may be justified, so might feticide be justified. This we will never know unless the question is raised, or if it is allowed to be foreclosed by speaking always only of abortion as solely a gynecological operation.

"Birth" is a comparatively unimportant point in the development of the life God calls into being. No one can say otherwise, unless he has first resolved simply arbitrarily to limit his concern to conscious lives: the mother, the family, population problems, etc. "Birth" is mainly a statement about where the child is. However, we cannot even bring up the question of the morality of abortion except by making statements about the child itself, based on an accurate description of who or what it is. In that case, the difference in the child before and after birth assuredly will not sustain the moral gulf proposed between only potentially human tissue and an actual human life. Beyond that, the view that only personhood is sacred—personhood that comes into existence through the *post*natal process of being loved and loving—would plainly justify discretionary infanticide no less than abortion.

By birth, of course, we mean "viability." Every "viable" baby, it is said, will be given protection like any other conscious human life. Here again, "viability" is not a statement about the child, based on an accurate description of who or what it is. It is rather a statement about the present stage of medical progress, about the capacity of medical science to save prematurely born infants ("wanted" or "unwanted"). In the time span between twenty and twenty-eight weeks of gestational life, a baby has a 10 percent chance of survival, 10 percent viability. Since some of the proposed liberalized abortion laws permit abortion up to twenty-four weeks (e.g. the law recently enacted in New York), and since the Maryland law permits abortion up to twenty-six weeks, we already may be practicing infanticide and not feticide while still proclaiming that we mean to protect every "viable" human life, like any other, from destruction.

The proponents of abortion upon request have not yet been heard from on this question. Indeed, the silence of the Methodist statement on this point is golden, in comparison with the draft of a statement that may soon be issued in the name of another denomination. This affirms the right of a woman to decide to abort at any stage in the child's prenatal development (this can "safely" be done—safely, that is, for the woman—by other than instrumental methods).

If we seriously mean to insure an unborn child's title to be protected if in its development it has reached the age that counts as "viability" (according as this line may be drawn in the present and future practice of medicine), we would have to say "the time of viability, *minus* thirty days." In this way alone could we keep from arbitrarily decreeing the death of actually viable babies whose gestational life has been miscalculated (a not uncommon occurrence). Thus, as we have seen, the traditional Jewish teaching was that only after birth does nascent life become certainly human. That in practice required the additional stipulation; birth *plus* thirty days. The laws of mourning, for example, do not apply until the thirtieth day.[6]

These are all moral problems that arise as we move toward feticide/infanticide upon request. Why bring up these details that make the difference between "murder" and "not murder" in proposals that attempt to draw the line at the movable, penetrable

Footnotes at end of article.

borderline called "birth" or "viability"? The reason is simply to direct attention to the question of who or what the fetus is before viability or birth. That is crucial if one wants to discuss the morality of abortion, and not some other question instead.

What morally important difference is there between a child at age "v" (for viability) plus two weeks and a child at age "v" minus two weeks? At age "v" plus one month and at age "v" minus one month? Fetology, a practice of medicine whose patients are all unborn, knows no difference that would warrant less care for the fetus. David M. Rorvik describes in detail operations in which unborn children were partially removed from the uterus, their blood replaced, and catheters inserted for subsequent transfusions before being returned to their "underwater refuge"—there to grow until "viable." [7] One nonviable fetus was removed entirely from the womb for two hours; yet it lived to reach the later point ("v") when we arbitrarily choose to say a child attains the sanctity of a human being! Dr. Sheldon Cherry, fetologist at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, says that fetology "has humanized the fetus." Against this, the call of the Methodist statement is that the fetus be dehumanized!

Albert Rosenfeld, science writer for *Life* magazine, reports that "many readers of *Life* who saw Lennart Nilsson's marvelous photographs of fetuses in their sacs, especially in the later stages of development, wrote in to say that they could never again think of their babies as disposable things." [8] Rosenfeld ponders the question: What will happen to our present feelings about the fetus (our view that feticide is intrinsically different from infanticide) as medical progress makes the human fetus visible from the test tube onward, or in artificial placentas? In the continuum of life from embryo through infancy to childhood, will we all become disposable things? Or will nascent life again, through the fellow feelings awakened in us, be endowed with sanctity?

Good morality, however, ought not to depend on visual aids. Ethical judgments are not constructed out of sentiment or emotions or feelings of identification stimulated by pictures. They are based on the nature of things—not on heighted imagination, however important that may be in strengthening right behavior. Medical science, as we have seen, knows the babies to be present in all essential respects, save breathing, earlier in fetal development than the women who wrote in to *Life* magazine perceived them in the pictures. It is this rational account of fetal development that matters most.

Instead, the call to Methodists is that we begin with a tissue interpretation of nascent life and from this draw our conclusions about the morality of abortion. The call is that we declare sacred only the personhood which springs from the process of socialization after birth.

The latter admits, almost in so many words, discretionary infanticide into Christian ethics and the mind of the church, while the former affords no protection against it.

II

But, it is said, the woman should have the right to determine the use of her reproductive powers. Above, I allowed that perhaps the law should get out of the business of regulating abortion. The reason for this concession is because law-making is not the same as right-making. Even if we should be more concerned with the former than with the latter, in seeking to clarify and proclaim the church's moral message, we still ought not to sweeten our ventures into law-making by calling abortion a medical question only and not primarily a moral dilemma. Evidently the American Medical Association knows that "abortion upon request" has other ends in view than medical ones: it turned aside a proposal that it endorse this view by saying that, if the argument is that a woman has this "constitutional right," then as medical men they had no special competence to speak on that subject.

Nor should we imagine that placing the decision "solely in the hands of the patient and her licensed doctor" is going to lead to the practice of abortion for medical reasons. Nothing now in actual practice (whatever the old laws may say) prevents abortion on sound medical grounds, e.g. to care for the life and health of the mother. Still, upon the premise of "utmost" [9] or "fair to middling" respect for nascent life, the mother's psychological health can become overriding, provided the state of the science and the judgments of men are secure. No moralist would value physical life over mental life. The only question is whether the threat to the latter is knowable no less than threats to the former. The question is whether having a child is as certainly casually connected with the impairment or destruction of psychological integrity as it is (in rare cases) with the destruction of physical integrity.

It is therefore important to know that judgments concerning the "psychological indication" are soundly grounded; that they are not rather frauds upon medical practice and upon our newly enacted laws; that the psychological indication is a good reason in its own right and not only when the physician or psychologist adds in the weight of his particular bourgeoin judgment about a woman's social or economic needs.

These are nonmedical "reasons," and more such reasons are coming. One manifestation of the "tissue" school of thought is going to be that we will have plenty of longitudinal studies showing that a woman suffers no particular harm from having an abortion, but few longitudinal studies demonstrating whether or not she suffers harm from having a baby in admittedly grave predicaments in which the "psychological indication" is said to hold true. In other words, the medical-psychological grounds will not be the reasons for more freedom in the practice of abortion; instead, these will be nonmedical social reasons.

Is it possible to believe that going through PTA again is so much more psychologically unendurable in Baltimore and in Stanford than it is in the rest of the country? Can the suspicion be removed that under the pretext of the psychological indication, there is showing at these centers a greater part of the iceberg of abortion for family limitation or population control or for genetic goals? (Soon to follow will be abortion for the purpose of obtaining fatal "tissue" to use to grow organs for transplant. Drug companies will need no longer go to Japan and pay women to be allowed to experiment on their still living fetuses.) The psychological indications need to be secure if the ethics of the medical profession is not to be brought finally to adopt one or another version of "nethermost" respect for nascent life.

Such, indeed, is the position recommended by the Methodist statement. We ought not to sweeten the use of abortion as a means of solving other problems, social or economic, by calling that by the name of a procedure within standard medical practice. Moreover, there are other means to be preferred. It is a saving feature of the Methodist statement that one of these is mentioned. The call was also for "provision in law and practice for voluntary sterilization as an appropriate means of conception control and family planning." If the Board of Christian Social Concerns had wanted really to pioneer, to be a voice rather than an echo, it could have called for a national program of sterilization instead of abortion! Since 80 to 90 percent of abortions are performed on married women, it is in order to ask: Why pitch upon the "tissue" that is (only) potentially human rather than upon the tissue that is cut in vasectomy upon the male? Is there reason to unfurl the banner of feticide upon request, any reason except that our abortifacient culture is more ready to adopt that proposal?

On July 22, 1969, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported a poll of five thousand British doctors, nearly two thirds of whom wanted the recently enacted abortion law modified or repealed. One of the modifications most often mentioned would provide that the "social ground"—certainly not a medical matter—be assessed by local nonmedical committees or authorities. It is sometimes proposed in the United States that if abortion is in fact a procedure for preventing birth, or is to become a matter of social policy on other nonmedical grounds, then paramedical technicians ought to be trained by the state to carry out these societal decisions.

I do not know whether such a separation of medical from social policy decisions would prove finally desirable. But clearly that would be one way for medicine to guard its ethics and practice from finally being grounded in a nethermost respect for the individual unborn human life. The Methodist statement has chosen rather to dignify a nethermost view of nascent life under the protective covering of the pro-expression, "standard medical practice," no discrimination made between the few medical reasons and the many nonmedical reasons alleged to justify abortion.

I shall not take up the crucial question whether the so-called "fetal indication" can ever be a medical reason for abortion, i.e. if the child is likely to be born seriously defective. That should be profoundly problematic for any Christian ethics; yet the question to be raised about ever deciding that life is not worth living is simply avoided by declaring that life to be in no sense human, in no sense that claims our protection and care. Peripheral to the central question, however, we may ask: Should the medical profession, supported by church statements, proceed to systematically brainwash a woman in this grave crisis in her life by encouraging her, for her own health and welfare, to adopt a nethermost view of the child, by counseling her to "keep in mind all the time that it was only abnormally growing tissue within you"? And: Should doctors place themselves in the position of having systematically to lie to women after an abortion on grounds of "likelihood" that the child may be born seriously defective, by telling them in all cases that the fetus was in fact defective and not one of the large statistical minority who may be quite normal? (I mean to say, justifiably to lie verbally in all these cases—if doctors allow themselves to get in this jam, with the assistance of The United Methodist Church, its boards and agencies!)

III

But, it is said, every child born should be a wanted child. That, to say the least, is an unclear and enigmatic pronouncement. It is unclear whether a child has a right to be wanted, independent of whether he is wanted or not. It is unclear whether human "wants" are the source of his title to be wanted, or only of the fact that he actually is wanted. Is the objective value of the child controlling? Or the subjective wants of those responsible for him? On one reading, being

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Footnotes at end of article.

wanted by us is more important than being a child who claims us. On another, a child simply by being who he is requires wanting and care. In one case, one should "minimize" the children so that more of them shall be wanted. In the other, one should maximize the care so that more of them shall be wanted. Thus, in an age that celebrates sexual irresponsibility we manage to think this unthinkable thought: that unborn babies should be destroyed when they are not wanted in order that the children we have shall all be wanted ones. In order for us to be responsible for all for whom we are responsible, we are resolved to be responsible largely only for wanted children. Thus do we make ourselves *by definition* responsible, i.e. people who want wanted children; for who can deny that every child should be a wanted child?

There is more to come from such slack reasoning. Dr. Charles F. Westoff of Princeton University's Office of Population Research estimates that "unwanted births" account for 35 to 45 percent of population growth in the United States in recent years. If only we could prevent those unwanted births our population growth could be brought under control. But only some of the "unwanted births" were due to "unwanted fertility," which Westoff defines as occurring while contraception was used or was intended to be used, but was inadvertently omitted. That is a clear enough category. The unwanted births, however, included children "unwanted at any time either by the father, mother or by both parents." Westoff estimates that from 1960 through 1965, there were 750,000 "unwanted births," if this means unwanted by both parents, or 1,000,000 if this means unwanted at any time by at least one parent.[10]

This is an acme of confusion between the wanted and the wanters, between the objective claims of a life for whom one is responsible and the subjective wants of those needed by that life, even while worthily thinking of every child's right to be a wanted child. Moreover, if the target in population control can be births unwanted by at least one parent at any time — "v," there is no reasonable argument for not including the target of destruction any children unwanted by one or both parents at times "v" +. If to unwanted fertility can be added the killing of a fetus that at any time has the quality of "unwantedness," then nothing prevents us from correcting the forsakenness and forlornness of many a childhood and solving the population problem as well by including infants who also have the quality of "unwantedness" attributed to them.

Recently 125 people—physicians, social workers, lawyers, and most of them women—filed suit in Federal Court to declare the New York state abortion laws unconstitutional. One of the lawyers is reported to have said that several hundred more plaintiffs might be added: action may even be brought in the name of unborn children who might not want to be brought into the world "unless they could be born to rich parents" and thus enjoy all the benefits of life.[11]

That proposal is worth pondering, because the addition to the case of these unborn plaintiffs would contradict the plea entered in behalf of all the conscious plaintiffs. The latter are contending that the only interested party is the woman (and her physician) seeking an abortion, and that any laws on the subject violate her constitutional rights. Of course, lawyers representing fetuses would in this instance also be claiming a fetal "right" to be aborted rather than to be poorly born. Still, the mere presence of fetuses as plaintiffs in the case would be enough to show that there is always another party besides the woman primarily interested in the matter. On another occasion, the representative of a fetus might plead its right not to be aborted, and a court might have to adjudicate between competing claims! For this reason, I judge that 125 plaintiffs will be deemed enough, and that action will not be brought in behalf of any unborn children. That would admit the principle of contrary action on behalf of the rights of the unborn.

This is an interesting reminder of the fabric of protections of the unborn in our law that must surely fall if abortion upon request becomes the rule. To assert that there is only one party (one patient) in cases of abortion would be to reverse the development of case law in recent decades that in case after case has declared the fetus to be a legal person. A fetus can inherit. He is as much a person susceptible of damage (and of collecting monetary recompense) as his mother is, if together in pregnancy they are both in the path of an onrushing automobile. Recently, oxygen in the blood of Jehovah's Witness mothers has been declared to "belong" to the unborn child. She, if alone, would be allowed to die rather than violate her conscience by forcing her to receive a blood transfusion. But she is not alone. She can no more deny oxygenated blood to the fetus than she can deny a blood transfusion to an infant or minor child; our courts protect both from even the conscientious decisions of adults.

All this will surely be reversed if the woman alone is the interested party, if the fetus is simply tissue having only potential humanity, if the unborn child is in no sense a person. Churchmen should be aware that to be a legal person, to be deserving of the law's protections, does not require proof of personhood in the psychological sense—or in the novel theological sense that reserves to conscious persons all measures of sanctity.

IV

Federal Judge Gerhard A. Gesell, in a recent District of Columbia case, said that "a woman's liberty and right of privacy . . . may well include the right to remove an unwanted child at least during the early stages of pregnancy." He stated that "a sound, informed interest of the state must affirmatively appear before the state infringes unduly on such rights." This decision, with the suits now going forward raising the constitutional question, brings the question to the doors of the Supreme Court.

"Nine old men" in Washington are apt to decide this public policy question, bypassing the legislatures and without much reasonable and unemotional debate within our normal political processes for deciding such questions of law. Jubilant will be many office-bearers in the churches, who would like to determine the Christian position without first invoking a churchwide, openminded, value-traditioning discussion of the moral issue. How much better it would have been if the Board of Christian Social Concerns had (with no conclusion prejudged) asked the General Conference to mandate a churchwide study of the question of the morality of abortion, in Christian and not legal terms, in which Christian doctors and nurses would take a lead, but not only they. That would take a lot of faith in the Holy Spirit, the spirit of Christ, whose sphere of operation is the church at large and not either theologians or boards. This is worth mentioning, since once the public policy decision is taken in our society, altogether too many Christian leaders will suppose that this settles the moral issue.

The state, of course, cannot have any affirmative interest in limiting abortions because it needs future soldiers or citizens. If anything, the state today has apparent sound and informed interest in limiting births. Still, even the state has an interest in the morality of how this is to be done. It has an interest in directing the legal order so that the value of human life will not be further eroded. It has an interest in ensuring that feticide/infanticide does not become the common practice. It has an interest in rules of law and medical practice that will oppose the dictum of one extreme feminist, who said: "Any reason a woman gives for an abortion that is sufficient reason for her should be sufficient for law." Doctors and women generally have an interest in preventing this from becoming the prevailing legal and ethical assumption.

The church also has an interest in preserving in our ethos prohibitions against the utter abandonment of the worth of nascent life, as long as we are at all Constantinian and presume to offer the state any advice. If feticide/infanticide should prevail, then the church has an interest in becoming a sect in this particular regard, in order to preserve in the world some remnant witness to the fact that God's hand covered us in the womb and called us when we were only specks (a weak and negligible and nameless people like Israel in Egypt).

The Roman Catholic lawyer, Dean of the Boston College Law School, Robert Drinan, S.J., has argued for abortion upon request in many addresses he has given across this country in recent years. He does not believe that the law should specify sets of circumstances (e.g. likelihood of being born defective) in which unborn life may be killed. He does not want this done because he knows the law is pedagogical: what is said to be legal will come to be believed to be right. For the first time in Anglo-American law, Drinan argues, the liberalized abortion laws would designate situations in which it is permissible for life to be taken by private individuals (the so-called "primary" patient and her doctor). Rather than have this done, he prefers to take the state and its criminal statutes altogether out of the business of prohibiting or regulating (or allowing) abortion. Then the law would teach no one that abortion for these generally nonmedical reasons may possibly be right.

The answer to Drinan, of course, and to other proponents of abortion upon request, is that this would mean, for the first time in Anglo-American law, that the entire decision when human life shall be killed, and who to kill, who to save, would be placed entirely in the hands of private individuals. Whether a defective child that can never know it is human or a Downs that would lead a comparatively happy existence; whether a child following rape (where a preventive D and C is the preferred and a standard remedy) or one of the 17,000,000 abortions estimated to be needed in the next forty years to eliminate both the carriers and those afflicted with cystic fibrosis once "interuterine screening" of that recessive genetic disease is perfected; whether to achieve zero population growth or as a partial solution of the economic problems of a poverty family or to eliminate a male or a female fetus the parents happen not to "want"—all these life and death decisions will be given into the hands of private individuals for the first time in our legal and moral history.

Perhaps we've come to that. Then the sole interest of the church in such a society would be to discover how still to live and witness to the sanctity of each individual human life, especially the weakest and most vulnerable.

A year or so ago, the present writer would have said that the proposed "liberalized" abortion laws and, even more, the availability of abortion upon request would bring upon women (wed and unwed) often unbearable pressure from husbands or boyfriends to abort children to whom otherwise they would be inclined to give birth and care,

Footnotes at end of article.

in the face of inconvenience or even embarrassment and graver difficulty. I still would say this, and believe it to be a prediction that is beyond dispute. The victimization of women is evident on any college campus today, all in the name of female emancipation. And getting the girls to abort to get rid of unborn fetuses has, on some campuses, become practically a part of the "campus fund drive."

Such a movement toward patriarchalism—the ascendency of male wishes—is, however, only a moment in a larger movement in the tendencies of our age. The overarching movement is toward a matriarchal society. The ebb and flow of male and female influence in their interrelation through history is not of much consequence. More signally important is the absolute sway of either over the child.

Roman civilization, before Christianity began to exert a saving and a shaping influence, was patriarchal. The father of the family had a power of life or death over infants; according to his wishes babies were aborted or exposed to die. This was believed to be a proper part of the *patria potestas*, the authority of a father.

The society of the future is likely to be matriarchal in many respects. The mother of the family is going to have the power to decree feticide/infanticide. This will be believed to be a proper part of the *matria potestas*, the authority of the mother.

Between ancient patriarchalism and the coming matriarchalism, historians will record that there was a Chsistian existence. That there was a time when mankind made the audacious experiment of surrounding with utmost protection those lives, infants unborn and born, who are not yet "capable of independent existence" as a sign of the mercy of God and the mercy of others by which all men live.

It is, of course, an obligation of citizenship to engage in law-making to decide whether feticide upon request shall become a fundamental ingredient in our civilization. Christians, too, must decide as to this. We must decide this question more by what we do than what we legislate, more by what we teach as churchmen than what we say as citizens. As churchmen, our first responsibility is to decide as to the morality of the matter, and so to inform the ethos that comes to expression in law, and also to be prepared to break with at least some civilizations that may come to prevail. If churchmen as such, churches and their boards and agencies, are to engage in exercises in law-making, we can readily think of a better part to play than to echo the demand for *matria potestas* over nascent life. Granting that this is coming to be, we could call attention to the fact that after abolishing all laws regulating abortion there should still be laws providing for "conscientious objection" on the part of physicians, nurses, and other hospital staff members who may as Catholic or Protestant Christians (or other people) believe that a fetus is a life. Such persons ought not to be required by "standard medical practice," or at pain of being discharged, to violate their consciences.

Once abortion is placed solely in the hands of the patient and her licensed doctor, once it is simply regulated like any other procedure of standard medical practice, doctors can successfully be sued for medical malpractice if they refuse an abortion. A doctor is legally guilty of malpractice if he does not extend medical care and skill up to the standard that is customary among physicians in the community of which he is a part. In such suits heretofore, the doctor's protection has been our present laws, plus the fact that because of the pedagogy of these laws abortion is not yet "standard medical practice" in all the many cases in which the operation will be demanded in the future. If churches and their boards are to venture into law-making, they might at least call attention to the need to protect the integrity of medical judgments as well as the integrity of personal consciences.[12]

Absent this, and in the light of what the statement of the Board of Christian Social Concerns positively says, one can only conclude that unqualified endorsement is placed behind the abortifacient social policies that are coming to ascendency in our day.

This is glaringly evident in the call to The United Methodist Church, its boards and agencies, and our common society to: "assist the states in making provision in law and practice for treating as an adult a minor who . . . thinks she is pregnant, thereby eliminating the necessity for involving parents or guardians prior to care and treatment."

That is one way to do away with the "family church."

First you do away with the family! And with the need for appropriate parental concern!

Is this "bypass" tc be taken as evidence that the Board of Christian Social Concerns does not really believe that an overwhelming majority of their fellow churchmen are going to accept the proposition that a fetus is only tissue having potentiality of becoming human? If so, the proposal to set a gulf between daughters and parents also suggests that the Board was not speaking for the church, or even to the church in distinctly Christian terms. It was rather addressing the world—the culture generally—with a conclusion has already reached.

FOOTNOTES

[1] (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. viii.

[2] *Come, Let Us Play God* (New York: Harper, 1969), p. 6.

[3] *Abortion: An Ethical Discussion* (Church Information Office, 1965). The writings of one who is only an abortion of a theologian may perhaps be mentioned also: Paul Ramsey, "The Morality of Abortion," in Daniel H. Labby, ed. *Life or Death: Ethics and Options* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 60–93; and my chapter in John T. Noonan, Jr., ed., *The Morality of Abortion: Legal and Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[4] David M. Feldman, *Birth Control in Jewish Law* (New York: New York University Press, 1968), pp. 623–6.

[5] *Journal of the American Medical Association*, October 12, 1964, p. 113 (italics added). "Becomes truly *individualized*" might better express Hamlin's meaning, if we reserve the word "person" for the outcome of the *post-natal* process of socialization (being loved and responding to love).

[6] Felman, *Birth Control in Jewish Law*, p. 275.

[7] "The Brave New World of the Unborn," *Look*, Nov. 4, 1969.

[8] Rosenfeld, *The Second Genesis: The Coming Control of Life* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968, pp. 125–26.

[9] This word was used in the revision of the Hippocratic Oath adopted by the Third General Assembly of the World Medical Association at Geneva, Switzerland in 1948: "I will maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception."

[10] New York Times, Oct. 29, 1969.

[11] New York Times.

[12] The 1970 Maryland law provides that "no person shall be required to perform or participate in medical procedures which result in the termination of pregnancy . . . [or be liable] for any disciplinary or any other recriminatory action against him." Whether such a protective provision is a part of the New York law could not be learned from reading every word of the accounts of the debate over this issue in *The New York Times*. It is fair to ask whether the aim of churchmen in their interventions is to encompass as many abortions as possible or to instruct and protect the consciences of people who may still be listening.

UNITED STATES CANNOT GUARANTEE FAIR ELECTIONS IN VIETNAM, SAYS PROFESSOR MARR

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, it is doubtful that the United States could guarantee the fairness of the elections this fall in South Vietnam, according to David G. Marr, assistant professor of Vietnamese studies at Cornell University.

One of the candidates for president in South Vietnam, Gen. Duong Van Minh, has asked the United States to insure the fairness and honesty of the election October 3. Professor Marr's analysis of this request should be of interest to Members of Congress and is set out in the RECORD at this point:

GENERAL MINH'S PROPOSAL TO AMERICANS

(By David Marr)

As the news media reported in early July, General Duong Van Minh is asking for U.S. pressure on the Thiu regime to "assure fair elections" for the South Vietnamese presidency this coming October. At first sight, many Americans will see this as a legitimate request, given our democratic ideas, given our actual involvement for a long time already in the political affairs of Viet-Nam, and especially given General Minh's accurate portrayal of just how badly the 1967 elections were rigged—with U.S. knowledge and consent.

Indeed, even some Americans who favor setting a date for our total withdrawal from Indochina will react favorably to General Minh's idea, perhaps because they think that as president General Minh could help us extricate ourselves more gracefully from that area. A few will hope too that by somehow "guaranteeing" these elections we can wipe the sordid past clean and do a single, last, beneficial thing for the Vietnamese people.

It won't work. It makes sense in the American political environment, but it bears little or no relationship to political realities inside Viet-Nam. Most importantly, we must ask *why* General Minh has to make these pleas to an American constituency? After all, it is Vietnamese, not Americans, who are going to be doing the voting or non-voting in October.

For a variety of reasons, not all of their own making, the "Third Force" in South Viet-Nam has failed over the years to develop a viable, independent political base between the NLF on the left, and the established Saigon regime on the right. Thus, as it stands today, the NLF remains the only major political organization that can compete and succeed in South Viet-Nam without some form and degree of U.S. support. This has induced Vietnamese, as General Minh himself admits, to choose repeatedly between association with the NLF on the one hand, and dependence on the Americans on the other.

This is why General Minh is following the path of his predecessors, Ngo Dinh Diem, Nguyen Khanh, Nguyen Cao Ky, and Nguyen Van Thieu by asking for help from the U.S. He wants the U.S. to remove its support from those sitting in power in Saigon. And he wants this done prior to the elections, thus putting the province and district chiefs, the regimental and battalion commanders, the local security personnel, etc. into such quandry that many or most will transfer their personal allegiance to him. They will then proceed to "get out the vote"

for Big Minh in the same fashion that was planned for President Thieu, using techniques that make Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall look like rank amateurs. If General Minh wins, he has already said that he will oppose a coalition government with the NLF, hardly surprising given the essential similarity of his political base with that of President Thieu.

In short, the October elections in South Viet-Nam are not likely to solve anything, with or without U.S. support to one candidate or another. There is no reason to think that one last adventurous fling in Vietnamese domestic politics will produce anyone better than our previous "friends": Diem, Khanh, Ky, and Thieu.

On the other hand, if we immediately set a firm date for total withdrawal of U.S. forces, then no Vietnamese presidential candidate can claim that the U.S. is either supporting him or rejecting him. Each will be on his own, for the first time in his entire lifetime. And America will have assimilated its most important lesson from Viet-Nam: dabbling constantly in the internal political affairs of another country usually ends up making things worse rather than better.

[From the Washington Daily News, July 15, 1971]

WANTS U.S. TO INTERVENE: MINH SAYS VOTE RIGGED

(By Don Tate)

SAIGON.—The top challenger for South Vietnam's presidency, up till now a reluctant dragon, fired a pre-election broadside at President Nguyen Van Thieu today, charging that "widespread election rigging is already happening."

Retired Gen. Duong Van "Big" Minh said it is going on under the noses of the Americans and that he is "waiting to see the American attitude" before he commits himself to the race.

"I have to run . . . for the sake of the people," he said. "But what gambler sits down at a table knowing he is going to lose?"

Gen. Minh stressed in an interview that the fairness and honesty of the Oct. 3 election largely depended on the firmness of the Americans.

THIEU—BY DEFAULT

He contended a hands-off U.S. policy was tantamount to handing the election to Mr. Thieu by default. Said Gen. Minh:

"If Ambassador (Ellsworth) Bunker gives a knife to President Thieu and Thieu uses the knife to kill someone, is Ambassador Bunker responsible or not? Bunker should take away the knife."

The knife in this case would be the vast machinery the United States has placed at Mr. Thieu's disposal to win the war. Gen. Minh fears the whole military and administrative apparatus—from helicopters to propaganda teams—is being cranked up to re-elect Mr. Thieu.

Already, he charged, Thieu-appointed province chiefs are passing down orders for provincial councils to sign petitions only for President Thieu. Some officials are being directed to sign blank forms for Mr. Thieu (the message to be written in later) "otherwise their security cannot be guaranteed," Gen. Minh said.

Asked why he was helping Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky muster enough signatures of provincial councilors to qualify as a candidate for the presidency, he replied:

"Because it is ridiculous that a vice president cannot run for president in a supposedly democratic country."

How deep does his alliance with Mr. Ky run? He smiled and replied that "the oppressed tend to get together."

PRESIDENT NIXON: "SENIOR POWER" ADVOCATE

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon again demonstrated his concern for the 20 million senior citizens of this Nation in a speech to a joint conference of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons meeting in Chicago last month. I would like to share those remarks with my colleagues. As you will note from the President's speech, he realizes and appreciates the necessity for a completely new approach to aging and the need for bringing back our older population into the mainstream of American life.

The remarks of the President follow:

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT NIXON

There is an old story about a man who went to his doctor one day and asked what he should do so he would live to be 100. The doctor's response was that the man should give up everything and he should do absolutely nothing that would cause him to exert himself.

Then the man asked, "Then you can promise me I will live to be 100?"

"No," said the doctor, "but it sure will seem like it."

Well, you know, the doctor had a point. For nothing ages a person faster than the feeling that he is unneeded, unwanted, and he is unproductive. Senator Percy and I both remember a grand old man in the Senate, Senator Green of Rhode Island. He served in the Senate until he was over 90. He used to put it this way: "Most people," he said, "say that as you get old you have to give up things." He said, "I think you get old because you give up things."

I think most of you, and most Americans, would agree with that. What I would like to talk about today, however, is the frequent failure of our society to put this wisdom into practice, for we have not, in fact, been doing a very good job of involving older people in the life of our American society.

This is a great tragedy. It means that old age, which should be a time of pride and fulfillment—looking back and looking forward—is too often a time of isolation and withdrawal. Rather than being a time of dignity, it is often a time of disappointment, and the growing separation of older Americans also means that we are not taking full advantage of a tremendous reservoir of skill and wisdom and moral strength that our Nation desperately needs at this moment in its history.

There is one thing I know about the older generation in America. They believe in this country. They have faith in this country. They have the moral strength and character that we need, that all Americans need.

Now, all of you know we are engaged in a great venture in America, and that is to bridge the gaps which have developed between geographic parts of this Nation, to bring the North and South and East and West together; between the economic classes, to bring the workers and management and others together; to bridge the gap between racial groups and religious groups, and lately we have done a great deal of soul-searching about the place of the younger generation in our national life.

But while the generation gap between the young and their parents has captured our attention in the recent years, as it should, the generation gap between the older Americans and the rest of our people has often just been ignored. It has been slighted.

The time has come for a new attitude toward old age in America. The time has come to close the gap between our older citizens and those who are not old. The way to do this, I believe, is to stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America.

Even while science has made it possible for people to live longer, the trend toward earlier retirement, the growing mobility of society, the loosening of family ties mean that large numbers of senior citizens now have neither families nor jobs to give a focus and a foundation to their daily existence. That is why I say that the generation over 65 is a very special group which faces very special problems—it deserves very special attention. That is why we have been moving to insure that our older citizens get that special attention they deserve.

Let me talk about that special attention for a moment, if I can.

First, we are making determined efforts to improve the financial position of our older citizens. Despite the fact that overall American expenditures on the aging has just about doubled in the last five years, despite the fact that Social Security has gone up 25 percent in the last two years alone—and it will probably go up another five percent—old age is still a time of great social insecurity for too many of our citizens. One out of every four older Americans lives at or below what is called the "poverty line" in America.

To begin to deal with this problem, we have proposed that the Federal Government place a floor under the income of every senior citizen in America. We have proposed that Social Security benefits for widows be raised. We have called for a system—and this, it seems, is extremely important; I campaigned on it in 1968; I support it now; I believe it is time that we do it: We find that in Social Security we are always catching up with the increase in the cost of living, and that is too late. That is why I say that we need an automatic cost-of-living increase in Social Security to make certain that monthly payments will keep up with inflation, keep up with those which it hits so hard—older citizens.

The fact that many older people may not be active members of the labor force does not mean that they should be denied a fair share of our growing productivity.

I would like to talk about another initiative which probably at first glance doesn't seem to have much to do with the problems of older people—revenue sharing. This is an issue that Senator Percy is supporting very, very strongly. It is supported on a bipartisan basis by a majority of the members of the Senate and a majority of the members of the House. I believe it is going to pass.

Let me tell you why I believe it has a direct relationship to the budgets of senior citizens and retired people in this country. Only through revenue sharing, where the Federal Government shares its revenues with the States, are we going to stop the rise in local property taxes in this country, which is eating into the budget of every retired person who owns his own home.

I found in a meeting in Washington—you will remember, Mrs. Pearce and Mr. Faassen—at that meeting I asked about the various problems older citizens had. One thing they were unanimous on was that property taxes, going up and up and up, was a tremendous problem for every budget of older citizens, because they have no increase in their in-

come, and they find those property taxes going up.

It is significant to note that of people over 65, over 70 percent own their own homes or their own apartments. So you have a stake in seeing to it that those property taxes don't continue to go up.

I had a letter from a woman in Long Island, not yet retired. She, however, had the problem, and she pointed it out very interestingly. She said she bought her house five years ago. At that time the monthly mortgage payments were $100 a month, which was more than she could afford, but it was $100 a month. She said in the past five years the mortgage payments have gone up to $150 a month because of the rise in property taxes. She said there is a new provision, a proposal being considered by the voters of the county in which she lives, which will increase them again. She said, "If they go up again, I am going to have to sell my house, because I can't afford to live in it any longer."

We have to stop the rise of property taxes in this country, and revenue sharing in the best way we can do it. That is why we ask your support of that proposal.

Now, I come to something that I think is particularly close to the hearts of this organization, because all of those who represent this organization have spoken to this problem when we have met in the White House, and I want to speak to it now, to you and all of the older people in America.

We have to stop discriminating in this country against older people who want to work. The time has come to raise the ceiling on how much a person can earn while receiving Social Security. The time has come to increase the amount of Social Security he can keep when his earnings exceed that ceiling.

You know what the problem is today. If you receive Social Security and if you are able to and want to work, the amount that you can earn is limited, or it cuts into your Social Security. When people are able to work, when people want to work, there is no excuse for government programs which give them a strong incentive not to work. That is why I believe we need to move in this field.

Discrimination that is based on age—what some people call age-ism—can be as wrong as discrimination based on race or religion or any other irrelevant test. For in all of these cases the individual is judged on some arbitrary category rather than his value as a unique human being.

Old age should not be a time of endings, but a time of new beginnings—not a time for stopping, but a time for new starts.

For many, of course, retirement comes as a long awaited reward at the end of a full career. I am sure many of you read with great interest the press conference that that great lady of the American stage, Helen Hayes, had when she retired after 65 years of acting. She was happy, she said, that she would not have to face the pressures of a live performance again. But then, I noticed at the conclusion of her interview that she said. Listen to this: "Yes, other pressures will come along," she acknowledged. "That's life, isn't it? And I'm not about to retire from living."

So, that is the key to the matter. What we must build in this country—among all of our people—is a new attitude toward old age; an attitude which insists that there can be no retirement from living, no retirement from responsibility, and no retirement from citizenship.

There are countless ways in which the experience and the energy of retired persons can continue to be tapped. I received a letter the other day from an 80-year-old man who knew me as a small boy when he delivered milk to my father's grocery store. He lives in Southern California still. He has gone to work in a hospital as a Foster Grandfather. This is what he wrote: "This has been a tremendous experience for me, not only in being able to supplement my Social Security, but in the thrill of helping mentally retarded children." He cares. He brings to that position something that money wouldn't buy: commitment and caring.

Where older people are willing to do that, where they want to do that, we have to give them a chance. The country needs them. His testimony is echoed by thousands of other older Americans, older people who find that their work in hospitals and schools, in churches and parks and penal institutions not only makes a tremendous contribution to the lives of others, but also gives a new pride and purpose to their own existence. You know what your own slogan is, "to serve and not be served." It expresses that same principle.

I am happy to say that Federal efforts to promote such activities are expanding. This week marks the inauguration of the first 10 projects in the Retired Senior Volunteer Program, known as RSVP. If the Congress approves my budget, this program will be greatly expanded next year.

The RSVP and Foster Grandparents Programs have been recently transferred to the new ACTION agency. I have noted that some have been fearful that this program will be de-emphasized as a result of that transfer. I assure you that just the opposite is going to take place. We are going to put more emphasis on those particular programs.

Now, these are some of the things we are doing. Other steps are going to follow. In this connection, I am particularly looking forward to the White House Conference on Aging later this year. You have heard from Mr. Martin and others who will be working on that conference. This conference promises to provide the most valuable of all resources for policy making: new and fresh ideas. We want your ideas, the ideas of this organization. That is why I met with the leaders of your organization in preliminary sessions. But we want you in this convention and in other conventions to give us the ideas so that those who meet in the White House will represent the whole country, not just their own views.

All who take part in this conference and in the State conferences which, as you know, are going to go forward beforehand can be sure that we will welcome recommendations. We are going to give them our closest consideration.

Now, I would like to speak with regard to that conference on one issue that I have directed be given special attention, perhaps more attention than any other, if one issue has to have priority. I refer to the need to reform the regulations with regard to nursing homes in this country.

Let's look at the figures. 900,000 at the present time, people over 65, live in nursing homes. Some of them are very fine homes. I saw one yesterday just by accident. I was driving back from my mother's home in Southern Indiana to Indianapolis. As we went along, I saw some older people on the side of the road waving. So, I stopped the car and right back to where they were waving was a Presbyterian Home for the Aging.

I said, "How do you like it?" They said, "It is a wonderful place." I could see why, because of the Presbyterian minister who was in charge, a young man who obviously loved the people he was working with, was there. Some of the nurses and others were there. You could see they were all proud of being there. A new building was being built and I could see that this was one of the nursing homes where people who went to them could be sure they would get the proper care, not only in terms of food, but in terms of having people who were really concerned about them.

However, if there is any single institution in this country that symbolizes the tragic isolation and shameful neglect of older Americans, it is not that kind of a home, but it is the substandard nursing home, and there are some. Some are unsanitary. Some are ill-equipped. Some are overcrowded. Some are understaffed.

I am going to be quite blunt. Many of our nursing homes in this country, as I have indicated, are outstanding, like that Presbyterian Home I saw, and like others I have seen in California. My 90-year old aunt, my mother's sister, is still living in one in Riverside, and it is a wonderful home.

But I have been to others that are not. You have been to some. You have seen them. That is why many of these substandard ones are described as little more than warehouses for the unwanted, as dumping grounds for the dying. I have even heard of doctors who refuse to visit some nursing homes because they get too depressed.

So often it seems that nursing homes seem to keep older people out of sight and out of mind so that no one will notice their degradation and despair. Just think, if a doctor gets depressed visiting the home, how depressing it must be for the people who are in it.

I think we should take notice of this problem. I am confident that our Federal, State, and local governments, working together with the private sector, can do much to transform the nursing home—for those who need it, and of course, there are those who do no need it or want it—transform it into an inspiring symbol of comfort and hope.

I have asked the White House Conference to give particular attention to it. One thing you can be sure, I do not believe that Medicare and Medicaid funds should go to substandard nursing homes in this country and subsidize them.

The ancient Greeks said that we could count no man's life happy until the end of it. For if any man is to live a good life in the most complete sense, then his later years must also be years of fulfillment. As we pursue this goal and break away the barriers to full participation for those who are old today, we will also break them away for those who will be old tomorrow.

Our Nation has a high obligation to a generation which has given so much to its service. I think of so many in this audience who have given. I mentioned this wonderful teacher, 42 years of teaching. You can think of, frankly, some of the students she probably had to teach. They were probably as difficult as I was, and I was not very good at music.

I think, for example, of the mother of George Romney, who is here, and what she has contributed in raising a son who is now a member of the President's Cabinet, and has been Governor of the State.

I think of what others have contributed, in your various capacities, to this Nation. The Nation's commitment to its older citizens also grows out of a more selfish consideration that is this: We need you. We need your experience. We need your perspective. Above all, we need your sense of values, because you know this can be a strong nation militarily, it is the strongest in the world; it can be a strong nation economically. It is. We are the richest nation in the world. And it can be an empty shell if we forget that those moral and spiritual values, to which your generation is so deeply committed, are also there.

I have always felt rather fortunate, particularly fortunate that my own parents lived long lives. My father lived until he was 75, died in 1956 when I ran for Vice President the second time. My mother lived until she was 82. They shared a lot with me when I was young, growing up in a family of five boys, two of whom died when I was young.

But when we went through those periods,

their strength, of course, built strength in the other boys. But also, they shared a lot with me when I was older. One little incident proves it. In 1962 I ran for Governor of California and lost, after having lost for President in 1960. I then moved to New York. A couple of years later my mother had a very serious operation. She was not expected to live. I flew to California to see her. The doctor in the hospital said, before I went into the room, "The best thing you can do is to cheer her up. Let her know that there is still something worth living for."

So I went in and talked to my mother, and she was under heavy sedation, but she perked up, as she always did when somebody came in to see her. Just as I was ready to leave to go back out to New York, I said, "Now, mother, don't you give up." Her eyes flashed, she sort of leaned up in the bed, and she said, "Don't you give up."

I didn't give up. That is why I am here today. Let me tell you something. It was very tempting to give up—two defeats, making a lot of money as a lawyer in New York, not the problems and vicissitudes of politics. If my mother hadn't said that, I might have given up. She didn't live to see what her advice did.

But that shows what the older generation can do to younger people who have not been through as much who might give up. You can see why we need you, why younger people need you, your advice, your wisdom, your strength, your perspective.

If we allow our society to become fragmented, so that younger Americans are cut off from older Americans, and each member of our society will also become fragmented, with young people cut off from the past and older people from their future.

I spoke last January to an assembly of young people from the University of Nebraska, young people like the people in this band. I called for a new alliance between the generations—between youth on the one hand and adults on the other. But, you know, when I come to think about it, that is not enough. Today I want to go a step further. I call today for a new alliance in this country between Americans who are under 65 and those who are over 65.

The American community will be incomplete without the full participation of every American. For each generation has its unique role to play in the unfolding drama of America.

Let us then put aside the things which would divide us—suspicion, condescension, resentment, and indifference. Let us join together across the Nation and make ourselves an even greater America as we move forward together.

I have met many world leaders in my travels to over 70 countries in the world. I did not agree with all of them, but I learned from all of them, young and old. I remember seeing President de Gaulle of France after he had become President of France. I had been defeated for office. This was in the year 1963. He was talking about his own life, the fact that he had led the Free French, kept up the spirit of France when it was ready to die, after their defeat in World War II, after he was then repudiated by the French people and had gone into retirement and then called back into the service as President of France.

Then, and perhaps he was speaking to me as my mother had spoken to me, he said something about his favorite quotation from Sophocles, the Greek poet. He said, "One must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been." I want all of you in this audience to know that we want the evening of your lives and the evening of all lives of older Americans to be good evenings, fine evenings. We want you in the evening of your lives to be able to look back and say, "How splendid the day was."

AFL–CIO CONFERENCE ON JOBS

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, despite all the rhetoric President Nixon's "economic game plan" has failed to hold back the rising tide of inflation and has not shored up our economy with badly needed jobs. While Congress has kept the lights burning late into the night to give the President effective economic troubleshooting tools this administration has been turning its back on the problem hoping it will somehow go away by itself.

It is hard to know just what this administration is planning when they proclaim their concern about joblessness but veto a bill that would provide 170,000 people with useful, constructive jobs on community projects that will enhance the quality of life and stimulate our national economy.

This administration's persistent mismanagement of the Nation's economy recently brought more than 600 union leaders together in Washington at the AFL–CIO conference on jobs. The Nation read about the conference in the newspapers while it was underway but shortly afterward we were also treated to a brilliant summary and analysis of the conference and of the country's jobs and economic crisis by the AFL–CIO's director of research Nat Goldfinger on the Labor News Conference radio program on July 22, 1971.

Mr. Speaker, for those who may have missed it, I would like to take this opportunity to commend to the attention of my colleagues the transcript of this fine program as broadcast by the Mutual Broadcasting System:

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE

Although unemployment has nearly doubled since President Nixon took office 2½ years ago, the Administration still has "nothing in sight" to create jobs and spur the economy to reverse the worsening trend, organized labor's top economist declared day.

Pointing out that since January, 1969, the nation's jobless rolls have shot up from 2.7 million to more than 5 million, AFL–CIO Research Director Nathaniel Goldfinger said that only a "sharp shift of (Administration) policies" can ease the "breadline unemployment" situation. But, he said, the recent comments of President Nixon's top economic advisors hold out no hope that "the Administration intends to quickly turn this thing around."

Goldfinger said the recent national AFL–CIO Conference on Jobs showed that the heavy impact of imports on American production and jobs "is the most serious problem that the U.S. government has to face up to." He said that "if the current trend is permitted to continue, we could well wind up with a low-wage economy—the kind of low-wage, service-type economy in which the American standard of life is destroyed." Goldfinger appeared on the network radio interview, LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, produced as a public service by the AFL–CIO, and broadcast Tuesday at 9:35 p.m. (EDT), over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

The union economist renewed organized labor's call for federal action to curb and supervise the flow of U.S. capital to foreign companies and subsidiaries of American companies that are producing heavily for U.S. markets and "displacing large proportions of American production and American jobs." He added that "because of the recession and the continuing sluggishness of the economy . . . only about 75% of (U.S.) industrial capacity is being utilized," and urged establishment of quotas to "slow down the very sharp rise of imports."

Turning to continuing inflation, Goldfinger said that "equitable, across-the-board, even-handed" controls on "all forms of prices, costs, income and profits, as well as wages," would be "workable . . . if the Administration had the determination" to make them work.

Reporters questioning him were Tom Joyce, of Newsweek magazine, and Donald Finley, of United Press International. The interview was rebroadcast over WAVA–FM in the Washington, D.C. area.

THE JOB CRISIS

Mutual ANNOUNCER. The following time is presented as a public service by this station and the Mutual Broadcasting System.

HARDEN. Labor News Conference. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Nathaniel Goldfinger, director of the AFL–CIO's Department of Research.

More than 600 union leaders from around the nation gathered in Washington recently for a national Conference on Jobs called by the AFL–CIO. Delegates to the two-day conference explored both the severe economic problems gripping the nation and solutions to those problems with top congressional leaders. Here to question Mr. Goldfinger about the results of the national AFL–CIO Conference on Jobs and the recommendations it made to put America back to work, to create new jobs, and to preserve existing jobs and industries, are Tom Joyce, economic correspondent for Newsweek magazine, and Donald Finley, labor correspondent for United Press International. Your moderator, Frank Harden.

And now, Mr. Joyce, I believe you have the first question?

JOYCE. Mr. Goldfinger, at the Conference on Jobs, AFL–CIO President George Meany referred to unemployment as "breadline unemployment." Is it really that severe? If it is, can you explain how it got that way?

GOLDFINGER. Well, the unemployment situation, as we see it, Mr. Joyce, is severe.

And unfortunately, it's getting worse.

According to the Labor Department's official figures for the April-June quarter of this year, there were 5 million unemployed—that's 6% of the labor force.

That's a sharp increase from January '69, when the Nixon Administration took office. At that time, there were 2.7 million unemployed—or 3.4% of the labor force. So, in the 2½ years since January '69, unemployment has almost doubled.

Another indication of how serious this is and how much more serious it's getting, is that 53 major industrial areas were hit by substantial unemployment in June. That's up from six in January '69. Moreover, in June—according to the Labor Department—there was substantial unemployment in 724 smaller industrial communities throughout the country.

So as we look at it, even according to the official government reports, this is a most serious situation.

JOYCE. Beyond the 5.6% in the last government figure—or the 5 million—how much hidden unemployment is there—people who

have quit looking for jobs, are on short workweeks—things like that?

GOLDFINGER. Well, Mr. Joyce, one of the difficulties with these government reports is that they are statistics.

But behind the government reports are human beings—human beings with family responsibilities and so forth.

When you look at the human aspect of this problem, you find that in addition to the 5 million unemployed—according to the official government statistics—other government statistics point out that a lot of people today are working only part-time, because there are no full-time jobs for them—they are forced to work part-time.

That means their incomes are cut, despite their desire for full-time work.

In addition to all of that, there is clear indication that there are several hundred thousand people—perhaps well over that—an unknown number of people—who aren't counted at all—who are out of the labor force—a kind of statistical pariahs—they don't exist in the government statistics. Yet they are out of work, but they are not out looking for jobs, because they are discouraged—and there are no jobs for them, in their occupations, within their own communities.

So the overall unemployment situation, in terms of human impact, is much more severe than the government statistics indicate.

FINLEY. Mr. Goldfinger, what do you feel the unemployment rate will get up to during the remainder of President Nixon's term—and also, if he is elected to another term—unless there are some basic changes in his policies?

GOLDFINGER. Well, Mr. Finley, on the basis of current trends, it clearly looks like the unemployment rate is creeping up and will go toward 6.5% in the next several months.

Beyond that, you'd need a crystal ball, or you'd have to be a prophet, to get involved in those predictions. But, there is nothing in sight to indicate any substantial reduction in the unemployment rate within the next 12 months, on the basis of the Administration's policies.

Now, of course, if the Administration makes a sharp shift in its policies and adopts measures to create jobs—to increase economic activity—to step up job-creating public investment, such as public works and so forth—then, of course, we could get improvement in the situation.

But, nothing like that is in sight.

The Administration has vetoed the Accelerated Public Works bill—they have turned down all kinds of suggestions for increased public investment to create jobs. So, on the basis of current trends and the way things look now, unfortunately, for the next few months, the unemployment rate is heading up.

FINLEY. Just what is organized labor's answer on how to create all the new jobs that are needed to give employment for the people who are now unemployed, as well as those who are going to be entering the labor force in coming months?

GOLDFINGER. Well, Mr. Finley, no single measure is going to work, because the job of turning the economy around to anything that approaches full employment, at this point, is really a great one—the task is very substantial.

The labor force is increasing about 1.5 million per year—that's the normal growth of the labor force. In addition, GI's are returning from Vietnam. And on top of that, as I mentioned before, there are at least several hundred thousand people who are not now counted in the labor force, but may well come back into the labor force, if jobs are available.

So, in order to make even a small dent in the current level of unemployment—that is, to reduce unemployment and provide jobs for the growth in the labor force and for the returning GI's—it would be necessary to creat about 2.5 to 3 million new jobs within the next 12 months. That's more new jobs—more increased employment—than developed in any single year in the decade of 1960's.

Now, in order to create that large number of new jobs we need considerable step-up of government investment in public facilities, public works, needed public services. We also need the kind of lift to the economy and life to consumer buying power that the new jobs would create—to turn this thing around, so that the private economy will respond, as well.

But, there is nothing in sight, as I said before—on the basis of the Administration's own comments within the past several weeks—comments of both Treasury Secretary Connally and the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Dr. Paul McCracken—there is nothing in sight, on the basis of their comments, that indicates the Administration intends to quickly turn this thing around.

JOYCE. Mr. Goldfinger, when we talk about the need for new jobs, we must also consider—I would assume, anyway—the changing composition of the work force.

We seem to be getting into more service jobs and into more so-called "knowledge jobs," with less emphasis on blue-collar and traditional kinds of employment. What does the AFL–CIO think of this changing pattern? What can be done to provide these kinds of jobs?

GOLDFINGER. Well, once again, it is our view that the increase in public investment that we believe is sorely needed—both in terms of needed public facilities and public services that the American people need, and the jobs that would be created, in terms of both of these needs—we think that what's required is a sharp step-up of public investment—in education, in health care, recreational facilities, pollution controls, and so forth.

Now, those kinds of activities would utilize considerable numbers of skilled, and technical and professional employees.

Furthermore, we have proposed, on numerous occasions in recent months—in connection with the reduction defense expenditures—that the government place increased emphasis on research and development in such needed activities as mass transit. There is a real need for development of new techniques of mass transit, and so forth. That would also require sizeable numbers of professional, engineering, scientific and technical employees.

Now, we think that the work is there to be done. We are convinced of that. There is plenty of work to be done in this country.

The issue is, how to get these things going.

We think the crucial place is Washington, D.C.—the crucial place is the government. But, the government has not been moving in these areas.

JOYCE. Mr. Goldfinger, the Administration has talked repeatedly about improving manpower training programs. In your view, has it improved these programs? Do we have an adequate manpower training system?

GOLDFINGER. Well, we have had a proliferation of various programs in the past 10 years, Mr. Joyce, but, I don't think we have a national manpower training policy, as yet.

We have various programs—scattered all over the map—scattered from one government agency to another.

Some are good. Some aren't so good.

But, there is no coordinated or comprehensive national manpower policy. At this late date, we certainly need one.

FINLEY. Mr. Goldfinger, much of the discussion at the AFL–CIO Conference on Jobs dealt with the problem of imports, and American firms building plants overseas. Hopefully, the present business slump in this country is temporary. But, the loss of American jobs, because of imports and U.S. plants overseas, appears to be more permanent. Isn't this the more serious problem on a long range basis?

GOLDFINGER. Well, in the long run, Mr. Finley, this could well be the serious problem over the next decade.

That was one of the issues that we hoped to call to the attention of the American people and to the attention of the Government.

Mr. Meany, in his opening remarks to the Jobs Conference, pointed out that imported autos are now 20% of the United States market—TV receivers, 30%—glassware, over 40% and sewing and calculating machines, nearly 60%.

Furthermore, as the AFL–CIO has pointed out to the public and to congressional committees on numerous occasions, nearly all radios now sold in the U.S. are imported. Similarly, large portions of U.S. sales of steel, tires, shirts, work clothes, shoes, knit goods, and so on, are imports.

We've been inundated, in the past five to 10 years, by a floodtide of imports which is absorbing large portions of our domestic markets, and displacing large portions of U.S. production, and displacing American jobs.

We think that this is the most serious problem that the U.S. government has to face up to.

FINLEY. Mr. Meany recently accused the Administration of trying to impose a low-wage economy on the United States. Do you foresee eventual leveling of wages between American workers and those in places such as Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Europe—where we do most of our trading?

GOLDFINGER. I don't see that kind of leveling in anything like the near future, Mr. Finley.

But, there is the danger that Mr. Meany pointed to—that if the current trend is permitted to continue, we could well wind up with a low-wage economy—the kind of low-wage, service-type economy in which the American standard of life is destroyed. That is what the AFL–CIO is concerned about, and why we have been calling this issue to the attention of the Congress, the Administration, and the public.

We have been asking for action—for the government to curb and supervise the flow of American capital and American technology to foreign companies, to foreign subsidiaries of American companies. And also, urging establishment of some kind of quota arrangements on imports that would slow down the very sharp rise of imports of goods into the U.S.—imports that are displacing large proportions of American production and American jobs.

JOYCE. Mr. Goldfinger, if we are going to achieve the "American dream," we are going to have to have a vastly growing economy. That means capital formation. Do you see an effect on U.S. capital formation by overseas investment?

GOLDFINGER. Well, in connection with your question on business investment and capital formation, the immediate problem is that only about 75 percent of industrial capacity in the United States is being utilized, because of the recession and the continuing sluggishness of the economy.

On top of that—in the past decade in particular—American companies have been investing vast amounts of money—billions and billions of dollars—in plants, and warehouses and other facilities overseas. One Harvard professor pointed out recently that 8,000 subsidiaries of American companies were established in foreign countries over the last 25 years, and most of those 8,000 subsidiaries are engaged in manufacturing.

Now, that means that a good deal of what could have been capital formation and business investment in new plants and machines here in the United States has gone overseas—to foreign countries. This is American money, American technology, and American know-how.

JOYCE. Mr. Goldfinger, next to jobs, the most troubling aspect of our economy seems to be inflation. On the one hand, the Administration and one school of economists blames labor for this, because of recent large settlements. On the other hand, other economists, like Paul Samuelson, say that this is not so—that other factors are responsible. How do you view the origins of inflation?

GOLDFINGER. Well, the origins of the inflation that we see now go back to the early 60's—they are rooted in a profit inflation during that period and in a capital goods boom that wasn't sustainable.

It built up a lot of idle productive capacity that is still troubling the American economy at this point.

On top of all of that, there were accelerated expenditures in connection with the Vietnam war from the end of '65 and into the middle or end of '68—a period of years. Then, we got a credit-squeeze and credit-inflation, with soaring interest rates.

However, I think that in order to solve this problem, we certainly need some strong measures.

One is low interest rates. High interest rates are a cost. They create price-pressures throughout the economy.

We also need, very badly, a rapid expansion of the economy not only to create jobs for the unemployed and for the growing labor force, but also to provide improved productive efficiency and increased productivity. That in turn would mean reduced pressures on unit costs, and therefore, reduced pressures on prices.

Those kinds of measures, I think, are absolutely essential to get the economy moving again and also to reduce the inflationary pressures.

JOYCE. Mr. Meany suggests that we might have to go to wage and price controls. Do you think this is a possible solution?

GOLDFINGER. Well, Mr. Joyce, the AFL–CIO has repeatedly stated—ever since February '66—that if the President determines a necessity for overall economic stabilization measures, the AFL–CIO would cooperate with mandatory government controls—provided that they are equitable—across-the-board and even-handed—on all forms of prices, costs, incomes, and profits, as well as the wages and salaries of workers.

FINLEY. Mr. Goldfinger, can you really expect wage and price controls to work, and work equitably? Wouldn't there be widespread violations—loopholes? Wouldn't the administration of wage and price controls be very difficult?

GOLDFINGER. It wouldn't be easy but, I don't think it would be so difficult as to be insurmountable.

I think that it could work—it could be done—if the Administration had the determination to make it work.

We don't have shortages. We don't need rationing. We don't need the kind of things we had during World War II.

Yes, I think that such controls are workable, at this point.

FINLEY. Short of wage and price controls, do you have any other solutions for inflation in your hip pocket?

GOLDFINGER. Well, I suggested earlier that one would be a reduction of interest rates, which would reduce the cost and price pressures throughout the economy.

Second, I would strongly urge an expansion—a rapid expansion of the economy. That would create jobs for the unemployed and the growing labor force.

Also, this would increase productivity and reduce cost and price pressures throughout the economy.

These things, I think, are badly needed.

HARDEN. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was Nathaniel Goldfinger, director of the AFL–CIO's Department of Research. Representing the press were Donald Finley, labor correspondent for United Press International, and Tom Joyce, economic correspondent for Newsweek magazine. This is your moderator, Frank Harden, inviting you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Broadcasting System.

MUTUAL ANNOUNCER. The preceding program time was presented as a public service by this station and the Mutual Broadcasting System. The opinions expressed are solely those of the participants.

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT J. SMITHDAS, HUMANITARIAN

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, twice within a 10-month period Robert J. Smithdas has been singularly recognized by two outstanding institutions of higher learning: On June 18, 1970, he was awarded an honorary doctor of letters degree by Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.; on April 17, 1971, he was granted an honorary doctor of humanities degree by Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Mich.

Robert Smithdas is a poet, author, and lecturer, the director of community education program for the new federally funded National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults. Robert Smithdas has been both deaf and blind since the age of seven.

Along with the Members of the Congress of the United States, I am humbly proud to bask in the reflections from the honors and acclaim bestowed on this 45-year-old man. It was through the persistent efforts of Dr. Peter J. Salmon, administrative vice president of the Industrial Home for the Blind in Brooklyn, N.Y., that Congress was made aware of the plight of thousands of almost-forgotten and lonely deaf-blind persons in this country; it was through the action of Congress that the National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults was created and established and funded. We in Congress will share in the restoration and reclamation of each and every deaf-blind man and woman who is rehabilitated to fruitful lives through the services of the national center which, directed by Dr. Salmon, is operated under the aegis of the Industrial Home for the Blind.

I am proud to have given my full support and encouragement to this most worthwhile and desperately needed program. In addition, I have had a personal interest and admiration for Dr. Smithdas, whom I first met when we both attended St. John's University in Brooklyn. He was an inspiration to me, as he was to all of the students of the college, and he fitted in admirably, not only with respect to his academic achievements—he was on the dean's list—but because he was an all-around fellow and was even on the wrestling team.

The honors bestowed on Dr. Smithdas were truly in recognition of his humanitarianism. Not content to rest on his laurels as an author and as a lecturer much in demand, he has devoted the last 10 years of his life to actually working hand in hand with other deaf-blind men and women, helping them to break down the barriers of silence and darkness.

POLLUTION

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, those of us in this body who have been concerned with the problem of the pollution of our environment by the most pervasive yet vitally necessary energy conversion operations have been facing a seemingly insurmountable obstacle in finding, first, an equitable method of enforcing pollution standards on all potential polluters and, second, a means of reducing pollution that was economically viable.

Many localities and States have enacted legislation replete with an ofttime abused grandfather clause which exempted existing polluters from the more stringent emission standards placed on new construction. Not only has this practice failed to reduce air pollution but it has had the even more drastic effect of spreading pollution as this industry has invaded heretofore untouched—and therefore unregulated—areas of our Nation with new, uncontrolled energy production facilities in its efforts to escape economically prohibitive and patently inequitable regulations.

In other areas, legislation and regulations taxing or fining polluters has been attempted, also with notable and regrettable failure. Either the tax or fine was so insignificant as to place no coercive burden on the polluters or, as in my first observation, the industry simply moved away from the regulated areas into virgin territory where the rape of our environment has continued unabated.

Given this background, I am confident that most of my colleagues in this esteemed body were encouraged, as I was by the recent introduction by our colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) of legislation taxing, on a national basis, the emission of air pollutants by all—new and old—energy conversion plants. This legislation would, to my mind, overcome the objections many of us have had to the inequities—both in principles and in economics—embodied in most local regulatory efforts. No advantage is given to either new or existing plants—all are taxed equally—and the tax called for is realistic—harsh enough to make it too costly to continue to pollute yet mild enough to permit acceptance by the ultimate arbiter, the consumer.

Yet even Mr. ASPIN's proposal, meri-

torious though it may be, is not enough by itself. We must have a reasonably priced method of removing the pollutants, either at the smokestack—which is extremely costly—or at the refinery or even earlier—less expensive both in processing and in the eventual sale and use elsewhere for other purposes of the removed polluting ingredient, in most cases sulfur. It is to this last point which I address myself today in the hope that what has been made available to me will add the number two punch to the first embodied in Mr. ASPIN's bill.

Air pollution from the burning of fossil fuels is comprised generally of two materials, sulfur oxides and nitrogen oxides. The two activities which pollute the most are energy conversion plants and the gasoline internal combustion engine. As we are concerned here with Mr. ASPIN'S bill, I will confine my analysis to the pollutants emitted by energy conversion plants.

The general breakdown, for a number of reasons, of pollutants produced by energy conversion plants is approximately 80 percent sulfur oxides and 20 percent nitrogen oxides. The major effort in this area must obviously be directed toward the removal of the source of pollution, that is, either the use only of sulfur-free fuel oil or the extraction of sulfur from the oil before use in the plants.

Now, the problem we face in this regard is the availability of sulfur-free, or sweet crude oil. This oil is the least available and the highest priced. On the other hand, sour crude, or sulfur-laden oil, is in the greatest supply and, logically, the least expensive.

We are then, to my mind, left with but one option—we must develop a means of making sweet crude out of sour. I am in possession of a proposal, prepared and submitted to me by one of my constituents, which delineates an inexpensive yet guaranteed method of removing the major pollutants—sulfur oxide—from fossil fuels prior to their use in plants and, in certain circumstances, prior to delivery to the refineries. In his proposal, my constituent estimates the cost of this removal as being from $0.0002 per kilowatt-hour—at the best—to $0.0008 per kilowatt-hour—at the worst, an increase of approximately 5 percent in the average electrical bill in my district.

If, as I have mentioned, this process is employed in the prerefining stage, that is, on the tanker ships, the cost and inconvenience can be further offset, first, by the immediate sale of the extracted minerals—which, at present market rates, may even be profitable—and by the elimination of processing time at the refineries. With adequate equipment, the time consumed in transit on the tankers can be fully utilized.

Thus it is with great hopes, Mr. Speaker, that I today call on our oil companies, our energy conversion industry, and our citizenry to demonstrate their professed desire to stop pollution of our air and to join together in this vital cause. It is, I believe, a commitment essential to our survival and one we must unhesitatingly make.

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION OPPOSES PROPOSED PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of the Members of Congress to the following letter sent to me by the Unitarian Universalist Association. I call particular attention to the statement in the letter which reads:

We in the churches and fellowships of the Unitarian Universalist Association have long been satisfied that these decisions were in the best interests of religious pluralism and religious freedom in America.

The text of the letter is as follows:

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION,
Boston, Mass., July 23, 1971.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: It has come to our attention that an attempt is currently being made to circumvent the House Committee on the Judiciary and discharge by petition a prayer amendment to the United States Constitution.

I would like to record with you the opposition of the Unitarian Universalist Association to this move and to the concept of amending the Constitution to provide public prayer.

We had thought the Supreme Court had decided this issue long ago in the case of Engel v. Vitale, 1962; and the Schempp and Murray cases of the following year. We in the churches and fellowships of the Unitarian Universalist Association have long been satisfied that these decisions were in the best interests of religious pluralism and religious freedom in America. We deplore any move to raise again this old issue and urge that Members of the House of Representatives not sign the discharge petition and that Members who have signed it remove their names.

There are many defects in the proposed prayer amendment. The primary defect and one that cannot be overcome in any satisfactory way, in our judgment, is the inescapable question of who determines what the nondenominational prayer will be and who prescribes the prayer for use in the public schools. Though the amendment does not directly allude to public schools, its thrust is certainly that of returning prayer to the public schools. In Engel v. Vitale, prayers prescribed by state authority, i.e. the public school authorities, were unconstitutional as violative of the First Amendment Establishment of Religion clause.

We stand with the majority opinion in that landmark case which said:

"We think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government."

There are other defects in the proposed prayer amendment's language such as what it meant by "lawfully assembled" and whether or not specifying "public buildings" does not, in effect, rule out other places where prayer might be held. The definition of prayer in the New York Regents case was found to be impossible. Any prayer, no matter how it is worded, will include some, and exclude others. Just the fact of praying to a deity divides the theistic from the nontheistic religious person.

Prayer is a very personal thing and should be an entirely voluntary religious act. This proposed constitutional amendment would violate that spirit and practice.

We urge you, Mr. Chairman, and the Members of Congress to defeat this unsound, unworkable and unnecessary proposed constitutional amendment.

Sincerely yours,

RAYMOND C. HOPKINS.

TRIBUTE TO AVIATION PIONEER HENRY FORD ON 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF FORD TRIMOTOR PLANE

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, exactly 45 years ago this month, there appeared in the skies, for the first time, an aircraft called, officially, the "Ford Trimotor Plane"—a product of the Ford Motor Co. Unofficially, the aircraft became fondly known as "The Tin Goose." She was probably the noisiest plane ever built, and everybody who rode in her early models came back complaining that they had almost frozen to death. But for all that, the Ford Trimotor was a thing of beauty in the eyes of everyone concerned for the future of aviation. It was the first all-metal, high-wing, trimotor passenger transport plane in the history of man, and the forerunner of the air transportation system we know today.

Much has been written of Henry Ford's contribution to the world of wheels, but little is known about the farsightedness, encouragement, and financial support he supplied to the world of wings. And yet, in a period when the airplane was still regarded by most people as a dangerous, noisy, bothersome, winged intruder on society, Henry Ford saw in this machine a whole new concept in transportation for everyone.

It truly can be said that he took the airplane out of the cow pasture, put it in the hangar, obtained for aviation prestige and public confidence, and, in so doing, launched the air age. The Ford Trimotor, by virtue of its metallic construction, its three great engines, its commodious interior, and broad wingspan, had the look of safety and security. With the Ford name emblazoned on its side, public acceptance came inevitably. The Ford Trimotor soon became the most sought-after transport plane in the world, and its reputation was wholly deserved.

In the 7 years from 1926 to 1933, 198 Ford Trimotors were produced and sold, the selling price being $42,000 each. Newer models made coast-to-coast trips possible, and America was embarked on a new era.

The Trimotor was capable of landing in unbelievably small fields and of carrying a good payload of passengers and mail 100 miles-an-hour faster than any other form of transport. On the ground at Dearborn, Mich., the Ford Co. constructed an airport of unprecedented capability and convenience, complete with paved runways, passenger-terminal

building, restaurant, hotel accommodations, radio communications shack, weather bureau, and traffic control center. It was a model for all future airport construction.

At this time, on the 45th anniversary of the Ford Trimotor plane, I wish to express my admiration for Henry Ford and the Ford Motor Co. who made a stunning contribution to aviation progress.

SOVIET MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the question of comparative Soviet and U.S. military research and development spending and output has attracted considerable attention this year. At issue is whether or not an "R. & D. Gap" is emerging and what the resulting implications for U.S. security might be. Many complex problems are involved in coming to conclusions on this important subject. Complicating the matter for the public and Congress is the unfortunate fact that much of the needed information about Soviet developments and Defense Department and CIA methodological techniques remains secret.

Senator THOMAS MCINTYRE, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development, asked the General Accounting Office in April 1971 to conduct an evaluation of the data and methodology on which the Department of Defense based its conclusion that the Soviet Union's expenditures for military R. & D. are about $10 billion annually compared with U.S. expenditures of about $7 billion. On July 23, 1971, the GAO published its report, "Comparison of Military Research and Development Expenditures of the United States and the Soviet Union," together with two backup staff studies, one of which is classified.

The GAO report concludes that:

On the basis of the limited information available to us, we believe that extreme secretiveness by the Soviet Union results in data which are insufficient for a realistic measurement of its military R&D efforts. At best, dollar valuations of Soviet Union military R&D programs are only rough guides to the Soviet Union's relative level of effort. In our opinion the general technological assessments as developed by DOD can provide only general support for those rough guides; they cannot refine them. Consequently, although we believe that the DOD methodology with its limited data base may be useful in indicating trends and the apparent magnitude of the Soviet Union military R&D threat, we have reservations as to its usefulness in quantifying relative efforts or spending gaps between the countries.

The unclassified staff study, which examines research and development expenditures in the United States, concludes that DOD understates U.S. expenditures.

Although the total amount is not determinable, it is evident that the amount of defense-related R&D in the United States is substantially higher, at least $1 billion higher, than the amount reported by DOD.

The second staff study, classified "Secret," is a determination of the data and methodology used by DOD in calculating comparable Soviet Union military R. & D. expenditures. I would hope that a declassified version of this study will be released. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I have been pressing the Defense Department to reveal as much as possible concerning how it estimates Soviet military R. & D. expenditures. A list of my questions on this subject, together with Dr. John Foster's answers, were printed in the hearings on the military procurement authorization bill—pages 3690.1–3690.18. The Director of Defense Research and Engineering did reveal more information than previously but we need to know much more in order that independent experts may be able to evaluate DOD's estimates. It is simply impossible to accept these estimates, and the alarmist conclusions based on them, at face value. Too many doubts and questions have been raised.

Deplorably, the GAO investigators were denied access to much of the information and analysis on which DOD bases its assertions.

We were not permitted to review the intelligence community's supporting documentation for its estimates of the Soviet Union's military-related R&D budgets or the equivalent costs of Soviet Union efforts in civil space technology.

Considering the limitations of time and information, the GAO did an admirable job in preparing its report. The concealing of studies on the grounds of security on the part of DOD and the CIA makes it almost impossible, however, to subject DOD's analysis to the kind of impartial and intensive scrutiny that is clearly required.

I intend to place in the RECORD materials pertaining to comparative United States and Soviet military R. & D., particularly papers from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which has pioneered in undertaking open and independent evaluations of Defense Department and other studies in this field. At this point in the RECORD I wish to insert Senator MCINTYRE's letter to the Comptroller General of the United States, Elmer Staats, requesting the GAO study, and the resulting GAO report and unclassified staff study:

APRIL 1, 1971.

Hon. ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STAATS: In recent testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee, Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering, warned of the existence of a $3 billion gap between U.S. and U.S.S.R. expenditure levels for defense-related research and development:

". . . it appears that this year the Soviet Union will be devoting about 40 to 50 per cent more in equivalent effort to military R&D than the U.S. This additional effort amounts to about 3 billion in equivalent U.S. dollars." (Statement of March 18, 1971, p. 2–5)

The clear inference to be drawn from this statement is that U.S. expenditures of about $7 billion for military R&D are now exceeded by Soviet expenditures of about $10 billion annually.

Such a statement has obvious national security implications. Because it is important that we neither underestimate nor magnify Soviet expenditures in this area, I am writing to request your assistance in evaluating both the data and the methodology on which the Defense Department's conclusion is based.

How was the conclusion reached? How much confidence should be placed in this or any other study which attempts to compare U.S. and Soviet expenditure levels for military R&D? A study by the General Accounting office is the best means I can think of for obtaining at least tentative answers to these questions.

The study I envisage would have four parts:

1) *Dollar evaluation of U.S. research and development expenditures:*

Defense-related research and development expenditures constitute only a part of our total R&D expenditures as a nation, yet expenditures in other areas also contribute to differing degrees both to the strength of our overall technological base and to our military potential. It is important, therefore, that there be made available to the Congress a comprehensive picture of our total R&D effort as a nation, together with an indication of its allocation into component parts. Because of their close relationship to military technology, I am especially interested in the amount of money being directed annually to the fields of space and atomic energy research, both by the government and private industry.

Moreover, not all of our clearly defense-related research and development expenditures are funded through the annual R.D.T. & E. budget of the Department of Defense. The following should also be included in an accurate assessment of our total annual expenditures in this field:

a) the annual costs of defense contractors' independent research and development, bid and proposal, and other technical effort programs, both that fraction financed directly by the Department of Defense and that defense-related fraction financed by the contractors themselves under cost-sharing provisions now in force;

b) the annual salaries of military and civilian government personnel working on defense-related research and development efforts whose salaries are not included in the R.D.T. & E. appropriation;

c) the annual construction, equipment, testing, and other operating costs of defense-related research and development installations to the extent not funded in the R.D.T.&E. appropriation; and

d) defense-related costs of an R&D nature often funded in the procurement or other appropriations, such as the costs of many modernization programs, work done pursuant to Engineering Change Proposals, and many Advance Production Engineering expenditures.

The above list is, of course, illustrative rather than all-inclusive. Other costs which should be included in a calculation of our total defense-related R&D expenditures might well turn up during the course of your study. It is important, however, that the Congress be given as accurate a picture of these expenditures as possible, together with a clear indication as to which of the component items, and at what levels of expenditure, have been included in the Defense Department's study and your own, respectively.

2) *Ruble evaluation of Soviet research and development expenditures:*

Due to the extreme secrecy surrounding Soviet defense activities and the low reliability of officially published Soviet data, it would seem extremely difficult to gauge the precise magnitude of Soviet research and development activities at any time. If the Congress is to put any reliance on the Defense Department's estimates in this area,

it will have to have a clear indication of how these estimates are derived.

The following are among the questions to which answers are urgently needed and should be possible:

a) What *are* the Defense Department's estimates of overall Soviet research and development expenditures, Soviet expenditures on defense-related R&D, and Soviet expenditures on R&D in the fields of space and atomic energy?

b) Where in the official Soviet budget categories are these expenditures believed to be funded?

c) To what extent are Defense Department estimates of these expenditures *actually based upon* published Soviet budget data, and to what extent on other means of what kinds?

d) What range of error can realistically be expected to be associated with these estimates?

e) To what extent has the Defense Department attempted a break-out of its aggregate estimate of Soviet defense-related R&D expenditures into component parts? What is the nature of this break-out, how was it accomplished, and how reliable can it be expected to be?

3) *Evaluation of potential biases due to structural differences between the U.S. and Soviet economies:*

Ours is a largely private enterprise economy, while the Soviet economy is state-controlled. Consequently, many types of research and development privately financed in the U.S. will be financed directly by the Soviet government.

In the U.S., for example, the great bulk of basic and applied research in such fields as computers, instrumentation, and micro-electronic technology is conducted by private enterprise. Much of this research has obvious potential for military applications yet except for the relatively small portion financed under defense contracts or associated with the Defense Department's independent research and development and related programs, it would not be included normally in a calculation of overall U.S. defense-related R&D expenditures. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, similar research will be government funded and might more readily be included in a calculation of Soviet expenditures.

One important part of your study must be to examine the composition underlying the aggregate Defense Department estimates of U.S. and Soviet defense-related expenditures, respectively, to ensure that structural differences in the two economies are not allowed to bias the results. An accurate comparison would require additions to the U.S. total to offset all inclusions in the Soviet total of defense-related work funded by the Government in the Soviet Union but by private industry in the United States.

(4) *Evaluation of ruble to dollar conversion methodology:*

One of the most crucial aspects of any comparison between Soviet and U.S. expenditures is the choice of an exchange rate for translating rubles into dollars. The artificial nature of the official exchange rate prevents its being used, but the choice of an alternative rate is difficult.

This section of your study might address the following questions:

(a) What was the exchange rate used by the Defense Department in its calculations, and by what precise methodology was this rate derived?

(b) Is there any way of deriving such a rate without, in effect, estimating directly how much it would cost to do in the United States the Soviet work which is being costed? Do we know enough about the precise nature of the Soviet work in question to be able to make such a calculation? If such a procedure was utilized by the Defense Department with respect to the present comparison, what different rates were chosen for the different categories of Soviet effort underlying the total, and how was the rate for each of these categories derived?

(c) What range of error can realistically be expected to be associated with the exchange rate chosen by the Defense Department?

I fully recognize the complexity of the study I am requesting you to make, but I would appreciate an interim report on your investigation by June 1, 1971. It should be possible within the next two months at least to identify the rough magnitude of overall U.S. expenditures for defense-related R&D and to determine the date and methodology used by the Defense Department in calculating comparable Soviet expenditures. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the information on which your study will have to be based, I would like to receive both a classified and an unclassified version of your interim report. When that report is received, consideration as to the practicality and advisability of a more detailed, in-depth study of the Defense Department's comparisons of U.S. and Soviet efforts will be in order.

Your cooperation in undertaking at least the initial phases of the investigation I have outlined would be deeply appreciated. My staff will be available to consult with personnel of your office as to any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

THOMAS J. MCINTYRE,
U.S. Senator.

COMPARISON OF MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION

(By the Comptroller General of the United States)

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., July 23, 1971.

Hon. THOMAS J. MCINTYRE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Research and Development, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As requested in your letter of April 1, 1971, the General Accounting Office has evaluated the data and the methodology on which the Department of Defense (DOD) based its conclusion that Soviet Union expenditures for military research and development (R&D) are about $10 billion annually compared with United States expenditures of about $7 billion.

As you have recognized, this is a very complex matter involving many abstract issues. Furthermore the data available for such a study are very limited. According to DOD officals, their conclusion regarding increased Soviet Union R&D funding was based primarily on intelligence reports. With one exception, these reports were not available to us.

Alhough our study was necessarily restricted in scope, we have covered the two areas mentioned on page 5 of your request; namely (1) identification of the rough magnitude of overall U.S. expenditures for defense-related R&D and (2) determination of the data and methodology used by DOD in calculating comparable Soviet Union expenditures.

Although we did not have time to obtain DOD's formal comments, we did discuss the report informally with DOD officials.

PROBLEM OF COMPARABILITY

Our limited study indicates that any comparison of United States and Soviet Union R&D efforts is complicated by such factors as:

The sparseness of published information on the Soviet Union budget.

The inability to accept the limited published Soviet Union budget data at face value.

The inclusion in the Soviet Union budget of outlays for activities financed in the United States largely by the private sector and State and local governments.

The uncertainties in converting rubles to dollars.

The differences in methods of performance, especially in the use of manpower and equipment.

The differences in innovative approach between a centrally planned economy and a competitive market economy.

The reportedly inferior facilities and equipment of Soviet Union scientists (with the likely exception of some space and military research facilities), especially the lack of computers for R&D.

U.S. DEFENSE-RELATED R&D EXPENDITURES

In the past several years, DOD officials most often have mentioned defense-sponsored R&D as being in the area of $7 billion. As long as the figure is not more precise, it can represent (1) the RDT&E (research, development, test, and evaluation) appropriation in DOD's budget request, (2) DOD's part of the R&D program contained in the Special Analyses section of the Budget of the United States, or (3) DOD's R&D program as published in National Science Foundation reports, which includes RDT&E appropriations plus some support received by R&D activities from other appropriations.

The expenditure figure of $7 billion used by DOD in its recent statement included, in addition to DOD's RDT&E expenditures, costs for military atomic energy. The amount in current dollars was close to $8 billion but was converted to 1968 dollars for comparison with Soviet Union expenditures.

We found in our study that expenditures for defense-related R&D in the United States were higher than any of the figures recorded in the above-named sources. Although we were unable to determine the exact amount, we believe that the additional effort exceeds $1 billion. There are two principal areas in which these defense-related R&D costs are incurred: (1) expenditures are made by DOD that are not recorded as part of its RDT&E appropriations or its R&D program and (2) private industry finances R&D ($10 billion to $11 billion annually), some of which is related to defense. These two areas are discussed in further detail subsequently.

Because of the nature of R&D there is no generally accepted definition of the activities which constitute R&D, especially when it comes to defining the point at which development ends and production begins. DOD believes that many of the so-called unrecorded R&D costs fall within the "gray areas" which border on the line between development and production and that there is a further definition problem involved in determining the part of industry's R&D efforts that is defense related.

DOD believes also that designation of these two types of costs as defense-related R&D costs would increase the amount recorded as U.S. defense-related R&D expenditures by about 15 percent—20 percent at the most—and that these add-on costs become important only if the Soviet Union is handling its similar expenditures in a different manner. DOD states that its comparisons were intended to make the Soviet Union RDT&E estimates functionally comparable to those of the United States and that such costs in the Soviet Union were outside the budget for its RDT&E. In our study we were unable to determine the handling of such expenditures in the Soviet Union budget.

Some DOD R&D-related expenditures not recorded as R&D

DOD's accounting system discloses some costs of RDT&E activities funded from appropriations for military personnel and military construction and from other appropriations. These costs are included in National Science Foundation reports on R&D. Other amounts relating to R&D however, are not funded with

RDT&E appropriations or otherwise recorded as R&D.

1. As explained in our report to the Congress ("Allowances for Independent Research and Development Costs in Negotiated Contracts—Issues and Alternatives," B–164912, February 16, 1970), DOD's share of contractors' costs for independent research and development (IR&D (including other independent technical effort, such as bid and proposal) is generally absorbed as overhead on contracts. Such contracts are funded from appropriations for procurement, RDT&E, and to some extent operations and maintenance. On the basis of our knowledge of the funding of defense contracts, we estimate that 20 percent of such IR&D costs were funded from RDT&E appropriations. Therefore, using Defense Contract Audit Agency reports for 1970, we calculate that about 80 percent of such costs—more than $550 million—represents additional defense R&D costs not included in RDT&E or otherwise recorded as R&D.

DOD informed us that it had included about $300 million for IR&D in computing the $7 billion of United States defense-related R&D costs for comparison with the Soviet Union R&D expenditures.

2. Certain expenditures, related to development of weapons systems and components, are funded from other than RDT&E appropriations and are not recorded by DOD as R&D costs. These include such areas as "product improvement" or "component improvement," "major modification," and "advanced production engineering."

DOD does not maintain separate records of product improvement or component improvement costs financed by the procurement or operations and maintenance appropriations. At our request DOD estimated that R&D costs for programs in this gray area amounted roughly to $100 million in procurement appropriations for fiscal year 1972. We believe that the amount may be higher, because DOD has planned to approve $113 million in calendar year 1971 and $126 million in calendar year 1972 for aircraft engines, a single-component improvement program.

DOD informed us that Soviet Union expenditures for product improvement were made by Soviet Union production enterprises and were not included in estimates of the Soviet Union RTD&E budget. We were unable to corroborate this information and therefore are unable to comment on the statement.

DOD had not made a study of the engineering and testing costs funded from procurement appropriations for major modifications of weapons systems and consequently did not provide us with an estimate of such amount. Our limited review indicated that modification programs involved substantial costs and, when implemented as modifications to production contracts, were not funded from RDT&E appropriations. The extent to which such modifications involve R&D efforts is not known.

DOD considered advanced production engineering as another gray area and estimated R&D effort involved $50 million financed from 1972 procurement appropriations.

3. Expenses of R&D management and administrative organizations at DOD departmental headquarters levels were not financed from RDT&E appropriations and were not recorded by DOD as R&D program costs. DOD estimated these costs at $42.3 million for fiscal year 1972.

R&D financed by private industry

Inasmuch as all activities in the Soviet Union are funded and controlled by the Soviet Union Government, we believe that it is necessary to recognize that a part of all United States R&D expenditures, private as well as governmental, must be considered in comparing defense-related R&D expenditures of the two countries. DOD contends that industry R&D performed in the civilian sector of the Soviet Union does not appreciably benefit the Soviet Union defense R&D effort. Nevertheless the Director of Defense Research and Engineering informed the House Committee on Armed Services on May 25, 1971, that, in making funding comparisons between the United States and the Soviet Union:

"* * * an attempt was made to estimate the equivalent RDT&E value to the U.S. military RDT & E budget of U.S. non-defense, non-space R&D items which the Soviets might have to include in their military and space budget in the interest of secrecy. Computer manufacturing technology was a major item. The estimate for such civilian-furnished RDT&E to Defenses was between $500 million and $1 billion per year in 1970 * * *."

The National Science Foundation, which has the statutory responsibility for collection and analysis of data on R&D in the United States, does not attempt to determine how much R&D financed by industrial companies is defense-related. This could be because of the inherent problem in trying to arbitrarily distinguish between ultimate uses for defense as opposed to civil applications. However, we have identified two areas involving R&D in the private sector where it appears that the defense-related R&D is significant. These areas are:

1. Contractor's unreimbursed IR&D

According to Defense Contract Audit Agency reports, major defense and space contractors incurred $1,294 million of IR&D costs in 1970. Of this amount, $1,087 million was accepted by the Government for allocation to all the contractors' work. To be acceptable for allocation, such work generally must be related to product lines for which the Government has contracts. Consequently it seems reasonable to assume that the difference between the amount accepted for allocation ($1,087 million) and the DOD-National Aeronautics and Space Administration share ($791 million), or approximately $300 million, represented unreimbursed costs incurred for defense-related research.

We believe that the IR&D costs incurred in excess of the amount accepted for allocation also represented—to an undetermined degree—costs incurred for defense-related research. Such costs, amounting to $207 million in 1970, were incurred by major defense and space contractors as a means of meeting anticipated customer needs, and consequently it appears that such unreimbursed cost would represent a substantial amount of defense-related research financed by private industry.

2. Computer technology

The importance of considering computers when assessing the relative R&D positions of the United States and the Soviet Union is evidenced by reports that there is a serious lack of computing power for scientific and other purposes in the Soviet Union. Since computers have a high potential for military application, it is reasonable to assume that much of industry R&D in the computer field has a definite relationship to defense.

The National Science Foundation reported that in 1968 the office-, computing-, and accounting-machine industry performed $658 million of applied R&D. About 90 percent of this effort, largely related to computers, was attributed to industry financing. DOD believes that these figures do not reflect indirect Government financing. DOD reported that:

"In the United States, the total computer R&D effort, civilian and military, is estimated at about $1 billion per year. The major fraction of this is supported by Defense and space, indirectly or directly."

Although the two sets of figures are not in agreement, they substantiate that there is an undetermined, but possibly significant, amount of industry R&D in computers that would benefit the Nation's defense activities.

DOD METHODOLOGY AND DATA

In general the methodology used by DOD quantified the Soviet Union military R&D efforts according to dollar equivalents for comparison with United States efforts. This was accomplished in four steps.

1. Intelligence community estimates of R&D expenditures

The intelligence community analyzed the Soviet Union budget to estimate financial inputs into military R&D efforts. DOD officials informed us that the unitemized, or secret, part of the all-union science budget was considered the primary funding source for military-related R&D (R&D for military weapons, space, and atomic energy). Soviet Union data since 1958 do not show this breakdown; consequently the intelligence community's estimates of Soviet Union military-related R&D were extrapolated upwards on the basis of the 1950–57 trend. The intelligence community converted rubles to dollars by using a $2 conversion rate.

The financial input data were further refined by costing, in dollars, the relatively open Soviet Union civil space program. The intelligence community based its estimates on what it calculated the United States would have had to spend to duplicate the Soviet Union civil space facilities and accomplishments. These estimates were then subtracted from the estimated military-related R&D expenditures. The residual represented, in dollars, the Soviet Union military R&D, including atomic energy. Because of Soviet Union secrecy, there is no direct way to reasonably estimate the R&D expenditures for weapons systems under development or for civil atomic energy.

2. DOD's Technological Assessment of Outputs

In fiscal year 1970 DOD initiated a study to compare the military and space technological outputs of the United States with similar outputs of the Soviet Union from 1960 to 1968. The study estimated the time required for technological improvements and the number of years the Soviet Union took to reach given levels of United States weapons technology.

From intelligence data, discussions with specialists, and subjective judgments of DOD officials, technological-lead assessments were made of the two countries' space achievements and about 100 of their military weapons systems. The technological-lead assessments for individual weapons and space systems were then summarized into five major system categories. DOD states that the technological-lead assessment summaries for the five categories do not represent specific weighted averaging of the individual systems but are consistent with them and correlate with the broader impressions and experiences of informed persons.

The study revealed that, during the period from 1960 to 1968, the United States maintained its 2- to 3-year lead in weapons technology and established a 2- to 3-year lead in space technology. DOD reasoned that, since technological leads were increased by greater relative effort, the United States military R&D effort must have been equivalent to that of the Soviet Union and the United States space effort must have been 10 to 20 percent greater than that of the Soviet Union.

3. Comparison of Estimated Expenditures With Output Results

DOD compared the results of its technological-lead assessments with its estimates of the United States military R&D expenditures, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's estimate of the United States civil space program, and the intelligence community's estimates of the Soviet Union military R&D and space expenditures for the period from 1960 to 1968. DOD reasoned that, if comparative estimates of the

two countries' financial inputs were generally in agreement with the assessments of their comparative outputs, the reliability of the intelligence community's estimates of the Soviet Union financial inputs, as expressed in dollar equivalents, would be validated. In addition, the cause-and-effect relationship between financial inputs and technological outputs would be demonstrated.

DOD claimed that it was able to find a clear correlation between the relative inputs and outputs. DOD added that the intelligence community's estimates of Soviet Union R&D inputs could vary as much as plus or minus 20 percent and still fit observed technological outputs. DOD reasoned that greater variances in estimates of Soviet Union expenditures would be outside the bounds of observed results.

Because of the reported correlation between the estimated financial inputs and technological outputs, DOD expressed confidence in the intelligence community's dollar estimates of the Soviet Union military R&D budgets.

4. Projection of current and future budgets based on 1960–68 analyses

DOD used the intelligence community's estimates of the Soviet Union's military R&D funding from 1968 to project current and possible future Soviet Union R&D results. DOD compared the Soviet Union budget estimates with similar United States financial data that DOD had developed and found that the Soviet Union military R&D expenditures had been exceeding those of the United States in ever-increasing amounts from 1968.

OBSERVATIONS

Secrecy concerning the nature of the Soviet Union science data requires a number of assumptions in estimating Soviet Union military-related R&D expenditures. We were not permitted to review the intelligence community's supporting documentation for its estimates of the Soviet Union's military-related R&D budgets or the equivalent costs of Soviet Union efforts in civil space technology. Therefore we are unable to comment on the reasonableness of such estimates. However, as noted in the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1969–70, experts who have made detailed studies of Soviet Union science data either make no estimates or make rough order-of-magnitude estimates. Those experts making rough estimates differ among themselves by as much as 50 to 100 percent.

The difficulty in estimating Soviet Union military-related R&D expenditures is further complicated by the fact that the Soviet Union budget is stated in rubles and consequently, for comparative purposes, it is necessary to convert the rubles into their dollar equivalents. There is no generally accepted rate for converting rubles expended for R&D into their dollar equivalents. The yearbook states that the exchange rates used in the various private studies, where conversion was attempted, ranged from $1.30 to $3.50 a ruble.

Many experts, however, believe that a reasonable conversion rate for Soviet Union military R&D work would be from $2 to $3 a ruble. Consequently the $2 rate which was used by the intelligence community may understate the Soviet Union R&D efforts.

As reported previously, technological-lead assessments for 1960–68 were based upon intelligence data, discussions with specialists, and subjective judgments of DOD officials. The Delphi method [1] was used to arrive at a consensus regarding weapon comparisons. Subjective judgments were used when the data were incomplete or controversial. Disagreements, when they occurred, were reported to be seldom larger than plus or minus 1 year. We had neither the expertise nor the time to independently test and evaluate the technological-lead assessments and therefore cannot comment on their reasonableness.

In comparing the two countries' financial inputs with their hardware outputs, we found that the degree of correlation varied significantly, depending on the choice of deflators used to adjust for inflationary pressures in the U.S. economy over the 9-year period. Inflationary pressures and effects on the Soviet Union R&D expenditures are not known, but DOD has stated that it is generally assumed that, because of the Soviet Union system of controlled prices and wages, rubles do not inflate. Effects of inflation on U.S. R&D expenditures, however, are well known and are adjusted for by using either (1) the gross national product (GNP) deflator which applies to the economy as a whole or (2) a special deflator derived for R&D goods and services.

According to DOD's technological assessment "Soviet RDT&E produced about the same number of major weapons systems prototypes at about the same rate of improvement as the U.S." Consequently, on the basis of comparable outputs, the United States military R&D expenditures (financial inputs) should have been equivalent to those of the Soviet Union. Over the 9-year period, however, United States military R&D expenditures, as estimated by DOD, exceeded comparable Soviet Union expenditures, as estimated by the intelligence community, by 11, 23, or 31 percent, depending on the use and choice of deflators.[2]

The difference of 11 percent results from comparing expenditures on the basis of current dollars in lieu of constant dollars, i.e., without applying a deflator. This comparison assumes that both economies experienced the same relative amount of inflation over the 9-year period. The difference of 23 percent results from applying the GNP deflator to express the United States expenditures in constant 1968 dollars before comparing them with Soviet Union expenditures. The difference of 31 percent results from applying a special R&D deflator to the U.S. military R&D expenditures in lieu of the GNP deflator.

In regard to the above comparisons, DOD officials have stated that use of current dollars:

"* * * is hardest to justify on economic grounds. The R&D deflator leads to the maximum difference but implies that there is no inflation in the Soviet R&D sector. The GNP deflator would seem to account for the differences in the general U.S. and Soviet economic systems and would imply an inflation in Soviet RDT&E relative to the general Soviet economy comparable to that in the U.S."

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the limited information available to us, we believe that extreme secretiveness by the Soviet Union results in data which are insufficient for a realistic measurement of its military R&D efforts. At best, dollar valuations of Soviet Union military R&D programs are only rough guides to the Soviet Union's relative level of effort. In our opinion the general technological assessments as developed by DOD can provide only general support for those rough guides; they cannot refine them. Consequently, although we beleive that the DOD methodology with its limited data base may be useful in indicating trends and the apparent magnitude of the Soviet Union military R&D threat, we have reservations as to its usefulness in quantifying relative efforts or spending gaps between the countries.

As you requested, we are making available to you a General Accounting Office staff study entitled "Comparison of Military Research and Development Expenditures of the United States and the Soviet Union," which contains detailed information obtained during our limited survey. Part I, entitled "Introduction" and "Research and Development Expenditures in the United States," is unclassified. Part II, entitled "Department of Defense Methodology for Assessing United States and Soviet Union Military Research and Development Efforts," is classified "Secret" as it is based, to some extent, on classified information.

In accordance with the agreement reached with your office, copies of this report are being sent today to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Armed Services, the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations, and the Senate and House Committees on Government Operations. Copies of the report are also being sent today to the Director, Office of Management and Budget. Copies of the report, together with copies of the staff study, are being sent to the Secretary of Defense.

Sincerely yours,

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

FOOTNOTES

[1] Usually consists of a series of reported interrogations of persons whose opinions or judgments are of interest. After the initial interrogation of each person, each subsequent interrogation is accompanied by information regarding the preceding round of replies. The person is thus encouraged to reconsider and, if appropriate, change his previous reply in the light of the replies of other members of the group.

[2] Both the GNP and the R & D deflators attempt to convert into constant 1968 dollars the funds expended for U.S. military R & D and civil space in the period from 1960 to 1971. The GNP deflator is based on the general purchase value of the dollar during 1968; the R & D deflator is based on what the dollar would have bought in R & D goods and services during 1968. The two values tend to inflate at different rates.

Because the U.S. economy in general and the R & D costs in particular have been inflating steadily from 1960 to the present, the use of either deflator to convert the less inflated 1960 through 1967 dollars into constant 1968 dollars increases the total amount of reported expenditures; conversely, converting the more inflated 1969 through 1971 dollars into constant 1968 dollars decreases the reported expenditures. Consequently, since DOD and the intelligence community report that United States expenditures exceeded those of the Soviet Union from 1960 to 1968 use of either deflator would increase these differences by increasing the reported United States expenditures.

COMPARISON OF MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION

(By the Comptroller General of the United States)

ABBREVIATIONS

AEC—Atomic Energy Commission.
CIP—Component Improvement Program.
DOD—Department of Defense.
IR&D—Independent research and development.
NASA—National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
NSF—National Science Foundation.
OECD—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
OASD/Comptroller—Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller).
R&D—research and development.
RDT&E—research, development, test, and evaluation.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This is part I of a General Accounting Office staff study made in response to a re-

quest dated April 1, 1971, from the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Research and Development, Senate Armed Services Committee. This staff study, in two parts, is issued in conjunction with our letter report of this date to the Chairman (B–172553). Part II is classified "SECRET."

Department of Defense testimony

In March 1971 Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering, testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee regarding the comparative United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics military research and development (R&D) efforts. Dr. Foster, noting his past concern about the increase in the Soviet Union R&D expenditures at a time when United States spending was leveling out and then declining, said that the trends were continuing. He stated:

"We must now realistically acknowledge that their effort in military R&D is significantly larger than ours. Our best estimates are that this differential is now equivalent to some $3 billion a year in terms of 1968 dollars."

Dr. Foster commented that, although the U.S. level of R&D effort is now smaller, it is his belief that the United States is still technologically ahead of the Soviet Union—ahead on quality of weapons—by perhaps 2 to 3 years on the average. He believes, however, that, if present trends continue, the larger and increasing Soviet Union effort could result in the Soviet Union's assuming technological superiority in military R&D in the latter half of this decade, which, along with the trend toward improved Soviet Union quality, could seriously jeopardize the U.S. margin of security in the 1975–85 period.

Dr. Foster explained that the most serious concern with the United States defense RDT&E (research, development, test, and evaluation) effort is the apparent Soviet Union challenge in outright investment rate in defense RDT&E. He said that the Soviet Union RDT&E investment rate, considering military and space investments together, is unchanged. He reported, however, that, since 1968, the Soviet Union has been allocating RDT&E growth to the military sector in contrast to the previous period of about 6 years during which time the growth went into the space sector.

In the United States, meanwhile, according to Dr. Foster, R&D growth has gone into the civilian sectors, and there has been a steadily widening difference in the military RDT&E investment rates of the United States and the Soviet Union since 1968. Dr. Foster stated that "the Soviet RDT&E effort is now apparently sufficiently high that, without further increases, the Soviets could pass us in military technology by the mid-1970's."

Dr. Foster compared Soviet Union and United States resources allocated to military RDT&E. He noted a disparity between the number of qualified scientists and engineers employed in research and development by the United States and by the Soviet Union. According to National Science Foundation (NSF) and Department of Commerce information, the Soviet Union employed 745,000 scientists and engineers in 1968 whereas the United States employed 515,000 scientists and engineers in 1968. Dr. Foster stated that the disparity is continuing to increase.

Dr. Foster also reported that studies performed by the Air Force indicate that the Soviets have continued to improve the quality and number of their major research facilities. Conversely Dr. Foster stated that many of the U.S. laboratory and other R&D facilities are declining because of lack of effective use.

The third major resource discussed by Dr. Foster was funding. He based his conclusions largely on the results of studies which analyzed Soviet Union budgets in terms of United States dollar equivalents for space- and defense-related research and development. Dr. Foster stated that these studies showed "* * * a steady increase in Soviet RDT&E investment, *military plus space*, beginning in the early 1950's. Through 1965 the average annual growth exceeded 10 percent, and since 1965 it has averaged about 8 percent."

Dr. Foster said that, in the early 1960's, the growth was applied:

"* * * to civil space technology, until the latter reached a level of roughly 5 billion in equivalent U.S. dollars, after which the growth was again applied to military technology. The 8 percent growth in total RDT&E in 1968, when applied only to the military portion which was in equivalent U.S. dollars about $7 billion, means about a 15-percent growth rate per year in military RDT&E alone. U.S. military RDT&E funding during the post-1968 period has been approximately constant.

"As a result of the divergent trends, it appears that this year the Soviet Union will be devoting about 40 to 50 percent more in equivalent effort to military R&D than the U.S. This additional effort amounts to about 3 billion in equivalent U.S. dollars."

Dr. Foster termed the analytic work leading to these conclusions a pioneering effort in resolving questions about comparative United States and Soviet Union R&D and noted that, even with the problems associated with converting rubles to dollars and the Soviet Union budget concealments, the data were believed to be accurate within 10 to 20 percent.

Dr. Foster also informed the Committee of a study initiated to compare the relative military and space technological outputs of the two countries. He reported that the findings of this net technical assessment were that (1) both countries had about the same number of major systems developed to the point of visibility, (2) on the average, the United States retained its 2- to 3-year technological lead in military systems, and (3) in space technology, the United States advanced its technological lead by several years.

Dr. Foster pointed to a clear correlation between this net technical assessment and the resources comparisons for the same time period, which showed that both countries had the same military RDT&E budgets and that the United States had the greater space RDT&E budget. He therefore concluded that, after development lead time was considered, the payoff in weapons quality seemed commensurate with the level of effort in both countries.

Dr. Foster acknowledged that there was still a lot of work to do to refine these comparisons. But it was Dr. Foster's opinion that, give or take 10 to 20 percent, the funding picture reflected expected results and that this had led to his serious concern about the post-1968 period. Although judging that the United States was still technologically ahead of the Soviet Union, by perhaps 2 to 3 years in most major areas, Dr. Foster indicated that, if present relative trends were to continue:

Starting about 1971 we could reasonably expect several technological surprises from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union would assume technological superiority in military research and development in the middle of this decade.

United States recovery from such a loss of technological leadership would not be feasible without enormous expenditures over many years and without grave risk meanwhile of losing our national margin of safety.

Problem of comparability

Our limited study indicates that any comparison of United States and Soviet Union R&D efforts is complicated by many factors. The basis of most comparisons is the budgetary data of the two countries. The difficulties of analyzing the United States budget are amplified many times over in analyzing the Soviet Union budget. The secrecy surrounding the Soviet Union budget results in a general lack of knowledge of its true makeup. There is little similarity in the construction of the two budgets, and the sparseness of published information on the Soviet Union budget makes it necessary to speculate as to the location of the funds for critical programs, those which the Soviet Union does not want known.

Soviet Union budget line items cannot be taken at face value. It must be recognized that comparable types of costs may be contained in one or more of the several categories of expenditures. Often the significance of specific expenditures can be guessed at only through comparisons of changes of previous years. Department of Defense (DOD) reasons that these conditions are overcome in its studies because development results, observed over many years, obviously involved expenditures.

The structural differences in the economies of the countries are reflected in the construction of their respective budgets. The Soviet Union budget contains outlays for activities financed in the United States largely by the private sector and State and local governments. These include expenditures for financing the national economy, such as industry, agriculture, and transportation, and for social and cultural programs, including public health, education, science, and social security.

The uncertainties involved in using budgetary evidence to estimate Soviet Union expenditures for a particular area, such as R&D, are further magnified by the uncertainties in the use of an exchange rate for converting rubles to dollars for comparison purposes. The official exchange rate of 1.1 dollars per ruble has no basis in Soviet Union purchasing power, and it is generally conceded that this rate would underestimate the magnitude of the Soviet Union R&D effort.

We note that many unofficial rates have been derived to represent the ruble's purchasing power in the various sectors of the Soviet economy and range from 1.3 dollars to 3.5 dollars. Therefore, in any comparison, the selection of an exchange rate can result in a wide variance in the result being used to compare with U.S. expenditures.

The use of studies to analyze Soviet Union budgets in terms of United States dollar equivalents for observed Soviet Union space efforts is subject to the same inherent incomparabilities of the two economies. Great care would have to be exercised to eliminate or minimize assumptions that the Soviet Union would perform in the same manner and with the same manpower that the United States would.

During hearings in March 1971 before the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, the Acting Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was questioned concerning his testimony that the Soviet Union was spending more on R&D than the United States was spending in the total science and technology area. He made the following statement.

"First, I would like to point out that we have no easy way to compare the total R.&D. programs of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., much less the specific elements which make them up, such as the space program; the economies of the two societies are far from parallel and we have little solid information from the Soviets about their internal program structure, objectives, or decision-making framework. Therefore, we have to rely on what are often subjective assessments and scattered data points for our comparisons."

In noting that there appears to be a well-defined, long-term Soviet Union investment policy that has been consistently supported over the past decade, the Acting Administrator stated that the Soviet Union space program, both civil and military, with the apparent Soviet Union policy of steadily increasing R&D investment, will soon match

and then surpass the United States in both program size and accomplishment. He explained that:

"For this comparison, I am dealing with the combined civil and military space programs of both nations; to try to differentiate between civil and military activities of the U.S.S.R. would be speculative at best.

"The most difficult comparison to try to make between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. economies or programs is in terms of absolute costs: each national economy is geared and motivated to produce a different, non-parallel mix of goods and services. * * *"

In our study we utilized a widely recognized publication of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)[1] to try to determine how the philosophies of public versus private economies would affect the R&D efforts of the two countries. According to OECD the main organizational differences between Western and Soviet Union industrial R&D are grounded in the differences between a competitive market economy and a centrally planned economy. OECD reports that, in spite of the increasing importance in Western R&D of the Government sector, for a substantial part of private industry it is the spur of competition on the market which presses firms to develop improved products and to cut costs by developing new production processes.

By contrast, according to OECD, the drive for technical progress in the Soviet Union system comes from the central Government. To impose advanced technology, the Government established centrally controlled research and development facilities for each major industry. The system undoubtedly facilitated the rapid introduction of Western technology into existing Soviet Union industries and the establishment of new industries utilizing technology adopted from advanced Western firms; it also proved capable of successfully mobilizing resources for major R&D projects concerned with weapons and the space program and of carrying them through to completion.

OECD points out that much of the large-scale resources devoted by the Soviet Union to R&D, as in the United States, is likely to have been directed toward the military and space programs. The spin-off to civilian industry in the Soviet Union is considered to have been small because all invention and innovation of military application, while in principle available for civilian use, is surrounded by a somewhat impenetrable security blanket. Consequently the strain produced by this substantial R&D effort has been much greater for the Soviet Union economy than for the richer United States economy.

OECD reports that the technological level of Soviet Union R&D is influenced by the inadequacy of its R&D facilities, and a research-development imbalance in favor of development which has led to a shortage of testing facilities. Soviet Union accounts have suggested that, in general, the technical equipment of research institutes is of poorer quality and less in quantity than in the United States. Western scientists report that, in spite of much first-rate equipment, even in major civilian research institutes much time is spent in producing minor items of equipment and materials and in obtaining supplies. Computer facilities in many Soviet research institutes are reported to be scarce and inadequate. OECD cautions that the level of equipment and other facilities is better in some Soviet civilian research establishments and that there is no doubt that the facilities for space and military research are likely to be at a higher standard.

A recent report[2] notes the serious lack of computing power for scientific and general-purpose applications in the Soviet Union although it recognizes that Soviet computing capability for high-priority, special applications in space and military is probably higher. The report observes that our lead in space and military applications of computer technology and usage will be less than our comfortable lead in general-purpose computing.

In a 1969 paper[3] DOD compared various United States and Soviet Union military technology areas. In the area of computer technology, the United States was found to have maintained a significant superiority in components, systems, and software. Although the Soviet Union was increasing its level of R&D activities and the high quality of its specialists, DOD concluded that there appeared to be a United States superiority of at least 3 to 5 years.

Two writers associated with the Center for Advanced International Studies, in an article in the September 1970 issue of Science magazine, reviewed the administering and managing of the United States and Soviet Union space programs. They found that the management of the programs reflected the differing political, social, and economic systems of the two countries. One of the differences discussed was computer technology upon which both programs were dependent.

Soviet Union sources were described as having frankly revealed grave shortcomings in computer technology and hardware available for use in the economy as a whole. The vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union cited the lack of computer resources as a factor inhibiting long-term planning for Soviet Union science. Although, as OECD indicates, Soviet Union space and military activities may have better computer facilities than Soviet civilian organizations, the wide disparity between the reported overall capabilities of the two countries seems to indicate that the Soviet Union's military and space capabilities would not be on a parity with that of this country.

The organizational framework for the conduct of research and development in the Soviet Union appears to prevent easy transfer of innovation to production. The OECD describes the central feature of the Soviet Union R&D system as the separation between the R&D network on one hand and production enterprises on the other hand. The centralized organizations which bear the major responsibility for applied research in each industry; their attendant design bureaus; and, in important cases, their own experimental production facilities are controlled by a separate chain of command and by separate channels of finance from the mass of production enterprises. In the United States, R&D, with some important exceptions, is conducted by the production enterprises.

According to OECD the main success indicator for Soviet Union enterprise has been the extent to which it could fulfill or, if possible, overfulfill its production plan. The earnings of the workers and the bonuses and promotion prospects for the managerial staff are dependent on production. This production-oriented system of planning is reported to inhibit the willing participation of the enterprise in technical innovation.

The sum of all of the enumerated differences in budget structures, ruble conversion rates, and economic approaches, plus the lack of visibility of Soviet Union expenditures, highlights the difficulty of realistically comparing United States and Soviet Union R&D expenditures.

Scope of study

The Chairman of the Research and Development Subcommittee in his letter to the Comptroller General noted the national security implications of Dr. Foster's statement and requested assistance in evaluating both the data and the methodology on which DOD's conclusion concerning the relative R&D positions of the United States and the Soviet Union is based. The Chairman recognized the complexity of such a study and asked for an interim report which would identify the rough magnitude of overall U.S. expenditures for defense related R&D and would describe the data and methodology used by DOD in calculating comparable Soviet Union expenditures.

For this report we obtained data on U.S. expenditures for R&D for a period covering approximately the past 20 years, primarily from NSF reports. These reports cover four sectors of national R&D effort—Federal Government; industry; universities and colleges; and other nonprofit institutions. For the same period we attempted to identify the portion of national R&D generally considered to be military related, that is, R&D in defense, space, and atomic energy. We presented R&D expenditures that, over the years, have been identified as being sponsored by DOD.

To the extent possible we also identified certain areas of DOD expenditures which related to defense R&D but which were not funded from DOD's RDT&E appropriations. For some of these areas we were able to approximate the amount of expenditures; for other activities the lack of records made estimating impossible.

We considered statements on U.S. R&D expenditures made by Dr. Foster in the past several years so that we could relate them to the various categories and sources identified in our study.

In the limited time available to us, we attempted to identify the statistical estimates of Soviet Union efforts and other analyses of Soviet Union R&D available to DOD so that we could explain the methodology underlying these estimates. We were unable to obtain all of the reports to which DOD had access. To this extent, we are not in a position to comment on the basis by which DOD claims greater accuracy in its estimates of Soviet Union R&D expenditures than has heretofore been claimed for private studies of such expenditures.

CHAPTER 2

Research and development expenditures in the United States

An accurate picture of the total R&D effort of the United States is difficult to ascertain. Because of R&D's nature, there is no generally accepted definition of its activities, especially as to the point at which development ends and production begins. Also data from the various sectors are not always available on a consistent basis.

The Federal Government is the chief supporter of R&D in the Nation and provides about one half of the total R&D. About 50 percent of the Federal Government expenditures are those of DOD. As explained on page 41, the accounting system used by DOD does not identify all R&D-related expenditures. Also idustry R&D figures are considered proprietary and are submitted only on a voluntary basis. Thus the completeness of data on U.S. R&D expenditures is questionable.

Furthermore a clear, concise picture of total national R&D in the United States is complicated by the manner in which the different performers report their efforts. Industry usually records R&D program investments in terms of expenditures. On the other hand, U.S. Government agencies usually report their effort in terms of budgeted amounts or obligations; only occasionally are expenditure data used. Some sources use fiscal years for gathering data; other sources accumulate data on the basis of calendar years. Also, depending on whether the data are from industry or Government accounting records, treatment of investment costs and depreciation of R&D facilities differs.

NSF has the statutory responsibility for collection and analysis of data on the funding and performance of R&D in the United States. We have used three series of NSF reports in our study. These are described briefly below.

1. One publication series of NSF, entitled "National Patterns of R&D Resources" (hereinafter referred to as R&D Resources) reports the total funds and manpower in

Footnotes at end of article.

the United States. The latest in the series covers the period 1953 through 1971. The national totals are based on expenditure data reported by performers in and out of Government.

2. Another series of NSF reports, "Federal Funds for Research, Development, and Other Scientific Activities" (hereinafter referred to as Federal Funds), annually reports the latest data on Federal obligations and expenditures for R&D programs appearing initially in the Budget of the United States. These reports do not include funds provided by the private sector.

The data shown in both the R&D Resources and the Federal Funds series of NSF reports are obtained by means of voluntary responses to questionnaires. Agency input is used only as a basis for Federal intramural R&D in R&D Resources and is the sole source for Federal Funds reports.

3. NSF is also the prime compiler of data on industry R&D through surveys conducted by the Bureau of Census, and it publishes annually a report entitled "Research and Development in Industry." NSF states that its 1968 survey represented the entire industry sector of the U.S. economy except for organizations performing less than 1 percent of the Nation's annual volume of industrial R&D. Companies actually participating in the survey performed more than 95 percent of the industrial R&D.

In the following sections of this report, we present available data on R&D in the various sectors in the United States, primarily from NSF publications. As the NSF data are presented, the methods used and the coverage obtained by NSF for each of these publications are described in detail.

Total U.S. research and development expenditures

NSF, through periodic surveys, has developed detailed information on the funding and performance of research and development in the United States between 1953 and 1971.[4] In NSF's surveys for its R&D Resources series, respondents in four sectors (Federal Government, industry, universities and colleges, and other nonprofit institutions) indicate the amounts they spend on R&D in their own sector and the sources of these funds. In general, the Federal Government and industry have been surveyed annually; other surveys have been less frequent.

The R&D Resources reports cover expenditures for research and development reflecting current operating costs—consisting of both direct and indirect costs including depreciation—insofar as this report information is available to respondents. Capital expenditures are excluded by definition in the industry and nonprofit institution (other than universities and colleges) sectors. Under the accounting practices of some Federal agencies, however, particularly DOD, data on Federal R&D funds, (available in detail only in terms of obligations rather than expenditures) include some obligations for capital items but do not include an allowance for depreciation. Also NSF data include a small amount of capital outlays in the universities and colleges sector.

NSF states that its reports on national R&D expenditures are based on data as reported by respondents because such organizations are in the best position to (1) indicate how much they spend in the actual conduct of R&D in a given year, (2) classify their work as basic research, applied research, or development, and (3) identify the sector of the economy in which the financing orginated. NSF believes that the use of respondents' reporting reduces the possibility of any double counting which might occur if figures were cumulative by sources because contracting or subcontracting within industry could result in duplication of reported funds.

Because the R&D Resources series is based on expenditures reported by organizations which have actually performed R&D, it differs from the Federal Funds series on agency obligations for R&D to be performed in non-Federal sectors. Federal agency obligations are used in the R&D Resources reports for only intramural performance in agency laboratories where they are treated as the equivalent of expenditures. Expenses of Federal personnel engaged in planning and administering intramural and extramural R&D programs are also included in the intramural performance total.

Other differences between these NSF reports series are due to the fact that Government agencies reporting for Federal Funds attribute the entire cost of an R&D contract to research and development, whereas industry respondents supplying off-the-shelf items under such a contract (for example, rocket fuel and other materials for a space experiment) consider these to be routine sales and not connected with R&D. Also R&D Resources data represent expenditures on a calendar-year basis, whereas most Federal Funds data are based on obligated funds for a fiscal year.

NSF's latest R&D Resources report summarizing the accumulated data puts the total national R&D funds for 1968, the latest year for which actual figures are available, at $25.1 billion. Preliminary or estimated figures for 1969, 1970, and 1971 are $26.2 billion, $26.9 billion, and $27.9 billion, respectively. For more detailed information on R&D funds, by sources of funds, for 1953 to 1971, see table 1. For summary data on the performers using these funds, see table 2.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 1.—SOURCES OF FUNDS, BY SECTOR, USED FOR R. & D., 1953–71

[In millions]

Year	Total	Federal Government	Industry	Universities and colleges	Other nonprofit institutions
1953	$5,207	$2,759	$2,239	$151	$58
1954	5,738	3,138	2,367	167	66
1955	6,279	3,509	2,513	185	72
1956	8,483	4,859	3,336	204	84
1957	9,912	6,119	3,460	230	103
1958	10,870	6,791	3,700	257	122
1959	12,540	8,059	4,057	290	134
1960	13,730	8,752	4,508	328	142
1961	14,552	9,264	4,749	371	168
1962	$15,665	$9,926	$5,114	$424	$201
1963	17,371	11,219	5,449	485	218
1964	19,214	12,553	5,880	555	226
1965	20,439	13,033	6,539	615	252
1966	22,266	13,992	7,317	673	284
1967	23,642	14,449	8,134	753	306
1968	25,083	14,972	8,941	841	329
1969 [1]	26,175	14,979	9,957	895	344
1970 [2]	26,850	14,650	10,910	930	360
1971 [2]	27,850	14,735	11,780	960	375

[1] Preliminary.
[2] Estimated.

Source: NSF 70–46.

TABLE 2.—USE OF FUNDS, BY SECTOR, FOR R. & D. 1953–71

[In thousands]

Year	Total	Federal Government intramurally	Industry	Universities and other nonprofit institutions
1953	$5,207	$1,010	$3,630	$567
1954	5,738	1,020	4,070	648
1955	6,279	905	4,640	734
1956	8,483	1,040	6,605	838
1957	9,912	1,220	7,731	961
1958	10,870	1,374	8,389	1,107
1959	12,540	1,640	9,618	1,282
1960	13,730	1,726	10,509	1,495
1961	14,552	1,874	10,908	1,770
1962	15,665	2,098	11,464	2,103
1963	17,371	2,279	12,630	2,462
1964	19,214	2,838	13,512	2,864
1965	20,439	3,093	14,185	3,161
1966	22,266	3,222	15,548	3,496
1967	23,642	3,395	16,415	3,832
1968	25,083	3,493	17,393	4,197
1969 [1]	26,175	3,498	18,367	4,310
1970 [2]	26,850	3,600	18,910	4,340
1971 [2]	27,850	3,650	19,800	4,400

[1] Preliminary.
[2] Estimated.

Source: NSF 70–46.

DOD statements on total U.S. R&D expenditures

In testimony early in 1970 before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, Dr. Foster presented data in support of the fiscal year 1971 RDT&E budget request. Dr. Foster stated that the national technical base, which is assumed to be the sum total of all R&D completed and being carried out in the country, amounted to $27 billion in fiscal year 1970. About 55 percent of this R&D was being financed by Federal Funds and 45 percent being financed from non-Federal sources.

These figures were published by NSF in September 1969[5] and are cited as the basis for Dr. Foster's testimony. NSF projected that total R&D expenditures would reach $27.2 billion in 1970, with the Government providing $15 billion, or 55 percent.

Dr. Foster also stated that, from 1960 to 1968, U.S. R&D amounted to about $173 billion. Although no source was given, this statement coincides with NSF figures on funds expended for national R&D for this period, more than $172 billion.

Dr. Foster stated in March 1971 that the United States will invest some $28 billion in R&D nationally in fiscal year 1971. This estimate is compatible with NSF's estimate of $27.85 billion. (See table 1.)

U.S. R&D by type of effort

For its R&D Resources reports, NSF asks the performer respondents to report expenditures for basic and applied research in the sciences, including medical sciences, and in engineering and other development activities. In terms of fields the natural sciences—life, physical, and engineering—as well as the social and psychological sciences, are covered in the Federal, universities and colleges, and other nonprofit sectors. Industry coverage is limited, at present, to the natural sciences.

NSF defines each of these endeavors to guide the respondents in reporting. Research is defined as a systematic, intensive study directed toward fuller scientific knowledge of the subject studied. The term "research" includes basic and applied research. For three of the sectors—Federal Government, universities and colleges, and other nonprofit institutions—the definition of basic research stresses that it is directed toward increases of knowledge in science for its own

sake, rather than toward a practical application thereof.

The definition for the industry sector recognizes the industrial company's commercial goals by indicating that, although basic research projects representing original investigations for the advancement of scientific knowledge do not have specific commercial objectives, they may be in fields of present or potential interest to the reporting company.

Applied research is defined as research oriented toward practical applications of knowledge rather than toward investigation for its own sake. For the industry survey, the definition recognizes research projects which have applications toward specific commercial objectives with respect to either projects or processes.

NSF defines development as the systematic use of knowledge and understanding gained from research and directed to the production of useful materials, devices, systems, and methods; such work includes the design, testing, and improvements of prototypes and processes. Development is directed to generally predictable and very specific ends, and, because such work results so often in tangible products, it can be readily associated with distinct national goals.

Respondents using these definitions have furnished NSF with expenditure data for R&D efforts of each type, as shown in table 3.

TABLE 3.—ANNUAL R. & D. EXPENDITURES BY TYPE OF R. & D.

[Total of Federal Government, industry, university, and nonprofit organizations, in thousands]

Year	Total	Basic research	Applied research	Development
1953	$5,207	$489	$1,317	$3,401
1954	5,738	548	1,430	3,760
1955	6,279	608	1,525	4,146
1956	8,483	747	1,938	5,798
1957	9,912	857	2,429	6,626
1958	10,870	973	2,757	7,140
1959	12,540	1,155	2,965	8,420
1960	13,730	1,326	3,093	9,311
1961	14,552	1,543	3,156	9,853
1962	15,665	1,886	3,775	10,004
1963	17,371	2,196	3,881	11,294
1964	19,214	2,559	4,300	12,355
1965	20,439	2,853	4,537	13,049
1966	22,266	3,127	4,817	14,322
1967	23,642	3,363	5,041	15,238
1968	25,083	3,638	5,426	16,019
1969[1]	26,175	3,735	5,655	16,785
1970[2]	26,850	3,800	5,850	17,200
1971[2]	27,850	3,900	6,050	17,900

[1] Preliminary.
[2] Estimated.

Source: NSF 70-46.

Federal expenditure for R&D in the United States

A report entitled "special analyses" is published annually in conjunction with the Budget of the United States. This report includes an analysis identifying Federal obligations and expenditures for the conduct of R&D and for facilities related to such activities (Special Analysis J for fiscal year 1969; Special Analysis Q for fiscal years 1970 and 1971, and Special Analysis R for fiscal year 1972). These data are subject to subsequent appropriation and apportionment actions.

NSF publishes an annual volume on Federal support of R&D, and each report covers obligations and expenditures over a 3-year period.[6] Data for the current year reconcile with the amounts shown in the budget and do not reflect subsequent congressional action or changes made by executive apportionment. Data for the prior year reflect subsequent modifications for appropriation and apportionment actions but are still estimates. Data for the earliest year have been refined to actual agency obligation and expenditure figures.

The Federal Funds series includes data on the R&D plant, which is the acquisition, construction, and major repair or alteration of R&D facilities and fixed equipment, but excludes expendable equipment and office furniture and equipment.

NSF obtains its statistical data from Federal agencies through the use of a questionnaire. Generally the budget "special analyses" and NSF's Federal Funds reports use the same definitions for research and development and R&D plant. NSF assists agency respondents in interpreting the survey concepts and definitions, but ultimate decisions on classification of activities and the amounts reported are made by the responding agencies.

NSF states that its Federal Funds reports reflect the full costs of research, development, and the R&D plant.

Such costs include direct costs of specific R&D projects and applicable overhead costs. The amounts reported include the costs of planning and administering R&D programs, laboratory overhead, pay of military personnel, and departmental administration. (However, see our comment in the next paragraph on DOD's costs). Therefore NSF's Federal Funds reports are intended to represent all direct, indirect, incidental, or related costs resulting from, or necessary to, research, development, and R&D plant, regardless of whether performed by a Federal agency intramurally or by private organizations and individuals under contract or grant.

Differences which prevent reconciliation between the Federal Funds reports and the R&D Resources reports, which are performer based (table 1), have been noted previously. It must also be noted that the Federal Funds reports are based solely on agency input, and there is evidence that the total R&D effort of DOD is greater than the amount of funds reported by DOD to NSF. (See p. 41.)

Figures for Federal expenditures and obligations from 1953 to 1971 taken from NSF's Federal Funds reports are shown on table 4.

TABLE 4.—FEDERAL FUNDS FOR R. & D.

[In thousands]

Year	Expenditures total	Obligations		
		Total	R. & D.	R. & D. plant
1953	$3,101.0	$3,361.4	$3,106.0	$255.4
1954	3,147.9	3,039.0	2,875.0	164.0
1955	3,308.3	2,744.7	2,532.8	211.9
1956	3,446.0	3,266.9	2,988.2	278.7
1957	4,461.9	4,389.2	3,932.0	457.2
1958	4,990.6	4,906.0	4,569.7	336.3
1959	5,806.4	7,122.6	6,693.5	429.1
1960	7,744.2	8,080.0	7,551.7	528.3
1961	9,284.3	9,607.1	9,058.6	548.5
1962	10,381.1	11,069.1	10,289.9	779.1
1963	11,999.3	13,663.0	12,494.7	1,168.3
1964	14,707.0	15,323.9	14,225.4	1,098.5
1965	14,888.8	15,745.9	14,614.3	1,131.6
1966	16,017.9	16,178.8	15,320.4	858.3
1967	16,841.7	17,149.4	16,529.3	620.1
1968	17,030.2	16,525.3	15,921.4	603.8
1969	16,374.6	16,306.2	15,637.2	669.0
1970[1]	16,154.0	16,392.4	15,699.6	692.7
1971[1]	16,160.8	16,198.4	15,637.8	560.5

[1] Estimated.

Note: Total obligations may differ slightly from the sum of R. & D. obligations and R. & D. plant obligations due to rounding.

Source: op. cit.

Fields of industrial R&D in the United States

NSF reports that, in recent years, industrial firms have performed about 70 percent of all R&D in the United States.[7] In 1968 for the first time since 1956, industrial firms reported that they financed over one half of their R&D work with their own funds ($8.9 billion of $17.4 billion). As pointed out by NSF, Federal Funds for R&D performance in some industries may have been understated because some firms reported as company funds, rather than Federal financing, overhead payments that were allowed on Federal contracts and used to finance a portion of company-initiated R&D projects (commonly referred to as independent research and development). Of the $8.5 billion in R&D funds reported by industry as furnished by Federal agencies in 1968, 90 percent came from DOD and NASA.

NSF's industry reports segregate R&D by industrial fields. In 1968 five industries accounted for 83 percent of all-industry total of R&D work. Table 5 gives a breakdown of expenditures by fields of industry. There is no comparable analysis for Federal intramural R&D to consider in conjunction with industry figures to get a complete national picture.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 5.—R. & D. EXPENDITURES IN INDUSTRY, BY FIELDS, 1956-71

[In thousands]

Year	Total	Source of funds		Fields of industry					
		Federal Government	Industry[1]	Aircraft and missiles	Electrical equipment and communication	Motor vehicles and transportation equipment	Machinery	Chemicals and allied products	Other
1956[2]	$6,605	$3,328	$3,277	$2,138	$1,516	$688	$543	$641	$1,079
1957	7,731	4,335	3,396	2,574	1,804	707	669	705	1,272
1958	8,389	4,759	3,630	2,609	1,969	856	781	792	1,382
1959	9,618	5,635	3,983	3,090	2,329	866	930	891	1,512
1960	10,509	6,081	4,428	3,514	2,532	884	949	980	1,650
1961	10,908	6,240	4,668	3,829	2,483	936	901	1,101	1,658
1962	11,464	6,434	5,029	4,042	2,639	999	914	1,175	1,695
1963	12,630	7,270	5,360	4,712	2,866	1,090	958	1,239	1,765
1964	13,512	7,720	5,792	5,055	2,952	1,176	1,051	1,300	1,978
1965	14,185	7,740	6,445	5,098	3,168	1,223	1,128	1,390	2,178
1966	15,548	8,332	7,216	5,447	3,586	1,339	1,300	1,461	2,413
1967	16,415	8,395	8,020	5,570	3,798	1,376	1,457	1,569	2,645
1968	17,435	8,559	8,876	5,651	4,038	1,530	1,619	1,640	2,957
1969	18,367	8,551	9,816	5,783	4,287	1,639	1,732	1,729	3,197
1970[3]	18,910	8,160	10,750						
1971[3]	19,800	8,200	11,600						

[1] Includes all funds for industrial R. & D. performed within company facilities except funds provided by the Federal Government. The data do not include company-financed R. & D. contracted to outside organizations, such as research institutions, universities and colleges, or other nonprofit organizations. In 1968 industrial firms contracted $213 million in company-financed R. & D. projects to outside organizations.

[2] Source of data for 1956-68: NSF 70-29; 1969: NSF 70-47; 1970 and 1971: NSF 70-46.
[3] Estimated.

U.S. Military-Related R&D Expenditures

In comparing the United States and the Soviet Union, DOD generally considers expenditures for R&D to be military-related if they are for defense or space. Therefore in the United States such expenditures include those made by DOD and NASA and at least a portion of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) expenditures. Considering Federal financing alone, expenditures in recent years would amount to:

[In millions]

	R.D.T. & E. of DOD, all of AEC, and all of NASA	R. & D. of DOD, all of AEC, and all of NASA [1]
Year:		
1967	$14,052	$14,573
1968	14,065	14,482
1969	13,363	13,774
1970	[2] 12,793	[2] 13,242
1971	[2] 12,387	[2] 12,836

[1] Includes R.D.T. & E. appropriations plus funds from military personnel, military construction, and other appropriations in support of R. & D.
[2] Estimated.

Inasmuch as all activities in the Soviet Union are funded and controlled by the Government, and because of the uncertainty of the location of all military R&D in the Soviet Union budget, we tried to identify all United States defense-related R&D expenditures, those in the private sector as well as the Government sector. (As explained in ch. 3, such information for Soviet Union expenditures must be arrived at by analysis and judgment.) In our analysis, however, we did not find any information readily available as to how much of the $10 billion to $11 billion financed by industry (table 5, p. 24) is defense related.

In compiling industry information, NSF does not determine how much R&D financed by industrial companies could be considered to be defense related, possibly because of the inherent problem in arbitrarily having to distinguish between potential uses for defense and space activities as opposed to civil Government and commercial applications. Some part of industry R&D could benefit both areas; however, the relationship to defense would undoubtedly be greater in some industries than in others.

The extent to which such relationship could vary is illustrated by the different product fields represented in the following summary of funds for applied R&D performance and by industry in selected product fields in 1968.[8]

(In millions)

Industry product field:	*Company-funded R&D*
Ordnance, except guided missiles	$ 44
Guided missiles and spacecraft	424
Textile mill products	61
Chemicals, except drugs and medicines	1,119
Machinery	1,235
Aircraft and parts	1,183
Professional and scientific instruments	390
Total selected product fields	4,456
Total industry funds for applied R&D	8,407

NSF reported that the office, computing, and accounting machine industry (shown above as part of the machinery field) performed $658 million worth of applied R&D in 1968. Of this amount $601 million was reported to be financed by the industry and $57 million by the Federal Government. It is estimated that the large percentage of this effort related to computers.

The lack of reliable data is illustrated by the significant difference between the NSF data and DOD's estimate of total computer R&D effort. In a response to Representative Michael J. Harrington on May 26, 1971 (question 7), DOD stated that:

"In the United States, the total computer R&D effort, civilian and military, is estimated at about $1 billion per year. The major fraction of this is supported by Defense and space, directly or indirectly."

Thus the DOD estimate of total computer effort is substantially greater than the NSF report covering the entire office computing and accounting machine industry. DOD has informed us that its estimate is deliberately conservative and includes software. Although the amount reported by private firms to NSF as Government financed is less than 10 percent, DOD believes the major portion is Government financed directly or indirectly. NSF's figure, according to DOD, would not reflect indirect Government payments for company R&D included in the purchase price of computer equipment.

Since computers have a high potential for military application, it is reasonable to assume that much of industry R&D in the computer field has a definite relationship to defense. The importance of computers in the relative R&D positions of the United States and the Soviet Union is evidenced by reports that there is a serious lack of computing power for scientific and other purposes in the Soviet Union.[9] Within the Soviet Union there is evidenced a need for coordination between the research institutes and industry and for more user-orientation in the design, production, and servicing of computer systems. The Soviet Union state-oriented system has produced no counterparts to computer user-groups such as in the United States.

In summary, our limited examination did not identify any readily accessible data indicating the amount of R&D funded by industry that could be considered to be defense related. DOD believes the amount to be less than $1 billion, including computer manufacturing technology. The Director of Defense Research and Engineering stated in a response to Representative Harrington on May 26, 1971, that in making funding comparisons between the United States and the Soviet Union:

"* * * an attempt was made to estimate the equivalent RDT&E value to the U.S. military RDT&E budget of U.S. non-defense, non-space R&D items which the Soviets might have to include in their military and space budget in the interest of secrecy. Computer manufacturing technology was a major item. The estimate for such civilian-furnished RDT&E to Defense was between $500 million and $1 billion per year in 1970 * * *."

DOD statements on military-related R&D expenditures

In its fiscal year 1971 budget request, DOD included a statement that U.S. expenditures for defense, space, and atomic energy R&D in 1970 were estimated to be about $13 to $14 billion. Special Analysis Q of the Budget of the United States for fiscal year 1971, issued in February 1970, estimated the R&D programs for 1970, as follows:

Defense, Space, and Atomic Energy
(Amount in millions)

DOD	$7,910
NASA	4,004
AEC	1,623
Total	13,537

At that time NSF was estimating the 1970 national R&D effort at $27,250 million, with defense-space outlays represented by 43.2 percent of the total (NSF 69-30). This would come to about $11,772 million for defense and space R&D. This figure understandably is lower than budget estimates because (1) by NSF's definition, expenditures for AEC's civilian-oriented programs are not included and (2) NSF's figure is based on performer-furnished data which do not include Federal R&D funds used for purposes which are not considered by the performer to be strictly R&D.

We could not relate Special Analysis Q for fiscal year 1970 with the figures given by Dr. Foster in his 1969 testimony on the fiscal year 1970 budget. Dr. Foster estimated the U.S. expenditures in military, space, and atomic energy R&D at $16.4 billion in fiscal year 1969 and $16.7 billion in fiscal year 1970. Special Analysis Q estimates for DOD, NASA and AEC were $13.9 billion for each of those years.

DOD-sponsored R&D

Funds are authorized and appropriated by the Congress to the Army, Navy, Air Force, and defense agencies for research, development, test and evaluation (RDT&E). Funds provided separately under other congressional appropriations furnish support to the RDT&E programs, and in recent years efforts have been made by DOD to record more of these costs.

When DOD officials have mentioned defense-sponsored R&D in the past several years, it has usually been in the area of $7 billion. So long as the figure is not more precise, it can represent the RDT&E appropriation request in the DOD budget, the DOD portion of the R&D program in the special analysis of the President's budget, or DOD's R&D program (RDT&E plus supporting appropriations) reported to NSF in either obligations or expenditures.

We have attempted to also identify DOD expenditures for R&D which are not funded as RDT&E or accounted for by DOD as supporting its R&D program.

R&D costs funded through RDT&E appropriations

DOD divides the RDT&E program into six categories: research, exploratory development, advanced development, engineering development, operational systems development, and management and support. The makeup of the RDT&E appropriation is discussed more fully on page 33 of this report in connection with its correlation to the defense R&D program.

The RDT&E figure is subject to many changes as the appropriation request progresses from a budget submission to the Congress, through enactment into law, to represent actual obligations and expenditures. A look at RDT&E funds for recent years illustrates the problems in using such funds as an accurate portrayal of DOD R&D expenditures.

[In thousands]

	Fiscal year—		
	1969	1970	1971
Authorization acts	$7,794	$7,296	$7,102
Appropriation acts	7,551	7,369	6,976
Special analyses (budget): R.D.T. & E. obligations	7,281	6,972	[1] 7,043
NSF reports on R. & D.:			
R.D.T. & E. obligations	7,491	[1] 7,426	[1] 7,337
R.D.T. & E. expenditures	7,457	[1] 7,280	[1] 7,344

[1] Estimated.

Footnotes at end of article.

DOD's Reported R&D Expenditures

Both the special budget analyses and NSF reports show DOD's contribution to the Federal R&D program to be larger than the amount of the RDT&E appropriations.

The latest of the NSF Federal Funds reports shows Federal expenditures for research, development, and the R&D plant (facilities) by agencies for fiscal years through 1971. (See NSF 70-38, table C-88.) DOD reported expenditures, in addition to RDT&E for pay and allowances for military R&D personnel starting in fiscal year 1953 and for support from procurement appropriations starting with fiscal year 1954. Overall DOD expenditures for R&D include those of defense agencies, such as the Advanced Research Projects Agency, Defense Atomic Support Agency, and Defense Communications Agency; expenditures include also the R&D portion of funds for military assistance (special foreign currency program), civil defense, and emergency funds. Military construction for R&D installations is reported for inclusion with applicable RDT&E funds as R&D plant.

Total DOD figures, in relation to total Federal figures, for fiscal years 1953 through 1971 appear in table 6. A more detailed breakdown of the latest 3 years follows.

[In thousands]

	Fiscal year—		
	1969	1970	1971
Special analyses (budget):			
R.D.T. & E. appropriations	$7,281	$6,972	$7,043
Other appropriations	391	366	357
R. & D. facilities	197	140	162
Total military R. & D. obligations	7,869	7,478	7,562
Total military R. & D. expenditures	7,850	7,566	7,707
NSF reports on R. & D.:			
R.D.T. & E. appropriations	7,457	7,280	7,344
Direct support from procurement appropriations	18	20	9
Housing for military personnel in R. & D	3	13	18
Pay and allowances of military personnel in R. & D	295	322	305
Military construction	77	57	60
Civil defense	9	10	13
Special foreign currency program			1
DOD-wide funds	9	27	43
Total military R. & D. expenditures including R. & D. plant	7,868	[1] 7,729	7,793
Total military R. & D. obligations including R. & D. plant	7,890	[1] 7,931	7,788

[1] Estimated.

DOD furnished us with expenditures and obligations reported to NSF as estimates for fiscal year 1972, as follows:

[In thousands]

	Expenditures	Obligations
R.D.T. & E. program (6 categories)	$7,379	$7,946
Emergency fund (R.D.T. & E.)	45	50
R.D.T. & E., supporting military construction (R. & D. plant)	80	77
Subtotal	7,504	8,073
R. & D. portions:		
Special foreign currency program	1	3
Army civil defense	4	4
Military personnel	317	317
Military construction (R. & D. plant)	73	83
Total	7,899	8,480

The following section will discuss more broadly the relationship of the RDT&E appropriation to DOD's total involvement in R&D.

TABLE 6.—DOD EXPENDITURES FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, AND R. & D. PLANT—1953 TO 1971—Continued

[In millions]

Year	Total all agencies	Total DOD
1953	$3,101.0	$2,454.8
1954	3,147.9	2,487.2
1955	3,308.3	2,630.2
1956	3,446.0	2,639.0
1957	4,461.9	3,371.4
1958	4,990.6	3,664.2
1959	5,806.4	4,183.3
1960	7,744.2	5,653.8
1961	9,284.3	6,618.1
1962	10,381.1	6,812.0
1963	11,999.3	6,848.8
1964	14,707.0	7,517.0
1965	14,888.8	6,727.6
1966	16,017.9	6,734.6
1967	16,841.7	7,680.1
1968	17,030.2	8,163.6
1969	16,347.6	7,868.4
1970 [1]	16,154.0	7,729.3
1971 [1]	16,160.8	7,793.6

[1] Estimated.
Source: NSF 70-38.

R&D costs, not funded through RDT&E, identified in DOD's accounting system

Over the years the annual RDT&E appropriations have been subject to refinements and clarifications. When the present RDT&E appropriation structure was established by the Congress for fiscal year 1958, the areas of coverage between RTD&E and those for procurement and for operations and maintenance were clarified. Subsequently funds providing for the operation and management functions at R&D installations and activities were included in the RDT&E appropriations, together with the funds to support the related direct R&D program effort.

In 1968 DOD formulated a system, effective for fiscal year 1969, to improve the accounting for the cost of R&D work. The R&D accounting system was to include all costs financed by RDT&E appropriations plus any costs financed by separate appropriations applicable to R&D.

RDT&E budget activities that relate to the corresponding budget activities of the President's budget are: Military sciences; Aircraft and related equipment; Missiles and related equipment; Military astronautics and related equipment; Ordnance, combat vehicles, and related equipment; Other equipment; and Programwide management and support.

DOD's programming system centers on the Five Year Defense Program which organizes defense activities in DOD-wide programs. Research and development is program 6. As explained below, this program and the RDT&E budget activity are not identical.

The RDT&E budget activity is divided into six categories of effort which are: Research; Exploratory development; Advanced development; Engineering development; Operational systems development; and Management and support.

All of these RDT&E categories except operational systems development [10] are included in program 6, R&D. On the other hand, program 6 includes additional elements for separately identified amounts of research and development cost covered in the military construction, family housing,[11] and military personnel appropriations. These additional elements represent construction identified as primarily supporting R&D installations or activities, family housing construction, operation and maintenance at R&D installations and activities, and pay and allowances of military personnel assigned to R&D.

To implement the R&D accounting system, the Secretary of Defense published instructions (DOD Instruction 7220.5, Jan. 24, 1968, as revised) specifying in detail the kinds of costs to be financed from RDT&E appropriations. The DOD policy set forth the treatment for major costs of the R&D program. The RDT&E appropriation is to provide for (1) the costs of RDT&E activities performed by contractors and Government installations, including the procurement of equipment and materiel required for development, test, or evaluation of equipment or materiel under development, and (2) the operation of R&D installations or activities engaged in the conduct of the R&D program, including direct and indirect efforts, expense, and investment cost, except in certain situations.

The instruction codified existing policies which had been in use and was not expected to result in any significant changes in the content of the RDT&E appropriations. The fiscal year 1969 RDT&E budget included relatively small amounts to be financed through stock funds and services to be financed through industrial funds. These items had previously been furnished without charge to RDT&E.

As the R&D accounting system was implemented and reimbursable arrangements were established, charges were added to RDT&E for tenant R&D activities [12] whose support was formerly furnished free, and RDT&E was relieved of expenses for support of tenant activities at R&D installations. DOD believes that the few cases of R&D tenants currently not reimbursing the hosts are offset by the non-R&D tenants on RDT&E installations who do not reimburse their hosts.

DOD's policy on R&D accounting specifies that certain costs supporting R&D work, but financed from appropriations other than RDT&E, would be recorded on a memorandum basis in the accounts of R&D program 6. To this extent, estimated costs are obtainable through the DOD accounting system. These costs are discussed below.

Military personnel—The costs of military pay and allowances of personnel working in R&D are financed out of military personnel appropriations but identified with program 6.

The R&D operating budget of each DOD component involved in R&D work reflects as an unfunded cost the estimate of military personnel costs at standard rates expected to be incurred during the fiscal year for R&D work. Standard rates are specified for all pay grades of the four services. These are composite rates which identify amounts for the following four elements: pay, quarters allowances, incentive and special pay, and miscellaneous expenses.

Pay includes the increments for longevity of service. Quarters allowances do not include overseas station allowances. Incentive and special duty pay includes supplements for hazardous duties and certain specialized fields. Miscellaneous expenses cover subsistence, uniforms and clothing, reenlistment bonuses, overseas station allowances, life insurance, social security taxes, and other allowances. Not reflected in the standard rates are permanent-change-of-station costs, support of allies, and quarters allowance forfeitures due to occupancy of Government quarters. Standard pay rates do not consider other costs associated with military personnel, such as medical care, retirement, and commissary privileges.

Analysis of military personnel costs reported to NSF indicates that refinement of the accounting system in 1968 did not significantly alter the amounts. NSF reports published in September 1970 and prior to this show the following expenditures.

Fiscal year:	*Amount in millions*
1967	$307.9
1968	302.2
1969	295.0
1970	[a] 322.0
1971	[a] 305.3

[a] Estimated.

Footnotes at end of article.

For NSF's forthcoming publication, DOD reported by letter dated April 3, 1971, more recent expenditure figures.

Fiscal year:	Amount in millions
1970	[a] $361.8
1971	[b] 350.2
1972	[b] 316.6

[a] Actual.
[b] Estimated.

At our request the OASD/Comptroller estimated costs for R&D-related military personnel in the fiscal year 1972 Five Year Defense Program to be $331.7 million.

Military construction—The costs of construction required at Government owned and operated R&D activities, financed by military construction appropriations, are shown as memorandum information in applicable R&D operating budgets. These costs are reported to NSF annually as part of the "R&D plant" for DOD. Analysis of amounts reported to NSF in recent years indicates that no major change took place as a result of the 1968 R&D accounting revisions. Figures published through September 1970 show:

Fiscal year:	Amount in millions
1967	$73.5
1968	62.1
1969	76.7
1970	[a] 57.6
1971	[a] 60.0

[a] Estimated.

DOD furnished NSF with these expenditure figures in April 1971.

Fiscal year:	Amount in millions
1970	[a] $43.1
1971	[b] 80.6
1972	[b] 73.5

[a] Actual.
[b] Estimated.

We were informed that expected costs for fiscal year 1972 for R&D construction were $98.6 million.

Family housing—Family housing construction, operation and maintenance at R&D installations and activities funded from family housing appropriations were to be identified to program 6 according to DOD Instruction 7220.5. Expenditures for family housing appearing in NSF reports through September 1970 indicated this change.

Fiscal year:	Amount in millions
1967	------
1968	$17.8
1969	3.1
1970	[a] 12.9
1971	[a] 17.9

[a] Estimated.

When we inquired of DOD about fiscal 1972, we were informed that family housing costs are no longer reflected in the Five Year Defense Program 6 (R&D) and the DOD instruction is being revised to reflect the change in policy regarding programming costs of family housing at RDT&E installations. No reason for the change in policy was stated other than to inform us that, because of their nature, all family housing costs hereinafter will be accounted for in DOD's program 8 (training, medical, and other general personnel activities).

We noted that DOD's submission to NSF in April 1971 did not include R&D expenditures for family housing for fiscal years 1970, 1971, or 1972. We were given a rough estimate by DOD of $20 million for 1972 R&D family housing costs.

Civil defense—The R&D accounting system identifies, without change in 1968, the R&D portion of the Army's civil defense program. NSF reports added to the RDT&E figures the following amounts for this program.

Fiscal year:	Amount in millions
1967	$7.9
1968	7.3
1969	9.3
1970	[a] 10.0
1971	[a] 12.8

[a] Estimated.

DOD's recent figures showed:

(Amount in millions)

Fiscal year:	
1970	[a] $5.9
1971	[b] 4.6
1972	[b] 3.8

[a] Actual.
[b] Estimated.

The OASD/Comptroller estimated fiscal year 1972 expenditures for civil defense R&D to be $3.5 million.

Other costs—In recent years the R&D portion of the Special Foreign Currency Program has been identified as a separate item. This program appears in the NSF statistics as $0.2, $0.2 and $1.3 million for 1969 through 1971. DOD's estimate for the R&D portion of the program for fiscal year 1972 is $2.9 million.

Other types of DOD expenditures for R&D, as reported by NSF, apparently were affected by the 1968 accounting purification. For example, in 1967, the Navy and the Air Force reported expenditures totaling $22.3 million in support of RDT&E from the operations and maintenance appropriations. In 1968 $10.8 million was reported. Starting with fiscal year 1969, however, no such amounts have been reported. DOD Instruction 7220.5 provides that the RDT&E appropriation will finance the expenses for the operation and maintenance of R&D organization, facilities, equipment, and installations or activities engaged in RDT&E activities—or in the management, administration, or direct support thereof—except for the salaries and expenses of R&D organizations within the departmental headquarters level of DOD components.

Another expenditure published annually by NSF is the support to RDT&E from procurement appropriations. In fiscal year 1967 expenditures of $5.9 million were reported by the Army, $64.8 million by the Navy, and $28.1 million by the Air Force; a total of $98.8 million. In 1968 the Navy reported expenditures of $2 million and the Air Force $6.8 million from procurement appropriations. NSF's 1970 Federal funds reports shows expenditures by the Air Force for 1969 of $17.5 million from procurement in support of R&D plant. Estimated for 1971 and 1972 are $19.7 million and $9.3 million, respectively for the same purpose. The other services reported no expenditures.

DOD Instruction 7220.5 provides that the costs of specialized equipment, instrumentation, and facilities required in support of—and investments in operation and maintenance of—RDT&E activities should be financed from RDT&E appropriations. We noted that expenditures reported by DOD to NSF in 1971 for fiscal year 1972 did not identify separately any procurement appropriations supporting R&D plant.

R&D costs not identified in DOD's accounting system

The changes from year to year in the content of the RDT&E appropriations and of the R&D program illustrate the problems in using the figures for precise comparisons. Also of significance in consideration of defense R&D are the funds which are in the nature of R&D, but which are neither in the RDT&E appropriation nor in the program 6 R&D accounting system.

In many major programs millions of dollars are spent out of production funds in "get well," "fix," "correction of deficiencies," "product improvement," and "modernization" programs. For example, it took the Air Force 3 years, primarily with procurement funding, to develop the A-7D aircraft and its complex avionics system to the point when the first operational aircraft was received from production.

The Navy ordered three different models of the AN/SQS-26 sonar system when design and performance problems existed on the original model and the test and evaluation program had not been completed.[13] Each of these models incorporated changes over the previous models, and many of the changes were made to overcome numerous system problems revealed during test and evaluation. After the Navy became aware of the problems with the earlier models, an improvement program was initiated. None of the funds for the three follow-on models came from RDT&E appropriations, even though the contracts were, in effect, for design and development programs.

It is difficult without accounting data to measure the amount of R&D-type expenditures which are not included in the RDT&E appropriation or reported in the program 6 R&D accounting system.

The following sections discuss some of the major areas. We have given estimates where they were available or could be calculated.

Contractors' independent research and development

Independent research and development (IR&D)[14] is defined as that part of a contractor's total research and development program which is not conducted under a direct contract but is undertaken in areas at the discretion of the contractor. In establishing prices and profit margins for commercial products, a company includes a factor for its planned IR&D costs to the extent competitively feasible. Government contracting officers negotiating contract prices, however, do not include as a profit factor the contractor's planned costs for IR&D. Instead, the Government shares the cost of IR&D, generally in proportion to the contractor's sales to the Government as compared with the contractor's total sales. Frequently special cost-sharing arrangements are made or ceilings are established limiting the amount of IR&D which will be recognized as allocable to both Government and commercial work. The acceptable amount of IR&D is then included in overhead costs and charged to the contracts involved.

As pointed out in our report to the Congress in February 1970,[15] DOD has separate appropriations for procurement and for R&D activities, and DOD's share of contractors' IR&D costs generally is absorbed by the procurement appropriation. AEC and NASA, on the other hand, each use a single annual appropriation for their contract operations and, therefore, such appropriation is charged with all R&D work performed under direct contracts as well as the agencies' share of the cost of contractors' IR&D work.

Consequently to determine the total amount of U.S. Government-furnished R&D effort which is military related, it is necessary to add the cost of the DOD share of IR&D costs which is not included in the RDT&E appropriation.

According to Defense Contract Audit Agency reports, DOD's share of IR&D costs was about $695 million in 1970. We believe that most of this amount would have been included as overhead on contracts funded from procurement appropriation. On the basis of our knowledge of the funding of defense contracts, we estimate that about 20 percent would have been funded from RDT&E appropriations; therefore about $556 million of contractors' IR&D represents additional DOD R&D costs not included in the RDT&E appropriations.[16]

Footnotes at end of article.

According to DCAA reports, major defense and space contractors incurred $1,294 million of IR&D costs in 1970. One thousand eighty seven million dollars of this amount was accepted by the Government for allocation to all of the contractors' work. To be acceptable for allocation, such work generally must be related to product lines for which the Government has contracts. Consequently it seems reasonable to assume that the difference between the amount accepted for allocation ($1,087 million) and the DOD/NASA share ($791 million), or approximately $300 million, represents unreimbursed costs incurred for defense-related research.

We believe the IR&D costs incurred in excess of the amount accepted for allocation also represents—to an undetermined degree—costs incurred for defense-related research. Such costs, amounting to $207 million in 1970, were incurred by major defense and space contractors as a means of meeting anticipated customer needs, and consequently it appears that such unreimbursed cost would represent a substantial amount of defense-related research financed by private industry.

In summary, we believe that, in 1970, companies performed about $850 million of defense-related research which is not funded from DOD's RDT&E appropriations. Any consideration of these data in conjunction with national R&D based on NSF's performer data must recognize that much of this research presumably would be reported by the companies as their own funded research although some may have been reported as federally funded.

Product Improvement

DOD Instruction 7220.5 outlines the types of cost to be financed from the RDT&E appropriation, the types to be financed by other appropriations, and those where the appropriate appropriation to finance the cost "will depend upon the actual program circumstance involved for each case for each annual Program/Budget cycle."

The instruction provides in paragraph IV. B.3.c. that:

"'Product improvement' of major end items (such as weapons, military equipment, and major components thereof) currently in production or in the operational inventory (excluding the costs of resulting modification of items in the operational inventory) is subject to the following:

"(1) Redesign of an item for the purpose of extending the useful military life of such item by *increasing* the then current performance envelope, including related development, test, and evaluation effort; will be financed by RDT&E appropriations.

"(2) Engineering services and related effort by the producing contractor or manufacturing installation applied to an item currently in production for the purpose of extending the useful military life of such item *within* the then current performance envelope; should be financed by Procurement appropriations.

"(3) Engineering services and related effort by a manufacturing or operations type installation applied to an item no longer in production but still in the operational inventory for the purpose of extending the useful military life of such item within the then current performance envelope; should be financed by Operations and Maintenance appropriations."

We have been informed by an OASD/Comptroller official that separate records are not maintained of "product improvement" costs financed by the Procurement or Operations and Maintenance appropriations. We were furnished, however, with "a very rough estimate of a 'grey' area between RDT&E and production." The fiscal year 1972 amount estimated by the OASD/Comptroller for such product improvement (also called "Component Improvement") is $100 million.

On the basis of studies previously made by this Office, indications are that the estimated amount of R&D cost incurred for product improvement may be substantially greater than the $100 million estimate.

For many years the Air Force and the Navy have used substantial amounts of procurements funds for developing or upgrading aircraft engines. Such funding efforts were referred to as "component improvement" and "contributing engineering" methods. Following hearings before the House Appropriations Committee in 1966, budgeting and funding procedures were changed and it was expected that the guidance in DOD Instruction 7220.5, January 24, 1968, quoted above, would correct the funding practice.

Our work in the area indicates that the cost of "contributing engineering" is now included as company independent research and development, discussed previously. (See p. 42.) The cost of component improvement, however, is still charged to procurement appropriations.

The work to be performed in the Component Improvement Program (CIP) for aircraft engines involves substantial R&D effort. For example, the stated objectives of the CIP for an aircraft engine now in production are:

"* * * to increase the performance margins of the TF39 engine by adapting high temperature turbine and combustor technology which has become available since the original designs of the TF39 engine. An increase of approximately 80°F in the T4 temperature is expected at the end of three years effort which consists of a three phase program.

"A. Phase I—Design (completed).

"B. Phase II—Demonstration (scheduled complete 1971).

"C. Phase III — Qualification Program (starts Jan. 1, 1971).

"The effort following Phase II is to develop and qualify an advance high pressure turbine and high temperature combustor to improve the operational capability of the TF39–1 by obtaining additional performance margin. The additional margin will be obtained by improvements to the high pressure turbine combustor, and changes to other components as required by the temperature increase. This includes consideration to allow for flat rated thrusts up to ambient temperatures of standards plus 15°F during climb and cruise operation."

Although this work obviously involves substantial R&D effort, the cost of this work ($4,000,000) was charged to the procurement appropriation rather than RDT&E.

According to an Air Force memorandum on the July 1970 Tri-Service Engine Review, an amount of $113 million was recommended by the Tri-Service Group [17] for the CIP of aircraft engines for calendar year 1971 for all military services, all of which amount was to be funded by either procurement funds or operation and maintenance funds. For calendar year 1972, $126.5 million was similarly recommended.

Inasmuch as these amounts involve product improvements in aircraft engines only, it seems likely that greater amounts are being spent from other than the RDT&E appropriations for research and development for product improvement of other major end-items.

Major modifications

DOD states that the technical analysis, engineering design, and testing costs necessary to produce new models of weapons systems—including cases where significant increases in performance or changes in mission envelope have been achieved—have sometimes been included in procurement appropriations. DOD made no estimate of these amounts since a study had not been made of the area.

We estimated that the total cost of engineering changes for DOD aircraft ran between $390 million and $410 million during fiscal years 1967 and 1968.[18] Engineering changes are frequently made to military aircraft in operational use or in production to improve their safety, performance reliability, or maintainability. Engineering change proposals require R&D efforts, which in some instances are very extensive. Since the proposals are generally implemented as modifications to production contracts, our limited review indicates that RDT&E funds are not used. Although we did not verify their statements, DOD procurement officials informed us that procurement funds were used.

Substantial amounts are presently included in the procurement appropriations for the cost of modifications. For example, we were informed that $535.6 million was included in the fiscal year 1971 appropriation request of the Air Force. Of this amount, $361.6 million represented Class V Modifications designed to (1) provide a new or improved operational capability or (2) remove an existing capability that was no longer required.

Another $139 million covered Class IV Modification designed to (1) ensure safety of personnel, systems, or equipment, (2) correct a deficiency including one that affects reliability and maintainability, and (3) provide required logistic support.

Presumably most of this cost involves replacement of parts, kits, etc., but the cost of developing and testing the proposed modification also may be included. Such R&D costs are not so identified and are absorbed in the procurement appropriation. We are unable to estimate the portion of such costs which are R&D in nature.

Advanced production engineering

The DOD instruction on R&D program costs indicates that costs associated with advanced production engineering and other efforts to establish and test the capability of production facilities to produce items approved for deployment will be financed by appropriations other than RDT&E. This is another area not identified in program accounts which may involve R&D activities. DOD's rough estimate of this "grey area" between RDT&E and production for fiscal year 1972 was $50 million of R&D in procurement appropriations.

DOD has informed us that decisions are made for each annual budget on a case-by-case basis and take into account special characteristics of the program being considered and its development/production progression status. The budgeting of the first 10 complete main battle tanks in the Army procurement appropriation was cited as a current example.

R&D management and administration

Expenses of R&D management and administration organizations at DOD departmental headquarters levels are financed by operations and maintenance appropriations. After a May 1971 study, OASD/Comptroller estimated the costs of civilian personnel funded by the operations and maintenance and military personnel appropriations that had not been reflected in accumulated military personnel costs at R&D installations and activities. Departmental administrative costs of $42.3 million for 1972 were estimated for the offices of the Director of Defense Research and Engineering, the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the Defense Atomic Support Agency, the assistant secretaries of the services for R&D, and similar organizations.

DOD-sponsored research and technological base

In view of the concern expressed as to the portion of the defense RDT&E budget which is aimed at maintaining an active technological base as distinguished from the much larger portion for weapons systems and other equipment, we attempted to classify the defense-related R&D into such categories.

Footnotes at end of article.

For budget purposes DOD categorizes the progression of its R&D program in elements called research, exploratory development, advanced development, engineering development, operational systems development, and management and support. The DOD budget request for fiscal year 1971 states that the categories of R&D which constitute our technological base—research, exploratory development, and some areas of advanced development—account for about 15 to 20 percent of the total R&D costs.

The Director of Defense Research and Engineering, in his testimony on DOD's research and technology base, stated that research and exploratory development are directed at meeting the goals of fulfilling recognized requirements in military technology and making possible new and superior technology through the exploitation of new technical opportunities. He provided the following figures for technical effort.

[In millions]

[000,000 omitted]

	Fiscal year			
	1968	1969	1970	1971
Research	$368	$404	$368	$370
Exploratory development	906	875	857	897
Total technological base	1,274	1,279	1,225	1,267
R.D.T. & E. appropriation	7,288	7,756	7,439	7,346
Technological base expressed as a percent of R.D.T. & E.	18	16	16	17

A DOD official estimated for us that about 40 percent of advanced development funds go into furthering the technological base. (This percentage has been variously estimated from 30 to 45 percent.) If an assumption of 40 percent is accepted, the technology base portion of RDT&E appropriations for recent years would be:

[000,000 omitted]

	Fiscal year				
	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Research	$368	$404	$368	$370	$322
Exploratory development	906	875	857	897	1,006
Advanced development (40 percent)	281	386	376	446	564
Total technological base	1,555	1,665	1,601	1,713	1,892
Technological base expressed as a percent of R.D.T. & E.	21	21	22	23	24

As indicated, the figures for 1968 through 1971 were taken from the DOD financial summary presented by the Department of Defense to the Congress at the time of the submission of the fiscal year 1971 budget estimates. The figures for 1972 are estimates furnished by DOD.

No information is available as to how much of the defense-sponsored expenditures supporting R&D, but not included in the RDT&E appropriation, is applicable toward developing DOD's technological base. It might be assumed that such expenditures as military personnel and military construction contribute to the technological base in the same proportion as the ratio of the technological base to the RDT&E appropriations, i.e., between 20 and 25 percent.

A rough estimate of the portion of contractors' IR&D directed towards advancing the technological base also can be made. As shown on p. 42, we believe that $850 million of defense-related IR&D was not included in DOD's report of defense-related R&D. This amount primarily involves those projects specifically identified by the contrators as IR&D and those closely related projects identified as bid and proposal expenses.[19] The latter activities are more likely to be directed toward development of end products than those labeled as IR&D. Consequently, as the proportion of company-labeled IR&D to total IR&D is about 6 percent, we believe that a comparable portion of the $85 million funded from other than the DOD RDT&E appropriations, or about $578 million, represents costs directed at advancing the technological base.

Conclusion

Although the total amount is not determinable, it is evident that the amount of defense-related R&D in the United States is substantially higher, at least $1 billion higher, than the amount reported by DOD. (See table 7.) This difference is attributable to two factors.

1. The unreported amount of R&D financed from defense funds other than the RDT&E appropriations.

2. The defense-related R&D performed in the private sector which is not federally funded.

DOD believes that designation of these two types of costs as defense-related R&D costs would increase the amount recorded as United States defense-related R&D expenditures by about 15 percent—20 percent at the most—and that these add-on costs become important only if the Soviet Union is handling its similar expenditures in a different manner. DOD states that its comparisons were intended to make the Soviet Union RDT&E estimates functionally comparable to that of the United States, and such costs in the Soviet Union are aside from the budget for the Soviet Union RDT&E. We were unable in our study to determine the handling of such expenditures in the Soviet Union budget.

TABLE 7.—ESTIMATE OF DEFENSE-RELATED R. & D. EXPENDITURES NOT RECORDED BY DOD

R. & D. costs not identified in DOD's accounting system	Estimate (million)	Comments
I.R. & D.[1]	$550	Estimated by GAO on the basis of 1970 figures (p. 42).
Product improvement	100	DOD estimates $100,000,000 for fiscal year 1972; GAO believes figure is higher (p. 44).
Major modifications	Undetermined	DOD made no estimate; some R. & D. costs are incurred (p. 47).
Advanced production engineering	$50	DOD's rough estimate (p. 48).
R. & D. management and administration	$42.3	Estimate based on DOD study (p. 48).
Industry:		
I.R. & D.	$300	Estimated by GAO on the basis of 1970 figures (p. 42).
Other R. & D. (approximately $10,000,000,000 to $11,000,000,000.	Undetermined[2]	No data available on industry-financed R. & D. which is defense related (p. 25).
Total	In excess of $1,000,000,000.	

[1] DOD informed us that it included $300,000,000 for I.R. & D. in computing U.S. defense-related R. & D. costs for comparison with Soviet Union R. & D. expenditures.

[2] DOD estimates between $500,000,000 and $1,000,000,000 in 1970, including computer manufacturing technology. (See p. 25.).

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Science Policy in the U.S.S.R.," Paris 1969.

[2] "Soviet Computing Technology: Some Observations From a Visit to Soviet Computing Centers," B. W. Boehm (RAND, December 1970).

[3] Submitted by DOD to the Senate Armed Services Committee in connection with the fiscal year 1970 hearings.

[4] NSF 70–46.

[5] NSF 69–30.

[6] The most recent is NSF 70–38.

[7] NSF 70–29.

[8] Source: NSF–29.

[9] "Soviet Computing Technology: Some Observations from a Visit to Soviet Computing Centers," B. W. Boehm (RAND, December 1970).

[10] Operational systems development is included in the program for which the associated system is reported, such as Strategic Forces, General Purpose Forces, Intelligence and Communications, or Airlift and Sealift, as appropriate.

[11] Not identified starting with fiscal year 1972. (See p. 37)

[12] A tenant R&D activity or organization is one located at an installation having a primary function other than R&D.

[13] GAO report to the Congress entitled "Adverse Effects of Producing the AN/SQS–26 Surface Ship Sonar System for Service Use Before Completion of Development and Testing," (B–160877, March 1971).

[14] The term "IR&D," as used in this report, includes all independent technical effort, such as bid and proposal effort.

[15] "Allowances for Independent Research and Development Costs in Negotiated Contracts—Issues and Alternatives" (B–164912, Feb. 16, 1970).

[16] DOD informed us that it included $300 million for IR&D in computing the United States defense-related R&D costs of $7 billion for comparison with Soviet Union R&D expenditures.

[17] Representatives of the Army, Navy, and Air Force meet twice each year to review component improvement programs and recommend funding levels for each engine program.

[18] GAO Report to the Congress, "Opportunity to Reduce Costs and Improve Aircraft Through Prompt Processing of Engineering Change Proposals," (B–152600, January 1971).

[19] This matter is discussed in greater detail in our report "Allowances for Independent Research and Development Costs in Negotiated Contracts—Issues and Alternatives," (B–164912, Feb. 16, 1970).

INTRODUCTION OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1971

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 10219, to make certain amendments to the District of Columbia law on unemployment compensation.

Of special importance is the extended benefits program provided in section 2 (37) of the bill. Congress adopted this program last year and many States have put it into effect already. It provides up to 13 weeks of additional benefits for workers who have used up their benefits under present law.

The letter from the city government requesting Congress to pass this bill explains the support of the U.S. Department of Labor for the bill.

A summary of the bill prepared by the city government is submitted for the RECORD.

The summary follows:

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, D.C., June 18, 1971.

The Commissioner of the District of Columbia has the honor to submit a draft bill "To amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act in order to conform to Federal Law, and for other purposes", which may be cited as the "District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act Amendments".

The proposed bill, drafted in consultation and with the approval of the U.S. Department of Labor, is designed to implement provisions of the Employment Security Amendments of 1970 (84 Stat. 695) which require that certain provisions be included in State unemployment compensation laws. In addition, the draft bill incorporates the recommendation made by the President in this area.

Each substantive amendment contained in the draft bill is explained in the attached "Summary of Substantive Amendments to the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act".

The Commissioner urges early and favorable consideration of this draft bill by the Congress. He believes action on this legislation is imperative in order to provide an adequate compensation program for the unemployed in the District of Columbia.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

GRAHAM W. WATT,
Assistant to the Commissioner.
For: WALTER E. WASHINGTON,
Commissioner.

Attachment.

SUMMARY OF SUBSTANTIVE AMENDMENTS TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ACT

The attached proposed "District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act Amendments of 1971" is designed to implement provisions of the Employment Security Amendments of 1970 (Public Law 91-373). This Act required that certain provisions be included in all State unemployment compensation laws. In addition, the draft bill incorporates the recommendation of the President in this area.

An explanation of each substantive amendment of the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act proposed by the bill and the section of present law to which it refers is summarized below.

Section 1(b) (1). The Employment Security Amendments of 1970 amended section 3306(i) of the Federal Unemployment Tax Act and goes beyond coverage of individuals who were employees under common law rules of master and servant. Accordingly, the District law is also amended to cover as "employment", services of commission drivers and salesmen, services for nonprofit organizations with certain exclusions, services for State hospitals and institutions of higher education, and services of American citizens employed outside of the United States by American employers. *Section 1(b) (1) (F)* is amended by the draft bill to cover certain domestic services as requested by the President and urged upon the District by the Secretary of Labor. It is patterned after the law of New York and is designed primarily to cover individuals providing substantial domestic servive and not just day workers.

Section 1(b) (2). The proposed amendment consists of language contained in a resolution unanimously adopted by the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies to cover a loophole found in all State laws and which heretofore generally has been handled administratively.

Section 1(b) (7). Automatic coverage will be provided for organizations not taxable under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act, but required to be covered for certification of a State law by the Secretary of Labor.

Section 1(c) (3). Dismissal payments were excluded from the term "wages", but are now included as wages under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act.

Section 1(d). Back pay is specifically included as earnings within the meaning of the Act in accordance with a Supreme Court decision.

Section 1(q). Inclusion of Puerto Rico as a State is mandatory. The Virgin Islands are also included because most States treat the territory as a State and it has an on-going compensation program.

Sections 1(w) and 1(x). These are new subsections defining "institution of higher education", and "hospital" as required by the Federal law.

Section 3(c) (2). This amendment excludes employer charges for benefits paid to claimants undergoing training and for extended benefits paid to exhaustees of regular benefits. Though not mandatory, the proposed amendment is desirable because the Unemployment Trust Fund is sound. It is also unfair to charge an employer for benefits paid to a former employee who is in training and not subject to the availability provisions of the law.

Section 3(c) (3). This is a desirable provision because the number of employers in the District is steadily shrinking and those in the nearby counties growing. It is believed likely that our neighboring States will adopt such a provision and the District should be competitive.

Section 3(c) (4). The proposed amendments provide desirable changes of the peril points at which contribution rates would be automatically increased for all employers. The Unemployment Trust Fund has been steadily growing and now amounts to over $73,500,000, but employer reserve ratios are slowly receding.

Section 3(c) (8) (A). When the taxable wage base is increased from $3,000 to $4,200, employer reserve ratios will go down and, consequently, rates will go up. This is undesirable in view of the size of the Unemployment Trust Fund, and is corrected by reducing each step in the rate table by three-tenths of one percent.

Section 3(c) (11). It has been necessary to carry accounts of employers who have been inactive unless information was received that the employer was deceased or out of business. These accounts are credited with their share of Trust Fund interest and cause the District Unemployment Compensation Board considerable extra work. The proposed amendment would abolish an employer's reserve account after he has been inactive for three full calendar years.

Section 3(e). The taxable wage base is raised to $4,200 and is mandatory under Federal law. An additional provision allows a successor to count as taxable wages the wages paid by a predecessor. Most States have a similar provision.

Section 3(g). Employers with isolated employment in the District sometimes report such employment to the State where their main office is located. When it is discovered, it is necessary to go back for many years which is burdensome on the Board and the employer. In the meantime, the workers have had full protection. It is desirable to limit employer liability to the last three years when contributions were paid to another State erroneously but in good faith.

Section 3(h). Nonprofit organizations are given the option to pay contributions or be self-insurers and make payments in lieu of contributions. This proposed amendment is mandatory, with the exception of paragraph 3 thereof. The proposed paragraph (3) authorizes the filing of a surety bond or the deposit of money and thereby provides the Board with safeguards to ensure that organizations electing to become self-insurers will make the payments required.

Section 3(i). This new subsection gives nonprofit organizations who elect to be self-insurers and who were already covered, the option of exhausting their reserve balances before making payments. This is a transition provision to equalize the treatment of nonprofit organizations previously covered and those newly covered.

Sections 4(c) (2), 4(1), and 4(1). These sections as presently written are cumbersome because they require action by one or more other District agencies to carry out certain functions. As amended, section 4(c) (2) will eliminate prior approval of the Commissioner in waiving penalties. The amendment of section 4(1) will eliminate the need for audit by the District Auditor prior to refunding overpaid contributions. As amended, section 4(1) deletes the need for prior approval of the Corporation Counsel and the District Auditor in order to compromise an outstanding employer indebtedness.

Section 7(c). The minimum weekly benefit amount was increased from $8 to $14 and the minimum qualifying wages are correspondingly increased by this amendment from $130 to $300 in one quarter and from $276 to $450 in two or more quarters of the base period. At present only Missouri, Canada, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands have a minimum weekly benefit amount of $8 or less. The increase to $14 is believed to be more realistic under current wage scales. The requalifying provision is mandatory under Federal law and requires a claimant to have had some work subsequent to a prior benefit year. Disability retirement pensions at present are not deductible from benefits. The proposed amendment will equalize treatment of annuities other than Social Security which are not deductible.

Section 7(g). The proposed subsection (g) provides an extended benefits program for the District. A Federal-State extended unemployment compensation program is now mandatory.

Section 9(f). This new subsection contains a mandatory restriction on payment of benefits for services rendered in an instructional, research, and principal administrative capacity in an institution of higher education under certain conditions.

Section 13(e). This amendment provides Federal-State cooperation in administering District law, and brings up-to-date references to Federal law.

Section 14(a). Field Examiners have been allowed a maximum travel allowance per month of $40 since 1954. Were there no limitation, they would average over $65 per month. The proposed amendment of this section raises the limitation to $65.

Section 14(b). The proposed addition of subsection (b) to section 14 authorizes a Special Administrative Expense Fund. Forty-five States have such a fund for extraordinary administrative expenses into which are paid, generally, all interest and penalties collected from employers and claimants. Those

States have found a fund of this kind useful for purchasing equipment or paying for travel for which the Federal Government cannot or will not provide funds. The fund is also used as a revolving fund when the Federal Government is late in supplying administrative funds.

Section 15(c). The per diem allowance for Board members has remained at $25 since 1954. It would be increased by the proposed amendment to $50. The Board has been faced with an increasing number of contested hearings, some of which require the study of transcripts of several hundred pages.

Section 16. This section is amended primarily to comply with a Federal directive requiring the Board to participate in combined wage arrangements with other States and Federal agencies.

Proposed amendments of sections of the District's Act not specifically discussed above are made to conform to Federal requirements, to make editorial changes, and to redesignate various sub-parts of the present statute for reasons of clarity and accuracy.

GIVE LOCKHEED A SECOND CHANCE

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, this week we should cast our vote on the $250 million loan guarantee to Lockheed Aircraft so that they can continue as a viable American corporation.

If Lockheed was to fold the implications would be horrible. Immediately, 30,000 persons would be out of jobs on the L–1011 program. These persons now work directly for Lockheed or its suppliers.

It is critical for us to think about the effect on our national defense or posture in the field of aviation. However, it is much more important to consider the effect on the human lives involved.

I wish to present the following material in the hopes that it will provide some additional information for the Members to consider before they cast their vote:

[From Fortune Magazine, June 1971]

GIVE LOCKHEED A SECOND CHANCE

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

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

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

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

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

THE COST OF FAILURE

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

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

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

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

A SORRY SEQUENCE

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

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

STATEMENT OF JAMES L. QUILLIN, PRESIDENT, OF DISTRICT LODGE 727 OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, BURBANK, CALIF. BEFORE THE SENATE BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE, WEEK OF JUNE 21, 1971

I welcome the opportuntiy to appear before this Committee of distinguished United States Senators. As head of the major union whose members produce the L–1011 TriStar and one who must live with the consequences of the cancellation of the L–1011 program and subsequent Lockheed bankruptcy, I would very much like you to consider our viewpoint as it is our future that you hold in your hands.

RECAP OF EMPLOYMENT HISTORY ON L–1011 SINCE R.R. BANKRUPTCY

On February 4, 1971 the day Rolls-Royce declared bankruptcy there were nearly 18,000 Lockheed employees in Burbank and Palmdale, California working on the L–1011 program. The following week 6,500 employees were laid off. Within three weeks the announcement of the bankruptcy of Rolls-Royce a total of 9,000 employees had been laid off. Simultaneously with their loss of jobs—many of these same employees had their homes either destroyed or severely damaged by the violent earthquake which shook Los Angeles on Tuesday, February the 9th. The greatest damage was centered in an area only 10–12 miles from the Lockheed plant in Burbank.

After negotiations between Lockheed and the Rolls-Royce receivers resulted in an agreement to continue production of the RB.211 engine, Lockheed called back 1,200 of the 9,000 laid off in February bringing the L–1011 work force to a current level of 10,000 employees.

What has happened to the 8,000 on layoff? My investigation reveals that only about one in ten have found work. A few have moved to other parts of the country hoping to find work (Note: Many of these employees were recruited by Lockheed from other depressed aerospace centers such as Seattle, Wichita and from as far away as Marietta, Georgia) others are working at any work that is available. Most are collecting unemployment hoping to be recalled to Lockheed while some unable to survive on unemployment benefits are collecting welfare.

Since we have available to us the experience of 8,000 L–1011 workers already on layoff

is it reasonable to expect that those additional thousands who would be laid off if the loan guarantee fails would fare any better in finding jobs? For the following reasons my answer is an emphatic *No!*

AGE OF LOCKHEED WORK FORCE

The average age of the Lockheed California Company workforce stands at 44.4 years. While the average seniority is 13.5 years. There are 9,900 employees over 50 years of age; 5,830 are over age 55; and 4,000 over age 60. Granted many of these older workers have greater seniority and might manage to keep their jobs. However can anyone seriously suggest that those older workers who would lose their jobs in event of bankruptcy would be able to successfully compete for jobs in a depressed industry that is already glutted with surplus labor? . . . I think not.

Unemployed workers who are at an advanced age find it difficult to obtain work when jobs are plentiful. Under employment conditions now present in the aerospace industry it is next to impossible for these workers to find jobs.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE AEROSPACE INDUSTRY

There are 130,000 unemployed aerospace workers in California at the present time, 40,000 of which are in Los Angeles County. The rate of aerospace unemployment in Los Angeles County stands at an incredible 15% of the total aerospace employed. Unemployment figures outside aerospace in California are equally dismal—601,000 workers statewide are unemployed with 247,000 of this figure being from Los Angeles County. In the 5 County Southern California area there are 350,000 unemployed workers. Cancellation of L–1011 program would add 10,000 direct Lockheed workers plus several thousand workers employed by subcontractors to the rolls of the unemployed driving these gloomy statistics even higher.

These statistics, as bleak as they are, still do not reflect the many thousands of aerospace workers in Southern California who have exhausted their unemployment benefits and/or are now underemployed. From the foregoing statistics one can conclude that a Lockheed shutdown would be calamitous to those workers involved.

PROSPECTS FOR REEMPLOYMENT OF LOCKHEED WORKERS WITH MCDONNELL-DOUGLAS

Some have suggested that Lockheed workers who lose their jobs if the L–1011 program is cancelled could go to work for McDonnell-Douglas on the DC–10 since it is produced in the same area. This is a cruel hoax and should be branded for what it is . . . a complete distortion of the facts. In the first place such a proposition completely ignores the geography of Southern California. The DC–10 is assembly in Long Beach which is 35 miles from Burbank, the home of the L–1011. It is possible to commute from Burbank to Long Beach on a twice daily basis; however, considering the Los Angeles traffic and freeway system, it is a hair-raising experience at best.

Next, the proponents of this suggestion blithely ignore another salient geographical fact, that is, the L–1011 is assembled in Palmdale, California, utilizing nearly 4,000 Lockheed employees. This final assembly facility is 100 miles from Long Beach, California. It stretches the bounds of credulity to suggest that these workers could commute the 200 miles a day round trip to Long Beach. Assuming for the sake of argument that laid-off Lockheed workers could get to these "jobs" on the DC–10, which pre-supposes, of course, that all airlines will switch to the DC–10, is there any guarantee that they would stand in front of the 40,000 other unemployed aerospace workers in Los Angeles County who would be in line for these same "jobs" on the DC–10?

Finally, and representing perhaps the most blatant disregard of the facts by those who suggest that terminated Lockheed workers can be hired for the DC–10 is the fact that McDonnell-Douglas has an estimated 9,000 employees on layoff right now while they are producing DC–10's at full production rate. These employees in Southern California must be recalled before other workers could be considered for openings. Consequently, Lockheed workers could not be hired for DC–10 production even if they lived across the street from the plant in Long Beach.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE

Lockheed employees want work not welfare. Yet, it seems to me that if the loan guarantee fails in Congress they will be inexorably driven to unemployment lines, and then, perhaps, welfare. In that connection I would like to quote in part a letter I received from Congressman Chet Holifield the Dean of the California Congressional Delegation regarding the Lockheed loan guarantee request.

"Unemployment now stands at 6.1 percent of the labor force nationally, and at 7.5 percent in the five-county area of Southern California. More than 345,000 people are out of work in those five counties—265,000 in Los Angeles County alone. Unemployment is still rising.

"More than 907,000 persons in Los Angeles County were receiving welfare assistance—one out of every eight persons.

"More than 30,000 workers' jobs are dependent upon the Lockheed L–1011 program, which would collapse without this Federal assistance. About 17,000 of these jobs are in California—and most of them in Southern California.

"I have calculated that each additional welfare recipient caused by unemployment and the exhaustion of unemployment benefits represents an additional cost; to the county of $365 per year; to the state of 698 per year; to the Federal government 1,163 per year, totaling $2,326 per welfare case.

"The collapse of the L–1011 program and probable collapse of the Lockheed company might well result in the addition of 60,000 additional welfare cases (individuals) in Southern California at a staggering cost to the local taxpayer in additional local property taxes and state and federal income taxes.

"The assistance to Lockheed in the form of Federally guaranteed loans should not result in a loss to the Federal Treasury. The proposed legislation authorizing these loans provides ample protection against losses. No corporate dividends to stock holders or existing indebtedness can be paid, until after these Federally guaranteed loans are paid.

"Because of the serious blow which would be delivered to the national economy, and the economy of our area, the suffering which would occur to unemployed workers and their families, and the potential great financial loss to the federal government, I am supporting the loan guarantee legislation.

"Sincerely yours,

"CHET HOLIFIELD."

IMPACT ON PENSION BENEFITS OF A LOCKHEED BANKRUPTCY

I am advised by legal counsel that in the event Lockheed was forced into bankruptcy by the failure of the loan guarantee request, the Trustees appointed by the Court could set aside the labor contract including the Pension Plan and other negotiated fringe benefits. Although the monies already paid into the Pension Fund are in an irrevocable trust and could not be touched by Court-appointed Trustees, there is still insufficient funding to pay off all liabilities of the plan if liquidation as a result of bankruptcy occurs. According to calculations by the Actuaries all those with less than 10 years credited service, regardless of age, would not receive a penny. Those who have vested but have left the company and who planned on drawing pension benefits on a deferred basis at age 65 would also lose all benefits.

Those on the payroll now who have vested and are under age 55, and incidentally, there are several thousand employees in this category, would receive an estimated 50–60¢ on the dollar. Those employees over age 55 who have vested and those already drawing benefits would receive 1 hundred cents on the dollar.

It should be apparent that because of the advanced age of Lockheed's skilled craftsmen, this represents, in most instances, the last opportunity they will have to earn a meaningful pension since normal vesting requirements are 10 years with a company. Therefore, it would be next to impossible for one over age 55 to earn a pension by the normal and in some cases mandatory retirement age of 65.

OBSERVATIONS ON OTHER ISSUES RAISED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS HEARING

There has been voluminous testimony and exhibits placed in the records of this hearing on other important considerations bearing on the question of whether the loan guarantee should be approved.

I do not wish to burden the record but it would be appreciated by my membership if you would consider our views on certain of these subjects.

1. There is an investment in time, materials, facilities, parts and tooling on the L–1011 of 1.4 billion dollars. If the L–1011 Program fails this immense investment would have only scrap value and could do inestimable damage to the financial structure of many small companies who are sub-contractors on L–1011.

2. There is no credence to the charge that nearly all the DC–10 is produced in the U.S. and that, therefore, continued production of the L–1011 is harmful to the international balance of payments. My information is that 15% of the DC–10 is produced outside the U.S. while 17% of the L–1011, which includes the engines, is produced outside the U.S. Considering that 50 planes were purchased by Air Holdings Ltd., it would appear to me that the L–1011 helps the balance of payments more so than the DC–10.

3. Without considering the merits of Lockheed's disputed contracts with the DOD, it seems apparent that three significant factors led to the current Lockheed financial difficulty. 1. The inordinately high cost of developing a new airplane such as the L–1011. 2. Lockheed was forced to eat 480 million dollars in disputed claims in DOD contracts. 3. The completely unexpected bankruptcy of Rolls-Royce, the engine supplier for the L–1011, days after Lockheed agreed to accept the $480 million loss on disputed DOD contracts. I submit that few companies in this country have the financial wherewithal to survive this 1–2–3 punch simultaneously.

4. With the winding down of defense expenditures Lockheed has and is attempting conversion to commercial from military work. This has been done at the Government's urging. With one program (L–1011) Lockheed reduced reliance on military work by 50% in the Lockheed-California Company. Failure of the Government to guarantee the loan request in this instance could dissuade other defense producers from converting to commercial ventures from strictly military work.

5. Considering the continuing problems faced by the Trustees in the Penn Central case, I am not convinced that bankruptcy for Lockheed, as some have suggested, is a viable alternative to continued operation of the company. The point I am making is that bankruptcy would not make the Lockheed problem go away for Congress, but it could be a troublesome problem for some time to come especially considering all the defense contracts now in progress if Lockheed proceeded into bankruptcy.

We recognize that public issues must be publicly debated—that's democracy. The question of a Congressional loan guarantee to the banks makes this such a public issue.

We do ask, however, that those who are debating this issue be mindful that the hopes, families and futures of many thousands of workers ride on the outcome of this vote.

Lockheed L–1011 Suppliers by State

(Dollar of 181 Plane Subcontract by State)

Alabama:	
*Reynolds Aluminum Co., Lister Hill	$1,571,080
Total	1,571,080
Arizona:	
Hexcel, Casa Grande	3,258,000
Sperry Rand, Phoenix	13,325,000
Total	16,583,000
California:	
*Anadite, Inc., Adelanto	1,118,037
*Harvey Aluminum, Torrence	12,670,000
*Fortin Plastics, Valencia	474,200
*Weber Aircraft, Burbank	1,153,000
*Talley, Newbury Park	1,184,500
*Bertea, Irvine	7,793,000
*Sierracin, Sylmar	7,767,000
*Weston, Van Nuys	2,269,900
*Task Corp., Anaheim	1,463,000
*Monogram, Venice	1,364,300
*Northrop, Hawthorne	2,445,212
*Bowmar/Tic, Newbury Park	942,300
*Sherwood Ind., Bell Gardens	682,900
*Parker-Mannefin, Irvine	867,000
*Pacific Scientific, Anaheim	706,000
*Bobrick, No. Hollywood	88,690
*Accessory Products, Pacoima	50,137
*General Cable, Los Angeles	1,357,500
*Electroforms, Inc., Gardena	543,543
*Haveg, Santa Fe Springs	388,779
*Purolator, Newbury Park	821,412
*Federal Mogul Corp. (Arrowhead), Los Alamitos	1,357,500
*J. A. Bozung, El Monte	934,322
*Automation Industries, Torrence	198,420
*Prime Engr., So. El Monte	292,094
*Tru-Bor Mfg., Los Angeles	610,332
*Aeronca, Torrence	663,546
*Ace Industries, Santa Fe Springs	35,476
*Railee, City of Industry	1,178,773
*Precision Tube, Santa Fe Springs	155,298
*Tridair Industries, Torrence	16,290
*Adams Rite Mfg. Co., Glendale	22,806
*W. S. Shamban & Co., Newbury Park	23,530
*Sonfarrel, Inc., Compton	18,100
*Fansteel Inc.—Hi Temp Div., Newbury Park	47,639
*Fiber Science, Inc., Gardena	401,639
*Sabre Industries, Burbank	397,700
*HiShear Corp., Torrence	18,100,000
*Dumont Aviation, Lakewood	3,620,000
*Voi-Shan Corp., Culver City	4,525,000
*Chevron, Los Angeles	181,000
*Alcoa, Los Angeles	1,357,500
*Standard Pressed Steel, Santa Ana	452,500
Bergman Mfg., San Rafael	452,500
Shick Products, Belmont	687,800
*Polyplastix, Chico	832,600
*Aero Mechanisms, Van Nuys	322,180
*Voltron Products, Pasadena	207,245
*Jay-El, Gardena	796,400
*Janco, Burbank	69,862
*Electro Adapters, No. Hollywood	28,960
*ITT-Cannon, Los Angeles	1,596,601
*Deutsch-Elect Comp. Div., Banning	6,848,316
*Thermal Systems, Los Angeles	814,500
*Sterer Engr., Los Angeles	554,693
*Crissair, El Segundo	58,049
*Sprague, Gardena	35,838
*Adel, Burbank	443,993
*PneuDraulics, Monteclare	135,188
*ITT/CC, Burbank	386,640
*Flex Metal Hose Mfg., Costa Mesa	$82,181
*Electronic Specialties (EEM CO), Los Angeles	135,214
*Sargent Industries, Huntington Park	273,934
*Stainless Steel Products, Burbank	1,612,674
*Peterson Jones Mfg., Van Nuys	118,300
*Robintech Inc., Burbank	488,019
*California Plastek Inc., Resedo	452,500
*Hadbar, El Hambra	26,969
*Arrowhead Products, Los Alamitos	159,280
*Olympic Plastics, Los Angeles	54,300
*Seaman Products, Sylmar	467,819
*MSL Industries—Glove Div., No. Hollywood	543,000
*Aeroquip—Marmon Div., Los Angeles	1,524,940
*Hollingshead-Pryor, Santa Fe Springs	543,000
*Resistoflex Corp., Santa Ana	452,500
*Wemac, Santa Ana	415,300
*Dyna Sciences, No. Hollywood	400,500
*Western Gear, Lynwood	5,358,000
Total	108,119,670
Colorado:	
*Sundstrand, Denver	12,377,000
Total	12,377,000
Connecticut:	
*Norco, Georgetown	109,545
*Mite Corp.-GAR Electroforming, Danbury	161,090
*Electronic Specialty Co.-Conn. Div., Thornaston	16,712
*Lewis Engr., Naugatuck	29,784
*Consolidated Controls, Fairfield	65,890
*Helicoil (GAR-Kenyon), New Haven	20,952
United Oil Products, Greenwich	3,252,000
Hamilton-Standard, Windsor Locks	35,652,000
Total	39,307,973
Florida:	
Polyplastics, Pinellas Park	7,493,400
T. A. Edison, Ft. Lauderdale	523,992
Grimes Mfg. Co., Del Ray Beach	896,000
Total	8,913,392
Georgia: None.	
Illinois:	
Singer/Vapor Corp., Chicago	278,740
Calco Mfg., Addison	132,130
Licon, Chicago	192,086
Pyle National Co., Chicago	1,144,644
Vapor Corp.-Vap-Air Div., Chicago	166,521
Reynolds Alum. Co., McCook	2,244,700
*Sundstrand, Rockford	13,079,000
Total	17,237,821
Indiana: None.	
Iowa:	
Bendix, Davenport	251,200
Alcoa, Davenport	6,733,200
Collins Radio, Cedar Rapids	31,649,000
Total	38,633,400
Massachusetts:	
*Wyman-Gordon, Worcester	1,810,000
Texas Instruments, Attleboro	3,077,000
Fenwall, Inc., Ashland	1,103,574
General Electric, Wilmington	1,458,000
Total	7,488,574
Michigan:	
*Aeroquip Corp., Jackson	$362,000
*Harvey, Adrian	1,393,700
*National Water Lift, Kalamazoo	7,747,000
Total	9,507,700
Minnesota:	
Hitchcock Industries, Minneapolis	$416,300
Rosemount Engr., Minneapolis	860,112
Total	1,276,412
Mississippi:	
Vickers, Inc., Jackson	$1,184,500
Total	1,184,500
Missouri: None.	
New Jersey:	
Reststoflex, Roseland	$2,705,000
Walter Kidde & Co., Inc., Bellville	1,001,095
TIA Electric Co., Trenton	331,822
*Bendix, Tetersboro	108,800
Weston Instruments, Newark	308,937
*Air Cruisers, Monmouth	2,805,800
Curtiss-Wright, Caldwell	13,018,000
*Gulton Ind., Metuchen	508,900
Total	20,788,354
New York:	
Deutsch, E. Northport, LI	631,000
Arkwin, Westbury	278,856
Tensolite, Tarrytown	1,357,500
Aircraft Purus Media, Glen Cove	613,200
Safe Flite Instruments, White Plains	327,500
Instrument Systems Corp., Huntington	10,807,000
Total	14,015,746
Ohio:	
*Alcoa, Cleveland	$7,602,000
Westinghouse, Lima	242,077
Reactive Metals Corp., Niles	8,079,840
Lear-Siegler, Cleveland	2,833,300
Goodyear, Akron	2,110,100
Goodrich, Akron	1,591,200
Grimes, Urbana	5,841,000
Total	28,299,517
Pennsylvania:	
Standard Pressed Steel, Jenkintown	18,100,000
Libby-Owens-Ford, Brakenridge	102,935
Snap-Tite, Union City	226,296
Clark & Burchfield, Philadelphia	821,740
Prestolite, Hazelton	1,357,500
Total	20,608,471
Tennessee:	
AVCO, Nashville	297,357,000
Total	297,357,000
Texas:	
Aerospace Optics, Ft. Worth	343,900
Ling-Temco-Vought, Arlington	2,477,000
Texstar, Grand Prairie	1,241,200
Menasco, Ft. Worth	53,517,000
Murdock, Irving	17,426,000
Total	75,005,100
Vermont:	
Haveg, Colchester	1,357,500
Simmons Precision, Vergennes	710,600
Total	2,068,200

Lockheed L-1011 Suppliers by State—Con.
(Dollar of 181 plane Subcontract by State)

Washington:	
*Pacific Electro Dynamics, Bellevue	$294,487
*Pacific Electro Dynamics	99,880
*Kaiser, Trentwood	3,815,480
*Heath-Tecna, Kent	12,971,000
*Electro Developments, Lynwood	183,000
*Decoto Acft, Yakima	738,700
	18,102,547
Wisconsin:	
Cutler-Hammer, Milwaukee	84,165
Total	84,165
Grand total	738,489,622

*Areas of Substantial Unemployment.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POWER GRID

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on July 21, H.R. 9970 was introduced by Congressmen TIERNAN, ABOUREZK, and BADILLO to establish a national power grid system. Today, the bill was reintroduced and I am pleased to be a cosponsor. This bill deals with one of our most serious problems, the energy crisis, in a constructive and far-reaching manner. I congratulate the Congressmen for the fine job they have done in preparing this excellent piece of legislation.

That a severe energy crisis exists is a little-known fact among most Americans. Flicking an electric light switch and expecting the lights to go on is second nature to us but little thought if any is given to the complex of activities needed to make this response so automatic and convenient. But in 1965, we flicked the electric switch and were left in the dark. The lights went out in the Northeast and since then hundreds of blackouts and brownouts have occurred. These failures can no longer be viewed as isolated or freak occurrences; rather, they are indicative of an electric power system so fragile and fragmented that it cannot adequately meet today's needs, much less the future needs of a country whose consumption of electric power is doubling every 10 years.

There are 144 separate utilities serving the consumers of New England. The majority of these firms are investor-owned utilities. There are no Federal electrical projects in the area, and the private utilities have fought hard, expensive campaigns, the cost of which are passed on to the public in rate increases, to make sure that the Federal Government is not permitted in the region.

These 144 utilities are so poorly interconnected that, while New England has a high power "reserve rate"—the amount of excess power available to be used in emergencies—its reliability is very low because the excess power of one plant cannot be sent to another plant in need of emergency power.

What has been the result of this almost feudal ownership situation of many small utilities and a few large investor-owned corporations? The result is that New England consumers pay 30 percent more for electricity than the average American. In addition, because the price of electricity is so high, New Englanders consume less electricity than the national average, about 24 percent less. Since electricity is one of the key factors necessary for orderly economic growth, the situation of high prices and low usage cannot help but retard New England's economic growth in comparison with the rest of the Nation.

By enacting the proposed national-grid legislation, many of the problems facing New England, and many other regions of the country, would be alleviated. With the centralized power-generation facilities of the proposed Naadequate high-voltage grid, connecting waste caused by New England's inefficient power-generation facilities could be overcome. Utilities would be buying from one source, rather than producing it themselves in smaller, hence inefficient, quantities.

In addition, regional corporations would be empowered to construct an adequate high-voltage grid, connecting all the New England utilities among themselves and linking the New England region with other regions. When this is accomplished, every kilowatt of electricity generated can be used to its fullest advantage.

Aside from the advantages a national grid would accrue in terms of efficiency, the national grid would have additional value. I am referring to environmental protection. Only recently have Americans begun to realize the enormous impact that large electric generating facilities have on the environment. Powerplants are one of the prime polluters of both air and water. While all plants inevitably do some environmental damage, present siting policies aggravate the situation. Private companies build plants where they own the land, not where the plant will be least harmful to the environment. The Con-Ed plant in Astoria, Queens, is a perfect example. Also, the plants must be close to the area it serves since transmission interconnections are so poor.

Many regions of the country are not well suited for powerplant siting. New England, because of its small area and large population, is one of these areas. The New England Regional Commission which has thoroughly investigated the New England power situation, estimates that at least 26 additional powerplants must be built before 1990 in order to serve the area's needs. Clearly, this massive construction of new facilities could wreak havoc with the environment.

The national grid could help solve this problem. As Senator LEE METCALF pointed out at a recently held press conference, areas in Idaho and Washington are environmentally well suited for large powerplants. Conceivably, through adequate interconnections, plants in these areas could provide New England's power, alleviating much of the need for construction within New England itself.

Numerous other benefits could result from the establishment of a National Grid Corporation. The Corporation would be mandated to provide the best system to serve the public, not the most profitable system to serve the stockholders. This means that environmental considerations, which, in private industry cut out of profits, would be paramount in the construction of the Corporation's facilities. In addition, massive research and development efforts would be undertaken; efforts which are not being undertaken now.

The energy crisis in the United States is growing worse with each passing day and New England particularly continues to suffer. We are literally skating on the brink of disaster. I sincerely hope that comprehensive hearings will be held on this bill as soon as possible. The National Grid Corporation represents a constructive and practical solution to the energy problem. Let us give it every possible consideration.

OSAGE INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, today I introduce two bills which if enacted will do much to correct inequities among one group of disenfranchised Americans—the Osage Indians of Oklahoma. Some will ask why a Member of the House of Representatives from New York would be concerned about the plight of one tribe of American Indians in faraway Oklahoma. To this I would point out that not only does the State of New York have a considerable population of American Indians—many of them living in very poor communities in the State and some even in the midst of Manhattan—but more importantly as a Member of the Congress I believe that I have a national responsibility to help represent the unrepresented—whether they are women, Puerto Ricans, blacks, Chicanos, or in this instance American Indians. To the limits of my physical capacity I will seek to respond to this truly national constituency of people who in many ways have come to feel alienated from the institutions which should be working for them.

The Osage Nation is today going through a most difficult but critical period in its history as a sovereign people. It is a period marked by demands for greater sharing in the vital decisions affecting the tribe—decisions which no longer purely concern disposition of oil, gas, and mineral estates in trust, but which now touch on health, welfare, and education as well—and these demands cannot be ignored much longer. No better description of what is at stake can be found than in the official Bureau of Indian Affairs evaluation report for the Osage Agency, dated January 1971:

The present tribal council for the Osage Tribe was established by a 1906 statute which provides for the election of a tribal council by headright share holders. There are many questions today as to the validity of the original roll which was created under the 1906 Statute. As it presently stands, it would be futile to challenge the roll. Aside from

the questions which were raised as to the original roll, part of the dividedness which exists among the tribal members is the allegation that the present tribal council is not in fact truly representative of the Osage Tribe. In some respects these allegations may have merit. The 1906 Statute franchized the original headright holders but the present devolution of headright shares has caused the vote to become fractionalized, and further *the headright voting system has created the condition where a proportion of Osage Indians who may be of one-quarter blood or more, but who do not own a headright interest, cannot therefore vote for the tribal council.*

The present tribal council procedurally elected under the method delineated by the 1906 Statute is actively seeking to expand its functions in areas other than the mineral trust interest. These areas are education, housing, employment, and economic development. However, under the Statute the tribal council's powers are limited to actions taken within the purview of the mineral trust estate.

The tribal council now finds itself in a legal quandry [sic] since their powers under the Statute are limited to the mineral trust estate but the needs of the Osage Tribe certainly extend beyond the mere management of that estate. The tribal council has recognized the shortcoming, but has not as yet accepted the limitation of the Statute and the lack of a formal constitution and by-laws. It finds itself in a legal dilemma since the tribal council enjoys the majority support of the headright holders [Osage Census roll in June 1970 numbered total of 8,200; in December 1970, 3,120 living persons with headrights, of whom 2,178 were eligible to vote for tribal council if over 21; 42% of headright owners live outside Oklahoma; one-third of all headright owners are non-Osage, since an Osage deemed "competent" to sell his headright may do so to non-Indians] while at the same time it may not necessarily enjoy the majority of the non-headright holders who are Osage Indians.

The Evaluation Team did discuss the situation with the tribal council and it is our present recommendation that the Commissioner consider presenting to the council various alternative methods to provide equal representation among all the Osage Indians, headright as well as non-headright holders. For instance, this could be accomplished by diverting the mineral trust estate from the general functions normally embodied in a tribal council by separating the mineral estate through a corporate trust structure and by establishing a tribal government governed by a constitution and by-laws. Another method could be to provide for an expansion of the tribal council and to allow the new members to be elected by the entire community while at the same time preserving the integrity of the mineral estate by the continuation of the present tribal council operation. These are not exclusive recommendations and they should be considered merely for discussion purposes. The underlying purpose of this recommendation is for the Commissioner to consider various alternatives wihch could be presented to the present governing body whereby representation of this [sic] unfranchised Osage Indians could obtain representation on a tribal governing body. [pp. 20–22] [emphasis added]

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, these very sensible recommendations made last January have yet to be acted upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This makes it all the more important for these bills to be introduced in the Congress—partly to stimulate the administration to take action available to it through administrative channels, and partly to stimulate discussion within the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Other bills pertaining to the Osage Tribal government and to the payment of the Indian Claims Commission settlement have apparently missed the important points made in the evaluation, so it is all the more essential that I act today to see that legislative consideration of these issues is well-rounded and balanced in the committee.

The first of my bills would amend the Osage Allotment Act of 1906 (34 Stat. 539, as amended) referred to in the quoted passage as the "1906 Statute," to provide for a new elected Tribal Council. It would also create an Osage Minerals Board as a separate entity under a principal chief who would preside over both the council and the board, and the present members of the Tribal Council would be transferred to become the initial members of the Osage Minerals Board. This device implements basically the proposal outlined in the evaluation report. Other provisions of my bill would permit broader participation of all Osages of one-fourth degree Osage blood or more in the election of the Tribal Council—this to assure that non-Indians no longer control internal tribal governance.

The second bill provides for distribution of the Indian Claims Commission settlement of $13 million using a formula similar to that set forth in the Tribal Council measure. My bill seeks to assure that funds appropriated by Congress for the Osage Indians go to Osage Indians and not to persons who are being given a free ride due to the imperfections of the 1906 Allotment Act. The commonly accepted standard of one-fourth Indian blood, which is used by the Bureau in making many determinations of who is an "Indian," seems to be the most sensible approach and also has the advantage of seeking to encourage the cultural heritage of a great sovereign people.

It is time for the old system to end. It is undemocratic and perhaps even un-Indian in many ways, and it is not surprising to me as I learn more about the colonialist policies with which the United States has dealt with Indians that the Bureau has in many places erected sham tribal governments which are totally untrusted by the people themselves. But such is the hallmark of colonialism, and we need not go to the annals of English history to see how a sovereign people can be subjugated and virtually exterminated by Government paternalism. It is one of the tragic ironies of our policy toward the American Indians that they fear termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, because such termination would immediately expose them to exploitation. As their "trustees," we have managed to make them so dependent on the BIA that they are child-like in their inability to avoid exploitation in the world outside that which the Bureau has created for them. What a mockery our treatment of the American Indian makes of our crusades to save the Asian people from "enslavement" by world communism.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me add that the Osage Nation is but one of the many great indigenous and sovereign Indian nations seeking to achieve real self-determination within a country which professes to believe in self-determination. The struggle for self-determination is not easy, particularly when the U.S. Government is allied with the status quo in most Indian tribes. Small but courageous groups are daring to bring legal challenges to the existing tribal governing structures—groups like the Osage Nation Organization headed by Judge Charles Lohah, LeRoy Logan, Raymond Lasley, and Hazel Harper These people, often a small minority at present, are working long hours to bring about a future of dignity for the people of the Osage Nation, and I am happy to lend my moral and legislative support to their cause and that of other voices for reform within the American Indian community.

The materials follow:

H.R. 10212

A bill providing for the election of the tribal council of the Osage Nation of Indians

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Section 9 of the Act of Congress approved June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. 539) as amended by Section 7 of the Act of Congress approved March 2, 1929 (45 Stat. 1478) and further amended by the Act of Congress approved August 28, 1957 (71 Stat. 471) be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

(A) That the tribal government of the Osage Tribe of Indians, shall consist of one tribal council having the following officers: A principal chief, an assistant principal chief and eight members of the tribal council; said officers to be elected in a general election to be held in the city of Pawhuska, Oklahoma, on the first Monday in June, 1972, and on the first Monday in June each four years thereafter and said officers shall be elected for a period of four years commencing on the first day of July following said elections; that the Osage Tribal Council shall have or exercise all delegated or residual powers of tribal government excepting only management of the oil, gas, coal and other minerals underlying the area formerly known as the Osage Indian Reservation.

(B) The persons now holding office as councilmen of the present Osage Tribal Council shall, upon the election of officers to the tribal council in accordance with "A" above shall be thereafter members of the Osage Minerals Board and said board shall thereafter have all powers of management of the oil, gas, coal and other minerals that have prior to the date of passage of this act, been vested in the Osage Tribal Council by law.

(C) That person elected to the office of Principal Chief in the election provided for in "A" above shall be the presiding officer of the Osage Tribal Council and the Osage Minerals Board and in the absence of the Principal Chief the Assistant Principal Chief shall serve as presiding officer; the presiding officer shall vote only in case of a tie vote of the council or board.

(D) The person elected to the office of Assistant Principal Chief in the election provided for in "A" above shall have no vote in the proceedings of the Tribal Council or the Minerals Board unless he is presiding by reason of the absence of the principal chief; in the event that the office of Principal Chief becomes vacant, the person serving as Assistant Principal Chief shall assume the office of Principal Chief.

(E) No person may serve as Principal Chief or Assistant Principal Chief who is not an adult full-blood member of the Osage Tribe; no person may serve as a member of the Osage Tribal Council who is not an adult member of the Osage Tribe and possesses 1/4th degree or more of Osage Indian blood;

and no person may serve as a member of the Osage Mineral Board who is not an allottee or a descendant of an allottee enrolled pursuant to the act of June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. 539) and who owns not less than one full Osage headright or mineral share.

(F) Voting for officers of the Osage Tribal Council shall be held at the Osage Agency and qualifications of voters shall be the same as qualifications for the office of tribal councilman; each person shall have one vote and voting shall be conducted by regulations, established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Provided, that the use of absentee ballots are prohibited for elections of tribal officers.

(G) Only adult persons who are allottees or descendants of allottees enrolled pursuant to the act of June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. 539) and whose names appear on the quarterly annuity roll at the Osage Agency may vote for members of the Osage Minerals Board; voting shall be conducted by regulations established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Provided, that each ballot shall have exactly the same value as the voter's headright interest shown on the last quarterly annuity roll.

(H) Filling of vacancies in the office of Assistant Principal Chief, in the tribal council and in the mineral board shall be provided for by regulations by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

(I) The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is hereby authorized to remove from any office in the tribal council or minerals board any person for good cause, to be by him determined, after the party involved has had due notice and opportunity to appear and defend himself.

(J) The powers and duties of the Osage Minerals Board shall continue in full force and effect to January 1, 1984 and thereafter until otherwise provided by Congress.

(K) That nothing herein shall be construed as in any way changing the rights of the Osage Tribe in oil, gas, coal, and other minerals as fixed in the act of June 28, 1906 as amended be construed to change or amend any valid mineral lease entered into prior to 1 July 1968.

H.R. 12013

A bill providing for the distribution of judgment funds of the Osage Nation of Indians.

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to prepare a roll of persons who possess Osage Indian blood of the degree of one-fourth or more and were living on the day that judgment against the United States became final in the Indian Claims Commission in docket numbers 105–106–107 and 108.

Such persons must have been enrolled on the allotment roll prepared pursuant to the Osage Allotment Act of 1906 (34 Stat. 539) or must be a descendant of a person enrolled on the allotment roll prepared pursuant to the Osage Allotment Act.

Applications for enrollment must be filed with the Superintendent of the Osage Agency, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, within six months of the date of this act or be forever barred. For a period of three months thereafter, the Secretary shall permit the examination of the applications by the Osage governing body and any interested persons for the purpose of lodging protests against any application. The burden of proving eligibility for enrollment under this act shall be upon the applicant and the determination of the Secretary regarding the eligibility of any applicant shall be final.

SECTION 2

(a) Eighty-five percent of the funds on deposit in the Treasury of the United States, (with accrued interest thereon, less deductions for attorney's fees and litigation expense) which have been appropriated to pay a judgment against the United States obtained in the Indian Claims Commission in docket number 105, shall be distributed by the Secretary in equal amounts per capita to all persons whose names appear on the distribution roll provided for in section one of this act.

(b) The balance of such funds, after making payment of or provision for such per capita payment, shall be advanced or expanded for any purpose that is agreed to by the Osage governing body and the Secretary and approved by a majority vote of the enrollees, which may more properly serve the long-term interest of the enrollees than would a per-capita payment.

(c) A share payable to a person under twenty-one years of age or under a legal disability shall be paid in accordance with such procedures as the Secretary determines will adequately protect the best interests of such persons.

(d) A share payable to a deceased enrollee shall be paid to his heirs or legatees upon proof of death and inheritance satisfactory to the Secretary, whose findings upon such proof shall be final and conclusive.

SECTION 3

No part of any of the funds distributed in accordance with this act shall be subject to any State or Federal tax.

SECTION 4

No part of any of the funds distributed in accordance with this act shall be subject to any debt or debts created prior to the date of this act.

SECTION 5

Any other law or laws relating to funds paid or accruing to the Osage Nation or Tribe of Indians shall not apply to the funds distributed, expended or advanced under this act.

SECTION 6

The Secretary is authorized to prescribe regulations necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

EVALUATION REPORT: OSAGE AGENCY, JANUARY 11–15, 1971

INTRODUCTION

The Osage Agency evaluation was conducted on the premise that the Agency is to be service-oriented to the needs of the Indian people while it performs the trust duties of the United States, which are substantial at Osage. Within this premise, the evaluation aimed at determining the degree and extent of implementation of the Commissioner's policies and programs. These included tribal involvement in preparation of the 1973 Program Memorandum, tribal opportunity for contracting for services, and the general relationship of the Agency to the tribe, and the tribe with the surrounding community. In addition, the manner in which the Indian Business Development Fund is being utilized.

The Osage Agency serves Indians in Osage County, corresponding to the original reservation area. The minerals of the entire county are held in trust for the tribe. Trust status also applies to the surface rights of 230,000 acres in the county, nearly all of which belongs to individuals.

The population of the county includes 2,565 Indians according to the 1970 Census. About half of these are Osages. The Osage tribal roll includes about 8,200 members.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains a permanent staff of 38 persons. Their grades and Indian descent are shown in the section on findings. The tribe pays for 10 of the BIA employees who are concerned with minerals; in addition the tribe at the present time pays for 4 members of the Interior Department Solicitor's Office who are stationed at Osage.

PROCEDURE

The team consisted of:

BIA Central Office

Arthur J. Gajarsa, Chairman (Assistant to the Commissioner).

Raymond Butler (Social Services).

Donald Maynard (Real Property Management).

Louis Conger (Statistics).

Department of Interior Central Office

Linda K. Bemis (Program Analyst, Bureau of Land Management).

Osage Tribal Council

John Shaw (Councilman).

Other Osage

Joseph Shunkamolah, Jr. (served on January 14).

The schedule follows:

Monday, January 11, 1971

Day—Meeting with Sylvester Tinker, Tribal Chief, and John Pappan, Agency Superintendent.

Evening—Meeting with Osages for Action at Hominy. John Shaw did not attend. Commissioner Bruce had met with this group in the morning, but not as a part of the evaluation effort.

Tuesday, January 12, 1971

Day—Meeting with BIA branch chiefs and chief of tribe in tribal council chamber.

Evening—Meeting of BIA team members with Agency Superintendent.

Wednesday, January 13, 1971

Morning—Interviews with individual Indians and community representatives in Osage Museum.

Afternoon—Part of team met with Osage Nation Organization; rest of team continued interviews with public.

Thursday, January 14, 1971

Day—Part of team attended a special meeting of the full council in the afternoon. The rest interviewed individual BIA employees and continued the public interviews throughout the day.

Friday, January 15, 1971

Morning—Wrap up with Agency Superintendent.

FINDINGS

A. Past economic situation

Until recently, everything at Osage revolved around the wealth of the mineral trust.

1. Those Osages with one or more headrights were wealthy and had a continuous quarterly income. Osages could afford higher education, and many did so.

2. The BIA program was funded by the tribe, and confined itself largely to mineral and land rights. Indians without headrights or trust land were not served. The tribe also funded a field office of the Solicitor at Osage, and does so today, but has requested Government funding.

3. There is a corpus of Federal legislation applying only to Osages. For example, 25 CFR part 73 specifies the tribal council and limits voting to Indian headright owners. Other parts of 25 CFR applying to Osages are 17 (wills), 74 (government of Osage villages), 108 (IIM accounts and budgets), 123 (tribal roll and competency), 127 (lands), 175 (mineral), and 183 (oil and gas). Osages are excluded from the IRA and Oklahoma Welfare Acts.

4. An outsize population of lawyers grew up in Pawhuska, depending on Indian probates, guardianship actions, and other actions concerned with trust property, and competency status. In 1953, the BIA published a 192-page report "The Osage People and Their Trust Property" describing the situation and detailing abuses.

B. Current economic situation

In recent years income from the mineral trust has declined, and now stands at $2,800 a year, about one-half the 1960 figure.

This situation is bringing about changes and particular stresses.

1. Older Osages accustomed to living on headrights income can no longer do so. Many who never worked face a difficult adjustment late in life. Jobs are not always open to Osages because the community still thinks of Osages as wealthy. Heirship fractionalization further reduces the amount received by individuals with only part of a headright.

2. Headright owners have a keen interest in raising oil and gas revenues. This tends to put the tribal council in the predicament to produce more income. When there may be little they can do about it. Whatever the prospect may be for secondary and tertiary recovery methods, and this is a major technical study in itself, there will be disagreements about the proper course of action. As an example, debate still goes on about a referendum taken years ago concerning reduced royalties for the waterflooding method of secondary oil recovery.

3. Other ways to increase tribal income are being pursued by the council:

(a) Reaffirming established water rights, charging for their use, and recovering just compensation for past and future condemnation actions. The tribe sees a Federal conflict of interest between the BIA and the Corps of Engineers in this field.

(b) Getting the BIA and the Department to take over the $250,000 in Agency and Solicitor expenses still funded by the tribe (until 1968 the tribe paid all costs; now BIA pays about half the Agency cost).

(c) Legislation, which was introduced but lapsed with the 91st Congress, covered a number of issues. It included transfer of probate from State to Federal jurisdiction, so as to reduce legal fees and provide better protection to Osage property. (The Bar Association of Osage County, on the other hand, feels that the present fee schedule set by the Secretary for certain actions is too low).

(d) Eliminating certain kinds of taxation on trust income, by legislation, litigation, or regulation.

4. *Agricultural leases.* The Superintendent and the BIA Appraiser (Couch) were frequently praised by Indians for substantially raising grazing lease rates on trust property, over the opposition of the cattlemen's association. The BIA appraisal policy is to include non-Indian land values as the comparable sales or lease standard; apparently a considerable change from previous practice. Most Indians lease out their surface rights; there are 88 restricted Indian operators but only five are of economic size. About 16 percent of Osage County surface is in trust status.

A troublesome case mentioned by various Indian people concerned a white rancher (Morrison) with a 1/27th interest in a parcel adjoining other land he holds, who run cattle on the whole parcel and brought suit against the principal owners when they sought to fence their land. The owners are receiving no lease money while the case is in court.

5. A tribal judgment of $13,000,000 has been appropriated by Congress. There are, of course, basic differences of opinion among the Osages on who should share and how the money should be programmed. Legislation is now being prepared for Congressional action.

6. The present council is moving into areas beyond the mineral trust by organizing committees for education, employment and industrial development, health and community services, and housing. A tribal housing authority is being established. The tribe has for some time been involved with OEO, especially in the NYC program. This expansion of the scope of council activity is resisted by the ONO group, which views the council as limited to dealing with the mineral estate.

7. In the last few years, the Agency has extended its services beyond the mineral and trust land functions. Such programs as social services, employment assistance, and scholarships have been added, as well as the Indian Business Development Fund. These services are also available to non-Osage Indians living in Osage County. There were complaints about the one-quarter Indian blood requirement in some of these programs, especially scholarships.

8. *Trust status of the mineral estate.* The Act of October 6, 1966, states that minerals are reserved to the Osage Tribe until April 8, 1983, and thereafter until otherwise provided by Act of Congress. Osage opinion was virtually unanimous that the trust status must be continued beyond 1983 to permit secondary and tertiary recovery of oil and gas remaining in the ground (estimated presently to equal one-half the original total). Related to this is the fear that Osages who have competency forced on them are not yet ready to protect themselves and their property.

9. *Credit.* Osages do not participate in the Revolving Loan Fund, by statute. Need for Indian credit was mentioned, but not as a major problem. Local banks apparently are restrictive in loans, but this may be a general local policy not confined to Osages. Tulsa banks are stated to be more cooperative.

10. *Housing.* The Council is setting up an Indian Housing Authority. Three tracts of land for Osage Indian villages were established by 25 CFR part 74—Pawhuska, Hominy, and Grayhorse (at Fairfax). Members of the Pawhuska village community council mentioned needs for roads and utilities (the water pipes are old and tend to break). The county has started putting in streets, curbs, gutters, and signs. Housing did not surface as a major issue in the interviews.

C. Osage Tribe

1. Of 8,200 on the Osage Census roll in June 1970, 4 percent were fullbloods and 70 percent were less than one-quarter Indian blood. Apparently a number of mixedbloods were carried on the original 1906 roll, in addition to much intermarriage since. So far as can be determined from the addresses on the census roll, admittedly incomplete, 30 percent live in Osage County, 30 percent in other parts of Oklahoma, and 40 percent live outside Oklahoma.

2. In December 1970 there were 3,120 living persons with headrights (i.e., owners of the mineral estate) plus 122 estates of deceased persons not yet distributed to heirs. Owners of headrights may be original allottees from the 1906 roll, their heirs, and purchasers of headrights from competent Indians. Of these, 2,178 were Osages and thus eligible to vote for the tribal council if over age 21. The geographic distribution of headright owners resembles that for the Osage census, but the data are much more accurate. There are 31 percent in Osage County, 27 percent in other parts of Oklahoma, and 42 percent outside the state.

Since headrights usually pass by inheritance, older persons predominate—25 percent are 61 or older, and 68 percent are 41 or older. Headright owners tended to feel, though not unanimously, that exclusion of younger members of the family from the headright was not a major problem because parents could and did share the income. The Osages interviewed supported voting rights for younger Osages more than income rights.

3. In June 1970 the tribal council was elected by headright owners as prescribed by statute, to serve from July 1970 to June 1974.

4. Dissension in the tribe centers in two relatively small groups. The basic issues are the powers of the council beyond the mineral estate, eligibility for voting and holding office and the resulting effect on the representativeness of the council and judgment fund distribution. The two groups are:

(a) *Osage Nation Organization (ONO).* Their leaders include Charles Lohah (whom the team did not see), LeRoy Logan, Raymond Lasley, and Hazel Harper. Their basic principle is control by persons of one-quarter or more Osage blood, regardless of headright interest. They view the present council as essentially a business committee representing only mineral affairs. All other Osage affairs should be under a different council elected by Osages. Similarly, the judgment distribution should be to descendants of one-quarter Osage blood or more, rather than being based on headrights and the 1906 roll which they feel included many persons of little or no Osage blood. ONO has an Oklahoma charter, a constitution, and by-laws, which were provided to the evaluation team. They have developed a program plan, copies of which have been given to Commissioner Bruce, and before him to Commissioner Bennett. They claim 800 members, but others dispute this. The Osage census lists about 2,500 persons with one-quarter or more Osage blood out of a total of 8,200. Although many of the ONO group have headrights, their general support must lie outside judging from the 1970 election in which Logan and Lasley ran last in a field of 14 candidates for councilman, receiving votes equal to 250 headrights. Such a vote from headright owners is not surprising considering that many of them have less than one-quarter Osage blood.

(b) *Osages for Action Organization (OAO).* Joe Shunkamolah is leader of this active but apparently small group. It is centered at Hominy. They feel the Council and the Agency are mismanaging tribal funds and are not furnishing information on the transactions. Accordingly, they want the tribal council suspended or removed, the Superintendent rotated, and a GAO audit of the Agency, particularly trust money. While they favor an Osage blood quantum requirement, the ONO group refuses to be associated with OAO. The OAO program was not made clear to the evaluation team, except for removal of incumbent officials and judgment distribution.

In response to OAO charges, the team determined that GAO conducts an audit of the Agency every two years, the latest in June 1970 with no adverse findings. Another issue, concerning the investment of mineral royalties while waiting for the quarterly distribution, is controlled by Federal regulations for trust money and is under BIA rather than the Council. The reasonableness of expenditures by the Council for its own activities is a matter of judgment, but less than one percent of the mineral receipts for this purpose does not seem excessive to the evaluation team.

The charge of inadequate information about Council business has substance and may partly explain other charges, or the acceptance of such charges by the Osages, as based on lack of information. The Council has no constitution or by-laws. Its sessions are recorded on tape, but this not transcribed, and the only minutes are summaries prepared by the Superintendent's secretary, an Osage who sits as secretary to the tribal council in open meetings. Closed meetings are held on occasion, but the bulk of the meetings are open. Tribal financial accounts are kept by the BIA, and an annual report is made to headright owners, but it appears that the monthly tribal account reports are made available only to headright owners on request.

In interviews the team held with individual Osages, a predominant attitude was that OAO was a small group that did not represent any considerable group of Osages, that it had publicity beyond its importance, (partly as the result of the Commissioner's meeting), and was critical, but not constructive. Even

some Indians who attended the Hominy meetings made such comments in private. Associated with this was frequently the comment—the Council was elected; now let them do their work and quit harassing them. On the other hand, in the June 1970 election, Joe Shunkamolah, who was one of two candidates for Assistant Principal Chief, received 40 percent of the headright vote for that office.

D. Other Indians in Osage County

It is estimated that about one-half the Indians in Osage County are not Osage. Many come from other Oklahoma tribes. It is safe to say that until the last few years these Indians, along with Osages who had no headright or trust land, received almost no services from the Agency.

Now the Agency has other programs, such as employment assistance, social services, and scholarships, that are available to Indians regardless of tribal or trust status (although there may be an Indian blood quantum requirement).

The staff members concerned with these programs make a point of serving all eligible Indians; however, the fact that they are eligible may be unknown to many Indians because of the long history of the Agency in serving only Osages with trust interests.

E. BIA agency

1. *Rotation.* Most Osages interviewed objected in principle to rotation every two years because it takes longer for a Superintendent to learn the situations so he can make a contribution. Support for the present Superintendent (Pappan) was extensive. Typical remarks, heard over and over again, were: "He is the best superintendent we have had in years. He understands Indians and really tries to help." The Agency staff also got good marks in general.

OAO definitely wants the present Superintendent rotated, and ONO is agreeable to rotation.

2. *Takeover.* The tribal council is not interested in takeover; quite the reverse. They want the BIA to take over funding of the remaining programs which the tribe is supporting, and feel that any takeover proposal by the tribe might jeopardize this goal. Very few interviews commented on tribal takeover.

3. *Tribal involvement with 1973 Program Memorandum.* The council was satisfied with their involvement. At a council meeting, the Superintendent and Agency branch heads explained their programs and proposals. Meetings were also held with individual council members concerned with a particular program area. The Agency and the council maintain close cooperation in the operating program.

4. *Indian Business Development Fund.* There were 7 applications received. Of these, 5 were funded at the Agency for a total of $14,100 as follows:

$4,800 Bates Shaw for leasing and managing tribal golf course.

3,000 Raymond Redcorn for a food processing facility.

2,500 Aaron Bighorse for a gas station lease and inventory.

2,000 George-Ann Robinson to expand Indian craft shop.

1,800 Lillie Page McGuire to expand beauty shop.

One project received from Osage Indians was outside the Agency jurisdiction and was funded from the Central Office. The amount was $13,800 for a haberdashery shop in Albuquerque.

One project was disapproved because outside financing failed. It concerned a gas station, but the gas company rejected the lease because the applicant wanted to have his son run it for him.

Additional inquiries have been received, and the Superintendent felt that eligible projects would be available in 1972, even though $4,000 of the 1971 money was returned to the Central Office.

5. *Employment of Indians in Osage Agency.* Of the 38 permanent BIA employees, 25 (66%) are Indians. Fifteen are Osage and 10 are from other Oklahoma tribes.

The distribution by grade is:

	Indian	Non-Indian
Grade:		
14	1	
13		1
12	1	5
11	3	4
9	1	
8	1	
7	2	
6	1	
5	6	2
4	5	
3	3	
Wage Board	1	1
Total	25	13

6. *Questionnaire for BIA employees.* Each permanent classified BIA employee was asked to complete a confidential questionnaire and return it to the team in a sealed envelope. The envelopes were opened in Washington and the answers were tallied. Highlights of the returns follow:

There were 32 respondents (91% of the 35 eligible, not counting the Superintendent):

Median age, 47 years.

Average service in BIA, 15 years.

Average Federal service, 16½ years.

Do you plan to continue working for BIA? 94% yes.

Do you like working for BIA?, 78% yes; 22% so-so; 0% no.

How would you rate employee morale at the Agency?, 34% good; 52% indifferent; 14% poor.

Do you think your fellow workers are satisfied with the opportunity for promotion in the Bureau? 34% more yes; 63% more no; 3% no answer.

Formal training in last 12 months? 38% yes.

Could you do better job with more training? 94% yes.

Are you satisfied with training opportunities offered by and through the Bureau?, 47% more yes; 53% more no.

Does job description show what work you do? 100% all or most.

Is person who tells you what to do most of the time shown as your supervisor in your job description?, 97% yes.

Are you ever idle because you have no work to do?, 78% seldom or never.

7. *IIM Accounts.* For many restricted Osages, contact with the Agency centers on their IIM accounts, consisting mainly of head right payments and agricultural lease rentals. There are special statutes for Osages, including Agency approval of individual expenditures above a certain basic allowance, and budgets where the Agency considers it necessary. A system of advance commitment of quarterly headright payments exists, whereby banks and merchants advance credit to Indians with Agency approval (purchase order) against the next headright payment, which the Agency in due course pays directly to the merchant. Some Indians regularly commit 80 percent (the maximum) of their headright in advance and are wired into a cycle that is hard to break. The banks and merchants are charging regular interest rates against what are really secured loans.

On its face the system smacks of undue paternalism. However, in the interviews only a few complaints were made—for example, that some Indians were afraid to come to the Agency to ask about their accounts (although less so than formerly), that information about one's account was not provided (a ledger on each account is sent out each January but had not gone out when we were there), and that one person was treated like a baby.

On the other hand, inability of some Osages to manage their funds was frequently mentioned, and alcoholism is a significant problem among Osages which may be restrained by IIM controls.

8. *Time Sheets.* On three different occasions Indians complained about some BIA staff members keeping their own time sheets. These were not specified, except for one in the Administrative Services branch. Another complaint concerned moonlighting by a BIA employee who had an accounting business downtown (we were informed later that written permission had been given and the time was being watched).

F. Other agencies

1. *Health.* Indian Health Service provides biweekly clinics at the Agency, there are community health representatives, and hospital services at Pawnee. Diabetes, alcoholism, and mental health are reported as problems. There is a difference of opinion between the tribe and IHS on who should fill a vacant doctor slot at Pawnee.

2. *OEO.* The Osage Tribe is sponsor of the NYC program, which serves Indians and non-Indians in a number of counties. The program was one of the first in the country and is regarded as a model. The tribe is pleased with other OEO services.

3. *Other agencies.* Relations appear to be generally good with county welfare, police, and public schools. On the other hand, there was a tendency to see the following as non-cooperative with Indians: local banks, courts and lawyers, and cattlemen.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The BIA is currently defining its trust responsibility. We recommend that when this is completed, the BIA should plan to take over funding of Agency activities now funded by the tribe which fall within the scope of the trust responsibility as defined.

2. We recommend that the BIA expedite the review and adoption of the new oil and gas regulations for Osage.

3. We recommend assistance to the tribal council in establishing Osage water rights.

4. The present tribal council for the Osage Tribe was established by a 1906 Statute which provides for the election of a tribal council by headright share holders. There are many questions today as to the validity of the original roll which was created under the 1906 Statute. As it presently stands, it would be futile to challenge the roll. Aside from the questions which were raised as to the original roll, part of the dividedness which exists among the tribal members is the allegation that the present tribal council is not in fact truly representative of the Osage Tribe. In some respects these allegations may have merit. The 1906 Statute franchized the original headright holders but the present devolution of headright shares has caused the vote to become fractionalized, and further the headright voting system has created the condition where a proportion of Osage Indians who may be of one-quarter blood or more, but who do not own a headright interest, cannot therefore vote for the tribal council.

The present tribal council procedurally elected under the method delineated by the 1906 Statute is actively seeking to expand its functions in areas other than the mineral trust interest. These areas are education, housing, employment, and economic development. However, under the Statute the tribal council's powers are limited to actions taken within the purview of the mineral trust estate.

The tribal council now finds itself in a legal quandry since their powers under the Statute are limited to the mineral trust es-

tate but the needs of the Osage Tribe certainly extend beyond the mere management of that estate. The tribal council has recognized the shortcoming, but has not as yet accepted the limitation of the Statute and the lack of a formal constitution and by-laws. It finds itself in a legal dilemma since the tribal council enjoys the majority support of the headright holders while at the same time it may not necessarily enjoy the majority of the non-headright holders who are Osage Indians.

The Evaluation Team did discuss this situation with the tribal council and it is our present recommendation that the Commissioner consider presenting to the council various alternative methods to provide equal representation among all the Osage Indians, headright as well as non-headright holders. For instance, this could be accomplished by diverting the mineral trust estate from the general functions normally embodied in a tribal council by separating the mineral estate through a corporate trust structure and by establishing a tribal government governed by a constitution and by-laws. Another method could be to provide for an expansion of the tribal council and to allow the new members to be elected by the entire community while at the same time preserving the integrity of the mineral estate by the continuation of the present tribal council operation. These are not exclusive recommendations and they should be considered merely for discussion purposes. The underlying purpose of this recommendation is for the Commissioner to consider various alternatives which could be presented to the present governing body whereby representation of this unfranchised Osage Indians could obtain representation on a tribal governing body.

5. The Agency has only recently begun to offer programs in the community services sector, and these may not yet be effectively reading eligible non-Osage Indians living in the county. Although the BIA role is largely coordination, advice, and referral in such fields as social services, education, and housing, we judge that additional services are needed. We recommend that BIA strengthen its support in these fields. The eligibility of all Indians in Osage County needs to be emphasized as there appears to be misunderstanding on this point despite the efforts of BIA staff concerned.

6. Present legislation bars Indians in Osage County from BIA credit services available to Indians in other parts of Oklahoma. We recommend legislation and other necessary action to extend credit services to Indians in Osage County on the same basis as to other Indians in Oklahoma. If legislation cannot be filed forthwith, the BIA should assist the tribe in obtaining and/or establishing other credit sources, such as credit unions.

7. In accordance with Indian wishes and need, we recommend that BIA support legislation to improve the protection of Osage Indian interests during probate and similar actions.

8. Considerable misunderstanding of the handling of trust money was evident. We recommend Agency efforts to improve communication with the Indians on these matters, including (a) explanation of the procedure and regulations for handling trust receipts pending the quarterly distribution, the interest received, etc., (b) quarterly reports on the amounts of mineral receipts and disbursements by object to be printed and available to the public, and (c) distribution of IIM ledgers more than once a year, to be accompanied by an explanation of the procedures employed and the meaning of entries on the sheet.

9. The council apparently operates without official minutes or formalized by-laws of procedures. Because of the importance of its actions, we suggest that the council consider formalizing its operating procedures, establish official minutes, and make them available to the public upon request.

10. In view of the many discrepancies with regard to the handling of the Osage estates and other legal affairs by the private attorneys of Pawhuska, it is recommended that the Bureau, in cooperation with the Office of Hearings and Appeals of the Department of the Interior, review the procedures for descent and distribution of Osage Indian trust or restricted estates and determine what steps need to be taken to more fully protect the members of the Osage Tribe from the possibility of unscrupulous actions.

11. Recommend further evaluation of the petroleum engineer position with respect to the incumbent's effectiveness in his relationships with the tribe.

12. Recommend the Agency examine current procedures for keeping time records and institute needed changes, if any are called for.

13. The tribal council and a large proportion of the individual members of the tribe indicated that they would prefer to keep the present Superintendent in his post so that the overall Bureau program can be expanded and developed. One concern seems to be that the Superintendent should remain in his position with the Osage Agency until the Judgment legislation has been enacted. It is the recommendation of the evaluation committee that the tribal council be consulted and that its wishes be taken into account.

PAWHUSKA, OKLA.
January 19, 1971.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Recently, as president of the Osage County, Oklahoma, Bar Association, I was called upon to visit with the evaluation team that was studying the Osage Indian Agency. Several points were discussed which, although are important, should be capable of decision within the Bureau.

There was one point, however, that was discussed which I submit must have action at the highest levels. This question involves the import of 25 C.F.R. § 73.21 as it relates to the voting rights of the several members of the Osage Tribe of Indians. Said section reads as follows:

"Only members of the Osage Tribe who will be twenty-one years of age or over on election day and whose names appear on the quarterly annuity roll at the Osage Indian Agency as of the last quarterly payment immediately preceding the date of election will be entitled to hold office or vote for any tribal officers. Each such voter shall be entitled to cast one ballot and each ballot shall have exactly the same value as the voter's headright interest shown on the last quarterly annuity roll. Any fraction of a headright, however, shall be valued as to the first two decimals only unless such interest is less than one one-hundredth of a share, then it shall have its full value."

A perusal of the hereinabove set out section clearly indicates that one must have an ownership interest in an Osage Indian annuity headright in order to cast a vote.

It is the considered opinion of myself and other members of the Osage County Bar Association that this section is in violation of the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act. 25 U.S.C. §§ 1301, 1302. This statute, in our opinion, gives each Indian the equal protection of the laws and regulations in intra-tribal matters. Therefore, the attempt of the Osage Tribal Council at self-government, as constituted in 25 C.F.R. § 73.21, denies Osage Indians who do not have headright interests the equal protection of the laws.

As a result of the above recited regulation, the ratio of those eligible to vote is less than one (1) to four (4). This writer's wife is a one-half Osage Indian, and the great granddaughter of a hereditary chief of the Osage Tribe of Indians. Because she has no annuity interest, she is ineligible to vote in tribal elections. Obviously, this is a deplorable situation and while there is nothing wrong with annuity interest holders controlling matters relating to the mineral estate, purely tribal governmental matters should be controlled by a council elected by a vote of all members of the Tribe.

I submit that the Code of Federal Regulations should be amended and all requirements of the ownership of property omitted, thereby giving all Osage Indians a right to vote in tribal governmental matters. This proposal, I believe, would be in keeping with the Nation's effort to reassure the protection of civil rights to all American citizens.

Very truly yours,

KELLY DEE YOUNG,
President, Osage County Bar Association.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1971.

KELLY DEE YOUNG, ESQ.,
Pawhuska, Okla.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of the 19th and for pointing out the special problems of Osage voting.

I am going to take a special look at this situation and see what are the possibilities to correct any injustices. Legislation may be necessary, but I shall investigate.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD GARMENT.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., March 5, 1971.

Mr. KELLY DEE YOUNG,
President, Osage County Bar Association,
Pawhuska, Okla.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: I have been asked to reply to your letter of January 19 to President Nixon in which you raised the question of whether voting procedures of the Osage Tribal Council violates the equal protection provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

We have made a preliminary review of this matter and find that the history and development of the authorities of the Osage Tribal Council involves, it appears, an amalgamation of property right with tribal governmental procedures. Whether there is here involved a conflict between constitutional principles protecting private property and the equal protection provision of the 1968 Civil Rights Act requires further study. We have partially completed information on the matter at this writing. As soon as we have completed the compilation and considered the matter, we shall write you further.

Sincerely yours,

HARRISON LOESCH,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ENDORSES EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to inform my colleagues that the Republican National Committee, meeting

in Denver, Colo., on July 24, 1971, endorsed the equal rights amendment as set forth in House Joint Resolution 208. This action is particularly significant in view of the fact that the members of this body soon will have an opportunity to express themselves in favor of full equality for all citizens—regardless of sex.

Mr. Speaker, the action taken by the national committee represents the type of bipartisan support which the amendment is currently receiving. I urge my colleagues to consider this notable expression by the leadership of the Republican Party and to vote to strike all crippling amendments which shall be offered to nullify the basic concept of full equality.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas The Equal Rights Amendment, House Joint Res. 208, and Senate Joint Res. 108 and 109 as presented to the House and Senate respectively in January 1971, reads:

Sec. 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Sec. 3. The Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification, and

Whereas This Amendment would grant first class citizenship to women of the United States by eliminating inequities and discrimination on the basis of sex;

Therefore be it resolved, That the Republican National Committee, officially assembled in Denver, Colorado on July 24, 1971, hereby endorses the Equal Rights Amendment as worded above, without nullifying amendments and urges its adoption by the Ninety-Second Congress.

LANGUAGE OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 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 National Liberation Front of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

JUSTICE FOR ULSTER

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Northern Ireland has long concerned not only Americans of Irish heritage but many others who share our love of justice, fairness, and freedom.

I believe the time is approaching when the friends of Great Britain in the world community may find it in the interest of governmental stability to urge that country to seek a settlement to this tragic situation.

The killing of young men and soldiers as well as the maiming of the minds of children by chronic outbreaks of violence is an intolerable condition in a land of great culture and enormous courage. Both sides have grievances deeply rooted in poverty and social unrest aggravated by those who purvey prejudice as their shoddy stock in trade.

In the weeks and months ahead it is my purpose to place in the RECORD those matters of information which I hope can lead to a peaceful solution of this problem. I shall do this not only because I owe my love of freedom to an Irish ancestry, but because my American sense of justice is outraged by the killing of innocents and the increased level of violence throughout Ulster. Such tragic action does not serve the purpose of Ireland, England, America, or any human ideal.

I submit for the RECORD an editorial which appears today in the New York Times as well as an Op-Ed article by William V. Shannon entitled "Light in Ulster," in the same newspaper.

[From the New York Times, July 29, 1971]

ULSTER: THE GAP WIDENS

Every moment of light and hope in Northern Ireland seems to be followed inexorably by fresh bloodshed that intensifies the sectarian strife and polarizes further the politics of the volatile province. Discussion of Prime Minister Faulkner's plans for revamping the Stormont Parliament to give the Catholic minority a share in policy-making was halted abruptly by new outbreaks that took the lives of two Catholic youths and two British soldiers.

Now eleven of the twelve opposition members have walked out of Parliament, and six of these, from the usually responsible Social Democratic and Labor party, have said they will set up a rival House of Commons to protect Catholic interests. They are angry at the British Government's refusal to order an independent inquiry into the shooting of the two youths in Londonderry.

Meanwhile, Irish Republican Army terrorists have stepped up their campaign of violence, bringing the predictable reaction. British troops have assumed police functions and launched a series of predawn raids in what Home Secretary Reginald Maudling calls "the beginning of a new phase in the battle against the I.R.A.," aimed at catching "the men and the organizations responsible."

It has long been the strategy of the I.R.A. on one side and Protestant extremists on the other to wreck any progress toward accommodation between Ulster's two communities. What is alarming in this situation is the threat of Catholic moderates to contribute to that strategy by giving up on the parliamentary system.

The rival Parliament idea is obviously unrealistic. The hope must be that the Catholic members, who have not resigned their seats at Stormont, will have a change of heart before Parliament reconvenes in October and decide to support Mr. Faulkner's reforms, some of which they suggested in the first place.

[From the New York Times, July 29, 1971]

LIGHT IN ULSTER

(By William V. Shannon)

WASHINGTON, July 28.—Ireland was the first British colony and the first to break free. When the British gave independence to Southern Ireland in 1922, after four years of terrorism and guerrilla warfare, they started down the long road of imperial withdrawal that was to wind through India, Palestine, Kenya and Cyprus.

Now, a half-century later, Britain again finds itself entangled in Ireland, deploying thousands of troops, hunting down rebels and trying to find a compromise for the insoluble.

As in every other colonial situation, the logic of history as shown in the trend of political events and attitudes points inexorably in one direction—toward total British withdrawal. The remaining Protestant settlers will have to make their own terms with the Catholic natives.

There is no way that the British can alter the history and sociology of the six counties of Northern Ireland and make them into a viable, peaceful corner of Britain. They are Irish and there will be no lasting settlement until they are reunited with the rest of Ireland.

A quasi-independent Northern Ireland has always been a creature of artifice, not a natural entity. Geographically, historically, culturally, Ulster—to use Northern Ireland's ancient name—is as much an integral part of Ireland as New England is of the United States.

Autonomy for Northern Ireland, which was part of the 1922 settlement, could only have worked if the Protestant ruling faction had shown magnaminity and imagination toward one-third of the population that is Catholic. Those qualities were not forthcoming.

Most Americans, accustomed to thinking of British fairness and the excellence of the British law, assumed that the Catholics suffered nothing more in Ulster than mild social discrimination, inability perhaps to get into the best clubs or to advance in certain professions. The realities were much more bleak and oppressive.

While the rest of Britain, weary of Irish quarrels, resolutely turned its mind to other things, the ruling clique in Northern Ireland systematically discriminated against Catholics in the allocation of public housing, in the administration of social services and in police work. During the Depression of 1932, a leading Northern Ireland politician publicly urged employers to hire "good Protestant lads and lassies." The City of Londonderry, which has a Catholic majority, was gerrymandered to produce a Protestant-controlled city government.

The violence of the last three years was the inevitable result of this drab tyranny.

As usually happens when an unjust equilibrium begins to shift, each concession to the rebels whets the appetite for change. Every reform short of total surrender seems too little or too late. Now the Catholic members have withdrawn from the Northern Ireland Parliament entirely, and the popular mood of the Catholics is clearly to settle for nothing less than reunion with the south.

Two years ago when British troops were first sent to Ulster, Peregrine Worsthorne wrote in The London Sunday Telegraph: "But how many of us, truth to tell, care or feel genuinely involved? It is part of a make-believe world to pretend that Ulster, in any meaningful sense, is part of the United Kingdom. We do not feel its agony, share its sentiments, understand its history, suffer its tearing rages.

"Imagine what would be happening today if rioting and insurrection were taking place on a comparable scale in some area of Britain itself. Is it conceivable that Parliament would stay in recess or the monarch on holiday? There would be anxious crowds in Downing Street and around the Palace. The national atmosphere would be fundamentally different—as different as death in the family is from death down the street."

Mr. Worsthorne warned that only the Irish could settle their own quarrel.

"We can no more do it for them than for the Indians and the Pakistanis, the Israelis and the Arabs, the Cypriot Turks and the Greeks. Few thought at one time that we would wash our hands of any of these responsibilities. But we did, and we will do so again."

What Mr. Worsthorne, a leading Conservative commentator, wrote then is now being taken up across the British press. John Whale, writing in the politically independent Sunday Times, has urged a constitutional conference bringing together the Government of London, Belfast and Dublin to negotiate the terms of Irish reunification.

In the left-wing New Statesman, Paul Johnson wrote last week: "In Ireland, over the centuries, we have tried every possible formula: direct rule, indirect rule, genocide, apartheid, puppet parliaments, real parliaments, martial law, civil law, colonization, land reform, partition. Nothing has worked. The only solution we have not tried is absolute and unconditional withdrawal. . . . It is time the crutch of British "peacekeeping" was removed and the Irish forced to come of age."

What the journalists are writing today will be the policy of the British Government tomorrow. And sooner, rather than later.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 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 PROUD MOMENT—LOST

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, recently I learned of a new citizen who came face to face with one of the ironies, an inexcusable oversight of our American freedoms.

This woman was an immigrant fulfilling a lifetime dream. She had worked, studied, and waited until she could finally become an American citizen.

Before the ceremony of initiating a new citizen, a judge reminded all in the courtroom that no pictures were to be taken during the actual ceremony. This immigrant and all the others in the room waited patiently until the end. Afterwards the beaming grandmother gathered her grandchildren to be photographed with the certificate showing that she is now a citizen in this great, free country. However, she quickly learned of one of the many ironies of democracy when a courtroom officer informed the photographer that he was not allowed to photograph the document. She was bewildered and perplexed. If she had stepped outside she could have remained beaming and proud. The photo could have been taken.

Perhaps the citizen would not have been as skeptical of her new freedoms if the officer had given the full or clear reasons for the restriction. It is a rule of U.S. Federal courts that no pictures of any kind are allowed to be taken in any courtroom. This rule was instituted to cover all proceedings of Federal courts. The main impetus of this ruling concerns criminal trials in which photographs may be prejudicial to the defendants. If photographs were allowed in such cases, the defendant would be denied a fair trial which is guaranteed him under the Constitution.

The freedoms we possess are not absolute, nor should they be. The question is where do we draw the line between necessary restriction to prevent an absolute freedom and unnecessary redtape imposed by a constantly growing bureaucracy? Our basic freedoms are precious to us. We should not permit these basic freedoms to be threatened by allowing lesser but nevertheless important ones to be chipped away unnoticed. How much restriction can we have and still have "freedoms"? It is time we step back and take a good look at our remaining freedoms and those we have carelessly lost.

Therefore, I propose that citizenship cases where there is no danger of prejudice, be excluded from this rule.

Mr. Speaker, this is an oversight that should be corrected and should be corrected now. I know of no better way to graphically illustrate what I mean than to reprint an editorial from the Austin American Statesman. This is a daily newspaper in the State Capital of Texas. Understandably its news columns are filled with the larger stuff of government, of city hall, and all the major events that fill a news day. However, this paper, too, is concerned and has spoken editorially on the issue—directly to the point. I join in voicing objections to the untimely procedure, and ask that the editorial be printed, as follows:

[From the Austin-American Statesman (Tex.), June 27, 1971]

A PARADOX OF FREE AMERICA

The paradox of America.

The greatest moment in the life of an immigrant is when he or she holds up the right hand as a symbol of fidelity and swears allegiance to the United States of America, the land of the free and the home of the brave. . . .

It is that moment in a person's life when the shadow of tyranny is erased by the beauty of the American flag. It is when a person seeking a new life becomes part of that great amalgamation of peoples, and can take a deep breath without fear and say aloud, "I am a new man . . . I am a citizen of the United States of America."

Only those who have been there can realize the paradox.

Judge Jack Roberts, U.S. district judge, a fine man by any standard, obeying the rules of the federal court system of this free country, reminds photographers that they can't make a picture during the actual ceremony, which means there can be no record of an immigrant taking the oath of allegiance.

A hawk-eyed marshal or his deputies stand guard over the occasion, alert to any infraction of the strict federal rules.

The ceremony is concluded and a grandmother beaming with pride that she is now a citizen of the United States gathers her grandchildren around her, holding tight in her fist the certificate showing that she has been made a citizen.

The photographer, free of his directions from the judge that no picture can be made of the ceremony, eager to picture the pride, the happiness, the face glowing with love and loyalty, raises his camera.

A court attache, a deputy marshal or a clerk, brash and authoritative, confronts the cameraman. The woman is startled.

"You can't make a photograph of that document," the court official asserts to the cameraman. The photographer is told he will have to surrender the film or promise to destroy it.

The photographer, comparatively new in the business, returns to the office somewhat puzzled and shaken.

The new citizen of the United States departs in silence. She must have thoughts of her own, even in this moment of exhilaration.

And we wonder why young people in this country are losing confidence.

This newspaper can't change the rules of the court, or the conduct of the attaches of the court, but we can apologize to the new citizen. It really is a free country. You have been the victim of an American paradox of which there are too many these days.

RETIREMENT OF COL. JOSEPH E. O'LEARY

HON. THOMAS F. EAGLETON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, after 29 years of distinguished service to his country in the U.S. Army, Col. Joseph E. O'Leary will retire at the end of this month. For the last 2 years, Colonel O'Leary has served as chief of legislative

liaison in the Senate and has done, in my opinion, a magnificent job.

During those 2 years I have had an opportunity to work and travel with Joe O'Leary. He represented the Army with honesty and distinction. His cooperation was superb. He was dedicated to honest answers, not semantical hair-splitting.

The Army is losing a good officer. I wish Colonel O'Leary every success in the future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief digest of Colonel O'Leary's record be printed in the RECORD.

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

COL. JOSEPH E. O'LEARY, CHIEF SENATE LIAISON DIVISION OFFICE, CHIEF, LEGISLATIVE LIAISON

Colonel O'Leary will retire from the United States Army in July of this year with credit for 29 years in the service of his country. He entered the Army in October 1942 from Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas, where he was awarded a Bachelors Degree. Although he had served as a Major in the ROTC Cadet Corps, he was required, along with his fellow graduates, to attend the Infantry Officers Candidate School at Fort Benning before being commissioned. Colonel O'Leary graduated number one in his class and was assigned to Fort Benning as a member of the 124th Infantry, the school troops brigade. In 1944 he attended the Advanced Infantry Officers Course at Benning and in early 1945 he completed the Command and General Staff College course at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. Following this he was transferred to the 41st Infantry Division in the Pacific Theater where he participated in the Southern Philippines campaign.

When World War II ended he was assigned to the 24th Infantry Division in Japan and for the next two years served as Aide-de-Camp to the Commanding General, 24th Infantry Division. Now holding the rank of Captain, he greeted with enthusiasm the first boatload of dependents to arrive in Japan, for among the passengers was his fiance, Miss Rosemary Walker, daughter of Colonel and Mrs. I. G. Walker, also stationed in Japan. Captain O'Leary and Miss Walker were married in Kyoto in September 1946. Two sons and two daughters blessed this marriage; Joseph E. III, now serving as a 1st Lt. in the 172d Infantry, Terry O. Dittman, married to David Dittman and living in Anchorage, Alaska with daughters Danny and Dana; Kathleen who is a high school senior and an employee of Senator Mike Gravel of Alaska; and Michael who attends school in Alexandria.

Colonel O'Leary finished his tour in Japan as a battalion commander in the 19th Infantry Regiment. Upon his return to the United States he was assigned as an instructor in the Junior ROTC Program for four high schools in St. Joseph, Missouri. With the outbreak of the Korean War, he became an advisor to the Korean Army, serving in Korea from October 1950 until March 1952. He participated in six campaigns with the 30th Regiment, 9th Division ROK and served as the director of training at the Korean Infantry Officer Candidate School. For the next three years he served in the Pentagon in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G–2 (Intelligence). From June 1955 until 1958 he served in the Intelligence Division of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), Paris, France. Returning to the United States he was assigned to the staff of the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth where he received an award as outstanding instructor from the Commandant, the then Major General Harrold K. Johnston.

For the next 39 months, Colonel O'Leary commanded units of the 1st Infantry Division at Fort Riley, Kansas, and was cited by Major General Jonothan O. Seaman for outstanding performance as Deputy Commander and later Commander of the 16th Infantry. He served seven months in Germany during the 1st Division's participation in the reinforcing of US Troops in Western Europe and Berlin.

While in Europe he received orders for Vietnam. He arrived in MACV in June 1964 and was assigned as the Senior Advisor to the Province Chief of Go Cong Province in the Mekong Delta, at a time when 95 percent of this province was controlled by the Viet Cong. Eight months later this control had been reduced to 60 percent and Colonel O'Leary was again cited for outstanding service by General Westmoreland. He was assigned to Saigon and served the remaining portion of his tour in the Office of J–3 (Operations) where he was once again cited for outstanding performance.

He attended the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, in 1965 and 1966 and during this same period received his Masters Degree in International Relations from George Washington University.

He assumed Command of the 172d Infantry Brigade (Mechanized) at Fort Richardson, Alaska, in July 1966 and was cited for outstanding leadership by Major General J. Folda, the C.G. of U.S. Army Alaska. During 1967 and 1968 he served as the G–3 (Operations) officer, U.S. Army Alaska and was again cited for outstanding performance by Major General Kelly Lemon who was then C.G., USARAL.

In December 1968 he received word of his forthcoming assignment as the Chief of the Senate Liaison, Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison, and has served in that position since July 1969.

Colonel O'Leary has been awarded the Legion of Merit with cluster, the Bronze Star Medal, the Air Medal, the Army Commendation Medal, the American Campaign Medal, the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal, the World War II Victory Medal, the Army of Occupation Medal (Japan), the Korean Service Medal, the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, the Combat Infantryman's Badge (two awards), the Expert Infantryman's Badge, the Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation Badge, the Chungmu Military Service Medal with Gold Star from the Korean Government, the Distinguished Military Service Medal from the Korean Army, the Vietnamese Medal of Honor, first class, the Vietnam Service Medal, and the Vietnam Campaign Medal.

Colonel O'Leary intends to remain in the Washington area as a consultant and will reside at 416 Underhill Place, Alexandria, Virginia 22305.

VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a constituent who is fighting in Vietnam has written me why he feels the war should be terminated. I would like to share his observations with my colleagues.

He believes in aiding the Vietnamese, but he is tired of seeing "American flour, rice, canned goods, and so forth in enemy hands." He states further:

We have lost and can't win a guerrilla war. They have to win it for themselves. Just they know who the corrupt people are and we don't.

He says the South Vietnamese have the resources to defend themselves, but—

The people as a whole don't have the will to be free . . . They have accepted help for so long they can't accept the fact that they will be on their own.

Although President Nixon said offensive operations would end by May 1, he has seen "more offensive action since May 1 than before."

My constituent feels that our men are dying in Vietnam for politics and no other reason. The delay in withdrawing troops, he writes, is endangering men in the field, and we should bring the men home now.

THE SUPREME COURT AND ITS RECORD OF DISCRIMINATION IN LAW CLERK SELECTIONS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the present members of the Supreme Court of the United States—the noble champions of minorities against discrimination—do not practice what they preach. They are flagrantly discriminatory, and in doing so, must accept their responsibility for the judicial movement to the left.

Black's Law Dictionary defines "discrimination" as:

That which confers particular privileges on a class arbitrarily selected from a large number of persons, all of whom stand in the same relation to the privileges granted and between whom in those not favored no reasonable distinction can be found.

For some reason or other, the members of the Supreme Court have not recognized this legal definition as binding on their own practice of selecting law clerks—those law graduates who do the basic research for the Justices and in effect present them with the alternative rulings possible in a judicial decision. These law clerks have a similar relationship to the Justices as Henry Kissinger has to President Nixon—they control the decisions because they not only offer the solution, but also suggest possible alternatives.

This immense hidden power in the judiciary is concentrated in the law schools of the Ivy League; of the 361 law clerks appointed by the Justices who have served on the bench for the past 10 years—including those law clerks appointed by the older justices prior to 10 years ago—over half of the total came from Harvard and Yale. Harvard alone accounted for 125 law clerks, or 35 percent of the total of the legal minds who have researched and written the celebrated "landmark" decisions of the Supreme Court over the past 10 years.

Other law schools represented by 10 or more law clerks were Yale—60; Stanford—18; California—15; Chicago—13;

Michigan—14; and Columbia—16. Yale and Harvard combined accounted for 51 percent of the legal "expertise" behind the Supreme Court decisions of the past 10 years.

Concentration of this judicial power and privilege among graduates of our more liberal colleges must be considered a primary reason for the judicial trend to the far left.

One thing, however, is certain; it is discrimination, pure and simple. Many good law schools were not represented at all.

This begs the question—Why do not all law school graduates have the same opportunity to serve? Why do not all young law graduates deserve an equal chance?

The record is clear—the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States have been guilty of rank discrimination which has had an effect on every aspect of American life.

Steps must be taken by the Congress to insure that the Supreme Court Justices start practicing what they preach and adopt a policy of equal opportunity for graduates of all of the 173 law schools in the United States.

TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL HARMONY

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. President, millions of Americans feel that only an environmental disaster, "a killer smog," perhaps can jolt the Government into taking the steps necessary to clean up, protect, and improve the environment.

But that feeling need not prevail. Congress is on the threshold of significant environmental legislation. We owe it to ourselves, but most of all to our children, to act swiftly. That is why I have so heavily committed my time and energy to this challenge. I have sponsored more than 50 bills to improve the quality of our environment during my first 6 months in the Senate. I have introduced significant legislation to enable additional parks and open spaces in California. I am fighting for a tough water pollution bill, with incentives and requirements to clean many of our waters to strict recreational standards. All this is part of my campaign commitment to the aims and philosophy of the Santa Barbara Declaration of Environmental Rights, which states:

> It is manifest that centuries of careless neglect of the environment has brought mankind to the final crossroads. The quality of our lives is eroded and our very existence is threatened by our abuse of the natural world.

Unquestionably, we must seize the opportunities offered by the great variety of legislation now before Congress.

AIR POLLUTION

I am proud to have supported the Clean Air Act of 1969, while I was a Congressman. It applies new and stringent standards of vehicle emission for the 1972, 1973 and 1974 model years. The 1970 amendments to the act specify that all 1975 models will achieve a 90-percent reduction of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emissions from the 1970 levels. They further specify that all 1976 models will achieve a 90-percent reduction of nitrogren oxide emissions from the levels of the 1971 model years. And, perhaps, most importantly, they provide the Environmental Protection Agency with authority to control or prohibit the sale of vehicles which endanger the public health or welfare. I stand by strict enforcement of these laws, and I urge assembly line inspection of vehicles to insure they meet these standards. I will participate in hearings to insure tough administration of this law.

WATER POLLUTION

Industrial, municipal and agricultural wastes are the chief sources of water pollution. I am proud to have joined Senator MUSKIE in introducing the key bill in this area: the Omnibus Water Quality bill, S. 523. I joined in extensive hearings on this legislation and am working on it extensively in the Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee. It authorizes funds for a national program of construction of waste treatment plants and extends water quality standards. I have introduced amendments to this legislation to establish by 1976 a national minimum water quality standard, with strict procedures for extensions of times, to make the Nation's waters safe for swimming and to protect fish and wildlife. This legislation will be the major structure for our efforts to clean up the Nation's waterways, and I am proud to have helped draft it during my first months in the Senate.

I am sponsoring several other bills to clean up our waters. One such bill would give special aid to the one-third of the Nation not served by sewer systems and the 5 percent of existing systems which discharge waste directly without any treatment. Other legislation, the Clean Lakes Act of 1971, S. 1017, calls for a coordinated program of increased waste treatment and lake cleansing for freshwater lakes. I have offered—and Senator CRANSTON has joined me—legislation to aid the fight to save Lake Tahoe.

To fight oil pollution, I support legislation that would establish bridge-to-bridge communications for all ships flying the American flag. This would, I believe, sharply lessen the chances for collision of the type that resulted in the recent oil spill in San Francisco Bay. I have also joined in offering S. 673, which would put a moratorium on drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel.

Thermal pollution, the discharge of heated effluent from electrical powerplants and other sources, is another threat to our aquarian environment. I favor tough and strictly enforced standards curbing thermal pollution, as approved by the Administration of the Environmental Agency.

In all of these areas, I am working, as a member of the Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee, for solid legislation this year.

PESTICIDES

Mounting evidence shows the use of pesticides can cause injury and death to a variety of life forms. Consequently, I am supporting S. 1794, which develops biological and cultural methods of pest control, and S. 513 which gives the EPA authority to regulate the use of hazardous substances.

NOISE POLLUTION

An estimated 10 to 20 million Americans have some degree of hearing impairment caused primarily by overexposure to excessive noise. I am supporting Senator HATFIELD's S. 1016, the Noise Control Act, which would control the generation and transmission of noise detrimental to the human environment. I hope that tough aircraft noise controls can also be adopted.

SOLID WASTES

Bottles, cartons, cans, paper, and other refuse fill our dump sites and litter our countryside and cities.

I am sponsoring several amendments to commit the Federal Government to use recycled materials. In addition, I am sponsoring S. 856 which provides Federal assistance to the States to carry out programs to remove abandoned or junked cars.

RADIATION

I support the tightest controls on the utilization of nuclear power to produce electrical energy. However, the heart of this problem is the need to understand and meet the growing demands for energy. Power production in California has doubled every 8 years. We must remove needless incentives in public law and policy which overstimulate growth; we must educate ourselves as consumers to the need for changes; and we must find new sources of "clean" energy.

Three percent of the man-made radiation to which we are exposed today has resulted from past nuclear testing. Underground testing offers no absolute assurance that radiation leaks will not occur. Therefore, I stand opposed to unnecessary testing of nuclear devices, such as that scheduled for Amchitka Island, Alaska.

ANIMAL PROTECTION

To protect endangered species, I have sponsored Senate Joint Resolution 84, to establish a Tule Elk National Wildlife Refuge; S. 2141, to create a Desert Pupfish National Monument; S. 1116, to protect wild horses and burros on public lands; S. 1315, to protect ocean mammals; and S. 2241, to create a San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuge.

PARKS

The annual overcrowding of Yosemite National Park and the lack of public access to California's beaches clearly demonstrates the need for more park areas.

I have introduced S. 689, which creates a Channel Islands National Park. I will incorporate this in my future legislation to create a California Coastline National Park. In addition to the Channel Islands, this park could include coastal portions of the U.S. Marine Base at Camp Pendleton, the ocean frontage at Vandenberg Air Force Base, the Los Padres National Forest along the Big Sur Coast, and the Point Reyes National Seashore.

I am also joining in legislation to create a Golden Gate National Recreation area and to provide balanced recreational development of Angeles National Forest.

PUBLIC LANDS

To protect and preserve our lands, I have sponsored a number of bills including S. 1017, to increase Federal funding for reclamation projects in 17 Western States; S. 1245, to protect archeological sites threatened by Federal projects; S. 1920, to acquire lands and interests within the San Bernardino National Forest; and S. 1592, to establish a commission to study clear-cutting of timber resources of the United States on Federal lands.

POPULATION

I have sponsored Senate Joint Resolution 108 which would declare it U.S. policy to achieve population stabilization by voluntary means. I also advocate legislation to provide birth control information and devices to those who need but cannot afford them.

I also feel that medical doctors should be permitted to use therapeutic abortions on women whose mental or physical well-being would be endangered by birth.

I do think family planning must ultimately be a private decision.

ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE

The pace of innovation in science and technology has surpassed our ability to control their detrimental byproducts. We must regain control. Consequently, I favor S. 1113 which creates a National Environmental Laboratory with a $1-billion program for research and development related to environmental protection. This national commitment would provide research and development opportunities for many of our presently unemployed, highly trained scientists, and it could make new gains in the fight to save our environment.

I look forward to sponsoring and supporting more legislation in this vital area. And I trust that Congress, at the crossroads of environmental crises and environmental harmony, will choose the road that will make all the difference. This should be no romantic attempt to restore the environment to the State the Indians knew—we have cleared and developed, paved and polluted too much for that. Rather, Congress should embrace and implement the sense of ecological balance of the first Americans by enacting legislation consonant with their environmental wisdom, a wisdom indispensable to our survival and to improving the quality of our lives.

LEST WE FORGET

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in a land of progress and prosperity, it is often easy to assume an out-of-sight, out-of-mind attitude about matters which are not consistently brought to our attention. The fact exists that today more than 1,550 American servicemen are listed as prisoners or missing in Southeast Asia. The wives, children, and parents of these men have not forgotten and I would hope that my colleagues in Congress and countrymen across America will not neglect the fact that all men are not free for as long as one of our number is enslaved. I insert the name of one of the missing: Sgt. Timothy Bodden, U.S. Marine Corps, 1980396, Downers Grove, Ill. Single. Attended Southern Illinois University. Officially listed as missing June 3, 1967. As of today, Sergeant Bodden had been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 1,517 days.

DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME—4 MONTHS LONG ENOUGH

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, under the current Uniform Time Act, daylight savings time is observed from the last Sunday in April to the last Sunday in October.

Recently, the Senate Commerce Committee reported a bill limiting daylight savings time from Memorial Day to September 30. I have introduced a bill that would limit daylight savings time from the first Sunday after Memorial Day to the first Sunday after Labor Day.

Anyone who is familiar with the time situation in Kansas knows that, because of daylight savings time farmers, housewives, children and businessmen are forced to awake, travel and work in darkness. A reduction in the length of the daylight savings time provision is a measure that has been heartily endorsed by my constituents and is also evidenced in this recent editorial by Fred Brooks of the Garden City Telegram. I submit this editorial for consideration by my colleagues:

[From the Garden City Telegram, June 21, 1971]

FOUR MONTHS LONG ENOUGH

Something may yet be done about the too long period of daylight time which begins during the school term in the spring and ends after school has resumed in late summer.

Daylight time now stretches over nearly six month, from the last Sunday of April until the last Sunday in October. That's overdoing a good thing.

The period would be considerably shortened under a bill recently ordered reported by the Senate Commerce Committee. Sponsored by Senator Marlow Cook (R-Ky.) the bill would set a new date for the beginning of the daylight saving period—Memorial Day—and would end daylight saving on Sept. 30 lopping about two months off the present period.

Look for Cong. Keith Sebelius to take up the cudgel in the House. Coming from agricultural country, Sebelius knows the problems of the extended period of daylight time and has long been in favor of shortening it.

Put simply, it is a pain in the neck to rural mothers who must put their children on school buses while it is still dark then struggle with them at bedtime because it is still light. And it is no help to farmers who must begin their work in darkness, or to drive-in theatre operators who have to delay their starting hour.

Opposition will probably come from the tourist industry, which argues that to cut two months from the fast time period would lessen the opportunities by one hour each day of those two months. Those who feel they are being deprived of an extra hour of daylight for recreation may not look too kindly to the measure.

But the disadvantages of the lengthy period of daylight time far outweigh the advantages. And the bill would only shorten the duration of daylight time, not eliminate it. The bill deserves the careful consideration of Congress.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., BIRTHDAY

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to make Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a legal holiday in the District of Columbia. This bill would also conform the legal holidays of private employees with those now observed by Federal employees.

Under this measure, the third Monday of each January will be a legal holiday to mark the memory and the ideals for which Dr. King, my beloved friend and colleague, stood. I think it is appropriate that this city, where Dr. King fought many of his important battles and gained so many of his great successes, should pause 1 day each year to remember this noble man and the nonviolence he espoused.

When he addressed the thousands assembled at the Lincoln Memorial that day in 1963, he expressed the dream of justice and equality that must underpin our society if we are to survive as a great Nation. The observance of Dr. King's birth as a legal holiday offers to our children the opportunity to see that our Nation honors not just the past but the present, and to demonstrate that we are able to respect justice, nonviolence, and equality and those who advocate it.

In addition to establishing Dr. King's birthday as a holiday, this bill would conform the holidays observed by the private sector with public holidays. The need for such legislation comes about because Public Law 90–363 provides that legal holidays shall be observed by officers and employees of the Federal and District Governments. But the act does not directly affect section 28–2701 of the District of Columbia Code which governs the establishment of holidays for the purposes of private employment. As a result, employees in the private sector observe holidays at different times from those in the public sector. Some 45 States have enacted remedial legislation to bring local law into conformance with Public Law 90–363. I think that the Congress should do the same for the District of Columbia.

I set forth below a letter from the Dis-

trict government transmitting this legislation to the Speaker:

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, D.C., February 5, 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 a draft bill "To designate the legal public holidays to be observed in the District of Columbia."

Section 6103 of title 5, United States Code, relating generally to officers and employees of the Governments of the United States and the District of Columbia, as amended by the first section of Public Law 90–363, approved June 28, 1968 (82 Stat. 250), establishes the legal public holidays to be observed by those employees, beginning January 1, 1971, as follows:

New Year's Day, January 1;
Washington's Birthday, the third Monday in February;
Memorial Day, the last Monday in May;
Independence Day, July 4;
Labor Day, the first Monday in September;
Columbus Day, the second Monday in October;
Veterans Day, the fourth Monday in October;
Thanksgiving Day, the fourth Thursday in November; and
Christmas Day, December 25.

However, section 28–2701 of the District of Columbia Code, applicable exclusively within the District, and affecting persons in private employment and all commercial and financial transactions, provides that the legal public holidays in the District shall be the following:

New Year's Day, January 1;
Washington's Birthday, February 22;
The Fourth of July;
Decoration Day, May 30;
Labor Day, the first Monday in September;
Christmas Day, December 25;
Every Saturday after 12 o'clock noon;
Any day appointed or recommended by the President of the United States as a day of public feasting or thanksgiving; and
The day of the inauguration of the President in every fourth year.

As a result, employees of the Governments of the United States and the District of Columbia will now officially observe certain holidays (Washington's Birthday and Memorial Day) in the District of Columbia on days different from those authorized for the private sector, and particularly the commercial and financial establishments and institutions, and will also observe two holidays not now specified in local law (Columbus Day and Veterans Day).

The Senate Committee on the Judiciary, in reporting on the bill (H.R. 15951, 90th Congress) later enacted as Public Law 90–363, stated in its report (S. Rept. No. 1293) that—"the committee anticipates that the States generally will follow the lead established by H.R. 15951 by enacting consistent legislation."

Forty-five States have now enacted legislation generally consistent with Public Law 90–363, including Maryland and Virginia. Therefore, unless section 28–2701 of the District of Columbia Code is also made consistent with Public Law 90–363, the private sector in the District will be observing certain legal public holidays on dates different from those observed in the neighboring jurisdictions of Maryland and Virginia and in the great majority of the other States.

Consideration of the situation respecting legal public holidays in the District of Columbia also brings into the foreground the very considerable amount of sentiment among the people of the District that there should be set aside, as a legal public holiday, a day commemorating the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In recognition of this sentiment, the Commissioner strongly recommends that one of the legal public holidays in the District of Columbia be "Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Day", to be the third Monday of January.

Accordingly, in order to make the law in the District of Columbia respecting legal public holidays consistent with Public Law 90–363 and with the laws of most of the States, to commemorate the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and also to make it possible to observe as legal public holidays Saturdays after twelve o'clock noon, Columbus Day, Veterans Day, and any day declared to be a public holiday by the President of the United States, the Commissioner urges the enactment of the attached draft bill. 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.)

BILL TO ACCELERATE TAX REDUCTION

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the stagnation of our economy—its high levels of unemployment and its weak record of business expansion—owes more to a lack of confidence in the Nation's financial future than to any other single factor. Understandably, Americans today are playing their finances close to the vest, holding onto their cash until our imbalanced and unpredictable economy works itself out of its present slump. The problem is that, as long as consumers refuse to spend their money, as long as they are skeptical of our financial future, there can be little progress in coping with America's economic difficulties.

It is clear the U.S. economy must be stimulated, but in a way which will not at the same time intensify inflationary pressures. That is the tricky problem awaiting our solution.

One such solution, Mr. Speaker—one which we have so far overlooked—is the tax break. A gradual and carefully timed series of cuts for the middle-income taxpayer would go a long way toward bolstering citizen confidence in the economy, and it would do so without sending prices sky high. That, in fact, is the purpose of the bill I am introducing with my colleague, Mr. COUGHLIN of Pennsylvania. Under our proposed legislation, Federal income tax reductions included in the Tax Reform Act of 1969 would be accelerated to occur 1 year earlier than originally scheduled, with maximum benefit going to those now suffering the most from our strange combination of recession and inflation.

The minimum standard deduction is now 13 percent of yearly adjusted gross income, with a ceiling of $1,500. In January of 1972 the minimum standard deduction will become 14 percent with a ceiling of $2,000 and in January 1973, it will become 15 percent with a ceiling of $2,000. The legislation I am introducing makes changes scheduled for January 1, 1972 effective as of January 1, 1971, and the changes scheduled for January 1973 effective January 1972.

This, of course, is of major importance to the middle-income taxpayer, who does not have sufficient expenses to make the itemization of his deductions worthwhile. Necessarily, he must use the standard deduction, and this is just what my bill increases.

The second key feature of this legislation is its requirement that the Secretary of the Treasury promptly make adjustments in the Federal income tax withholding tables to reflect this step-up in tax reductions. So, instead of waiting 2 or 3 years for the force of these tax breaks to hit the Nation, consumers will be treated at once to a major increase in their buying power. Considering the present state of the economy, that will be a most useful development.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, demands the utmost attention of the Congress, for it provides not only long-sought relief for the middle class taxpayer, but a major stimulus for our economy as well. Now that these are so desperately needed, the tax cuts planned in the 1969 Reform Act should be put to use immediately.

HEALTH CARE

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, on July 20 the Washington Post carried the last of a series of articles on health care. That article was devoted to the Samaritan Health Service, a confederation of nine hospitals in central and northern Arizona, and the prototype for the American Hospital Association's Ameriplan. Ameriplan is an effort to find new methods of providing medical care, through private rather than Federal organizations, for residents of rural and urban areas. Samaritan Health Service has been highly successful and carefully followed by health and hospital officials across the country who are searching for ways to give better health care to our citizens. Mr. Stephen M. Morris of Phoenix, Ariz., is president of the Samaritan Health Service, president-elect of the American Hospital Association, and one of the authors of Ameriplan. In the article of July 20 Mr. Morris sets forth the needs, purposes, and operation of this program in a most knowledgeable and understandable way. I found it most interesting and enlightening, and I am glad to share it with my colleagues.

The article follows:

CITY-COUNTY HOSPITAL CONFEDERATION AIDS RURAL CARE

(By Stuart Auerbach)

PHOENIX, ARIZ.—On a Thursday morning this spring, Mrs. Alvin Reidhead gave birth to premature triplets in the small hospital at Holbrook, 200 miles from here.

As births of premature triplets go, the delivery was routine. But the infants were all

high-risk babies—weighing less than the 5½ pounds the doctors feel is necessary for survival.

All three Reidhead triplets—Vikki, Nikki and Ricki—survived, thanks to a unique hospital network that provided them with the newest, most sophisticated care available anywhere.

They were born in the 25-bed Holbrook Hospital under the care of Dr. Robert Joseph Haley Jr., an oldtime general practitioner who has helped deliver three sets of triplets in his lifetime.

But he had a backup in this case that went far beyond what is available to most GPs practicing in remote, small-town hospitals.

For Holbrook Hospital is part of Samaritan Health Service, a confederation of nine Arizona hospitals stretching from the booming suburbs of Phoenix to the rim of the Grand Canyon, 250 miles from here.

Good Samaritan Hospital in downtown Phoenix, a leading medical center, is the focus of this two-year-old experiment to find new ways of providing medical care to both rural and urban residents of one of the nation's fastest-growing states.

The experiment is being watched with growing interest by hospital officials and health planners across the country who see it as a way to insure that the hospital remains the center of health care delivery.

It is the prototype of Ameriplan, the American Hospital Association's program to reform health care in the country.

Under Ameriplan, hospitals would change from institutions that only care for people who arrive at their doors to ones that reach out into the community to find the sick and that run programs of preventive medicine.

They would emphasize out-patient care as well as in-hospital treatment. And they could be easily converted to the prepaid group practice-health maintenance organization concept that is so popular with health reformers.

"It's a direction in which the voluntary hospital and private medical systems can go to save themselves," says Stephen M. Morris, president of Samaritan Health Service. He is also president-elect of the AHA and an architect of Ameriplan.

"I think if we continue to go the way we are now," he adds, "we're going to lose the whole ballgame. The public is simply not satisfied with either our financing mechanism nor our delivery mechanism."

Ameriplan would establish a national network of hospital-based corporations that would provide medical care to all residents of a given area in much the same way that Samaritan Health Service helps hospitals in outlying communities such as Holbrook.

For example, when the Reidhead triplets were born, Samaritan Health Service mobilized its full facilities to keep them alive.

Mary Flemons, the head nurse at Holbrook Hospital, had just returned from a refresher course at Good Samaritan and was up to date on the care of high-risk newborns.

To bolster her, Joanne Junasz, a pediatric nurse at Good Samaritan; drove to Holbrook with extra supplies. And the health corporation rushed three Isolettes—baby-sized incubators—from Phoenix to Holbrook.

Meanwhile, Dr. Haley at Holbrook conferred twice daily by phone with experts in the care of the newborn at Good Samaritan.

The triplets thrived on the round-the-clock care they received at Holbrook. But the hospital's small staff was physically overtaxed; doctors and nurses there couldn't maintain the care the infants needed and still treat their other patients.

So the Reidhead triplets were flown to Good Samaritan in the health system's ambulance plane. They stayed there until they gained enough weight and strength to go home.

Samaritan Health Service has done more than just take care of cases too complicated for the smaller hospitals. Indeed, a good part of consortium's job has been keeping these hospitals supplied with doctors and nurses.

One man, David W. Graef, spends much of his time recruiting doctors for the outlying hospitals.

"Some Friday nights when there are no doctors I get one by Saturday. I call everybody I know who has the weekend off," says Graef.

The big problem is the isolation of the small towns. And when the doctors like it, the wives usually don't.

"I'm convinced if they'd stay there a while, they'd love it," says Graef, who has even tried advertising for doctors in conservation magazines.

The problem of finding doctors to locate in small towns is a national one, with vast stretches of rural America without medical help. In many towns, the only physician is elderly and unable to find a replacement so he can retire.

Morris thinks a hospital-based network, such as Samaritan Health Service, could help solve the problem of getting more doctors for rural America.

"I kept two hospitals open in northern Arizona by being able to move doctors there and relieve them when needed," he says.

Samaritan Health Service also improves the ability of the small hospitals to practice sophisticated, quality medicine.

Now they can offer medical tests that are impossible to perform in a small hospital laboratory. A car now makes a circuit of each hospital daily and picks up samples to be tested in the Good Samaritan laboratory. The results are telephoned back to the individual hospitals.

Dieticians from the health service's headquarters here travel to the smaller hospitals and help them plan their meals. Other experts help set up better billing systems and community relations campaigns—services that the small hospitals couldn't afford on their own.

And all the doctors and nurses at the outlying hospitals can take refresher courses at Good Samaritan, is much the same way that Mrs. Flemons from Holbrook had done before the birth of the Reidhead triplets.

Bringing sophisticated medical care to the vast, sparsely populated regions of Arizona is only one part of Samaritan Health Service's activities.

The consortium also has taken three hospitals in the suburbs of Phoenix, one of the fastest growing areas of the nation, under its wing.

Doctors at these small suburban hospitals also have the benefit of backup from the specialists at Good Samaritan. For example, they can get the complicated analysis of blood gas levels done in minutes through Good Samaritan's laboratories, and experts at Good Samaritan can diagnose from electrocardiographs transmitted from one hospital to the other over telephone lines.

"It's helped upgrade the quality of medical care—at least in my hospital," says Raymond L. Tate, administrator of the 62-bed Northwest Hospital in nearby Glendale.

"Major benefits have ensued to the small hospitals. The strengths of Good Samaritan have been made available to us."

Meanwhile the corporation is saving money by centralizing training, purchasing, insurance coverage and administrative functions.

Morris says that the 1970 budget for all the hospitals together was $40 million. If the nine hospitals had been operating separately, he says, their total budgets would have been $44 million—10 per cent higher.

Furthermore, he says, costs at his hospitals are rising slower than the national average. In 1969, the first year of the health service's operation, its bills increased 8 per cent compared to the national average of 12 per cent. In 1970, the Samaritan Health Service increase was 9 per cent; the national average for hospitals, 15 per cent.

Although the idea of a coordinated network of hospitals had been in Morris' mind for years, Samaritan Health Service got its start in the spring of 1968 when Southside Hospital, in a nearby suburb, was in such dire financial shape that Good Samaritan bought it at a bankruptcy sale.

Northwest Hospital, also in financial trouble, asked to join the system next.

Other hospitals asked to join in; Samaritan Health Service officials say they have not solicited other hospitals to join.

While health experts from all over the country come here to study Samaritan Health Service, local doctors and hospital officials have greeted the experiment with some reserve.

At local hospital administrator meeting, says Tate, "I don't get a lot of praise or support. They just say, 'Don't rock the boat. Don't rock the boat'."

Morris has alienated many Arizona doctors, who are especially conservative, by saying publically that Samaritan Health Service's concept will end the traditional fee-for-service practice of medicine for a single doctor.

The system also lost some medical allies who feared that too many of the strengths of Good Samaritan were being drained to help the smaller hospitals. "This hurt," says Nelson.

While Samaritan Health Service continues to gain strength here, other hospitals around the country are trying their own versions of the idea.

George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, for example, has taken a section of the city and promised to provide full medical care for anyone who lives there.

And in Chicago, Rush-Presbyterian-St. Lukes Medical Center announced last month that it is forming a unified health care system that will tie 20 community hospitals to it.

The plan includes the reactivation of Rush Medical College and the use of Presbyterian Hospital as the backup facility for the community hospitals. The network will cover 1 million to 1½ million residents of Chicago.

Morris says these experiments are important.

"If we can demonstrate to Congress that the private sector can deliver health care, the public will accept," he says, "I think that Congress will give us a chance."

COLOR TV LIFT-OFF FROM LUNAR SURFACE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

UNIQUE COLOR TELEVISION TECHNIQUE TO TRANSMIT FIRST LIVE PICTURES OF SPACESHIP LIFT-OFF FROM LUNAR SURFACE

STAMFORD, CONN., July 23, 1971.—A television transmission technique that beams full color pictures 238,000 miles through space will provide world audiences with man's first televised coverage of a spaceship lift-off from the moon's surface August 2 as Apollo 15 astronauts David R. Scott and Alfred M. Worden wind up a record 67 hours of lunar scientific explorations.

The high-resolution color technique that sends pictures sequentially first in red, then in blue and finally in green, will be used in a compact RCA camera to send closeup scenes of the lunar excursion module as it powers its way from the moon from a linkup with the orbiting command ship Endeavor. Color pictures sent from the moon will be collected at NASA ground receiving stations and converted instantaneously for standard network television transmission to home receivers. The camera will be operated on the moon's surface electronically by NASA flight controllers in Houston, and remain in operation for several days after the astronauts have left the lunar atmosphere.

The field-sequential technique, developed by Dr. Peter C. Goldmark, President of CBS Laboratories, a division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., employs a tri-colored transparent disk that rotates at high speeds to form a color picture field.

Full-color results are achieved with the disk spinning at 600 revolutions per minute and passing red, blue and green filters in rapid sequence before a single camera tube. As the pictures are beamed to earth, a magnetic scan-conversion technique developed by CBS Laboratories produces color frames at the rate of 30 frames per second for instantaneous broadcasting to viewers' homes.

During lunar excursions by Scott and Worden, the system will be mounted atop the "lunar buggy" scheduled to explore more than 22 miles along the floor of the moon's Apennine Mountains and Hadley Rille Canyon.

The field-sequential system—which is the only television transmission technique able to send color pictures at the low light levels of the lunar atmosphere—was inaugurated three decades ago to transmit man's first successful color television broadcast. The 1940 broadcast took place from atop the Chrysler Building in New York City. Viewers described the 1940 colorcast as "startlingly clear with vivid color in the landscapes, flower gardens and beaches" of the travelogue program which was presented.

Shrunk by modern technology to a fraction of its original size of more than 100 pounds during its inaugural broadcast, the field-sequential system has also forged the way for closed-circuit television in medicine and industry, and now enables physicians to transmit color pictures from inside the human body.

Medical institutions are now using the high-energy system for medical education and clinical diagnosis to detect cancer and other diseases.

"It is exciting to experience the results of a 30-year-old concept being used on the moon in 1971. But equally exciting, is the use of this same system in the science of medicine," Dr. Goldmark said.

"The ability of the field-sequential system to function so successfully in miniaturized form at extremely low light levels has made it possible for physicians to put it to invaluable use in clinical diagnosis and medical education," he added.

"There is no doubt," Dr. Goldmark concluded, "that increasingly valuable applications of field sequential color television will be uncovered as a result of the Apollo space mission for the betterment of mankind."

NASA officials expect the Apollo scientific expedition to provide scientists with more information about the moon and its origin than all previous Apollo missions.

Television coverage from the lunar rover will include some of the most spectacular scenery man is ever likely to see, according to NASA, including a cluster of craters which may have been formed nearly two billion years ago by the impact of rock splattered about from meteorites. The lights of earth and a solar eclipse as seen from the moon are also expected to be televised by the tiny camera.

THE UMW MYSTERY

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the ablest and most courageous Members of the House of Representatives is our distinguished colleague, Congressman KEN HECHLER of West Virginia.

I have had the privilege of knowing KEN HECHLER for some 15 years, since the time we both served on the staff of the late Adlai E. Stevenson during his campaign for the presidency of the United States.

Over that period of time, I have come to have great respect for the dedication and ability of Congressman HECHLER and that respect has only increased as I have observed his service in Congress and in particular his struggle on behalf of the coal miners of West Virginia.

Naturally, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I was pleased when one of the Nation's outstanding journalists, William V. Shannon of the New York Times this week paid tribute to Congressman HECHLER's courage in this struggle.

I insert in the RECORD the text of Mr. Shannon's article, "The UMW Mystery," from the New York Times of July 27, 1971:

THE U.M.W. MYSTERY

(By William V. Shannon)

WASHINGTON.—We all talk about justice, but few of us are ever in a position to seek justice at the risk of our lives. Jock Yablonski was one who did.

A little more than two years ago, Mr. Yablonski announced his candidacy for president of the United Mine Workers. He had been a well-paid member of the U.M.W. hierarchy, but at 59 he decided to challenge W. A. (Tony) Boyle and the rest of the union's entrenched leadership.

The coal miners' union had long been notorious for its autocratic ways and the cynical, financially self-serving style of its top officials. The late John L. Lewis set the pattern, and Mr. Boyle, who took over as president in 1963, continued it but without Mr. Lewis's flair. Until Jock Yablonski broke ranks, there was no leader to express rank-and-file frustration.

The campaign lasted six months. It was a rough affair. Before it was over, Mr. Yablonski would not travel alone, and there were a few districts he considered too dangerous to visit. He and his supporters filed with the Department of Labor over 100 charges of fraud, intimidation and violence on the part of the Boyle faction. To his lasting discredit, Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz ignored these alarm signals.

On Dec. 9, 1969, the Boyle slate won, 81,000 votes to 46,000. The Yablonski forces moved to set aside the election.

On the night of Dec. 30–31, 1969, Jock Yablonski, his wife and his daughter were shot to death in their home.

In the year and a half since the murder of his family, Joseph A. (Chip) Yablonski Jr. has devoted himself to carrying on his father's fight for reform of the U.M.W. He is an attorney, not a miner. By legal actions, lobbying on Capitol Hill and counseling with his father's followers in "Miners for Democracy," he keeps alive the hope that the U.M.W. can be renewed from within.

The Boyle faction is still in control of the union, but it has suffered some grievous blows. Mr. Boyle has been indicted for embezzlement of union funds. The Controller of the Currency compelled him to resign as a director of the National Bank of Washington which is controlled by the U.M.W. He has also been forced out as the union trustee on the mine workers' welfare and retirement fund.

A week ago, Chip Yablonski won a major legal victory that may have wide implications in other battles for intra-union democracy. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled unanimously that lawyers for Mr. Boyle could not also represent—and be paid by—the U.M.W. because the interests of the union and its embattled president are not necessarily identical. Too often, union rebels discover—as Jock Yablonski did—that in fighting the incumbent officers they are taking on the massed power of the union treasury, the union newspaper and the union lawyers.

In his long battle, young Chip Yablonski has had very few allies. One is Joseph L. Rauh, a Washington attorney active in behalf of civil liberties. Another is representative Ken Hechler, the West Virginia Democrat who has shown great courage in bucking the politically powerful U.M.W.

But he has had no help from organized labor or the Nixon Administration. During the 1969 contest, A.F.L.–C.I.O. president George Meany could see no issue of principle. It was just, he said, that "one of the boys of the kitchen is trying to move into the living room."

Since the Yablonski murders, the A.F.L.–C.I.O. has actually used its influence with friendly members of the Senate Labor Committee to discourage an extensive inquiry into the U.M.W.'s messy affairs.

Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson has no more enthusiasm than his predecessor, Mr. Schultz, for aggressive pursuit of possible wrong-doing. Although the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 gives the Labor Department a clear mandate to champion the ordinary worker against the union bureaucracy and to uphold strict standards of union honesty, Secretary Hodgson has refused to petition in the courts for the appointment of a monitor to conserve the U.M.W.'s assets.

Last week, Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan, the assistant Republican floor leader in the Senate and coauthor of the 1959 law, criticized Labor Department passivity and urged the appointment of a monitor.

There is real danger that dues of the members may be squandered. Moreover, because the U.M.W. has a long tradition of dictatorial control, it is virtually impossible to have a genuinely democratic election campaign if Mr. Boyle and his associates are left in charge.

The mystery remains. Why is an Administration pledged to law and order so reluctant to intervene on behalf of ordinary workers against union bosses who treat the U.N.W. as their private preserve?

PROJECT SANGUINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, many Members are aware of the Navy's Project Sanguine—a program intended to provide survivable, shore-to-ship communications in the Extremely Low Frequency—ELF—band for positive control of the Polaris submarine fleet. Those of us in Wisconsin are particularly aware that the program calls for large cables buried over a 150 square mile area of Wisconsin's National Forest land to form an enormous grid antenna and would re-

quire more power than any other communications system in existence.

There has been considerable discussion of the high cost and questionable reliability of the system and the damage it would cause to the environment. However, there has been no discussion to date of alternatives to Sanguine.

In a report earlier this year, the Defense Market Survey—DMS—asserts there are alternatives to Sanguine and concludes, that:

A year ago DMS forecast that LF and VLF (low and very low frequency) would eventually replace ELF (which is Project Sanguine) in the survivable communications concept. We see no reason to change that projection.

The Defense Market Survey is a private concern which monitors Defense programs and contracts. DMS is in a position to reflect expert opinion in the field of telecommunications, in this case, as well as express their own expertise.

Alternative systems can use airborne and possibly satellite vehicles to house the transmitters. In fact an airborne VLF system is already in operation and is providing reliable communications to submerged Polaris submarines.

The availability of alternatives is particularly important because there is clearly no longer any justification for continued funding of Project Sanguine. Since Sanguine is not the only means of improving communications with submerged Polaris submarines, the limited funds available should be spent on research and testing of alternative systems.

The report follows:

DEFENSE MARKET SURVEY MARKET—INTELLIGENCE REPORT ON PROJECT SANGUINE

(February 1971)

DESIGNATION

Project Sanguine.

EXECUTIVE

Naval Electronic Systems Command, Special Communications Project Office, Sanguine SPO, Washington, D.C., overall program management.

Naval Material Command, Naval Facilities Eng'rg Command, Washington, D.C., phase 1 test.

PRIME

Communications Systems Inc., Falls Church, Va., feasibility study.

General Electric Co., Syracuse, N.Y., feasibility study.

Radio Corp. of America, RCA Laboratories, Princeton, N.J., exploratory R&D.

Defense Communications, Systems, Camden, N.J., phase 1 test facility engineering & equip.

RCA Service Co., Camden, N.J., O&M of Sanguine test facilities.

Westinghouse Electric Co., Baltimore, Md., feasibility study.

TRW, Inc., Hawthrone, Miss., ecological studies.

STATUS

Advanced Development.

MISSION

Provide survivable, shore-to-ship communications in the Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) band for positive control of Fleet Ballistic Missile submarines under all circumstances (including nuclear blackout and jamming).

TYPE

Communications transmission and receiving equipment; antenna system.

FUNDING

R.D.T. & E.:	*Millions*
Through fiscal year 1968	25.0
Fiscal year 1969	15.7
Fiscal year 1970	3.2
Fiscal year 1971	4.6
Fiscal year 1972 (request)	5.6

TIMETABLE

Exploratory development contract: April 1966.

Feasibility study contracts: current year, 1967.

Construction of Phase 1 Test Facility started: August 1968.

Phase 1 Test Facility completed: August 1969.

Phase 1 Test Program started: August 1969.

Phase 2 Test Program scheduled for: current year, 1972.

System operational: current year, 1976*.

GENERAL

Project Sanguine has received 38 per cent of the total funding for the Fleet Ballistic Missile Command and Control System over the past three years with Tacamo (airborne VLF system) a distant second at 23 per cent. Other subelements and their percentages of the overall program include Ship mobile VLF (6); Network analysis (2); Fixed VLF (1); Pilgrim (6); Coverage prediction (5); Modulation coding and compression (2); Submarine antenna system (7); integrated radio room (4); and Supporting research (6). A significant difference between Sanguine and Tacamo (other than the obvious frequency distinctions) is that Tacamo is operational.

Sanguine was initially conceived to exploit the ELF band (below 100 Hertz) for the purpose of communicating with U.S. Naval vessels on or below the ocean's surface, anywhere in the world. It was estimated that the system would require more power than any other communications system in existence, and a transmitting antenna complex that would traverse 150 square miles of Wisconsin's National Forest land. Cables were to be buried along parallel lines, six miles apart in East-West and North-South directions to form an enormous grid antenna that would remain operational until each individual square was severed by enemy bombing attacks. Above this grid, 240 compact buildings were envisioned, each housing a generator and two transmitters (one above and one below ground) for maximum redundancy.

To initiate Project Sanguine the Navy awarded several exploratory development contracts in 1966, one of which was to RCA's David Sarnoff Research Laboratories for approximately $500,000. Tractor, Inc., received a related award, believed to be a communications study for Poseidon submarines. Others receiving early contracts were General Electric, Communications Systems, Inc., and Westinghouse.

Northern Wisconsin was selected as the site of the Phase 1 test facility because of its natural rock formations that provide the low electrical conductivity essential to an ELF transmitting capability. Constructed on 225 acres of forest land, and resembling a typical electrical utility pole complex, the test site is designed to study the effects of ELF transmissions on local RF communications systems such as telephone and television, and on the ecology, as related to human environment. Phase 2 of the program will use buried coaxial cables for an antenna network and will require 450 additional acres. The expanded test facility will then be utilized to perform "exhaustive" tests to ensure that all potential problems are solved before an operational system is seriously contemplated. The completion of the Phase 1 test program was delayed for a year while the Navy investigates a technological breakthrough that may permit the use of a much smaller antenna system at a new site location. Wisconsin residents and members of Congress have objected to the present Sanguine location, resulting in the consideration of Washington, Oregon, California, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arizona and New York as alternates.

Additional firms receiving Sanguine-related contract awards include the RCA Service Company (operation and maintenance of the Phase 1 test facility); Lincoln and Bell Telephone Laboratories (early feasibility studies); Donovan, Inc. (site construction); and TRW (biological effects studies).

COMMENT

The Sanguine appropriation for Fiscal 1971 was $4.6 million (compared to the $20 million request) and the Navy will request only $5.6 million in FY 72, making it obvious that the project will not be operational in 1975 as originally anticipated. Phases of the program that were postponed because of FY 71's reduced funding were contract definition, the beginning of engineering development, and electrical ground design research. The remaining objectives for Fiscal 1971 include continued research in electromagnetic interference mitigation (affecting the local utility systems in Wisconsin), operation of the Phase 1 test facility, biological and ecological effects studies, receiver and natural parameter studies, system engineering and technical/program management support.

In April 1969 RCA received an estimated $1.0 million to investigate Sanguine instigated telephone noise. In July 1969 TRW received a Navy contract to examine biological hazards to humans, animal and plant life due to ELF radiations. In April 1970 the Navy voiced concern over the effects of ELF communications on humans, animals and plant life, making it known that further research into the Sanguine Project was possible. In October 1970 Western Electric began a study of telephone interference, and in November 1970 the Navy solicited contractors to conduct biological research on Sanguine's ELF radiations. This suggests that the Navy could decide that the ELF band is not such a good idea after all and resort to the Very Low Frequency range for Sanguine transmissions.

One of the existing branches of the FBM Command and Control network, TACAMO (Take Command and Move Off), operates in the VLF range. It is installed aboard EC–130Q aircraft to relay messages from operational commanders to submerged SSBN's. The system was developed by Collins Radio and uses the AN/USC–13 radio and a trailing wire antenna (can be trailed up to 30,000 feet) to establish reliable communications with submarines.

A year ago DMS forecast that LF and VLF would eventually replace ELF in the survivable communications concept. We see no new reason to change that projection.

*Assuming program continuance; see Comment.

AN EXCITING NEW BUILDING IN MINNEAPOLIS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, architectural history is being made in Minneapolis with the construction of the new Federal Reserve Building in our city's Gateway Redevelopment Area.

The Federal Reserve's unique new 11 story office building will hang 30 feet above an open plaza, supported like a suspension bridge by huge metal cables.

This exciting structure, when completed next year, will be an important addition to Minneapolis' already successful downtown urban renewal project.

The building is described in more detail in the following bulletin from the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis:

NEW RESERVE BANK SUSPENDED OVER PLAZA

Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank employees will be setting two records when they move into their new building—it is the first completely new home office for a Federal Reserve Bank since the twelve original banks were constructed in the 1920's, and the building's office tower is the first occupied structure in the world to have a column-free span of 275 feet.

Because the Federal Reserve Bank has two distinctly different types of activities—administrative-clerical work and custody of large amounts of money and security—architect Gunnar Birkerts designed the building in two separate parts. The three-level secure area, which covers an entire block, is hidden under a sloping plaza, and the 11-story office structure is suspended over the plaza. The two parts are connected only by a free-standing elevator tower on the Marquette Avenue side of the building and two end supporting towers. The suspended design of the office structure frees the subplaza levels of pillars which a more conventional design would have required and thus, provides appropriate space for the vault area, money handling operations and truck ramps and loading facilities. Parking space for employees is on the third level beneath the plaza.

The office structure "hangs" thirty feet above the plaza, supported by cables enclosed in a steel beam and hung from the towers at each end of the building to form a catenary. Two 90-ton steel weldments have been placed on each tower to anchor the catenaries. A steel truss, erected across the top of the building between the two towers, acts as a resisting force against the tendency of the towers to pull together at the top because of the weight load on the catenaries. If the building were actually a suspension bridge, this load would be relieved by anchor cables extending away from the towers. The area enclosed by the truss houses mechanical equipment for the building.

In addition to freeing the subplaza levels of pillars, this unique design also allows all of the floors in the office structure to be completely open and free of columns or pillars. Private offices are located to permit the free entry of light through the special heat-absorbing glass that faces the building on both sides.

Located in the Gateway redevelopment area, the new Federal Reserve Bank occupies the entire city block bounded by Washington and Marquette Avenues, the Nicollet Mall and South Third Street. Because it is part of an urban renewal project, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority set strict limitations on the number of square feet of building that could be constructed on that site. However, the permissible number of square feet could be increased by having a large open space or plaza on the site. The 2.5 acre plaza, included as part of the new Bank building, is more than adequate to overcome the square footage limitations so that the 11-story office tower could be built and an additional six floors added if necessary.

The plaza slopes from sidewalk level on the Mall to a height of 20 feet on Marquette Avenue. It is being developed as a public place for various outside activities—concerts, exhibits or whatever. Because there is no pedestrian entrance to the building from the plaza, it will be more of a public place that the conventional plaza surrounding an office entrance. Landscaping on the plaza will include a large number of trees, benches and several pieces of sculpture.

General contractor for the project is the Knutson Companies, Inc.

CHINA POLICY IN BRIEF PERSPECTIVE

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

"President Nixon's dramatic announcement that he would travel to Mainland China sometime prior to May of next year has produced strong reverberations from the camps of both the American political Right and Left.

"The latter divides itself into those who charge the President with crass political opportunism and those who offer some grudging admiration that a 'thaw' in the Bamboo Curtain cold war seems to have been generated.

"The American Right, including both responsible conservatives and some who are less so, has arisen in horror to indicate a 'sell-out to World Communism' at worst or, at best, 'deplorable, unilateral Red-wooing without any reciprocal national gain.' To many quite responsible and intelligent spokesmen for the political Right, the President has been marked for ostracism without a real examination of the issues at hand.

"Perhaps it behooves us to take a brief look at what the President has not announced. He has *not* announced an end to our two-China approach that would result in a lessening of our security commitments to Nationalist China. In fact, he has reaffirmed those commitments. He has *not* announced any program of aid or trade with the mainland. He has not entered into any military or diplomatic pacts with Red China nor has he expressed an intention to do so. Yet all of these courses of action have been implied by otherwise level-headed conservatives as a 'gut' reaction to the President's brief announcement following Henry Kissinger's short meeting in Peking with Chou En Lai.

"I believe our President is on the right track where our China policy is concerned.

"I harbor no illusions about Red China or its leadership. That leadership has come to power, as have most Communist governments, through countless bloody purges that have resulted in mass murder to a degree which approaches genocide in many parts of Asia. The directives of this godless, immoral ruling junta have been directly responsible for the loss of thousands of American lives on the slopes of Korea and the jungles of Southeast Asia. I could not take effective issue with any spokesman or group who labels Red China's power structures as criminal or brigand.

"Nevertheless, mainland China exists. Turning our diplomatic backs on 800 million people and a land mass third only to the Soviet Union and Canada may instill us with smug feelings of righteousness, but such a course has done little to provide us with information and intelligence about a major world power.

"In past China policy, America has led the way in isolating mainland China from contact with the free world. This policy has neither lessened world tensions, nor has it reaped us any particular dividends with the unaligned nations of this planet. This diplomatic 'isolation school' has only served to make it exceedingly difficult to interpret Red China policy and accurately predict the future courses of action for that Power in Asia and the world.

"The President's announcement in no way carries a lightening of the moral judgment of a civilized people regarding Red China's rulers. President Nixon's planned trip to the mainland *does* imply a realistic approach to dealing with a major world power, and the proposition that nations willing to talk with each other are not as likely to be lobbing nuclear weapons at each other.

"I believe the President's approach deserves a fair hearing. It may represent a significant break-through towards a genuine era of reduced tensions and world peace."

"I shall reserve the right, as would any responsible legislator, to disagree with any future announced course of action that I do not believe to be warranted by the accumulated facts at hand. I will take strong issue with the President for any Administration avenue of action which does not seem to serve the best interests of this nation and her people. But, until such time as the national interest is clearly NOT served by high-level talks with mainland China, I do not intend to lend myself to any continued policy of 'Ostrich Diplomacy' which ill serves the cause of lasting peace for our people and the other free peoples of our shrinking planet."

COUNCILMAN MYRON BUSH

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Cincinnati has lost a distinguished public servant, a man who made tremendous contributions to our community.

Myron B. Bush, who passed away earlier this week at the age of 60, was more than an elected city official. He was a leader in the effort to give black and poor residents of Cincinnati a voice in government affairs.

I was fortunate enough to share his friendship for the past 20 years. We met when we were both young attorneys in the Hamilton County courts.

I respected his judgment, his intelligence, his keen wit and his ability.

While we were not always in agreement, his positions were well reasoned, well motivated and respected.

I wish to share with my colleagues the following editorials from the Cincinnati Post and Times Star and the Cincinnati Enquirer which appeared on July 29:

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Post, July 29, 1971]

MYRON BUSH

The death of Myron Bush, Cincinnati city councilman, is an unexpected and shocking personal loss to a large number of people who knew him, worked with him, or voted for him.

His death, after such a sudden and brief illness, is an untimely loss to the Cincinnati community as well.

Throughout the 60 years of his life, he was admired for his perseverance—as a football player at Withrow High School, as a student at the University of Cincinnati, at law school, in the early years as a teacher and a federal government lawyer.

When later he entered politics and became a council member, he was liked and appreciated for his good will, reasonable attitude, pertinent questioning and good humor.

But what really marked his role in council—and in the city—was his intelligent and constructive concern directed at forging stronger ties of community in Cincinnati, across the boundaries of neighborhood, race, generation and economic well being.

Myron Bush was a champion of policies and programs to give due attention and resources to people who often get brushed aside, or trampled under, by the dollars-and-cents, asphalt-and-bricks business of running a big city.

He spoke up for greater official concern for the small neighborhoods and their residents and shopkeepers, whether black or white, who felt themselves by-passed in the name of downtown progress.

He was a persistent and effective advocate of such reforms as the broadening and enlarging of the health board (which is being considered now.)

He tried to stir the conscience of the City Hall administration to follow hiring and promotion practices toward women, blacks and other disadvantaged persons, and to show some real concern for people displaced by housing rehabilitation.

He fought for better training for police officers that would foster improved police-community relations.

The combination of his community concern, his charm and his faith that change can take place peacefully made him much more than a purely mathematical one-ninth of city council.

He was a solid man, a gentle man, a tough man who seemed to be growing in stature and strength as a community leader.

In 1969, he polled enough ballots to make him the third-highest vote-winner in that council election. Indeed, it may have been that he was destined to be Cincinnati's next mayor.

In any event, the death of Myron Bush is a deeply regrettable loss.

TO MYRON BUSH

(Note.—Miss Marianna Brown, supervisor of education and training for the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, wrote this tribute to Myron Bush after the Cincinnati city councilman died Tuesday night. She called it: "To Myron Bush, an elegy, from Marianna Brown, a friend.")

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble . . . He shall be blessed upon the earth: and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies."

That psalm, my friend Myron, is yours.

How can a friend write an elegy to a man known to many as a politician when that term to many means evil and corrupt?

Let us remember, with Aristotle, that politics is the master science of the good and the aim of politics the highest good attainable by action. That made you, Myron, one of the few pure practitioners of your craft, and those who knew you thank you for it.

For the hungry, the dissaffected, the infirm, the elderly, the alienated, the poor, the unable—you were always the advocate. You reminded us relentlessly of our responsibilities to them. And for your special constituency—the blacks—you grew up in Council through the awakening of black pride to become a model, a spokesman, and a leader.

How amused you used to be that some considered you cantankerous and testy because you forced them to make their actions conform to their sincere pronouncements about equality, love, and brotherhood. How right you were not to be polite about the disparities between our stated values and our practices.

More personally, for those of us who knew you well, how we will miss your earthiness, your zeal, about your work, your incorruptability, the laughs we had while planning strategies, that marvelous voice of yours, your delight in telling a good story, that sense of humor as dry as Beefeater's, that tender sensitivity behind the toughness, and above all, your love of life.

I miss you, Myron. From Shakespeare, from "Cymbaline," may I say:

> No exorciser harm thee
> Nor no witchcraft charm thee
> Ghost unlaid forbear thee
> Nothing ill come near thee,
> Quiet consummation have,
> And renowned be thy grave.

Peace, Bunny.

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer, July 29, 1971]

MYRON B. BUSH

Every Cincinnatian has reason to mourn the passing of Councilman Myron B. Bush. He brought to city government a dedication to the people that earned him a deserved reputation for genuine concern for the public interest.

Mr. Bush served the city on council for six years, having been appointed to the seat vacated by Theodore Berry in April, 1965. He assumed his duties with a confidence and vigor that usually come only with years of experience and his popularity grew in proportion to his efforts. He was elected to a full term in 1965, running ninth in the poll; he finished fifth in 1967 and third in 1969.

A firm believer in the right of the people to control the agencies of local government, Mr. Bush was a courageous and articulate spokesman for that cause. He argued with emphatic conviction for direct citizen participation in a police-review board and worked tirelessly to continually upgrade the scope and quality of the city's health services.

Mr. Bush was truly a people's representative. He was equally at home debating an issue in council chambers or informally gauging the feelings of the people whenever the opportunity arose. His deep, resonant voice was commonly associated with, and lent a certain authority to, the Charter-Democratic posture in municipal policy.

We did not always agree editorially with Mr. Bush's proposals for attaining the goals he sought. But we concurred entirely in his resolute quest of good government for a better city. And we admired him for his unwavering stand on the issues.

Mr. Bush's passing leaves a void in the government and life of Cincinnati that will not be easily filled. But his memory will not fade and his character will stand as a model for those who carry on his good work.

THE SACB AND EXECUTIVE ORDER 11605

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I believe some clarification is in order concerning the function and limitations of the Subversive Activites Control Board—SACB—and the recently issued Executive Order 11605.

On July 19, 1971, following the defeat of Senator PROXMIRE's amendment to delete the appropriation for the Subversive Activities Control Board previously approved by the House, the Senate passed an amendment introduced by Senator ERVIN reading as follows:

Providing however, That none of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be made available for the Board to execute any of the additional functions, duties, or powers which Executive Order 11605, dated July 2, 1971, purports or undertakes to confer on the Board.

The result of the passage of this amendment does not in any way curtail Board activities under existing law. The Board still has the power to hear cases presented by the Attorney General on Communist-action groups, Communist-front groups and Communist-infiltrated groups.

Executive Order 11605, signed by President Nixon on July 2, is basically an amendment and refinement of Executive Orders 9300, 9835, and 10450, issued respectively by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower in 1943, 1947, and 1953, for the purpose of establishing loyalty-security criteria for Government personnel employment. These orders have been the basis for the compilation of the Attorney General's list of so-called "subversive" organizations. Pursuant to these orders, Attorneys General Francis Biddle, J. Howard McGrath, Tom Clark, and Herbert Brownell cited almost 300 organizations in the United States as falling into one of the following categories:

First. Totalitarian.
Second. Fascist.
Third. Communist.
Fourth. Subversive.
Fifth. Advocating force and violence to deny others their constitutional rights.
Sixth. Seeking to change the U.S. form of government by unconstitutional means.

Under the above-mentioned Executive orders, affiliation with groups on the Attorney General's list has been a possible bar to Government employment. The head of each Government agency has had the responsibility of investigating the circumstances of affiliation to determine whether it was of such nature as to make a person unfit for Government service on loyalty or security grounds.

The courts have repeatedly upheld the constitutionality of Attorneys General compiling such a list pursuant to Presidential directive and also their utilization in the Federal personnel security program.

President Nixon's Executive Order 11605 makes the following basic changes in the compilation of the list:

First. It establishes criteria which must be met for a finding that a group falls into one of the six kinds of organizations on the list—something no previous Executive order has done.

Second. It specifies that affiliation or membership in any such group must be "knowing" before it can be weighed as a negative factor in considering a person's fitness for Government employment—under previous Executive orders mere membership or affiliation of any kind, whether knowing or not, was considered.

Third. It bars the Attorney General from placing any organization on the list

unless, after a public hearing, the SACB finds that the organization in question, as charged by the Attorney General, falls into one of the above-mentioned categories. In 1955, the courts held that the Attorney General had to grant a group a hearing before placing it on the list. This new provision not only conforms with this court decision, but goes beyond it by bringing in an independent, quasi-judicial body as the hearing agency.

Fourth. A stricter definition is provided for the sixth type of group on the list. The previous Executive order referred to groups which seek to "alter the form of government" of the United States by "unconstitutional" means. The new order requires that the organization must actually seek to "overthrow" the U.S. Government by "unlawful" means.

In addition, the President has sent to Congress legislation that would make certain parts of section 13 and all of section 14 of the Subversive Activities Control Act apply to Board hearings held pursuant to the Executive order. If enacted, this means that in all such hearings, the accused organization will have the right to representation by counsel who can present witnesses in its behalf, cross-examine adverse witnesses, and so forth. Further, that a finding of the Board can be appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and, upon certiorari, to the Supreme Court—this legislation has already been introduced by Senators EASTLAND and HRUSKA and myself.

In summary, the recently issued Executive order not only gives the SACB additional duties but introduces into the method of placing groups on the Attorney General's list much stronger constitutional guarantees and due process procedures than have existed under any previous order.

Senator ERVIN challenges the constitutionality of the President's assigning to the congressionally created SACB a responsibility previously exercised by the Attorney General.

Title III, United States Code, section 301, is the general authorization for the President to delegate functions. It reads, in part, as follows:

> The President of the United States is authorized to designate and empower the head of any department or agency in the executive branch, or any official thereof who is required to be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to perform without approval, ratification or other action by the President (1) any function which is vested in the President by law, . . .

Rejecting a challenge to the constitutionality of the Attorney General's list, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals has held—

> It is the President's duty to take care that the laws are faithfully executed (Article II, Sec. 3 of the Constitution). It is his right and his duty to protect and defend the Government against subversive forces which may seek to change or destroy it by unconstitutional means. (JAFRC v. Clark, 177 F. 2d 79.)

In view of the above and the fact that the Subversive Activities Control Board is an executive branch agency, it would appear that Senator ERVIN's position is open to question. In addition, there are many precedents for Presidential Executive orders that transfer functions of executive branch agencies:

Executive Order 8843 of August 9, 1941, authorized the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to establish consumer credit controls. These controls included licensing system and administrative hearings for revocation of licenses.

Executive Order 11423 of August 16, 1968, delegated authority for granting permission for certain facilities at U.S. borders. Ultimate authority is placed in the Secretary of State, but he is directed to request the views of the Interstate Commerce Commission on such matters.

Executive Order 10530 of May 10, 1954, authorized the Federal Power Commission to conduct hearings and issue permits for the construction and operation at U.S. borders of gas and electric transmission facilities.

The same Executive order delegated to the Federal Communications Commission the power of the President to issue and revoke licenses concerning submarine cables and states the delegation to be made under the authority of title 3, United States Code 301.

The above citations of precedent are not to be considered all inclusive. Many other such delegations of authority under Executive order exist but are not cited here for reason of brevity.

A substantial amount of Government regulation is delegated under Executive order, most recently and particularly in the civil rights field in the area of equal rights for minority groups. To allow Senator ERVIN'S amendment to stand, restricting the activities of an independent executive agency under its legally delegated authority from the President, would subject to charges of illegality that substantial part of the Government's operations conducted under similar Executive orders.

Most criticism of the Board during the past 5 years has been based on the small number of cases and workload given it by the Attorneys General. Since Congress did not grant the Board the power to investigate or initiate cases, the Board could do nothing to correct the situation.

Executive Order 11605 will correct it by giving the Board work that will materially assist the national security. Testimony of Government officials before congressional committees has indicated weaknesses and gaps in the personnel security program due to the fact that the Attorney General's list is outdated, no groups having been added to it for 16 years. Board hearings under the Executive order will update the list and make it representative of subversive groups operating today. This will close existing loopholes in the security program.

Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian told the Senate Appropriations Committee on July 6, 1971, that there were 25 organization cases presently under study by the Department of Justice for submission to the Board for findings warranting their inclusion on the list. This, by the way, is nearly as many organization cases as the Board has heard since its inception in 1950. Second, Mr. Mardian testified that they had approximately 260 organizations to refer to the Board for removal from the list. This would provide more cases for the Board than it has had in its 21-year history.

In the event the Ervin amendment stands, however, the Board will be restricted in its workload to the two cases on which it has been holding hearings and to any others the Attorney General may submit this fiscal year.

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE: BUSING DECISION RATIFIED BY CONGRESS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I include my newsletter in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSING DECISION RATIFIED BY CONGRESS

On July 28th the House passed H.R. 10061, authorizing over $83 billion in 1972 for varied labor, health, education, and welfare programs.

Almost hidden in the 36-page money tree bill were five lines which read:

For expenses necessary for the Office for Civil Rights, $10,830,000, together with not to exceed $1,049,000 to be transferred and expended as authorized by section 201(g)(1) of the Social Security Act from any one or all of the trust funds referred to therein.

To determine why this nearly $12 million was sought it was necessary to read the testimony given at the subcommittee hearings.

J. Stanley Pottinger, Director of the Office for Civil Rights, outlined the purposes for which he sought funding, saying, "In FY 1972 we will be focusing attention on the following areas of enforcement:

1. Renegotiation where necessary of Title VI, voluntary desegregation plans now in effect which do not meet the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court in *Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, a landmark decision handed down on April 20, 1971.

2. Provide assistance to the Office of Education on questions of eligibility and civil rights compliance in administering the Administration's proposed $1.5 billion Emergency School Aid Act, if and when the legislation is enacted by Congress.

3. Continue the program of compliance reviews of school districts throughout the country and investigate cases of possible in-school discrimination, including alleged discriminatory treatment of black teachers."

4. Enforce the May 25, 1970 memorandum and its policies of non-discrimination in districts with national origin group minorities.

Important to most is the proposal to enforce the Swann decision. The Swann case was the latest Supreme Court decision to torture liberty by ordering the busing of school children to achieve some mystical and theoretical proportions of racial balance in public schools. In other words, Congress was being asked, unbeknown to many, to ratify the Supreme Court busing decision and to put up the money to enforce that judicial fiat.

Those parents and taxpayers already weary of financing the destruction of their community school systems should be even more upset upon learning that their social security trust funds are now subject to being used to pay for the busing of their children across town to a neighborhood that they don't choose to live in.

Cities which already wail about financial woes resulting from racial experimentation will find enforcement of the Swann case will further aggravate their financial plight by requiring cities to finance massive numbers of buses and additional employees. Soon Congress can be expected to be asked to appropriate money to buy buses and pay drivers.

Even those who were so laudatory in praise of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 recall that definition (b) of 42 U.S.C. 2000 C reads: ". . . but desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance"

This portion of the civil rights bill has never been declared unconstitutional, although the matter has been to the Supreme Court; therefore, it is the law of the land as provided in the Constitution:

This Constitution and the Laws of the U.S. which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . be the supreme law of the land.

In the same appropriation hearings, the Civil Rights Director announced his intent to also use these funds to extend the busing concept to higher education, thereby denying to some college students the right to choose their campus.

Support for in excess of $11,000,000, which funds would be used to violate the laws of the land, must be considered a breach of the oath of office voluntarily assumed by each Congressman to support and defend the Constitution. To approve of the busing appropriation, knowing in advance that the taxpayers' dollars were to be used in carrying out the de facto busing laws of the Supreme Court was not only a direct contravention of the law of the land, but also a mockery of existing laws already enacted.

Unfortunately, so few Congressmen expressed an interest in the appropriation to the Office for Civil Rights for busing—14 Members of the 435 stood—that no recorded vote could be obtained so that people at home would know who the busing Congressmen are.

As the opening of school this fall grows nearer and parents are confronted with unrealistic busing plans facing their children as a price of public education, they can anticipate their Congressman's reply that the Supreme Court has spoken and there is nothing that can be done.

How right the Congressmen will be, because their chance has passed with little fanfare and little or no publicity. Congress alone has the power of the purse. If the elected officials defy the Constitution and betray their trust to the people, then it remains to the people to defend the Constitution.

This people can do on election day by reminding their elected officials that there was something that could have been done to stop busing and to prevent taxpayer-financed enforcement of de facto Supreme Court decisions.

After all, with the maverick members now serving on the Supreme Court, there is no need for an Office for Civil Rights.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I rise to introduce into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent calendar of events for August 1971 of the National Gallery of Art.

The calendar follows:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS FOR AUGUST 1971 OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

CONSTRUCTION ON THE EAST BUILDING

The foundation for the East Building of the National Gallery of Art, presently under construction, will be started in August. The six-foot-thick concrete base will rest on a primeval seabed subsoil.

Work on the East Building project this summer also involves temporarily rerouting Fourth Street to permit excavation below ground for the connecting link, placing soldier beams to brace the sides of the excavation for the foundation, and constructing a field office for the Gallery staff at work on the project, the architects, and the contractors.

An exhibit on the East Building, designed by the architects I. M. Pei & Partners of New York, has been installed in the Rotunda area on the main floor of the Gallery, to remain on view throughout construction. The East Building is scheduled to be completed in 1975.

THE INFLUENCE OF REMBRANDT ON 19TH- AND EARLY 20TH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE PRINTS

An exhibition of etchings with drypoint, by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) and 19th- and early 20th-century French, British, and American artists, is installed in the prints and drawings gallery (G–19) on the ground floor of the Gallery, where it will remain on view through September 12. The exhibition was organized to point out specific relationships between prints by Rembrandt and those of later artists under his influence.

SUMMER AUDITORIUM LECTURES

The August Sunday lectures continue the series, begun in July, on European and American cities which have nurtured artistic creation at particular periods. Besides covering social backgrounds, artistic concepts, and architectural monuments, the lectures include many of the National Gallery's paintings and sculpture produced in these cultural centers. The chronologically arranged series forms a history of western art from the late Middle Ages to modern times. Illustrated by slides, the talks are given by members of the National Gallery education staff on Sundays at 4 o'clock.

SUMMER EVENING FILMS

In response to the overflow crowds at the Gallery's first showing of *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me* and to the many requests for repeat performances, the film will be shown again this month. Also to be shown are *The World of Andrew Wyeth, Art Is . . . , Alberto Giacometti,* and *Five*—a film on five black artists. For details see calendar pages.

The BBC film series, "Civilisation," can be seen on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at 6:00 and 7:15 p.m. A different film is being shown each week.

SUMMER EVENING HOURS

Until Labor Day the Gallery will be open Monday through Saturday 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Sunday 12 to 9 p.m. The cafeteria will be open Monday through Saturday 10 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. and Sunday 1 to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, JULY 26, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 1

Painting of the week: Vermeer. *A Woman Weighing Gold.* (Widener Collection) Gallery 44. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 and 2:00; Sun. 3:30 and 6:00. 11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—25 cents each. If mailed, 35 cents each.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 and 3:00. Sun. 2:30 and 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Seventeenth-Century Rome. Speaker:* Jeffrey Ruda, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Films: *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me,* Mon., Wed. and Fri. 6:30. "Civilisation," VII—*Grandeur and Obedience,* Tues., Thurs. and Sat. 6:00 and 7:15.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 8

Painting of the week: Copley. *Watson and the Shark.* (Ferdinand Lammot Belin Fund) Gallery 64. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00. Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Eighteenth-Century Paris. Speaker:* Elizabeth Lang, Summer Staff Lecturer. National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Films: *Gertrude Stein: When This You See Remember Me,* Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:30. "Civilisation," VIII—*The Light of Experience,* Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15.

(For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue entrance.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 9, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 15

Painting of the week: Rubens. *Daniel in the Lions' Den.* (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund) Gallery 41A. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00. Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Eighteenth-Century London. Speaker:* William J. Williams, Staff Lecturer. National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Films: *The World of Andrew Wyeth* and *Art Is . . .,* Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00 & 7:15. "Civilisation," IX—*The Pursuit of Happiness,* Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15.

(Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Education Office or telephoned to (202) 737-4215, ext. 272.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 16, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 22

Painting of the week: Soutine. *Portrait of a Boy.* (Chester Dale Collection) Gallery G–11. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00. Color postcards with texts for sale this week—10¢ each, postpaid.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00. Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Nineteenth-Century Paris. Speaker:* Carleen B. Keating, Staff Lecturer. National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Films: *Alberto Giacometti* and *Five,* Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00 & 7:15. "Civilisation," X—*The Smile of Reason,* Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15.

MONDAY, AUGUST 23, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 29

Painting of the week: Turner. *Keelmen Heaving in Coals by Moonlight.* (Widener Collection) Gallery 57. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00. Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Twentieth-Century New York. Speaker:* Richard Saito. Staff Lecturer. National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Films: *Artists at Work—Picasso, de Kooning, Pollock, Appel,* Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00 & 7:15. "Civilisation," XI—*The Worship of Nature,* Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR ABORTION SERVICES IN MILITARY FACILITIES

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to correct what I consider to be an outrageous and untenable exercise of Presidential influence. I am referring to President Nixon's directive of April 3, 1971, reversing the established medical policy of the Department of Defense regarding abortions.

Over a year ago, several surgeons general requested from the Department of Defense clarification as to their authority to provide abortion services in military facilities. With much advice from the Public Health Service, Health, Education, and Welfare, and other qualified parties, and serious consideration of the issues involved, the Department of Defense directed last summer that military facilities should perform abortions and sterilizations on women in the armed services and on dependent women, without regard to the law of the State in which the facility is located. DOD had decided that this policy, which provides consistent quality medical care to all military women, regardless of the State in which they find themselves, is in the best interest of the armed services.

I have been informed that the Department of Defense currently transports women who desire an abortion to military facilities in States which currently have liberal abortion laws. This practice, while necessary after the President's regressive interference, is a great waste of military funds, which have already been wasted in Indochina and in other areas. More importantly, it is a great physical and psychological strain upon the woman, who is already burdened by an unwanted pregnancy. The amount of time that may be wasted awaiting transportation to a military hospital with the necessary facilities, space, and authority to perform abortions, will increase the dangers and difficulties of what is initially a simple operation. The psychological repercussions of the woman's uncertainty and fear as to her future cannot be measured. The President has done nothing but add to the immeasurable burden which is placed upon women associated with the military.

Mr. Speaker, there is no reason for the President to single out abortions, a standard medical procedure, to be subjected to State regulations even though performed on a military installation. Military bases, including military hospitals, are commonly regulated by Federal law rather than State law to avoid the very situation which the President has now created—that is, to facilitate smooth and consistent operation of Federal reserves without interference from the various quirks and burdens of State laws. With 50 States now with 50 different laws regulating abortion, ranging from abortion virtually on demand to abortion only to preserve the life of the mother, the President can hardly justify his directive on the basis that it will facilitate consistent and smooth operation of the military. Nor can it be said that the President's personal views are consonant with the Federal interest in population control, nor with the flexibility required of military personnel. His religious views, of course, are of no concern to a nation that cherishes a separation between church and State.

The President's assertion that abortion has traditionally been a State concern is puzzling in view of the rationale for applying Federal law to Federal reservations. It is especially puzzling as military personnel commonly have no input into the State law: they are not domiciliaries of the State to which they are assigned; they do not vote in that State; nor are they taxed there. Indeed, they have no contact with the State except that they have been assigned there by chance. This is especially hard on women who are domiciled in a State with a liberal abortion law, but who must comply with a strict abortion law in the State of assignment because they had the bad luck to be pregnant in a restrictive State.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would alleviate this absurd situation by authorizing all military facilities to perform abortions and sterilizations without regard to the law of the State in which the facility is located. The bill provides safeguards to assure that the operations are completely voluntary, and are not coerced as prerequisites to further medical care or eligibility for any other service.

The bill also provides that a physician whose moral and religious beliefs oppose abortions or sterilizations may not be required to perform such an operation. This provision seems to me to be unnecessary, as no physician can be compelled to perform any operation or medical act. Furthermore, physicians, including many Catholic physicians, overwhelmingly desire the authority to perform abortions and sterilizations. I include the provision, however, to allay the fears of some of my colleagues who are solicitous of physicians' rights.

I wish to make a final comment, Mr. Speaker, regarding abortion laws in general. Abortion and sterilization are medical procedures, and as such should be, like all other medical procedures, solely between the doctor and the woman. Neither Congress nor the States should restrict access to abortions or sterilizations in any manner. Such restrictions are based almost exclusively on religious and moral objections, and therefore constitute laws respecting the establishment of religion in violation of the first and 14th amendments. Such restriction is equally intolerable coming from the Executive. I regret that it is even necessary for me to introduce this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill be printed in the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that an accompanying letter to President Nixon from an Air Force gynecologist-obstetrician also be printed in the RECORD.

A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to proivde that abortions, sterilizations, and family planning services be performed in facilities of the uniformed services, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by adding at the end of section 1074 thereof the following new subsections:

"(c) Medical care provided under this section shall include abortions and sterilizations. Such care shall be rendered without regard to the requirements of the laws of the State in which treatment is performed or to local medical practices. The performance of abortions and sterilizations under this section shall require only the written request of the patient and the decision of the operating surgeon, and no concurring medical opinions are necessary unless medically indicated. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to require any physician to perform abortions if such performance contradicts his religious or molal beliefs.

"(d) Medical care provided under this section shall include family planning services and suppiles including counseling and guidance, in accordance with sound medical practice.";

(2) by adding at the end of section 1077 (a) thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(15) Abortions and sterilizations the performance of which—

"(A) shall be rendered without regard to the requirements of the laws of the State in which performed or to local medical practices; and

"(B) shall require only the written request of the patient and the decision of the operating surgeon, and no concurring medical opinions are necessary unless medically indicated;

except that nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to require any physician to perform abortions if such performance contradicts his religious or moral beliefs.

"(16) Family planning services and supplies (including counseling and guidance) in accordance with sound medical practice.";

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 1089. Acceptance of certain services not a prerequisite to receipt of other services or treatment

"The acceptance by any individual of abortion, sterilization, or family planning services provided under this chapter shall be voluntary and shall not be a prerequisite to eligibility for, or receipt of, any other service or treatment under this chapter."; and

(4) by adding at the end of the analysis thereof the following:

"1089. Acceptance of certain services not a prerequisite to receipt of other services or treatment."

APRIL 21, 1971.

RICHARD M. NIXON,
Commander-in-Chief and President of the United States, Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: I do not know how to begin. I have many angry thoughts but few words to express my extreme dismay over your recent action in regard to therapeutic abortion in the Armed Forces but I do not know what pressures prompted you to speak out on this issue or to act apparently without the wise cousel of Secretary Rousselot. I am concerned about my role in caring for members and dependents of the Armed Forces.

There are many people who feel that the question of abortion is not a matter of "States Rights" but a basic constitutional question. How can you so casually overlook the cases now pending in the Federal Courts

or to the statement of the California Supreme Court that to deny any patient an abortion is to deny her her constitutional right to LIFE? Normal pregnancy in itself involves a risk of maternal death.

Members of the military Medical Corps have not been attempting to solve world population problems by abortion. To intimate that anyone of us feels that the approximately 200 abortions done at this, the world's largest Air Force Base, are being done to solve world population problems is absurd. When any obstetrician does an abortion in the military he is simply thinking of his patient, not solving the problems of the world population. All thinking physicians, I believe, agree that abortion is no solution.

As for the specific problems created for us at Eglin, we, under your directive, will now be subject to Florida law that is vague and felt by State Representative Hoades of Tampa, among others, to be unconstitutional. Representative Hoades is a leading Catholic layman who is seeking a change in the Florida law so that Florida will not be without an abortion law if a Federal Court rules the law unconstitutional as is the case in the District of Columbia. Military dependents pregnant and needing abortion here at Eglin now must be aborted by those of us willing to challenge interpretation of a Florida law in a military court-martial. That or send our poor patients commercially at their expense to New York where Federal funds through CHAMPUS will be put into the pocket of some who are using abortion as a profitable venture. That is to say, we will be forced to utilize the Abortion Information Agency of Mr. Settles.

The second question—when a military *member* (not dependent) needs an abortion, do we apply the law of their home State (with a battery of lawyers advising us of their interpretation) or that of the State of Florida? Do we fly her at government expense and pay for her abortion since this is necessary medical care not available in a military facility?

What do I do with the thirteen-year-old daughter who is pregnant while her father is in Vietnam? Put her on a plane to New York? He can't pay the bill. Who will go with her—her mother, who obviously didn't have time to supervise her?

What do I do with the Vietnam widows and MIA wives who find themselves pregnant in their loneliness?

What do I tell the retired corporal's wife who conceived with an intrauterine device in place? He is 22, with one leg and two children and a pregnant wife!

What do I do with the Catholic wife whose rheumatic heart disease and thrombophlebitis made the chaplain tell this lady abortion was a matter of conscience? Will the New York abortion facilities provide her with Mass prior to the abortion, a Catholic nurse to baptize the embryo? Under strict interpretation of the Florida law she does not qualify for abortion at Eglin Air Force Base.

Since Florida law allows no abortions for fetal indications, what do we do for the pregnant dependent with two hydrocephalic children at home? She was refused sterilization three years ago becaus her physician said, "Air Force regulations didn't allow this."

What do we do for the lady taking a cancer drug known to cause abnormalities?

How can you place our military men in the position of attempting to change the laws of Florida when very few are natives or are allowed the prerogative of speaking out on State political issues? The Soldiers and Sailors Relief Act of 1942 recognized the problems of disenfranchised citizens in the military being subject to the whims and fancies of the individual tax laws. Your directive sets us back 30 years.

I might also add that Secretary Rousselot was probably the only hope of an all volunteer Medical Corps. No amount of pay will induce reputable physicians to stay in service when medical practice is dictated by political expediency.

Under current Air Force regulations no physician or other member may be forced to participate in an abortion if their moral, professional, or religious beliefs dictate otherwise. What recourse do military obstetricians have when they feel that an Executive Order from the Commander-in-Chief is immoral, unconstitutional, in violation of their religious beliefs and interfering with direct patient care?

Sincerely,

SAMUEL M. ATKINSON, Jr., M.D., FACOB,
Eglin AFB, Fla.

ANNOUNCING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: A NATIONAL COALITION

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I announce today the establishment of a national coalition to secure self-determination for the people of the District of Columbia. It is with equal pleasure that I announce that my good friend, Senator EDWARD BROOKE, a native Washingtonian, will serve with me as national co-chairman of the coalition.

Last week, I sent a letter to national organizations, including labor unions, farm organizations, women's groups, student organizations, and professional societies, asking that they meet with me on Tuesday, July 27, 1971, to discuss the prospects of home rule legislation this session of Congress and how we can best organize to make our dream of self-determination a reality. We held that meeting last Tuesday and 46 national organizations sent representatives. Almost unanimously, they agreed that the time was right for forming such a national effort. Twenty-nine organizations made definite commitments on the spot to participate as members of the Coalition, and the remainder have made commitments to seek the necessary authorizations from their governing boards to take part in the effort. Among those making commitments on Tuesday were Common Cause; Americans for Democratic Action; American Civil Liberties Union; Association of Student Governments; National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; National Farmers Union; U.S. Conference of Mayors; League of Cities; United Auto Workers; National Council of Churches; National Education Association; The Newspaper Guild; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; American Jewish Committee, and the League of Women Voters. We expect the list to grow every day as organizations obtain approval from their boards and as other groups find out about our efforts and seek to join.

The National Coalition is a nonpartisan drive that is open to all who wish to help the people of the District gain self-government. The formation of the Coalition reflects our deep belief that self-government and voting Congressional representation will only happen when American citizens across the country ask their Congressman to enact such measures. This requires the efforts and commitment of a fulltime office and staff in Washington and an organized national program. With the formation of the Coalition, the first historic steps have been taken. Through initial fund raising efforts, we have been fortunate to secure the services of Mr. Michael Beard to serve as executive director for the Coalition. Mr. Beard, former Executive Director and lobbyist for World Federalist Youth, has been active in local and national political organizations in Washington over the past decade.

The Coalition will have many functions to carry out in this drive. We will be calling on groups to educate their memberships, to provide staff time for talking to Senators and Representatives, to prepare statements and testimony for hearings, to assist in raising funds, to hold legislative workshops, and other tasks that might be useful. In addition, the Coalition is laying plans for "educational seminars" to bring our message to religious, labor, farm, peace, and student groups in select congressional districts.

We are not relying on this National Coalition alone. We have begun work on forming a parallel group made up of local organizations and individuals who have been involved in home rule efforts over the years. In addition, we will be seeking to involve the many people of this city who have never been directly involved before so that we can demonstrate to the Congress the enormous passion for self-government that exists among our people, black and white, rich and poor.

Finally, I have today reintroduced my home rule bill (H.R. 9499). Forty of my colleagues have joined to cosponsor this vital legislation. These Congressmen, who have expressed their support for the people of this city, come from every region in this Nation and represent both parties.

The road ahead is still long and arduous, but the steps that we are announcing promise a new hope that justice can finally be done for the long-denied people of the District of Columbia.

I am including below for the information of my colleagues a list of the original 29 organizations who have joined to form this coalition, the statement of the Coalition Cochairman, Senator EDWARD BROOKE, and statements from the American Veterans Committee and the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees:

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR D.C., A NATIONAL COALITION

American Association of University Women.
American Civil Liberties Union.
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

American Federation of Teachers.
Americans for Democratic Action.
American Jewish Committee.
American Veterans Committee.
Association of Student Governments.
B'nai B'rith Women.
Common Cause.
Delta Sigma Theta, Inc.
Democratic National Committee.
General Board of Christian Social Concerns, The United Methodist Church.
Jewish Community Council.
League of Women Voters.
Legislative Affairs Project, United Methodist Council on Youth Ministries.
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees.
National Council of Churches.
National Education Association.
National Farmers Union.
National League of Cities.
The Newspaper Guild.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
United Auto Workers.
Urban Emergency Action Committee, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
U.S. Conference of Mayors.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
World Federalist Youth, U.S.A.
Young Democratic Clubs of America.

BROOKE AND FAUNTROY PROPOSE NATIONAL COALITION FOR D.C. HOME RULE

At a joint news conference in the United States Capitol on Thursday, July 29, Senator Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) and Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-District of Columbia) proposed the establishment of a National Coalition to promote home rule for the District of Columbia.

The National Coalition plan announced by Senator Brooke, a native of the District of Columbia, and Congressman Fauntroy, calls for headquarters to be established in Washington, D.C. The aim of this group would be to gather bi-partisan support in and out of Congress for home rule for the Capitol City.

The text of Senator Brooke's remarks at the conference follow:

"I am particularly pleased to appear here today with my good friend and colleague, Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy, to launch a new and long-needed education effort on behalf of self-government for the District of Columbia.

"I was born and raised in the District of Columbia, and many of my closest ties are still with this Capitol City.

"When the founding fathers first established a separate jurisdiction to be the seat of this nation's government, I am sure they had no idea that, nearly two hundred years later, the city would contain more people than any of the original 13 states. Nor could they have anticipated that it would ever be the eighth largest city in the nation, a city which by itself has more people than eleven of our present states.

"I believe our forebears would have been appalled, and rightly so, by the fact that the most powerful democratic nation on earth denies to the nearly one million inhabitants of its capitol city, the fundamental right of representation and self-government.

"We have made some progress in recent years: we have an elected school board; a Mayor-Commissioner appointed by the President, and a city government also appointed by the President and the Mayor-Commissioner. For ten years the citizens of the District have been able to vote in Presidential elections. And this year, for the first time, we have an elected, albeit nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress.

"But the people of Washington, D.C., do not elect their own government. They do not levy taxes, distribute revenue, settle their own affairs. And their delegate in Congress does not have a vote, nor is their representation distributed on the basis of population.

"Today we are launching the first concerted drive to correct this incredible flaw in our governmental system. We have the backing of a number of national organizations, including the National League of Cities, the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, Americans for Democratic Action, the Conference of Mayors, and a multitude of labor, religious and educational associations.

"We intend to bring this issue constantly to the attention of the American public, until this last great wrong is righted and democracy is truly made the hallmark of all our land."

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE JOINS NATIONAL COALITION FOR REPRESENTATION FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The American Veterans Committee has joined a group of national organizations in a national coalition dedicated to achieving the objective of voting representation for the District of Columbia.

The AVC has long been on record in favor of home rule for the District of Columbia, Executive Director June Willenz stated. The AVC National Affairs Platform states:

AVC stands for just legislative representation of the people of the United States, the States and their subdivisions, without poll taxes or other property qualifications for voting, with equal weight for each vote, and on a geographically fair basis, within the framework of the Constitution of the United States.

For some years AVC has had a standing resolution on home rule for the District of Columbia as follows:

District of Columbia: We urge that the District of Columbia receive by legislation or by constitutional amendment where the matter cannot be handled by legislation:

A. The right to local self-government and;

B. The right to elect Senators and Representatives in Congress;

C. An equitable annual Federal contribution in lieu of taxes.

AVC is pleased to associate itself with the other major organizations called together by Congressman Walter Fauntroy in this national coalition to support the objective of legislative representation for the people of the District of Columbia.

AVC is an organization of veterans from World War I, World War II, the Korean Conflict and the Vietnam War, whose motto is "Citizens First, Veterans Second." The present National Chairman is Raymond Bramucci and the National Vice Chairman is Dr. F. J. Pepper.

* * * * *

HOME RULE SUPPORT URGED BY NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees representing some 45,000 postal and federal employees, with many thousands located in the District, has instructed its 141 locals throughout the nation to make immediate contact with their senators and local congressmen, urging them to support home rule for the District of Columbia.

It is the belief of Mr. Robert L. White, Alliance National President that home rule is needed to give first class citizenship to the residents of the district. It is further believed that home rule is needed to perpetuate the American way of life in the will of the majority, determining its own destination under the guidelines of the constitution.

The Alliance will therefore support District Representative Walter Fauntroy and all other interested parties in the adoption of legislation giving home rule to the District of Columbia.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE TESTIMONY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my testimony before the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee on the varied proposals to grant home rule to the District of Columbia in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF JOHN R. RARICK

JUNE 20, 1971.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: Many Americans are aware that various bills have been introduced in Congress to grant "Home Rule" for the occupants of Washington, D.C., nerve center of the United States.

These proposals extend from the election of Representatives in Congress to Statehood with two Senators and Representatives.

Many Americans are sympathetic or apathetic because they have been conditioned to believe such action is right or imminent because of emotional propaganda movements.

The present promotion of home rule for the District of Columbia is generated by two basic forces—the right to vote, and local self-government.

On the other hand, the only reason for the creation of, and therefore necessity for a Federal City, Washington, D.C. was and is a neutral, nonpolitical sanctuary for the seat of our Government where Federal representation from every State and of every political persuasion could meet in safety to legislate the laws of our Republic.

The framers of the Constitution were aware of the threat to republican government which existed in Philadelphia when the Continental Congress was surrounded and imperiled by a mob from which it was powerless to protect itself.

The Constitution, therefore, provided for the creation of a Federal district, the District of Columbia, over which the Congress should have plenary and exclusive legislative power. This requirement was simply to make us masters in our own house, that Congress have home rule over its own environment and domicile. The men who wrote our Constitution knew what they were doing. They had seen Congress, sitting where it did not rule, surrounded and besieged by a mob demanding back military pay.

In the very same sentence of Article 1, Section 8, Clause 17, requiring Congress "to exercise exclusive Legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District . . ." Our Constitution requires us to "exercise like authority over all forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings."

The framers of the Constitution recognized that the Nation's Capital belonged in the same category as these other essential properties. It serves the people of the Nation, is supported and maintained by the people of the Nation, and must be controlled and governed by the people of the Nation. The District of Columbia never has been self-supporting, it is not now able to pay its own way, and it never will be able to do so. It has no more entitlement in logic or in morality to "home rule" than do Fort Polk, Redstone Arsenal, the Brooklyn Navy Yard or the Chicago Post Office, or for that matter the Navajo Indian Reservation located in Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

Unfortunately, Congress in its wisdom never saw fit to proclaim the District a reservation granting residency as a privilege limited solely to people in Government and

those having legitimate business with the agencies of the Government or its facilities.

Learning nothing from the failures of the radicals who made the same mistakes a hundred years ago, we again experiment with "home rule."

Such shibboleths as "home rule," "democracy," and "government by the people" "one-man-one vote" have caused us to forget this lesson and to relinquish step by step our responsibility and authority over our home—our Nation's Capital to residents whose inability to operate a city of this size and complexity has made Washington an international laughing stock.

We would not be surprised to find that the capitals of certain undeveloped or emerging nations were regarded as hazardous posts by civilized foreign service people. But it is a little disturbing to find that our own Capital—the seat of government of the foremost nation in the world—is regarded as a hazardous duty station by the personnel of many of the foreign embassies resident here.

It is pointless to recite again the weekly report of armed robberies, assault, and other crimes of violence which have occurred within the city.

It is important for us to take note of the fact that the so-called government of the District of Columbia is obviously unable to do anything to reduce this shameful toll.

The recent announcement of a slight crime drop in the District of Columbia is unimpressive and nonconvincing. There is no decrease in crime, but rather the victims of crime are not reporting the incidents. The victims have learned that reporting crime accomplishes nothing but to compile statistics for the local authorities, while they in turn are intimidated and harassed, and the judicial establishment does not punish the offenders, possibly feeling the greatest deterrent is to turn the offenders loose in Washington.

Education-wise, the District of Columbia is Exhibit One that the government cannot raise intelligence levels by massive marshal aid to schools and programs. There are now 51 completely black schools without one white student, and as late as June 3, 1971, Superintendent Hugh Scott announced that the average reading achievement by 8th graders in Washington, D.C., is equivalent to 6th grade standards nationwide. This is comparable to saying that by national tests, the average 18 or 19 years old D.C. youth who has completed his high school education has the ability or training of a 15 year old or high school freshman nationwide.

And the situation becomes worse, not better, as the progressive education program force more and more whites and intelligent negroes to flee to the suburbs.

The apologists and interpretative analyzers seek to explain the exodus of decent Americans on the failure to pour in more and more taxpayers' money for more giveaways and more free public accommodations. Few dare to comment on the obvious reasons for the migration; that is, the fear of violence, the concern for one's personal safety and the national desire to be with people of one's own choice and kind. Such truths are still suppressed under free speech and free press as not being popular because they are regarded as being out of the mid-stream of rapport for our free society.

The District of Columbia problems cannot be solved by money alone. There are but two solutions: first, to remove all the people from the Federal district who are not here on the business of our country and resettle them in States and areas that have sparse population and living room. Moreover, public housing is cheaper in Montana, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Kansas than in Washington, D.C.; or second, for our many liberal and moderate citizens who profess to have dedicated their lives in the cause of integrated brotherhood, permissiveness, and tolerance, to return to the District to live and to place their children in the District of Columbia public schools. It may be asking a lot for some to admit their mistakes, but if they do not put up and demonstrate through personal example and leadership, they admit the utter fallacy of their theoretical goals.

Lest we forget, during the month of May of this year, the entire Nation smarted with indignation in observing the wild disorders in our Capital City, requiring not only the use of local police, but also the U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps, and the District of Columbia National Guard as backups for the Metropolitan Police in preventing a shutdown of normal activities of Government.

Despite the dedicated and untiring efforts of police, some Government buildings were closed and defaced, among them the Municipal Center and the Washington Monument.

The May scenes in Washington emphasize better than anything I could say, the imperative necessity for the Congress to retain its Constitutional powers over the District of Columbia and should end for alltime any further consideration of converting this turbulent city into a self-governing State with representatives in the Congress. It is, and should remain, a Federal reservation under the exclusive control of the U.S. Congress.

For the freedom and safety of Congress, it is better that Congress retain the right to self-govern and self-determination than squatters on this Federal reservation.

No legislator can say that the District of Columbia is an independent, impartial community, nor a safe place to work in the interests of his constituents. Nor is the District any model city, nor is it indicative of a cross-section of the American society since it is overwhelmingly disproportionately out of racial balance.

If Washington, D.C. no longer qualifies as a neutral sanctuary for those about the business of our country, then the purpose for it being an open city, detached from a State, no longer exists.

Sympathy for transients and migrants who have been induced by many causes and promises to settle in Washington, D.C. certainly cannot be considered as serious grounds for granting of statehood and Congressional representation. Nor would any serious legislator approve of such action merely to satisfy block votes or ill-informed people at home simply to get the crusaders off their back. This would even be true when the majority of the legislators know it would be possible to make promises and give false encouragement to some people when they know that it is next to impossible to ever get 75% of the State Legislatures of the United States to approve of such legislation.

After all, what would home rule for the District solve? Who would possibly benefit from it? Where would there be any expected change, except to the detriment of the American taxpayers and the threat to the personal safety of those of us in Congress and their staffs and families? At most the American people could expect but a few more radical votes in either body of Congress to be controlled and exploited by pressure groups.

I find it difficult to believe that this Committee is seriously considering altering our basic structure of government by creating a State from seceded areas of States.

If such is the case, then I recommend the Committee give further serious consideration to the establishment of new States from each of our several Indian reservations which presently house tribal Indian nations who have been represented in this Congress and who have never never had home rule nor the independence of self-determination. The Indian nations can be well defined and many also live on a federal reservation, just as do the natives in Washington, D.C.

The major Indian tribes are Navajo, Sioux, Apache, Cherokee, Creeks, and Choctaw.

If this Committee in its wisdom should see fit to pass out a D.C. home rule bill for the blacks of Washington, I intend to introduce a home rule bill for each of the major Indian nations to give the American Indian a voice and representation in the United States Congress.

The pending issues of home rule and voting rights can easily be disposed of by retroceding that portion of Washington, D.C. back to Maryland from whence it came. District of Columbia citizens will then be able to vote and as a city of Maryland will enjoy home rule just as exercised by the citizens of Maryland, Virginia, and any other State.

Attached is a copy of my bill, H.R. 355, to retrocede a portion of the District of Columbia to the State of Maryland, which I ask be made a portion of my testimony.

H.R. 355

A bill to retrocede a portion of the District of Columbia to the State of Maryland

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all of that portion of the District of Columbia ceded to the United States by the State of Maryland and not included within the Federal area described in section 3 of this Act, and all the rights and jurisdiction ceded to the United States by the State of Maryland in connection therewith, are hereby retroceded and relinquished to the State of Maryland effective as of the date of the acceptance thereof by the State of Maryland.

SEC. 2. (a) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to vest in the State of Maryland any property right in any real or personal property situated in that portion of the District of Columbia retroceded to the State of Maryland under the first section of this Act and held by the United States or by any person, except as such property may be transferred to the State of Maryland by the United States or by such person, as the case may be.

(b) The jurisdiction of the United States and of the government of the District of Columbia, and the laws in effect in the District of Columbia as of the date of acceptance by the State of Maryland of the retrocession provided for by the first section of this Act, shall remain in full force and effect until the State of Maryland shall provide by law for the extension of its jurisdiction and judicial system over that portion of the District of Columbia retroceded to the State of Maryland under the first section of this Act.

(c) The United States shall retain jurisdiction over the real and personal property held by it, and situated within that portion of the District of Columbia retroceded to the State of Maryland under the first section of this Act, in the same manner and to the same extent as the United States exercises jurisdiction over property held by it situated within the various States.

SEC. 3 (a) The Federal area referred to in the first section of this Act is more particularly described as that portion of the District of Columbia situated within the boundary line described as follows:

Beginning on the east side of Rock Creek where it meets the Potomac River and running generally north and east to a point where P Street Northwest intersects Rock Creek;

thence east on P Street Northwest to Florida Avenue;

thence following Florida Avenue to Fifteenth Street Northeast;

thence south on Fifteenth Street Northeast to C Street Northeast;

thence east on C Street Northeast to the East Capitol Street Bridge;

thence east on the East Capitol Street Bridge to the point where it intersects the middle of the Anacostia River channel;

thence generally south and west down the midchannel of the Anacostia River to that

point in the channel that is due south of Hains Point;

thence due west to the present Virginia-District of Columbia boundary at the shoreline of Washington National Airport;

thence generally north and east up the Potomac River along the Virginia-District of Columbia boundary to a point parallel to the northernmost projection of Theodore Roosevelt Island;

thence east to the confluence of Rock Creek and the Potomac River.

(b) Where the Federal area described in subsection (a) is bounded by streets such streets shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal City and the Federal jurisdiction shall extend to the sidewalks of the distant side of the street.

SEC. Effective as of the date of the acceptance by the State of Maryland of the Federal area retroceded to it under this Act, the State of Maryland shall be entitled to one Representative in addition to the number of Representatives to which it is otherwise entitled, until the taking effect of the next reapportionment, and such Representative shall be in addition to the membership of the House of Representatives, as now prescribed by law. Until otherwise provided by the State of Maryland, such additional Representative shall be elected from the Federal area retroceded under this Act. Such temporary increase in the membership shall not operate to either increase or decrease the permanent membership of the House of Representatives as prescribed in the Act of August 8, 1911 (37 Stat. 13) nor shall such temporary increase affect the basis of apportionment established by the Act of November 15, 1941 (55 Stat. 761; 2 U.S.C. 2a), for the Eighty-third Congress and each Congress thereafter.

THE BREAK-EVEN POINT FOR THE JET AIRBUS

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot of discussion and comparison between the ill-fated L–1011 jet airbus built by Lockheed and the DC–10 airbus built by McDonnell Douglas Corp.

On July 29, 1971, McDonnell Douglas delivered the first two DC–10's to American Airlines and United Airlines.

The DC–10's are fully certified by the Federal Aviation Administration for commercial aviation and are flying today.

James F. McDonnell, chairman of the McDonnell Douglas firm, according to a report in the New York Times this morning, says his company will have to sell 438 of the wide-body trijets to break even.

I would like to point out to my colleagues that the chairman of the board of the Lockheed Corp., in testimony before the House committee said Lockheed's break-even point would be the sale of 255 aircraft.

I believe these different estimates deserve our consideration.

I would like to share with my colleagues the following article from the New York Times, written by Robert E. Bedingfield:

AIRLINES RECEIVE FIRST DC–10 JETS—AMERICAN AND UNITED ACCEPT TRIMOTOR PLANES ON COAST

(By Robert E. Bedingfield)

LONG BEACH, CALIF.—The first two DC–10's were delivered here today by the builder, the McDonnell Douglas Corporation, to American Airlines and United Airlines.

James F. McDonnell, chairman of McDonnell Douglas, presented Marion Sadler, vice chairman of American and Edward E. Carlson, president of United, with gold keys to the two planes.

At a news conference shortly before the ceremony, Mr. McDonnell said his company had orders for 133 of the new planes and options on 120 others from 19 airlines in this country, Europe, Africa and New Zealand. "It's enough to take us into mid-year 1974," Mr. McDonnell said.

But, he said, McDonnell Douglas would have to sell 438 of the wide-body trijets to break even.

Mr. McDonnell parried a question as to the competitive advantage his company would have for wide-bodied trijets if the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation became bankrupt and was unable to proceed with the production of its three-engine airbus.

"I think it would be nice if we could confine our discussion here today to the delivery of the first two DC–10's," said Mr. McDonnell. Then, very slowly and softly, he said:

"Our sympathies are deeply with our hard working creative people in all their trials and tribulations.

"I think the industry deserves a better fate than has been happening to it. Our sympathy also is with our friends in government working so hard over a difficult situation. The DC–10 has been created in the private competitive enterprise system and it's an illustration of what can be done."

BROWNE VOICES DISMAY

Secor D. Browne, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board was among officials from Washington and the aircraft industry here for today's ceremonies. He expressed dismay that the DC–10 may mark the end of the United States dominance in the commercial aircraft field unless the supersonic transport program is resurrected.

"After the DC–10 what is going to be built?" asked Mr. Browne rhetorically. He then pointed out how under Defense Department expenditures this country has been able to finance the research and development required for new aircraft engine production.

"You always develop the engine first and then the airplane around it," said Mr. Browne.

He stressed that there was no new research and development work for new aircraft engines under way at this time and that the Department of Transportation had indicated that it was not prepared to pick up the bill for such expenditures.

NO WORD ON FARE CUT

Without a government-financed research and development program, the United States isn't "going to be able to sell" aircraft throughout the world, Mr. Browne said.

When asked if the operating economies of the DC–10 would permit the airlines to lower their fares, and whether the C.A.B. would push for such a move, Mr. Browne replied that he could not answer. He then described airline travel as "a tremendous bargain, even with new fare increases" that have gone into effect.

John H. Shaffer, administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, said the DC–10 made half the noise of present jet aircraft and he emphasized that the DC–10 engine was smokeless.

SMALL BUSINESS FAILURE

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, last year witnessed a 25-percent rise in the rate of failures for small businesses, with a total of 11,000 firms going under. This alarming increase stems from discouraging changes in those economic variables which so vitally influence the life or death of these companies. With the awareness that these firms comprise 99 percent of our Nation's corporations, I am introducing legislation which will provide substantial tax reductions and incentives for small business.

At a time of rising interest rates, a shrinking money supply and reduced profits, the strain on the small businessman to maintain a competitive stance has grown heavier than ever before. As a consequence of their size, these companies are most susceptible to changes in the economic climate and are the first to suffer from them, often going out of business before they can recover.

This bill by reducing taxes and creating investment incentives, will provide these firms with greater flexibility to face short term financial and economic crises. In addition, they should serve to encourage the formation of new small businesses in the years ahead.

Recent tax proposals have served to benefit only the largest corporations, often at the expense of small business. An illustration of the above was a 1970 move to eliminate export income as a taxable item. Estimates are that 50 to 90 percent of those benefits would accrue to the largest 125 corporations, leaving very little for the small businessman. Another example is the accelerated depreciation deduction program, designed to give 80 percent of its deductions to less than 1 percent of all U.S. firms.

Before I address myself to some of these specific tax reforms, I want to make it clear that they will result in no loss in revenue for the Federal Government. The thrust of this bill is designed to shift 1 percent of all corporation taxes away from small business and onto the shoulders of the wealthier, more established corporate giants. By this yardstick, all firms whose earnings are below $1 million would benefit from the tax cuts.

Mr. Speaker, let me enumerate the revisions called for in this bill: First, the first year depreciation allowances for small business property would be increased from $10,000 to $20,000. Increased revenue resulting from this change would serve to restore stability to this sector.

Second. A 7 percent investment credit previously repealed, would be renewed with the purpose of creating expansion and growth.

Third. The time period for loss carryover provisions would be extended to 10 years. As a result, losses could be spread over a longer period of time and thus indirectly provide smaller firms with a wider financial base.

I wish to remind my colleagues that this body is presently considering legislation, the Emergency Loan Guarantee Act, which would provide for the relief of large corporations. By definition, small businesses are restricted from participation in that program. The time has come for us to recognize that these companies are important contributors to our economic well-being and, as such, are worthy of the same considerations which we have extended to major enterprises. I feel that this bill will aid in the realization and development of that concept.

REVENUE SHARING

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, 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 the 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 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.

YOUTH VOTE

When the 25th amendment was ratified, 11 million 18- to 21-year-olds became eligible to vote—303,000 of them Hoosiers.

My observations are that the young people today are not so interested in labels—Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative—and are more pragmatic and independent. They look with skepticism on the politician's instinct to compromise. They are impatient, less apt to agree to gradual change, and more insistent on immediate progress.

The new voters could bring our political process to facing a fundamental reshaping, shifting the grounds upon which elections are fought. Hopefully, they will help to upgrade the process.

PENTAGON PAPERS

I agreed with the Supreme Court's ruling that the Pentagon papers could be published. While the Government argued that irreparable damage would come from their publication, in my view, greater damage would result from continued secrecy. The Pentagon papers deal with some fundamental questions which need answers if we are going to avoid future Vietnams: What went wrong in Vietnam? How did we get involved? How did we lose our way?

The task before us is to learn from the Pentagon papers. We must improve the decisionmaking process, opening more of it up to public debate. The Government's classification system must be revised. Congress must become more effective in the foreign policy process, assuming more of a partnership with the Executive in policymaking.

The Pentagon papers have shown us the Government did not act in a manner in which to earn the confidence of the people, but there is another side to the issue. The people must act in a way to earn the confidence of the Government, to be informed, and not react by instinct to complex questions, or engage in careless rhetoric and namecalling.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Few families can now afford to send their sons and daughters to college without financial aid in some measure. Costs have increased rapidly in recent years and they show no signs of leveling off.

The Federal Government's response to rising costs of higher education has triggered one of the major debates in this session of the Congress. I believe the costs of higher education today require a broad range of improved student assistance programs for those from low- and middle-income families, including grants, direct loans, insured loans, and work-study payments. I believe, too, that our institutions of higher learning need direct, institutional aid.

TAXES

The American taxpayer can be excused if he gets a little numb. He pays taxes to local, State, and Federal governments on what he earns—income tax—on what he spends—sales tax—and on what he owns—property tax.

He is probably unaware, however, that Federal income taxes--which seem to get most of the blame for high taxes—have been declining over the last 20 years.

Perhaps the most significant development in taxation is occurring without much public attention or complaint. Federal payroll taxes, such as the social security tax, are becoming an increasingly important part of our revenue system. Unlike the income tax, which is a progressive tax, payroll taxes have little relationship to the wage-earner's ability to pay and the burden hits hardest the low- and middle-income wage earner.

FARMERS

Few Americans realize, I suspect, the gamble the farmer takes each year with the weather, the market, the cost-price squeeze, or the possibility of disease or damage to his crops. It is in this atmosphere of uncertainty that the farmer must exist.

This year, he was faced with the return of the corn blight, a new farm program, a hog market crash, and a continued cost-price squeeze which has chipped a little more away from his net income.

With all of these factors in the picture, most farm economists are predicting little, if any, improvement in the farm income in 1971. The watchword for feed grain and livestock farmers this year is uncertainty. High risks are normal for the farmer. This year, however, may be one of super-high risks.

INFLATION

I have come to believe that in order to make significant progress against increases in wages and prices, we must pursue not only appropriate fiscal and monetary policies, but also an active incomes policy, one which is marketed-oriented and aimed at reducing the pressures on spiraling costs and prices.

The classical remedies have not worked well enough, or fast enough, to deal with this new problem in economics—persistent inflation in the face of substantial unemployment.

THE LOCKHEED LOAN

Should the Federal Government provide financial backing to major industries which find themselves unable to pay their debts? This was the theme of the debate before the Congress as it considered the "Lockheed Loan Bill."

I opposed the bill. It was so hurriedly drafted that adequate hearings could not be held to determine the validity and the need for such legislation. More importantly, such legislation is damaging to our economic system, rewards bad management, and, in a time of severe domestic needs, it would be a misallocation of our financial resources.

If the rescue of Lockheed and other major companies is to become a Federal obligation, it should be ranked among all government obligations, such as health needs, urban and rural development, or education.

It simply is not the function of a democratic government to pick up the tab for the failure of a private enterprise, or to decide which firms are important or deserving enough to continue to operate.

CANCER

As the Congress sifts through the Nation's priorities, renewed emphasis in the fight against cancer is coming to the top. There is no question about Congress' determination to step up efforts to control this dread disease.

I have introduced legislation—and I support all efforts—to increase significantly funding for cancer research.

TRAVEL FOR ELDERLY, HANDICAPPED

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing today my bill to provide free or reduced travel rates for the elderly and the handicapped.

The response to this bill since first introduced this spring has been overwhelmingly enthusiastic. People across the country see it as a sign that Members of Congress care about our elderly and handicapped citizens.

I am inserting in the RECORD at this point a letter I received from Edwin W. Martin, Associate Commissioner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Bureau of Education for the Handicapped:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., July 8, 1971.

Hon. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROSENTHAL: We at the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped of the U.S. Office of Education wish to applaud you and your colleagues for your efforts on behalf of the handicapped. The bill to permit the elderly and the handicapped to travel free or at reduced rates on the nation's commercial air, rail, and bus lines is inspiring.

Assisting groups such as the handicapped and elderly to live fuller, more productive lives will ultimately benefit the entire nation.

Our thanks.

Sincerely,

EDWIN W. MARTIN,
Associate Commissioner, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped.

TOCKS ISLAND DAM

HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. DU PONT. Mr. Speaker, in view of the lateness of the hour yesterday during debate on the public works appropriation bill, I was unable to bring to the attention of the Members a letter from one of our colleagues, Congressman SAYLOR of Pennsylvania, concerning the Tocks Island Dam. I would like to insert this letter at this point in the RECORD because I believe it states very well the issue of funding projects with taxpayers' money before their environmental impact is fully understood:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1971.

Hon. LES ASPIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The House will be considering today the Public Works Appropriation Bill (H. R. 10090) and I am requesting your assistance in having deleted from this bill the 3.7 million dollars planned for construction funds of the Tocks Island Dam in the State of Pennsylvania.

The Tocks Island Project was approved in 1962 and provides for the construction of a comprehensive reservoir, pump-storage electric facility and recreation complex on the Delaware River in Pennsylvania. Over the years no money has been appropriated for construction of the facilities, and the project has become involved in local and national environmental problems. Under the provisions of the Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Corps of Engineers has submitted an environmental impact statement pursuant to Section 102 (2) (c) of that Act.

This impact statement has been rejected by Chairman Russell Train of the Council on Environmental Quality, and he has advised the Department of the Army that the Corps' impact statement is inadequate in five major areas and has called upon the Corps to undertake a study to seek viable alternatives, and not just justification of existing plans.

I strongly believe that funding for initial construction of the Dam should be withheld until a comprehensive environmental impact statement has been approved by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, and I fully concur with Chairman Train's recommendation that the Corps of Engineers undertake a coordinated and multidisciplinary study of the Project with other participating agencies.

To authorize the construction of the Tocks Island Dam after the Corps of Engineers environmental impact statement has been rejected, would be a serious breach of the letter and spirit of Section 102 of the Environmental Policy Act. The responsibility for the protection of the environment rests in the hands of Congress—to allow that responsibility to pass to the Corps of Engineers would be catastrophic.

The matter before the House constitutes a test of the willingness of Congress to follow-through on its commitment to a clean environment. Rarely has the issue been presented in such clear-cut manner. If the House gives the Corps a "go-ahead" for this project without having at its disposal a complete "environmental impact statement" not only is the will of Congress subverted, but the future credibility of all Congressional efforts to control the environmental damage will be compromised. We must not allow that to happen!

I am well aware of the fact that this project was authorized back in 1962 but I must point out that that was during an era when concern of our natural environment was at a low or non-existent level. Times have changed, the awareness of the Congress has changed, but the mission of the Corps of Engineers has not changed. Their mission in building has, until now, never seriously been questioned by the public and Congress. The National Environmental Policy Act has brought that policy into question.

I do not object out-of-hand to the construction of any major Corps project such as the Tocks Island Dam. However, I do object to the use of the public's money for a facility which may be damaging to the public. For this reason, I would appreciate your support of the amendment to strike $3.7 million from the Corps of Engineers budget until such time as an authoritative interagency environmental impact report is completed and accepted as emminently sound. I feel that the Congress could not in good conscience make the initial commitment for a $259 million construction project without first determining the propriety and feasibility of that commitment.

This amendment will not halt the project; rather, it will allow for continued land acquisition and design funds pending approval of the environmental report contemplated by the Environmental Act and by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

I believe approval of this amendment would be a significant action by the Congress which would put all planners of large Federal projects on notice that any such major construction must first meet the desires and expectations of a public concerned with our environment. Again, I strongly urge your support of this amendment and to inform my colleagues of my position.

———,
Member of Congress.

During debate last evening three Members stated that all four Governors of the region affected were in support of construction of the Tocks Island Dam. That is not correct. I insert in the RECORD a letter dated June 9, 1971, in which the director of New Jersey's Department of Environmental Protection indicates that Governor Cahill has adopted a wait and see attitude:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
Trenton, N.J., June 9, 1971.

Mr. HAROLD A. LOCKWOOD, Jr.,
Land Title Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR MR. LOCKWOOD: Governor Cahill has noted and referred to our attention your letter of April 22, 1971 concerning the merits of the Tocks Island Project. A number of studies of environmental effects of the project are continuing. In our opinion, final judgment as to whether the benefits outweigh the disadvantages should not be made until we have at hand the results of all these detailed inquiries.

The whole project is now being re-examined by private groups and responsible federal agencies, and we are looking forward to reviewing the Environmental Impact Statement of the Army Corps of Engineers, and the results of the review and recommendations of the President's Council on Environmental Quality.

We are not taking a position on this project until all the facts and opinions are in. I hope we are wise enough to come to the right conclusion.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES M. PIKE,
Director.

It was also stated during debate that Mr. Russell Train, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, supported construction funds for the Dam. This morning I personally talked with Mr. Train to clarify his position. He replied that "I neither support nor oppose construction funds" for the dam.

Finally, there appeared in the New York Times this morning an editorial which I recommend to the Members, as follows:

TOCKS ISLAND—LAST CHANCE

The highly controversial Tocks Island Dam is to be given a fresh look. It should. Originally conceived as an ideal combination of water conservation, flood control and recreational facility, this project for a 37-mile-long lake in the beautiful Delaware River Valley evoked doubts among some environmentalists soon after it was authorized by Congress a decade ago. Those doubts have grown into fierce opposition.

In the light of what has been learned these last few years, even well-planned river development, unless absolutely essential, must be considered subordinate to the aim of leaving great waterways as far as possible in their natural state. The serious question about the Tocks Island project is whether the water to be conserved, the power to be generated, the recreation to be provided are necessary enough, or even significant enough, to warrant the possible damage to the beauty and ecological fabric of the area.

Under the new Environmental Protection Act, the Army Corps of Engineers was required to file an environmental impact statement for the dam. It did so in February, but the statement was inadequate, as Army officials have since conceded. To his credit, Chairman Russell Train of the Council on Environmental Quality returned it with demands for more thorough study.

The Corps did not have to comply, since the C.E.Q. is without enforcement power, but the Council's influence with President Nixon in the cancellation of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal may have set a healthy precedent. In any case, the two agencies have now agreed on a procedure for further evaluation of the project's potential effects on the environment. No construction will begin until this is completed.

The study should be made as quickly as possible out of consideration for property owners who are unable either to plan for their future in the area or to sell their property. But the fact that it will now be made is a significant victory for those whose concern goes beyond both property rights and the short-term rewards that the project promises.

REPRESENTING PUBLIC SENTIMENT

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, time moves on. The Supreme Court decision in the stolen Pentagon papers case and the House vote in the CBS citation matter are now history.

However, the atmosphere has changed in the corridors of the news agencies. Paralyzing fear of intimidation by the Federal Government moves them to man the barricades in the big city dailies and television stations.

The news as it comes from various papers and other media not dependent on the big dailies and the television networks is not necessarily in close harmony with the latter. I offer a few more excerpts in support of this contention.

The sort of news media I offer is close to the people. They can be depended on to represent public sentiment. It is to public sentiment that I am responsible—and to my conscience. Further, these media are not deluded by specious issues. They come surely and directly to the point.

The material follows:

[From the Martinsburg (W. Va.) Journal, July 1, 1971]

EDITORS TO BE JUDGES

The principal position of The New York Times and The Washington Post in regard to publication of secret papers stolen from the Pentagon is that the people have a right to know what their government is doing.

There is definitely a certain amount of validity to this argument but it then becomes a question of how far a newspaper or any other medium of publicity can go without harming the nation's security.

There is, to us, however, still another big question. As we understand it, the papers being quoted have been taken from a 47-volume set of books containing millions of words. Even The New York Times is not in a position to print all of the words of these many volumes. Thus it comes down the decision of which of the excerpts shall be published and which shall remain unknown to the public.

In other words, The New York Times and the Washington Post editors will be making the decision on what the American people should know. These editors will be deciding what to excerpt and publish and what not to publish. They will be deciding what is "important" and what is not.

If it is bad for the government to withhold publication of all information, isn't it just as bad to have a couple of admittedly biased editors deciding what shall be made known and what shall not?

As we have watched these two newspapers over the years, their editors will not be likely to pick out portions of the voluminous reports which will make any of the war decisions look good.

Another point we think should be made is that now that Daniel Ellsberg has admitted stealing classified material from the government and is now being so criminally charged, why shouldn't The New York Times be criminally prosecuted for having knowingly received stolen property? The average citizen who knowingly buys or other wise accepts property known to have been stolen is guilty of a crime.

It will be interesting to see whether there are two sets of laws—one for the big corporation and one for the average citizen. It would seem the type of thing the American Civil Liberties Union would want to grab hold of immediately but we sort of doubt we'll be hearing from the ACLU on this issue.

[From the Hampshire (W. Va.) Review, July 14, 1971]

FREEDOM OF TELEVISION

The Washington Post and some other papers are rather gleefully reporting this morning that Congressman Harley O. Staggers suffered defeat yesterday in his efforts to abrogate the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of the press. Like so many things that happen these days, this is a considerable overstatement of what actually happened and what was really involved in what Staggers was trying to do.

Mr. Staggers is the chairman of the Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives. His Committee has been making an investigation of the program produced and presented by the Columbia Broadcasting System entitled "The Selling of the Pentagon." This program has been the subject of considerable controversy and the object of numerous charges not only that it gave a distorted picture of its subject matter, but also to the effect that there had been some deliberate misrepresentations. The Commerce Committee had asked CBS President Frank Stanton to produce the unused portions of the film so that the Committee could determine whether or not these charges had any basis in fact. When President Stanton refused, the Committee voted to cite him for contempt of Congress.

When this contempt citation came before the House for a vote yesterday, the substance of it had long since become lost in the argument as to whether or not it would be in violation of the free press portion of the First Amendment. Instead of facing this issue squarely and letting it be decided by the courts, which could have been done by approving the citation, the House ducked the issue and voted 226 to 181 to send the citation back to the Commerce Committee. This, in effect, puts the citation and the whole question it raises in a sort of limbo. Inasmuch as Congressman Staggers did not get his contempt citation, he can be said to have been defeated as the Post and its political cartoonist, Herblock, describe it.

As we understand it, what Mr. Staggers was after was an answer to the question of whether or not there was any way that Congress could look into broadcasts to determine whether or not the public was being told the truth when it was being told its news. We have heard a great deal lately about the public's right to know and this newspaper agrees with that right in principle, but there is a lot to be said for Congressman Stagger's idea that the public has a right to know when it is being told the truth and when it is being fed information in the form of "news" or documentary programs that are slanted or distorted to substantiate a particular point of view.

[From the Beckley (W. Va.) Post-Herald, July 17, 1971]

CONGRESS SURRENDERS TO NETWORK NABOBS!

Probably the beginning of the end of true freedom in our nation came in a recommittal vote by the House of Representatives Tuesday.

Our congressmen were afraid of the power of CBS and its cozy competitors who were standing by to help scalp those who would demand that responsibility be imposed on the television networks.

Rep. Harley Staggers of West Virginia lost the battle and in conceding defeat said it was "a sad day for the American people." We agree with the Eastern Panhandle congressman.

Now that CBS has ignored its responsibilities and "made it stick" with Congress, there is nothing to stop the network nabobs from their insidious perversion of facts on the air to try to sell Americans on anything from Communism or the devil to feminine hygiene deodorants.

CBS clearly was at fault in twisting and distorting men's words in taped interviews. This is awfully easy to do, as the "Selling of the Pentagon" program proved. Of course, just eliminating the word "not" from a video tape can reverse a man's statement. But CBS was never that harsh and unsubtle. Rather they are now masters of "influence"—influence with a lifted eyebrow or a sneer or a snicker.

And 226 members of the House of Representatives are gutless wonders who are afraid to do anything about the situation!

[From the Bluefield (W. Va.) Daily Telegraph, Apr. 22, 1971]

THE IRRESPONSIBLE NETWORKS

No responsible newspaper would deliberately employ a newspaper reporter to interview a public figure, then write an account of that interview in which he deliberately juggled the victim's statements, placing false answers in the speaker's mouth.

No responsible television network would either, but that adjective does not seem to apply to either the Columbia Broadcasting System or the National Broadcasting Co.

This statement can be supported by examining the recent highly controversial CBS "news" program entitled "The Selling of the Pentagon," which purported to be a report on the U.S. military's expenditures for what the military would call public education and what CBS would call propaganda.

In the process of "exposing" the Pentagon, it turns out that the CBS "news" crew took a film of a news conference by Assistant Defense Secretary George Henkin and altered it in the most vicious and indefensible manner. What these clever newsmen did—and they don't deny it, for they can't—was "rearrange" Henkin's answers. In other words viewers of the program would see and hear a question asked, then hear Henkin's "answer," but there was one catch. They didn't always use the real answer Henkin gave to the specific question, but chose another answer which helped CBS make its point about the military's "propaganda" practices.

And as if this were not sufficiently incredible, both the presidents of the CBS and NBC news operations have protested that this is a perfectly legitimate tactic. Both also seem to believe that their reporters have the right, under the "freedom of the press" doctrine, to do what CBS did.

Columnist Bruce Biossat wrote, quite correctly, "In the light of what CBS actually did with the Henkin interview, this amounts to demanding the right to distort and deceive. The comments by (CBS News President Richard Salant) especially, as the man in charge, represent one of the most cynical

exercises in recent years in the name of 'press freedom.'"

CBS, incidentally, is the network which not long ago got caught paying a group of would-be Haitian revolutionaries for the right to film and report their proposed invasion and revolution in Haiti. Since the revolutionaries had no means of financing their revolution except with the money CBS paid, this obviously was a case of a "news" operation making its own news by financing its own revolution against a foreign government. The invasion fell through, unluckily for CBS, but it wasn't for lack of trying on the part of the network.

Many newsmen can recount instances, not just by CBS, of television "reporters" who have no compunction whatever about setting up any sort of phony "news" shot their masters may require, such as the TV crew which hired some white southern kids to chase and throw rocks at Negro youngsters, to provide interesting film footage for their report on a tense racial situation in one of the southern states.

Recent polls have shown that Americans are putting increasing faith in the accuracy and truthfulness of TV news presentations. It is a sad and frightening situation that this should be the case, considering the general reputation of these "news" organizations among responsible, honest reporters.

Americans who believe all of what they see and hear on the TV screens are seriously shortchanging themselves, and conceivably could be endangering their country. It really is folly to hand such power to people like this.

"FINE JOB"

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I must respectfully disagree with President Nixon's assessment of the recent trip by Vice President SPIRO AGNEW as a "fine job."

It does no honor to America to have its second highest elected official praise the black leaders of Africa at the expense of black leaders in America. If we are to "bring this Nation together," there is no need for expressing personal criticism of individual leaders with whom we disagree.

To refer to American black leaders as "querulous" was to offer a gratuitous insult at a time when we badly need to reconcile differences between the races in America and to redress the historic grievances which have accumulated during the 350 years since black men were first brought to America in chains.

The Vice President's comments, and the President's tacit approval of them, point up one of the major issues which should be debated in the Republican Party in next year's primary campaign.

In my judgment, the Republican Party, founded 117 years ago in opposition to racial inequality, can never hope to hold a national majority until we abandon that "Southern Strategy" which the present administration pursues; which led to the attempted emasculation of the Voting Rights Act last year, which continues to reflect an underlying deemphasis on enforcement of equal opportunity in housing, education, and employment.

No black leader in America today can feel comfortable in a Republican Party which places the pacification of George Wallace and Ronald Reagan above respect for the dignity of leaders of minority races. Our black colleagues who serve in the Congress of the United States give us a great deal of hope that we will finally solve this great tragedy of racial discrimination in our own lifetimes. This hope is increased by the idealism and expression of most of our young people. An end to racial discrimination, however, will require moral leadership from the White House in the manner of our first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, rather than in the form of expression adopted by the Vice President on his recent trip abroad.

That the President finds Mr. AGNEW'S comments to have been part of a fine job is difficult for me to accept as the philosophy of the Republican Party.

PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, as one who is deeply interested in the religious community and as one who believes that a moral base is important to the preservation of the basic freedoms we know in America and are necessary to the growth and well-being in America, I have had a great interest in the so-called Prayer Amendment.

It is my conviction, Mr. Speaker, that the moral forces in America are great and more significant here because of the wise decision of our forefathers for separation of church and state, and, therefore, I am completely and utterly opposed to the proposal offered in the discharge petition designed to bring the prayer legislation to the floor.

The forces of religion and morality can only grow stronger if they remain separate and independent. The discharge petition would lead us in the wrong direction.

It is of great significance and encouragement to me to note that many of the church conventions, religious conferences, and church leaders are taking a strong stand on this question. I have collected a number of references to the subject that are significant and I invite all my colleagues to read the impressive statements and positions of various church leaders and church groups.

(From the NCWC News Service, May 2, 1964)

KNOTTY LEGAL PROBLEMS SEEN IN BECKER AMENDMENT

(By George E. Reed)

(NOTE.—This is the first in a series of three articles analyzing implications which stem from a proposal to amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in public schools. The series has been prepared for the Catholic press by George E. Reed, associate director of the Legal Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who is an authority on the question of church-state relations in constitutional law.)

A proposal to amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in public schools has become the subject of sharply divided debate in congressional hearings.

The prayer amendment, as it is commonly called, has much popular appeal. But it also raises difficult constitutional problems.

These problems are now being exposed and discussed by the House Committee on the Judiciary. The committee actually has 147 resolutions before it. They reflect about 35 different forms of amendment to nullify the Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions.

But most testimony has centered on House Joint Resolution 693, sponsored by Representative Frank J. Becker of New York. Becker has campaigned vigorously for action on his proposal, including an effort to have the House take it out of the hands of the Judiciary Committee.

The Becker amendment has three major sections. These are:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference from, or listening to prayers or biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, schools, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

A great deal of popular support has been mustered for the prayer amendment. This would be expected, particularly in the wake of the Supreme Court decisions which made many citizens irate. Besides, who could possibly be opposed to prayer?

The hearings, however, are throwing a more penetrating light on the proposed amendment. Serious and difficult constitutional questions are emerging. There are, for example, problems of nondenominational prayer in a pluralistic society and the rights of parents regarding the education of their children.

The proposed amendment does not apply to any specific provisions of the Constitution. Some contend that it would supersede anything in the Federal Constitution so that there would be no basis for eliminating prayer from public schools or public life. Others wonder if parts of the Constitution would have to be repealed and the new provision substituted. There is no consensus among committee members.

A major question is this: How would the proposal affect the language of the first amendment, which pertains to the establishment of religion?

The Supreme Court has declared that recitation of prayer and reading of Bible verses violate the establishment clause of the first amendment. While this declaration of the court has been challenged, students of history know that the Founding Fathers rejected many formulations and drafts before agreeing on the present simple language: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *"

There are State laws which provide that there shall be no religion in public schools. Would the amendment invalidate these laws? Some proponents of the amendment say that it would, but Becker himself believes differently.

Aside from legal considerations, there is the question of the nature of the school prayer. Some feel it must be nondenomina-

tional and Becker has indicated a willingness to accept that idea. Will such a prayer, however, satisfy the wide range of religious beliefs in this Nation?

Furthermore, if the amendment should ultimately become a part of the Constitution, some say prayer and Bible reading would be a matter of constitutional right rather than a reflection of community desire. This right would be vested in the school board and in the children. The school board, then, would be empowered to authorize prayer in the public schools; or, at least there would be no court bar to this.

The involvement of public school officials should give all pause for thought.

If these officials recommend recitation of prayer during the schoolday is this not an implicit form of coercion? Could the recitation be considered voluntary? And most important, how does the involvement of school officials affect parents' rights?

Ironically, only one witness has mentioned the relevancy of parental rights. The hearings disclose an attitude which gives to the State and its subdivisions all authority over matters relating to the school. Yet, this country has always vested that right in the parents. The State must be regarded as an educator, but not to the exclusion of the primary right of the parents.

The hearings have certainly brought many issues under scrutiny. To that end they are rendering a great service to the American people. It is hoped that the final findings of the hearings will help to balance the genuine concern of the American people for the place of religion in public life and for the preservation of the Constitution which has served the people so well.

(From the NCWC News Service, May 8, 1964)

COURT TRIED TO RECOGNIZE NEW U.S. CULTURE

(By George E. Reed)

NOTE.—This is the second in a series of three articles analyzing implications which stem from a proposal to amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in public schools. The series has been prepared for the Catholic press by George E. Reed, associate director of the Legal Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who is an authority on the question of church-state relations in constitutional law.

"Let us return to the status quo before June 1962."

This is the theme of many persons testifying before the House Judiciary Committee in favor of a proposed constitutional amendment to negate the 1962 and 1963 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court against prayer and Bible reading in public schools.

Like many slogans and facile phrases, the current one loses much of its thrust when carefully scrutinized and when put into historical perspective.

The House hearings are disclosing a deep and significant change in the historic religious-cultural pattern of the United States.

Many witnesses have testified to the historical fact that the reading of verses from the Bible and recitation of prayer in public schoolrooms are a product of the Protestant culture which dominated our educational institutions and American society in general during the 19th century.

The first amendment of the Federal Constitution did not affect growth of religious exercises in schools because during this period the amendment was not considered applicable to the actions of a State. It was solely a limitation on action by the Federal Government.

The religious practices in the schools, therefore, were a reflection of dominant Protestant attitudes rather than an implicit interpretation or construction of the first amendment.

Because of this, for example, Catholic children who were required to participate in sectarian prayers and practices could not appeal through their parents to the Federal courts. Their only recourse was the State courts which, with a few exceptions, declined to enforce the rights asserted by Catholic parents.

Furthermore, as protests against religious practices in public schools mounted, the States, at the turn of the century, began enacting laws to protect Bible reading. The historically dominant Protestant cultural tradition was thus translated into law in many States.

This was a paradoxical development since at the same time the culture that gave rise to this tradition was losing its prominence and religious pluralism was gaining ascendancy.

This important social change coincided with a revolution in constitution law which resulted in the extension of the first amendment and the principles embodied in the Bill of Rights to State action. Since the 1930's, the first amendment has served as a limitation on State as well as Federal action.

There were, therefore, two new factors affecting American life—a different culture, pluralistic in nature, and a new body of applicable law.

The Supreme Court decisions were made against this background and the court applied the first amendment to this new social condition.

In ruling out prayer and Bible reading as devotional exercises, the Court endeavored, though awkwardly, to react realistically to the new culture, rather than to perpetuate the Protestant tradition in American culture.

In addition, the plea for a return to the status quo before 1962 raises two important questions:

First, why return only to June 1962, the month when the Court held unconstitutional recitation of a 22-work prayer in New York public schools? Why not return to the status quo before 1948 when the basis was laid for the prayer and Bible reading decisions?

It was the *McCollum* decision of 1948 that served as legal precedent for these later decisions by ruling out any involvement of public schools and public school officials in religious instruction. The Court held unconstitutional the holding of religious instruction classes on public school property.

If, therefore, a constitutional amendment limited to prayer and Bible reading is adopted, it might be validly argued that the *McCollum* decision is irrevocably recognized as an acceptable part of constitutional law.

This could put one in a rather anomalous position because on the one hand, schools would be permitted to conduct religious exercises, while on the other hand, use of school property for voluntary religious instruction is denied.

The second important question is this: Would the proposed prayer amendment actually restore the status quo?

The amendment would certainly not restore the old culture which has yielded to religious pluralism. Moreover, prayer and Bible reading in public schools would derive from the authority of constitutional law, rather than community consensus.

Admittedly, these two factors, constitutional law and parental will, would coincide in many instances. The fact would remain, however, that Federal law would underlie this practice—a law which would reestablish a practice which was a product of a culture that no longer exists.

This is the rub; this is the stumbling block which confronts the advocates of the prayer amendment. And this is the reason why so many religious bodies are opposing it.

(From the NCWC News Service, May 14, 1964)

PARENTAL RIGHT SUBMERGED IN SCHOOL PRAYER DEBATE

(By George E. Reed)

(NOTE.—This is the third and final article in a series analyzing implications stemming from a proposal to amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. The series has been prepared for the Catholic press by George E. Reed, associate director of te Legal Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who is an authority on the question of church-state relations in constitutional law.)

One of the disturbing aspects of the House Judiciary Committee's hearings on the prayer amendment is the submergence of the parential right to educate.

Neither side in the controversy has taken full advantage of the importance of this right as a factor in solving the vexatious problem of religion and education.

Arguments in behalf of an amendment to nullify the U.S. Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions against prayer and Bible reading in public schools have focused on government.

The stress has been on the right of government acting through public school boards, to provide religious exercises by virtue of the authority of the Constitution.

Opponents of an amendment have on several occasions advanced arguments based on the right of parents, but this approach has not dominated their testimony.

Occasionally, the proposition was put forward that a prayer amendment would conflict with the Supreme Court's famous Oregon School Case decision in 1925. The Court held then that the parental right prohibits the State from preventing operation of private schools.

The Court stated that the 14th amendment "excludes any general power of the States to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public school teachers only."

Some witnesses have contended that a prayer amendment will authorize the state to "standardize" the religious attitudes of schoolchildren by permitting adoption of a particular prayer or version of the Bible—regardless of the desire of parents.

They had said that freedom of religion and freedom from religion are essential parts of the fundamental parental right guaranteed by the Constitution.

No attempts have been made by amendment supporters to refute this argument. One factor in this failure is possibly a tendency to see the state as the primary educator. Or, to put it more moderately, to look upon the public school system as the executive agency of the state.

Consequently, the parental stake has not drawn the attention it deserves. One result has been to stifle development of the argument that the Supreme Court, by banning prayers and Bible reading, is not really taking a neutral attitude toward parents, but helping to erect a psychological wall of resistance to parental inculcation of religion.

The child whose schoolday is exclusively structured along secular lines tends to develop an attitude of indifference toward religion. This reaction is well documented.

On the other hand, the majority of parents may not coerce the minority to adhere to a designated form of prayer.

Had arguments stemming from parental right received more attention at the hearings, the problem of religion and education would have been emphasized in terms of the religious freedom of two groups of parents, rather than dealt with as an issue between one group and government.

The legal debate would have been cast in terms of religious freedom, rather than in

terms of doctrinaire establishment, and thus open the door to a different approach to the problem.

For example, would not an acceptable solution be a system of religious instruction classes conducted after the schoolday and on school premises?

Instructors would be other than public teachers. The program would not be integrated or enmeshed with the public school machinery.

There would be no coercion on students if the plan was properly administered. Moreover, religion would still be associated with the school to an extent that would accommodate the religiously minded parent.

Such a plan would not put government in the business of imparting religious education. Rather, this system would accommodate the facilities of the public school system to the interests of parents.

It would reflect the mutual character of the public school system as designed to implement the interest of both parents and the state in education.

This approach has been explored tentatively by the Judiciary Committee. One difficulty seen was the use of public school property.

The Supreme Court, in the *McCollum* case, has condemned such use, but the circumstances were different. Religious instruction was given during the schoolday and with substantial involvement of the school, in matters such as keeping attendance records.

Undoubtedly the committee will give additional attention to this approach. In its careful weighing of the proposal, the committee may take up the possibility of an amendment which would end the constitutional uncertainty concerning the use of public school property.

Such a system of religious instruction, in addition to reflecting the mutual concern of parents and state, would be an application of principle enunciated by the Supreme Court in the *Zorach* case. The Court upheld in that case the constitutionality of released-time religious instruction held off public school premises. It said:

"When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our tradition for it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs."

Prayer and Bible Reading in the Public Schools

(Note.—A statement of the Friends Committee on National Legislation approved by the Executive Council, September 12–13, 1964, after opportunity for study and comment by the General Committee. This Statement was reconsidered and reaffirmed by the FCNL Administrative Committee on November 14, 1970.)

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court on prayer and Bible reading in public schools have evoked widespread discussion and caused many to suggest that the original Bill of Rights be amended.

Friends and others can make a real contribution to public understanding by describing the Supreme Court's decisions accurately, by interpreting the reasons for the Constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state, and by focusing attention on the fundamental question of how moral and religious values are communicated to children and advanced in our society. We urge all concerned Friends to obtain and read the testimony given before the House Judiciary Committee, April 22 to June 3, 1964 on various proposals to amend the Constitution.

WHAT DID THE SUPREME COURT SAY?

The First Amendment to the Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." The Supreme Court in three cases decided in 1962 and 1963 held that, under the First Amendment, state or local governmental units cannot *require* the reading of a nondenominational prayer, the recitation of the Lord's Prayer or the reading of scripture from the Bible as a part of a devotional exercise in a public school.

Teachers in our public school system, the Supreme Court indicated, cannot be required, as a part of the regular school program, to conduct religious devotions or indoctrinate students in a particular set of religious beliefs. The Court opinion in the Schempp case stated:

"While the free exercise clause clearly prohibits the use of state action to deny the rights of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the state to practice its beliefs."

However, the Supreme Court specifically said that its decisions do permit the study of the Bible and of religion when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education. It is here that great deal more can be done to interpret the great significance of the Bible and religion in the history of our civilization and their place in art, literature and music. Some states and localities are actively working on programs to infuse moral and spiritual values in their educational systems within the Constitutional framework.

The Court's decisions were confined to prescribed religious exercises in public schools. Nothing was said about the use of mottoes on our coins, chaplains in the military services, opening prayers in Congress, or other similar practices. The fear that these may also be prohibited soon has led to much of the drive for enactment of a Constitutional amendment. But we question the wisdom of attempting to establish the appropriate line between church and state by means of a detailed amendment to the Constitution.

WHY SEPARATE CHURCH AND STATE?

In the early days, Friends suffered much from laws favoring the established church which required compulsory tithes, compulsory church attendance, and compulsory oaths. They felt these laws violated their religious convictions. Friends were among the first to advocate a greater measure of religious toleration and religious liberty for people to worship God according to their own consciences.

The Supreme Court has noted that "The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home, the church, and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of government to invade the citadel, whether its purpose or effect be to aid or oppose, to advance or retard."

Political decisions are generally taken by majority rule in this country. But religious observances are not properly determined in this manner. If the school authorities were to be permitted to require certain religious exercises, on this premise the devotions would be Quaker, Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, or other depending on the majority religious view in a given school district. Or religious exercises would be so watered down and generalized as to become relatively meaningless in purpose or content. A religious liturgy designed to appeal to all and offend none lacks the note of commitment which is an essential part of religion.

The Court's decisions underscore that religious instruction is the sacred responsibility of the family and the churches. The state and its agencies should not be expected to carry out this task.

HOW IS TRUE RELIGION ADVANCED?

Young minds become aware of the glory of God and the needs of their fellow men, not by recitation at routine exercises, but through the example of a committed life, the inspiration of a gathered meeting for worship, the constant nurturing of a tender spirit, and experiences which stimulate growth toward spiritual maturity.

We are gravely concerned about the erosion of the moral base of our national life and the increasing secularization of our country, but we do not believe such trends can be stopped by Constitutional amendments.

We cannot be satisfied with form or symbols in the absence of substance, and no child or parent should be encouraged to believe that perfunctory exercises in the classroom are the substance of religion. Friends have always insisted that religion is a matter not only of belief but of experience.

Nor does the example of European countries with established churches, where only a small percentage of the population participates in church life, give us any encouragement that official sponsorship of religion will stimulate real religious growth. Indeed, this experience seems to confirm the wisdom of the First Amendment's provision that freedom of worship shall be maintained unhampered by state interference or favoritism.

COMPLEX ISSUE REQUIRES STUDY

We encourage Friends and others to think deeply about the complexities of the church-state issue. While the state must not establish any religion, it must also refrain from interfering with the free exercise of religion. These two objectives are difficult to attain simultaneously. The majority group, prohibited from holding its religious exercises in the public schools because this is an "establishment of religion," is prevented at that moment from "freely exercising" its religion within the public school system. But free exercise can be expressed by the voluntary acts of the religious groups, without the compulsion or the interference of the state.

In the light of the serious issues raised, we urge that Congress not take action until there has been more time for full public discussion and consideration of this difficult question.

In reconciling differences, both majority and minority groups need to be more sensitive to the faith and cherished beliefs of the other. Only in a spirit of mutual understanding and toleration can we hope to achieve the freedom of religion for all which is the Constitutional ideal.

Excerpt from "Relations Between Church and State in the United States of America"

(Adopted by the 175th General Assembly The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. May 1963)

The General Assembly redeclares its conviction that church and state must be organically separate.

C. In order to implement the principle of organic separation of church and state, the General Assembly adopts the following guidelines for study and action by all the judicatories of our Church:

1. The celebration of religious holidays, Bible reading and prayer in public schools.

Public schools are creations of the whole society operating through civil authority and justify their existence solely in terms of their usefulness to the society. Their role is to nurture the cultural, social, and material advancement of all citizens by a special system of instruction through intellectual and social disciplines and to stimulate a free search for truth within this discipline.

In the fulfillment of this role, public schools should not ignore the personal beliefs in God which are a part of the life of its pupils, but should recognize and respect such beliefs. Public schools should neither be hostile to religious beliefs nor act in any manner which tends to favor one religion or church over another.

In this light the Special Committee on Church and State *recommends* that:

a. Churches recognize the administration of religious training and observance as the domain of church and family.

b. United Presbyterians actively strive to recapture from popular custom the observance of religious holidays in order to restore their deepest religious meaning.

c. Since the association of seasonal activities with religious holidays in the public schools tends to pervert their religious significance, such association be discouraged as foreign to the purpose of the public school.

d. Religious holidays be acknowledged and explained, but never celebrated religiously, by public schools or their administrators when acting in an official capacity.

e. Whenever possible, students of various religious faiths should be allowed sufficient time to permit the celebration of their religious observances away from public school property. However, organized religious groups should avoid jeopardizing the integrity of the public educational process by unreasonable demands for time away from public school for any reason.

f. Religious observances never be held in a public school or introduced into the public school as part of its program. Bible reading in connection with courses in the American heritage, world history, literature, the social sciences, and other academic subjects is completely appropriate to public school instruction. Bible reading and prayers as devotional acts tend toward indoctrination or meaningless ritual and should be omitted for both reasons. Ministers, priests, and rabbis should be free to speak in public schools, provided their speaking does not constitute religious indoctrination or their presence for a part of a religious observance.

A STATEMENT CONCERNING CHURCH-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND EDUCATION

(Adopted by the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, May 1968)

1

"The fundamental purpose of universal public education at the elementary and secondary level is to provide equal and adequate educational opportunities for all children and young people, and thereby insure the nation an enlightened citizenry.

"We believe in the principle of universal public education and we reaffirm our support of public educational institutions. At the same time, we recognize and pledge our continued allegiance to the U.S. constitutional principle that citizens have a right to establish and maintain private schools from private resources so long as such schools meet public standards of quality. Such schools have made a genuine contribution to society. We do not support the expansion or the strengthening of private schools with public funds. Furthermore, we oppose the establishment or strengthening of private schools that jeopardize the public school system or thwart valid public policy.

"To fulfill the government's responsibility in education, sometimes it and non-public educational institutions need to enter a cooperative relationship. When public funds are utilized, it should be only when it is in the best interests of the whole society. Extreme caution must be exercised to see that religious institutions do not receive any aid directly or indirectly for the maintenance of their religious expression or the expanding of their institutional resources. Such funds must be for the expressed purpose of fulfilling a strictly public responsibility subject to public accountability.

"Public schools have often been an important unifying force in modern pluralistic society by providing a setting for contact at an early age between children of vastly different backgrounds. We recognize in particular that persons of all religious backgrounds may have insight into the nature of ultimate reality which will help to enrich the common life. It is therefore essential that the public schools take seriously the religious integrity of each of the children entrusted to their care. Public schools may not properly establish any preferred form of religion for common exercises of worship or religious observance or study. At the same time, however; education should provide opportunity for the examination of the religious traditions of mankind in the normal course of study.

2

"We believe that every person has a right to an education, including higher education, commensurate with his ability. It is society's responsibility to enable every person to enjoy this right. Public and private institutions should cooperate to provide for these educational opportunities.

3

"Freedom of inquiry poses a risk for established ideas, beliefs, programs and institutions. We accept that risk in the faith that all truth is of God. Colleges and universities can best perform their vital tasks of adding to knowledge and to the perception of truth in an atmosphere of genuine academic freedom.

"We affirm the principle that freedom to inquire, to discuss, and to teach should be regulated by the self-discipline of scholarship and the critical examination of ideas in the context of free public dialogue, rather than by supervision, censorship, or any control imposed by churches, governments, or other organizations. In the educational process, the individual has the right freely to appropriate for himself what he believes is real, important, useful and satisfying.

4

"Experience has demonstrated that freedom to inquire, to discuss, and to teach is best preserved when colleges and universities are not dependent upon a single base or a few sources of support. When an educational institution relies upon multiple sources of financial support, and where those sources tend to balance each other, the institution is in position to resist undue pressures toward control exerted from any one source of support. In the case of church-related colleges and universities, we believe that tuitions, scholarships, investment returns, bequests, payments for services rendered, loans, government grants, and gifts from individuals, business corporations, foundations, and churches should be sought and accepted in as great a variety as possible. Care must be exercised to insure that all support from any of these sources is free from conditions which hinder the college or university in the maintenance of freedom of inquiry and expression for its faculty and students.

"We recognize that the freedom necessary to the existence of a college or university in the classical sense may be threatened by forces other than those which are involved in the nature and source of the institution's financial support. Institutional freedom may be adversely affected by governmental requirements of loyalty oaths from teachers and students; by public interference with the free flow of information; or by accreditation and certification procedures and requirements aimed at dictating the content of college and university curricula.

"With respect to church-related institutions of higher education, we deplore any ecclesiastical attempts to manipulate inquiry or the dissemination of knowledge; to use the academic community for the promotion of any particular point of view; to require ecclesiastical 'loyalty oaths' designed to protect cherished truth claims; or to inhibit the social action activities of members of the academic community. We call upon all members of The United Methodist Church, in whatever capacity they may serve, to be especially sensitive to the need to protect individual and institutional freedom and responsibility in the context of the academic community.

5

"We are persuaded that there may be circumstances or conditions in which the traditional forms of tax immunities granted to colleges and universities may be a necessary requirement for their freedom. Therefore, we urge a continuation of the public policy of granting reasonable and non-discriminatory tax immunities to all private colleges and universities, including those which are related to churches.

"We believe that colleges and universities should consider the benefits, services, and protections which they receive from the community and its governmental agencies, and examine their obligations to the community in the light of this support. We believe it is imperative that all church-related institutions of higher education determine on their own initiative what benefits, services, and opportunities they ought to provide for the community as a whole as distinct from their usual campus constituencies.

6

"In situations where the continued existence of church-related colleges and universities seems dependent upon the availability of direct public grants, those responsible for the administration of such institutions—including the judicatories of the church to which they are related—may have to give serious consideration to several possibilities:

"1. Merger with similarly threatened institutions in order to produce a stronger united institution.

"2. Relinquishing church ownership or control to become public or nonsectarian private institutions.

"3. Establishing schools, departments or chairs of religion adjacent to the public or non-sectarian institutions permitting interchangeable credits.

"In making provision for church-related educational institutions, churches should avoid spreading their resources so thinly that their ability to maintain the integrity of their mission in higher education may be undermined.

"The hazards which confront church-related institutions of higher education in becoming involved in programs supported by government are that such participation may:

"1. compromise academic freedom or divert the institution from its basic philosophy of education;

"2. develop into dependence or lead to adaptation of program in order to insure continued government support;

"3. inhibit the right and responsibility of social criticism, including criticism of governments;

"4. create imbalances in program that will make of education a narrowing rather than a liberalizing experience;

"5. interfere with the right of the institution to be innovative and experimental in program, method, and procedures;

"6. require secrecy with respect to the development, reporting, or proposed application of results of research, which secrecy violates the scholarly norm of free search for and sharing of knowledge;

"7. deny the right to emphasize those values and commitments which it shares with its sponsoring religious body."

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ADOPTED MAY 27, 1964

Opposition to Amendments to the Constitution of the United States Designed to Permit Devotional Exercises in Public Schools.

Whereas, Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court relate only to prayers and Bible-reading which are part of official exercises in public schools; and

Whereas, We believe that these decisions are not hostile to religion, and that it is no proper function of government to inculcate religious beliefs or habits of worship; and

Whereas, We are advised that nothing in these decisions prevents voluntary expressions of reverence or religious sentiments in the schools, nor forbids the offering of prayers on public occasions, such as inaugurations; and

Whereas, The Court clearly allows for the objective study of religion, and particularly of the Bible, in public schools, and suggests the possibility of including within the public-school curriculum an understanding of the role of religion in society, culture, and history; and

Whereas, We believe that worship and religious education are the responsibility of Church and home, and not of the public schools or governmental institutions; and

Whereas, There are no easy solutions to the task of infusing all of life with God's purpose without, at the same time, violating the religious liberty of citizens; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church record its considered opinion that amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America which seek to permit devotional exercises in our public schools should be opposed.

Adopted by the Council.

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, June 10, 1963)

Since the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring unconstitutional certain religious activities in public schools, for a long time sanctioned by law and custom, raise important questions concerning the nature of education, the place of religion in education, and the relation of the public schools to the churches; and since these questions are of great importance to parents and children and to the churches as well as to those agencies of government concerned with education, the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ recommends the following as guiding principles in formulating policies concerning the place of religion in education and the relation of the churches to the public schools.

1. The aim of education is the fullest possible development of the person's capacities as a human being created by God.

2. The responsibility for education of the child is shared by parents, the church, and the government and, therefore, parents, church and government each have rightful interests in the education of the child.

3. The people of the United States have, as a matter of fact, various religious loyalties: Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish. Some are not adherents of any religious body or do not profess any religious beliefs. The fact of this religious pluralism cannot be disregarded in formulating policies concerned with the relation of education and religion in public schools and of the churches to the public schools.

4. The religious pluralism, characteristic of the United States, and the disavowal of societal compulsion in religious activities and observances have in many communities undermined traditional relations between the public schools and the church. These facts have confronted both the church and the public school with the need to devise new ways through which their respective responsibilities for the development of children can be best discharged.

5. Recognition and awareness of the vital part played by religion in the shaping of our history and culture is an important part of education. Hence, information about religion, objectively presented, is an essential part of many school subjects and should be so treated.

6. Responsibility for religious education and worship belongs primarily to the church and to the home.

7. Devotional activities or religious teaching directed to commitment should not be included in the curriculum or program of the public schools. In the setting of the public school, there is no satisfactory way of escaping the association of compulsion with such teaching and activities.

8. Members of the churches are encouraged to participate in efforts to strengthen and improve public education through such positive steps as:

(1) Keeping informed about the needs of the public schools and the issues relating to public education as a basis for intelligent action as citizens;

(2) Engaging in intelligent appraisal and responsibile ciriticism of programs of public education;

(3) supporting qualified candidates for boards of education and being willing to serve as members of such boards;

(4) Working for improved financial support of public schools;

(5) Emphasizing public school teaching as a profession through which the Christian can express his Christian vocation.

9. The churches and instrumentalities serving the churches are encouraged to explore and develop new ways to provide for children of school age adequate opportunities for worship and for instruction directed towards Christian commitment. The Christian education program carried on by the churches should be supported by such positive steps as:

(1) More adequate provision and use of facilities for Christian education;

(2) More and better qualified teachers in Christian education on part-time or full-time basis;

(3) Adequate textbooks and other teaching aids for enlarged program of Christian education;

(4) Exploration of such proposals as "shared time;"

(5) Improvement of such established means of Christian education as Sunday church schools, confirmation instruction, and pastor's membership classes along with new experimental procedures.

STATEMENT ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION INVOLVING THE NEW YORK REGENT'S PRAYER—(ENGEL V. VITALE)

(Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, July 10, 1962)

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ declares its support of the United States Supreme Court in its decision in *Engel* v. *Vitale* for the following reasons—

1. The decision upholds the principle of church-state separation. The Council for Christian Social Action believes that because the New York State Regents' prayer was created, adopted, and administered by state officials and used as a religious exercise in the public schools, it violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution. The fact that the prayer was non-denominational and its recitation voluntary does not alter the fact that the State prescribed a particular form of prayer to be used as an official prayer in a program of governmentally sponsored religious activity. Thus the State was carrying out a function which is not its business to perform.

2. We believe that the responsibility for religious education and worship belongs to the church and home where it can be most effectively performed. Significant prayer is an expression of deep religious faith and conviction which cannot be appropriately expressed corporately in a public school setting where there is a wide variety of belief and non-belief.

3. There is nothing in the decision which bans private prayer. Nor is there anything in the decision which restricts teaching about the contributions religious leaders, movements, and ideas have made in the shaping of our history and culture; and we would encourage the public school to do this more effectively.

The Council for Christian Social Action calls upon the members of our churches to support the Supreme Court decision. It urges those concerned about the spiritual development of children to use and improve the opportunities for religious training in the church and the home and not to look to other agencies to do the job.

STATEMENT OF THE BOARD OF PARISH EDUCATION, LUTHERAN CHURCH, MISSOURI SYNOD, JULY 29, 1966

The Dirksen Prayer Amendment seeks to encourage the opportunity for a voluntary participation of students in prayer without prescribing the form or content of any prayer. To encourage prayer is a laudable objective. The public school, however, does not seem to provide appropriate circumstances for joint prayer.

The amendment would forbid any authority to prescribe the form or content of prayer. Yet in any group situation prayer without imposed form or content is impossible. One possibility of avoiding imposing form and content is in providing a time for meditation and prayer where each in his own words and in his own way prays privately. Such private prayer is already a possibility, although it might be desirable to provide a time-slot for a moment of private prayer.

While the public school is not the place for group prayer or worship, there are some things that it can do with respect to religion. The public school can take a positive attitude toward religion and point to the large role that religion plays in the lives of many people, and it can point to the influence that religion has exerted on individuals and on society in general. The public school can study religious art, religious music, and religious literature. More of this ought to be done. In all this, however, the public school must show respect for all religious faiths, and respect the rights of those who are irreligious to hold their opinions.

We are sympathetic to public school teachers and administrators in their problem of dealing with religion in the public school program. We support the idea that community representatives must work with public school educators to define the proper role of the public school in teaching about religion.

The Board of Parish Education of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, feels that the Dirksen Amendment fails to recognize fully the religious pluralism of the American scene. We believe that Christians cannot join with non-Christians in addressing God in circumstances that deny Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. We believe likewise that non-Christians should neither be expected to participate in Christian prayer nor should they expect Christians to join them in prayers that deny Christ.

The concept of voluntary participation in prayer provides either a coercive force or an embarrassing situation for both Christians and non-Christians. Under these circumstances we believe that it is best for the

public school not to engage in prayer or other religious worship exercises.

We support the idea that home and church have the responsibility for a religious education which seeks commitment and provides time for prayer or devotional exercises.

PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Adopted by the Second Biennial Convention, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 2–9, 1964)

(Note.—In June, 1963, the Executive Council of the Lutheran Church in America adopted a brief statement on prayer and Bible reading in the public schools in the light of decisions on those matters by the United States Supreme Court (Engel and Schempp cases, 370 U.S. 421 and 374 U.S. 203).

The Biennial Convention of the LCA in July, 1964, received an interpretive memorandum attached by the Executive Council to the prior statement. The significance of the memorandum was in its fuller analysis of the Court's decisions and in the attention it gave to related proposals to amend the Constitution of the United States.

The convention ratified the statement of the Executive Council (in the words of the pertinent resolution) "as amplified and interpreted by" the memorandum.

The statement of the Executive Council (I) "as amplified and interpreted by" the memorandum (II) constitutes the official position of the Lutheran Church in America on prayer and Bible reading in the public schools and the question of constitutional amendment.

I. STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1963

We do not believe that much has been lost in terms of the specific points covered by the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the school prayer and Bible reading cases. If the Lord's Prayer were to be recited in schoolrooms only for the sake of the moral and ethical atmosphere it creates, it would be worth nothing to the practicing Christian. The Lord's Prayer is the supreme act or adoration and petition or it is debased. Reading the Bible in the public schools without comment, too, has been of dubious value as either an educational or religious experience. The more we attempt as Christians or Americans to insist on common denominator religious exercise or instruction in the public schools, the greater risk we run of diluting our faith and contributing to a vague religiosity which identifies religion with patriotism and becomes a national folk religion.

At the same time, in candor, these decisions must be seen as a watershed. They open an era in which Christianity is kept separate from the state in a way that was foreign and would have been repugnant to the minds of our ancestors at the time when the Constitution was written and ever since. They signalize the fact that the United States of America, like many other nations, is past the place where underlying Christian culture and beliefs are assumed in its life.

This event intensifies the task of the church. It heightens the need of the church for strength to stand alone, lofty and unshaken, in American society. It calls for greater depth of conviction in all Christian men and women.

II. INTERPRETIVE MEMORANDUM, 1964

The United States Supreme Court has declared it unconstitutional for states to require religious exercises such as prayer recitation and the reading of the Bible without comment in the public schools. (Engel and Schempp cases, 370 U.S. 421 and 374 U.S. 203.) It is natural that the Court's decisions have created controversy and have aroused misgivings and questions on the part of those who have both an interest in the public schools and a concern for the religious and moral nurture of our children. To some it has seemed that the Federal Constitution should be expressly amended to nullify these decisions and otherwise restrict the application of the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

Criticism of the Court's rulings has been directed to the following points: that prayer exercises and Bible reading in the public schools have the sanction of historical usage, that to call these practices a form of religious establishment is to carry constitutional interpretation to an unwarranted extreme, that to invalidate these practices at the request of a minority is to deny majority rights, and that exclusion of such religious practices has the effect of conferring a constitutional blessing upon secularism as an official philosophy.

The Church is properly concerned about these questions. The validity, the meaning and the effect of the Court's decisions touch on matters of vital interest to Christians, both in terms of their responsibility under God for the good of the public order and their special calling in Christ for the sake of the Gospel.

It does not appear, however, that the church need be alarmed over the results reached by the Court in these cases. Persons of goodwill may have differences of opinion on the correctness or desirability of these decisions. At the same time believers and nonbelievers alike may share the view that in the end these decisions may have a wholesome effect in clarifying the role of the public school with respect to religious matters.

The Executive Council statement of June 1963 recognizes that from a religious point of view not much is lost as a result of the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in the school prayer and Bible reading cases. Recitation of prayers when prescribed by public authority easily becomes a formal, mechanical exercise that neither reflects nor contributes to genuine religious piety and reverence. Bible reading without comment may take on the form of a ritualistic exercise that contributes little to a genuine educational program or to understanding of the Bible.

Moreover, both the Lord's Prayer and the Bible belong to a particular religious tradition, and their use in religious exercises in the public schools does result in a religious preference and invites the risk of sectarian divisiveness in the community. In turn, any devotional use of the Bible designed to avoid or minimize the sectarian aspect results in a distorted conception of the Bible and a dilution of its religious message.

Furthermore, any religious exercise designed to minimize the sectarian element, whether it be a nonsectarian prayer or Bible readings that ignore religious teachings, serves to promote a vague or a syncretistic religion that conveys none of the substance, the depth, and cutting edge of the historic Christian witness.

The nature of our contemporary pluralistic and democratic society requires a re-evaluation of practices which though sanctioned by historical usage had their origin at a time when the Protestant influence was dominant in the shaping of many public practices including the public school program. A due regard for all religious faiths and also for nonbelievers and nonconformists of all kinds makes it imperative that the public schools abstain from practices that run the risk of intrusion of sectarian elements and divisiveness. The public school serves a unique and valued place in helping to build a civic unity despite the diversities of our pluralistic culture.

It should also be noted that when the state deeply involves itself in religious practices in the public schools, it is thereby not only appropriating a function properly served by the church and the family but subjecting the freedom of believers and unbelievers alike to the restraint that accompanies the use of governmental power and public facilities in the promotion of religious ends. This construction is particularly relevant in the case of religious exercises in the public schools. Children are required to be in school by compulsion of public law, the religious exercises are prescribed by public authority, public school facilities are used, and the teacher—the symbol of authority in the classroom—supervises the exercises. These factors combine to operate with indirect coercive force on young and impressionable children to induce them to take part in these exercises, despite a freedom to be excused from participation. Even persons with a genuine regard for prayer and the Bible may object to having their children engage in these exercises when they are supported by the compulsion of law.

Having said this, however, does not foreclose the legitimacy of having any reservations about the Supreme Court's decisions. The legal question whether the establishment clause of the First Amendment is properly interpreted to apply to religious practices in the public schools is a matter on which scholars disagree. It is quite valid to ask whether the Fourteenth Amendment should be used to make the First Amendment apply to every school community in the United States, regardless of the religious character of the local community.

A more serious question, moreover, goes to the concept of neutrality respecting religious matters, which played a central part in the Court's decision handed down in 1963. Clearly public school programs must be directed to secular purposes, and yet the schools cannot be absolutely neutral in regard to religious matters. Any education premised on indifference to the religious factors in history, in American life and in the life or the individual, is an inadequate education. Furthermore, the vacuum introduced by the exclusion of religion opens the door to the cult of secularism. The Constitution prohibits the establishment of all kinds of religion—whether theistic or secular in character.

Recognizing these considerations, the Court has wisely stated that schools may properly present programs for the objective study of the Bible and of religion. How successfully this can be done, without the intrusion of sectarian elements, remains to be seen. This points up the challenge to the churches and to the public schools to give serious attention to ways of studying the Bible and religion that will do justice to the religious factor and at the same time serve the larger neutrality which an even-handed interpretation of the Constitution requires. The LCA Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society is currently exploring this question and will report its conclusions to the Church in due time.

Christians should realize, however, that not too much may be expected of the public schools in dealing with religious matters. The schools must be careful to abstain from practices and teaching programs that involve commitment to ultimate truth or values. On the other hand, it should be possible for the public schools to teach respect for the spiritual and moral values that reflect the community consensus and which for most citizens have their roots in the Christian, and in the antecedent Hebrew tradition.

Our democratic society rests on certain moral assumptions. But even here the public schools must be careful. In teaching respect for the ethics of a democratic society, they cannot commit themselves to either a theistic or a humanistic philosophy respecting the sources and motivation for ethical conduct. The nurture of an informed, vital and relevant religious faith remains the responsibility of parents and the churches.

In view of these considerations it does not seem that anything of importance is to be

gained through an amendment to the Constitution that would sanction prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. The Supreme Court has not held that there can be no prayers in public schools. Nothing in the Court's decisions precludes school authorities from designating a period of silence for prayer and meditations or even for devotional reading of the Bible or any other book during this period. Opportunity for voluntary participation in prayers of the student's own choice is not governed by these decisions which dealt only with situations where school authorities were directly involved in prescribing the kind of prayer and in giving direction to it. Moreover, the Court's recognition that the objective study of religion and the Bible in the public schools is consistent with the First Amendment gives promise to a constructive approach to neutralizing secularistic tendencies in public education.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court has not outlawed reference to God in public documents, proceedings or ceremonies. No constitutional amendment is necessary to assure the freedom of the federal and state governments to give appropriate expression to the religious factor in our history and in the lives of our people.

On the other hand, there is disadvantage in using the amendment process to deal with the present issue and there is risk in the results that would be achieved by it. The proposed amendments would represent only a piece-meal way of dealing with religious practices in public schools and in public life. It would be a use of the amendment process not to state general and fundamental principles but to sanction certain specific and detailed practices. This is, to say the least, a questionable use of the amendment process. Moreover, such an amendment would raise new problems of interpretation and could lead to unintended and unsuspected results in areas vitally touching on religious liberty. Finally, and this is most important, the proposed amendments in their substance would give constitutional sanction to distinctively sectarian practices in the public schools with all the risks involved of impinging upon freedom of conscience and belief and creating religious divisiveness in the community.

The Constitution should not be amended except to achieve large and important public needs and purposes consistent with the basic nature of our constitutional system. The current proposals for constitutional amendment do not meet these standards. Parents, churches and school authorities would be better advised to direct their efforts to programs for study of religion and the Bible in the public schools and to the formulation of types of programs which coordinate the secular educational programs of the public schools with programs of a strictly religious nature conducted by the churches themselves, rather than to seek constitutional sanctions for devotional exercises in public schools that have at most a minimal religious value, which invite the intrusion of sectarian influences into the public school system, risk the violation of the rights of religious freedom and are a potential source of conflict in the community.

SECTION ON "RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS" FROM CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN THE U.S.A.

(A Statement Commended by the Second General Convention of the American Lutheran Church, October 21–27, 1964)

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS

27. Reading of Scripture and addressing deity in prayer are forms of religious expression which devout persons cherish. To compel these religious exercises as essential parts of the public school program, however, is to infringe on the distinctive beliefs of religious persons as well as on the rights of the irreligious. We believe that freedom of religion is best preserved when Scripture reading and prayer are centered in home and church, their effects in the changed lives of devout persons radiating into the schools and into every area of community life. It is as wrong for the public schools to become agents for atheism, godless secularism, scoffing irreligion, or a vague "religion in general" as it is for them to make religious rites and ceremonies an integral part of their programs.

28. It is a distortion of the constitutional principle of neutrality of the state toward religion to insist that public schools ignore the influence of religion upon culture and persons. A rounded education ought to include knowledge of major religious groups and their emphases, the influence of religion upon the lives of people, and the contributions of religion to society, taught in history, literature, social science, and other courses at levels consistent with the maturity and comprehension of the pupils. The objective for the public schools in this direction is understanding rather than commitment, a teaching *about* religion rather than a teaching *of* religion. Churches ought to offer their assistance to the public schools in preparing for and in supporting the teaching of such courses.

29. Whether and how distinctive religious holidays should be recognized in the public schools, and whether public property may be used for religious displays and ceremonies, we believe are matters best decided by the responsible authorities in each community in light of (a) the interests and desires of the people of that community, (b) government's obligation to benevolent neutrality in religious matters, (c) the protections and opportunities for redress guaranteed any minorities, and (d) the possibility that the religious significance of the holiday will be lost as it becomes simply a seasonal rite or ceremony.

30. Released time, dismissed time, and shared time are means deserving of greater exploration so that the churches can give religious education, competently and in accord with their distinctive doctrinal emphases, to pupils enrolled in the public schools. Such programs would require rejection of the dogmatic and inflexible approach fostered by the slogan "separation of church and state." Such study might result in encouraging genuinely benevolent neutrality on the part of government and a fresh approach to the free exercise of religion in education not otherwise attainable.

PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(A Statement Commended by the Church—The American Lutheran Church, October 26, 1964)

Voted by the Second General Convention, The American Lutheran Church, October 26, 1964 (GC64.26.118) to adopt the following resolution:

Whereas, The president of the church in his message has called attention to the deep concern among our people regarding the Supreme Court decision on prayer in the public schools; and

Whereas, There are attempts from many sources to achieve changes via legislative process and constitutional amendment; and

Whereas, The president of the church has indicated the desirability of guidance by the church for its people; and

Whereas, Dr. Paul Kauper, a professor of constitutional law, has prepared a statement at the request of the president of the church (Report of the President, Exhibit A, pages 89 and 90); therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention commends the president of The American Lutheran Church for his concern relative to the Supreme Court decision regarding prayer in the public schools and the events following the decision; and be it further

Resolved, That the statement by Professor Kauper concerning proposals to amend the United States Constitution to give constitutional sanction to certain types of religious practices in public institutions be commended as a carefully reasoned document for study by the members of The American Lutheran Church.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(A Statement by Professor Paul Kauper Concerning Proposals to Amend the United States Constitution to Give Constitutional Sanction to Certain Types of Religious Practices in Public Institutions.)

Proposals are now pending before the Congress of the United States to amend the Constitution in order to give constitutional sanction to certain types of religious practices in public institutions and in the public life. Some of these proposals are directed only to the matter of prayer and Bible-reading in the public schools and are designed to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court's decisions dealing with these practices. Others go further and would give constitutional sanction also to references to God and to expressions of belief in God in public ceremonies, in public documents and on the coins or obligations of the United States.

We believe that it would be unwise for the Congress to give its approval to any such amendment. Without attempting to pass judgment on the soundness of the Supreme Court's decisions in declaring officially prescribed prayer and Bible-reading practices to constitute an establishment of religion in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, we do recognize that such practices are essentially ritualistic in character, that any form of religious practice opens the way for sectarian intrusion into the public school program, that such practices offend minority groups, and that in the end religion suffers and religious liberty in its fullness is threatened when government uses the power of its laws and the public school program to prescribe an official faith. Devotional exercises for the cultivation and nurture of religious faith belong in the home and the church.

Insofar as some of these proposed amendments are directed to the further purpose of validating references to God on public occasions, and in public ceremonies, proclamations, and documents, they are unnecessary since neither the holdings nor the chief opinions in the cases decided by the Supreme Court support the view that the Constitution outlaws reference to God and to expression of belief and dependence upon him whether it be in the public school or on various public occasions. Moreover, any attempt to deal with these matters by constitutional amendment creates problems and difficulties of draftsmanship and may open the door to practices which encroach upon freedom of belief and conscience.

The Constitution as the basic law of the land should not be amended, particularly in the vital and sensitive areas of religious liberty and of church-state relations, except to achieve some great and compelling public purpose or need. For the reasons stated above, we believe that it would be a step in the wrong direction to amend the Constitution in order to achieve the purposes of the proposals now pending before Congress.

This expression of our disapproval of these proposals for constitutional amendment does not mean that we disapprove of reference to God and to belief in and dependence upon him as found in various aspects of our public life. On the contrary, we believe that these are appropriate practices, not because they contribute to the vitality of the nation's religious life, but because they are a legitimate expression of our religious heritage. Indeed, to say that the Constitution requires the deletion in the public life of all such references rooted in the history and life of our people is to interpret the Constitution

as manifesting hostility to religion. It is important also that our public schools recognize the relevance of religion and afford opportunity for study of the Bible and of religion as essential to the purposes of public education.

The Supreme Court's decisions do not outlaw prayer and study of the Bible in the public schools. They prohibit only officially prescribed religious exercises calling for corporate participation. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court's decisions have been relied upon in some instances to furnish pretext and license for the use of the public school classroom both to discredit religion and to deny opportunity for the voluntary expressions by students of their faith. This is a gross distortion of the Supreme Court's decisions. The Constitution assures the free exercise of religion. The schools must see to it that this freedom is fully respected.

Commission on Research and Social Action, The American Lutheran Church, 422 South Fifth Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415.

THE CHURCHES AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(A policy statement of the *National Council of Churches* adopted by General Board on June 7, 1963 in New York City)

As Christians we acknowledge God as the ground and source and confirmer of truth, whose Spirit is ever ready to respond to men's and children's search for understanding by correcting their fumbling misapprehensions and leading them into larger and fuller truth. Teaching and learning at their highest are pursued within this recognition. As Americans we are firmly committed to the right of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, that is, the freedom of each citizen in the determination of his religious allegiance, and the freedom of religious groups and institutions in the exercise and declaration of their beliefs.

The American tradition with respect to the relations of government and religion, often described as "separation of church and state" does not mean that the state is hostile toward, or indifferent to, religion. On the contrary, governments—national, state and local—have prevailingly acknowledged the importance as well as the autonomy of religion and have given expression to this principle in many ways.

In present-day American society, with its diversity of religious conviction and affiliations, the place of religion in public education must be worked out within this recognition of the prevailingly positive attitude of the American people as a whole toward religion and safeguarding of religious liberty.

As Christians we believe that every individual has a right to an education aimed at the full development of his capacities as a human being created by God, his character as well as his intellect. We are impelled by the love of neighbor to seek maximum educational opportunities for each individual in order that he may prepare himself for responsible participation in the common life.

CONCERN FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

We reaffirm our support of the system of public education[1] in the United States of America. It provides a context in which all individuals may share in an education which contributes to the full development of their capacities. It serves as a major cohesive force in our pluralistic society. We also recognize that significant value derives from the fact that this system is financed by public funds, is responsive to the community as a whole, and is open to all without distinctions as to race, creed, national origin, or economic status.

DEFINITION OF ROLES

Religious ideas, beliefs, values, and the contributions of churches are an integral part of our cultural heritage as a people. The public schools have an obligation to help individuals develop an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the role of religion in the life of the people of this nation. Teaching for religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and the community of faith (such as the church or synagogue) rather than the public schools.

We support the right of religious groups to establish and maintain schools at their own expense provided they meet prescribed educational standards.

We support also the right of parents to decide whether their children shall attend public or non-public schools. The parent who chooses to send his children to a non-public school is not excused from the responsibility of the citizen to support and seek to improve the public schools.

Neither the church nor the state should use the public school to compel acceptance of any creed or conformity to any specific religious practice.

It is an essential task of the churches to provide adequate religious instruction through every means at their disposal. These include both those activities which individual churches provide within their own walls and also various joint ventures of churches involving cooperation with the public schools. Christian nurture and the development and practice of Christian worship are inescapable obligations of the congregation and the family. We warn the churches against the all-too-human tendency to look to the state and its agencies for support in fulfilling the churches' mission. Such a tendency endangers both true religion and civil liberties. At the same time, we call the churches to renewed worship, study, work, and sacrifice to fulfill their mission as God's people in the world.

PLACE OF RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

No person is truly educated for life in the modern world who is not aware of the vital part played by religion in the shaping of our history and culture, and of its contemporary expressions. Information about religion is an essential part of many school subjects such as social studies, literature and the arts. The contributions of religious leaders, movements, and ideas should be treated objectively and broadly in any presentation of these subjects. Public school administrators and textbook producers are to be commended for the progress made to date in including objective information about religion in various subject matter fields. Teachers should be trained to deal with the history, practices, and characteristics of the various religious groups with competence and respect for diverse religious convictions. Their greatest influence will be through the life and attitudes they reflect in the classroom. They should be free as persons to express their own convictions in answer to direct questions from pupils when appropriate to the subject matter under study.

The full treatment of some regular school subjects requires the use of the Bible as a source book. In such studies—including those related to character development—the use of the Bible has a valid educational purpose. But neither true religion nor good education is dependent upon the devotional use of the Bible in the public school program.

The Supreme Court of the United States in the Regents' Prayer case has ruled that "in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the government." We recognize the wisdom as well as the authority of this ruling. But whether prayers may be offered at special occasions in the public schools may well be left to the judgment of the board responsible for the program of the public schools in the local community.

While both our tradition and the present temper of our nation reflect a preponderant belief in God as our Source and our Destiny, nevertheless attempts to establish a "common core" of religious beliefs to be taught in public schools have usually proven unrealistic and unwise. Major faith groups have not agreed on a formulation of religious beliefs common to all. Even if they had done so, such a body of religious doctrine would tend to become a substitute for the more demanding commitments of historic faiths.

Some religious holidays have become so much a part of American culture that the public school can scarcely ignore them. Any recognition of such holidays in the public schools should contribute to better community understanding and should in no way divert the attention of pupils and the community from the celebration of these holidays in synagogues and churches.

We express the conviction that the First Amendment to our Constitution in its present wording has provided the framework within which responsible citizens and our courts have been able to afford maximum protection for the religious liberty of all our citizens.

CHURCH SUPPORT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

American public education should have the full and conscientious support of Christians and Christian churches. Therefore, we urge our constituency to continue efforts to strengthen and improve the American system of public education through positive steps such as the following:

1. Providing intelligent appraisal and responsible criticism of programs of public education;

2. Keeping informed about the needs of the public schools and studying issues related to public education as a basis for intelligent action as citizens;

3. Supporting able candidates for boards of education and being willing to serve as members of such boards;

4. Working at local, state, and national levels for improved legislative and financial support of public schools;

5. Emphasizing to prospective and present teachers the profession of public school teaching as a vocation that is worthy of the best service a Christian can give;

6. Exploring cooperative arrangements of the churches and schools whereby the church's teaching of religion may be improved.

In American education, there is a substantial inter-relation between primary, secondary and higher education.

It needs to be stressed that, in a substantial majority of publicly-maintained institutions of higher education, provision is offered for the voluntary election of courses in religion on a parity with all other subjects of the curriculum, and not infrequently for publicly-supported chaplains and other services of religion.

The question should be explored whether these arrangements through which religious instruction and services are provided within state institutions of higher education without infringement of law or offense to individual conscience may not offer suggestion for more adequate provisions within the public schools of opportunities for the study of religion where desired, fully within the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience and of religious expression.

The vote of Board members was: 65 for, 1 against, 1 abstention.

Note—The Greek Orthodox Church of

[1] In this document the terms "public education" and "public schools" are taken to mean the system of public elementary and secondary education in the United States.

North and South America has indicated that it disclaims and dissociates itself from this pronouncement.)

ON VOLUNTARY PRAYER

Whereas, There is a continuing national discussion on the relationship between public agencies and the advancement of religion, and

Whereas, Baptists have made a major contribution to the world by insisting on religious liberty for all and by emphasizing that a genuine religious experience is a voluntary response to God, and

Whereas, Prayer is one of the most intimate and sacred relationships to God and must be kept free from governmental or ecclesiastical intrusion, and

Whereas, Prayer is not a genuine response to God unless it is voluntary. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Southern Baptist Convention in session at St. Louis, Mo., June 2, 1971, reaffirm its resolution on Religious Liberty approved by the Convention at Atlantic City, N.J., May 22, 1964 (see page 80, SBC Annual 1964), and

Be it further *Resolved*, that we do hereby reaffirm our belief in voluntary prayer on the part of all people and that we urge the churches to teach their members the true nature of prayer and the role of the Holy Spirit in helping people to pray, and

Be it further *Resolved*, that the Southern Baptist Convention encourage its constituency to participate in prayer experiences that are voluntary and uncoerced by governmental or ecclesiastical authorities.

RESOLUTION NO. 2—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In this anniversary year we are grateful for the witness which our Baptist movement has been privileged to bear. The discernment of the call of God in Christ has led us to a glorious experience of evangelism and missionary outreach through the power of the Holy Spirit.

Our leaders and our people have firmly rejected the use of the coercive powers of government in the realm of religion. Baptists had much to do with writing the First Amendment into the Constitution of the United States and have been in the forefront in preserving the religious liberty that our nation has enjoyed. We have unflinchingly declared our desire for separation of church and state in resolutions, in sermons and in policies and practices.

1. We, the messengers of the Convention hereby affirm our support for the concepts and the vocabulary of the First Amendment, including both its prohibition upon government roles in religious programs and its protection of free exercise of religion for the people.

2. We enunciate our concern that public officials and public servants of all types shall have the same free exercise of religion as other citizens, but that this freedom does not entitle them to use public or official powers for the advancement of religious commitments or ideas. In applying this principle to the field of public education, we affirm the historic right of our schools to full academic freedom for the pursuit of all knowledge, religious or otherwise.

3. We appeal to the Congress of the United States to allow the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States to stand as our guarantee of religious liberty, and we oppose the adoption of any further amendment to that Constitution respecting establishment of religion or free exercise thereof.

4. We urge all our channels, leaders, and churches to involve themselves throughly in study of the biblical, the historical, and the contemporary issues related to religious liberty to the end that our heritage of freedom and responsibility under God may be clearly understood and appreciated by the next generation and by ever larger proportions of the world's peoples.

A STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND VOLUNTARY PRAYER

The people called Baptists have always believed in and contended for the principle of religious liberty for all and the fact that prayer, to be genuine, must be voluntary . . . for prayer is communion with God.

The Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. adheres to this principle and believes further that prayer should neither be hindered nor compelled by any governmental or ecclesiastical authority.

We believe that the First Amendment to the Constitution which states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," is a sufficient guarantee of religious liberty for all. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered decisions which fairly and adequately interpret this amendment.

We believe further that another amendment to the Constitution relative to religion in general and prayer in particular could becloud the clear statement of the First Amendment and afford an opportunity for courts in the future to interpret the First Amendment differently. Therefore, we oppose a prayer amendment to the Constitution.

S. S. HODGES,
Executive Secretary.

Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., Washington, D.C.

CHOU EN-LAI MESSAGE TO FIDEL CASTRO

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I would like to insert copy of a message from Chou En-Lai to Fidel Castro which appeared in the Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report of July 26, 1971.

Chou informs Fidel that—

The Chinese Government and people will, as they always have in the past, resolutely fight together with the Cuban people, and we will learn from each other, support each other and carry the struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs through to the end.

The Chinese Communists are making great efforts to assure the various contingents of the world Communist movement that they have no intention of deviating from their stated goal of helping to destroy the free world and, in particular, the United States.

The message follows:

CHOU EN-LAI GREETS FIDEL CASTRO ON CUBAN ANNIVERSARY

Premier Chou En-Lai sent a cable today to Prime Minister Castro of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, warmly greeting the 18th anniversary of the Cuban national uprising. Following is the text of Premier Chou's cable:

To Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, Cuban Revolutionary Government, Havana:

On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the Cuban national uprising, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people I extend to you, the Cuban revolutionary government and the fraternal Cuban people, our warm greetings.

The heroic Cuban people, under the leadership of Prime Minister Castro, overthrew by armed struggle the rule of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, and they have, since the victory of the revolution, continued to wage heroic struggles against U.S. imperialism's aggression, interference, blockades and subversion, to defend national independence and state sovereignty and to build the fatherland. They have overcome many difficulties, won great victories and made great achievements.

The (?success) of the Cuban people is a great support for the Chinese people and the people of the whole world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs. The Chinese Government and people will, as they always have in the past, resolutely fight together with the Cuban people, and we will learn from each other, support each other and carry the struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs through to the end.

May the militant unity and fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Cuban people live forever.

[Signed] Chou En-Lai, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

25 July 1971, Peking.

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND THE ICC

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, whether regulations impede or expedite has long been a controversial subject, especially when it is a question of Government regulations. Certainly this applies to the Interstate Commerce Commission. An agency that has been the topic of much conversation and criticism by Members of Congress. However, considering the magnitude of our transportation problems and their complexity, political conversation and criticism, while easy to offer, is not really pertinent to finding answers to these problems.

George Stafford, first permanent chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with his positive leadership, is trying to find workable solutions to the ICC's problems and protect the public's rights, letting the chips fall where they may.

Chairman Stafford gives his opinions on regulations in a recent interview in the Commercial Car Journal, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

FEISTY ICC BALKS

The Interstate Commerce Commission, timid old lady of regulation, is getting feisty in her 85th year under her first permanent chairman, George Stafford.

A World War II combat veteran and graduate of the rough-and-tumble statehouse school of politics, Stafford is one of the most outspoken foes of deregulation of the Transportation industry.

"If you want rag-tag, tail-end transportation service in this country, you can end federal regulation. That's what the result would be. If you want a good system, you have to pay the price," Stafford said in an exclusive interview with CCJ.

Stafford, still showing the effects of a leg wound suffered in the recapture of the Philippine Islands, is convinced that without regulation, large shippers and large carriers would soon drive smaller competitors out of business. The results would be poor service, undercapacity and higher rates.

"Without regulation, no effort would be made to worry about the small communities," Stafford insists. This theme runs throughout his defense of government regulation of transportation.

Regulation has been the only force that has maintained service to small communities, he insists. "Through our jurisdictional powers and with the use of the present antitrust immunity for carriers, we have required large line-haul fleets to drop off shipments as they pass through each state, although many of them don't want to.

"Without this 'forced pooling', hundreds of areas would not be served. Without protection from antitrust laws, large and small carriers would be unable to enter into agreements as to who serves where," Stafford argues.

"Often overlooked in the arena of transportation regulation is the fact that a license to serve carries with it the duty to serve. Were it not for this duty, carriers would be free to select that traffic most desirable from the economic and operational standpoint, ignoring that which is not as remunerative. The entire transportation structure within the United States is based upon that proposition.

"Regulation ensures to the small shipper the same availability of services as are available to major users. It guarantees to the remotely located user services which otherwise would be unavailable."

Regulation, Stafford contends, protects a carrier's investment from the potentially disastrous power of the big shippers to force rates even below the breakeven point. He cited as an example the National Cattleman's Association request to the U.S. Agriculture Department to reconsider present exemptions for livestock in order to have rates for their shipments regulated.

Both carriers and shippers in the cattle industry are seeking regulation, Stafford says, because shippers have been so successful in gaining low rates that profits to carriers have evaporated. As a result, shippers are having difficulty finding carriers who will handle their freight.

Commenting on Assistant U.S. Attorney General Richard McLaren's charge that regulation has contributed to over-capacity in transportation, Stafford says:

"Yes, but he also advocates free entry into the transportation field."

"Free entry would break down the entire system. There are not enough big carriers to handle all the business, while smaller carriers without some protection would go out of business and service would quickly deteriorate."

Stafford points out that President Nixon is urging people and industry to move out into the country, away from overcrowded cities.

"To do this, we need service to more distant, widespread points. Without the regulatory power and the incentive to get this service, this migration would be impossible," the ICC chairman continued.

Stafford denies the existence of any concerted drive within the ICC to effect some deregulation by easing the rules. But he does admit that some regulations are not productive and waste the commission's time because they are too limited or personal. For instance, the ICC recently removed regulations involving the transportation of race horses.

Stafford admits some changes in regulatory law and policies are needed to keep the system up to date—along with additional money and staff to handle a burgeoning workload. But he insists the answer to current problems is not deregulation.

"The bedrock of regulation is and must continue to be protection of the public by setting and enforcing standards of service, price and entry—all without discrimination and preference. The development and preservation of a national transportation system, available to all without discrimination, at rates openly arrived at and publicly known, and at predictable times, is essential to the effective and efficient movement of people and goods," he says.

Transportation, Stafford asserts, because of its size, complexity and economic and social impact, "cannot be left to wander aimlessly, according to the dictates of competing private self-interests and without regard to the public need."

At the same time, Stafford is not entirely happy with certain present industry practices and notes that the commission is now seeking added powers over such trends as carrier acquisitions by financial holding companies whose principal business is not common carriage; the industry trend to accept only the most lucrative freight while rejecting small shipments; tariff restrictions which limit through service to two-or-three connecting lines and industry's refusal to handle C.O.D. shipments.

But bitter condemnation of the ICC's actions . . . or inactions . . . "obscures" the blame that must be shared by all who are involved with transportation—carriers, shippers and labor—who have pursued their own self-interests without regard to the public welfare, he insists.

Stafford firmly opposes the Ash Council's proposal to abolish the ICC and combine it into a super transportation regulatory agency consisting of the ICC, Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Maritime Commission, all under a single administrator.

"Neither the abolition nor the dismemberment of the regulatory agencies—nor the recommended rearrangement of the structure under which they operate—will improve transportation in America," he argues.

He disagrees with the Council's proposal that reorganization be accomplished first, followed later by Congressional action to change or alter the nation's basic transportation laws. As a consequence, the ICC supports a proposal by U.S. Senator Howard Baker (R.-Tenn.), to create a commission to conduct a three-year study of transportation problems.

Chairman Stafford is probably the strongest advocate of even stronger regulation within the government. But his battle is going to be a tough one.

As the first permanent chairman of the little old lady of transportation, Stafford obviously isn't sitting idly by, presiding over the demise of his own house of regulation.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1971

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, the Senate amendment to which the gentleman from California (Mr. EDWARDS) has moved to agree has the effect of nullifying Executive Order No. 11605 issued July 2, 1971. That order empowers the Subversive Activities Control Board to "Conduct appropriate hearings to determine whether any organization is totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, subversive, or fully advocating the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution or laws of the United States or of any State, or which seeks to overthrow the Government of the United States or any State or subdivision thereof by unlawful means." A positive finding by the Board would, in effect, place an organization on the old "Attorney General's list" of subversive organizations, thus sharply limiting the eligibility of members of that organization for Federal employment.

That order is a grossly unconstitutional usurpation of congressional powers. The act establishing the SACB grants the Board no such authority as is given it by the Executive order, and the President has no authority to expand the functions of that agency, or of any agency of Government, beyond statutory limits. Issuance of the order on July 2, after this House had considered the bill which has now come back to us from the Senate, is a calculated insult to our right to make ourselves heard when policy is made in the name of the American people.

But let us imagine for the moment that we had a President who believed in the strict construction of article I, section 1, of the Constitution, which vests "All legislative powers" in the Congress. Let us imagine that we had been presented in correct fashion with legislation expanding the role of the Board to include updating the old Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Would that be good legislation?

No, Mr. Speaker, I believe that it would be bad legislation, dangerous legislation. The Attorney General's list and the SACB are the products of the fit of hysteria which gripped this Nation at the onset of the cold war. Their only function is to intimidate Americans in the exercise of the rights of opinion, expression, and association. To revitalize them would make no contribution to the security of this Nation: it would merely contribute to the paranoiac mood which colors much of American radical politics and which, according to the Media, Pa., documents, it is the policy of this Government to encourage.

Euripides wrote, "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." But we are none of us gods. The deliberate production of madness in one's opponents is a tactic reserved to the gods and the great tyrants; it is a tactic unsuited to ordinary mortals, and to democratic governments.

It is said that, as presently constituted the SACB is a useless body; and so it is. But we should not be hasty to trade uselessness for destructiveness. A disarmed bomb is useless; but I have never heard rearming one called a public service. At best, we should dismantle the SACB; at least, we can disarm it. I will vote for the motion to instruct.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, but a few short weeks ago we celebrated the 195th birthday of these United States. For us that celebration brought to mind the

efforts of the fathers of our country to establish a government with respect for the individual, a government guaranteeing justice and liberty. Our Independence Day is a day for celebration.

Sadly, however, the same month of July also brings to our attention the grim reminder that not all countries enjoy the same freedoms we so often take for granted. Captive Nations Week brings to mind the harsh Communist rule in many nations, which is sternly backed by Soviet military power.

We cannot afford to forget the courageous peoples of the Captive Nations. Captive Nations Week gives us the opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the right to self-determination for all men.

ESSAYS ON CITIZENSHIP AND PATRIOTISM—ELYSIAN HEIGHTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

HON. GEORGE E. DANIELSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, there is something inspirational in the sincerity and commitment of the very young. The truths they utter are pure, simple, and profound.

The Elysian Heights Elementary School, in my district, Beverly Mason, principal, annually invites students to express their thoughts about our country in an essay contest.

One sixth grader wrote this year:

America is a great and beautiful country. Even though America has its defects, they can be taken care of with time, thought, and money.

Another concludes:

Since the United States is all for us, we should be all for it.

I would like to place the winning essays for this year in the RECORD at this point and commend them to my colleagues as "must" reading:

[Fourth grade—first place]

HOW CAN WE SHOW LOVE FOR OUR COUNTRY?

(By Laima Sturonas)

We can show love for our country by respecting the American flag when it is being raised before and after school. There are some children who do not stand still while the flag is raised. They are not showing respect.

I love my country because of what it does for its people. I love my country for what it is, and I hope it will never change. Everyone who lives in America should be proud of their country.

[Fourth grade—second place]

WHAT ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A GOOD CITIZEN TO HIS SCHOOL, HIS FAMILY, HIS COUNTRY?

(By Amanda Prentice, Age 9)

The responsibilities of a good citizen are very important to his school, his family, and his country. There are certain responsibilities that each citizen must do, such as: keep his school and his country clean, have loyalty and respect for his flag, and have love forever for everybody and everything.

Love is a very major responsibility, and I think it is the most important thing because it shows that we care about people and our country.

[Fourth grade—third place]

WHY IS IT OUR DUTY TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY BEAUTIFUL?

(By Elena Moses, Age 9)

Why must we keep America beautiful? America is our country, and it is not right to dirty her. We must keep her grounds as beautiful as they were before man appeared. I have been seen people that finish eating, then look around for a trash can, then seeing that one is too far away for them they just throw their litter on the ground and walk away. That is wrong. We must not litter the world just because a trash can is too far away!

But there are people who care, people that will not litter just because a trash can isn't close enough for a group that is too lazy to walk.

We must learn to respect America's beauty and not ruin it by littering. So keep America clean.

[Fourth grade—fourth place]

HOW DOES GOOD SPORTSMANSHIP HELP US BECOME GOOD CITIZENS?

(By Steven Said, Age 9)

Good sportsmanship helps our country to be fair to others. We learn good sportsmanship when we play a game on the playground or at our house. We learn to do our best and not cheat. Cheating is a bad thing and can hurt a game you play or your country. Good sportsmanship will help you be fair to your mother and father, your friends, your school, and your country.

[Fifth grade—first place]

HOW CAN WE SHOW LOVE FOR OUR COUNTRY?

(By Mike Munoz, Age 10)

Love and pride are the two main things that you have to have for your country. Think about the word, "love." Do you stop and wait when the flag is being raised or lowered? Do you say the pledge to our flag when the class is saying it? These are two things you will have to remember.

Pride is another thing everybody has to have for our country. Look in a book of the colonial days and see how men died for our country and how they worked hard too. Another way to show pride is not to wear clothes made of our flag and tee shirts showing people in politics.

Love, pride—I'm sure if I have sons, I will make them show it because I know I will never forget I live in America, the greatest and the freest country to me.

[Fifth grade—second place]

THE QUALITIES OF A LEADER

(By Ricky Allen, Age 11)

What are the qualities of a leader? The qualities of a leader, I think are first wanting to be the leader of whatever it is. A leader is someone who usually is ahead of the rest.

Leading the rest of the group doesn't mean you are braver or stronger or even handsomer. All it means is that the rest thought you had the responsibility to be their leader.

Now everyone may not have wanted you for their leader. So that's why today we, in the United States, have a chance to vote for the person we think has the best qualities for president.

The United States chooses not only the president for his qualities of leadership but also the governor and representatives. Businesses also have men of leadership as president. There are many names for leaders, such as king, majesty, your honor, and president.

Leaders do their job in games, schools, banks, forts, etc. These people work hard. In games, they make sure there is no cheating. In schools, the teacher makes sure the children learn. In banks, the bankers make sure the money is safe. In forts, the general makes sure the men are in good shape.

I'm sure we all have had a chance to be a leader. If you haven't, I'm sure one day you will. When you become this leader, I hope you will think carefully about your job. I hope what I have written will help you be a better leader.

[Fifth grade—third place]

WHAT CAN YOU DO FOR YOUR COUNTRY?

(By Kevin Dashiell, Age 11)

President John F. Kennedy spoke these words, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

I can respect and love the flag. I can stick up for my country when others talk badly about it. I can stand high and tall when saying the Pledge and be proud of my country. When drafted, I can go with speed and try to go even when sick. I can write a letter about pollution and try to have the government do something to help the country. I can give to organizations that help with people, and I can join organizations and help them, such as the U.S.O.

[Fifth grade—fourth place]

HOW CAN WE SHOW LOVE FOR OUR COUNTRY?

(By Lori Self, Age 11)

Some people are careless about our country. They throw papers on the ground and write on public property. Some commit crimes and some murder others.

I would like to stop people from littering the grounds. I would like to help people know that they should not write on school property. I would like to have the privilege of carrying our beautiful flag in our assembly and showing our people that I love and respect our flag and our country.

So you see, if we try our hardest to make this country a better one, we would all be able to live much better lives. I love our flag and our country, and I am proud to be an American girl.

[Sixth grade—first place]

YOU CAN'T HAVE FREEDOM WITHOUT HAVING RESPONSIBILITY—WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

(By Brenda Kanno, Age 11)

You can't have freedom without having responsibility. This means that with freedom comes responsibility, and it is to us to fulfill this responsibility.

When our forefathers founded this country, they had many responsibilities. They had to fight for their country if they wanted to keep it. They also had to govern and guide it. Our forefathers did all this because they knew that it was their responsibility.

Now it is our turn, our responsibility, to guide, govern, and guard this country—our country. The United States is a country that is of the people, by the people, and for the people. This means that the United States' government is made of United States citizens, that it is governed by the people and it is for the people not against them.

Since the United States is all for us, we should be all for it. It is our responsibility to study and think, and if we feel that some laws should be different, we vote. We do not have to vote as someone else wants us to.

We have many other rights, but we also have an accompanying responsibility for each right. We, as our country, should at least try to fulfill those responsibilities and not abuse the laws.

[Sixth grade—second place]

WHAT ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A GOOD CITIZEN TO HIS SCHOOL, HIS FAMILY, HIS COUNTRY?

(By Linda Sadakane, Age 11)

Our responsibilities to our school are to respect everyone's belongings. We should also

respect the students, the teachers, and our principal. Out on the yard we should play the games that we are assigned, play properly, and fairly.

Our responsibilities to our family are to respect them. After all, they raised us to what we are today. They fed us, gave us shelter and clothing, and gave us their love and kindness.

To our country we should all respect the people, nature and our beautiful red, white, and blue flag. We should try our best to do no harm to the animals and to keep from destroying our trees and flowers.

We are really lucky to live here; and as long as I do, I will try to respect my school, family, and country. I hope other people will do the same!

[Sixth grade—third place]

WHAT ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A GOOD CITIZEN TO HIS SCHOOL, HIS FAMILY, HIS COUNTRY?

(By Christine Miyagishima, Age 11)

A good citizen has many responsibilities and is capable of using them well. One responsibility a good citizen has at school is respecting his teacher, other teachers in the school, and his principal. A good citizen respects these people because he or she knows that these people work very hard to teach them.

At home, a good citizen has the responsibility of helping his parents as much as he can. He should help his little brothers or sisters if they need help.

Some responsibilities a citizen has to his country are obeying the laws made by his government, not littering so that his country can stay clean and beautiful, and helping his country whenever possible.

These are just a few of the responsibilities a good citizen has to his home, his school, and his family. I think every citizen should be a good citizen and happy that they are one.

[Sixth grade—fourth place]

HOW CAN I SHOW APPRECIATION FOR THE FREEDOMS I ENJOY AS AN AMERICAN?

(By Renata Di Liscia, Age 11)

America is a great and beautiful country. Even though America has its defects, they can be taken care of with time, thought, and money.

I appreciate America for what it is. I appreciate it for what it has gone through to be free. I appreciate the rights and freedom that America has given me. I am very proud to be an American.

FROBISH HONORED

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, Voltaire once proclaimed:

Arguing with a fool proves there are two.

No one I know has had the sense nor the stamina to disagree with Nestle J. Frobish, a former constituent of mine who today receives a rare honor.

Mr. Frobish, known for his deep croaky voice and sudden leaping style of motion has been recognized by his peers as a symbol of high standards in literary creativity and the dramatic arts. The Students for a Better Society, a group of committed young writers from the University of California at Santa Cruz, has adopted a resolution urging the appropriate authorities to name the fifth college of their campus after Mr. Frobish. No longer will Mr. Frobish be the biggest frog in a small pond. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas: College V has operated for two years without an official name

Whereas: The college's main emphasis includes the literary and dramatic arts

Whereas: Nestle J. Frobish has consistently been associated with great works of fiction

Be it Resolved: That College V of the University of California at Santa Cruz take the name, Nestle J. Frobish, to honor Lyndonville, Vermont's most favorite son.

Attest:

JOHN LAIRD,
President.
CHARLES KOPPELMAN,
Vice-President I.
BOB BILEK,
Vice-President II.
DAVE TENZER,
Vice-President III.
SUE GRABOWSKI,
Ex-Officio member.

KANSANS HARVEST HISTORIC WHEAT CROP

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, Kansas farmers recently completed harvesting the greatest wheat crop in history. As Kansas Wheat Month draws to a close, I would like to take this opportunity to point out to my colleagues the importance of the wheat industry to the physical health and economic well-being of the Nation.

For thousands of years, bread and other wheat products have nourished civilizations. The importance of these products continues today, as those of you who enjoyed a piece of toast for breakfast or a delicious roll for lunch can testify.

Kansas has been America's leading wheat-producing State throughout the 20th century. It was in Kansas that our major wheat crop was introduced to this country. In 1874, Ukranian immigrants in central Kansas planted Hard Red Winter wheat for the first time. Their work began what is today a multibillion-dollar industry which feeds much of the world.

The Kansas wheat crop this year exceeds 308 million bushels. This is 20 percent of total U.S. wheat production, including spring wheat, and 27 percent of the total Hard Red Winter wheat crop.

In terms that are more easily comprehensible, this means that Kansas is supplying one of every five loaves of bread baked in the United States.

This year's crop surpassed the previous record of 307 million bushels, set in 1952. The true significance of this achievement is shown by the fact that there were 5 million fewer acres planted this year than there were 19 years ago. In 1952 the crop averaged 21 bushels per acre on 14 million acres. This year the average was 34 bushels on only 9 million acres.

This year's crop had a protein average of 12 percent, which is exceptionally high for a crop this size. The average weight per bushel set a new record of 62.4 pounds, compared to the previous high of 62.1 pounds in 1966.

These figures form a tremendous tribute to the advanced practices employed by Kansas farmers. Farmers today are more efficient than ever before in their use of both labor and capital. The proper use of fertilizer has become a science in itself.

Another important cause of increased productivity is the constant development of new varieties of wheat. This year a new type called Centurk made its first appearance. Developed by agricultural researchers at Kansas State University and the University of Nebraska, it promises to boost yields still further in the future.

It is estimated that this year's Kansas wheat crop will pump more than $400 million directly into the Kansas economy. With the multiplier effect, the net worth to Kansas and the Nation reaches several billion dollars.

The importance of wheat increases when allied fields are included. For example, Kansas leads the nation in flour milling and mill-feed products. This is a $230-million business in itself.

In 1974 we will celebrate the centennial of the introduction of hard red winter wheat into the United States. I hope that in July of that year we will be able to point with pride to another recordbreaking crop.

Let us not wait until that centennial year, however, to recognize the achievements of our farm population. Forced to operate in the face of a tremendous cost-price squeeze, the Kansas farmer continues to supply the nutritional needs of much of the world and provide a basic source of strength for our economy.

I congratulate him on his accomplishments.

HARTFORD FIREFIGHTERS DONATE BLOOD

HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an act of unparalled unselfishness which I feel is more than deserving of the recognition of this distinguished body. Forty Hartford firemen are today being bused to New York to donate their blood in a continuing effort to save the life of the wife of a fellow Hartford firefighter.

Mrs. Diana Pogg, mother of three, is in New York's Memorial Hospital where she is undergoing therapy for leukemia. She is in constant need of transfusions to replace the very important platelets, responsible for blood clotting, which are destroyed by leukemia.

This group of Hartford firefighters is

the second group to travel to New York in an attempt to save the life of Mrs. Pogg. On June 24, 75 members of the Hartford Firefighters Union, Local 760, International Association of Firefighters also went to donate their blood.

The donating of blood is such a simple gesture that it seems strange that so few people are willing to go out of their way to help someone in need. For this reason I cannot commend highly enough the unselfish dedication displayed by Hartford's firefighters at a time when it is so desperately needed.

BUSING CRISIS BRINGS OUT TRUTH ABOUT WHO RUNS NAACP

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, today's announcement that a local Maryland school board has refused to further integrate its schools—which means busing of 7,532 students from nine predominantly black schools as well as from 31 mainly white schools—has brought forth a threat from the NAACP to file suit. The Nation over, Americans are becoming more and more conscious that it is an organization calling itself the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that is constantly agitating by the use of courts to promote unpopular and unwanted causes behind the smokescreen that the NAACP is a Negro organization and knows what is best for Negro progress and advancement. In fact, it is because of this image and the fear of many good people of hurting the Negro that many who know the truth about the NAACP have hesitated to speak out.

The truth about the NAACP is that its original organizers in 1910 were all white people with the exception of W. E. B. DuBois who was a mulatto of French, Dutch, and Negro ancestry.

Since its founding in 1910, there has never been a Negro who held the position of national president of the NAACP. In fact, there have only been four presidents of what has been a very tightly knit white inner cell, controlling and exploiting its colored members. The four presidents were Morfield Storey, 1910–29; J. E. Spingarn, 1930–39; his brother, Arthur B. Spingarn, 1940–65; and Kivie Kaplan, 1966 to present.

Many Americans should find it interesting to learn that the organization which the Federal courts of this land permit to bring class actions on behalf of colored citizens does not even trust the colored people to run their own organization and to seldom handle any of the money.

With the fall school term drawing near accompanied by many threatened law suits by highly paid NAACP lawyers to demand busing of schoolchildren to achieve some imaginary goal of racial balance, the American people should look more and more at the true role of the NAACP and who is guiding its activities rather than at its many colored hired hands who are being highly paid to do the dirty work of antagonizing the white people against the colored people.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD several related news clippings; the biographies of the four NAACP presidents; the story of "How the NAACP Began," by Mary White Arrington; biographies of original NAACP founders for the information and perusal of our colleagues:

[From the Washington Daily News, July 30, 1971]

NAACP TO SUE PG SCHOOL BOARD

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People plans to file a suit today to force the Prince Georges School Board to desegregate county schools, according to Roy Lincoln, president of the NAACP Prince Georges chapter.

The group's action follows the refusal of the school board to adopt desegregation plans in a meeting last night, even tho the board was faced with a cutoff of federal funds after the federal officials concluded that Prince Georges is violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act by not further desegregating.

Mr. Lincoln said that the suit will attempt to force the school board to desegregate the entire county school system, rather than a few schools as the board had been considering.

"If, as they say, the education were equal in so many schools, we wouldn't be doing this," Mr. Lincoln said. "But the education is not equal for blacks in Prince Georges."

SCHOOL BOARD DEFIES HEW: PG WON'T INTEGRATE FURTHER

(By Phil Hilts)

The Prince Georges School Board has refused to further integrate its schools despite demands from federal civil rights officials, the threat of a federal fund cutoff and a lawsuit.

In a damp, smoky room packed with some 600 county residents last night, the school board dumped, in a 4-4 vote, a proposal to desegregate several secondary schools, and failed to take action on the school superintendent's plan to desegregate nine elementary and secondary schools.

TIES LOSE

The board took the action after receiving a letter from Stanley Pottinger, director of the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in which he said, "I have regretfully determined that the Prince Georges County public schools are not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. . . . We will have no alternative but to take formal enforcement action."

After nearly three hours of debate, discussion, and the board's action last night, board attorney Paul Nussbaum said, "As of 10:10 p.m. tonight, the next move is up to HEW. Next they may issue the formal certificate of non-compliance with the law, then we will head up the long ladder of administrative procedure before it is determined whether federal funds will be cut off."

Of the county's $150.9 million 1971-72 school budget, $12 million would come from federal sources.

Mr. Nussbaum said that the administrative proceedings, involving several appeals hearings, will take "at least a year," and thus current funds are not threatened.

FEDERAL SUIT

HEW may also begin a federal lawsuit to force Prince Georges to comply with the law.

During the night's action, the board also rejected 6–2 a proposal to ask for an immediate judicial review to determine whether the schools are violating the law.

In its July 13 meeting, the board directed the superintendent to draw up a plan to desegregate the nine predominantly black county schools which the county attorney determined are likely to be considered by a court as de jure segregated, that is, segregated by acts of an official body.

HOOTS AND MOANS

To the hoots and moans of a predominantly anti-busing crowd, Supt. Carl W. Hassel last night described the plan, which would call for busing 7,532 students from the nine schools as well as from 31 mainly white schools.

The plan noted that schedules at some 84 schools would have to be altered to accommodate the extra busing load. Since enough buses are not available to handle the load the present buses would have to double up. The new schedules would get some children to school at 7 a.m., while others would go to school at 11 a.m. and finish at 6 p.m.

. . . R-Md., said to the shouting, cheering and footstomping crowd: "We should not allow a handful of bureaucrats to dictate what we know is ridiculous . . . the desegregation plan should be rejected."

IN COMPLIANCE

Board Chairman A. James Golato said, "We have felt that we are in compliance with the law. We have no need to go to court, no need to go anywhere. If HEW does take it to court, we will fight it."

And board member Susan Mills added, "What have our children done to deserve this? Today, as a result of the insatiable appetite of a bureaucratic arm of the federal government, we as a board are considering tossing away all the positive progress made during the last 17 years."

Speakers who favor more integration and busing to achieve balance also spoke against the proposed plan.

NOT ENOUGH

J. Harrison Ager, a member of the Coalition for School Desegregation, said: "The plan should be rejected. It is the right direction, but it does not go far enough."

Last year, following intense debate and an unsuccessful lawsuit by white parents to block it, the school board, under HEW pressure, ordered desegregation of two mostly black schools, Fairmont Heights Senior High and Mary Bethune Junior High.

Since then, statistics indicate, the board has allowed so many transfers that white enrollment at Fairmont Heights, which was projected under the desegregation plan to be approximately 50 per cent white, has dropped to 21 per cent.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH: KIVIE KAPLAN, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Residence: 75 Hammond Street, Chestnut Hill 67, Mass.

Business Address: Colonial Tanning Co., Inc., 195 South Street, Boston 11, Mass.

Education: English High School, Byrant & Stratton.

Born: April 1, 1904

Married: Emily Kaplan (nee Rogers)

Children: Sylvia Kaplan Grossman (Mrs. Morton S.), Jean Kaplan Green (Mrs. Albert I.), Edward Kivie Kaplan.

FACILITIES BEARING FAMILY NAME

Admissions Office, Newton-Wellesley Hospital.

Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan Building of the Jewish Memorial Hospital.

Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan Lincoln Hall at Brandeis University.

Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan Wing of the Jewish Memorial Hospital.

Reception Hall Boston Dispensary Rehabilitation Institute.

NAACP Boston Branch Building named the Kivie Kaplan Building.

Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan Religious Ac-

tion Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Washington, D.C.

CIVIC

Honorary Treasurer, Jewish Memorial Hospital.
Director for Life, Jewish Memorial Hospital.
Chairman Endowment Fund Committee Jewish Memorial Hospital.
Finance Committee and Member of Board of Trustees Newton-Wellesley Hospital.
Member National Panel of Arbitrators, American Arbitration Assoc.
Past Board Member and Fund Co-Chairman Newton Community Chest.
Member Social Action Commission Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Member Executive Committee of Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Member of Board of Trustees of Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Past Member National Health Planning Committee Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
Recipient of the Modern Community Developers' First Annual Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award.
Recipient of the Temple Reyim Brotherhood Man-of-the-Year Award.
Treasurer of B'nai B'rith Vocational Commission.

CULTURAL AND PHILANTHROPIC

Board of Directors Hebrew Free Loan Society.
Member Executive Committee and Board of Trustees Combined Jewish Philantropies.
Past Treas. & Asst. Treas. Combined Jewish Appeal.
Past Treas. & Honorary Member Shawmut A.F. & A.M.
Director—National Board NAACP.
Member Budget Committee NAACP.
National Chairman NAACP Life Membership Committee.
Executive Committee — Boston Branch NAACP.
Past National Executive Committee Member of Legal Defense & Educational Fund of the NAACP.
Co-Founder & Life Trustee Temple Emanuel, Newton, Mass.
Life Member of the Board Brandeis University Associates.
Fellow of Brandeis University.
Trustee—The Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan Family Charitable Trust.
Past President 210 Associates, Inc.
Recipient of T. Kenyon Holly Award for outstanding humanitarian services in Civic, Cultural and Philanthropic Fields.
Past Treasurer Roxbury Cemetery Asso.
Men of Vision Award from Bonds for Israel Committee.
Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, Portia Law School.
Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.
Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humanities, Lincoln University, Lincoln, University, Pennsylvania.

[From Current Biography 1965]

ARTHUR BARNETT SPINGARN

Mar 28, 1878—Attorney; former organization official.

Address: b. 36 W. 44th St., New York 36; h. 60 Gramercy Park, New York 10010.

Many of America's most significant gains in integration have been achieved through court rulings obtained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose president from 1940 through 1965 was Arthur B. Spingarn. A New York lawyer, Spingarn for many years directed the legal defense work of the NAACP. He was vice-president of the 500,000-member biracial organization from 1911 to 1940.

A native New Yorker, Arthur Barnett Spingarn was born on March 28, 1878 into a wealthy and socially prominent Manhattan family. His father, Elias Spingarn, born in Austria, had been in the tobacco business since 1861 and was a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce. His mother was the former Sarah Barnett. There were three other sons in the family. Arthur's older brother was Joel Elias Spingarn, the noted scholar, author, and literary critic. Deferring to his father's wishes, Arthur Spingarn prepared for the practice of law. He was awarded his B.A. degree in 1897 from Columbia College and his M.A. degree in 1899 from Columbia University. In 1900, after obtaining his LL.B. degree from Columbia Law School, he was admitted to the New York bar.

Early in his career as a New York attorney, Spingarn was asked to try a civil rights case that was destined to shape the course of his entire life. The indecency, inhumanity, and injustice he witnessed during the progress of this trial filled him with an indignation that he has felt repeatedly in his almost sixty years of service in the cause of the American Negro. Both he and his brother Joel Spingarn were active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from its founding.

The NAACP, the most influential and the oldest civil rights group in the United States, came into being in 1909, the centennial year of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Its formation was prompted by Mary White Ovington, a white woman who had carried on extensive research into the plight of Negroes in New York's slums. Miss Ovington, with William English Walling, a Southern liberal journalist, and Henry Moskowitz, a social worker, took the first step toward organizing the national Negro committee. This committee became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People when, on Lincoln's birthday in 1909, a "Call to Action" was issued by a group of distinguished political, educational, and social leaders. The purpose of the new association was "to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States . . . to advance the interest of colored citizens." Its immediate aim was to stem the spread of Jim Crow laws, lynching of Negroes, race riots, and mob violence, all of which had reached frightened dimensions at that time.

During the first years of the NAACP, there was no money for paid employees, including a legal staff. Arthur Spingarn offered his services as the association's counsel and contributed his time, knowledge, and experience without cost. The first case he tried before the Supreme Court, shortly after he became affiliated with the new organization, was a white primary case. In winning it, he succeeded in establishing the right of Negroes to vote in primary elections in the state of Texas. From 1911 to 1940 he was chairman of the national legal committee of the NAACP, and for seventeen years, beginning in 1940, he served without salary as president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. He won many Supreme Court victories in civil rights cases that made legal history and contributed significantly to establishing racial equality.

In discussing his early years with the NAACP, Spingarn recalls that the newspapers of the time were largely unsympathetic and used to describe the meetings of the association as wild sex orgies.

For almost thirty years, from 1911 to 1940, Arthur Spingarn was also a vice-president of the NAACP. His brother meanwhile was serving as treasurer, from 1919 to 1930, and as president, from 1930 until his death in 1939. Joel Spingarn had founded the Spingarn Gold Medal in 1913 to honor annually an American Negro for outstanding accomplishment. The award is supported by a fund that Joel Spingarn set up "to perpetuate the lifelong interest" of his wife, Amy E. Spingarn, his brother, and himself in the achievements of the Negro.

When Arthur Spingarn was elected president of the NAACP by the association's board of directors on January 2, 1940, he was the third person to hold the office. The president preceding Joel Spingarn had been the well-known Massachusetts attorney and former head of the American Bar Association. Moorfield Storey, who led the NAACP from 1911 until 1929. In his acceptance speech President Arthur Spingarn said that he took office "with mixed feelings of humility and pride; humility at the thought of the impossibility of measuring up to the high standards set by my two illustrious predecessors . . . and pride at succeeding such great champions of human justice and at being given the opportunity of heading what I conceive to be one of the most constructive forces in American life today." He said that the real test of American democracy was the manner in which minority groups were treated throughout the country, and he expressed the fear that the democratic ideal was facing serious threats around the world.

"I trust," the new president went on, "that so long as I shall be its president, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will never in the slightest degree swerve from its courageous, militant and intelligent struggle to obtain for the Negroes of the country their full manhood rights and each and every privilege awarded to all Americans by the Constitution of the United States."

Spingarn's leadership of the NAACP became increasingly nominal and was challenged by militant factions in the association, who wanted a Negro in office. Bowing to what he called "the temper of the times," he agreed to remain in office only through the end of 1965.

Although Arthur Spingarn's major interest has always been the NAACP, he has held positions of importance in other organizations and has distinguished himself in other fields. His book, *Laws Relating to Sex Morality in New York City*, was first published in 1915 by the Century Company and was republished in a revised edition in 1926. He is the author of many articles on both legal and racial subjects and of an introduction to the book *African Saga* (Payson & Clarke, 1927), a translation by Margery Bianco of *L'anthologie Nègre*. He has been chairman of the legal committee of the social hygiene division of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, a member of the Mantattan council of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, and a member of the legal committee of the New York Probation Association. He is a member and past post commander of the American Legion, having served as a captain in the United States Army from 1917 to 1919.

On January 27, 1918 Arthur B. Spingarn married Marion Mayer, a social worker and an enthusiastic supporter of the NAACP. They worked together in behalf of Negro equality until her death in 1958. Spingarn, an octogenarian, is white-haired and portly; he stands five feet seven inches tall and has brown eyes. His political party is the Democratic. In 1941 Howard University awarded him an honorary degree in recognition of his service to the American Negro.

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[From the New York Times, July 27, 1909]

J. E. SPINGARN DIES; AUTHOR AND CRITIC—OUSTED HEAD OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT AT COLUMBIA ALSO A POET—FOUGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS—SOLDIER DURING WAR, FOUNDER OF PUBLISHING FIRM AND NOTED HORTICULTURIST

Joel E. Spingarn, former Columbia University professor, died yesterday in his home,

110 East Seventy-eighth Street, after a long illness.

In a lifetime of sixty-four years, he had established careers not only as university professor and literary scholar, but also as poet, soldier, horticulturist and uncompromising critic in diverse fields.

He was one of the post-war leaders in the critical attack on "academic dry rot," but before the war, as head of the Department of Comparative Literature at Columbia in 1911, he came into conflict with President Nicholas Murray Butler after publicly defending the right of faculty members to a private life. The particular application which Professor Spingarn made of this principle was to the embarrassing situation in which a faculty colleague then found himself in a breach-of-promise suit.

Dr. Butler denied that his dispute with Professor Spingarn had anything to do with this defense of a colleague, as he notified Professor Spingarn that he was "relieved from further academic duties." A man of independent wealth, Professor Spingarn accepted the dismissal with little apparent reluctance, and, in 1936, he gave a cocktail party to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the occasion.

CAMPAIGN FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

Among his other advocacies was full manhood rights for Negroes. He helped to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was chairman of the board, 1913–19; treasurer, 1919–30, and president since 1930.

In 1913 he established the Spingarn Medal, which has been awarded annually since then to "the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship who has made the highest achievement during the preceding year in any honorable field." The latest award, earlier this month, was to Marian Anderson, Negro contralto, in a presentation made at Richmond, Va., by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It was largely through Mr. Spingarn's efforts that the training camp for Negro officers at Des Moines was established and about 1,000 Negro officers commissioned during the World War. It remained one of his great satisfactions that the "social emancipation" of the Negro had progressed so noticeably that he could make a speech about Negroes in the City Club of St. Louis in 1935 and have the Mayor follow him; whereas he could remember that in 1914 his attempt to make such a speech resulted in a walk-out of all the members, stamping their feet.

At the outbreak of the World War he was commissioned a major at the first officers' camp in Madison Barracks, and served two years both in the United States and in the A.E.F. At his death he was a lieutenant colonel of the reserve. He was a delegate to the first convention that established the American Legion and was the first commander of the Legion post at Amenia, N.Y., where Troutbeck, his country home, is located.

RESTORED CLEMATIS TO FAVOR

He pursued another of his ardent causes at Troutbeck—the cultivation of the clematis. This climbing vine, which he called "incomparably suited to drape a trellis or hide the bareness of a new house," attracted his attention during a visit to England in 1927. On his return he tried to get some of it in the United States to plant it in his garden.

He was infuriated, as he said, or at least disgusted, to find that this vine, which used to be the American favorite in the middle of the last century, had been allowed to disappear. He thereupon set out to make the United States clematis conscious once more—and, as his campaign grew successful, he added a supplementary educational effort to have clematis pronounced properly, with the accent on the first, not the second, syllable.

His present collection of clematis at Troutbeck is recognized as the largest in the world. It contains more than 250 species, more than twice as many as the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, England. He exhibited them at horticultural shows throughout the country, and seldom delivered a lecture or a speech without slipping in a reference to clematis. The Garden Clubs of America gave him a gold medal. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society awarded him the Jackson Dawson Medal. He was a member of the board of managers of the New York Botanical Garden.

In the field of scholarships, he was chiefly responsible for introducing to the American critical conscience the Italian, Benedetto Croce, and his principle that art is not a limited form of expression, but all expression is art.

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER

J. E. Spingarn, as he preferred to call himself, without "Professor" or "Doctor" before the name, was born in New York on May 17, 1875, son of Elias Spingarn, a merchant, and of Mrs. Sarah Barnett Spingarn. He attended Columbia and Harvard Universities, receiving the degrees of A.B. and Ph.D. He became assistant in comparative literature at Columbia in 1899, adjunct professor in 1904, professor in 1909 and head of the department in 1911.

He was a newspaper publisher from 1911 to 1926 as owner of The Amenia Times. In 1919 he was one of the founders and literary adviser of Harcourt, Brace & Co., publishers, from which firm he retired in 1932.

His first book, "A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance," appeared in 1899 and has been frequently reprinted. His other published writings include "The New Criticism," "The New Hesperides and Other Poems," "Creative Criticism" and "Poetry and Religion." He edited several other works and contributed to "Civilization in the United States," the Dictionary of American Biography, the Cambridge History of English Literature, Taylor's Garden Dictionary and wrote the American chapter in Ernest Markham's "Clematis." He also founded a movement for rural recreation, 1905–10.

In 1908 he was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth New York District. He was also a delegate to the Progressive National Conventions of 1912 and 1916. Despite his lifelong association with the Republican and Progressive parties, he became an enthusiastic supporter of the New Deal and made countrywide addresses on behalf of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Surviving are his widow; two sons, Stephen J. and Edward D. W.; two daughters, the Misses Hope and Honor Spingarn; his mother and three brothers.

[From the Dictionary of American Biography]

MOORFIELD STOREY

(Mar. 19, 1845–Oct. 24, 1929), lawyer, author, publicist, was born in Roxbury, Mass., the son Charles William and Elizabeth (Moorfield) Storey. Both his parents were of colonial stock, his earliest paternal ancestor having come to Ipswich about 1635. About 1800 the spelling of the name was changed to agree with the spelling of an English branch of the family with which relationship was assumed. Storey attended the Boston Latin School and Harvard College, receiving the degree of A.B. from the latter institution in 1866, and proceeding to its law school. In October 1867, however, he was offered the position of clerk to the United States Senate committee on foreign relations in effect the office of secretary to its chairman, Charles Sumner [*q.v.*] and, as the duties of this post were considered technically equivalent and superior as training to the methods usual at that time of preparing for the practice of law, he accepted it. As a result he was closely connected in an official capacity with the attempt to impeach President Andrew Johnson [*q.v.*]. In May 1869 he left Washington to study law in the office of Brooks and Ball in Boston, also securing an appointment as clerk in the office of the district attorney of Suffolk County.

He qualified as a member of the bar on Aug. 28, 1869, and in October, when the position of assistant district attorney fell vacant, he was promoted to that office. From June 1871 until October 1873 he practiced law with his father; he then returned to the office of Brooks and Ball as a partner. The firm he joined was regarded as the most active one in Boston in the practice of commercial law, and he quickly acquired a reputation that eventually grew to be international in range. Firms with which he was associated as a leading member were in the front rank for nearly fifty years. His own branch was the management of litigation, in which he was conspicuously successful, but his office also achieved high repute for the value of its opinions and the thoroughness with which its instruments were drafted. He once stated that he could remember only one instance in which an opinion given by his office as to the validity of bonds was overruled, and that was by a Texas decision that overruled nearly every lawyer in the country and had to be corrected by the legislature.

Though he was eminently successful as a lawyer, in politics he usually met with failure, indifference, or a success that earned him much dislike and suspicion and little in the way of gratitude or popularity. He was a crusader against political corruption, and because he attributed it to them, he attacked Benjamin Franklin Butler and James Gillespie Blaine [*qq.v.*], even opposing a memorial statute to Butler years after his death, and leading the Mugwumps in their desertion of Blaine for Cleveland in 1884.

He was a leader in the Anti-Imperialist League that opposed United States ownership of the Philippines; he espoused the cause of the colored people (*Guinn* vs. *United States, 238 United States Reports, 347; Buchanan* vs. *Warley, 245 United States Reports, 60; Moore* vs. *Dempsey, 261 United States Reports, 86*), and defended the rights of the American Indian. He served many years (1877–88, 1892–1910) on the Board of Overseers of Harvard, and successfully opposed the granting of honorary degrees to Governor Butler and President McKinley. In 1900 he dallied with the possibility of running for president or vice-president on the third party ticket, and when that came to nothing, he was a candidate for Congress as an independent, but received only a few votes. He wrote something like eighty pamphlets or articles, and innumerable public letters, in addition to seven books, which include *Charles Sumner* (1900), *Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar* (1911) with E. W. Emerson, *The Reform of Legal Procedure* (1911), *Problems of Today* (1920), *and The Conquest of the Philippines* (1926). With the exception of some that were legal, historical, or biographical, most of his writings were on subjects on which feeling ran high or in which only a minority was interested. But not all his opinions, even when they were severely critical, were neglected or coldly received, for a speech before the American Bar Association in 1894 on the inefficiency and corruption of American legislatures made such a favorable impression that he was elected president of the organization the next year, and he was on the conservative side in the controversy over Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Venzetti [*qq.v.*].

Though he was often called a Puritan, he did not deserve that designation if being a Puritan means, as some say it does, frantic striving to abolish everything the dour cannot trust themselves to indulge in moder-

ately or to practise gracefully, for he lacked neither social nor intellectual accomplishments, and he had a sense of the ridiculous, which the true Puritan never has. He advocated unpopular causes effectively, being a good lawyer, and, though he may have attached more importance to the abstract than to the actual, he was honest and courageous in public affairs. He unquestionably exerted considerable influence on the development of commercial law in America. On Jan. 6, 1870, in Washington, D.C., he married Gertrude Cutts, who died in 1912. There were five children, four of whom, with grandchildren and great-grandchildren, survived him. He died in Lincoln, Mass., and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

[*Who's Who in America*, 1926–27; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Portrait of an Independent, Moorfield Story, 1845–1929* (1932); J. T. Morse, in *Harvard Grads.' Mag.*, Mar. 1930; J. W. Allen, in *Am. Bar Asso. Jour.*, Feb. 1930; obituary in *Boston Transcript*, Oct. 25, 1929.]

HOW THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE BEGAN

(By Mary White Ovington)

[As originally printed in 1914]

(National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is five years old—old enough, it is believed, to have a history; and I, who am perhaps its first member, have been chosen as the person to recite it. As its work since 1910 has been set forth in its annual reports, I shall make it my task to show how it came into existence and to tell of its first months of work.

In the summer of 1908, the country was shocked by the account of the race riots at Springfield, Illinois. Here, in the home of Abraham Lincoln, a mob containing many of the town's "best citizens," raged for two days, killed and wounded scores of Negroes, and drove thousands from the city. Articles on the subject appeared in newspapers and magazines. Among them was one in the *Independent* of September 3d, by William English Walling, entitled "Race War in the North." After describing the atrocities committed against the colored people, Mr. Walling declared;

"Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North." And he ended with these words, "Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation, and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?"

It so happened that one of Mr. Walling's readers accepted his question and answered it. For four years I had been studying the status of the Negro in New York. I had investigated his housing conditions, his health, his opportunities for work. I had spent many months in the South, and at the time of Mr. Walling's article, I was living in a New York Negro tenement on a Negro street. And my investigations and my surroundings led me to believe with the writer of the article that "the spirit of the abolitionists must be revived."

So I wrote to Mr. Walling, and after some time, for he was in the West, we met in New York in the first week of the year 1909. With us was Dr. Henry Moskowitz, now prominent in the administration of John Purroy Mitchell, Mayor of New York. It was then that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was born.

It was born in a little room of a New York apartment. It is to be regretted that there are no minutes of the first meeting, for they would make interesting if unparliamentary reading. Mr. Walling had spent some years in Russia where his wife, working in the cause of the revolutionists, had suffered imprisonment; and he expressed his belief that the Negro was treated with greater inhumanity in the United States than the Jew was treated in Russia. As Mr. Walling is a Southerner we listened with conviction. I knew something of the Negro's difficulty in securing decent employment in the North and of the insolent treatment awarded him at Northern hotels and restaurants, and I voiced my protest. Dr. Moskowitz, with his broad knowledge of conditions among New York's helpless immigrants, aided us in properly interpreting our facts. And so we talked and talked voicing our indignation.

Of course, we wanted to do something at once that should move the country. It was January. Why not choose Lincoln's birthday, February 12, to open our campaign? We decided, therefore, that a wise, immediate action would be the issuing on Lincoln's birthday of a call for a national conference on the Negro question. At this conference we might discover the beginnings, at least, of that "large and powerful body of citizens" of which Mr. Walling had written.

And so the meeting adjourned. Something definite was determined upon, and our next step was to call others into our councils. We at once turned to Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the N.Y. Evening Post Company. He received our suggestions with enthusiasm, and aided us in securing the cooperation of able and representative men and women. It was he who drafted the Lincoln's birthday call and helped to give it wide publicity. I give the Call in its entirety with the signatures since it expresses, I think, better than anything else we have published the spirit of those who are active in the Association's cause.

"The celebration of the Centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, widespread and grateful as it may be, will fail to justify itself if it takes no note of aid, makes no recognition of the colored men and women for whom the great Emancipator labored to assure freedom. Besides a day of rejoicing, Lincoln's birthday in 1909 should be one of taking stock of the nation's progress since 1865.

"How far has it lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by the Emancipation Proclamation? How far has it gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our American institutions and are guaranteed by the Constitution?

"If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged. He would learn that on January 1, 1909, Georgia had rounded out a new confederacy by disfranchising the Negro, after the manner of all the other Southern States. He would learn that the Supreme Court of the United States, supposedly a bulwark of American liberties, had refused every opportunity to pass squarely upon this disfranchisement of millions, by laws avowedly discriminatory and openly enforced in such manner that the white men may vote and black men be without a vote in their government; he would discover, therefore, that taxation without representation is the lot of millions of wealth-producing American citizens, in whose hands rests the economic progress and welfare of an entire section of the country.

"He would learn that the Supreme Court, according to the official statement of one of its own judges in the Berea College case, has laid down the principle that if an individual State chooses, it may 'make it a crime for white and colored persons to frequent the same market place at the same time, or appear in an assemblage of citizens convened to consider questions of a public or political nature in which all citizens, without regard to race, are equally interested.'

"In many states Lincoln would find justice enforced, if at all, by judges elected by one element in a community to pass upon the liberties and lives of another. He would see the black men and women, for whose freedom a hundred thousand of soldiers gave their lives, set apart in trains, in which they pay first-class fares for third-class service, and segregated in railway stations and in places of entertainment; he would observe that State after State declines to do its elementary duty in preparing the Negro through education for the best exercise of citizenship.

"Added to this, the spread of lawless attacks upon the Negro, North, South, and West—even in the Springfield made famous by Lincoln—often accompanied by revolting brutalities, sparing neither sex nor age nor youth, could but shock the author of the sentiment that 'government of the people, by the people, for the people; should not perish from the earth.'

"Silence under these conditions means tacit approval. The indifference of the North is already responsible for more than one assault upon democracy, and every such attack reacts as unfavorably upon whites as upon blacks. Discrimination once permitted cannot be bridled; recent history in the South shows that in forging chains for the Negroes, the white voters are forging chains for themselves. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand'; this government cannot exist half-slave and half-free any better to-day than it could in 1861.

"Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

This call was signed by: Jane Adams, Chicago; Samuel Bowles (Springfield *Republican*); Prof. W. L. Bulkley, New York; Harriet Stanton Blatch, New York; Ida Wells Barnett, Chicago; E. H. Clement, Boston; Kate H. Claghorn, New York; Prof. John Dewey, New York; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Atlanta; Mary E. Dreier, Brooklyn; Dr. John L. Elliott, New York; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Rev. Francis J. Grimké, Washington, D. C.; William Dean Howells, New York; Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York; Prof. Thomas C. Hall, New York; Hamilton Holt, New York; Florence Kelley, New York; Rev. Frederick Lynch, New York; Helen Marot, New York; John E. Milholland, New York; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Prof. J. G. Merrill, Connecticut; Dr. Henry Moskowitz, New York; Leonora O'Reilly, New York; Mary W. Ovington, New York; Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, New York; Louis F. Post, Chicago; Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, New York; Dr. Jane Robbins, New York; Charles Edward Russell, New York; Joseph Smith, Boston; Anna Garlin Spencer, New York; William M. Salter, Chicago; J. G. Phelps Stokes, New York; Judge Wendell Stafford, Washington; Helen Stokes, Boston; Lincoln Steffens, Boston; President C. F. Thwing, Western Reserve University; Prof. W. I. Thomas, Chicago; Oswald Garrison Villard, New York *Evening Post;* Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, New York; Bishop Alexander Walters, New York; Dr. William H. Ward, New York; Horace White, New York; William English Walling, New York; Lillian D. Wald, New York; Dr. J. Milton Waldron, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Rodman Wharton, Philadelphia; Susan P. Wharton, Philadelphia; President Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke College; Prof. Charles Zueblin, Boston.*

It was thus decided that we should hold a conference, and the next two month were busily spent arranging for it. Among the

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*Since the first printing in 1914 it has been discovered that the following persons were also signers of the original call:

Roy Standard Baker, New York; Rev. Walter Laidlow, New York; Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Washington; Mrs. Henry Villard, New York; Mayor Brand Whitlock, Toledo; and Rev. M. St. Croix Wright, New York.

men and women who attended those first committee meetings were, Bishop Alexander Walters, Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, Mr. Alexander Irvine, Dr. Owen M. Waller, Mr. Gaylord S. White, Miss Madeline Z. Doty, Miss Isabel Eaton, besides many of the New York signers of the Call. It was agreed that the conference should be by invitation only, with the one open meeting at Cooper Union. Over a thousand people were invited, the Charity Organization Hall was secured, and, on the evening of May 30th, the conference opened with an informal reception at the Henry Street Settlement, given by Miss Lillian D. Wald, one of the Association's first and oldest friends. The next morning our deliberations began.

We have had five conferences since 1909, but I doubt whether any have been so full of a questioning surprise, amounting swiftly to enthusiasm, on the part of the white people in attendance. These men and women, engaged in religious, social and educational work, for the first time met the Negro who demands, not a pittance, but his full rights in the commonwealth. They received a stimulating shock and one which they enjoyed. They did not want to leave the meeting. We conferred all the time, formally and informally, and the Association gained in those days many of the earnest and uncompromising men and women who have since worked unfalteringly in its cause. Mr. William Hayes Ward, senior editor of the *Independent*, opened the conference, and Mr. Charles Edward Russell, always the friend of those who struggle for opportunity, presided at the stormy session at the close. The full proceedings have been published by the Association.

Out of this conference we formed a committee or forty and secured the services of Miss Frances Blascoer, as secretary. We were greatly hampered by lack of funds. Important national work world present itself which we were unable to handle. But our secretary was an excellent organizer, and at the end of a year we had held four mass meetings, had distributed thousands of pamphlets, and numbered our membership in the hundreds. In May, 1910, we held our second conference in New York, and again our meetings were attended by earnest, interested people. It was then that we organized a permanent body to be known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its officers were:

National President, Moorfield Storey, Boston; Chairman of the Executive Committee, William English Walling; Treasurer, John E. Milholland; Disbursing Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Executive Secretary, Frances Blascoer; Director of Publicity and Research, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The securing of a sufficient financial support to warrant our calling Dr. DuBois from Atlanta University into an executive office in the Association was the most important work of the second conference.

When Dr. DuBois came to us we were brought closely in touch with an organization of colored people, formed in 1905 at Niagara and known as the Niagara Movement. This organization had held important conferences at Niagara, Harpers Ferry, and Boston, and had attempted a work of legal redress along very much the lines upon which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was working. Its platform, as presented in a statement in 1905, ran as follows:

Freedom of speech and criticism.

An unfettered and unsubsidized press.

Manhood suffrage.

The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.

The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.

The recognition of the highest and best training as the monopoly of no class or race.

A belief in the dignity of labor.

United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

In 1910 it had conducted important civil rights cases and had in its membership some of the ablest colored lawyers in the country, with Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, who has since worked with our Association, on the Baltimore Segregation acts, as its treasurer.

The Niagara Movement, hampered as it was by lack of funds and by a membership confined to one race only, continued to push slowly on, but when the larger possibilities of this new Association were clear, the members of the Niagara Movement were advised to join, as the platforms were practically identical. Many of the most prominent members of the Niagara Movement thus brought their energy and ability into the service of the Association, and eight are now serving on its Board of Directors.

Our history, after 1910, may be read in our annual reports, and in the numbers of THE CRISIS. We opened two offices in the *Evening Post* building. With Dr. DuBois came Mr. Frank M. Turner, a Wilberforce graduate, who has shown great efficiency in handling our books. In November of 1910 appeared the first number of THE CRISIS, with Dr. DuBois as editor, and Mary Dunlop MacLean, whose death has been the greatest loss the Association has known, as managing editor. Our propaganda work was put on a national footing, our legal work was well under way and we were in truth, a National Association, pledged to a nation-wide work for justice to the Negro race.

I remember the afternoon that THE CRISIS received its name. We were sitting around the conventional table that seems a necessary adjunct to every Board, and were having an informal talk regarding the new magazine. We touched the subject of poetry.

"There is a poem of Lowell's," I said, "that means more to me to-day than any other poem in the world—'The Present Crisis.'"

Mr. Walling looked up. "The Crisis," he said. "There is the name for your magazine, THE CRISIS."

And if we had a creed to which our members, black and white, our branches North and South and East and West, our college societies, our children's circles, should all subscribe, it should be the lines of Lowell's noble verse, lines that are as true to-day as when they were written seventy years ago:

[From the New York Times, July 16, 1951]

MARY W. OVINGTON, 86, AIDED NEGROES IN U.S.

BOSTON, July 15.—Miss Mary White Ovington, a leader in the fight for equality for Negroes, died today in Auburndale at the home of her sister, Mrs. E. W. Kingsbury. She was 86 years old.

Miss Ovington was a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. During her life, she traveled extensively, lecturing on behalf of the Negro. She retired in 1947, when she published an autobiography, "The Walls Came Tumbling Down," a record of her work.

Born in Brooklyn, Miss Ovington attended the Brackett School and Parker Institute. She studied for two years at Radcliffe College and then opened a settlement house in the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn. Her work with the N.A.A.C.P. began in 1909.

Her other published works include "Half a Man," a novel about Negroes, and "Portraits in Color," a collection of biographies of outstanding Negroes.

Miss Ovington was a daughter of the late Theodore T. Ovington, co-founder of the 105-year-old firm of Ovington's at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street.

She was chairman of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. for ten years, and served as treasurer for several terms.

[From the Dictionary of American Biography, supplement II]

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

(Mar. 14, 1877–Sept. 12, 1936), labor reformer and socialist, was born in Louisville, Ky., the first of two sons of Willoughby and Rosalind (English) Walling and a grandson of William Hayden English [*q.v.*], Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1880. Walling was educated in private schools in Louisville and Edinburgh, Scotland, where his father, a physician, was for four years United States consul. In 1897 he received a B.S. degree for the University of Chicago. He studied briefly at the Harvard Law School and then took graduate work in economics and sociology at Chicago.

A man of independent means, Walling devoted his life from the age of twenty-three to the labor movement. In 1900–01 he was a factory inspector of the State of Illinois, and for the next four years he was a resident of the University Settlement in New York City's lower East Side. At the 1903 convention of the American Federation of Labor he joined with Jane Addams [*q.v.*], Mary O'Sullivan, and others in founding the National Women's Trade Union League.

From immigrant friends in New York Walling acquired an interest in the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905 he went to Russia to study it and remained there for the better part of two years, interviewing most of the leading revolutionary figures, including Lenin and Gorky. Upon his return to western Europe he wrote *Russia's Message* (1908). While in Europe he married Anna Strunsky, a socialist and writer who had collaborated with Jack London [*q.v.*], at Paris in June 1906. They had four children who grew to maturity: Rosamond English, Anna Strunsky, Georgia, and William Hayden English.

In 1908 Walling and his wife observed a race riot in Springfield, Ill., and soon afterwards Walling published two articles on race relations in the North in the *Independent*. At the suggestion of Mary White Ovington, a social worker interested in the problem of the Negro, he called a series of meetings in his New York apartment to discuss the formation of an organization to work for Negro rights. From these meetings there grew the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was in time to become the foremost Negro organization in the United States.

Meanwhile Walling had become active in Socialist circles, though he did not actually join the party until 1910. In 1909 he set off a sharp fight between the radical and conservative wings of the party when he accused a group of Socialist conservatives—Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit [*qq.v.*], Algie M. Simons, and Robert Hunter—of secretly planning to convert the party into a reformist labor party. His charges, which apparently had some foundation, plunged the party into a quarrel that did not abate until the most radical group was expelled at the 1912 convention. Walling himself remained a member of the Socialist party until 1917, when he resigned because of its antiwar policy. Although he declined President Wilson's offer of a place on the special diplomatic mission to Russia headed by Elihu Root [*q.v.*] in 1917, Walling vigorously supported the war and was extremely critical of the Socialist pacifists.

Even when he had been in the left wing of the Socialist party and associating with syndicalists, Walling had devoted considerable time to assisting the American Federation of Labor. He did whatever was asked of him, perhaps because he believed it would have been arrogant of him as a middle-class person to try to tell labor leaders how to conduct their affairs. After the war he worked full-time for the A.F.L., writing for the *American Federationist* and ghost-writing speeches and articles. In 1924 he ran for Congress in Connecticut on the Democratic and Progressive tickets. In 1935 he became executive director of the Labor Chest, an organization for the relief and liberation of workers in fascist countries. He died in 1936, of pneumonia and endocarditis, in Amsterdam, Holland, where he had insisted on going, despite a serious heart attack, to keep

an appointment with a group of underground anti-Nazi Germans. His ashes were returned for burial in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind.

World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution had a profound and conservative effect upon Walling as they had upon many other progressives of his generation. Early in his career he had believed that trade unionism and reform were sufficient to bring the kind of society he thought America needed. By the time he wrote *The Larger Aspects of Socialism* (1913) and *Progressivism—And After* (1914) reform had become to him only a necessary, but desirable, step toward socialism. The failure of the Second International, however, and the anti-democratic and anti-libertarian aspects of the communist revolutions led him back to his earlier reformist position. By 1921 Walling was collaborating with Samuel Gompers [*q.v.*], whose labor reformism he had once held insufficient, in an anti-Soviet book, *Out of Their Own Mouths.*

[Other books by Walling include: *Socialism as It Is* (1912), *Whitman and Traubel* (1916), *Am. Labor and Am. Democracy* (1926), and *The Mexican Question* (1927); see also his "The Founding of the N.A.A.C.P." *The Crisis,* July 1929. Anna Strunsky Walling, *et al., William English Walling: A Symposium* (1938); *N. Y. Times,* Sept. 13, 1936; interviews with Mrs. Walling.]

DAVID A. SHANNON.

[From Current Biography, 1940]

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Mar. 13, 1872—Journalist.

Address: h. Thomaston, Connecticut.

On June 29, 1940 Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory to *The Nation* was published nearly 47 years after his first contribution appeared in that magazine. His retirement was precipitated he says, "by the editors' abandonment of *The Nation's* steadfast opposition to all preparations for war, to universal military service, to a great navy, and to *all* war, for this in my judgment has been the chief glory of its great and honorable past."

In the 47 years that Oswald Garrison Villard has been associated with *The Nation* he has fought for peace, he has fought for civil liberties, he has fought for the rights of the underprivileged. His platform has been "to be opposed to war, to hold no hate for any people; to be determined to champion a better world; to believe in the equality of all men and women; and to be opposed to all tyrants and all suppression of liberty of consciense and beliefs."

A list of the causes for which Villard battled covers most of the major controversies of the late nineteenth and of the twentieth centuries. He worked to improve the status of the Negro and was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; he lifted his voice for the emancipation of women; he struggled to keep America out of the Spanish-American War; he fought long and hard to keep America out of the First World War and later sought to secure just treatment of Germany; he battled for the conscientious objectors in that War and for the victims of the Espionage Act and Palmer's Red Raids; always he attacked tariffs, trusts, Wall Street, corrupt politics. Today he is again fighting to keep America at peace.

More often than not Villard was fighting a lost cause—one commentator said that "Villard had a genius for choosing the unpopular side of every issue." More often than not it cost him dearly to fight it. To some there has always been a touch of the dilettante reformer about him—he is "the aristocrat of liberalism." To others he has been a surviving voice of an "old fashioned democratic liberalism, a genuine liberalism which they feel can alone preserve democracy through the ominous and regimented years ahead." But this liberalism to which Villard has been devoted has also been called "an inadequate weapon, for pacificism and passivism are not enough," and Max Lerner says that hard as he fought, Villard had "no clear outlines of a conception of social causation, a theory of history, a program of action."

Most of Villard's outspoken liberalism appeared in *The Nation,* which he received from his father, Henry Villard. Henry Villard came to America as a refugee from Germany unable to speak a word of English. Within five years he was reporting the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He became one of Horace Greeley's bright young men on the New York *Tribune,* explored the West and married the daughter of the famous abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison.

Within thirteen years Henry Villard had become president of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and two years later of the Northern Pacific Railroad which he completed in 1883. He and his wife gave their son Oswald, born in Wiesbaden, Germany, a legacy "compounded of New England abolitionism, the German Revolution of '48 and Northern Pacific Railroad shares."

Oswald Garrison Villard's was a "boyhood of wonder and hope," made up of New York in the '80s, country life at Dobbs Ferry, trips across the wild West on the Northern Pacific, journeys to Europe and Harvard from which he received his B.A. in 1893 and his M.A. in 1896, and at which he was an assistant in the history department from 1894 to 1896. From Harvard young Villard went to Philadelphia where he spent half a year as reporter for the Philadelphia *Press.* From there he went, in 1897, to the New York *Evening Post* which his father had bought, together with *The Nation* which thereafter served as its weekly literary supplement, in 1881.

As editorial writer and president of the *Post,* Villard had "a sharp nose for news and an extraordinary talent, amounting almost to genius, for presenting it in a manner that would attract attention in places of power." He and his paper came out strongly against the Spanish-American War and played a large part in uncovering the insurance scandals and corruption in the New York legislature. "Single handed he drove Senator Allds, acting Lieutenant Governor of the state, out of public office." He and his paper came out strongly for Wilson. Villard who was an early admirer of Wilson, also supported him for the Governorship of New Jersey and in 1912 and in 1916 for the Presidency. When Wilson was nominated Villard said "my joy was greater than that I have ever felt over any political happening."

In Wilson, Villard saw the best promise of the liberal spirit and in Wilson, Villard found his greatest disillusionment. "I have long since come to believe," he said once, "that it would have been better for the country had Champ Clark been nominated." Always a strong pacifist, Villard fought against our entrance into the War and as late as 1921 had to be smuggled out of Cincinnati by the police after a speaking engagement before the American Legion of the town could get him. His wife, Julia Breckinridge Sandford, whom he married in 1903, and his children suffered all the discomforts of ostracism.

A staunch independent like Villard, running a staunchly independent paper like the New York *Evening Post,* making no concessions to the popular mood of the moment, had a hard row to hoe. By July 1918 Villard had sold the *Post,* while retaining *The Nation* which he edited and owned until 1932.

The Nation under Villard in the 1920's was avowedly and outspokenly a fighting, muckraking magazine. Villard wrote then: "I had the complete satisfaction of molding my historic journal according to my exact wishes and beliefs." After the War *The Nation* worked at getting the Allies out of Russia; it called for a just peace of reconciliation and for tolerance and fair play. Villard dashed into Germany in 1919 and furnished his magazine with evidence of starvation under the blockade; it denounced the Versailles Treaty; it urged the freedom of Eire. This was called "treason" and "Bolshevism" by many and there were batches of cancellations from "grieved and scandalized oldest subscribers."

Villard's financial and intellectual independence made him a thorn in the side of other journals. The *Times* and the *Tribune* "pursued him with inveterate hate," and the *Times* went so far as to describe *The Nation* as "if not actually Bolshevik, so near it that the distinction is not visible to the naked eye." Villard was unperturbed. He continued his "infectious moral indignation," and his paper had then, and continued to have, a power far beyond its circulation.

In 1932 he and others contributed to *The Nation's* support and in 1935 it was sold. But from 1933 until June 1940 each week, "In sickness or health, whether I was here or in Europe," Villard's *Issues and Men,* was a weekly feature of the journal.

During these years of editorship Villard wrote a number of books, three of them about Germany. *Germany Embattled* appeared in 1915; *The German Phoenix* in 1933 and in 1940 he wrote *Within Germany,* a firsthand account of conditions under Hitler in which he pulled no punches. He has written *John Brown, 1800–1859: a Biography Fifty Years After* (1910); *Some Newspapers and Newspaper-men* (1923); *Prophets True and False* (1928). In 1939 two books by him appeared: *Our Military Chaos,* a sharp criticism of our defense policy, and *Fighting years,* a personal narrative and a record of contemporary history, a "brave, fine story," which has been compared by some with Lincoln Steffens' *Autobiography.* In it is a record of his life as a fighting liberal; in it is his philosophy. And part of his philosophy is this: "I have never been able to work happily with men or women who are incapable of hot indignation at something or other—whether small or big, whether it stirred me personally or not, if only it was *something.*"

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[From Who Was Who In America, vol. 1]

JOHN ELMER MILHOLLAND

Businessman, writer; b. Lewis, N.Y., May 30, 1860; s. John and Mary Ann (Moore) M.; student New York U.; m. Jean Torry. Was with New York Tribune 12 yrs. as reporter, corr., polit. adviser, business rep. and editorial writer. Organized 1st Nat. Conv. for placing primary elections under the law; settled strike difficulty between New York Tribune and the typographical unions after 15 yrs. duration; an organizer of the McKinley League and the Hughes League; with others established International Union Club, London, 1898, which championed the Boers' cause; speaker and writer in presenting measures for defense of negroes' constitutional rights, prison reform, federal aid to edn., cutting down of Southern representation in Congress; etc. Active in World's Race Congress, London, 1911; helped to inaugurate Saturday half holiday in America; built systems which carried first mail and parcels

underground in New York and other cities; started movement that led to the saving and rebuilding of old Ft. Ticonderoga. Supervising insp. of immigration at New York under President Harrison. Republican, Presby. Home: New York City and Lewis, N.Y. Died June 29, 1925.

[From the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.]

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Walter White, former Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated in 1932 that Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois was one of the "chief molders of modern thought regarding the Negro."

DuBois was born on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, of French, Dutch, and Negro ancestry. He entered Fisk University, a Negro school in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1885. Admitted as a sophomore, DuBois studied philosophy, the classics, and physical science. After graduation from Fisk in 1888, he continued his studies at Harvard. A grant made it possible for DuBois to study history and sociology at the University of Berlin from 1892 to 1894. He received the Ph.D at Harvard in 1895. His dissertation was *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870*. It was published in 1896 as the first volume in the *Harvard Historical Studies*.

Dr. DuBois taught classics at Wilberforce University at Xenia, Ohio, from 1894 to 1896. He was on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania from 1896 to 1897, where he made a study of Negroes in Philadelphia. He taught sociology at Atlanta University from 1897 to 1910. During this period of teaching, DuBois published widely his research findings in Negro sociology.

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In 1961, Dr. DuBois joined the Communist Party. His letter of application to the Party's General Secretary opens as follows:

"To GUS HALL,
"*Communist Party of the U.S.A.*,
"*New York, N.Y.*

"On this first day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled."

DuBois proceeds to review the development of his political perspectives.

After mentioning earlier periods in his life he continued:

"Finally in 1926, I began a new effort: I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926 [1928?], 1936, 1949, and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then, this summer, I rested a month in Rumania.

"I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time. I saw Scandanavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France and Germany developed in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime.

"Today I have reached a firm conclusion:

"Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

"Communism—the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute—this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach—it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help to bring that day.

"The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land. It will call for:

"1. Public ownership of natural resources and of all capital.

"2. Public control of transportation and communications.

"3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.

"4. No exploitation of labor.

"4. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.

"6. Free education for all.

"7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.

"8. Discipline for growth and reform.

"9. Freedom under law.

"10. No dogmatic religion.

"These aims are not crimes. They are practiced increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends."

In 1962, Dr. DuBois moved to Ghana, where he settled at Accra and became director of the *Encyclopedia Africana*. He became a citizen of that country the following year. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, had been associated in the Pan-African movement. DuBois died on August 27, 1963.

Early in 1963, shortly before DuBois died, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, visited him at Accra. McGill reported their conversation. Dr. DuBois gave no indication in this conversation that he had changed his mind about Communism since joining the Party.

H.R. 10174, TO REQUIRE THE USE OF RECYCLED PAPER IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, July 28, I introduced H.R. 10174, a measure which would require the use of recycled paper in the production of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which is published each day that Congress is in session, uses approximately 5,000 tons of newsprint each year. Since 17 trees are required to manufacture 1 ton of paper, 85,000 trees would be saved by switching to recycled paper.

Not only would this measure save our forest, it would save the Government money. One hundred percent recycled newsprint costs $7.50 a ton less than virgin newsprint.

Many prestigious newspapers have already taken this step. The McClatchy Newspapers, the Washington Post, the Baltimore Sun, and the New York Daily News are among those newspapers which have switched to recycled paper.

I have begun filling my stationery needs with recycled paper, and will use it as much as possible for news releases, questionnaires, and other purposes.

By using recycled paper, we are also reducing the solid waste problem. Tons of paper clog our dumps, litter our highways, and are burned to fill the air with noxious smoke.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, in order to save a portion of our forests, reduce government expenses, and eliminate a part of our solid waste problem, I urge the Congress to switch to recycled paper for the production of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the July 25, 1971, issue of the New York Times carried a guest column by the veteran supporter of Communist causes, Corliss Lamont, entitled "The Cassandras in America." Although stating the self-evident fact that fears of a trend toward fascism in the United States are unrealistic and unfounded, as was to be expected Mr. Lamont manages to get in his licks against "the widespread brutality of city police," the witch-hunt investigating committees of Congress, typified by the House Un-American Activities Committee—now the House Internal Security Committee—and other issues which are discussed by the Daily World, the Communist publication, on a regular basis.

Mr. Lamont is identified as an author and as chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which is the present name of the old Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, cited as a Communist front in 1959 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee's citation reads:

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. "* * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material."

"Frank Wilkinson was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 Wilkinson was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at the time to answer the allegation, his reply to all question was, 'I am answering no question of this committee.' This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * Wilkinson has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail."

"Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that

a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists. * * *"

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

The ECLC was but one of a long list of Communist fronts and causes to which Mr. Lamont has lent his name. His writings have been carried and advertised by Communist publications dating back to the 1930's. Regardless of any legitimate claims that can be made for the NECLC at the present time in the area of civil liberties, the bias and lack of objectivity of Mr. Lamont is readily apparent.

In the interest of the public's right to know—a cause fervently exposed by the New York Times in the issue of the Pentagon Papers—it is indeed unfortunate that the Times could not have appraised the public of Mr. Lamont's long history of radical and leftist propensities.

The column, "The Cassandras in America," follows:

THE CASSANDRAS IN AMERICA

(By Corliss Lamont)

The cry of calamity is contagious. Repeatedly in the public prints and in conversation, we have read and heard that fascism or neofascism is just around the corner for the United States. This shadow flung across the immediate future portends a police state with rigid censorship, suppression of all opposition, a one-party system and complete nullification of our democratic procedures.

It is true that during the last two or three years American democracy has been disgraced by a number of recent events: the wholesale jailing, for instance, of some 13,000 antiwar demonstrators, most of them illegally arrested, in Washington, D. C., in May, 1971; the widespread brutality of city police; the shooting of students at Kent State, Ohio, and Jackson, Mississippi; the proliferation of lists of "subversives" by government agencies, both Federal and local, and the passage of repressive new laws such as the antiriot provisions of the Civil Rights Act and the clearly unconstitutional provisions in the Crime Control Act and the Drug Control Act.

But are these the symptoms of a creeping or leaping fascism? I think not.

The Cassandras who respond to such dismal facts by crying "fascism is coming" are forgetful or ignorant of American history. Certainly the civil-liberties crisis today is serious. But as a vigorous supporter of the Bill of Rights for some forty years, I am aware that some sort of civil-liberties crisis is almost always with us. The current situation is not nearly as grim as after World War I and the Russian Revolution, when the notorious Palmer raids took place; or as during the fifties when there was a spate of anti-freedom legislation and McCarthyism was blighting almost every area of our culture.

Those fearful of a fascist take-over also overemphasize the negative and overlook the considerable gains American democracy has achieved in recent years. The witch-hunt investigating committees of Congress, typified by the House Un-American Activities Committee (now the House Internal Security Committee), are less of a menace today. Much progress has been made toward full constitutional rights for the Negroes and other racial minorities, including the all but total disappearance of lynching. The courts, especially the U.S. Appeals Courts and the Supreme Court, have in general lent support to the Bill of Rights over the last decade.

It is possible that an Appeals Court or the Supreme Court, even with Mr. Nixon's appointees, will reverse the conviction of the Chicago Seven and declare unconstitutional the anti-riot statute under which they were held guilty. Indicative of the Supreme Court's stance on civil liberties was its recent decision that The New York Times and The Washington Post could not be restrained by the United States Government from publishing the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war.

In New York City in May, 1971, a jury acquitted thirteen Black Panthers of conspiracy to murder policemen and to commit other violence, while in New Haven the same month the Government dropped its prosecution of Panther leader Bobby Seale for conspiracy to murder.

Those who are haunted by the spector of fascism also do not consider that certain rightist tendencies may well represent one of those temporary swings of the political pendulum typical of our history. Much of today's reactionary legislation is an overreaction to student riots and the seizure of college buildings, to the senseless bombings by the Weathermen and right extremists, and to the murder of considerable numbers of policemen year after year.

Finally, the capitalist class in the United States does not need a fascist regime in order to maintain its dominance. The radical and revolutionary movements are weak and disunited. A large majority of the trade unions are conservative, and are actually part of the Establishment. We shall always no doubt have with us crackpot rightist and superpatriotic groups yelling about the "Communist conspiracy," but I do not see in the offing any constellation of forces that could put fascism across here.

With all the factors in American life that violate or threaten democratic principles, they still do not add up to a clear and present danger of fascism. True, things could change drastically. But crying wolf meanwhile dangerously confuses the situation. If the conviction grows that fascism is here or almost here, unrealistic retreat may spread. The sound position is for us never to quail in fright of an alleged fascist threat, but always to stand fast and do battle for freedom.

BIG BUS BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the number of editorials in favor of my position of opposition to the big bus bill, H.R. 4354, is increasing. The latest one I have received is the one contained in today's Washington Evening Star. The editorial follows:

OBESE BUSES

The country is having to learn the painful way that bigger isn't necessarily better, and Congress has been of little help in controlling the grotesque inflation of about everything. It has, for example, allowed trailer trucks on the nation's highways to grow much too large for the safety and sanity of the motoring public. (The truckers disagree and want authorization for still larger ones.) And now the House has passed a bill that would permit the operation of wider buses on interstate routes.

Some practical-sounding arguments were offered by the proponents. It seems for instance that about 22,000 buses wider than the present interstate limit have been manufactured and already are operating on many state roads and city streets (including District of Columbia streets). Perish the thought that all those shall be denied the use of the interstate highways, some congressmen said.

Also, the advocates maintained, buses must be wider so that wider seats can be installed, so that the highway congestion problem can be solved. "We have but one purpose, and that is to make bus travel more comfortable and convenient for commuters, so they will leave their cars at home," said Representative James C. Wright Jr. of Texas. But surely a seat an inch or so wider wouldn't make all that much difference to a short-haul commuter.

Then there was the argument that the bill only calls for six-inch widening of buses, and who is going to quibble about six inches? Representative Schwengel of Iowa did, explaining that this would add 13,000 pounds to the weight of the vehicle. Nor, he said, is the potential road hazard factor to be sniffed at.

Anyway, this would undeniably be more of the creeping congestion that has advanced by two inches here and six inches there until it has become almost suffocating. If this bill passes, will the bus manufacturers begin making a dream cruiser six inches wider than the new legal interstate limit, and when enough of those accumulate will their very numbers be used to justify another stretching of the limit? That seems almost predictable.

And is this just a prelude to another attempt to increase truck sizes and weights? That's denied, but some of the House pleaders for larger buses are among those who have in the past advocated bigger trucks. A truck-enlargement bill was squelched in the last Congress, and we hope the Senate will give similar treatment to this bus proposition.

NIXONOMICS: THIRD VERSE: THINGS GET BETTER WHEN THINGS GET WORSE

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me a few moments to express my appreciation to our able Secretary of the Treasury and that fascinating young storyteller at the White House, the President's news secretary.

This week we received more than our usual share of depressing news on the economy; the 1971 budget deficit will be $23.24 billion when the President earlier predicted a surplus of more than a billion dollars; our foreign trade posture is slumping faster than the stock market; economic indicators fell last month for the first time since last October.

Now, all this impressed me as a pretty dark picture especially since the White House has again underestimated Federal revenues, this time by nearly $6 billion for fiscal 1971.

Therefore, you can understand my profound sense of relief when our Secretary of the Treasury spoke to assure all that these figures were, in fact, good news.

That is right, good news.

He said in a joint statement with our distinguished Secretary of Labor that—

For the third year in a row, a full-employment balance or surplus had been achieved . . . after three successive years of full-employment deficit totaling more than $40 billion.

What this means is that if we had full employment in the economy instead of 6

percent unemployment, we would not have run a $23.24 billion deficit, but would actually have had a surplus of $2.5 billion.

Now, I really do not understand why this is good news, but if it satisfies the Secretary of the Treasury, a man who is supposed to know these things, then it should certainly be reassuring to those of us who thought the economy was steadily deteriorating.

Then, just in case there might be slight doubt lingering in my mind as to how well things are going, that able young advertising executive of the White House Press Office immediately removed this possibility.

He termed, according to a report in the July 29 Wall Street Journal, the 1971 budget picture "a healthy thing."

Thus, with this reassurance, despite every outward indication that the administration has demonstrated an ineptness at handling national fiscal and monetary policy that has not been evident since the Hoover administration, I am certain that we will all sleep better at night knowing that the classical economic theory, "Nixonomics," is working smoothly.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article "Fiscal 1971 Deficit of U.S. Budget was $23.24 Billion" in the RECORD at this point. I commend it not only to the attention of my colleagues, should any of them have missed the "good" news from the administration this week, but also to those millions of Americans who are currently enjoying this Republican prosperity on extended vacations made possible by the disappearance of their jobs under the policies of this administration. It will also be reassuring to the millions of other Americans who are faced with the possibility of similar Republican prosperity vacations; to the millions of Americans who live on fixed incomes which are being eaten up weekly by inflation, and to the millions of investors in the market where confidence in the economy is so great that the bottom has not dropped, at least not yet.

Hopefully, we will all remember and express our proper gratitude in November of 1972.

The article follows:

FISCAL 1971 DEFICIT OF U.S. BUDGET WAS $23.24 BILLION

WASHINGTON—The federal budget ran a whopping $23.24 billion deficit in the fiscal year that ended June 30 as revenue fell almost $6 billion short of the Nixon administration estimate.

This fiscal 1971 shortfall follows a deficit of $2.85 billion the previous fiscal year and is the second largest budget deficit since World War II, trailing only the $25.16 billion of red ink in fiscal 1968.

Top administration officials, however, emphasized that if the economy had been operating at "full employment" throughout the last fiscal year, the budget would have run a surplus of $2.5 billion. Officials generally consider "full employment" to mean a jobless rate of about 4%, but throughout fiscal 1971 the unemployment rate exceeded 5% and rose as high as 6.2%.

FULL-EMPLOYMENT BALANCE

"For the third year in a row, a full-employment balance or surplus had been achieved . . . after three successive years of full-employment deficit totaling more than $40 billion," Treasury Secretary John B. Connally and George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, said in a prepared statement.

At the White House, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler called the fiscal 1971 budget results "a healthy thing." Mr. Ziegler said that the important thing was "not the deficit per se" but the fact that the budget was in "full-employment" balance.

But Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien said the "tremendous increase" in the deficit is "another indication of the abysmal failure of the Nixon economic policy. Caused primarily by a shortfall in tax revenue resulting from the sluggish economy, the Nixon deficit will do little to help get the economy moving and could do much to push up interest rates and kill off what little economic recovery we already have," Mr. O'Brien charged.

Revenue in fiscal 1971 totaled $188.33 billion, down nearly $5.9 billion from the administration's January estimate of $194.19 billion and even below the $193.74 billion in fiscal 1970. Outlays for the past fiscal year totaled $211.57 billion, below the January projection of $212.76 billion but up from the previous year's $196.59 billion.

DEFICIT IS PLAYED DOWN

Despite the optimistic official pronouncements, it was evident the administration sought to play down the budget deficit. Unlike last year, no press conference was held to announce the results.

When President Nixon first submitted the fiscal 1971 budget, in February 1970, he noted that he "pledged to the American people that I would submit a balanced budget for 1971," and he went on to project a slim surplus of $1.3 billion. But several months later the administration changed this to an estimated $1.3 billion deficit for fiscal 1971, and then last January forecast an $18.6 billion deficit.

The final budget figures show that fiscal 1971 spending was almost $11 billion higher than the initial administration estimate of $200.77 billion while receipts fell almost $14 billion short of the $202.10 billion forecast in January 1970.

THIS YEAR'S OUTLOOK

The administration also has shown a general reluctance to discuss this fiscal year's budget outlook. Although the official deficit estimate for the year that started July 1 is still $11.6 billion; many congressional and other analysts believe the deficit will reach at least $20 billion. Thus, the administration seems almost assured of registering the largest two-year deficit total since World War II.

One high budget official, however, said the administration is still aiming for a full-employment budget balance in fiscal 1972, although many economists doubt even this is possible. This budget official also said it should be possible to "substantially reduce" the deficit in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1972, because the administration expects the economy will be moving closer to so-called full employment by then, which would produce a spurt in receipts.

More than 90% of the revenue shortfall for the January estimate, the administration said, was due to a lag in income-tax receipts. Corporate income-tax receipts fell $3.3 billion below the January estimate, while individual income-tax revenue was $2.1 billion lower than expected.

This resulted primarily from a more sluggish economic performance in the first half of this calendar year than had been anticipated, some administration officials conceded.

A number of small reductions in spending more than offset a $1.2 billion increase in defense outlays from the January estimate. The largest reductions were $441 million less in outlays by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (net mortgage purchases by the Government National Mortgage Association, urban renewal outlays and Model City grant disbursements all were lower than expected), and a $387 million reduction in outlays of the Agriculture Department's Commodity credit Corp.

SOVIET MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT—PART II

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I have previously discussed the recently released General Accounting Office report on "Comparison of Military Research and Development Expenditures of the United States and the Soviet Union." An article in the July 30, 1971, Washington Post, "Pentagon Claim of Arms Gap Is Questioned," describes some of the major conclusions of the report.

The GAO report refers to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1969–70. The SIPRI Yearbook, published in November 1970, contains a very informative and perceptive section on "US Estimates of Soviet Expenditures for Military Research."

In March 1971 I requested Dr. John D. Holmfeld of the Science Policy Research Division of the Congressional Research Service to comment on the SIPRI analysis. Additional memoranda by Randall Forsberg, the author of the SIPRI section, and Dr. Holmfeld have helped to clarify some of the problems involved in trying to estimate Soviet military research and development and highlighted the difficulties of making meaningful comparisons between the Soviet Union and the United States.

During the House Armed Services Committee hearings on the military procurement authorization bill I asked Dr. John Foster, the director of defense research and engineering, for his comment on the SIPRI Yearbook's critique of DOD's estimates. Dr. Foster replied that the SIPRI analysis is—

Based on data available to the author as of mid-1970. The data consisted of published budget data and unclassified statements by various officials up to that time. As such, the analysis should be expected to have significant limitations. The SIPRI conclusion that valid estimates of Soviet research and development are not possible—with that data base—is probably correct. Missing data includes the dollar pricing of the space program, the quantification of technological positions with time for space and military R.D.T. & E., the manpower and facilities crosschecks, and an appreciation of the overall magnitude of the Soviet effort. The analysis is remarkable in its deduction of the U.S. estimating techniques, however. The techniques had not been published as of that date.

I agree with Dr. Foster that the SIPRI

study is "remarkable for its deduction of the U.S. estimating techniques" and I have seen nothing that convinces me that SIPRI's criticism of these techniques is not essentially correct. Much of the "missing data" that Dr. Foster refers to is still under a veil of secrecy and its accuracy and pertinence remains to be independently evaluated and publicly discussed. Until, for example, the Defense Department and the CIA are willing to declassify their studies of the dollar pricing of the Soviet space program, one should retain a skeptical attitude toward DOD's data and methodology.

Today and on subsequent days I will place in the RECORD studies that may indicate grounds for continued skepticism about the alleged "R&D Gap." I insert Michael Getler's article in the July 30, 1971, Washington Post and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook study and additional papers by Dr. John Holmfeld of the Congressional Research Service and Randall Forsberg of SIPRI:

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, July 30, 1971]

PENTAGON CLAIM OF ARMS GAP IS QUESTIONED

(By Michael Getler)

The General Accounting Office has told military committees in Congress that it has "reservations" about Pentagon claims that the Soviet Union is outspending the United States by $3 billion a year on new weapons research.

The Congressional investigative agency was asked on April 1 by a House Armed Services subcommittee to look into a new Pentagon analysis presented during budget hearings in March. It warned of a potentially dangerous gap in military research and development (R&D) work opening up between the two nations.

The results of an unreleased GAO investigation, sent to the chairmen of seven congressional committees this week, indicate that the agency was hampered in its attempt at independent analysis by Pentagon secretiveness as well as the scarcity of reliable budget information published by the Soviets.

"According to Department of Defense officials," the GAO study notes, "their conclusion regarding increased Soviet Union R&D funding was based primarily on intelligence reports. With one exception these reports were not available to us."

Summing up its findings for the legislators working on the Pentagon's own R&D budget request, GAO reported two main conclusions:

"On the basis of the limited information available to us," GAO said, "we believe that extreme secretiveness by the Soviet Union results in data which are insufficient for a realistic measurement of its military R&D efforts."

Commenting on the techniques used by the Pentagon to make its comparison, GAO concluded that "Although we believe the Defense Department methodology with its limited data base may be useful in indicating trends and the apparent magnitude of the Soviet Union military R&D threat, we have reservations as to its usefulness in quantifying relative efforts or spending gaps between the countries."

Attempts to estimate how much money the Russians are really putting into secret military research have been a source of considerable but generally quiet attention and dispute for many years among Kremlinologists here.

The new Pentagon analysis, presented publicly to Congress, touched off considerably more debate and brought the issue more into the open. The Pentagon analysis estimates that the Russians are now pumping $10 billion a year into military R&D, compared with about $7 billion annually in this country.

The Pentagon's chief scientist, Dr. John S. Foster Jr., calls the new study "an impressive pioneering attempt" to resolve these questions. Even with the problems of accurately converting rubles to dollars and of Soviet budget concealments, Foster maintains that the Pentagon figures are accurate within 10 to 20 per cent.

If the Pentagon is correct, then the United States could conceivably be surprised by a new weapon gap suddenly opened by the Russians. If the Pentagon is wrong, as the GAO suggests it might be, then millions of dollars in future defense expenditures might be safely spent in other areas.

Testifying before Congress, Foster said he was not presenting the new analysis to make the Soviets look "10 feet tall" or to ask Congress to match the $3-billion difference. Rather, Foster said, "all this is presented as background to provide an understanding of the current situation and give some indication of what the U.S. has to do in the future if it is to cope with the problem."

The Pentagon's most immediate goal is to stop a three-year downtrend in military R&D. This year's budget includes an $800 million increase in this category.

The GAO says that any Soviet-American R&D budget comparisons are also complicated by several other factors:

Inclusion in the Soviet budget of funds for activities that are largely financed in the United States by private corporations and sources other than the federal government.

The GAO disputed the Pentagon's assessment of the level of defense-related research in this country. GAO estimates that when these other sources of finance are counted, the total should be increased by about $1 billion.

Uncertainties in converting rubles to dollars. GAO cited unclassified estimates of realistic exchange ratios which range from $1.30 to $3.50 a ruble. The Pentagon used a $2 rate.

Differences in methods, especially in the use of manpower and equipment.

Differences in innovating approach between a centrally planned economy and a competitive market economy.

The reported inferiority of some scientific facilities and equipment in the Soviet Union, especially the lack of highly advanced computers for research work.

SIPRI YEARBOOK OF WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENT 1969/70

U.S. ESTIMATES OF SOVIET EXPENDITURES FOR MILITARY RESEARCH—INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

No official information about expenditure for military research and development (R & D) is published in the Soviet Union. However, US Department of Defense officials have recently presented estimates of the level of Soviet spending on defence-related R & D and of the trend in this expenditure over the past decade. They have suggested, on the basis of these estimates, that the United States defence research and development effort has been overtaken by the Soviet effort.

No sources are given for the official US estimates. This section therefore looks at the unofficial studies published in the United States which have either dealt with the problem of estimating Soviet military R & D expenditure, or simply attempted to provide an estimate. The problem is raised in studies which attempt to estimate total Soviet military expenditure because many US experts believe that R & D expenditure is partially or entirely excluded from the official Soviet defence budget. They therefore try to identify the non-defence budget sources of finance for military R & D, and to get an estimate to add on the official defence expenditure figure. The question of military R & D expenditure is also raised in studies of Soviet science statistics, and of the total Soviet R & D effort, civil as well as military.

All the unofficial US studies which estimate Soviet military R & D expenditure derive their estimates from the Soviet science statistics. It is noticeable that the authors who make a detailed analysis of these statistics[1] give either no estimate at all, or a rough order-of-magnitude estimate only. Furthermore, the difficulties of the Soviet science data are such that the two order-of-magnitude estimates given by these authors diverge considerably: one is twice as great as the other. The conclusion drawn from the evidence presented in the unofficial studies is that reliable estimates of Soviet military R & D expenditure cannot be inferred from Soviet science data.

It seems probable, however, that the official US estimates are in fact derived from the Soviet science statistics. The trend in the US estimates parallels almost exactly the trend of the official Soviet figures for science expenditure. The implication of this is that these estimates have a very wide margin of error—much wider than that which is claimed for them.

The unofficial US studies and official US statements examined in this section are set out in table 1D.1. The evidence given in three of the studies (sources [1]–[3]), on the likely channels of finance and magnitude of Soviet military R & D expenditure, is reviewed first, in some detail. These studies draw on statements of Soviet budgetary authorities, and on Soviet scientific manpower data, for their conclusions about the portion of Soviet science expenditure which goes to military R & D. The remaining unofficial studies, which use the Soviet science data without detailed analysis of the original Soviet materials, are then treated more briefly.[2] The last part of this section discusses the question of the sources and methods of the official US estimates of Soviet military R & D expenditure.

Unofficial studies with detailed analysis of Soviet science data: Nimitz (1963), Korol (1965), Lee (1969)

THE SOURCES

Nimitz, Korol and Lee (table 1D.1, sources [1], [2] and [3]) are concerned with Soviet military R & D outlays from different points of view. Only Nimitz is interested in military R & D expenditures per se; most of her study is concerned with certain Soviet science expenditures which are presumed to consist largely of expenditures for defence-related R & D. Korol's book on *Soviet research and development* discusses primarily data on the organization and manpower of Soviet R & D; and only one chapter out of eight deals with science expenditure data. Here Korol touches on the financing of military R & D briefly in a discussion of Soviet expenditures for science and in a "speculative digression" on total Soviet R & D expenditure. Lee is concerned to construct an estimate of total Soviet expenditures for "national security"; and he attempts to locate military R & D expenditures not included in the official defence budget, in order to include them in his total national security expenditure estimate.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 1D.1.—ANNOTATED LIST OF SELECTED U.S. SOURCES GIVING ESTIMATES OF SOVIET MILITARY R. & D. EXPENDITURE

Sources	Estimate
A. Unofficial studies giving estimates based on detailed analysis of original Soviet data:	
1. Nimitz, Nancy. Soviet expenditures on scientific research. (Rand memorandum RM-3384-PR, prepared for the U.S. Air Force.) Santa Monica, Calif: Rand Corp., 1963	Expenditure for "classified" R. & D. (rubles) 1950–1961; supposed to be largely defence R. & D. expenditure.
2. Korol, Alexander. Soviet research and development: its manpower, organization and funds. (Prepared under the auspices of the U.S. National Science Foundation.) Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965	Minimum level of expenditure for "secret" R. & D. (rubles) 1950–1962 and possible total military-space R. & D. expenditure 1950 and 1956.
3. Lee, W. T. and S. A. Anderson, Probable trend and magnitude of Soviet expenditures for national security purposes. (Strategic Studies Center research memorandum SSC-RM 5205-54, prepared for Office of the Chief of Research and Development, U.S. Army.) Menlo Park, Cal: Stanford Research Institute, 1969	Military-space R. & D. portion of total Soviet science expenditures (rubles) 1956–65; supposed to be a part of total Soviet military-space R. & D. expenditure.
B. Other unofficial studies:	
4. Godaire, J. G. The claim of the Soviet military establishment. In Dimensions of Soviet economic power, studies prepared for the use of the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office (GPO), 1962	Military-space R. & D. portion of total Soviet science expenditures (rubles) 1950–62; supposed to be a part of total Soviet military-space R. & D. expenditure.
5. Sosnovy, Timothy. The Soviet military budget In Foreign affairs, 42:3 (April 1964)	Expenditure for research in the military field (rubles) 1964.
6. Becker, Abraham. Soviet military outlays since 1955. (Rand memorandum RM-3886-PR, prepared for the U.S. Air Force.) Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corp., 1964.	Military R. & D. expeditures (rubles) 1955–62.
C. Official statements by Dr. John S. Foster, U.S. Director of Defense Research and Engineering:	
7. Statement on the fiscal year 1970 Defense research, development, test and evaluation program. [Nonclassified version.] (Reprinted in Department of Defense appropriations, Part 5; Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 91st Cong., 1st sess., Washington: GPO, 1969, pp. 729–825.)	Military-space R. & D. expenditure (dollars) 1969, and recent trend in military-space R. & D. expenditure.
8. Testimony in Hearings on military posture 1969, part 1. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, 91st Cong., 1st sess. Washington: GPO, 1969. Pp. 2224–2226	Military-space R. & D. expenditure (dollars) 1969–70.
9. Statement on the fiscal year 1971 Defense research, development, test and evaluation program. [Non-classified version.] (Reprinted in Hearings on military posture 1970, Part 2: Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, 91st Cong., 2d sess., Washington: GPO, 1970, pp. 7945–7963.)	Military-space R. & D. expenditure (dollars) 1970; and trend in military-space R. & D. expenditure 1960–1970 and recently.
10. Speech before the American Newspaper Publisher's Association, 23 April 1970, New York. (Extracts reprinted in Aviation week and space technology, 97:17 (27 April 1970), p. 13.)	Military-space R. & D. expenditure (dollars) 1970; recent trend in military space R. & D. expenditure, and share of total R. & D. and space expenditure.

THE ESTIMATES

None of the three investigators attempts to give a precise estimate of total Soviet military R & D expenditure. Korol, who is least concerned with these particular outlays, is most vague: he suggests that a certain Soviet series may represent the "minimum level" of outlays for "secret" R & D, and that there are additional expenditures for "secret" development work. Nimitz gives an estimate for "classified" R & D expenditures, which explicitly cover some "civilian research of the highest priority" in addition to defence-related R & D. Lee estimates the military-space R & D component within Soviet expenditures for science, and he says that substantial military R & D outlays are excluded from this estimate. Both Nimitz and Lee explicitly state, furthermore, that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant a precise estimate of Soviet military R & D outlays. Lee introduces his study with the following reservation:

"The study does not provide insight into Soviet expenditures for major military missions . . . No information on the allocations of the USSR explicit defence budget to missions, forces, procurement, . . . and so forth, is published, and there appears to be no way to arrive at such a distribution from the open source data. The best one can hope for is a reasonable approximation of *total* outlays for all explicit and implicit national security purposes. (Italic added.)"

Nimitz, who is directly concerned with defence R & D outlays, concludes her discussion of "classified" R & D expenditures with the brief comment: "The type of evidence considered in this memorandum does not permit us to estimate how much [of the "classified" R & D outlays] is addressed to defence problems."

With careful reservations, the three studies do, nevertheless, suggest upper and lower limits to total Soviet military R & D expenditure. All three examine various categories of expenditure in the Soviet State Budget and the national science expenditure data; and all identify certain categories as likely channels of finance for military R & D, and other categories as unlikely channels. The categories identified as likely channels set an upper limit to total military R & D expenditures if they are assumed to cover all military R & D, and a lower limit if they are assumed to cover some but not all. The main categories of expenditure in the consolidated State Budget of the USSR and in the published Soviet series of total national science expenditure are outlined in table 1D.2: the italized categories are those identified, in one or more of the three studies, as likely channels of finance for military R & D.[3]

Nimitz, Korol and Lee agree that at least some military R & D expenditure is channeled through "budget expenditures for science", and, within this category, through "All-union" rather than "Republican" expenditures. Nimitz and Korol present series of All-union military-related R & D expenditure for 1950–1961 and 1950–1962 respectively. These series are based on the division of All-union expenditures between "itemized" and "unitemized" expenditures which can be derived from Soviet data for the period 1950–1957 (see the note to table 1D.2). Nimitz and Korol conclude, on the basis of different evidence, that unitemized All-union expenditures represent outlays for "classified" or "secret" R & D, while itemized outlays cover civil R & D only. The estimates from 1958 on are extrapolated, on the assumption that expenditures for "classified" R & D take the same portion of All-union science expenditures in later years as in 1957 (75 per cent).[4] Lee suggests that, within All-union science expenditures, both civil and military R & D outlays are included both in the unitemized and in the itemized parts; and he presents a series of All-union military-related R & D expenditures for 1956–1965, which is derived by taking an arbitary percentage (70 to 80 per cent) of All-union science expenditures (both itemized and unitemized).

Nimitz suggests that the series of All-union expenditures for classified R & D represents an upper limit to total Soviet military R & D expenditures.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 1D.2.—CATEGORIES OF EXPENDITURE IN (1) THE SOVIET STATE BUDGET AND (2) THE SOVIET SERIES OF NATIONAL SCIENCE EXPENDITURE

Main categories	Subsections	Subdivisions
(1) Soviet State Budget:		
1. Defense.[1]		
2. Financing the national economy: [1]	A. Industry.[1]	
	B. Agriculture.	
	C. Transportation etc.	
3. Social-cultural measures:	A. Health.	
	B. Social security etc.	
	C. Enlightenment:	i. General education.
		ii. Vocational education.
		iii. Higher education [1] etc.
		iv. Science.[1]
4. Administration.		
(2) Soviet expenditures for science:		
1. Budget expenditures for science (= 3.C.iv.):	A. All-union expenditures: [1]	(i. Itemized outlays).
		(ii. Unitemized outlays).[1]
	B. Republican expenditures.	
2. Other expenditures for science: [1]	A. Enterprises' and economic organizations' own funds.	
	(?B. Other expenditures: Possibly expenditures through other State Budget categories than "science").	

[1] Category is identified by either Nimitz, Korol, or Lee as a possible source of finance for defense R&D.

Note: 'Budget expenditures for science' are the outlays shown in the State Budget under the heading 'science'. For the period 1950–57, 'Republican expenditures for science' and a part of 'All-union expenditures for science' are distributed among a number of type-of-expenditure categories in a 1958 Soviet Ministry of Finance publication (Rashody na social 'nokul'turnye meroprijatija po gosudarstvennomu bjudzetu SSSR [Expenditures for Social and Cultural Measures In the State Budget of the USSR]): 'unitemized' All-union expenditures for science are the residual All-union expenditures which are not included in the type-of-expenditure breakdown given in this publication. 'Other expenditures for science' are obtained by subtracting announced Budget expenditures for science from announced total science expenditures. The composition of these 'other expenditures' and the extent to which they may be financed through other State Budget categories than 'science' are uncertain. A portion of 'other expenditures' is definitely financed not through the Budget, but through deductions from enterprises' incomes and funds.

Very small additional military R & D expenditures may be included, according to Nimitz, in "other expenditures for science" and in State funds budgeted to "higher education"; but the bulk of defense-related R & D is covered by All-union unitemized expenditures for science. Both Korol and Lee conclude that there are very substantial additional military R & D expenditures, not included in the all-union science budget at all. Korol suggests that the series of All-union expenditures for secret R & D represents the minimum level of military-related R & D expenditures, and that the major nonwage costs of military development work—the costs of the expensive equipment, prototypes and testing—are probably excluded altogether from the published series of total science expenditure. Total military-related R & D expenditures are suggested to be 50 to 100 per cent greater than the military-related expenditures assumed to be included in All-union expenditures. Lee gives a higher estimate than Korol for the minimum amount of military-related expenditures, including, in addition to the portion which he assumes to be found in All-union expenditures, 50 to 80 per cent of "other expenditures for science" as well. Lee suggests that further substantial military R & D expenditures are entirely excluded from the published series of science expenditures, and are channeled through the two major State Budget categories "defence" and "financing the national economy". The upper limit to total military-related R & D expenditures implied by Lee's discussion is a level two or three times as great as his assumed proportion of All-union expenditures. He thus suggests an approximate level for these expenditures two or three times as great as that of Nimitz.

THE EVIDENCE

The main points at issue in the order-of-magnitude estimates of Soviet military R & D expenditures presented in the three studies are the following:

1. Is any military R & D financed through All-union science expenditures or through "other expenditures for science"?

2. Are there substantial, additional military R & D expenditures, which are excluded from the published series of total science expenditures? The three studies present the following evidence in answer to these two main questions.

1. Evidence that military R & D is financed through All-union science expenditures and "other expenditures for science":

Nimitz gives several brief citations from Soviet financial authorities who have "explicity mentioned defence in discussions of allocations to 'science' ". The quotations and their context as specified by Nimitz are reproduced in table 1D.3.

TABLE 1D.3.—SOVIET STATEMENTS ON MILITARY RESEARCH AND THE FINANCING OF SCIENCE, AS CITED BY NIMITZ [1]

Date	Person and source of authority	Context of quotation	Quotation
1946	A. G. Zverez, Minister of Finance.	Speech on 1945 State Budget plan	"creative work of our scientific institutions contributed considerably to the military might of the Soviet Union"
1947	Great Soviet Encyclopedia.	Account of the activities of "research institutes" during the War	"[Research institutes], like industry, were evacuated [to the rear] so that they might be mobilized to the maximum and better serve the Soviet Army"
1948	K. N. Plotnikov, formerly in Ministry of Finance.	Discussion of science expenditures, 1928–1945	"The enormous creative enthusiasm which in the war years gripped scientists in absolutely every area of science enriched our country with discoveries of great importance, which helped us to overcome the enemy."
1954	K. N. Plotnikov, formerly in Ministry of Finance.	Discussion of post-War science expenditures	[Soviet scientific achievements include] "the discovery of methods of producing atomic power and the achievement of a powerful thermonuclear reaction".
1957	V. V. Lavrov (Soviet economic writer).	(In Finance and the building of socialism	Soviet scientific achievements include "[the development of an intercontinental ballistic missile and the launching of earth satellites]"

[1] The quotations are presented in illustration of the point that "Soviet authorities on budgetary matters have explicitly mentioned defense in discussions of allocations to 'science' ": this point is one of the reasons given by Nimitz for supposing that "defense research [is] among projects supported by the budget allocation to 'science' " (table ID.1, source [1], pp. 12–13).

Although the statements do not say explicitly that military R & D is financed through budget expenditures for science, they are taken by Nimitz to provide strong grounds for believing that at least some military R & D expenditures are financed through the science category, rather than the defence category, within the State Budget. In suggesting that All-union, rather than Republican, budget expenditures for science cover military R & D, both Nimitz and Korol refer to the official description of All-union science expenditures as the expenditures which support scientific research of national, as opposed to local, significance. Both Nimitz and Korol support the conclusion that *unitemized* All-union expenditures cover primarily military-related R & D with several separate calculations; the calculations suggest that the itemized and unitemized portions of All-union science expenditure represent not two different sets of expenditure categories, but the same kinds of expenditure being distributed to two different groups of research institutions. The inference is drawn that the groups of institutions financed by the unitemized outlays are those which perform military-related R & D. Lee, suggesting that unitemized expenditures cannot be equated with outlays for military-related R & D, finds evidence that these expenditures finance, among other things, R & D performed by agricultural research institutes. Lee also finds evidence, however, that some major military R & D expenditures are included in unitemized All-union science expenditures: in the list of type-of-expenditure items among which the itemized expenditures are distributed, the conventional Budget category for "above plan investment" is missing; and Lee suggests that this category is likely to cover substantial military R & D costs, and that it may account for a large part of the unitemized outlays. Implicit in this conclusion is the suggestion that some other types of expenditure for military R & D wages, investment in equipment, etc.) are included among the itemized outlays. In supporting the estimate of 70 to 80 percent of All-union science expenditures for military-space R & D, Lee says that there is "no empirical basis" for the percentages taken, but that "they are conservative compared with the assumptions routinely made elsewhere".

The strongest evidence that some military R & D outlays are included in All-union science expenditures is a calculation by Nimitz showing a sharp rise in All-union *outlays per scientist* within the industrial R & D sector, over the period 1950–1961. This calculation relies on several preliminary inferences and estimates which (*a*) distribute Soviet R & D scientists between All-union and Republican jurisdiction, and further, between industrial and nonindustrial R & D, and (*b*) assume that All-union science expenditures are the main source of financial support for the establishments performing industrial R & D of national significance. The calculation therefore supports, but does not prove, the hypothesis that military R & D expenditures are included in All-union science outlays. Nimitz concludes that the rise in outlays per industrial scientist "is probably explained by a shift toward projects where investment and/or prototype and testing costs are extremely high", and infers from this: "There can be little doubt . . . that defense research . . . must be largely responsible for the shift."

Both Nimitz and Lee suggest that all military R & D must be financed through the State Budget, and that "other expenditures for science" may include some expenditures originally channeled through the State Budget categories for "defence", "financing the national economy" (particularly the "industry" subsection), or "higher education". From this they infer that it would be possible for some military R & D outlays, channeled through these Budget categories, to be included in "other expenditures for science".

2. Evidence that some military R & D expenditure is not included in science expenditure:

Korol presents a calculation of outlays per professional R & D employee, similar to the calculation of outlays per R & D scientist given by Nimitz, but based on different Soviet data for qualified R & D manpower, and different assumptions about (a) the R & D institutions supported by Soviet expenditures for science and (b) the R & D institutions performing nationally important industrial R & D. Korol finds constant outlays per professional R & D employee over the period 1950–1962, taking the entire R & D establishment; and declining outlays per professional employee in the industrial R & D sector. He also finds that even in 1950, outlays per industrial employee are no higher than outlays per non-industrial employee. Korol concludes that the published Soviet series of total science expenditures excludes altogether the increasingly expensive equipment, prototypes and testing for industrial R & D, and in particular, for defence, space and atomic R & D. He thus comes to a conclusion essentially opposite to that of Nimitz.

Lee supports his suggestion that substantial military R & D expenditures are included in the defence budget, and not covered by the series of expenditures for science, by reference to two Soviet budgetary authorities, who specifically say that the defence budget finances R & D establishments. For one of these authorities he gives the following citation:

"In expenditures for defense there are certain peculiarities. In the composition of these expenditures there is a place for expenditures for social-cultural measures for the Armed Forces . . . To these expenditures belong expenses for political-educational work, printing, publication, *maintenance of scientific research institutes,* higher and secondary military schools, worker training, physical education, medical service, maintenance of a large network of sanatoria, rest homes, and so on.[5] (Italics added.)"

"Social-cultural measures" is the budget-

Footnotes at end of article.

ary category under which expenditures for science are subsumed. Lee points out that "scientific research institutes" are a special class of large and important R & D establishments; and he infers from the statement that the defence budget may include large outlays for military R & D, which could not be accommodated within "other expenditures for science".[6]

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the evidence presented by Nimitz, Korol and Lee, it is not possible to determine whether the bulk of military R & D expenditure is in fact included in the science series. The statements of Soviet financial authorities cited by Nimitz and Lee leave open the possibility that while some military R & D may be covered by the science expenditure series, the bulk of military R & D may be financed through the defence budget, and excluded from the science series. Lee's citation says explicitly that R & D institutions are financed by defence budget, while the citations given by Nimitz simply mention the military and space accomplishments of Soviet scientists and scientific establishments, without describing the sources of finance for the scientific work. It is certainly not possible to infer from the wording in any of the citations whether most military R & D is financed through the defence budget or through expenditures for science. To turn to some "outside" evidence on this point, one of the OECD studies on the Soviet R & D effort suggests, with reference to Soviet financial authorities, that while defence R & D institutions could be financed by the All-union science budget, or partially by some outlays included in "other expenditures for science", it would not violate normal budgetary practice if military R & D institutions were financed through the defence budget.[7]

The budgetary and manpower evidence used to estimate the portion of published science expenditures which may go to military-related R & D appear equally inconclusive. The uncertainties involved in interpreting the Soviet science data, and in trying to identify the channels of finance for military R & D, are best shown in the demonstrations by Nimitz and Korol of opposite trends in science expenditures per industrial R & D employee. The data on professional R & D employees presented in the two OECD studies suggest that calculations of science expenditures per employee in industrial R & D cannot be made with any confidence. The OECD studies give an original, lower estimate (1965) and a revised, higher estimate (1969) of total Soviet professional R & D employees. Both estimates fall between the low professional manpower base on which Nimitz calculates high and rising science expenditures per professional industrial R & D employee, and the high professional manpower estimate with which Korol demonstrates low and falling science expenditures per professional industrial R & D employee. Furthermore, neither of the OECD studies attempts to divide professional R & D manpower between industrial and non-industrial R & D; so that no estimate of science expenditures per industrial employee—and no inference on whether military R & D expenditures are likely to be included in or excluded from science expenditures—can be derived from the OECD data.

The deliberate avoidance of a precise estimate of total Soviet military or military-related R & D expenditure, in the three studies examined here, seems well founded. The combined evidence given in the three studies leaves wholly uncertain what the relationship might be between Soviet military R & D expenditure and Soviet outlays on science.

Other unofficial US studies: Godaire (1962), Sosnovy (1964), Becker (1964).

Footnotes at end of article.

Godaire, Sosnovy and Becker (table 1D.1, sources [4], [5], and [6]) are all concerned to provide an estimate of total Soviet military expenditure; and all three treat Soviet R & D expenditure much more briefly than Nimitz, Korol or Lee.

Godaire introduces his discussion of Soviet military expenditure with a table of "Selected Soviet published information of possible defence significance", in which he shows, among other things, the Soviet science expenditure series. Godaire points to the very rapid rise in science expenditures over the period 1953 to 1962 (400 per cent), and he suggests that there are "institutional reasons for believing that this allocation encompasses a considerable amount of research and development for complex military equipment such as aircraft and missiles and for nuclear energy and space activities." In constructing his estimate of "Possible total Soviet defence and space allocation" for 1950–1962, Godaire includes estimates of the military-space portion of science expenditures. The estimates represent "unitemized" budget expenditures for science, which are derived from the 1958 Ministry of Finance publication for 1950–1957,[8] and extrapolated to 1962 "on the basis of the 1956 relationship between the unitemized amount and the published total allocation for science." In this he agrees with Nimitz and Korol.

Godaire then suggests that not all Soviet military R & D expenditures are included within budget (or "other") expenditures for science. In particular, he says, "substantial end-product development, test and evaluation of national significance (considerable amounts of which are undoubtedly military and space) seem to be covered elsewhere in the [State] budget." Further on, Godaire suggests that the excluded R & D expenditures may be channeled through two unexplained expenditure residuals within the State Budget: these residuals are obtained by subtracting expenditures listed under the various categories from announced total expenditures within (*a*) the State Budget as a whole, and (*b*) the Budget category "financing the national economy". Godaire includes these residuals in his estimate of total Soviet military expenditures, saying that they "may cover some or all of the following: The development, test and evaluation of military and space hardware and systems; . . . procurement of some, if not most, major military and space equipment; . . .", and so on. Godaire does not give any further evidence for his assumptions about the portion of military-space R & D expenditures included in and excluded from published science expenditures.

In estimating total Soviet military expenditures for 1964 only, Sosnovy suggests that military R & D expenditures are excluded from the defence budget, and included in budget expenditures for science. He estimates the division of budget expenditures for science between military and non-military expenditures with the caution that "no direct information for such a division is available". Apparently referring to "unitemized" budget expenditures, Sosnovy says, "If we assume that the percentage of concealed allocations for science in the years 1958–1964 is the same as in 1957, this means that in 1950–1964 expenditures for military research increased from 0.3 billion rubles in 1950 to 2.2 billion rubles in 1964, representing a sevenfold increase. This increase lay primarily in the field of atomic energy." Sosnovy includes the figure of 2.2 billion rubles in his estimate of total military expenditures for 1964, labelling it "Scientific research in the military field".

In constructing estimates of Soviet military expenditure for 1955–1962, Becker relies, for the military R & D component, on the figures and analysis published by Nimitz. Becker does, however, give some further evidence that military R & D is not financed through the defence budget: he introduces a number of citations from Soviet budgetary authorities, which give apparently exhaustive lists of the kinds of expenditure included in the defence budget—and these lists omit military R & D expenditure. Becker assumes that most military R & D is financed through expenditures for science; and he gives a short description of Nimitz's evidence for the hypothesis that unitemized All-union expenditures for science represent largely defence R & D expenditures. Including the unitemized All-union expenditures, which are extrapolated to 1962, in his estimate of total Soviet military expenditures, Becker justifies the possible inclusion of some civil R & D expenditures (within unitemized outlays), by commenting that these small expenditures are likely to be off-set by small military R & D expenditures included in "other expenditures for science" and in "higher education" budget expenditures.

The firm estimates of Soviet military (or military-space) R & D expenditure presented by Godaire, Sosnovy and Becker are, thus, essentially the same as the order-of-magnitude estimates presented somewhat more cautiously by Nimitz, Korol or Lee. In all of the six studies it is assumed that unitemized expenditures for science are largely expenditures for military R & D. Like Nimitz, Sosnovy and Becker suggest that unitemized expenditures (or about 60 per cent of budget expenditures for science) represent total Soviet military R & D expenditures. Godaire, like Korol and Lee, suggests that substantial military R & D expenditures are not included in the published science series at all.

Although these studies attempt to be more precise than the three more detailed studies examined in the first section, this greater precision does not seem to have any warrant The basic Soviet data relied on here is the same as that for the other studies: that All-union expenditures are those which finance R & D of national importance, and that a large and rising proportion of All-union expenditure was not accounted for in the itemized breakdown for the early 1950s given in the 1958 Ministry of Finance publication. The studies examined here do not add any new, conclusive evidence. Indeed, to some extent they add to the conflict of evidence; for whereas Lee presents a citation listing scientific research institutes as one of the objects of defense budget expenditure, Becker produces a number of quotations which appear expressly to exclude R & D from the list of items covered by the defense budget. These three studies thus serve to increase rather than reduce the uncertainty of the whole matter.

Official US estimates of Soviet military R & D expenditure (1969–1970)

THE ESTIMATES

Estimates of the magnitude and trend of recent Soviet military R & D expenditures have been given, in 1969 and 1970, in official statements made by Dr John S. Foster, US Director of Defense Research and Engineering.[9] The estimates have been presented in the context of descriptions of the Soviet military R & D "threat", in statements supporting the US military R & D budget and programme. Four official statements by Dr. Foster are examined here: two from 1969—the official statement on the 1970 US defense R & D budget and programme (table 1D.1, source [7]), and answers by Dr. Foster to questions asked in Congressional hearings on the defense R & D budget (source [8]); and two from 1970—the official statement on the 1971 defense R & D budget and programme (source [9]), and a speech before the American Newspaper Publisher's Association on "the Soviet technological threat" (source [10]). The estimates of Soviet military-space R & D expenditures given in these statements may be summarized as follows:[10]

Magnitude: Estimates of Soviet military-space R & D expenditures for 1969 and 1970 are given in a 1969 statement [8] as $14.8 billion and $16.1 billion. In a 1970 statement [9], the estimate of Soviet military-space R & D expenditures for 1970 is given as $16–17 million.

Trend rate of growth: In 1969, Dr. Foster observes that military-space R & D expenditures have shown "an increase of about 10 per cent per year . . . during the last few years" [7]. In 1970, Soviet military-space R & D expenditures are said have risen at about 13 per cent per year "for the entire decade of the 1960's", and to be still rising at this rate [9, 10].

Share in total R & D outlays: Firm estimates of total Soviet R & D and space expenditures are given in 1970 statement [9], for five years: 1955, 1960, 1965, 1968 and 1970. These estimates show a slower rate of rise, over the period 1960–1970, than the rate given for military R & D expenditure (10.6 per cent for total R & D and space, 13 per cent for military-space R & D). Estimated military-space R & D expenditures must therefore be assumed to have taken a rising share of estimated total R & D expenditure during the 1960s. In 1970, military-space R & D expenditures are suggested to take 80 per cent of total R & D and space expenditures [9, 10].

THE SOURCES AND METHODS

In the four statements, Dr. Foster makes only two brief comments concerning the sources and methods of the estimates of Soviet military R & D expenditure. At one point he says (concerning the rise in military-space R & D outlays): "These *budget data* have been found to be consistent, on a general program basis, with the resources required to support the growing number and types of aircraft, missiles, ships and other equipment which the USSR has been developing in recent years" (italics added) [9]. And at another point Dr. Foster says that his US dollar estimates allow for the problem of the appropriate dollar-ruble exchange rate, and represent Soviet expenditures in terms of US costs [8]. These statements suggest that Dr. Foster's estimates have been derived from Soviet financial data and converted to dollars at special R & D exchange rates; and that some check on the estimates has then been made by valuing Soviet hardware programmes at US costs. Whether or not this inference is correct, Dr. Foster's estimates show a trend so close to the trend in the published Soviet science expenditure series that it must be assumed that Soviet science data have been used in their construction.

TABLE 1D.4.—SOVIET STATISTICS OF SOVIET SCIENCE EXPENDITURE AND OFFICIAL U.S. ESTIMATES OF SOVIET R. & D. EXPENDITURE

	Soviet expenditure for science (billions rubles, current prices)				Official U.S. estimates of Soviet R. & D. expenditure (billion US $, constant (1966) prices)	
	All-union Budget expenditure for science	Total Budget expenditure for science (All-union + Republican)	Total science expenditure (Budget + other) excl. cap. invest. for science	Total science expenditure including capital investment for science	Soviet military R. & D. and space expenditure	Total Soviet R. & D. and space expenditure
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1960	1.9	2.3	3.3	3.9	NA	7.8
1961	2.2	2.7	3.8	4.5	NA	NA
1962	2.5	3.0	4.3	5.2	NA	NA
1963	3.0	3.5	4.9	5.8	NA	NA
1964	3.5	4.0	5.4	6.4	NA	NA
1965	3.7	4.3	6.0	7.1	NA	13.9
1966	NA	(4.6)	(6.5)	7.7	NA	NA
1967	NA	NA	(7.2)	(9.0)	NA	NA
1968	NA	NA	(7.9)	NA	NA	17.7
1969	NA	(6.3)	(9.0)	NA	14.8	NA
1970	NA	NA	(10.2)	(11.0)	16–17	(21.3

Note: ( )=planned or estimated rather than actual expenditure. NA=not available.

Sources: Cols. (1), (2), (3) and (4), 1960–1968: OCED, Science Policy in the USSR (Paris, 1969), pages 98–99, 100, 105; 1969: "On the U.S.S.R. State Budget for 1969 and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. State Budget for 1967", Report by Deputy V. F. Garbuzov, USSR Minister of Finance, in Pravda 11 Dec. 1968, pages 4–5, translated in Current Digest of the Soviet Press XX (51), pages 4 ff; 1970: "On the U.S.S.R. State Budget for 1969 and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. State Budge for 1968", Report by Deputy V. F. Garbuzov, USSR Minister of Finance, in Pravda 17 Dec. 1969 pages 4–5, translated in Current Digest of the Soviet Press XXI (51), pages 15 ff. Col. (5), 1969: table 1D.1, source [8], page 2224; 1970: table 1D.1, source [9], page 7957, Col. (6): table 1D.1, source [9], page 7957.

Dr. Foster's estimates of the level and trend of Soviet R & D expenditure are compared to the official Soviet science expenditure series in tables 1D.4 and 1D.5. (The figures of total science expenditure shown in column (4) of table 1D.4 represent a new Soviet series, introduced in 1967, which is not dealt with in any of the unofficial US studies. This series includes, in addition to the old series of total Budget and other science expenditure, expenditure under the "Capital Investment Plan for the Development of Science".) [11] The trend in total Soviet science expenditure (new series) over the period 1960–1970 matches almost exactly the trend in Dr. Foster's estimates of total Soviet R & D and space expenditure (columns (4) and (6) in table 1D.4, and part (A) in table 1D.5). Both series show an average annual increase slightly under 11 per cent over the period 1960–1970, with a sharper rise in the first half of the period than in the second. The small difference between the trends of the two series could be entirely accounted for by an allowance for a slight inflation in Soviet R & D costs, over the period 1960–1970, since the US figures are in constant prices. Dr. Foster's estimates of Soviet military-space R & D expenditure follow roughly the same pattern; and for the periods 1964–1968 and 1968–1970, when the complete old series of Soviet science expenditure is available, they parallel this series very closely (table 1D.5, part (B)). It is to be expected that Dr. Foster's military-space R & D expenditure estimates would show a somewhat faster rate of rise than the Soviet science expenditure series, since it is implied that military-space R & D expenditure has represented a rising share of total R & D and space expenditure in 1960–1970.

TABLE 1D.5.—COMPARISON OF TRENDS IN OFFICIAL U.S. ESTIMATES OF SOVIET R. & D. EXPENDITURE WITH TRENDS IN SOVIET SCIENCE EXPENDITURE

	Average annual percent increase		Average annual percent increase
A. Official U.S. estimates of total Soviet R.&D. and space expenditure (at constant prices):		A. Total Soviet science expenditure, including capital investment for science (at current prices):	
1960–70	10.6	1960–70	10.9
1960–65	12.3	1960–65	12.7
1965–70	8.9	1965–70	9.1
B. Official U.S. estimates of Soviet military R.&D. and space expenditure (at constant prices):		B. Soviet science expenditure, excluding capital investment for science (at current prices):	
1960–70	"about 13"	1960–70	12.0
1970 statement: "this vigorous rate of growth"—about 13—"appears to be continuing".		1968–70	13.6
1969 statement: "about 10 percent a year . . . during the last few years".		1964–68	10.0

Source: Trends in Soviet science expenditure and in U.S. estimates of total Soviet R. & D. expenditure calculated on the basis of data presented in table 1D.4, cols. (3), (4) and (6). Trends in U.S. estimates of Soviet military R. & D. and space expenditure: 1960–70 and 1970 statement: table 1D.1, source [9], p. 7957; 1969 statement: table 1D.1, source [7], p. 733.

Dr. Foster's estimates cannot be compared directly with the Soviet science expenditure estimates because he does not indicate what exchange rate has been used; and there is no generally accepted rate for converting ruble-expenditures for R & D performed in the Soviet Union into dollars which would buy a comparable R & D effort in the United States. It is generally agreed that the official exchange rate ($1.10 per ruble) would underestimate the magnitude of the Soviet R & D effort. At the official rate, the average pay of a Soviet R & D employee is only 20–30 per cent of the pay of a comparable US employee; and the same amount of money, at the official rate, would therefore hire many more R & D workers in the Soviet Union than in the United States. R & D exchange rates, in current expert use, which attempt to allow for the differences in wages and other costs in the two countries, vary between $1.30 per ruble and $3.50 per ruble. The uncertainty of the appropriate exchange rate is such that most studies drawing on Soviet data, including all of the unofficial studies examined in this section, do not attempt to convert ruble estimates into dollars at all.

Dr. Foster's estimates of total Soviet R & D and space expenditure can be made to equal total Soviet science expenditures (new series) if an exchange-rate of about $2 per ruble is used. (Judging from the range of exchange rates chosen by experts, this is not an unreasonable exchange rate, and does not exaggerate the dollar equivalent of Soviet science expenditure.) It therefore seems possible that Dr. Foster's estimates are drawn directly from the science expenditure data, and that the estimates of military-space R & D expenditure have been obtained simply by taking a large and rising percentage of total science expenditures and converting the estimates at $2 per ruble (with some

allowance for inflation). In this case, practically all capital investment, All-union and "other" expenditures for science would be included in the estimates of military-space R & D expenditure. It is also possible, however that higher or lower exchange rates have been used. If a higher rate has been used, for example $2.50 per rouble, some Soviet science expenditures would have to have been excluded—as non-R & D expenditures—for example $2.50 per ruble, some Soviet R & D and space expenditure. If a lower rate has been used, on the other hand, Dr. Foster's estimates would have to include, in addition to total Soviet science expenditures, some additional R & D expenditures, assumed to be financed outside the science expenditure channels. In either case, Dr. Foster's estimates of the trends in total Soviet R & D and space expenditure and in military-space R & D expenditure have almost certainly been based on the assumption that the trends in these expenditures are accurately reflected by the trends in the Soviet science expenditure series.

CONCLUSIONS

Dr. Foster's apparent use of the Soviet science expenditure data to derive the trend and possibly the level of Soviet military-space R & D expenditure does not seem to be warranted by published data or analysis. It has not been shown that the bulk of military R & D expenditure is included in announced science expenditures, or that the level or trend of military R & D outlays can, with any confidence, be inferred from the science data. Current disagreement over an appropriate ruble-dollar R & D exchange rate suggests that exchange rate uncertainties alone make it impossible to give dollar estimates of Soviet R & D expenditures which can be considered at all reliable. Dr. Foster says in the official statements for 1969 and 1970 ([7] and [9]) that his estimates of Soviet R & D expenditure are "probably accurate within about 10 to 20 per cent". This margin might well be considered a narrow allowance either for the uncertainty involved in estimating Soviet military R & D expenditures in rubles, or for that involved in converting any ruble estimates to dollar estimates: it can hardly accommodate both kinds of uncertainty.

It is possible to argue in a general way that, because the Soviet figures of defence expenditure appear low and because total Soviet science expenditure, converted at R & D exchange rates, is comparable in magnitude to total US R & D expenditure including military R & D, therefore some Soviet military R & D may be excluded from the defence budget and included in the science budget or in other science expenditures. This does not mean, however, that there is any way of deriving estimates of either the level or the trend of Soviet defence-related R & D expenditure from the science figures. Among the industrialized countries for which R & D expenditure data is available, the proportion of total R & D expenditure which goes to military R & D varies very greatly—in general, between 5 and 50 per cent; and in almost all of these countries, including the United States, military R & D has represented a declining share of total R & D in the latter half of the 1960s. The US estimates of Soviet military-space R & D expenditure do not, thus, reflect some pattern which may be observed generally among industrialized countries. Even if the new Soviet science series does represent total Soviet R & D expenditure, including military R & D, no published evidence has been found which would permit an estimate of the military portion.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Among the experts whose work is examined in this section, Nimitz and Korol (see table 1D.1, sources [1] and [2]); and, in addition to these, the authors of two studies of the Soviet R & D effort published by the OECD: C. Freeman and A. Young, *The Research and Development Effort in Western Europe, North America and the Soviet Union* (Paris, 1965); and E. Zaleski, J. P. Kozlowski, H. Wienert, R. W. Davies, M. J. Berry and R. Amann, *Science Policy in the USSR* (Paris, 1969). Neither of the OECD studies attempts even an order of magnitude estimate of Soviet military R & D expenditure.

[2] There are other unofficial US studies which discuss or estimate Soviet military R & D expenditure in the context of discussions of Soviet defence expenditure. These are not examined here because they do not appear to add to the body of evidence on the level or channels of finance of Soviet military R & D. Some of these, for example the studies by Benoit and Lubell ("The world burden of national defence", in E. Benoit, ed., *Disarmament and World Economic Interpendence*, Oslo/New York/London, (1967) and by Bloomfield et al. (*Soviet Interests in Arms Control and Disarmament*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965) derive precise estimates of defence R & D directly from the unofficial studies which are examined in this section. Others discuss the likely level and sources of finance of Soviet military R & D quite briefly, giving similar conclusions to those arrived at in the studies examined here, but without reference to either Soviet or US sources. These include, for example, the testimony of several experts on "The economic basis of the Russian military challenge to the United States", presented in *The Military Budget and National Economic Priorities*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee (US Congress, Washingon, 1969; Part 3); and *Soviet Economic Performance: 1966–67*, Materials prepared for the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee (US Congress, Washington, 1968).

[3] A new series of total national science expenditure has been published in the Soviet Union since these studies were prepared. This series includes, in addition to the two main categories of expenditure shown in table 1D.2, a third category, capital investment for science. Total science expenditures as given in the old series and the new series are shown in columns (3) and (4) of table 1D.4. Throughout the discussion of the unofficial US studies, "total science expenditure" refers to the old series, excluding capital investment for science.

[4] Two per cent of Republican science expenditures—a fraction of a per cent of budget expenditures for science—are unitemized, in addition to All-union unitemized expenditures: Korol includes the Republican unitemized expenditures in his estimate, and extrapolates on the basis of the unitemized portion of total budget expenditures in 1957. The difference is negligible.

[5] The source, K. N. Plotnikov, *Gosudarstvennyi Byudzhet SSR* (Moscow, 1959), page 332, is also cited in *The research and development effort*, page 120; the author is one of the financial authorities cited (twice) by Nimitz, to show that military R & D expenditures are included within budget expenditures for science (table 1D.3).

[6] "Other expenditures for science" account for only 20–30 per cent of total science expenditures, with budget expenditures for science accounting for the remainder.

[7] *The Research and Development Effort*, page 120. In a brief discussion of the possible channels of finance of military R & D, this study gives, independently, an excerpt from the citation which is given by Lee (page 297 and note 5 above); it also provides a description of some of the statements from financial authorities cited by Nimitz (given here in table ID.3). No firm conclusion on the channels of finance is drawn, although it is suggested, with reference to the work of Nimitz and Korol, that "some research relevant for military purposes comes under civilian research establishments".

[8] See the note to table 1D.2.

[9] The same estimates have been presented by Dr. Foster in a number of different statements, of which the most detailed are examined here. The estimates have also been quoted by other Department of Defense officials and by military spokesman, and they are included in part in the official statement on the 1971 defence budget and programme by US Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird.

[10] At various times Dr. Foster refers to his estimates as estimates of "defense, atomic energy and space" R & D, "military/space/atomic" R & D, "military and space" R & D, and "defence-related" R & D: the estimates remain the same, however, and for convenience, they are referred to here as estimates of "military-space" R & D. At only one point—in the official statement for 1970 ([9])—does Dr. Foster make a separate statement about "the military component alone", when he suggests that it has risen "60 per cent during the 1960's". The rise Dr. Foster shows, in the same statement, in total Soviet military/atomic/space R & D over this period is 240 per cent. From these figures, it can be inferred, first, that the growth rate in Soviet military R & D only is estimated at about 5 per cent per year in 1960–1970, which is very much lower than the rates given most publicity—the 10–13 per cent per year for total R & D and for military plus atomic and space R & D. Secondly, on the basis of Dr. Foster's estimates of the level of Soviet R & D spending, these various growth rates can be shown to imply a figure for the Soviet military component alone, in 1970, which is significantly lower than the comparable figure for the US military component alone.

[11] This series, with estimates for the period 1959–1967, was apparently published for the first time in the UNESCO study *Science policy and organization of research in the USSR* (Paris, 1967).

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., March 24, 1971.

To: Hon. MICHAEL HARRINGTON.
From: John D. Holmfeld, Analyst, Science and Technology.
Via: Charles S. Sheldon, II, Chief, Science Policy Research Division.
Subj: Comments on SIPRI Analysis of U.S.S.R. Expenditures for Military R & D.

In accordance with your request we have performed an analysis of the section entitled "U.S. Estimates of Soviet Expenditure for Military Research" pp. 288–306 in the 1969/70 *SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament*. Our analysis is general in nature and does not, due to the limitations of time, include detailed references to the literature.

The general conclusion of the SIPRI analysis is that DOD's estimates of Soviet military R&D expenditures is based almost exclusively on the Soviet budget figures for "science." This conclusion is suggested by the observation that variations in the announced Soviet science budget in recent years correspond to variations in DOD's military R&D estimate, and by the fact that the rare statements about what is included in the Soviet Defense budget does not explicitly confirm that the cost of military R&D is paid for out of this budget category.

In undertaking an analysis of Soviet military R&D expenditures or in commenting on such an analysis, it must first be said that this subject necessarily involves a high degree of uncertainty. The lack of substantive information and data means that the inferences and educated guesses of one analyst often differ from those made by another analyst without a definitive resolution being possible. Nevertheless, in the pres-

ent case some general observations can be made.

1. It has long been recognized that the explicit Soviet budget category for "defense" probably does not include all the rubles actually being devoted to the defense effort. Two other budget categories are generally considered to contain sums for the defense program. They are (1) the budget item for science, and, (2) the so-called "residuals" arising from the fact that the sum of the stated budget items never adds up to the total budget amount given, leaving an unexplained residual.

2. There is no evidence that the military R&D funds are concentrated in any of these three budget categories. Furthermore, based on knowledge of the studies cited in the SIPRI analysis, none of them have assumed that this is the case. Hence the assumption of the SIPRI analysis, to the effect that the budget category for science contains the bulk of the military R&D funds is difficult to justify. Nor is there any indication that DOD is making that assumption. Such an assumption appears unduly simplistic and it is difficult to believe that it forms the basis of DOD's analysis as suggested by SIPRI. Some of the reasons for this view follow.

(a) The science category in the budget undoubtedly includes a number of funds for non-military R&D. Specifically, the substantial effort of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, which, unlike its U.S. counterpart, operates a large number of research institutes, is in all likelihood a part of the science budget. Thus variations in the civil component must be taken into consideration in evaluating how much of the total goes for military R&D.

(b) Performance of the bulk of the military *development* work is the responsibility of a small group of ministries within the so-called Machine-Building sector. These are under the close control of the Defense ministry and their funding flows directly from the Council of Ministers, the top governmental body. Notably, while the State Committee for Science and Technology, a staff agency to the Council of Ministers, has control of R&D funds to both the Academy of Sciences and most of the ministries performing any kind of R&D, the Machine Building Ministries which are under the Defense Ministry are specifically exempted from this control. Thus the likelihood is that funding of military development in large part is channelled via the Defense Ministry and is part of the explicit defense budget, or, perhaps in some special cases such as atomic weapons, is found within the residual.

(c) The conclusion that little or no R&D is financed through the explicit defense budget is also difficult to reconcile with the known structure of Soviet industry. Large numbers of research institutes and design bureaus are incorporated into the organizational structure of each ministry, and they perform basic and applied research as well as development related to their special branch of industry. For example, the Ministry of Aircraft Construction has under it a number of aircraft research and development organizations, many of them well known to Western observers (Tupolev, Ilyushin, Mig, etc.) Other ministries are similarly structured. The Ministry of Shipbuilding, for example, can be assumed to have a number of development organizations which perform the R&D for new types of Soviet naval vessels. Funding of these integral R&D efforts comes in all likelihood through the ministerial budgets, or in some cases through the growing system of interministerial contracting.

The Economic Reform, initiated since the accession of the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership, has placed emphasis on the use of a portion of retained earnings, in addition to funds from the state budget, for the conduct of scientific research and development. The magnitude of these funds is on the order of several percent of the budgets of individual ministries, permitting an effort corresponding to what in the U.S. is known as "Independent Research and Development." This adds a further degree of uncertainty to the concept of using the science or any other budget figure to estimate the R&D effort.

3. The indications available in the open literature, including the studies and statements cited in the SIPRI analysis appear to be that DOD does not have any firm figures on the absolute magnitude of the military R&D funding *based on budget figures*. Whatever can be concluded from analysis of budget data appears to be highly tentative and speculative. It is probably for this reason that a number of efforts to analyse the output side of the R&D effort have been undertaken. Dr. Foster's inclusion of parts of such an analysis in his 1972 posture statement is one such attempt, in this case utilizing the total output of new weapon systems which have emerged from recent Soviet R&D. Another approach is taken in a study performed by the Stanford Research Institute. They analyzed the total output of the entire Machine Building Sector, deducted the civil, non-military outputs which were identified through a careful and very detailed analysis of Soviet plan-fulfillment reports, and concluded that the remaining, unidentified output was made up of military/space hardwere and the associated R&D.

Such analyses serve to complement the low-confidence estimates arrived at through input, or budget analysis. Taken together these two types of analysis are apparently used by DOD to estimate the Soviet expenditures for military R&D.

4. Additional rough indicators of the use made of total defense budget are also used to estimate how much goes for various purposes. For example, the very large manpower levels maintained at the time of the Korean conflict must have absorbed a large fraction of the total defense expenditures. Since manpower levels have since been reduced, it can be concluded that funds for R&D, procurement, stockpiling, etc. absorb a larger fraction of the total budget.

In sum, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the SIPRI analysis has been somewhat hasty in concluding that the U.S. Defense Department estimates of Soviet military R&D expenditures is based only on an analysis of the Soviet budget category labeled "Science," and that the reliability of the estimates therefore must be questioned. There are too many indications in the unclassified literature alone to suggest that other methods of analysis are also used, and that the combination of these diverse methods produce a higher, but perhaps still far from satisfactory degree of confidence in these estimates. On the other hand the SIPRI analysis properly has called attention to the high degree of uncertainty which attaches to any attempt to arrive at an estimate of Soviet military R&D figures.

We hope this brief anaylsis will contribute to your study of Soviet military R&D expenditures. Please do not hesitate to call on us if we can be of further assistance.

SIPRI STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL
PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
Sweden, April 3, 1971.

To: Hon. MICHAEL HARRINGTON.
From: Randall Forsberg, SIPRI.
Subject: Reply to the comments of John Holmfeld, Congressional Research Service, on the SIPRI Yearbook analysis of U.S. estimates of Soviet expenditure for military research.

The main line of the argument in the SIPRI analysis is somewhat different from that implied by Mr. Holmfeld. Before replying to his comments directly, I think it would be useful to outline the argument briefly:

(1) It is not known how the DOD estimates of Soviet military-space R&D expenditure have been obtained.

(2) However, almost all of the unofficial studies which attempt to estimate Soviet military R&D expenditure examine data on the magnitude, uses and channels of finance of Soviet expenditure for defence and for 'science' (including R&D), and conclude with estimates derived entirely or in part from the Soviet series for national science expenditure.

(3) Turning back to the DOD estimates, one finds that the annual per cent increases of Soviet military-space R&D expenditure, as shown and described in these estimates, parallel almost exactly the increases in the Soviet series for national science expenditure.

(4) The conclusion is therefore drawn that the year-to-year movement shown in the DOD estimates of Soviet defence-related R&D expenditure is in fact derived primarily from the movement in the Soviet science expenditure series.

(5) Published analyses of Soviet data on the financing of the Soviet science effort provide, however, considerable evidence to show that Soviet science expenditure data *do not provide a basis for reliable estimates* of the trend in the Soviet military R&D effort.

(6) In addition, these analyses show that the conversion of ruble estimates of Soviet R&D expenditures—derived from Soviet financial data—to equivalent dollars is a matter of great uncertainty: the highest and lowest ruble-dollar R&D exchange rates in current expert use differ by *50 per cent* from the *midpoint* of the various exchange rates used. (A 50 per cent difference in the exchange rate used would produce a 50 per cent difference in the dollar estimate given.)

(7) The further conclusion is therefore drawn that the margin of error of the DOD estimates of Soviet military-space R&D expenditure is probably considerably greater than that claimed for them (10 to 20 per cent.)

To turn now to Mr. Holmfeld's comments:

1. Holmfeld suggests that the SIPRI argument rests in some way on the assumption that the bulk of military R&D expenditure is included under the Soviet budget category for science, and not under the defence budget or other parts of the budget. (Point 2, sentences 3 and 4.)

Reply: The SIPRI paper attempts, on the contrary, to show that, on the basis of published evidence, it is not possible to identify the channels of finance for the bulk of military R&D funding.[1] The SIPRI paper is in complete agreement with Holmfeld's statement: "There is no evidence that the military R&D funds are concentrated in any of these three budget categories [science, defence, budget residuals]."[2] It is one of the main intentions of the SIPRI paper to show this; and the information provided by Holmfeld under point 2, parts (a)–(c) serves, thus, to support the argument of the SIPRI paper.

2. Holmfeld says that the SIPRI paper comes to the conclusion that the DOD estimates are "based only on an analysis of the Soviet budget category labeled 'Science'." (P. penultimate para, sentence 1; also p. 1, para 2, sentence 1; point 2, sentences 3–4.)

Reply: (1) The SIPRI paper comes to the conclusion that the trend of the DOD estimates is derived from the trend of the Soviet series of *total* science expenditure which includes expenditures outside the budget category for science, as well as those within it. (See the headings and sources in table 1D.5 and the text which accompanies this table, pp. 303–304.)

(2) The SIPRI analysis does not assume, or attempt to show, that the DOD estimates are based *solely* on an analysis of the Soviet

[1] SIPRI: p. 297, last para; p. 299, first para; p. 306, first complete para.

[2] Holmfeld: point 2, first sentence.

science expenditure data. Most of the unofficial estimates reviewed in the SIPRI study rely on evidence concerning the Soviet defence effort, as well as the Soviet science effort. In addition Dr. Foster's 1971 posture statement says that the DOD estimates have been found to be consistent with recent Soviet weapons output (Yearbook, pp. 302–303). An attempt was therefore made in the SIPRI paper to be careful not to imply that the analysis of science data was assumed to have provided the *only* basis for the estimates. In drawing conclusions on the connection between the DOD estimates and the Soviet science expenditure series, the paper focuses clearly on the yearly movement, rather than the absolute magnitude, of the estimates.[3] There is no attempt to identify the evidence which may have led the DOD analysts to use the Soviet science data in estimating the trend of the Soviet military R&D effort. The point at issue is not whether additional methods have been used in making the estimates, but rather whether any combination of methods in which the Soviet science data play an independent role can produce reliable estimates of the Soviet military R&D effort.

3. Holmfeld suggests that none of the unofficial studies cited in the SIPRI analysis assumes that Soviet expenditure for military R&D is concentrated in the budget item for science, or in any of the other budget categories generally assumed to be possible sources of finance for military R&D. (Point 2, sentences 2 and 3.)

Reply: (1) It seems to me to be clear, from the evidence cited in the SIPRI analysis, that Nimitz, Sosnovy and Becker do conclude that the bulk of military R&D expenditure is concentrated in the budget item for science.

(2) The point is, however, not important to the main line of the SIPRI argument, since we did not argue that the DOD estimates identify the bulk of military R&D expenditure with the budget item for science. We argued with reference to the Soviet series for total science expenditure. Furthermore, we do not imply that the DOD estimates have been derived specifically on the basis of the kind of reasoning and evidence given by Nimitz, Sosnovy, Becker or any of the other unofficial analysts cited in the study.

(3) To the extent that some of the unofficial analysts conclude that it is not possible to identify a single channel of finance for the bulk of Soviet military R&D expenditure, these analysts support the conclusions of the SIPRI paper.

4. Holmfeld says, under point 3, that:

"DOD does not have any firm figures on the absolute magnitude of the military R&D funding *based on budget figures.*"

"Whatever can be concluded from analysis of budget data appears to be highly tentative and speculative."

Budget analysis, along with output analysis, is "apparently used by DOD to estimate the Soviet expenditures for military R&D".

Reply: These points serve to confirm the conclusions of our analysis. It is among the main intentions of our paper to show that estimates based on analysis of the financing of the Soviet defence effort and the Soviet science effort—in Holmfeld's words, on budget analysis—are indeed highly speculative; and that the science expenditure data have, nevertheless, been used to derive at least one important part of the DOD estimates—the part which shows movement over time.

5. The only point at which it appears that there may be some real disagreement between Holmfeld's comments and the SIPRI paper concerns how much confidence to place in the DOD estimates, as a result of the fact that they are based on "output analysis" as well as budget analysis. The following remarks of Holmfeld are relevant to this point:

"Whatever can be concluded from analysis of budget data appears to be *highly tentative and speculative.* It is probably for this reason that a number of efforts to analyse the output side of the R&D effort have been undertaken. Dr. Foster's inclusion of parts of such an analysis in his 1972 posture statement is one such attempt. . . ."

"[Output] analyses serve to complement the *low-confidence* estimates arrived at through input, or budget analysis."

The combination of these diverse methods produces "a higher, but perhaps still *far from satisfactory* degree of confidence in these estimates." (Italics added. Point 3 and penultimate para, p. 4)

Reply: The last of these statements implies a low level of confidence in the DOD estimates, even when it is assumed that the estimates are supported by output analysis. Holmfeld's comments do not, thus, directly challenge the conclusions of the SIPRI paper.

Dr. Foster's 1972 posture statement, just released, provides the first published evidence of the way in which output analysis might be used to support financial estimates of the Soviet military R&D effort. The main points arising from a brief examination of the new posture statement are:

First, the DOD estimates of the resources devoted to military R&D by the Soviet Union are now *explicitly described* as having been based on *budget analysis.*

Second, there is no suggestion that the financial estimates based on budget analysis are "highly tentative". Output analysis is not said to have been undertaken in order to confirm or support these estimates. It is suggested only indirectly and in passing that the assessment produced by a comparative analysis of U.S. and Soviet technological outputs serves to support the financial estimates produced by budget analysis.

Third, an assessment of relative technological outputs of the kind described in the posture statement cannot, even in theory, be used to provide estimates of relative resource inputs with no more than a 10-to-20 percent margin of error—since, as far as is known, efficiency in the use of R&D resources—i.e., output per unit input—can vary by more than this from country to country.

Fourth, an assessment of relative technological outputs cannot be used to provide or support any estimates whatsoever of relative R&D inputs, for say, the last three years, due to long lead times in weapons development.

Fifth, in addition to these theoretical difficulties, it appears likely that the particular output analysis described in the DOD posture statement may have produced results with a very wide margin of error. The output results as described tend, thus, not to provide any support whatsoever for the DOD estimates even for earlier years.

In sum it may be said that, on the whole, Mr. Holmfeld's remarks support the conclusions of the SIPRI analysis; that it is not possible to identify the bulk of military R&D expenditure in the Soviet Union with any specific categories of the Soviet budget or of other Soviet data on expenditure for science—that, for this reason, financial analysis, taken alone, cannot provide a basis for anything but highly speculative estimates of the Soviet military R&D effort—and that the DOD estimates are, nevertheless, based in part on financial analysis.

Mr. Holmfeld does not comment on the parallel observed in the SIPRI study between the rate of increase shown in the DOD estimates and the Soviet science expenditure series; and it is not clear whether, on the grounds of this parallel or for other reasons, he would accept the inference drawn in the SIPRI study that the final DOD financial estimates are derived *in large part* from Soviet science expenditure data.

Concerning the confidence which may be placed in the DOD estimates as a result of their being based on output analysis as well as financial analysis, Mr. Holmfeld is cautious, referring to "a higher, though perhaps still far from satisfactory degree of confidence": again, it is difficult to tell whether or not he agrees with the SIPRI statement that the DOD estimates probably have a much wider margin of error than that which is claimed for them (10 to 20 percent).

In conclusion, I would like to draw attention to an additional point: Mr. Holmfeld states a good deal more explicitly than the SIPRI study that it simply is not possible to give firm estimates of Soviet military R&D expenditures, on whatever basis. I cite:

"In undertaking an analysis of Soviet military R&D expenditures or in commenting on such an analysis, it must first be said that this subject necessarily involves a high degree of uncertainty. The lack of substantive information and data means that the inferences and educated guesses of one analyst often differ from those made by another analyst without a definitive resolution being possible. . . .

"[T]he SIPRI analysis properly has called attention to the high degree of uncertainty which attaches to any attempt to arrive at an estimate of Soviet military R&D figures."

I would suggest that these statements should be set against the 1972 DOD RDT&E posture statement, in which a proposed $500 million increase in RDT&E funds is based, in part, on precise estimates of the relative level and trend of the *current* Soviet military R&D effort—and in which these estimates are presented with the casual qualification "give or take 10 to 20 percent".

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1971.

To: Hon. MICHAEL HARRINGTON.
From: John D. Holmfeld, analyst, Science and Technology.
Via: Charles S. Sheldon II, Chief, Science Policy Research Division.
Subject: Further comments on SIPRI analysis of U.S.S.R. expenditures for military R. & D.

We have received from you a copy of the April 3rd letter from SIPRI which provides detailed comments on our previous analysis of March 24th. In accordance with your request we are glad to respond to the SIPRI letter and to comment further.

The SIPRI analysis makes a sharp distinction between, on the one hand, the DOD estimates as given by Dr. Foster and, on the other hand, certain other analyses and estimates. Based on its own analysis SIPRI arrives at the conclusion the DOD estimates are "almost certainly" based on the variations in the Soviet budget item for science. This conclusion runs through the SIPRI discussion of the DOD estimates as shown by the following citations:

It seems probable, however, that the official U.S. estimates are in fact derived from the Soviet science statistics. The trend in the U.S. estimates parallels almost exactly the trend of the official Soviet figures for science expenditure. (p. 289)

Dr. Foster's estimates show a trend so close to the trend in the published Soviet science expenditure series that it must be assumed that Soviet science data have been used in their construction. (p. 303)

The trend in total Soviet science expenditure (new series) over the period 1960–1970 matches almost exactly the trend in Dr. Foster's estimates of total Soviet R&D and space expenditure . . . (p. 304)

It therefore seems possible that Dr. Foster's estimates are drawn directly from the science expenditure data, and that the estimates of military-space R&D expenditure have been

[3] SIPRI: p. 289, penultimate para; pp. 303–304; p. 305, last sentence; p. 306, first sentence.

obtained simply by taking a large and rising percentage of total science expenditures and converting the estimates at $2 per ruble (with some allowance for inflation). (p. 305)

Dr. Foster's estimates of the trends in total Soviet R&D and space expenditure have almost certainly been based on the assumption that the trends in these expenditures are accurately reflected by the trends in the Soviet science expenditure series. (p. 305–306)

The SIPRI analysis does not suggest that other methods could possibly have been used to arrive at the estimates themselves. It briefly notes that "some check on the estimates has then been made by valuing Soviet hardware programmes at U.S. costs." (p. 303)

In the light of this it is somewhat astonishing to find the SIPRI comments asserting that "the SIPRI analysis does not assume, or attempt to show, that the DOD estimates are based solely on analysis of the Soviet expenditure data," and that "an attempt was . . . made in the SIPRI paper to be careful not to imply that the analysis of science data was assumed to have provided the only basis for the estimates."

The SIPRI analysis does not find that other methods of analysis has been used by DOD, and does not undertake to investigate what the results of other methodologies might have been, had they been employed by DOD. Furthermore, the entire thrust of the SIPRI analysis is that since the DOD estimates are based on the science budget and its variations, and since other studies have shown that the science based estimates are not reliable, or at best produce estimates within very large ranges of accuracy, then the DOD estimates of both size and accuracy must be questioned.

Thus, it does not seem inaccurate or unfair to state that SIPRI arrives at the conclusion that DOD's estimates are based on the Soviet budget item for science and that its further analysis is based on this conclusion.

The suggestion that, somehow, the DOD analysis is focused on the yearly variation in the Soviet data rather than the absolute magnitude of these expenditures is unclear. The SIPRI conclusion that a Dollar-Ruble conversion rate of $2 has been used by DOD appears to be based on absolute magnitude figures.

The questions raised in our original comment have to do with the validity of the SIPRI conclusion regarding how DOD arrived at its estimates. We suggested that the SIPRI conclusion attributed to DOD an oversimplified methodogy. On re-reading the original SIPRI article while searching for an explanation for the apparent discrepancy between our own comments and the SIPRI comments, one is struck by the emphasis in SIPRI's analysis on the difference between 1) the studies cited and analyzed, and 2) the conclusions presented by Dr. Foster on behalf of DOD. The former are referred to as "Unofficial Studies" while the latter are called "Official Statements."

This suggested distinction, which in our evaluation is false, may well be what lies behind the differing interpretations of the data available to outsiders such as SIPRI and ourselves, who attempt to determine how the DOD estimates have been arrived at. Our analysis takes the view that the so-called "Unofficial Studies" are all well-known to the analysts, both those working within DOD and those working elsewhere, who attempt to estimate the Soviet military R&D expenditures. In fact, the six "Unofficial Studies" cited by SIPRI were all done with the support of U.S. Government funds and three of them with DOD funds.

The SIPRI analysis, after making the distinction between "Unofficial Studies" and "Official Studies" attributes a sophisticated, in-depth kind of analysis to the studies and a crude, simplistic kind of analysis to the statements. The SIPRI analysis makes the implied assumption that the DOD analysts who prepare Dr. Foster's statements are either unaware of the studies, or for some reason have chosen to ignore them in favor of the type of analysis attributed to them by SIPRI. Either eventuality appears remote, in our view, and it is on this point that we appear to differ with SIPRI. In our previous comment we cited a number of general items of information which are well known to analysts in this field. We suggested that the DOD analysts were highly unlikely to be making their estimates in ignorance of these. In the present comments we suggest that the specific studies cited by SIPRI are also common knowledge and in some cases have specifically been sponsored by DOD. Since some of these studies deal specifically with the question of the validity of using the science budget figures we suggest that it is highly unlikely that they form the prime basis for DOD's estimates, as suggested by SIPRI.

Our original comments on the SIPRI analysis suggested that it was unlikely that DOD was relying on budget figures in arriving at its estimates. On further consideration this observation should be modified to include the word "published" budget figures. SIPRI correctly has noted that one of Dr. Foster's recent statements suggests that DOD's estimates are based on analyses of Soviet budget data, or "fiscal input." Thus the possibility can not be excluded that DOD or its sources has available to it from non-published sources more detailed budget breakdowns. One of the studies cited by SIPRI (T. Sosnovy) has pointed out that in the 1920's information concerning Soviet military expenditures was available in considerable detail. Nine major expenditure groups such as salaries, technical supply, etc. were identified and these were in turn subdivided into 79 individual budget entries. Such breakdowns undoubtedly still exist as part of the Soviet budget, and although not made public, they may be available to DOD through other channels.

We hope that these brief comments will be of use in your further analysis of this question. If we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call on us.

PREVENTION OF CARGO CRIMES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most costly menaces to the American economy, and most devastating threats to the free flow of interstate commerce, is the rising tide of cargo crimes. Today I am pleased to introduce a bill that will help curtail this growing parasite on the shipping industry.

Cargo crimes are not an easy foe to combat. To date we have waged a futile war against a clever and well-organized opponent; a war without any substantive knowledge as to the areas of concentrated enemy activity or even the approximate magnitude of our annual losses. The flowing nature of commerce makes it easy to conceal the time and place of criminal acts, and inconsistent loss reporting prevents an accurate assessment of the total value of goods stolen. Thefts are not discovered until hundreds of miles and several days have elapsed, and even then the crime may not be reported in fear that insurance premiums will subsequently increase.

But who is responsible for our failure to respond to this growing criminal menace? As I pointed out in a recent address to the Joint Conference on Cargo Crimes, the burden of responsibility rests on many shoulders.

Business is at fault for its reluctance to adopt strong cargo security measures. It seems they would rather pass the cost of the cargo thefts on to the consumer through rate hikes, rather than spend a little more money to tighten security precautions. And their hesitancy to report losses is a welcome blessing to felons.

Insurance companies must also share the blame. They are too highly motivated by profits from low-risk policies and too willing to abandon high-risk cargoes. They are sometimes too quick to cancel policies and too fast with an increase in premiums.

Unions, too, are responsible for their overconcern with make-work in opening containers rather than in protecting cargoes, and their reluctance to screen questionable characters from union roles. They, too, encourage pilferage through their anxiety to report thefts.

And governmental agencies cannot be excluded from the list of those that are derelict. Their fragmentation, overlapping jurisdictions, and lack of an overall approach leaves them impotent against a well organized enemy. I cannot in good faith say that government is doing its best.

The bill which I am introducing today is aimed at halting the surge of cargo crimes. This bill, with a few exceptions, is identical to a bill introduced by Senator BIBLE which has already been introduced out of the Senate Commerce Committee. Much time has gone into the preparation of this bill, and Senator BIBLE should be commended for his fine work.

This bill will create a "Commission on Security and Safety of Cargo" to act as a "Joint Chiefs of Staff" in the war against cargo crimes. Through the enforcement of uniform loss reporting, and by centralizing the compilation and analysis of data, the Commission will eradicate the camouflage concealing cargo crimes. And by developing enforcement guidelines for the public and private agencies involved, the Commission will coordinate the activities of the independent groups to create an effective crime prevention network.

In addition, the Commission will serve a valuable research function in the development of new and more effective cargo theft prevention techniques. It is time that the transportation industry cash in on the application of modern technology to criminal deterrence. The Commission will act much as the LEAA does in supporting such research.

This bill, in itself, is not adequate to withstand the rising tide of cargo thefts. Supplemental measures shall undoubtedly be necessary, and the Commission will provide valuable assistance in determining areas of legislative need. The passage of this bill, however, will mark a powerful step twoard the conquest of cargo crimes.

AMBASSADOR USHIBA HONORS MACARTHUR

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the district I am privileged to represent, the Second Congressional District of Virginia, was honored recently by a visit of the Honorable H. E. Nobuhiko Ushiba, Japan's Ambassador to this country.

During his tour of port facilities he took the time to pay a special call at the MacArthur Memorial in Norfolk. Ambassador Ushiba made a brief statement at the memorial which reflects the Japanese respect and love for General MacArthur, and the growing friendship between Japan and the United States based on outstanding service of one of this Nation's greatest military men.

I include Ambassador Ushiba's statement at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY H. E. NOBUHIKO USHIBA, AMBASSADOR OF JAPAN TO THE UNITED STATES

Mayor Martin, President Duckworth, friends:

This pilgrimage is a deeply moving experience for me as a Japanese. It is a mission my countrymen will warmly understand and share with me. For according me this opportunity, I am deeply grateful to the City of Norfolk, the MacArthur Foundation and Congressman G. William Whitehurst.

Douglas MacArthur, General of the Army, Marshal of the Philippines, and Supreme Commander Allied Powers, is a giant in Japanese history and legend. The great achievements of the Occupation period, including the rebirth of Japanese democracy, are interwoven with his towering personality. There is no ambiguity in Japanese recollections of General MacArthur as proud soldier, idealistic reformer, decisive administrator and, above all, chivalrous gentleman.

From the moment General MacArthur stepped off his plane at Atsugi airfield—virtually unescorted, unarmed, without decorations or pomp, dressed in his working khakis with open collar—the mission of the Occupation was assured of national acceptance and cooperation. The general's cool courage and expression of trust and confidence disarmed the Japanese people and bound them to him in duty. In place of the arrogance of a conqueror we got understanding and considerateness. In particular, we Japanese shall never forget the unfailing courtesy His Majesty the Emperor received from the Supreme Commander.

Thus the impossible was accomplished through a collaboration between victor and vanquished that has had no parallel in history. It was a time when each side discovered, after the bitterness of war, that the other was not as he had imagined, and the reality was far better than the myth. We, for example, came to understand the essential humanity of America, and the inspiring tradition of dedicated service which animates the American professional soldier.

Out of this experience has come a restored Japan, truer to its own best traditions because of the Occupation interlude. Out of this same experience has come the indestructible friendship and firm alliance which binds our two countries in our pursuit of common goals.

These happy results were implicit in General MacArthur's vision of his task.

I am also reminded that he saw this task as a professional soldier in the service of democracy. His code was noble. We Japanese understood it, and found it deep in our own hearts. It is the motto of West Point, which General Douglas MacArthur adopted as his own: "Duty, Honor, Country."

In that spirit he served Japan as well as his own country.

ARTICLE CONCERNING SELF-HELP AND THE VOLUNTEER WORKER

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, One of the great feelings a person can have is that of knowing he has done a job well. An even greater feeling is in knowing the job he has done will benefit others—such is the case of the volunteer worker who is the backbone of most organizations.

The volunteer is the one who organizes and gets the work going instead of waiting for someone else or the Government to do it—the epitomy of "self-help is the best help."

In a recent issue of the Kansas Farm Bureau News, Mrs. Victor Haflich wrote this inspiring article concerning self-help and the volunteer worker. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Kansas Farm Bureau News, June 1971]

A minister in Wichita told this story awhile back and it teaches us a very valuable lesson. It's a true story about the bears in Yellowstone Park, and goes like this, "It seems that every year after the tourist season is over and the snow comes the bears die by the dozens along the side of the roads.

"Why do they die? They are still waiting for the handouts from the tourists—the cookies, the candy and the bread. But the tourists have gone; there are no more handouts.

"The bears have forgotten how to prepare for winter; to dig for food and eat the things they must if they are to survive the winter."

This can happen to people, too. There are some things in life that can't be given to you. No one can prepare your mind or study for you. No one can develop your talents for you nor your relationship with God.

The most important things in life you must do for yourself. If you sit idly by for your parents, or your government, or your church to give you handouts, you are not any different than the Yellowstone bears.

In the 1970's there will be new policy formulations and programs which will call for many volunteer workers. The concern in every community for environmental improvements, the elimination of drug abuses, and the establishment of better schools and social services will call for dedicated volunteers whose compassion and skill will be necessary for success.

Farm Bureau has many good strong leaders who do a good share of the volunteer work in every community. Dr. Daniel Thursy, Dean of the School of Social Work at the Maryland University, gives us this list of "Ten Commandments for Volunteers." Paste it up where you can see it often as it is a good guide:

1. Understanding the job you undertake;
2. Accept training appreciatively, and contribute your own experience;
3. Match your interests to the needs about you and the job;
4. Serve faithfully, and report new insights about your work;
5. Discover its meaning to the total program of which it is a part;
6. Open yourself to opportunities for growth in skill, sympathy, self-confidence, and responsibility;
7. Value your special two-way role as community interpreter;
8. Contribute to supervision by self-evaluation and a willingness to ask;
9. Give loyalty to your institution and its program;
10. Take pride in the volunteer's career. It pays handsomely in treasures of the spirit.

CIVILIAN MISTAKES IN THE WAR

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as anyone who reads the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the local press here in Washington knows, one of the most troubling problems on the domestic scene today is the growing "antimilitary" mood around the country. Fortunately, the farther one gets away from the Washington-New York axis, the less you hear or read about this rather peculiar philosophy and in that regard I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial appearing in the July 24, 1971, edition of the Peoria Journal Star, entitled "Civilian Mistakes in the War." I include the text of the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

CIVILIAN MISTAKES IN THE WAR

When four British stenographers put together the "history" of World War II while so working for the War Cabinet, they described it with rare perspective as "the history of the war as it was fought—on paper" in London.

Now that we have the "purloined papers" coming out in book form, as strung together in 47 volumes originally by 30 or 40 "whiz kids", we begin to realize that this, too, is only one piece of the real history involved.

The "real war" is not included, and more than half of the paper war is also left out (state department and White House files were not available, and not all Pentagon files).

Finally, there is yet another essential element missing. A definitive history of the "peace movement."

Future historians will be a good deal more comprehensive in their studies, and much more succinct in their writing, no doubt. When that happens, the really unique feature of this conflict over other U.S. conflicts is obvious.

It is bound to get heavy emphasis in the future.

That is the role played by the "peace movement." Dean Rusk has recently said that the mistake he recognizes "personally" is that he "underestimated the tenacity of the North Vietnamese," and "over estimated the capacity of the American people" to cope with "protracted war."

The statement and situation will inevitably be a keystone of the situation which sets this war apart from others.

The "peace movement" must then emerge as an organized activity from the first which had, indeed, significant influence in both Washington and Hanoi.

Clearly it served in Hanoi to strengthen the "tenacity" of the North Vietnamese be-

yond otherwise normal estimates, and it served in Washington to delay and to whittle decisions to half-measures while eroding "the capacity of the American people" to cope . . . beyond otherwise normal estimates.

It is the genuinely "freak element" in this "freak war", and it is hard to believe that these two unique circumstances in our history will not be linked as basic to what has happened.

It is beginning to be widely recognized that the "peace movement" did indeed have a crippling influence on the U.S. effort, at a time when a dyed-in-the-wool politician and a group of bright "armchair experts" were calling the shots.

These people bent, partly because they were convinced that "traditional" military doctrines were no longer valid in the age of instant communication, and technological weapons.

I, personally, have heard the top advisors of that time ridicule the "admirals and generals" as being blind to the fact that some of their fixed doctrines were obsolete—and specifically, the settled military doctrine of decentralization of operational decision-making.

I, personally, have heard top civilian hotshots boast how they bypassed the livid professional commanders to give direct orders of detailed operational nature even to individual ships of the fleet.

The military doctrine that you cannot run a war from the White House in Washington is not based, however, on the speed of communications. It is based on the nature of organized decision-making processes at the theater command level versus those in Washington.

Timing is life or death to military operations, and regardless of the speed of radio, neither the National Security Council nor the Foreign Relations committee can run a war and react on the kind of schedule reality demands.

The old axiom, most succinctly spoken by Bedford Forrest, ("Get there firstest with the mostest") was grossly violated.

Trying to soften the "peace protesters", the government in Washington systematically delayed—often for months—responding to estimates of the situation. When they did respond it was not to the situation of the moment, as a result, but usually to a situation as it had been months before.

This is a fundamental error in the business of applying killing force against somebody applying killing force to your people, and it was compounded by the fact that we advertised such response in advance during those delays and debates.

Those two errors, capital sins in professional military doctrine, were compounded a third time by the "parting down" arbitrarily of the military estimates by the "armchair experts."

Each such error was to assess its future cost in an ever longer and more costly war.

It has reached the point where some people are tired of paying the cost of these past mistakes and are eager to cancel such costs. The problem is that this is a "gut reaction" rather than a reasoned one.

Hence, there are potent reasons to believe that it would bring this thing full circle "ending it" with one last additional whopping mistake—also to be paid for later.

What is urgent is to end it in a way that works, and not perpetuate the "mistake" habit, and project future "costs" for fresh errors into the limitless future.

This is the only method that would really "break the chain."

No such activity in this world can be arbitrarily ended once and for all. Every action taken or not taken on this scale has its future consequences inescapably.

It is dangerously irresponsible to defy the future and act in the present as if one could arbitrarily cancel the past.

You just can't get away with it.

And we've made enough mistakes in this war without one more lulu!

HAPPY? NOT ON YOUR TRADE DEFICIT

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on June 11 of this year, I commented in these pages that:

If America is to remain a happy country, Americans must continue to sense that their country remains strong as they look outward toward the world. At the same time they must understand the purpose and see the opportunity of individual advancement as they look inward toward their lives. If we can preserve these feelings—that America is secure and that individual initiative within it still produces the best results, Americans will continue to cherish the idea of living in America.

Having written this prescription for the preservation of a happy Nation, I was shocked to discover in last evening's Washington Star the gloomy prospects of a trade deficit this year. One does not get the full impact of this probability until one also realizes that this may be the first full-year deficit since before the turn of the century, the year 1893, 78 years ago. Certainly this gives one food for thought concerning America's changing position in the world.

Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress, I have attempted, in these pages and elsewhere, to direct official and public attention to the worsening condition of America's textile industry. I have watched our favorable balance of trade shrink as the influx of foreign textile products grew to a flood. I have witnessed inaction on the part of Congress and the administration, as year by year more textile plants have closed and more textile jobs have been lost.

Is this inaction in the face of the above developments an effective way to assure Americans of the strength of their country's economy? Is this how we would persuade them to take heart in what remains of the purpose and the opportunity of individual advancement in this country? Is this how we would insure the public happiness, Mr. Speaker? I think not. I would like to direct attention to the following article from the Evening Star of July 29, 1971. I believe it indicates a need for a reexamination of America's economic and trade policies, not only as they relate to textiles but as they concern all sectors of our Nation's economy:

TRADE DEFICIT REPORT DARKEST OF THEM ALL

(By Lee M. Cohn)

The government has ground out another batch of gloomy economic statistics, but the Nixon administration contends that only one of the reports—on foreign trade—really is bad news.

Imports exceeded exports by $363 million in June, raising the cumulative foreign trade deficit to $803 million for the April-June quarter and $373 million for the first half of the year, the Commerce Department said.

This was the first time since 1950 that the United States has had a trade deficit for any calendar quarter. Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans has warned that there may be a deficit for all of 1971, which would be the first full-year deficit since 1893.

While admitting the trade picture is bleak, administration officials looked at the bright side of two other reports yesterday—that the federal budget deficit soared to $23.2 billion last fiscal year, and that the index of "leading" economic indicators declined in June.

THEORETICAL SURPLUS

Although the budget showed a big actual deficit, the administration expressed satisfaction that the theoretical "full-employment budget" registered at $2.5 billion surplus.

That is, there would have been a surplus if the economy had operated at full capacity—with consequently increased tax revenues for the government—instead of slogging through a recession.

On the leading indicators, which usually foreshadow ups and downs in the economy, the administration discounted the 0.5 percent decline in June as only a temporary break in a string of seven consecutive rises.

The $363 million foreign trade deficit in June compared with deficits of $205 million in May and $236 million in April. Last month's deficit was the biggest since February 1969.

With a trade surplus of $430 million in the first quarter and a deficit of $803 million in the second, there was a cumulative deficit of $373 million in the first half. Available records indicate this was the first deficit for a six-month period in this century.

INFLATION HURTS COMPETITION

The administration is not optimistic about any sharp improvements during the rest of this year, largely because inflation makes it difficult for the United States to compete against foreign producers for sales here and abroad.

Trade troubles have inspired demands in Congress for import quotas and other legislation to protect American companies from foreign competition, and to stimulate exports.

Last year's $2.7 billion surplus was far below the previously normal range of about $4 billion to $6 billion.

Apart from fundamental problems, a Commerce Department spokesman said, the U.S. trade deficit has been aggravated by "special situations," notably strikes and threatened strikes in steel and other industries.

Exports declined 3.2 percent to $3.66 billion in June, while imports increased 0.9 percent to $4.02 billion. From the first quarter to the second, exports declined 2.4 percent to $10.97 billion and imports increased 8.8 percent to $11.77 billion.

The $23.2 billion budget deficit reported for fiscal 1971, the year ended June 30, topped President Nixon's January forecast of $18.6 billion. When Nixon first sent the fiscal 1971 budget to Congress in January 1970, he predicted a $1.3 billion surplus.

RECESSION CUT TAXES

Revenues fell short of last January's projection by $5.9 billion because the economic recession cut into taxable profits and individual incomes.

Spending was held $1.2 billion below the January estimate, limiting the deficit's rise.

Revenues totaled $188.3 billion, down from $193.7 billion in fiscal 1970. Expenditures rose to $211.6 billion from $196.6 billion. The fiscal 1970 deficit was $2.8 billion.

Concern over big deficits is the key reason behind Nixon's decision last month against proposing tax cuts to spur the economy. Officials fear still bigger deficits would aggravate inflation psychology and undermine

financial markets—hurting rather than boosting the economy.

Despite the actual $23.2 billion deficit for fiscal 1971, the administration cited theoretical calculations of a "full-employment budget" in an effort to show that the budget was kept under control.

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally and George P. Shultz, director of the Office of Management and Budget, said that if the economy had operated at full capacity, tax revenues would have been $214.1 billion instead of the actual $188.3 billion, producing a surplus of $2.5 billion above actual expenditures.

JOBS IN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREAS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I have today joined in sponsoring the Economic Disaster Area Assistance Act which would provide jobs in economically depressed areas.

I have sponsored this bill as an alternative to the accelerated public works bill which was vetoed by the President and because I believe it is urgent that we extend prompt and sufficient relief to areas of high unemployment.

This bill would authorize the President, at the request of the Governor, to designate certain areas as economic disaster areas which would then ask for assistance to be used to relocate the unemployed, as loans to businesses and individuals to present foreclosures and repossessions, as unemployment assistance and food and housing grants to State and local governments to enable them to pay the State share of Federal matching programs, and as assistance to accelerate local projects already underway.

I hope that the House will act promptly on this proposal as the unemployment problems, which I might add are not only caused by faulty administration policy, but which have recently been aggravated by their lack of concern for the growing statistics, will only be solved by a concerned congressional effort. I do not foresee any leadership in this field from the administration.

The bill follows:

H.R.—

A bill to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as amended to establish an emergency Federal economic assistance program, to authorize the President to declare areas of the Nation which meet certain economic and employment criteria to be economic disaster areas, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Disaster Area Assistance Act of 1971".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares that—

(1) the human suffering, the loss of income, the dislocation of families, and the national economic loss caused by regional unemployment and economic downturns is a matter of critical national concern;

(2) the personal suffering caused by fiscal and monetary policies which result in high levels of unemployment and stagnant regional economies cannot be distinguished from the suffering caused by natural disasters such as floods, hurricanes, and fire; and

(3) there is a direct Federal responsibility to provide economic disaster assistance to individuals in regions of the country experiencing high unemployment and faltering economies to enable them to maintain their residences and to support their families without the human degradation, the loss in self-respect and the decline in confidence in the American Government which are caused by persistent unemployment, mortgage foreclosures, evictions, repossession of personal goods, business failure, and bankruptcy.

(b) It is the purpose of this Act to authorize the President of the United States to provide a direct program of Federal assistance to individuals, to State and to local government to alleviate the wasteful economic disruption and loss resulting from regional economic disasters by—

(1) establishing within the Department of Commerce an Office of Aid to Economic Disaster Areas;

(2) providing for a coordinated Federal response;

(3) authorizing extension and, in some cases, forgiveness of all or part of obligations due the Federal Government; and

(4) waiving certain administrative and procedural requirements of Federal programs to facilitate an early and coordinated program of relief.

SEC. 3. The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as amended, is further amended by adding a new title VI and by redesignating and renumbering subsequent titles and section numbers as appropriate:

"TITLE VI—EMERGENCY ECONOMIC DISASTER AREA RELIEF

"OFFICE OF AID TO ECONOMIC DISASTER AREAS

"SEC. 601. (a) There is hereby established within the Department of Commerce an Office of Aid to Economic Disaster Areas (hereinafter referred to as the "Office"). The Office shall have a Director who shall be appointed by the President to serve at his pleasure, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"(b) The Director of the Office may employ such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out the Office's functions under this Act. In addition, the Office may employ and fix the compensation of such experts and consultants as may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions under this Act, in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code (but without regard to the last sentence thereof).

"(c) The Director of the Office shall be compensated at the rate provided for grade GS–18 in the General Schedule contained in section 5332(a) of title 5, United States Code.

"(d) It shall be the duty and function of the Office and the Director—

"(1) to carry out the purposes of this Act;

"(2) to assist and advise the President on methods, policies, and programs designed to reduce unemployment and to stimulate the economies of areas designated as economic disaster areas pursuant to section 602;

"(3) to train and have available a professional staff of Federal coordinating officers for assignment to areas designated as economic disaster areas;

"(4) to review and appraise the various Federal assistance programs for the purpose of determining the extent to which such programs and activities do or can contribute to reducing regional unemployment and stimulating regional economies; and

"(5) to make such studies, reports, and recommendations as the President may request.

"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated for the administration of the Office not to exceed $2,500,000 for each fiscal year.

"DESIGNATION OF ECONOMIC DISASTER AREAS

"SEC. 602. (a) The President, on the request of the Governor of a State is authorized to designate as an economic disaster area an area or community, without regard to political or geographical boundaries, if due to the loss, removal, curtailing, or closing of a major source or sources of employment—

"(1) the average unemployment in the area for at least three consecutive months is 150 per centum of the national average for the preceding calendar year; or

"(2) the current unemployment rate in the area is in excess of the national average for the prior month and has increased by an least 100 per centum within the past twelve months; or

"(3) there is a current unemployment rate in the area of 6 per centum or more and there are such other critical economic conditions as the President determines warrant assistance under this title.

"(b) Any designation under this section shall continue for a minimum period of one year.

"FEDERAL COORDINATING OFFICER

"SEC. 603. (a) Immediately upon the President's designation of a major disaster area, the Director of the Office shall assign a Federal coordinating officer to the designated area. The coordinating officer shall coordinate the administration of all Federal programs authorized under this title.

"(b) The Governor of a State in which an area has been designated an economic disaster area shall appoint a State official to serve as a State coordinating officer to work with the Federal coordinating officer.

"ASSISTANCE OF OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES

"SEC. 604. (a) At the direction of the President, and under the management of the Director and the Federal coordinating officer, all Federal agencies are hereby authorized to provide assistance to an economic disaster area by—

"(1) utilizing or otherwise making available with or without reimbursement therefor, personnel, equipment, supplies, and other resources; and

"(2) donating or lending real and personal property determined to be surplus to the needs of the Federal Government to State and local government;

"(b) Federal agencies may be reimbursed for expenditures made under this title from funds appropriated for the purposes of this title. Any funds received by Federal agencies as reimbursement for services or supplies furnished under the authority of this section shall be deposited to the credit of the appropriation or approriations currently available for such services or supplies.

"(c) In carrying out the purposes of this title, the Federal coordinating officer is authorized to accept and utilize the services or facilities of any State or local government, or of any agency, office, or employee thereof, with the consent of such government. Any Federal agency, in performing any activities under this section, is, with the approval of the Federal coordinating officer, authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such temporary personnel as may be necessary, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, to employ experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of such title, and to incur obligations on behalf of the United States by contract or otherwise to achieve the purposes of this title.

"AUTHORITY TO REPROGRAM FUNDS TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

"SEC. 605. (a) To create new employment opportunities and to improve the economies of areas designated as economic disaster areas

pursuant to section 602, the President is hereby authorized to reprogram up to 15 per centum of any federally appropriated funds scheduled for expenditure in an economic disaster area into other programs which are better able to relieve economic distress and reduce unemployment, and respond to the condition presented in that area.

"(b) Sixty days before exercising authority granted pursuant to section 605(a) to reprogram funds, the Director of the Office shall transmit to the Congress a report identifying the source of funds proposed to be reprogramed, the proposed use of the funds, and the economic and employment benefits which are anticipated. The reprograming shall become effective unless either the House or the Senate by resolution disapproves within sixty calendar days of receiving the report: *Provided*, That if Congress is not in session the reprograming authority granted pursuant to section 605(a) shall not be exercised.

"FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

"SEC. 606. The President, with the concurrence of the Director of the Office, is hereby authorized to direct any Federal agency charged with the administration of a Federal grant-in-aid program to modify or waive, such administrative or procedural conditions for assistance which impede, frustrate or prevent the granting of timely assistance under such programs to individuals and governmental units in areas designated as economic disaster areas.

"FEDERAL ECONOMIC RECOVERY FUND

"SEC. 607. (a) There is hereby established a separate fund in the Treasury of the United States to be known as the Federal economic recovery fund (hereinafter called the 'economic recovery fund') which shall remain available until expended as hereinafter provided.

"(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the economic recovery fund $1,250,000,000 and such funds as are necessary in subsequent years to maintain the fund at a level of $1,250,000,000, to be used by the President for the purposes set forth in this section and in this title.

"(c) The Director of the Office, together with the heads of other Federal agencies, are directed to review existing Federal grant-in-aid, loan and loan guarantee programs, and prepare a report identifying those programs eligible for assistance from the economic recovery fund. In addition, assistance may include, but shall not be limited to—

"(1) loans to businesses and individuals to enable them to meet business and residential mortgage payments and to prevent foreclosure, eviction, and repossession of personal property;

"(2) unrestricted grants to State and local governments to implement local initiatives and projects designed to relieve unemployment and stimulate the economy, but which are not eligible for existing grant-in-aid programs;

"(3) grants to accelerate Federal, State, or local projects which are underway or on which the planning is completed or substantially completed;

"(4) relocation assistance for unemployed individuals and their families;

"(5) unemployment assistance, without regard to the maximum duration of benefits available under the unemployment compensation program of the State in which the economic disaster area is located, but such assistance shall not exceed the maximum amount set by the State and shall be reduced to the extent benefits are available under State law;

"(6) housing assistance and any necessary assistance to assure that all individuals in the designated area have a balanced diet of nutritious food;

"(7) grants to States and units of local government to enable them to pay the State share of other Federal grant-in-aid programs which would assist economic recovery;

"(8) grants or loans to nonprofit organizations and loan guarantees to private profitmaking organizations for job creation and holding major employers who would otherwise substantially reduce employment in the area; and

"(9) such other assistance which the Director of the Office, with the concurrence of the President, determines to be necessary and best suited to meet the needs of persons living within an economic disaster area.

"REVOCATION OF ELIGIBILITY

"SEC. 608. Any region designated as an economic disaster area shall remain eligible for Federal assistance under this title for a minimum period of one year. After that time, the Director of the Office may recommend the continuation of an area on the designated list of eligible areas only after a full review of the local economy, the area's employment level, and the improvements resulting from assistance made available under this title. Benefits made available under this title shall be phased out over a reasonable period of time, not to exceed one year from the time when the area is determined to be ineligible for further assistance under this title.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 609. As used in this title—

"(1) 'Director' means the Director of the Office of Aid to Economic Disaster Areas;

"(2) 'economic disaster area' means a geographical area which the President has designated as meeting the criteria of section 602 of this title;

"(3) 'Federal agency' means any department, independent establishment, Government corporation, or other agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government;

"(4) 'Federal coordinating officer' means an employee of the Office of Aid to Economic Disaster Areas who shall serve as the chief Federal officer in dealing with areas designated as economic disaster areas;

"(5) 'Federal economic recovery fund' means the fund established in section 607 of this title to finance the programs authorized by this title;

"(6) 'Governor' means the chief executive of any State;

"(7) 'local government' means any country, city, village, town, district, or other political subdivision of any State, and includes any rural community or unincorporated town or village, and, for the purposes of this title, shall include any Indian reservation or Indian community which enjoys a trust relationship with the United States;

"(8) 'State' means any State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and

"(9) 'United States' means the fifty States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands."

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, too many citizens today are frustrated because they believe that the Government is no longer representative of their views. Some weeks ago, I distributed a questionnaire to the people of the Seventh District of Michigan so that they could express their views on the issues.

Today, I would like to insert into the RECORD the results of this questionnaire—based on the returns from over 10,000 citizens:

I NEED YOUR ADVICE

THE ECONOMY

The nation's economy affects everybody. It involves prices, wages, taxes, government spending and every citizen's pocketbook. Few things have such far-reaching effects on both the individual and the nation.

Here are several important questions on economic issues. How do you feel about each?

A. Listed below are seven possible problem areas of the economy. Please rank each of them by putting a #1 next to the area that you think is the most serious problem and continue until you have put a #7 next to the area causing the least serious problem.

(Number represents the % that ranked each as greatest problem.)

Inflation	34
Government spending	30
Taxes	21
Prices	7
Wages	4
Unemployment	11
Interest rates	2

B. 1) Are the Administration's economic polices clear to you?

	Percent
Yes	22
No	58
Not sure	21

2) Do you think these policies are working?

	Percent
Yes	8
No	58
Not sure	33

C. What do you think should be done to create a more healthy economy?

Please rank the following courses of action in the order that you feel would help the economy the most—starting with a #1 next to the action you feel would do the most good and continuing through to a #8 next to the action you feel would do the least good.

(Number represents the % that ranked each as greatest problem).

Tax reductions for business to invest and expand	12
Reduced interest rates and expanded money supply for mortgages and other loans	26
Wage and price controls for selected industries	15
Wage and price controls across the board	35
Informal government pressure and voluntary restraints on wages and prices	14
Increased government spending	2
Deficit spending by the government (spending more than tax income to stimulate the economy)	5
Do nothing	2

D. Compared to last year, do you expect to save more or spend more money during the coming year?

	Percent
Save more	18
Spend more	48
About the same	35

E. One very important factor in the economy is the public psychology, in other words, the level of individual confidence, or lack of it, in the economic outlook.

What is your economic "feel" or prediction for 1971 and 1972? Check one for each year.

[In precent]

	Good	Fair	Poor	Not sure
1971	11	49	34	6
1972	25	33	23	18

REVENUE SHARING

State and local governments collect about 33 percent of all taxes. These governments are fast running out of money for needed programs and problem solving—partly because needs keep rising, and partly because people are fed up with higher taxes.

As one method of meeting this need the Administration is proposing a new concept called "Revenue Sharing." Under this plan, the federal government would distribute some of the federal income tax money that it collects, directly to the state and local governments to use any way they see fit. For the first year, the amount of federal revenue to be shared in this way would be approximately $5–10 billion.

Here are some questions which will help you and the Congress to make these judgments. How do you feel about each one?

A. Do you feel that the federal government should distribute federal tax revenue to state and local governments to use however they wish—with no strings attached?

	Percent
Not sure	13
Agree	30
Disagree	57

B. In addition to revenue sharing, there are other ways to meet the crisis of financing state and local needs. Here are some of the alternatives. Please grade each one.

[In percent]

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Raise State and local taxes and lower Federal taxes proportionately	20	31	18	32
Revenue sharing with clear guidelines on how to spend the dollars	25	33	20	22
Fully Federal financing and control of the welfare program	29	23	13	34

C. How much confidence do you have in the ability of each level of government to spend your money wisely and to perform effectively? Please grade each one.

[In percent]

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Federal Government	3	17	36	45
State Government	3	22	37	37
Local government	6	22	28	44

D. There are many arguments for and against revenue sharing. How do you feel about each one below?

1) Revenue sharing will decrease the public responsibility of state and local governments because these governments will no longer be accountable to the people for raising the money they spend.

	Percent
Agree	32
Disagree	44
Not sure	24

2) Revenue sharing won't make any difference because $5–10 billion is not anywhere near enough money to make a large impact on the problems we face—no matter which level of government spends the funds.

	Percent
Agree	28
Disagree	47
Not sure	25

THE DRAFT

A. Do you feel the draft should be ended as soon as possible and converted to an all-volunteer professional military, except when there is a formal declaration of war?

	Percent
Yes	63
No	30
Not sure	7

B. Do you support a plan where all young men would put in a year of national service either right after high school or any time before age 23, serving in their choice of the following range of programs—military, Teacher Corps, VISTA, Peace Corps, community development, etc.

	Percent
Yes	64
Disagree	28
Not sure	8

C. If you feel a year of national service makes sense, should it also be required of young women of the same age as long as they do not have children?

	Percent
Yes	44
No	45
Not sure	11

ENVIRONMENT

Everyone sees the many man-made threats to our environment, and everybody is for eliminating pollution of all kinds. But now the issues are *how* to do it, *how* to pay it, and *who* will pay for it. Where do the responsibilities lie, where do the dollars come from and what trade-offs are we willing to make between individual freedom on the one hand and restriction in the public interest on the other hand?

How do you feel about each of the following statements?

(1) There should be strong penalties for individuals who pollute and I am willing to accept these penalties if I am a violator.

	Percent
Agree	89
Disagree	5
Not sure	6

(2) There should be strong penalties for corporations and private organizations who pollute.

	Percent
Agree	93
Disagree	3
Not sure	3

(3) Consumers should be willing to pay the price increases which will result from corporations spending more to comply with strong environment pollution regulations.

	Percent
Agree	54
Disagree	36
Not sure	10

(4) Government at all levels should take on the responsibility of cleaning up the environment even though this may mean higher taxes or cutting other services.

	Percent
Agree	56
Disagree	31
Not sure	13

(5) Public education, along with voluntary restraints for individuals and corporations, is a better approach than immediate and strongly enforced regulations.

	Percent
Agree	33
Disagree	51
Not sure	15

(6) Should we set up a substantial portion of federal income tax revenues for environment matters only—much like the way the Highway Trust Fund is used to build highways.

	Percent
Agree	61
Disagree	22
Not sure	17

CITIZENS' VOICE

1) Do you feel that new citizen organizations and processes, in addition to the political parties, are needed to give citizens a more effective voice in governmental decisions?

	Percent
Badly needed	58
Slightly needed	24
Not needed	18

2) Would you be willing to participate actively (you volunteer time, energy, $15 per year dues) in one of these new efforts (for example, Common Cause, being formed by John Gardner)?

	Percent
Yes	30
No	31
Not sure	39

SPENDING PRIORITY

The federal government collects almost 67 percent of all taxes. How that money—over $200 billion—is spent is important to every citizen.

Listed below are some of the major areas where federal tax money is spent, along with the amount the Administration wants to spend for each area this coming year. Congress must consider each proposal and decide if it agrees, then vote to accept the plan or to change it.

How would you allocate the money in our national budget? Would you spend more, less, or the same on each of the items below?

Please keep in mind that $229 billion is near the limit taxpayers will send to the federal government. If you increase some programs, you must be willing to decrease others. Or, you must be willing to increase taxes and/or the national debt.

This budget table is not complete. Only the most important items are listed and therefore the numbers will not add up to $229 billion or any other figure. The first column of figures is the Coming Year's Budget Request in Billions of Dollars (1.0=1,000,000,000). The second column of figures is the Percent of Total Budget ($229 Billion).

Budget area	Billions	Percent	We should spend— More	Less	Same
Defense	$77.5	33.8	6	73	21
Vietnam	15.0		5	81	14
ABM program	1.3		26	43	31
Military pay raises	3.9		44	27	30
Atomic Energy Commission	1.9		18	40	43
Foreign aid	4.0	1.8	3	77	19
Environment	3.6	1.9	72	6	22
Water quality	1.1		77	3	20
Air quality	.2		75	4	21
Natural resources	4.2		65	6	29
Land management	.83		53	14	33
Recreation	.62		45	19	37
Transportation and commerce	$10.9	4.8	20	27	54
Highway program	4.9		29	21	50
Air transportation	1.8		12	47	42
Post office	1.3		21	27	53
Education and manpower	8.8	3.8	55	13	32
Elementary and secondary education	1.8		58	10	33
Higher education	1.1		43	20	37
Vocational and adult education	.49		53	14	33
Poverty—OEO programs	1.0	.5	28	39	32
Social Security	34.2	14.5	49	10	41
Veterans' benefits	11.0	4.6	34	9	57

Budget area	Billions	Percent	We should spend— More	Less	Same
Peace Corps	0.07		21	34	45
Space research	3.2	1.4	13	60	27
Manned flights	1.3		12	64	24
Health programs	16.0	7.5	43	13	39
School lunch	.56		32	29	39
Food stamps	2.0		20	53	27
Medicare-medicaid	12.4		43	17	41
National institutes of health	1.7		45	14	41
Cancer research	.01		74	4	22
Civil rights	.46	.2	19	48	31
Housing and community development	4.4	2.0	25	44	31
Anticrime	0.7	0.3	76	4	20
Department of Labor	7.2	3.0	12	39	49
Department of Agriculture—Farm program	9.5	4.0	21	42	37
General Government costs—Agencies, etc	4.9	2.2	3	66	32
Executive department—Presidency	.07		3	56	41
Judicial—Courts	.14		22	42	36
Congress	.41		4	53	43
Interest on national debt	19.6	8.6	17	36	47
Revenue sharing with States	5.0	2.2	51	21	29

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

The cost of medical and health care, like many things, continues to increase. In 1970 Americans will spend a total of $58 billion in health care—about twice as much as in 1960.

Adequate health care is a financial problem for many citizens, and the quality and accessibility of health and medical care vary widely. There is a new national debate about these issues.

The Congress is evaluating several different proposals for national health insurance. The problem is how to strike a more equitable and efficient balance between growing health care needs on the one hand and limited medical, professional and financial resources on the other—without compromising the integrity and initiative of the medical profession or the needs and rights of individuals.

I need your help in evaluating this complex issue. The fundamental questions underlying any approach to national health insurance are: What are the problems and priorities, who should be covered, what scope of benefits should there be, where does the money come from and who pays it, how involved should the government become in the administration of health insurance, health services and medical care?

Please answer each of the following questions and mark all of the answers to each question.

Please rank the following items in order of priority from the biggest problem to the smallest—as you see them. Put a #1 next to the item you think is the most serious problem and deserves the highest priority and move down to #6, the one you feel is the least problem and the smallest priority.

A. What are the problems and priorities?

	Percent
Availability of doctors	18
Quality of health care	9
Cost of health care	54
Availability of medical service for the poor and needy	14
Adequacy of present medical insurance plans (e.g. Blue Shield, Blue Cross)	6
Adequacy of existing medical facilities	3

B. Who should be covered in a new national health insurance plan?

Just those who cannot afford it—the needy and poor—with everyone else covered by existing plans and programs.

	Percent
Yes	37
No	62

Those who can afford some, but perhaps not the entire, amount of their health care needs—basically the large group of working Americans who are striving to make ends meet.

	Percent
Yes	66
No	34

Everybody—even if they can afford complete private health care.

	Percent
Yes	32
No	67

C. Where should the money come from to finance a national health insurance plan and who should pay for it? (Remember a combination of these sources is possible, so remember to mark each answer either yes or no.)

Employers should cover the cost, in which case the cost will be passed along to the consumer in the form of price increases or it may substitute for increased direct wages to the employee.

	Percent
Yes	46
No	54

Citizens should pay increased social security taxes to get new health insurance coverage.

	Percent
Yes	38
No	62

The Federal government should pay out of general income tax revenues.

	Percent
Yes	55
No	45

Everybody else should contribute to their health premium according to their ability to pay.

	Percent
Yes	71
No	29

D. How involved should the government become in the administration of health insurance, health services, and medical care?

Should the government regulate or control doctor and medical fees?

	Percent
Yes	62
No	38

Under a national health plan, which covers those who cannot afford private insurance, should the individual be willing to accept an available or assigned doctor at a group or public clinic as opposed to going to the particular doctor of his choice?

	Percent
Yes	59
No	41

The United States still faces several basic strategic issues in Southeast Asia. How do you feel about each of the questions below? First, the background data:

During the last two years, American troop level has been reduced from 535,000 to 350,000. Certainly, we are spending about $1 billion every three weeks in Southeast Asia. About 70 American soldiers die in S.E. Asia each week. Over the last eight years, over 50,000 Americans have died, and over 400,000 have been wounded. We have spent a total of $140 billion.

A. A proposal has been made in Congress to require the U.S. government to bring home all U.S. troops before the end of this year. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this proposal?

	Percent
For	70
Against	30

B. Are you satisfied that President Nixon is keeping his campaign commitment to end the war in Vietnam?

	Percent
Yes	32
No	49
Not sure	19

C. How soon do you think U.S. forces should be out of Vietnam?

	Percent
By the end of this year	63
By mid-1972	14
By the end of 1972	14
1973 or later	10

D. Should the Congress

1. Vote to terminate the President's power to use U.S. helicopters, air support, and bombing in Laos and Cambodia—effective immediately?

	Percent
Yes	47
No	53

2. Vote to declare war on North Vietnam?

	Percent
Yes	17
No	83

3. Permit the President to conduct the war in Southeast Asia as he alone determines without full Congressional authorization?

	Percent
Yes	15
No	85

SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT

The government has been funding research and development of the SST, a supersonic transport plane that would fly 1500 miles per hour if built.

Do you feel that the $290 million for the SST is a justified expenditure at this time?

	Percent
Agree	12
Disagree	76
Not sure	12

SUPPORT FOR A FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday 47 Members of this body, together with four Members of the Senate, joined in urging their counterparts in North Atlantic Assembly nations to participate in forming a multinational association to promote public support for a federation of democratic nations.

Representative Morris K. Udall represented the group with this statement:

STATEMENT

Democratic civilization and perhaps human survival are threatened by a tidal wave of

global problems: the nuclear arms race, explosive population growth, the prospect of widespread famine, environmental degradation, a succession of currency crises threatening economic stability, and many more. Problems such as these transcend national boundaries. It is not yet clear how any of them can be solved, but it is clear that all of them would be much easier to solve if most of the world's problem-solving power, now divided among the advanced democratic nations, were united by common democratic institutions. The division of this power among existing national governments may not only render them unable to cope effectively with these problems, but may in some cases be a reason that the problems exist. We believe, therefore, that the time has come when free people must work together to develop a more just and lasting framework for world peace and stability.

We cannot expect this to occur without broad support from the people who comprise the major democratic nations of the world. In the end it must be the people who decide whether they are to be united under common government or to continue under the present, however inadequate, system of divided and disparate decision making.

It has been suggested that progress is best achieved through a series of small, pragmatic steps and that the most effective course of action is to strengthen functional forms of cooperation among national governments. This may have been true in the past, but let us recognize that such forms of cooperation are not adequate for the solution of the grave problems we face today. We believe that, without federal political institutions, groups of independent nations will be unable to mobilize adequate resources, make plans, establish priorities, or act rapidly enough to save themselves and the world from ultimate catastrophe.

Believing this to be true, we have given our support to the formation of a multinational association to promote public support for a federal union of the democratic nations of the world. The proposal for such an association already has 186 sponsors in the parliaments of 12 nations as well as the endorsement of many private citizens in various of these countries.

In view of this evidence of a growing constituency for some kind of federal union, we believe it is now time for such an association to be formed, and we have taken steps to arrange a meeting for this purpose during the 1971 meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly to be held in Ottawa, September 23–29. We urge all the members of parliaments sending delegations to the Assembly to join us in sponsoring formation of this association and, where possible, to attend the organizing meeting of the association.

Formation of such an association is only one small step, but we believe it holds the promise of a quickened pace toward the goal of federal union, so long pursued but so long unattained. With your help this movement can become a vital force in each of our countries, building the popular support so necessary to any meaningful change in the structure of government. With time running out, we believe we must unite against our problems before our problems unite against us. This can be a start.

Joining in the statement were the following members of this body:

Joseph P. Addabbo, Thomas L. Ashley, Herman Badillo, Edward P. Boland, Tim Lee Carter, Don H. Clausen, Ronald Dellums, John D. Dingell, Bob Eckhardt.

Don Edwards, Joshua Eilberg, Frank E. Evans, Paul Findley, Edwin B. Forsythe, Donald Fraser, Richard Fulton, Martha Griffiths, Gilbert Gude, Seymour Halpern.

Henry Helstoski, Frank Horton, Hastings Keith, Edward I. Koch, Robert L. Leggett, Spark M. Matsunaga, Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., Joseph G. Minish, William S. Moorhead.

Bradford Morse, John E. Moss, Lucien N. Nedzi, Robert N. C. Nix, James G. O'Hara, Bertram L. Podell, Richardson Preyer, Melvin Price, Albert H. Quie, Charles B. Rangel, Thomas M. Rees.

Howard W. Robison, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Edward R. Roybal, James H. Scheuer, Morris K. Udall, Jerome R. Waldie, Jim Wright, John W. Wydler.

Also joining were the following Members of the Senate: HAROLD E. HUGHES, DANIEL K. INOUYE, JACOB K. JAVITS, and ROBERT W. PACKWOOD.

In a press conference announcing the statement, it was also announced that Representative UDALL has agreed to serve as acting chairman of the Ottawa organizing conference, and that Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the developers of the atomic bomb, will be among those participating. Urey, who is serving as honorary chairman of the organizing effort, personally recruiting UDALL for the organizing assignment on behalf of an ad hoc leadership committee including Harry Golden, North Carolina newspaper publisher; Jerry Voorhis, former California Congressman and former national chairman of the United World Federalists.

Others who have so far agreed to participate in organizing the Association are Turkish Senator Kasim Gulek, Canadian Senator Paul Martin, Representative DONALD FRASER, and myself. Gulek is a former president of the North Atlantic Assembly. Martin is Government leader of the Canadian Senate.

Among the sponsors of the proposed association are: Luiz Maria da Camara Pina, vice president of the Portuguese Corporative Chamber; Romain Fandel of Luxembourg, president of the North Atlantic Assembly; Pierre Gregoire, president of the Luxembourg House of Representatives; Senator JACOB JAVITS, chairman of the NAA Political Committee; Dr. Cahit Karakas, Minister for Public Works in Turkey; Dr. Helmut Lemke, 1970 leader of the NAA German delegation; Kenneth Lomas of the United Kingdom, rapporteur of the NAA Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs, and Information; Ivan Matteo Lombardo, former Minister of Industry in Italy; Roberto Lucifredi, vice chairman of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; Heinz Pöhler, chairman of the NAA Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs, and Information; Senator Georges Portmann, leader of the NAA French delegation; and Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, chairman, U.S. Joint Economic Committee. Altogether, 69 present Members of the U.S. Congress and 106 legislators from other nations are included among the sponsors.

In addition to those signing the statement, the following are also sponsors of the proposed association:

SPONSORS

Nuri Ademoglu—Turkish Senate
Mualla Akarca—Turkish Assembly
Orhan Akca—Turkish Senate
W. Albeda—Netherland 1st Chamber
Joaquin Alexandre—Portuguese Corp. Chbr.
Raffaele Allocca—Italian Chamber
Aldo Amadeo—Italian Chamber
Huseyin Balan—Turkish Assembly
Salvatore Barberi—Italian Chamber
Antonio Baslini—Italian Chamber
Nihat Bayramoglu—Turkish Assembly
Hüseyin Baytürk—Turkish Assembly
Cornelis Berkhouwer—Netherland 2nd Chbr.
Karl Bewerunge—German Bundestag
Fausto Bisantis—Italian Senate
Roland Boudet—French Assembly
Fredi Breidbach—German Bundestag
Edward W. Brooke—U.S. Senate
George E. Brown, Jr.—U.S. House (ret)
Daniel E. Button—U.S. House (ret)
Ahmet Çakmak—Turkish Assembly
Antonio Costa Silva Carvalho—Portuguese Corp. Chbr.
Manlio Cassandro—Italian Chamber
Angelo Castelli—Italian Chamber
Vittore Catella—Italian Chamber
Joseph Chabert—Belgian Chamber
Eduardo Augusto Arala Chaves—Portuguese Corp. Chbr.
Adriano Ciaffi—Italian Chamber
Frank M. Clark—U.S. House
Jorge L. Córdova—Puerto Rican Comsnr.
André Cornu—French Senate
Marcel Coucke—Belgian House
Luiz Maria da Camara Pina—Port. Corp. Chbr.
Carl Damm—German Bundestag
C. De Clercq—Belgian Senate
Paul De Keersmaeker—Belgian Chamber
Guy de la Vasselais—French Senate
Pierre de Montesquiou—French Assembly
Roger Dekeyzer—Belgian Senate
Paul Delforge—Belgian Chamber
Ignacio de Oliveira Camacho—Portuguese Corp. Chbr.
Jose De Oliveira Marques—Port. Corp. Chbr.
Roger de Vitton—French Assembly
K. de Vries—Netherland 1st Chamber
Musa Dogan—Turkish Assembly
Robert F. Drinan—U.S. House
Albert Ehm—French Assembly
Marvin L. Esch—U.S. House
Roman Fandel—Luxembourg Chamber
Per Federspiel—Danish Folketing
Ludwig Fellermaier—German Bundestag
Samuel N. Friedel—U.S. House (ret)
Karl Gatzen—German Bundestag
Giovanni Giraudi—Italian Chamber
Pierre Gregoire—Luxembourg Chbr. (Pres.)
Kasim Gulek—Turkish Senate
Ali Riza Güllüoglu—Turkish Senate
Fevzi Güngör—Turkish Assembly
Fred Harris—U.S. Senate
Margaret M. Heckler—U.S. House
Jaak Henckens—Belgian House
Georges Housiaux—Belgian Senate
Hubert H. Humphrey—U.S. Senate
Dieter Hussing—German Bundestag
Mauro Ianniello—Italian Chamber
Hans Edgar Jahn—German Bundestag
Cahit Karakas—Turkish Assembly
Oral Karaosmanoglu—Turkish Senate
Ignaz Kiechle—German Bundestag
Evelyn King—British Commons
Egon A. Klepsch—German Bundestag
Yigit Koker—Turkish Senate
Orhan Kor—Turkish Senate
Gottfried Koster—German Bundestag
Erik Kragh—Danish Folketing
Charles Laurent-Thouverey—French Senate
Helmut Lemke—German Bundestag
Ian Lloyd—British Commons
Kenneth Lomas—British Commons
Ivan Matteo Lombardo—Italian former Minister of Industry
Roberto Lucifredi—Italian Chamber (V. Chm)
Giuseppe Lupis—Italian Chamber
E. L. Mallalieu—British Commons
Michel Marquet—French Assembly
Louis Martin—French Senate
Richard McCarthy—U.S. House (ret)
George McGovern—U.S. Senate
Giuseppe Medici—Italian Senate

Lee Metcalf—U.S. Senate
André Monteil—French Senate
Frank E. Moss—U.S. Senate
Antonino Murmura—Italian Senate
Arnold Olsen—U.S. House (ret)
Ibrahim Öktem—Turkish Assembly
Özer Ölçmen—Turkish Assembly
Richard L. Ottinger—U.S. House (ret)
Yilmaz Öztuna—Turkish Assembly
A da Palma-Carlos—Portuguese Corp. Chbr.
Vincenzo Pavone—Italian Chamber
Carl D. Perkins—U.S. House
Gabriel Peronnet—French Assembly
Peter Petersen—German Bundestag
F. H. Piket—Netherland 1st Chamber
Winfried Pinger—German Bundestag
Jacques Pohl—Belgian Senate
Heinz Pöhler—German Bundestag
Georges Portmann—French Senate
William Proxmire—U.S. Senate
Graham Purcell—U.S. House
Lucien Radoux—Belgian House
Dietrich Rollman—German Bundestag
Kamil Sahinoglu—Turkish Assembly
Franco Servello—Italian Chamber
B. F. Sisk—U.S. House
Daniel Duarte Silva—Port. Corp. Chbr.
Henry P. Smith, III—U.S. House
Giorgio Spitella—Italian Chamber
Adlai Stevenson III—U.S. Senate
Allen Sulatycky—Canadian Commons
Michel Toussaint—Belgian Senate
Ahmet Musret Tuna—Turkish Senate
Alparslan Türkes—Turkish Assembly
Mehmet Unaldi—Turkish Senate
Ragip Uner—Turkish Senate
Robert G. Vandekerckhove—Belgian Senate
H. van Riel—Netherland 1st Chamber
Jerry Voorhis—U.S. House (ret)
Henk Vredeling—Netherland 2nd Chamber
Karl-Heinz Walkoff—German Bundestag
Patrick Wall—British Commons
Franz Weigl—German Bundestag
G. William Whitehurst—U.S. House
Lester L. Wolff—U.S. House
Adil Yaça—Turkish Assembly
Friedrich Zimmerman—German Bundestag

The basic aim of the association will be to establish a Federal union of democratic nations of the Atlantic Community, as the logical beginning for an even broader federation of nations acceptable under the union's constitution. The principal function of the association will be to inform and educate the people in all these nations concerning the implications of such a federation, with a view to stimulating their support for the political changes required.

Because this enterprise bears a close relationship to legislation under consideration by this body, I insert in the RECORD at this point an excerpt from the proposal to create a new association and an historical sketch of the movement of which this enterprise is a part.

The historical sketch follows:

INTRODUCTION TO PROPOSAL FOR AN ASSOCIATION TO DEVELOP WIDESPREAD POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

Federal union of the North Atlantic Treaty nations has been responsibly advocated for about 20 years. Federal union of the experienced democracies was advocated even before that, having been proposed more than 35 years ago.

Advocates of such union, only a few thousand strong, have devoted their efforts mainly to persuading the U.S. Government to call a convention of delegates from the NATO nations to explore the possibility of federating. Resolutions with this aim have been introduced in almost every U.S. Congress since 1949. One of these resulted in the Atlantic Convention of 1962 but the convention's recommendations have been ignored.

During this time, the concept or the resolutions for exploring it have been endorsed by hundreds of statesmen, scholars, and leaders from all walks of life in most of the NATO nations. Among these are several heads of state. Several of the resolutions have been supported by about a fourth of the U.S. Congress.

Simultaneously, people throughout the world have suffered from increasingly violent and more frequent wars, widening and worsening racial strife, rapidly spreading environmental degradation, and severe economic instability.

Despite dedicated advocacy and much prestigious support, and confronted by a tidal wave of global problems, the prospects for success see dim. What is the reason? Is the strategy the best? Will it suffice to seek action only in the United States? Is it sufficient to seek support only among elites? Is an enterprise which would affect the politics, economics, and welfare of the entire population of many nations likely to succeed without wide and strong acceptance by the public? Can it be successfully promoted without numerous and various initiatives?

Believing the answers to all these questions to be negative, it is proposed to begin the development of significant public support, and the encouragement of widespread initiatives throughout the Atlantic Community nations by an organization directed by a multi-national group of persons who are dedicated to the purpose.

PROGRESS TOWARD A FEDERAL UNION OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS: 1922–1971

This sketch omits many important developments and personalities in favor of some with which the reader may be less familiar. A more complete history is planned, and contributions are welcome.

1. 1922: European Movement. Count Coudenhove-Kalergi of Austria organized an association to promote a confederation of the European peoples. The cause was supported by such statesmen as Briand of France, Adenauer of Germany, and Churchill of the United Kingdom. It was revived after World War II in such organizations as the United Europe Movement and the European Union of Federalists and it led to the formation of such associations as the Council of Europe and the European Economic Community.

2. 1939 March: Union Now. First publication of the book Union Now by C. K. Streit, former League of Nations correspondent for The New York Times. More than 250,000 copies were sold. It was later published in the United Kingdom, France, and Sweden. Streit argued that intergovernmental associations, such as the League of Nations, are structurally incapable of keeping the peace, and he proposed a federal union of the democratic nations of the world. He argued that such a reform could not be achieved through diplomacy, and proposed a constitutional convention like the one at Philadelphia in 1787 that produced the US Constitution.

3. 1939 July: Federal Union Inc. Readers of Union Now formed a US organization, incorporated the following year with the name Federal Union, to promote a federal union of the democratic nations by gaining the support of national leaders for a constitutional convention. C. K. Streit was designated its President. It acquired tax-deductible status to attract contributions, but thereby relinquished support of political activity. After the formation of the UN in 1945, a group split away to form the United World Federalists. Federal Union began publication of the monthly magazine Freedom & Union 1946 October with Streit as editor. The organization and magazine still continue under this arrangement.

4. 1940: British-French Union proposed. With the German invasion of France threatening its collapse, Winston Churchill proposed to the French Cabinet that the United Kingdom and the French Republic unite under a constitution. This proposal had been urged by General Charles de Gaulle, then in Britain as French Undersecretary of State for National Defense. He had received the proposal from members of the French Staff in London, including Jean Monnet and Emmanuel Monick, both of whom were familiar with Streit's proposal.

5. 1948: European intergovernmental cooperation. Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands formed Benelux to coordinate their trade policies. France, the United Kingdom, and the Benelux countries signed the Brussels Pact for common defense. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was formed to allocate US Marshall Plan aid and to work together for post-war recovery. In May, the Congress of Europe at the Hague called for the establishment of common institutions with the aim of political and economic union.

6. 1949 May: Council of Europe. Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom formed the Council of Europe to facilitate cooperation in every area but defense. Its principal organs are a Committee of Ministers and a Consultative Assembly of national parliamentarians. Austria, Cyprus, the German Federal Republic, Greece, Iceland, Malta, Switzerland, and Turkey later joined.

7. 1949 January: Atlantic Union Committee (AUC). Advocates of federal union formed this US organization to promote a US inititive for a federal convention of the allied democracies of the North Atlantic. Justice Owen J. Roberts resigned from the US Supreme Court to promote federal union, and he became the first President of the AUC. Former Undersecretary of State William L. Clayton and former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson were designated Vice-Presidents. Similar committees were later formed in other countries: in the German Federal Republic, the Union Atlantischer Foederalisten led by Dr. Rudolph Wagner and the Deutsche Atlantische Gesellschaft led by Dr. Otto Lenz; the Nederlands Comite voor Atlantische Unie led by Baron Michiels van Kessenich; in France, the Mouvement pour l'Union Atlantique led by Firmin Roz; and in the United Kingdom, the Friends of Atlantic Union led by Sir Hartley Shawcross.

8. 1949 April: North Atlantic Treaty. Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States signed the North Atlantic Treaty. It was primarily for defense, but Article II called for cooperation in political and economic matters. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was later formed to implement the treaty. Greece and Turkey acceded to the treaty in 1952 and the German Federal Republic in 1955.

9. 1949 July: Atlantic Convention Resolutions. US Senator Estes Kefauver and 26 other senators introduced the first resolution calling for a convention to discuss federal union. It was opposed by the US State Department under Dean Acheson, and did not come to a vote. Similar resolutions were introduced in both houses of the US Congress in 1951, 1955, and 1958 with the same result. State Department opposition continued under Secretary John Foster Dulles, who called it "premature", even though he had supported it when he was a candidate for the Senate in 1950.

10. 1950 June: Canadian response. The Canadian Senate unanimously adopted a resolution which approved the calling of a con-

vention by the US to discuss federal union. In 1952, the Canadian Parliament, led by Alistair Stewart, voted to accept an invitation from the US to the NATO nations for a convention to discuss federal union.

11. 1952 May: European Defense Community. Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom signed a treaty for the unification of their defenses. A plan for a European Political Community was prepared at the same time. Both proposals collapsed when the French Parliament rejected the treaty in 1954. The Brussels Pact was then converted into the Western European Union.

12. 1952 July: European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands formed the supranational ECSC at the instigation of such statesmen as Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman of France.

13. 1954: Bilderberg Meetings. HRH, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, organized a meeting of statesmen, scholars, businessmen, and labor leaders from the North Atlantic countries to discuss their common political, economic, and military problems. He has annually chaired such meetings since.

14. 1954 June: Atlantic Treaty Association. An association of national organizations from each NATO country was formed to promote public support for NATO. It has since held conferences annually. The US affiliate was called the American Council on NATO.

15. 1954 October: Declaration of Atlantic Unity. First open letter released, signed by 244 leaders from 9 NATO countries, which called for a conference of parliamentarians from the NATO countries. Led by federalists Christian Herter, Joseph Grew, William Clayton, and Lithgow Osborne of the US, it had held a meeting in New York in 1952 to promote such a conference. Walden Moore was designated Director.

16. 1955 July: North Atlantic Assembly. NATO Parliamentarians Conference organized in Paris by a meeting of parliamentarians from the 15 NATO countries. It had been instigated by a parliamentary group in Canada led by Wishart Robertson. It established a permanent secretariat and annual meetings. The name was changed to North Atlantic Assembly in 1966.

17. 1956 December: Committee of Three. The North Atlantic Council of NATO ministers approved the report of Foreign Ministers Halvard Lange of Norway, Gaetano Martino of Italy, and Lester Pearson of Canada. They recommended reforms in NATO procedures, including better consultation. They declared that the long-range aim of NATO is "the development of an Atlantic Community as a vital and vigorous political reality" and that the nation-state is no longer adequate for progress or even survival.

18. 1957: European Economic Community (EEC). Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands formed the EEC, a supranational organization to eliminate barriers to trade, investment, employment, and corporate organization among its members whose ultimate aim is political union.

19. 1958: International Movement for Atlantic Union (IMAU). The IMAU was founded in Paris to coordinate the activity of its national affiliates for a federal union of the Atlantic Community. Federal Union became the US affiliate. Those who have served as officers include: Gen. Pierre Billotte, Count Robert de Dampierre, and Maurice Schumann of France; Sir Hartley Shawcross and Sir Geoffrey de Freitas of the United Kingdom; Frans van Cauwelaert of Belgium, Wishart Robertson of Canada; Dr. Kurt Birrenbach of the German Federal Republic; Ivan Matteo Lombardo of Italy; Baron Michiels van Kessenich of the Netherlands; and C. K. Streit, Mrs. Chase Osborn, Representative Paul Findley, and Percival Brundage of the US. (A partial list of other leading figures in the IMAU is attached.)

20. 1959: Atlantic Congress. Sir Geoffrey de Freitas and other leaders of the Third NATO Parliamentarians Conference organized a six-day convention in London of 650 eminent citizens from the NATO countries. It recommended an Atlantic Convention, an Atlantic Institute, and an organization that was later realized as the OECD.

21. 1959: Atlantic Convention Resolution. The fifth Atlantic Convention Resolution was introduced in the US Congress. Secretary of State Christian Herter withdrew State Department opposition. In 1960 February the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported by a vote of 8–7 a modified version which called for a convention of the NATO countries "to explore means by which greater cooperation and unity of purpose may be developed." In 1960 September the modified resolution passed the Senate 51–44 and the House of Representatives 288–103 and was signed by President Eisenhower.

22. 1960 December: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The treaty to establish the OECD was signed and it was formally organized 1961 September. By 1970, its members included the NATO countries plus Austria, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland, with limited participation by Australia and Yugoslavia.

23. 1961: Atlantic Council of the US (ACUS). Having won adoption of the Atlantic Convention Resolution, the Atlantic Union Committee, whose President was then Elmo Roper, was dissolved to form a new organization which was intended to promote federal union through the convention and ratification phases. However, to obtain the endorsement of former President Eisenhower and former Vice-President Nixon, Christian Herter led the new organization into a merger with the American Council on NATO and the US Committee for an Atlantic Institute. The result was the present ACUS, which has not yet agreed to support Atlantic federation or an Atlantic Convention.

24. 1962 January: The Atlantic Convention. 91 officially appointed but uninstructed delegates from every NATO nation except Portugal met in Paris as "The Atlantic Convention". Portugal sent one "observer". Christian Herter was elected Chairman. Many delegates favored federal union but were not prepared to draft a constitution. The Turkish delegation proposed that the Convention recommend to the governments of the NATO nations that they call a "Constituent Assembly to work out a Federal Constitution and submit it to the NATO peoples for ratification." Others were not prepared to go that far. The Convention met only 10 days, and unanimously adopted The Declaration of Paris which called upon the governments of the NATO countries to appoint a "Special Governmental Commission . . . to propose such reforms . . . and such new institutions, as may be required." Its recommendations have been ignored.

25. 1962: Atlantic "Partnership". In July, President Kennedy called for an Atlantic "Declaration of Interdependence" based on a "partnership" between the US and a European Federation. The US State Department urged the EEC to admit the United Kingdom and the other countries of Western Europe. At the same time, it pushed for passage of the Trade Expansion Bill, which was passed and authorized the President to negotiate mutual tariff reductions between the US and an expanded EEC. Shortly thereafter, President De Gaulle vetoed British entry into the EEC, and thus prevented application of the Trade Expansion Act in this way. De Gaulle continued to block British entry until he resigned in 1968.

26. 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971: Atlantic Union Resolutions: In 1965 a sixth resolution was introduced in both Houses of the US Congress which provided for the appointment of an uninstructed delegation of US citizens "to explore the possibility of agreement on: (a) A declaration that the eventual goal of their peoples is to transform their present alliance into a federal union; (b) A tentative timetable for the transition to that goal; and (c) Democratic institutions to expedite the necessary stages and achieve the objective in time to save their citizens from another war, depression, or other man-made catastrophe." In 1966 hearings were held on the resolution in both houses. The State Department opposed it on the grounds that a federal initiative from the US seems unwise until the West Europeans make more progress toward union among themselves. Endorsements of it were received from such eminent national leaders as Richard Nixon, Eugene McCarthy, Barry Goldwater, Nelson Rockefeller, Dwight Eisenhower, William Scranton, and George Romney of the US; Baron van Kessenich of the Netherlands; Paul van Zeeland of Belgium; Sir Michael Wright of the United Kingdom; and Prof. Georges Portmann of France. The resolution was not reported out of committee, so a seventh resolution was introduced in 1967, sponsored or supported by more than 100 representatives and 20 senators. Despite continued opposition from the State Department, the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported the resolution favorably without modification, but the House did not vote on it. The resolution received additional endorsements from Hubert Humphrey and Robert Kennedy after they announced their candidacy for President in 1968. The eighth resolution was introduced in the House 1969 June. By the end of the session, it had accumulated an all-time high of 93 cosponsors and 17 announced supporters, but hearings were not held. A ninth resolution was introduced in the House in 1971 February. By the time hearings were held in July, the number of sponsors had reached 117, an all-time high.

27. 1971 May: Initiative by parliamentarians. Forty-seven members of the US Congress invited parliamentarians of the other NATO nations to join them in sponsoring a multinational open membership association to develop widespread popular support for a federation of democratic nations and to organize local political activity by advocates of international federal union. By July, 186 legislators (a few former) from the parliaments of 12 nations had become sponsors.

SOME ENDORSEMENTS

Richard M. Nixon, 1966: It is fitting that the United States, the world's first truly federal government, should be a main force behind the effort to find a basis for a broad federation of free Atlantic nations. . . . By adopting a measure such as the Atlantic Union Resolution we could give new impetus to the spirit of federalism in Western Europe. . . . The Atlantic Union Resolution is a forward-looking proposal which acknowledges the depth and breadth of incredible change which is going on in the world around us. I urge its adoption.

Paul-Henri Spaak, 1968: We are now at the crossroads. Those who are in favor . . . of an Atlantic Federation are beyond all doubt . . . right . . . But today we no longer live on a national scale nor on a continental scale but on a world scale. . . . And since a world organization and world government are not yet in the realm of reality, one should at least attempt that which appears possible—such as an Atlantic Federation evolving from geography and history.

The Earl of Avon: If you can get an Atlantic solution it is even better than a European solution, and you take a European solution only if you cannot get an Atlantic one.

Franz Josef Strauss: Europe, in the future, cannot be anything else but the European component of an Atlantic system which in-

cludes the US and Western Europe. This Atlantic system must develop into an Atlantic Community, maybe even into an Atlantic Federation.

Jean Monnet: Just as the United States . . . found it necessary to unite, just as Europe is now in the process of uniting, so the West must move toward some kind of unity.

Hubert Humphrey, 1968: While a senator I was among the sponsors, from 1949 on, of all the resolutions for an Atlantic Convention to explore with our NATO allies a federal union answer to the challenge of how to unite effectively and democratically the great moral and material strength of these free peoples. And so I heartedly welcome the impressive support the pending resolutions to do this have gained.

Pope Pius XII: Only a close union of free nations could defend peace or defeat aggression.

Adlai Stevenson: We believe that nothing less than an effectively integrated Atlantic Community . . . will in the end adequately meet the challenge of the times.

Nelson Rockefeller, 1966: I am wholeheartedly in favor of the purposes set forth in these resolutions . . . a practical first step toward forging a Union of the Free.

Robert Kennedy, 1968: The Atlantic Union Resolution affords us the opportunity to study this intriguing concept. . . . Our own Constitutional Convention in 1787 sprang from a desire to banish obstacles to trade . . . among the 13 . . . American states. To fail to study this concept . . . would be to turn our back on the lessons of history.

Dwight Eisenhower, 1966: I strongly favor your undertaking; let there be no mistake about this.

Paul van Zeeland: There is no conflict . . . between the efforts to achieve European union and . . . Atlantic unity.

(Written by Jon Roland with the advice and consent of the Organizing Committee for FNFA: Gertrude Brock Clark, John A. Mathews, Stella Brunt Osborn. 1971 February 4)

OTHERS INTERESTED IN UNION OF THE FREE

The following are some of the prominent persons in the NATO countries who have since World War I identified themselves in one way or another as favoring movement towards union of free peoples. Many are members of IMAU (see Item 19). This list aims not to include those mentioned in the preceding text or in the other enclosures.

Theodore C. Achilles, Count Raban Adelmann, Adm. Constantinos Alexandris, Virginia Allan, Maurice Allais, George V. Allen, H. C. Allen, B. M. de Almeida, F. A. M. Alting von Gesau, Franz Amrehn, Sir Norman Angell, Raymond Aron, Eugenio Artom, Max Ascoli, Eleanor and Leon Bazin, Marcel Bazin, Rt. Rev. Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., Gen Andre Beaufre, Joseph Bech, Richard A. Bell, Bjarni Benediktsson, Sir John Benn, William A. C. Bennett, Marver Bernstein, Gen. A. Bethouart, Giuseppe Bettiol, E. H. van der Beugel, Walter Bigiavi, Eugene R. Black, Erik Blumenfeld.

Lord Boothby, Heinrich von Brentano, D. W. Brogan, Karl J. Brommeland, Alastair Buchan, Arthur F. Burns, Cass Canfield, Frank Carlson, Hodding Carter, Sir George Catlin, James C. Charlesworth, Arthur H. Compton, Gardner Cowles, George Daskalakis, Rt. Rev. Ralph S. Dean, Peter J. W. Debye, Karl W. Deutsch, Etienne de la Vallee Poussin, Angiola Denti di Piraino, Mrs. M. Dettmeijer, John Dos Passos, Lewis W. Douglas, Jean-Eudes Dube, A. Davidson Dunton, Sigurbjorn Einarsson, Ellmann Ellingsen, Marie Th. C. Van der Ent, Ahmet Sukru Esmer, Franz Etzel, Gaston Eyskens, J. J. Fens, John J. Fitzpatrick Jr., Gustav-Adolf Gedat, Chloe Gifford, Arnold Gingrich, Gylfi Gislason, Arthur J. Goldberg, Pierre Gregoire, Martha Griffiths, Joseph Grimond, G. van Hall, Urban Hansen, Vance Hartke, Mark O. Hatfield, Paul T. Hellyer, Daniel K. Inouye, Lord Ismay, F. Cyril James, Jacob K. Javits, Alexander Johannesson, Herman Kahn, Klaus Knorr, Ole Bjorn Kraft, Judy La Marsh, P. O. Lapie, Joshua Lederberg, Marie-Helene Lefaucheux, John V. Lindsay, Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Norman A. M. MacKenzie, Salvador de Madariaga, Alexandre Marc, Paul Martin, Charles Mathias, Jr., Alfred Max, Gale W. McGee, Ralph McGill.

George McGovern, W. Alexander Menne, Yehudi Menuhin, Livingston T. Merchant, Pietro Micara, Finn Moe, Mario Montanari, Henri Moreau de Melen, Reuben H. Mueller, Herbert J. Muller, Gaylord A. Nelson, Margrethe Nevald, Allan Nevins, Constantine Papaconstantinou, James Patton, R. E. Powell, Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Charles S. Rhyne, Gen. Matthew D. Ridgway, David Riesman, Jr., Paul Rijkens, Mrs. Louis Robbins, Eugene V. Rostow, Adm. Friedrich Ruge, Francis B. Sayre, Adolph W. Schmidt, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Klaus Schuetz, Mitchell Sharp, Kurt Sieveking, James T. Shotwell, Hans Christian Sonne, Giovanni Spadolini, F. E. Spat, Dirk U. Stikker, Barbara Stuhler, Edward Teller, Baron Thomson of Fleet, Mrs. Thor Thrors, Arnold Toynbee, Harold C. Urey, Frans Van Cauwelaert, Giuseppi Vedovato, H. Jerry Voorhis, Barbara Ward, E. B. White, W. Vierda, Joseph C. Wilson, Willson Woodside, Sr. Evelyn Wrench, Ahmed Emin Yalman, Clement Zablocki.

BUSINESSMEN COMMENT ON THEIR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have often spoken of my concern that the business community become more deeply involved in providing the leadership to solve the pressing problems of urban decay confronting our Nation. I am therefore pleased to have recently received a copy of "Review of Recent Public Statements by Major Business Leaders on the Social Responsibilities of Business," compiled by Owen Kugel, coordinator for Urban Affairs, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

I think this compilation illustrates an impressive trend of business leadership in this direction. I commend this to the attention of my colleagues.

The compilation follows:

REVIEW OF RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY MAJOR BUSINESS LEADERS ON THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF BUSINESS, JULY 12, 1971

(Compiled by Owen Kugel, Coordinator for Urban Affairs, Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

L. W. Moore, President, American Oil Company: "While we are in business to make a profit, we cannot abdicate our responsibility to help create and maintain a society that will enable us to operate profitably. Because the industrial sector of our country has demonstrated the capability to bring the country to the position of unprecedented affluence that it now enjoys, I think that business must assume the obligation to use its unique capabilities, in connection with other segments of society, to help eliminate the remaining inequities that exist."

Chester M. Brown, Chairman, Allied Chemical: "Businessmen everywhere must become submerged in community problems and involved in their solutions."

Neil McElroy, Chairman, Procter & Gamble: "An encouraging development in the attack on urban problems is the fact that American business and industry are fully accepting the idea that the business community can and should contribute to solutions. Business is displaying in its concern about the urban crisis the kind of corporate citizenship responsibility that is demanded of all citizens in times of national crisis."

B. R. Dorsey, President, Gulf Oil: "Maximum financial gain, the historical number one objective of American business, must move into second place whenever it conflicts with the well-being of society."

Joseph F. Cullman, 3rd, Chairman, Phillip Morris, Inc.: "The corporations which are strongly committed to an enlightened course of social responsibility are also the ones who are most successful in business. I am most reluctant about a management that fails to see and exercise its responsibility to society. This would indicate a lack of understanding of today's world. I would assume such an executive group also lacks understanding about modern business management."

Joseph Wilson, Chairman, Xerox Corporation: "At Xerox we have rapidly grown in organization—and a vital thread runs through it—the thread of responsibility to society. We have deliberately sought to attract those who believe in this principle."

Frank Koch, Director, Syntex Corporation: "We believe that corporations can do many good things—for themselves, for their stockholders, for their employees, and for many other people. We even have a feeling that the most successful corporations of the future will be those that clearly sense the changing needs and priorities of our society and respond to them."

1970 Report, Dayton Hudson Corporation: "Business exists to serve society. The commercial aspects of business make an important contribution to the well-being and progress of society. But just doing 'business' is not enough. Society provides business with great opportunities for growth and profit. Hence, business has the responsibility to respond to its social obligations by helping that society improve and grow. Business has unique capabilities to help society and therefore has an obligation to use these capabilities in the service of society."

1970 Annual Report, Quaker Oats: "We believe in a dual responsibility to shareholders: To earn a return on their investment that compares favorably with the return of other leading companies in our industries; and, to apply our corporate resources wherever practical to the solution of public problems in which the interests of shareholders, employees, customers, and the general public are fundamentally inseparable."

Augustine R. Marusi, Chairman and President, Borden, Inc.: "Business must seek goals that will help ease tensions and burdens now pressing down on this land, even if those goals may temporarily reduce profits or slow corporate growth. Businessmen have a clear responsibility to lead.

"The separation between broad public issues and gut questions that go to the heart of our businesses and their profitability is no longer possible. In short, the public issues have become gut issues.

"If business leaders surface only to defend threatened points here or litigate there, we forfeit any chance for leadership or serious participation in the change that is upon us all."

James M. Roche, Chairman, General Motors Corporation: "Business today, as never before, is expected by the public to take a hand in resolving major national concerns. Every executive must recognize that social progress throughout the nation in the long run is beneficial to his business. The modern businessman and his company are expected

to engage in activities that are beyond the traditional concerns of a business. Profits and social progress must go hand in hand."

Edward B. Hinman, President, International Paper Company: "If the United States is to continue to grow and prosper, it must solve the serious social and environmental problems it now faces. Along with every corporation and citizen, International Paper has a vital role to play in seeking permanent solutions to such problems as hardcore unemployment, the improvement of education, and air and water pollution. International Paper considers the efforts it is making toward seeking these solutions to be a necessary cost of doing busines."

Dr. Louis K. Eilers, Chairman, Eastman Kodak Company: "If one seeks an economic reason for business involvement (in urban problems), it is frankly the undeveloped marketing opportunities waiting to be grasped. Obviously, if the income of the poor rises, their purchasing power grows too. The positive impact on business can be great indeed.

"When business gets involved, it is a sincere expression of its corporate conscience, but it also is enlightened self-interest. Kodak is committed to being involved."

Robert W. Sarnoff, Chairman and President, RCA: "Your management recognizes RCA's continuing responsibility to the larger society in which we all participate. Efforts to solve social problems are basic to the RCA we are shaping for the future. In the decade ahead, we shall utilize our resources of people, funds, and expertise for two purposes: to develop a sound and profitable growth pattern on a diversified base; and to maintain the highest standards of excellence in our contributions to the society in which we live."

Fred Borch, Chairman, General Electric: "As we head into the seventies, we sense a new wave of community involvement by industry that goes far beyond its own walls. We expect to participate in that wave. We expect to lead it."

Stephen F. Keating, President, Honeywell, Inc.: "If we are ever to reverse the trend and solve the problems of our cities, it will require a strong, concerted attack by every group that can make a contribution—including business.

"It is important to understand that in this instance the profit motive of our free enterprise system and the social objectives of government are parallel."

Special Report, Shell Oil Company: "Management's responsibility today is, as it has always been, the successful and profitable operation of the Company's business. An important part of this responsibility today is to identify changing and intensifying social and business problems which affect us, and react constructively to help solve them."

W. B. Murphy, President, Campbell Soup Co.: "To operate a business successfully today, there is the virtual necessity for involvement in community affairs, environmental controls, equal employment opportunity, urban-suburban-rural balance and consumer reactions."

1970 Annual Report, Pillsbury: "Important as it is, we recognize that there is more to the measure of a corporation than the return on its shareholder investment. We expect sharp measure also to be taken of corporate accomplishments in the public interest. Contrary to contentions that the profit motive is incompatible with service, in fact, the two are interdependent. If business fails to attain its profit goals, it will also fail in meeting its social responsibilities; and a firm that is indifferent to its public obligations will be denied the economic success it seeks by an indifferent public."

Harrison F. Dunning, Chairman, Scott Paper Co.: "There must be much effort by individual companies in their own communities if we are to develop the understanding and solutions to the problems that plague our society."

Henry Ford, II, Ford Motor Company: "It is clear that public opinion expects industry to contribute to the quality of life as never before. Your Company's goal is to continue to prosper and grow by serving public expectations effectively and efficiently."

W. W. Keeler, Chairman, Phillips Petroleum Co.: "I believe that the responsibility of management people, generally, in our society today includes more than simply making a profit. This responsibility also involves helping to provide people with work opportunities, the right kinds of places in which to live and play, clean water and air and proper use of the land."

1970 Annual Report, Reynolds Metals: "Companies are being judged not only on profit performance but on their ability to serve the public interest in an age of changing social values and economic priorities. These activities . . . help to earn the public acceptance which will be increasingly vital to business of all types in our changing society."

1970 Annual Report, Chase Manhattan Bank: "The essential task, as we see it, is to reconcile what happens in the marketplace with what is happening in our society. This will mean taking a longer range view of our corporate activities and objectives. Our success will have to be measured not only in terms of profits but also in terms of the steps we take to help shape an environment in which banking can continue to prosper 10 or 20 years into the future."

1970 Annual Report, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). ". . . the company's management is motivated by a conviction that the interests of the shareholders are served best by promoting the social, educational, and cultural progress of the countries in which the company's affiliates operate. Only by becoming committed and involved in the shaping of tomorrow's environment can we ensure the continued validity of the enterprise."

Jack M. Tharpe, Vice President, Standard Oil of Indiana: "Participation in urban problem-solving is not new to our company. We have recognized for many years that if business is to continue to make a profit, it must help to maintain an environment in which profit is possible."

J. Lester Blocker, Public Affairs Director, First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Company of Philadelphia: "All of our bank's efforts . . . have resulted from a fundamental business consideration: a city bank does business with the city and its people. We decided that we had to develop the kind of public affairs program which would make for change in our city of Philadelphia. We felt that we had to find ways to put the ingenuity, the flexibility and the creativity of our business to work in solving the problems of our city . . . not the Negro problem, but the urban problems . . . so that we might see a much different city in the next few years. We do not say that we have succeeded . . . but we have begun."

STEADY AS YOU GO

HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, Milton Friedman of Chicago is an economist to whom people listen. In the July 26 edition of Newsweek he has a column commenting on the administration's economic policies and the difficulty of steering a steady course in an atmosphere of short-term crisis.

I want to present this column for the consideration of those colleagues who have not already seen it.

[From Newsweek magazine, July 26, 1971]

STEADY AS YOU GO

(By Milton Friedman)

My title is taken from the title of an important but little-noticed talk made in Chicago some months ago by George P. Shultz, director of the Office of Management and Budget.

It is also an apt description of the policies that President Nixon has been following—not only in economic matters but also in Vietnam and other aspects of foreign and domestic policy. In every area, he has taken the long view, set long-range objectives and policies, and sought to steer a steady course.

This is a major achievement for which the President has not received the credit he deserves. Washington generates an atmosphere in which it takes great will power and moral courage to look very far ahead, to sacrifice transitory gains for long-term advantage. The horizon is at most two years—the period between Congressional elections—and generally much shorter—tomorrow's headlines.

A THREEFOLD POLICY

The major defect in the economic policy of the prior Administration was the tendency to swing too far from one side to the other, to follow a go-stop policy as a result of trying to fine-tune the economy without the requisite knowledge, understanding, and tools. Impatience with steady but undramatic improvement in the economy in the early 1960s produced a series of highly expansionary measures (tax cuts, spending increases, rapid monetary growth) that started an accelerating inflation. The early stages of the inflation produced a sharp overreaction by the Fed that caused a credit crunch in 1966 and a mini-recession in 1967. Overreaction to that mini-recession set us off on the accelerating inflation of 1967 to 1969. Fine-tuning with a sledge hammer!

Mr. Nixon adopted a threefold policy to slow inflation without a severe economic decline: (1) moderate fiscal restraint, (2) moderate monetary restrain, (3) preservation and strengthening of free markets. The first and third elements required cooperation of Congress; the second, of the independent Federal Reserve.

His aim was not complete steadiness, but more severe restraint initially and, as the initial restraint slowed down inflation, an easing off to a path that could be continued indefinitely.

In the main, Mr. Nixon has stuck to this policy. The full-employment budget moved to a surplus initially and then to rough balance—too much spending for my taste, yet not the wild gyrations of earlier years. The most unsteady element has been monetary policy—the area least subject to control by the President. Yet even here, except for the recent monetary explosion, hopefully now being corrected, policy has been steadier than in earlier years. There has been mild jaw-boning yet no extensive intervention into price and wage decisions.

. . . THAT HAS WORKED

And the threefold policy has worked. Inflation has slowed, although less than all desired and many expected. There was a recession—but it was one of the mildest in U.S. history. The recession is now over and the economy is again expanding. The expansion, like the recession, is moderate, but it is solid and widely based. Moreover, moderation is desirable so that continued tapering off of inflation can go along with reduced unemployment. As Mr. Shultz said, what we now need to complete the treatment is "time and the guts to take the time, not additional medicine."

Just when this policy is producing demonstrable results, there is increasing pressure

on the President to alter course—to recommend lower taxes, higher spending, and even more rapid monetary growth, to establish a wage-price review board, or to freeze wages and prices. Unabashed by their own failures, the fine-tuning Kennedy-Johnson economists are in effect saying, "We produced an accelerating inflation, why shouldn't you?"

Mr. Nixon has not given in to the pressure. Instead, he has announced that he is sticking with his policies. Once again, he has shown the vision and the courage to pursue long-run stability rather than short-term gains.

Mr. Shultz ended his talk: "Those of you familiar with sailing know what a telltale is—a strip of cloth tied to a mast to show which way the wind is blowing.

"A captain has the choice of steering his ship by the telltale, following the prevailing winds, or to steer by the compass.

"In a democracy, you must keep your eye on the telltale, but you must set your course by the compass. That is exactly what the President of the United States is doing. The voice from the bridge says, 'Steady as you go'."

POSTAL SLUMS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, an independent investigation in the Washington, D.C., area by William Holland, a Washington Evening Star reporter, supports the testimony given to the Nix Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Mail by James Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, on the squalor in the Postal Service.

I have seldom seen such instant verification of hearing testimony. I note however, that postal officials have submitted the defense that it is all a matter of money, instead of the constant attention to immediate needs and the most simple kind of housekeeping.

No housewife would ignore deficient plumbing.

No housewive would ignore broken windows or inadequate ventilation.

No housewive would turn her home into a firetrap.

Yet, this is exactly what has happened. Present facilities are filthy because postal management will not take the time each day to make sure that buildings are clean.

No one, for instance, forced the Washington, D.C., postmaster to close the cafeteria in the District of Columbia Post Office 2 years ago. It is still closed. There is no place for postal employes to eat.

No one has forced postal management to ignore the need for fire doors in postal buildings.

Broken plumbing, broken windows, the lack of fire doors do not require the spending of billions.

Postal management's position has always been that nothing can be done unless a massive project is involved.

If the Congress does not take action soon to compel the Postal Service to act every day in the matter of decent working conditions, new buildings will be of no avail because they will become massive postal slums within a year after they have been erected.

I will continue our investigation. We will get action.

I would like to have entered into the RECORD the Holland article as well as yesterday's article by Mr. Joseph Young, Washington Star civil service columnist, and the testimony of Mr. James Rademacher before my subcommittee:

OVERCROWDED POST OFFICES

(By William Holland)

A Star reporter who took a random tour of five area postal facilities blasted for poor working conditions in congressional testimony by Letter Carriers Union President James Rademacher, found a common problem: overcrowding.

The five post offices were among two dozen mentioned by Rademacher.

The reporter also found antiquated sorting and carrier rooms in all the facilities and found that some facilities even lacked the basic necessities for decent working conditions.

In addition to overcrowding, the most common failings were bad lighting, undersized loading and docking platforms and decent locker rooms.

POOREST EXAMPLE

Conditions at the Arlington South Station at 3532 Columbia Pike were by far the poorest. The building, painted avacado and outfitted with forest green window shutters, looks charming from the outside, but inside it resembles an old dank, dirty auto parts store.

The employes seemed to maintain good morale, although they spoke about their conditions with grim humor.

"Why didn't you come in on a hot day?" one asked, referring to the lack of air conditioning in the one-story building. Temperatures often hover around 100 degrees in summer, the workers said.

"We keep the fuse company in business," another said, alluding to be overloaded and obsolete electrical system.

20 YEARS OLD

Built 20 years ago for 20 carriers, there are now more than 60 workers there. They service 16,696 residences and 411 businesses.

The plaster is falling down in several parts of the building, and the station hasn't been painted in years. Only a few of the overhead flourescent lamps were on, and the place was dark and oppressive. The bathrooms were in need of major restoration, and plaster was falling down from the ceiling of the small ladies' room.

Outside, loading trucks must vie with customers for parking spaces to deliver loads to the small platform.

Asked if the station received word about the national cleanup campaign last May, the assistant superintendent replied: "Oh, yeah, we heard about that." Workers in hearing distance laughed aloud.

At the 31st Street station in Georgetown, 81 postal employes are squeezed in an old converted stone house. Up to 50 persons are present on some shifts.

"Our biggest problem is lack of space," said Cecil Diggs, the superintendent.

"The carriers work so close their rear ends almost touch, and by postal law they are supposed to have at least 10 feet between routes," Diggs added.

He said that there have been many improvements in the brightly-lighted, air-conditoned station, including a recent paint job. But, as with the others, the loading platform is small—so small, in fact, that small trucks have to be sent to the station instead of standard 10-ton trucks.

MYSTERIOUS SYSTEM

The employes have also had to invent a unique, if mystifying, bathroom system involving knock signals, closed doors and locks, since there are no signs on the doors.

The postal facility at 1217 Good Hope Road in Anacostia was in such dilapidated condition that operations were transferred to a new building at 2650 Naylor Road SE. "That building was falling down," said Supervisor William H. Andrews. He said the shift had been contemplated for the last five years "and we finally made it."

A Postal spokesman said the squalor and overcrowding will be corrected within the next five years with the construction of large, modern facilities and a new concept of processing mail in a regional office rather than in numerous substations.

MONEY SQUEEZE

Information Officer Herb Wirth said that until now, funds for new construction were a low-priority item. It was a question of a "good defense or a good post office," he said, and the result was a continuing buildup of personnel and mail in old facilities.

In addition to "going all out on construction," he noted that work is under way on a Northern Virginia facility at Merrifield in Fairfax County where mail for most of the Northern Virginia area will be processed instead of in each suburban substation. A similar central office is in operation at Baileys Crossroads.

Wirth said the Postal System has been making the same complaint as Rademacher for years but "we haven't been able to get a Page One story like he did."

POST OFFICES "SQUALOR" HIT

(By Joseph Young)

Postal employes are working in "squalor and degradation," with conditions in some area post offices worse than in other parts of the country, the president of the AFL-CIO National Association of Letter Carriers has told Congress.

Testifying before the House Post Office Facilities subcommitte, which is investigating postal working conditions, James Rademacher described the situation in many post offices as "pestilential" and "revolting."

"In some, it is a wonder that one or another of the more repulsive epidemics has not made an appearance," Redemacher said. "In some communities elected officials and health authorities have said that if the post office were not being operated by the federal government, they would have condemned the post office building as being unsafe and unsanitary," he added.

POOR MORALE, APATHY CITED

He said the Postal Service's excuse has always been lack of money. To this, he responded "Nonsense. In the richest and strongest nation in the world there simply has to be enough money to prevent federal employes from having to work in squalor and degradation."

The result is poor morale and apathy by some employes toward their jobs, Rademacher said. "It is a wonder that in some areas the mail gets delivered at all," he added.

Rademacher listed these conditions at the main city post office here and in at least 11 stations—Anacosita, Benning, Brightwood, Brookland, Chevy Chase, Columbia Heights, Georgia Avenue Garage, Friendship Heights, Georgetown, Parcel Post Annex and Woodridge.

Overcrowding, rundown facilities, filthy toilets, insufficient room for lockers, inadequate swing rooms and loading platforms, bad ventilation and no air conditioning.

Arlington, Va., south station: 62 employes in a facility built to accommodate 20; inadequate toilet facilities, with raw sewage constantly seeping onto the floor. Employes' eating facilities adjoin the toilet. No air conditioning, with temperatures of 100 degrees frequently recorded in the summer. Electrical system overloaded and dangerous.

Arlington, Va. north station: Inspection

service recommended the building be replaced seven years ago, but no action taken. Floors weak and sagging. Overloaded electrical system. No lockers. Last winter employes were without heat for a week because a boiler burned out. Only two toilets for 60 people and one sink for washing.

Arlington, Va., Shirlington station: Dirty building with rats and "armies of cockroaches." Overloaded electrical system.

Arlington, Va., Rosslyn, Court house and Preston King stations: Serious overcrowding and inadequate loading space.

Alexandria, Va.: Filthy toilets. Floors and cases are seldom cleaned. Ceilings leak. Plaster rots.

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. RADEMACHER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the record, my name is James H. Rademacher and I am President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, with headquarters at 100 Indiana Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C. We have almost 220,000 members in more than 6,000 Branches throughout all the 50 States and all our possessions.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for permitting me to come here and testify concerning the revolting working conditions which prevail throughout the postal establishment.

The leadership and most of the membership of the National Association of Letter Carriers are convinced that through the years management of the Postal Establishment has completely ignored the physical needs of the postal service and its employees.

Certainly, as you can see by reading this report, working conditions in many post offices in the nation are pestilential. In some it is a wonder that one or another of the more repulsive epidemics has not made an appearance. In some communities elected officials and health authorities have said that if the Post Office were not being operated by the Federal Government, they would have condemned the Post Office Building as being unsafe and insanitary.

The excuse has been—(as it always has been)—that there is no money available to make the improvements necessary.

Nonsense.

In the richest and strongest nation in the world there simply *has* to be enough money to prevent Federal Employees from having to work in squalor and degradation.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, if you have delicate stomachs, you may have difficulty reading this report in its entirety. We hope this difficulty can be overcome, since the sordid story running through these pages is both true and important. The facts were gathered through our making an honest survey of conditions in the field. We stand by the findings of our men in the field.

Throughout this report the reader will find evidence—gathered directly from the employees themselves—of primitive conditions, insensitive and stupid supervisory attitudes and, on the part of management, a total disregard for the service or the convenience of the American people.

And still management wonders why morale is poor—why the employees are restive—why some employees are apathetic about their jobs.

We suggest that it is very difficult to be enthusiastic about a job that requires a man to work in dark and airless rooms filled with the stink of human wastes and supervised by persons who have no concern for the service.

It is a wonder that in some areas the mail gets delivered at all.

I suggest that the attitudes and the enthusiasm of working men are directly affected by the conditions under which they work. In many of the facilities described in the following pages it is impossible to believe that a man or a woman could operate efficiently or happily. Some of the places in which postal employees must work are so disgusting they would turn the stomach of a not-too finicky baboon. They have to be seen—and smelt—to be believed.

There is no need for me to elaborate on these conditions. They are all spelled out in these following pages, where I have cited hundreds of specific cases where conditions are not only subnormal but subhuman.

I am submitting herewith the Agreement reached by the seven exclusive postal unions and management of the United States Postal Service during negotiations on the subject of safety and health. To attempt to correct all of the unsafe and unhealthy practices existing in the Postal Establishment today merely by a written agreement is totally inadequate. Immediate attention must be given to the needs for appropriations earmarked specifically to eliminate and terminate unsafe and unhealthy conditions especially those we had made reference to in this testimony. I trust that your Committee, Mr. Chairman, will be instrumental in seeing that these intolerable conditions are corrected in short order.

AGREEMENT, ARTICLE XI—SAFETY AND HEALTH

Section 1. It is the responsibility of management to provide safe working conditions and to develop a safe working force. The Unions will cooperate with and assist management to live up to this responsibility.

Section 2. The Employer and the Unions insist on the observance of safe rules and safe procedures by employees and insist on correction of unsafe conditions.

Section 3. To assist in the positive implementation of the program, there shall be established:

A. At the Employer's Headquarters level, a joint Labor-Management Safety Committee to consider and make recommendation on the various aspects of the Employer's Safety Program. Representation on the Committee, to be specifically determined by the Employer and the Unions, shall include one person from each of the Unions and representatives from appropriate Departments in the Postal Service. The chairman will be designated by the Employer. The Committee will be scheduled to meet quarterly and at such other times as the Committee may deem necessary.

B. The Employer will make Health Service available for the treatment of job related injury or illness where it determines they are needed. This Health Service will be available from any of the following sources: U.S. Public Health Service; other government or public medical sources within the area; independent or private medical facilities or services that can be contracted for; or in the event funds, spaces, and personnel are available for such purposes, they may be staffed at the installation. Determination of source of service shall be made by the Employer.

C. At each postal installation having 100 or more employees, a joint Labor-Management Safety and Health Committee will be established. Similar committees may be established upon request of the Installation Head in installations having fewer than 100 employees, as appropriate.

Section 4. There shall be equal representation on the Committee between the Unions and management. The representation on the Committee to be specifically determined by the Employer and the Unions shall include one person from each of the Unions and appropriate management representatives. The Chairman will be designated by the Employer.

Section 5. Individual grievance shall not be made the subject of discussion during Safety and Health Committee meetings.

Section 6. It is the intent of this program to insure broad exposure to employees, to develop interest by active participation of employees, to insure new ideas being presented to the Committee and to make certain that employees in all areas of an Installation have an opportunity to be represented. At the same time, it is recognized that for the program to be effective, it is desirable to provide for a continuity in the committee work from year to year. Therefore, except for the Chairman and Secretary, the Committee members shall serve three-year terms but shall not be eligible to succeed themselves.

Section 7. The Safety and Health Committee shall meet at least quarterly and at such other times as designated by the Chairman. The meeting shall be on official time. Each Committee member shall submit agenda items to the Secretary at least three (3) days prior to the meeting. A member of the Health Unit will be invited to participate in the meeting of the Labor-Management Safety and Health Committee when agenda item(s) relate to the activities of the Health Unit.

Section 8. The Committee shall review the progress in accident prevention and health at the installation; determine program areas which should have increased emphasis.

The Committee shall at its discretion render reports to the Installation Head and may at its discretion make recommendations to the Installation Head for action on matters concerning safety and health. The Installation Head shall within a reasonable period of time advise the Committee the recommended action has been taken or advise the Committee as to why it has not. If the Committee is not satisfied as to why the action was not taken, it may refer the matter to the Committee at Headquarters' level which shall review the subject and undertake to see to it that appropriate action, if any, is taken.

When approved by the Chairman of the Committee, on the spot inspection of particular troublesome areas may be made by individual Committee members or a Sub-Committee or the Committee as a whole. When so approved, the Committee members shall be on official time while making such inspection.

CONDITIONS AT DIFFERENT REGIONS IN THE COUNTRY

FORMER PHILADELPHIA REGION

In this region there are major problems with antiquated facilities in which working conditions are not only sub-standard but sub-human. In some cases, regional management seemed willing to correct glaring deficiencies but, somehow, never got around to it. In other cases, as we shall see below, management seems apparently indifferent to the fact that employees are living under impressively foul conditions.

Scranton, Pennsylvania: (South Side Station): For more than a year, the letter carriers have been complaining that the carrier section of this station has no ventilation, no circulation of air. In the summertime it is a Black Hole of Calcutta and the doors are intolerable. In winter it is cold. The file on this case is more than half an inch thick, and the answers from regional officials are obviously form letters, indicating no real human concern. The employees are asking for adequate fans to move the air around. A new summer has come and *still* nothing has been done.

Ridgewood, New Jersey: The carrier section is located in a dark, dank and airless basement with a concrete floor. When complaint first was made, in 1970, 46 employees were forced to use a washroom that consisted of one urinal, one stool and one wash basin. The combination of monstrous overuse of these inadequate facilities and a deficient ventilation system made the air throughout

the entire work area nauseating. The work area itself was dangerous filthy.

Management did arrange for one more toilet bowl and a wash basin and promised an additional urinal. It also promised rubber mats on the floor in front of the cases. The Postmaster's "solution" to the bad circulation problem was to forbid the carriers to smoke at their cases!

Rutherford, New Jersey (Lyndhurst facility): The Postmaster at Rutherford, in a letter dated January 19, 1970, to his regional director complained that employees "are required to work in an atmosphere of cold, falling ceilings, rotting floors and window sashes and poor lighting". Regional officials proclaimed the facility as the worst they ever accounted. Both the Mayor and the representative of the Department of Health intimated they would have condemned the building out of hand if it were not being operated by the Federal Government. (The latter found conditions so unsanitary and unsafe that he recommended the building be demolished.) Money for replacing the Post Office was denied.

Woodbury, New Jersey: The carrier section here is located in the cellar and was not only poorly ventilated but also a fire trap, there being only a ladder type stair case leading out of the cellar on to the main floor. When the employees filed a grievance concerning these intolerable conditions, the Postmaster said their complaints had no merit. He did agree to cut a fire door in the cellar when funds were available.

Tom's River, New Jersey: Here the facility is new but the complaint concerns invasion of privacy. Despite the admonitions of Congress and the promises of management, inspectors' peep-holes were built into the facility, overlooking both the men's and women's locker rooms. The Postmaster's only reply to complaints was that the policy was to provide maximum surveillance everywhere except in toilets.

FORMER MINNEAPOLIS REGION

The Minneapolis Region (Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota) suffers from weather conditions as severe as, if not more severe than, any other region in the land. Adequate facilities are absolutely essential in an area where climatic conditions vary from one extreme to another, or, so one would think. The fact is that facilities generally are badly overcrowded, inadequate, in many cases insanitary, poorly heated and decrepit. Significantly, in many instances, plans for replacing inadequate facilities have suddenly been dropped without sufficient reason given. Postal employees are convinced that the plans have been held up until the US Postal Service is officially installed. Then, the plans will be dusted off and the new corporation will get all the credit for the improvement. Meanwhile, the postal employees are forced to put up with intolerable conditions.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Main Post Office): This $30 million edifice is comparatively new. The architect and the planners, however, forgot to provide any space for the carrier section. The entire carrier operation has been jammed into the little area originally allotted to the special delivery messengers. There simply isn't room enough to work efficiently or to think straight.

Milwaukee (Federal Station): No ventilation; minimal heating. The toilet stalls have no doors, no privacy. There is no employee parking. Loading facilities are very poor. Management says nothing can be done because "they" are going to build a new building. But "they" never seem to get around to it.

Milwaukee (Bay View Station): Badly overcrowded. Carriers must work right next to platform doors, which are always open. This means severe cold in winter; heat in summer. The toilet facilities are very poor 3 stools, 90 men). There is no employee parking.

Milwaukee (Layton Park Station). So crowded it is a health and safety hazard. Dock space most inadequate. Plumbing is primitive. Employee parking non-existent.

Milwaukee (Fairview Station): Built in 1956 to house 50 routes. Now houses 75 routes, and 117 employees. Most overcrowded of all Milwaukee stations. Plumbing most inadequate; so is dock space.

Milwaukee (Wautatosa Station): Seriously overcrowded. Poor docking facilities.

Milwaukee (Parklawn Station): Scheduled for $80,000 remodeling job, but the job has been postponed. Heating is almost nonexistent. Lighting is poor. Floors are rough; doors are drafty. Skylight leaks onto carrier cases, and has done so for years. Bad ventilation.

Milwaukee (Teutonia Station): Poor toilets; poor docking. Roof always leaks onto carrier cases. No employee parking.

Milwaukee (Hilltop Station): This facility should be closed down because of its unsanitary condition.

Milwaukee (Whitefish Bay Station): New facility badly needed. The present station is terribly overcrowded, the loading area inadequate, the sanitary arrangements inadequate and there is no employee parking.

In addition, the following Milwaukee stations report no employee parking: Harbor, Western, Mid-City, West Allis, Greenfield, Villard, Hampton, Fred John, Bradley, Upper Third, Shorewood. Most of these also report inadequate toilet facilities. Almost all stations have either no swing room at all or a very small and poor swing room. It should in fairness be added that Milwaukee NALC leaders do report very friendly and satisfactory labor-management relations at the local level.

Worthington, Minnesota: Facility was built 35 years ago when the city had one-third of its present population and about one-fifth of its present mail volume. Conditions are desperately crowded. Men work back to back. Carriers have no place to put excess mail except on the floor, hoping nobody will walk by and step on it. A new building has been promised, but has been postponed.

Manitowoc, Wisconsin: In this city the complaints are about the service, not the facilities. Perishable goods transported by Parcel Post from Ohio have taken 11 days and have arrived 60% spoiled. Perishable goods from South Dakota have taken 14 days and have been 75% spoiled. Perishable goods from Miami have taken 15 days and have been 95% spoiled. Parcel Post has taken 8 days from Milwaukee, 86 miles away, and 11 days from St. Louis. The men are embarrassed by these constant service failures because, inevitably, they, the men who deliver the tardy goods, are unfairly shouldered with the blame. Besides, the men want to be proud of the service and are frustrated when they cannot be proud.

Black River Falls, Wisconsin: Facility crowded. Men stack mail on floor and on heat registers. The Assistant Postmaster and sometimes the Postmaster do clerical work, depriving temps of work hours. Management policies in this Post Office seem antediluvian and very anti-labor.

Durand, Wisconsin: The workers in this crowded little Post Office have been promised a new building time and time again but nothing has happened, nor will happen until July 1. The present building has practically no heating and no air conditioning.

Menomonie, Wisconsin: Seriously crowded conditions. There is no air conditioning, and the carriers' cases are placed up against the east wall, cutting out all ventilation from that end, and much light. Management will not consider rearranging the floor plan so as to make conditions more fitting for humans.

Kaukana, Wisconsin: Management is so curtailment happy they even held back the telephone bills because the Postmaster says the phone company doesn't rate first class service. When the janitor died in December of 1968 management did not hire a successor for several months—while the dirt mounted high. There is a custodian now but he works only a 35 hour week and cannot do the job in that time. Parcel Post is a disgrace in Kaukana. The men are ashamed of the service. The Postmaster and Assistant Postmaster each clerk about two hours every day.

Superior, Wisconsin (Annex): This is the largest facility in town and it is badly overcrowded. Toilet facilities are inadequate for the male employees. There are no facilities for women employees. They must make their own arrangements elsewhere.

Superior (South End Station): The windows in this station cannot be opened so there is no ventilation at all. There is no loading dock. Mail must be dragged in a hamper to an alley and only one vehicle at a time can be loaded.

Minneapolis, Minnesota (Camden Station): Crowded, insufficient lockers, tiny and inadequate swing room. No dock facilities. Bad ventilation. No air conditioning. The one toilet is co-educational.

Minneapolis (Columbia Heights Station): Overcrowded. Minute loading dock with no protection from the weather. Inadequate swing room. Insufficient lockers. No ventilation, no air conditioning. One toilet. This also is co-educational.

Minneapolis (University station): Inadequate dock. The station is a fire hazard of serious proportions; it has insufficient exits and no windows for ventilation.

Moorhead, Minnesota: Very poor heating (in one of the coldest towns in the northern hemisphere). There are no plug-ins for engine heaters—a circumstance that wastes a great deal of time in Moorhead and is a source of frustration.

Rochester, Minnesota: This is a brand new facility, only a year old. Already the furnace cuts out completely on the coldest days and the men sort mail in their mittens. Electric doors don't work and haven't worked for months. Nobody seems anxious to fix things up and maintain them properly.

Aberdeen, South Dakota: Heating is very poor. Ventilation is worse. There is very inadequate dock space. No employee parking.

Rapid City, South Dakota: The heating is atrocious, the lighting is low in candle power and poorly located. There are no exhaust fans and no cooling fans. Management is tyrannical and insists on almost constant street observation. This is a very unhappy office.

Carrington, North Dakota: Here the complaint is bad service and lack of interest on the part of management in improving service. Only the Wall Street Journal gets priority treatment. Mail (first class) from Chicago regularly takes three to four days.

Grand Forks, North Dakota: Management is not interested in service. It is also most arbitrary in dealing with labor. (Example: It is almost impossible to get off work to attend national or state conventions.) Supervision bullies the men who ask for sick leave. This is a very unhappy postal community. Facilities are inadequate. In the AIR BASE STATION females are not permitted to use the one toilet and must go elsewhere.

La Crosse, Wisconsin: Ancient building, not adaptable to modern postal operations. Washroom facilities most inadequate for both sexes. Carrier cases are in basement with bad light and worse ventilation. Floor is so bad it swells into rolling hills during summer. Employees park in a mudhole.

Kenosha, Wisconsin: The new wing of the Post Office is only seven years old, but is was badly planned. Heating system is totally unreliable. There is no ventilation of any kind

in the washroom. It is necessary to keep the door open in order to survive while using it. To make matters worse, supervision in this Post Office tends to be tyrannical and arbitrary, driving employee morale even further downwards.

FORMER WASHINGTON, D.C., REGION

The Washington Region is the headquarters region of the postal service. It contains the nation's capital, as well as Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.

One would think, with all that going for it, that this region would be the show case of the postal establishment, the area with the best facilities, the happiest employees, the most efficient service. Unfortunately, this is very far from true. Conditions in this region are as bad as they are in any other region, and worse than they are in some.

Baltimore, Maryland (Clifton Station): The only "show case" detail in this filthy hole concerns the toilets which face plain glass windows at the street level so that public can look in on the men on the stools. Quite a showcase. Clifton Station is rat infested. It is dark and dirty, without air conditioning and without parking.

Baltimore, Maryland (Raspeburg Branch): This Branch Office is a converted bakery. There are fifty employees in this Branch Office and they are hideously crowded. The Supervisor and his Assistant do not have offices, so they operate from a table in the middle of the floor. Sometimes the office becomes so crowded that sacks of mail have to be left on the sidewalk outside. There is no loading dock and no platform.

Baltimore, Maryland (Main Post Office): A new building is being erected. However, the plans do not call for parking spaces for employees.

Washington, D.C.: The following conditions are common to the main Post Office and at least eleven stations (Anacostia, Benning, Brightwood, Brookland, Chevy Chase, Columbia Heights, Georgia Avenue Garage, Friendship Heights, Georgetown, Parcel Post Annex and Woodridge): Overcrowding, rundown facilities; filthy restroom conditions, insufficient room for lockers; inadequate swing rooms, inadequate loading platforms, bad ventilation and no air conditioning.

Arlington, Virginia (South Station): There are 62 employees in this facility, which was designed to accommodate 20. There is only one urinal and 3 commodes. All three of the latter leak, so raw sewage is constantly seeping out onto the floor. The only place the employees can eat is a table right next to this restroom. With the evil smells permeating the atmosphere, the men's appetites are not too strong. There are only 30 lockers for 62 employees. There is no air conditioning and temperatures of over 100 degrees are often recorded on the workroom floor. During the summer cases of employees fainting from heat prostration are common. The plaster is peeling off the walls and ceilings. The electrical system is overloaded and constantly blowing fuses. Someday a fire will result. The newspapers and the public have been demanding this eyesore be torn down, but the employees of the richest and most powerful nation in the world must still work in it.

Arlington, Virginia (North Station): The Inspection service recommended this building be replaced seven years ago, but no action has as yet been taken. The floors are weak and sagging. There are serious holes in the floor. The electrical system is overloaded, creating a fire hazard. There are no lockers, no swing room. During last winter employees were without heat for a full week because a boiler burned out. The building was built to accommodate 14 employees; there are now 60 employees working in it. There are only two toilets for these sixty people and only one sink for washing up.

Arlington, Virginia (Shirlington Station): This is a dirty building with rats and armies of cockroaches. The electrical system is overloaded and dangerous. Very little loading space.

Arlington, Virginia (Rosslyn, Courthouse, Centra, Preston King Stations): All these facilities report serious overcrowding and inadequate loading space.

Alexandria, Virginia: The reports from this Post Office and its stations are depressingly similar. Through them runs the obvious theme: management has lost pride in the Post Office and this melaise is spreading to the employees. Rest rooms are almost universally filthy. Floors and cases are seldom cleaned. Jeeps and trucks are hardly ever washed. Ceilings leak and nothing is done about it. The plaster rots in the restrooms and nobody replaces it. Management has not seen fit to put either air conditioning or heat into the rest-rooms. However, this Post Office also suffers from serious management failings, resulting in poor service and bad morale. Management, for example, has decided that all mail boxes, except those on main streets, will be collected only once a day. Active union members are placed under special surveillance when they work. Complaints from patrons are never investigated; instead, they result in disciplinary action against the letter carrier whether the complaint has substance or not. Carriers cannot get help on busy days. Second and Third Class Mail is left in Stations over week-ends and not worked to carriers until the Monday. There has to be a great deal of re-organization in Alexandria before morale and service can be improved.

Woodbridge, Virginia: Approximately six months ago, about 90% of the houses in Woodbridge were re-numbered. This has created a terrible problem for substitutes and new carriers, and mistakes are endemic. Management does not help. It has refused permission to send the Form 3579 on magazines addressed according to the old numbers. Management tells carriers to forget about write-ups if they cannot be done within the 8-hour period. First class write-ups in this office remain untouched for a week or more. Management-labor relations in this office are very strained and unsatisfactory. Woodbridge has a new post office building but employees say heating and lighting are inadequate and badly planned. There are no lights on the cases, for example, and the overhead lights are not nearly strong enough.

Roanoke, Virginia: All stations and the main post office report overcrowding. Hollins Branch also reports badly leaking roof, which has leaked for months. Williamson Road station reports no ventilation, no air conditioning. Main Post Office reports the same.

Norfolk, Virginia: Here the complaints are mostly about service curtailments which have crippled the service in Norfolk. In this city management has cut back collections drastically and the collections are performed for the benefit of post office schedules, not the convenience of the patrons.

Salem, Virginia: The usual complaint: Very cramped quarters, inadequate plumbing (one urinal for all carriers) and one basin for wash-up. The parcel post is processed in a neighboring shoe store because there is no room in the Post Office.

Charleston, West Virginia (Marmet Station): Lighting inadequate, and electric wiring grotesque. (Coffee pot, water cooler, time clock and floor fan all plug into the same outlet.) There are frequent fuse problems. Security is poor at all Charleston stations and loading is often done in public areas where the mail is in no way protected.

Wheeling, West Virginia: The Main Post Office was built in 1966 but it has never had proper heating or air conditioning during the five years it has been in operation. Management seems to have given up any ideas of remedying the situation.

Wheeling West Virginia (Elm Grove Station): This is a flat-roofed building which contains the heat. There is no air conditioning and no windows in the work area. Temperatures ranging from 97 to over 100 degrees have been recorded in this building during summer months. It's a terrible place to work.

Huntington, West Virginia: The Main Post Office was built in 1907. There is no off-street parking for patrons, government vehicles or employees. Every morning the police block off one lane of Highway US 60—the busiest street in town—to provide some parking for patrons. This causes a monster traffic jam, but it's the best solution anyone has come up with. The rest room in this Post Office is beyond belief. It is crawling with dirt. The toilet stools are out in the open, without partitions, without doors. They (and those using them) can be seen from the work room floor whenever anyone opens the door of the rest room. The men feel this arrangement dehumanizes them.

Huntington, West Virginia (Guyandotte Station): There is no parking for patrons, government vehicles or employees. The patrons are very upset about the inconvenience, but nothing is done. At Guyandotte it has been impossible to motorize the routes because there is no place to park the vehicles. There are no facilities for docking, either, so loading has to be done the hard way on a hit or miss basis. In other words, the entire operation is a mess. Management in Huntington has done its best to reduce morale to a minimum. For instance, it insists on the right to conduct street supervision of letter carriers at all times, without consultation and without warning.

FORMER NEW YORK REGION

The State of New York is called "The Empire State", and this name is intended to be a compliment. But, as far as many postal facilities and as far as postal management are concerned, conditions are reminiscent only of the Mongol Empire of the Thirteenth century: primitive, ignorant, nasty and cruel.

Physical conditions in the New York Region are as bad as they are anywhere else, and management seems just as reluctant to make improvements as it is anywhere else.

Rochester, New York: Five times in recent years teams of investigators have come in to look over the Rochester Post Office. Five times they have recommended either remodeling or building a new facility. Nothing has been done. The area where 125 carriers work is dirty, dark, crowded and badly ventilated. For five years, now, "temporary" wiring has been hanging down over the workroom floor causing a serious fire hazard. This is a most depressing and dangerous place to work.

Rochester, New York (Panorama Station): This facility was built to accommodate 8 carriers. There are now 25 carriers working out of the station. Conditions are overcrowded and work space is dirty.

Gansevoort, New York: This, admittedly, is a very small office but the people working in it are just as important as those working in a major office. The office has no running water, and no toilet facilities. One rural carrier brings an electric heater from home to keep warm.

Schenectady, New York (Crane St. Station): The building here should be condemned. Every Congressman and every Inspector who has looked over the premises agrees that it should be abandoned, but the men still must work there. The main beam in the cellar is badly cracked, making use of the facility hazardous. That water "system" in the building is grotesque. For at least 6 months there has been no water in the urinals! The stench is overpowering. If one flushes a toilet, the pressure in the water cooler goes down to zero and remains there for some time. Every time it rains, the lobby is flooded because of a sieve-like roof. This has to be one of the most disgusting postal

facilities in America—but postal employees are still there.

Pittsford, New York: The men complain bitterly about the almost complete lack of ventilation and the inadequate custodial work which has permitted the Post Office to become a pig-pen. The loading facilities are so inadequate that minor accidents are numerous, yet there are no first aid equipment handy. The working areas are overcrowded, the rest room facilities scanty.

Elmira, New York: The carrier cases have been set up so they block the windows and cut off ventilation. Almost no circulation of air. The office is so jammed with equipment that movement is constricted and hazardous. There is no parking space for the public or for employees.

Yonkers, New York (176 Annex): The building is crumbling into dilapidation. Bricks are falling from the walls. The window cleaning contractor refuses to send his men up to clean the windows because the building is unsafe. The Regional Health and Safety people once made an inspection and were horrified at what they found. They promised to condemn the building and build a new one. Nothing has happened.

Yonkers, New York (Centuck Station): Very poor heating. Very crowded conditions. Some routes which should work out of this Station are working out of Tuckahoe, six miles away. There is no room for them in Centuck, and management refuses to rent a vacant store to handle the crisis. This puts an unnecessary burden on the employees.

Throughout Yonkers there are complaints about arbitrary supervision. Management, for example, hardly ever accepts an employee's statement about being sick. It automatically marks the man as AWOL. Management also insists on the right of maintaining strict street supervision over carriers at all times.

Dunkirk, New York: Greatly overcrowded. It is very difficult to move around on work room floor. Management is addicted to harassment of employees. New Postmaster insists on almost constant street observation of carriers.

Brooklyn, New York: The roofs are leaky in Brooklyn. Brownsville, Stuyvesant, Blythbourne and Green Point all complain about this irritating defect. Management does nothing to correct. Poor lighting is also reported at Gravesend, Adelphi. The facility for Green Point Station is evidently decaying day by day. The exhaust fan doesn't work. Roof leaks, mentioned above, are numerous and steady. Swinging doors are unhinged, concrete is crumbling. The building is a mess and managment seems to have lost interest in it.

East Northport, New York: Management is evidently interested in economies, not at all in service. Drivers are told to take out Postal Vehicles that have obvious and dangerous defects, and are more or less told they will be in trouble if they don't go along. (One driver had a steering wheel which consistently "locked" when he was cornering. He was still ordered to use it.) Also, substitutes are very badly treated in East Northrup. Parcel Post here is more of a swindle than it is, even, in most other places.

Shirley, New York: The Postmaster here is so tyrannical that at least three letter carriers have had nervous breakdowns, and have undergone psychiatric treatment, because of his policies and attitudes. His performance became so weird that his own Assistant wrote to the Region describing the unbearable conditions he was creating. The Region keeps saying something will be done—but nothing is done. This is a Post Office in turmoil.

Pearl River, New York: There is no swing room. There is no air conditioning. The conditions are extremely crowded, and there is no fire exit from the basement where Parcel Post personnel work. There is only one urinal for 43 employees (and 2 bowls). Facilities for loading are totally inadequate. There is no employee parking. The area around the Post Office is metered, so employees must park a long way off.

Levittown, New York (North Station): The North Station is supposed to be temporary. So it has been in operation more than two years, and no relief in sight. There is one toilet bowl for the men. It is in a small and dirty room without a lock on the door. There is no facility for female carriers. The men are thinking in terms of building a "wildcat" outhouse behind the Post Office.

Jericho, New York: This Post Office has finally received air conditioners after a long period of sweltering. The building was planned to accommodate six routes; now it has 16. Ventilation is terrible. Toilet facilities are disgusting, but management turns a deaf ear to all pleas for relief. Alterations and remodeling won't do the job in Jericho. They need a new Post Office.

Mamaroneck, New York: Ventilation is terrible. Lighting is terrible. There is no swing room for the men, and the women's has been "Incomplete" for a full year. There are no First Aid Facilities. The place is a mess.

Nanuet, New York: In Nanuet the carriers don't complain about the physical facilities; they complain about the service. Management often curtails first class mail and sometimes delays third class as much as nine days. It will do anything to prevent an hour's overtime. Very slack supervision here, with apparently little regard for the needs of the people they are supposed to serve.

Deer Park, New York: In Deer Park, management does not seem to worry itself about agreements, national or local. It does what it pleases. It is particularly eager to mix the crafts, a policy which causes considerable resentment as well as indignation among proud unionists.

Owege, New York: A local publisher has too much influence with local management and has postal employees doing work they should never do. (For instance, going over to the publisher's office, on the clock, to correct his mailing list for him.) Employees could not use parking lot this winter because Postmaster said it cost too much money to clear off the snow. For a long while now, Parcel Post has been loaded through a window. The window could be made into a door and everyone would be happier. Management says this would cost too much money.

Jamaica, New York: There is no housing for Post Office vehicles. This winter they were parked in a monster mudhole. Carriers were up over their ankles trying to reach the trucks and jeeps.

Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico: The Post Office is more than a hundred years old. It does not come near meeting minimum requirements. There is no swing room, no place to take lunch, no lockers for personal belongings. The roof leaks badly, and nobody fixes it. There is one toilet and one wash basin for the entire employee force.

San Juan, Puerto Rico: (General Post Office) no swing room. No place to eat or relax. The so-called Fire Exit door has been locked because it was a safety hazard! There are two toilet bowls and two urinals to serve 265 employees. All parking privileges were suddenly stopped, without previous consultation, causing great inconvenience.

Management in San Juan is capricious. A mail sack with a small burned hole in it was found. Consequently, all carriers are forbidden to smoke except in the small and disgusting men's room. Management shoots off letters of warning at the slightest provocation, without listening to the employee's side of the story. This is an unhappy office.

FORMER WICHITA REGION

The Wichita Region is the least populated of all the postal regions. By and large, it is an approximation of "Marlborough County", wide open spaces, reasonably clean air, uncrowded cities. It is the heartland of America, or the breadbasket, depending on which way your fancy takes you.

In any case, it is not an area where one envisions slums. Not as a general rule. Nowhere, that is, except in the Post Office, where slumishness is a way of life.

Kansas City, Kansas (Bethel Station): Out in Marlborough Country they cannot find parking spaces for the customers, let alone the employees. The one toilet overflows regularly and is never competently fixed. The water pipes freeze each winter, leaving the station without water. When the warm weather comes around nobody thinks to insulate the pipes because nobody needs insulation then.

Kansas City, Kansas (Northwest Station): The Station consists of two buildings, both of which are disgusting. The mail has to be pushed from one building to the other via the sidewalk. The smaller Annex building has no fresh drinking water and has no urinals—only two toilet bowls in different locations. The larger building's walls are so cracked one can see right through them and temperatures inside vary by as much as 20 degrees at any given time. The washroom facilities for the men are inadequate but there are no such facilities for the female employees. When a female employee wants to use the facilities a scout must proceed her and clear the men out of the washroom. Many floor tiles are broken. The place is absolutely under siege from cockroaches and, in summer, fleas. The building is not air conditioned and the place in summer can be an inferno. Paint hangs from the walls. There is no parking for employees. Although 10 mounted routes and numerous scooters must load from this Station, the dock can handle only two vehicles at a time. There is no swing room in either of these two buildings.

Kansas City, Kansas (Fairfax Station): Inadequate loading dock, inadequate employee parking. The wiring is plagued by dangerous short circuits. Supervision solves this problem by turning off the electricity. Someday there is going to be a serious fire here unless some constructive steps are taken. There is no hot water laid on in the building, a circumstance which makes janitorial services inadequate.

Kansas City, Kansas (Packer Station): The building is old, unsafe, dirty and dilapidated. It should be abandoned.

Kansas City, Kansas (Rosedale Station): The present structure is in horrible condition but, in this case, a new building is in the works. Meanwhile the employees work in squalor.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Village Station, Lakeside Station): No air conditioning.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Shartel and Britton Stations): No loading docks.

Omaha, Nebraska (Offutt Branch): This is an old army barracks, not designed for postal work, totally inadequate.

Omaha, Nebraska (Ralston, Ames Avenue, Millard, West Dodge): All facilities inadequate. All have either (1) No parking facilities or (2) very inadequate parking facilities.

Omaha, Nebraska (West Omaha): Inadequate building. Parking lot is a mud hole overlooking a 15 foot drop into a creek. There is no guard rail. This lack of a guard rail has been a safety item on the agenda for four years but nothing has even been done about it.

Omaha letter carriers also say that the leased vehicles they must use are "junk". They are not only dangerous to drive but, in appearance, they are a disgrace to the U.S. Postal Service.

Stillwater, Oklahoma: In this Post Office the air conditioning broke down in June 1970. Despite all kinds of managerial promises, no repairs were made and the employees are still waiting for repairs while another summer has come. Stillwater in summer can be as hot as any community in America.

FORMER DENVER REGION

The Denver Region is the land of wide-open spaces and great distances. In the Post Office, unfortunately, it is the land of crowded facilities and exceedingly bad working conditions. Here are some of the more obvious examples:

Colorado Springs, Colorado: Conditions are so crowded that Parcel Post must be stored on the dock, unprotected from the elements.

Pueblo, Colorado: Here, too, the parcel post must be stored outside because there is no room inside. However, in Pueblo the Postmaster has *curtailed* Parcel Post deliveries, even though substitutes are not getting 40 hours a week. Thus, instead of moving the Parcel Post as rapidly as possible through his Post Office he is adopting policies which slow up its movement and prolong its delays.

Fort Collins, Colorado: Carriers work in a basement under intolerable conditions.

Longmont, Colorado: The carriers work in a crowded Quonset Hut. The nearest toilet is a long block away.

Green Valley, Arizona: Here the complaint is against the service. The region is denying city delivery to residents who should be getting it, solely for budgetary reasons.

FORMER SAN FRANCISCO REGION

To most persons the San Francisco Region sounds like a delightful place to work, even for postal employees. Unfortunately, as far as the postal employees are concerned, the region is just as bad as any other. The San Francisco Region has its horror shops (Milpitas, Alta Loma, Buena Park and others), and they are just as bad as their counterparts in other regions. Most facilities are crowded; employee parking spaces are almost non-existent; plumbing is scarce and inadequate.

Los Angeles, California: All stations except Briggs and Broadway-Manchester are inadequate—and the latter has a deficient ladies room. Dockweiler Station is antique, uncomfortable, inefficient and should be replaced. East Los Angeles and Barrington have wretched lighting; candlepower reading at carriers' desk is only 35. Oakwood, Westburn and Wilshire-La Brea suffered structural damage during the earthquake and are now unsafe. But they are being used.

Garden Grove, California: The heating and the air conditioning are practically non-functional but no effort has been made to fix them. West Garden Grove station is enormously overcrowded and unpleasant to work in.

San Diego, California: The Post Office consists of the main office and 22 stations. Most stations are simply old stores or decrepit old buildings. They are dirty and inadequate and few have any parking at all.

El Cajon, California: The main office is a new building, but carriers are not permitted to work there. They are housed in an old abandoned building with no parking. Bostonian Station has inadequate plumbing.

Chula Vista, California: The Rancho Del Rey Station's cesspool has overflowed and is overflowing. The soil, evidently, can no longer handle the action. Therefore the toilets in the station cannot be used.

Vista, California: Post Office is so overcrowded as to be unsafe. Ventilation is a scandal. There is no parking here.

Oceanside, California: The Main Office is very overcrowded and inadequate. The Annex is an old, abandoned store. No one should be asked to work in it.

El Centro, California: *Very* old building, very inadequate.

Claremont, California: The building is unsafe. There is no hot water. No lounge for women. Heating is poor and there is no air conditioning. The roof leaks. Concrete floors rough on the legs of employees.

Covina, California: Custodial service highly inadequate. The office is a pigpen.

La Puenta, California: Management reduced the size of the locker room to provide space for a lunch room. In doing so they created crowded and unsatisfactory conditions in both rooms.

Pasadena, California: Poor parking is endemic here. So is poor lighting. The Main Station is unsafe because of inadequate exits. It also has inadequate plumbing. Rose Bowl Station is sadly deficient in plumbing: three toilets for 75 male employees.

Pomona, California: Diamond Bar Station has a highly inadequate restroom which is shared by the men and the women.

Montclair, California: Does have two restrooms but there is no partition between the man's and the women's, and no exhaust fans.

West Covina, California: This office has 150 employees and not a single available parking place. Emergency exists are poor and create a hazard.

Chowchilla, California: Management has been promising a new post office for quite some while but plans have been postponed. Present building very inadequate. Lighting is terrible.

Stockton, California: The Post Office has an air conditioner on the roof which hasn't worked for years (Stockton gets very warm indeed in summer.) Restrooms have no vents. Management here insists that unassigned substitutes wait in the swing room in case an assignment becomes available. This is greatly resented by subs.

Oakland, California: Main office has dirty, inadequate toilet facilities and totally inadequate lighting. The ladies' toilet facilities in all fifteen stations are deplorable.

Walnut Creek, California: This is a new office but the arrangement of cases is so bad that ventilation in the carriers' section is impossible. The cases are lined up to coincide with the inspectors' deep-holes in the ceiling, instead of vice versa.

Marina, California: Old building. Bad lighting. No air conditioning. Bad ventilation.

Monterey, California: Facilities are poor in every respect and the labor-management relations are worse.

San Louis Obispo, California: The carrier annex is an abandoned second-hand tire shop which is falling apart. It has very low ceilings, terrible ventilation and excessively crowded conditions.

Seaside, California: Present building is old and decaying. The public and the employees have been promised a new building. Once again, the new building has been mysteriously delayed. There is no air conditioning in this office and very poor ventilation.

Watsonville, California: Very crowded; no air conditioning. The interior planning is faulty but management will not listen to reason.

Napa, California: Management is anti-union, and particularly anti-NALC. Heating is poor during winter and ventilation is faulty.

Sebastapol, California: Heating is bad; no air conditioning; no employee parking.

Petaluma, California: A new building to replace the present old horror has been promised for a long while. For some reason it has not been started. Meanwhile employees work in crowded, unventilated misery, and without parking facilities.

St. Helena, California: Crowded, ineffective air conditioning (St. Helena is a hot spot in summer) and practically no parking.

Ukiah, California: Men's restrooms are abominable. There are no women's restrooms. The office is crowded and unventilated. Lighting is poor. Parking is very awkward.

Sonoma, California: The restroom situation is bad. The heating is bad. The parking is bad.

Crockett, California: Dirty building, dirty office, dirty workroom; dirty restroom. Bad lighting. Poor management at this office.

Rodeo, California: Dirty office with paint peeling off the walls. No heat; bad lighting; very crowded; inadequate swing room.

Richmond, California: Main office and all stations complain about toilet facilities, and particularly the women's arrangements. Mar Vista Station has placed its toilets (which are always crowded) right off the lunch room. Mar Vista has no loading dock. The vehicles are loaded at a friendly gas station, two blocks away.

Berkeley, California: All stations complain about the plumbing, especially the plumbing for women. Elmwood Station is old, dirty, dark and abominable.

Fowler, California: Ancient building, no heat, no air conditioning.

Woodlake, California: Old, non-equipped, decrepit, unusable.

San Bruno, California: This is a new building. Nonetheless, the heating and the air conditioning are bad. The restrooms are poor. The dock is inadequate. The parking is atrocious.

Mountain View, California: The Annex is a dangerous old monstrosity: no fire exits despite overcrowding; no air conditioning; bad ventilation. The building is a former warehouse. Management is highly unreasonable here and morale is non-existent.

Saratoga, California: New building, but a mess. Badly planned. Badly constructed. Poor air conditioning; poor heating; poor lighting. No parking space.

San Mateo, California: Bad ventilation. Bad heat. Bad cooling. Over crowded. Bad parking.

Menlo Park, California: Five Stations, all overcrowded. In most stations there is not enough space for parking government vehicles let alone employees' cars.

Milpitas, California: Though it has competition, this is very possibly the worst Post Office in California. For all-around wretchedness, it should be ranked nationally. The annex is an old warehouse without windows or ventilation. It *has been officially condemned by the City of Milpitas* on the grounds that it is (1) a fire trap; (2) unhealthy and (3) hazardous. (With dangerous dangling electric wires all over the place, management didn't even provide a fire extinguisher!) There is not a more dangerous or more disgusting facility in the entire Postal Establishment— but still it is used.

Campbell, California: It is amazing how so many new Post Offices in California are inadequate. Campbell is a case in point. It is overcrowded already; it has poor heat and inadequate ventilation. Surely something must be wrong with regional planning to have so many new post offices suffer from the same complaints.

Morgan Hill, California: Small building is overcrowded. Dock is much too inadequate. There is no air conditioning, and very poor ventilation. Interior planning is wretched. No parking.

Gilroy, California: Air conditioning very sub-standard (Gilroy is *hot* in summer, and sometimes in other seasons). Building is crowded and so is the dock. Bad parking.

Los Gatos, California: Management is the trouble here: very arbitrary and dictatorial. Lighting is inadequate.

Cupertine, California: Poor heating; poor ventilation; poor interior planning.

San Francisco, California (Station F): Overcrowded to the point of being hazardous. Toilet facilities very inadequate. Ventilation is wretched.

San Francisco, California (Station J): This Station was so overcrowded that manage-

ment moved eleven routes out and put them in an abandoned and condemned building. It is still overcrowded and hazardous.

San Francisco, California (Station O): This station is the complete headache. It is an abandoned bank on some of the most expensive property in the city, and is in no way suitable for postal work. Carriers work on mezzanine and main floor. Elevator is unsafe. Conveyor belt has no safeguards, on the side. Relays fall off belt and it's a wonder no one has been maimed for life. Supervision is very poor here.

San Francisco, California (Diamond Heights Station): Here the complaints are against the leased vehicles, which are perilous. (They were bought at a GSA auction and then leased to the Post Office.) The Highway Patrol has cited the vehicles several times for being unsafe but management still insists on their use.

San Francisco, California (Sunset Station): This building is old, crowded and inadequate. Supervisor is notorious throughout the service for his unreasonable attitudes.

San Francisco, California (West Portal Station): This building has been remodeled by the owner. It still meets none of the minimum standards. It is crowded, unsafe and insanitary.

San Francisco, California (Mission Station): The Supervisor here is considered the worst in the city, totally devoid of respect for those who work for him. Leased vehicles here are all unsafe. Morale is very poor.

San Francisco, California (Parcel Post Station): Needs complete re-organization. No Parcel Post route has been examined in 5 years. Crowded, unsanitary. Unsafe. A bad situation.

San Francisco, California (North Beach Station): Small, crowded, archaic office. Owner refuses to remodel or change and management still does business with him.

San Francisco, California (Rincon Annex): Four stations under one roof. Extra crowded conditions. One urinal and three stools for more than 200 employees.

San Francisco, California (Station P): The very worst of a bad lot of stations. The building is rat infested. It is archaic, inadequate, dark, overcrowded and dangerous. Health is a constant problem here. Owner refuses to do anything about conditions and management still lets him get by with it. A dreadful place.

Buena Park, California (Main Office): The postal system in California should be a happy hunting ground for the Women's Lib people—particularly in regard to plumbing. Buena Vista has one toilet for 35 female employees. The heating and air conditioning units are located on the roof. Neither of them works, and nobody is fixing them. During the rainy season the loading dock is constantly under water—12 to 14 inches of it at a time. The carrier cases are badly lighted. Locker space is limited and so is space for carriers to change their clothes. The vehicle entrance to Post Office is very dangerous. Several accidents have occurred here, still nothing is done about it.

Buena Vista, California (Station A): There is only one toilet here. The carriers are crowded and there is almost no ventilation. The smell in summer is quite something. There is no dock space. Vehicles are parked on a mud field and must be loaded on the street.

Ontario, California (Annex): One commode for more than 59 employees. Swing room far too small. Heating is poor. Conditions are crowded.

Upland, California (Main Office): Bad lighting. Leaking roof. Air conditioning ineffective. Not enough lockers. Men must share with others.

Upland, California (Annex): Bad lighting. Leaking roof. No toilet for women employees. Shortage of clothes lockers. Dock can handle only two vehicles, though there are 20 routes in the Annex.

San Jacinto, California: Cooling and heating quite inadequate. Windows should have blinds; the glare is intense. Conditions are crowded and planning is almost non-existent.

Alto Loma, California: For bad planning, inadequate facilities and general wretchedness, Alta Loma is just about as bad as any other post office in the State. The two restrooms, for example, are what seem to be converted closets and can handle only one person at a time. To make matters more sporting, the water heater is right next to the women's commode. This makes going to the bathroom quite exciting. There is no swing room, but then, there's no Postmaster's office, either. This condition means that it is impossible for employees to have a private conference with their boss. Storage space is so scarce that supplies and equipment are jammed behind doors and under tables. Heating is not circulated, so one end of the building is broiling and the other freezing. There is no loading dock. Mail is unloaded at the back of the building and then hauled through the entire Post Office to be worked. No parking lot. Trucks are stuck in a muddy lot next door and are not protected. Thieves strip them almost at will. Space is so limited it is necessary to move things around two or three times just to receive the mail, work it and get out to deliver it. This is a grotesque operation.

Brea, California: Management is very anti-labor here. Only two carriers in the past three years have received quality step increases; all supervisors have received them. Postmaster says there is no such thing as a good carrier. He insists that carriers run their routes.

Fullerton, California: Management is tyrannical. Carriers are "counselled" and warned after only two misdelivered or misforwarded letters. Supervisors are intimidating. They practically insist, for example, that carriers take their defensive driving lessons off the clock.

Van Nuys, California (Irvin Street Station): This building is an abandoned meat market. It is inadequate in every sense. There is one toilet for thirty employees and one must go outside to get to it. Bad parking here as at all three other stations in Van Nuys.

North Hollywood, California: Conditions are wretched now but understandable. Present quarters are temporary because of earthquake damage to the Post Office. However, conditions will be overcrowded in the old office when it is reopened for business. Sixty employees are working where only thirty were intended.

Beverly Hills, California: Carriers work in the basement. The exhaust from the trucks outside come right inside the work area. Sometimes this gets dangerous and someday somebody is going to get too much carbon monoxide. Exits are inadequate. There is no parking.

The following other Post Offices in California report extreme overcrowding because of the mushrooming growth in their areas:

Canoga Park (3 Stations), Thousand Oaks, Simi, Santa Paula, Glendale, Redondo Beach.

In addition, at least 100 other Post Offices in California report no parking space or a very limited parking area.

FORMER DALLAS REGION

The entire story of how the Blount Administration raped the postal service in Texas is told admirably by Victor Smiroldo, Counsel for the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and his colleague, Albert C. Briggs, in a *"Staff Investigative Report on Postal Service in the State of Texas"*. (Committee Print No. 7, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971). It is unnecessary to add anything here to the grim story that Messrs. Smiroldo and Briggs have already told.

We shall therefore concentrate on the physical conditions prevailing in a few (selected out of many) key post offices in the states of Texas and Louisiana.

Houston, Texas (Genoa Station): The septic tank for handling human wastes is small and inadequate. Consequently, effluvia constantly seeps upward, soaking the ground and poisoning the atmosphere. In warm weather the smell is beyond belief and management has done nothing helpful to correct it.

Houston, Texas (Roy Royal Station): Bad lighting. Drafty and exceedingly cold in winter time.

Houston, Texas (Sharpstown Annex): This building is a mess. It has low (eight foot) ceilings which frustrate the circulation of air and hinder air conditioning and heating. There is no hot water, and no swing room for the employees. There are only two toilet bowls (no urinals) for more than 50 employees.

Houston, Texas (Southmore Station): The roof leaks and has leaked for a long time. It leaks so badly the wash room floor was being flooded with every sizeable rain. Management went to the heart of the matter in this case. It placed a 24 gallon can in the wash room to catch the rain. (Good thinking! Right on!) Sheet rock has fallen throughout the station and now the insulation is pushing through the ceilings.

Garland, Texas: Ninety male employees and the washroom has two toilets. It is neither air-conditioned nor heated and has no ventilation fan! There are 26 carrier cases jammed into an area 30' by 36'. Lighting is abominable but management refuses to put lights on the cases because this would make it too difficult to move the cases around. The controls for heating and cooling are locked and the Assistant Postmaster is the only one who has a key. In case of a change in the weather, the employees must suffer until the Assistant Postmaster arrives at 8:30 with his key.

Waco, Texas (Baylor Station): This is a terribly overcrowded facility. There is insufficient room for lockers, and many employees must share a locker with someone else. There is no swing room, so the coffee pot is kept in the toilet. The loading dock is inadequate and unsafe. Accidents have occurred there, but no changes have been made.

Metairie, Louisiana: Post Office was built in 1955 and was overcrowded the day it opened. A new office is on the drawing board but employees must continue to work under present intolerable conditions. The roof is presently being held up by jacks because it has been weakened by the weight of collected water and of the many layers of roofing that have been added over the years.

Metairie, Louisiana (Park Manor Station): This is a new and permanent building. It has one stairwell and no fire escapes. Management refuses to believe this is dangerous because the building is supposed to be fireproof.

Alexandria, Louisiana (South Park Station): This is a leased building. There is talk of a new Post Office in the near future, but employees must now work under most primitive conditions. The air conditioning is antiquated and goes out several times each summer. There are no windows which can be opened. so heat becomes intense. There is no loading dock, so loading must be done in all weathers on a blacktop surface.

Alexandria, Louisiana (Main Post Office): Parcel Post trucks have to load from an old wooden building that was condemned 15 years ago. This is a very unsafe facility. For example, just recently an overhead door collapsed and shattered an employee's arm.

FORMER SEATTLE REGION

Frankly, it is amazing to us how little concern postal management has for the provision of and maintenance of basic plumbing and sanitation. As one can readily see from the examples listed from the Seattle Region, below, management is almost monu-

mentally insensitive to the desire for human dignity among postal employees, particularly in the smaller communities.

In the larger cities (Portland and Seattle) management does better with toilets, but falls down on service. (Throughout the region, almost inevitably, one or the other stinks—and often, both.)

Port Angeles, Washington: There are 12 carrier cases and 3 clerk cases in less than 950 square feet. Ventilation is bad; lighting is worse. Rest rooms are in the basement.

Kent, Washington: The Carrier Annex Station is a reformed bakery. There are 35 employees and just one toilet bowl, which is shared by both male and female employees. There is no swing room, and no telephone, official or otherwise. Lighting and ventilation are abominable.

Renton, Washington: Conditions abominable. Overcrowding, wretched ventilation, impossible lighting.

Spokane, Washington (Station B): The whole station can be described as a slum going somewhere to happen. The work room is dangerously filthy; the swing room is too squalid to use. There are 20 carrier cases (with wings) in an area of 1200 square feet.

Anchorage, Alaska: The city engineer has declared the building unsafe. It is still being used.

Missoula, Montana: Another filthy post office with bad lighting and ventilation. Office is far too crowded for comfort or safety.

Billings, Montana: Carrier Annex is a warehouse with a tin roof. In winter it is freezing; in summer it is broiling. There is no loading dock, a deficiency which makes loading and unloading very hard. The building was never designed for postal operations and no attempt has been made to adapt it.

Seattle, Washington (Riverton Station): Forty-five men and twelve women work in this Station under highly primitive conditions. The work area is filthy; the ventilation and lighting bad. Washroom facilities are inadequate.

Seattle, Washington (Magnolia Station): Magnolia is overcrowded, with 22 carrier cases and wings and 2 clerk cases jammed into 950 square feet. Conditions are no better than at Riverton (above). At Magnolia there is also a most inadequate loading dock.

Seattle, Washington (Broadway Station): The Station consists of two former grocery stores. Neither converted store is adequate for postal work. Toilets are given to overflowing; they flush out, not down.

Seattle, Washington (Wallingford Station): This dirty old building should have been condemned years ago. The floor is badly rotted and will soon give way. Lighting and ventilation, as usual, are bad.

Seattle, Washington (Georgetown Station): After eight years of constant protest, a new Station is on the drawing board. Meanwhile employees continue to work in this monstrous old firetrap.

The Seattle Post Office operation generally is known for making arbitrary curtailments of service without discussing them in advance with local NALC leaders, as the contract says they must do. For example, in the past six months the number of collections in almost 700 letter boxes was reduced, without warning, to one a day. This, of course, means that a patron who does not make the deadline on time has no chance of getting overnight service on his letter. The letter spends the first day *en route* inside the letter box, going nowhere.

FORMER CINCINNATI REGION

The Cincinnati Region was the first postal region to be created (1954). The whole purpose of regionalization was to move management out into the field where the problems are and where meaningful decisions can be made on the stop. The decentralizalizers boasted that they would be able to prevent "thousand dollar problems from becoming million dollar catastrophes".

One of the helpful things they would be able to do, it was thought, was to anticipate growth and plan the development of facilities to accommodate such growth. This is precisely what did not happen. Post offices in the Cincinnati region are among the most crowded in the nation and, in terms of rebuilding or enlarging them, they have become a billion dollar catastrophe.

Fort Wayne, Indiana: Desperately overcrowded. Forty letters carriers work in the old swing room in the basement of the Post Office. The windows are barred and there is only one door. In case of a fire, explosion, earthquake or some similar disaster the trapped men wouldn't have a chance.

Youngstown, Ohio: Main Office is very crowded. Poor lighting, poor ventilation, no parking for patrons or employees.

Youngstown, Ohio: West Side Station is almost collapsing with age. This facility is shamefully overcrowded. No parking for patrons or employees.

Youngstown, Ohio: Northside Station is intolerably crowded. Plaster is falling off the walls. Ventilation is bad. No loading space for vehicles. This station did have a parking lot but it is now torn up.

Youngstown, Ohio: The Annex is also greatly overcrowded. There are no toilet facilities for females and they must walk a full block to find a rest room. Parking exists but is poor and scanty. In bad weather this facility is surrounded by a sea of mud.

Akron, Ohio: Fleet Station is not only overcrowded, but the carriers have not been assigned their proper share of what space is available. They work in congested squalor and Third Class Mail is usually stored all over the building, wherever there is a flat area. Dock facilities totally inadequate (only two vehicles can be loaded at one time). Ventilation is horrible. The building is hot and stuffy in summer, freezing in winter. Toilet facilities are dirty and inadequate.

Cleveland, Ohio: Very overcrowded, so much so that it abrades the tempers of employees and causes ill feeling and low morale. The parking facilities are worse than poor.

South Bend, Indiana: Installation much too small. Employees are overcrowded. Parking is poor.

Gary, Indiana: The authorities have been promising a Post Office for more than four years. Nothing has been done. Very badly overcrowded.

Valparaiso, Indiana: Here the new Post Office has been promised for three years. Nothing has been done. Facility is inadequate, conditions fantastically crowded.

Richmond, Indiana: The employees and patrons have been promised a new Post Office for two years. Nothing has happened. Conditions are poor. Employees are overcrowded.

Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio: The State Road Station in this community, reputedly the richest *per capita* in the land, has very little ventilation and no air conditioning. It stands next to the loading dock of a super market. When the trucks make deliveries the drivers keep the motors running and carbon monoxide keeps flooding the work room. Some employees have fainted, others have become nauseated. Still, nothing is done and nobody seems to have any intention of doing anything.

Columbus, Ohio (Beechwold Station): Vastly overcrowded, with aisles only 1½ feet wide. Empty mail tubs litter the floor, making movement hazardous. Lighting is most inadequate and heating is a farce. There is no parking. Loading dock is for midgets. Building is also a firetrap.

FORMER ST. LOUIS REGION

Complaints in the St. Louis Region seem to center around managerial attitudes at the regional and the local levels. There is a great deal of complaint concerning the breaking of agreements, violation of time limits in Grievance and Adverse Action cases and the refusal to adjust routes, even when apartment houses have been built on them.

Our Regional Field Director intimates that in smaller towns letter carriers are timid about reporting on poor facilities and obnoxious policies because of reprisals.

One perfectly ridiculous situation continues to be a bother throughout the region. On about 50% of the new Kaiser Jeeps in the region, the locks will not work. Management refuses to change or fix them. So letter carriers are receiving letters of charges for not locking their vehicles, which cannot be locked in the first place.

Des Moines, Iowa: The facility in Des Moines is awful and the service is worse. The local newspapers have been writing indignant stories but the Postmaster keeps curtailing service and reducing services to the public. The toilet facilities in the CARRIER ANNEX are disgusting and the work room itself is revolting. The tops of the eating tables are filthy. The stairs are almost never swept. The lighting is inadequate. It is also inadequate in the new postal facility which will be opened for use next December.

Fort Dodge, Iowa: The complaints from this city concern the service. The Postmaster insists upon eliminating afternoon delivery to business areas without even a semblance of consultation with the carriers. The carriers have successfully resisted the attempt, but they feel it is only a matter of time.

Sioux City, Iowa (North Side Station): The loading facilities here are grotesque. In order to load relays, pouches and parcel post the men must pass through the front lobby. At the back exit the drivers have to throw their pouches down two flights of stairs to the work room floor.

The men then must drag the mail into the Station. The Station is overcrowded and the ventilation is execrable. (The lighting is bad, too.) The restrooms are awful. The Safety experts from the region examined this Station and admitted its inadequacy and dangerousness. However, nobody's talking about a new facility here.

FORMER ATLANTA REGION

The Atlanta Region is plagued by poor facilities, lack of adequate air conditioning, lack of adequate heating in winter and the usual managerial insensitivity to the comfort of the employees. Here are some glaring examples:

Pinella Park, Florida: The facility is overcrowded to such an extent that work is hazardous. In winter heat is supplied by an old one-burner Duo-Therm heater. In summer coolness is supplied by three small wall fans and three undersized, underpowered window air conditioners. All doors but one leading to the carriers' work room area, are kept locked thus creating a real hazard in case of a fire or other calamity. There is one commode (no urinal) to accommodate thirty employees. Also, one wash basin and one drinking fountain.

Miami, Florida (Ocean View): The facility is filthy. On occasion employee complaints cause a general cleaning but this is always considered as a one-time thing. Nobody cleans again until the employees' complaints grow loud enough. The Superintendent here works at clerical jobs to save overtime or use of subs She also has mail handlers doing the work of carriers and clerks.

Miami, Florida (Olympia Heights): Another typically dirty facility. This station has no janitor. Somebody "does" it once every two weeks, which is not nearly often enough.

Miami, Florida (Coconut Grove): This is a new facility, but it has been in operation for some while. Still, no one has seen fit to assemble the employees' lockers which are lying around on the floor and getting in everyone's way while many of the men have no place to hang their clothes.

Marietta, Georgia (Station A): Badly crowded, dirty and poorly ventilated. It is

rumored that a new facility will be acquired soon, but not till after July 1.

Columbus, Georgia: Bad ventilation and inefficient air conditioning. This is still another overcrowded facility.

FORMER MEMPHIS REGION

Primitive working conditions, primitive facilities and primitive managerial attitudes are widespread through the Memphis Region. Nashville, Tennessee is generally considered one of the most up-to-date communities in this area and yet the working conditions in the Post Office there would disgust a ring-tailed baboon. Conditions elsewhere in the region tend to be worse than they are in Nashville.

Nashville, Tennessee (Uptown Station): This building, which dates from the Civil War, has been condemned by the city several times, but the Post Office just continues to use it. Uptown Station is located in an arcade and serves mid-town Nashville. It is one of the busiest stations in the entire South. The basement is below sewer level and in the rainy seasons the water seeps in, runs across the floor and into a well where a sump pump pushes it into the sewer. The men's toilet is also below sewer level and is equipped with a pump. The pump often leaks, permitting the sewage to run across the floor unto the well. The headroom in the basement is only 5 feet, 6 inches. To get to the toilet a man has to walk the whole length of the basement, doubled up. Also the lockers until very recently were in the basement. (They have been temporarily moved upstairs, but only until the space is needed for mail processing). The personnel in the Uptown Station are almost equally divided between those with permanent stoops and those with very sore heads.

Nashville, Tennessee (Melrose Station): Up until last month this Station was located in an abandoned fruit stand. The building was several times condemned but postal management paid no heed. The station was finally moved to new quarters only because it was necessary to make room for a highway.

Nashville, Tennessee (Melrose Station): In 1958, when the present building was first occupied, it held nine routes. Today there are 31 routes and one rural route, and a total complement of 58 employees. There are two one-fixture wash rooms. These are reserved for the men. The women employees must use a service station about half a long block away. This is one of the most crowded and most uncomfortable stations in the country.

FORMER CHICAGO REGION

For some reason or other, Chicago has always been a by-word for inadequate postal facilities. Around about the turn of the century the basement of the Main Post Office was called "The Tomb" because so many people who worked there contracted tuberculosis and died. During the first decade of this century the Illinois State health authorities inspected the Chicago facilities (without informing the postal authorities) and declared them filthy and far below minimum standards in private industry. The postal authorities refused to improve the facilities and fired the postal employees who complained to the health authorities.

Chicago, Illinois: Our correspondents tell us that half the stations of the Chicago Post Office are rat infested, Auburn Park being the worst. (There they sometimes try to nest in the pigeon holes.) All stations have inadequate loading space. Some (particularly Ravenswood and Irving Park) have crumbling masonry making it very hazardous to work or stop near any of the walls. The toilet facilities are generally horrible and, for the female employees, totally inadequate.

Montgomery, Illinois: The Post Office is in a building that has been condemned. It is totally inadequate.

Royal Oak, Michigan (Annex): The carriers have been moved down into the basement where they share the area with a huge boiler and an old fashioned furnace. When the men get to work at 6 a.m. in the winter the temperature in the basement is in the eighties, and by the time they leave for their routes at 9 a.m., it is in the mid-nineties. A more unhealthy situation cannot be imagined. The Annex is also a fire trap and the means of exit are limited.

GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ALINE FOR THE ARTS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take note of a recent article in the New York Times of July 18, 1971, discussing the "doings at Wolf Trap Farm," the new cultural center just outside Washington, D.C. The story reports how the Federal Government and private individuals have joined to create a summer festival of ballet, jazz, opera and symphonic music, all in a stunning setting. This is the kind of alliance which benefits all Americans.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, July 18, 1971]

DOINGS AT WOLF TRAP FARM

(By Harold C. Schonberg)

Summer festivals have become a way of life in the United States and new ones are being added every year. The latest is named Wolf Trap Farm Park for the Performing Arts. In one respect it is very similar to the other ambitious American summer festivals—a shed, a pastoral atmosphere, a summer-long mixed program (ballet, jazz and opera in addition to symphonic music), a school, a student resident orchestra, various visiting ensembles. But in another respect it is different. For it is an alliance of Government and private enterprise, and that sets it off a bit.

Mrs. Jouett Shouse, heiress to the Filene Department Store fortune, donated 117 acres of her summer home in Vienna, Va., to the Department of the Interior. The land, with the lovely name of Wolf Trap Farm, was gladly accepted and placed under the administration of the National Park System. It will be up to Interior to maintain the property which, according to an Interior handout, is "dedicated to the preservation and pursuit of artistic achievement." In the meantime, Mrs. Shouse put up over $2-million of her own money to have an auditorium built. But the land and building belong to the people, as part of the National Park System under Public Law 89-671 of Oct. 1966.

The Federal Government, however, is not prepared to go into the concert business. Therefore a nonprofit corporation, the Wolf Trap Farm Foundation, was set up. It is headed by Joseph Leavitt, the former executive director of the New Jersey Symphony. Leavitt and his associates work up the program, engage the artists and so on. A third element in the program is the school, the Wolf Trap American University Academy for the Performing Arts. This is under the direction of Eugene B. Kassman, and its work is implemented by the American University through the Wolf Trap Farm Foundation in cooperation with the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

Arrangements have been made for students at the academy to receive college credits for their work. The program is elaborate. There will be a large orchestra and chorus, conducted by such faculty members as Eleazar de Carvalho, Frederick Fennell, Alexander Schneider and Izler Solomon. Master classes in violin (with Rafael Druian and David Nadien), chamber music (Raphael Hillyer and the Tokyo String Quartet) and piano (Earl Wild, Alan Mandel and Leonard Shure (will be given. A playwright's center is included and that will be directed by Kenneth Baker. And the composition faculty has such prominent adornments as Pierre Boulez, Milton Babbitt and Morton Subotnick.

In an effort to bring the academy closer to the public, the programs include "interpretive" mornings and afternoons at which various art forms will be discussed and explained. This is a good idea, and one not found in most music festivals. Getting close to musicians and theater people on an informal basis, with the give and take of questions and answers, can be a very valuable experience for the layman.

In short, the entire program at Wolf Trap Farm has been carefully worked out, and the result is one of the most ambitious attempts of its kind. As for the festival itself, there is a great deal going for it. John MacFadyen and Edward F. Knowles have created a fine building in the Filene Center. It lies at the bottom of a natural amphitheater, is huge without appearing so, has all kinds of backstage facilities for opera, ballet and theater (very few summer festival buildings have been designed for anything but symphony orchestras), and is landscaped beautifully into the surroundings.

Seating capacity is 3,500, with provision for another 3,000 on the grass outside the hall. The acoustics are good. Paul Veneklasen, the acoustician, has achieved a tonal quality that has clarity and color. Upstairs, in the balcony, the second is especially vital. Downstairs at the rear it tapers off just a bit, or so it seemed at the opening concert, where everything could be heard without effort but where there was a lack of that mysterious thing known as "presence." Closer to the stage there could be no complaint.

Only one thing marred the opening. The festival people say that they had checked out the airplane situation, and that Wolf Trap Farm is outside the National Airport and Dulles Airport flight patterns. (Dulles Airport is almost adjacent to the festival grounds.) That may be, but at the July 1 inaugural there was a great deal of activity upstairs, some of it so loud that one wondered if airplanes were going to use the roof of Filene Center as a landing strip. It was, however, an evening with intermittent showers, and perhaps aircraft had to be diverted. It would be a shame if the music at the Wolf Trap Festival had the constant competition of passing aircraft. For it is no pleasure to listen under such conditions. Indeed, it is distracting in the extreme.

As the first national park for the performing arts, with its beneficent relationship between Government and private enterprise, the Wolf Trap project is going to be watched with a great deal of interest. Perhaps it is an augury of the future—a future in which this country has solved some of its problems, with Federal money going into helping the arts rather than the armament manufacturers. The amount of money involved is, after all, minuscule in relation to the Federal budget; and the benefits are all out of proportion to the outlay.

Ideas like this should spread. Any rapprochement between private enterprise and Government in the cultural sector deserves support. Our Government, after all, is only beginning to do what other governments in civilized countries all over the world take as a matter of course. What our legislators have to learn is that it is not too expensive to provide a cultural ambience for the American people. On the contrary, it is too expensive not to.

THE NEW ERA

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress last January, JIM ABOUREZK has impressed all of his colleagues with his ability to make realistic arguments for the needs of his constituents in South Dakota. Instead of demanding assistance for his State while completely ignoring the needs of people from the more urban areas of our Nation, ABOUREZK has been willing to work with his urban colleagues on programs of importance to city areas. In return he has argued forcefully that city Congressmen must begin to understand that so long as thousands of young men and women pour out of our rural areas into our overcrowded cities, the explosive problems of the cities will continue to get worse.

I am particularly pleased to place into the RECORD today an article from a fine South Dakota newspaper, the Watertown Public Opinion, which shows that Congressman ABOUREZK's efforts in Congress have been appreciated not only by those of us who work with him, but also by those in South Dakota who benefit from his work here.

[From the Watertown (S. Dak.) Public Opinion, July 22, 1971]

THE NEW ERA

Rep. James Abourezk of South Dakota has expressed a truism in his latest newsletter to constituents which signals the new era in farm state status and strategy in Congress. He says:

"As much as we wish it were not so, the day when rural representatives could ram anything they wanted through Congress are gone. Urban congressmen outnumber us badly in Washington. Their votes are vital to any legislation we rural people want passed."

Abourezk made the observation in explaining why he voted for a House amendment to the agriculture appropriations bill to put a $20,000 ceiling on farm subsidy payments to any single producer. Essentially, his explanation boils down to this one sentence:

"Without the bogeyman of huge payments to rich farmers, it will be easier to convince urban members that a decent parity price is an investment for them in keeping farm families in South Dakota and out of the overcrowded cities of their own districts."

Passage of the $20,000 subsidy limit will, in the western South Dakotan's opinion, provide a powerful farm tool for those who are seeking to improve farm programs, serving as "trading stock" by enabling farm state congressmen to say, to their urban colleagues, "you had our vote for limiting huge farm payments to rich producers. Now where is yours for a better deal for the average guy in our rural states?"

The logic is difficult to argue. Moreover, it serves as an illustration why Abourezk is such a strong possibility within his party for the U.S. Senate nomination next year. He is, as a matter of fact, easily the No. 1 contender at the moment, one principal reason being the forthright manner in which he has acted during this first term and the equally forthright communication to the voters back home of his reasons for having so acted. He has shown a definite knack for anticipating and answering questions before they are asked.

Meanwhile, he has also quite realistically pinpointed the changed balance of legislative power in Washington, why it is necessary for farm state lawmakers to stick together, and why the urban bloc must be constantly proselyted for support. Without it, the rural congressman is largely out of luck; with it, the farmer still has a chance.

DISSENTING VIEWS OF HON. EDWARD I. KOCH ON H.R. 8432

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the cogent remarks of our colleague from New York (Mr. KOCH) in dissenting from the committee's report on this bill. They follow:

DISSENTING VIEWS OF REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD I. KOCH

STATEMENT OF FACTS

H.R. 8432 introduced by the distinguished Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee at the request of the Administration originally provided for a $250 million loan guarantee specifically tailored for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. In the marking up of this bill the Committee, adopted an amendment substituting the provisions of S. 2308 for the original bill. S. 2308 was originally introduced in the Senate and authorizes $2 billion in emergency loan guarantees to major business enterprises with a limitation of $250 million for any one company. The substitute amendment was adopted through the joint efforts of the majority of Republican Members and a minority of Democratic Members of the Committee. The substitute amendment was approved by a vote of 18 to 16.

ARGUMENT

This dissenting view will attempt to analyze the major arguments that were offered in support of both the $250 million loan guarantee originally proposed and the bill finally approved by the Committee for the $2 billion guarantee.

The witnesses appearing for the bill, in support of either or both versions consisted of Daniel J. Haughton, Chairman of the Board of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 24 Presidents and chairmen of those banks which have heretofore lent a total of $400 million to Lockheed, as well as representatives of the International Association of Machinists, Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard, Secretary of Treasury John Connally, and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board Dr. Arthur Burns. Opposing the loan guarantee in any form was a single witness, a representative of the UAW.

Those supporting the bill do so on the ground that if the United States fails to provide the guarantee which would permit these 24 banks to increase the credit to Lockheed by $250 million, the banks would not make such a loan and Lockheed would be forced into bankruptcy. The consequences the loan's proponents allege would be devastating to our economy, bearing a particular hardship on employment.

The Committee heard 30 witnesses, 29 of whom testified in support of the loan. On July 16th the Committee cut short the time period of the hearings, consequently precluding several witnesses against the loan from appearing. These included Norton Simon, a well known industrialist familiar with loan transactions of this magnitude, and Henry M. Durham, a former Lockheed assistant manager who had advised the Committee that he had information bearing upon mismanagement and deception practiced by Lockheed.

Much has been said about the commitments of various airlines to purchase the Lockheed airbus, but the Committee did not call a single airline witness before it for cross-examination on this very important factor. The Committee has subpoena power, but it did not use it to obtain badly needed information from the prime competitors of Lockheed—Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas.

The failure to call these vital witnesses so as to provide the Committee with all of the arguments and information on this major legislation makes the hearing held one not to be cited in the future as a model of objectivity.

TESTIMONY OF THE BANKERS

The presidents and Chairmen of the Boards of Directors of the 24 banks to which Lockheed is indebted represent banks having ⅓ of the banking assets in these United States. Their contention is that these banks, absent a United States loan guarantee, will not make the additional loan of $250 million now allegedly required by Lockheed and that the result of their failure to do so will be Lockheed's bankruptcy. These banks, in advocating that the United States provide a loan guarantee which will permit their making the $250 million loan without risk and with interest to be paid to them by Lockheed, advanced several arguments. One was that there is little or no risk to the United States in providing such a loan guarantee because the banks are subordinating their outstanding $400 million loans to the government's guaranteed loan. Thus, they asserted the security for the United States is more than adequate. On the other hand they stated that the banks themselves could not lend the additional $250 million without the government guarantee because it was not a bankable loan. When the shoe was on their foot they said that the security offered by Lockheed really isn't worth anything because it is difficult to sell a plane design or parts, which compose a major portion of the company's inventory. Finally, if the additional $250 million was not provided, Lockheed would go into bankruptcy—and they would allow this to happen before independently providing the additional money to protect the $400 million they had already extended to the corporation.

During testimony on July 14, I had the following dialogue with Mr. Chauncey J. Medberry, III, Chairman of the Board of Bank of America concerning the bankability of the loan:

Mr. KOCH. What you say to us is, we should come in and pick it up because you are going to give us a privileged position. I am asking you, and I ask the question of everybody here, are there not banks here today who, if they were given the privileged position of having a preferential situation for the additional $250 million, which would come in and offer that $250 million?

Could I ask for an expression of opinion on this question. Is there a bank here, if it were given a preferential position with respect to this new money, the $250 million, that would come in and accept that offer? Is there no bank here that would want such a preferential position?

No.

I assume by your silence that you would all turn down the possibility of coming in as a preferential creditor for the additional $250 million. Would you agree, Mr. Medberry, that apparently is the situation?

Mr. MEDBERRY. Yes, I agree.

Mr. KOCH. Let's assume for the moment that everybody at this table agreed to subordinate their loans to the bank or banks that come in and offer the additional 250

to continue this. Wouldn't you jump at that offer?

Mr. MEDBERRY. No, I certainly would not.

Mr. KOCH. Tell me why not.

Mr. MEDBERRY. Because of the risk involved. And I tried to put that into my testimony.

Mr. KOCH. Risk in the new $250 million loan?

Mr. MEDBERRY. I stated that the government still had some of the continuing risk on its guarantee. The bank, however, would have no risk on that $250 if the U.S. government would guarantee it.

Mr. KOCH. Let me ask you this. Do you see any appreciable risk if all other loans were subordinated to your making an additional $250 million loan which had a preference in the situation?

Mr. MEDBERRY. Yes, Mr. Koch, I do.

TESTIMONY OF DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DAVID PACKARD

The testimony of Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard was enlightening, because of what he failed to say as much as what he said. Originally, Mr. Packard filed a statement with the Committee supporting a $250 million loan guarantee specifically limited to Lockheed while opposing the $2 billion loan guarantee. Before appearing the Deputy Secretary excised from his remarks the last 2¼ pages which contained his opposition to the $2 billion program proposed.

The argument was advanced by Deputy Secretary Packard and others that what is proposed here is similar to the assistance given to small businesses by the Small Business Administration.

In response to a question I put before Mr. Packard on whether the SBA provides assistance to a small firm at the edge of bankruptcy, he responded:

"Yes, they come in on the edge of bankruptcy. This is one of the purposes, to help small business, and among other things to keep them from going into receivership."

A very fundamental question should be asked at this point: Is it the function of government to bail out bankrupt business—large or small? Because I was surprised at Deputy Secretary Packard's response and reference to SBA procedures, I wrote to the SBA to ascertain its policy on loans to small businesses on the verge of bankruptcy. I received the following response from the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, Thomas S. Kleppe, which speaks for itself:

U.S. GOVERNMENT,
SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1971.

Hon. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KOCH: This letter will reply to yours of July 20, 1971, requesting information relating to whether the Small Business Administration would make loans to small businesses to avoid bankruptcy.

The prohibitions which you cite in your letter would not necessarily preclude such loans, although they might, depending on the circumstances of a particular case.

Normally, we would not consider as eligible for a business loan an applicant which is facing bankruptcy, as we must find under our statute a reasonable assurance of repayment ability. This would obviously be difficult to do in most cases.

We do not have a record of loans made to firms facing bankruptcy, if there ever were any at all.

I hope that this information is helpful. Please let us know when we can be of further service.

Sincerely,

THOMAS S. KLEPPE,
Administrator.

In his prepared remarks, Deputy Secretary Packard made it clear that the Nation's security did not pivot on whether the government guarantees the loan or whether Lockheed goes into bankruptcy.

Packard stated on July 19 before our Committee:

As I have said many times, we do not think the L–1011 is a Defense Department responsibility.

* * * * *

It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, that the desirability of a broader bill, a larger bill, is not related to the requirements for the Defense industry, it is related to requirements for a broader cross-section of industry.

TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY OF TREASURY JOHN CONNALLY

The Secretary of the Treasury's philosophy with respect to loans and guarantees by the United States government to corporations like Lockheed was expressed in a dialogue he had with me during his testimony. We were discussing the philosophical problems raised in the government's involvement in this matter in free enterprise.

I asked,

"I wonder if you have some thoughts . . . as to why you think it (the government's guaranteeing this loan) is not an assault on the free enterprise system."

He responded:

"Mr. Congressman, let me put it in this context. I have great regard for Mr. Medberry. I think he is a very able and distinguished man. I have heard this expressed by a large number of business people, well, we are afraid this is an assault on the free enterprise system. This frankly leaves me cold; I don't understand this argument. I don't recall that this argument was very persuasive in the case of the RFC, when these same businessmen came in and said, we want to sell X-products to Y-company, but we want an export-import loan. So what are we doing? We are loaning the money and we are guaranteeing the payment for the sale of their commodity or their product. I don't see any great difference between guaranteeing the sale of their product and the sale of this product. When they come in and they want a guarantee against commercial loss on overseas operations, as we are now doing to the tune of $8 billion under OPIC, we don't say that this violates the free enterprise system, but we sure want it."

Mr. KOCH. Let me ask, how far down the road to Socialism do you want to take us?

Secretary CONNALLY. I am not taking you down the road to Socialism at all. If you are embarked on that course, the direction was set long before I came here. (July 20, 1971)

All of us must recognize that the economy of the United States is not laissez-faire in the orthodox sense—not should it be. Yet, we can rightfully say that our economy embodies the principle of "free enterprise." There is indeed a role for government to play in every area of our economy and it does so with subsidies and other assistance. Yet until this point, I do not believe that it has been the policy of the United States to have the government so manage the economy that it will provide the businesses of this country and in particular the giant corporations with loans or loan guarantees when they are on the brink of bankruptcy. If this legislation is passed we shall have crossed that Rubicon and placed the United States in the position of deciding what businesses, whether mismanaged or not, shall be saved from bankruptcy with government loans or loan guarantees and what businesses shall not. Last year, more than 11,000 businesses in this country went into bankruptcy. Next year, if this bill is passed, among a similar or even larger number there will be a special favored few who will be bailed out by the U.S. Government—and I for one am opposed to the government's extending financial assistance to that point.

TESTIMONY OF DR. ARTHUR BURNS

Dr. Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board, was the last witness to be called. His support of the $2 billion loan guarantee legislation came as no surprise since he had advocated similar bail-out legislation for the Penn Central Railroad. What was surprising was his hindsight on this matter.

On July 20, Dr. Burns told the Committee in response to a question as to whether he would have approved a Federal loan guarantee to Penn Central:

Well, I can answer partly by way of hindsight but I am still speculating because your question is of that character. I think that if this legislation had been on the statute books and if I served as a member of the emergency loan guarantee board I think that I would have voted in favor of the guarantee.

Dr. Burns conceded that there are reputable economists who disagree with his position on this legislation but he supports the legislation because, in his judgment, Lockheed, without the loan, will go into bankruptcy.

His advice on the Penn Central Railroad was clearly erroneous and I submit should not be followed in this legislation before us.

CONCLUSION

The legislation pending before the Congress, originally to provide Lockheed a $250 million bail out now extended so as to permit as many other giant corporations to come in and apply for $250 million loan guarantees, is a rerun of what the Administration sought to do slightly more than a year ago when its position was that a $200 million Federal guarantee to the Penn Central Transportation Company was essential to the economy. At that time, an official of the United States Treasury Department stated:

If a big railroad like the Penn Central failed, the psychological impact would be extremely damaging to the financial markets.

Despite the scare tactics, the Congress did not agree to the rescue plan. The Penn Central filed for bankruptcy on June 21, 1970 and the Republic still stands. The railroad continues to run, the workers continue to work and there has been no financial panic. Had the Congress followed and believed the propaganda and emotional statements of the Administration officials last year, the mismanagement, deceit and illegal activity of Penn Central would have continued. There are few people today who would question that the Federal government—the taxpayers—would have lost hundreds of millions of dollars in that ill-conceived scheme. The Nixon Administration was saved a monumental embarrassment when Congress rejected the effort to provide that slush fund. This Congress should again save the Nixon Administration from itself.

Loans and loan guarantees of this nature would perpetuate overpriced defense contracts. As stated by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Honorable David Packard, in testimony filed with this Committee, "Past policies have encouraged defense contractors, large and small to take on programs beyond their means. That is what happened with the L–1011. Lockheed could assume ways to cover large overruns which might occur on their defense programs . . . For this reason, we in the Department of Defense, do not need nor want a broad loan guarantee bill which will only encourage a continuation of these practices which have caused this trouble."

The bill rewards corporate mismanagement. There exists unrefuted evidence of mismanagement by Lockheed which, until

explained, should disqualify the company for federal assistance. I refer to the public statements of Henry H. Durham, a former Lockheed assistant manager, who was asked to testify before the Committee but was not heard within the time limitations set. Such unrefuted allegations raise the spectre of another Penn Central scandal with all its evidence of mismanagement and fraud. If Penn Central had been given a loan guarantee these facts might never have come to light.

It shortchanges the taxpayer. Under the terms of H.R. 8432 as approved by the Committee, the taxpayers bear a substantial risk of $250 million depending on the future survival of Lockheed. The legislation does not, however, assure that the interest on this $250 million loan will be paid to the federal treasury to compensate the taxpayers for this risk. Instead the legislation in its ambiguous construction allows for the payment of additional interest to the banks which have refused to advance Lockheed more money, without a federal guarantee. There is nothing in the bill to compensate the government for the risk it is taking. I believe there are substantial hidden costs to the taxpayer under this legislation. It will establish an unhealthy relationship between subsidized defense contractors and federal officials, and an unfair competitive position for other corporations managing with their own resources and doing business with the federal government. Once a guarantee has been awarded to a contractor, this fact will unavoidably be taken into consideration in awarding and administering federal contracts. The result will be substantial additional costs for already high-priced government weapons and other purchases.

The unmet needs of this nation cry out for resolution. They include schools, hospitals, housing and a better environment. We cannot afford this costly diversion.

The dire warnings of the Administration and the witnesses who appeared in support of this legislation, is reminiscent of the dire prediction of Henney-penny in the story of Chicken Little.

"Goodness gracious me!" said Henney-penny; the sky's a-going to fall; I must go and tell the king." So she went along and she went along and she went along til she met Cocky-locky. "Oh! I'm going to tell the king the sky's a-falling," says Henney-penny. "May I come with you?" says Cocky-locky. "Certainly," says Henney-penny. So Henney-penny and Cocky-locky went to tell the king the sky was falling."

If this bill fails to pass, the sky will not fall. I believe it was incumbent upon the Committee to hear the witnesses opposed to the bills. It well may be that had it had all of the facts before it, it would have come to a different conclusion.

I respectfully recommend that this bill be recommitted to the Banking and Currency committee with instructions for the Committee to complete its hearings.

In conclusion I would like to make it clear that I oppose both the $250 million loan guarantee proposal and the $2 billion proposal.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, too often in recent months we have had complaints and comments about the military, the National Guard and the Reserve Forces. I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues the other side of the story.

The California National Guard has for the past several years been deeply involved in community and youth-oriented programs. Since the National Guard from the days of Concord has been traditionally rooted to the community in which it is located, it is felt that each unit must share the responsibilities of the community, and must initiate and participate in the various community programs. These programs are conducted entirely on a voluntary basis; no pay is involved; the participants contribute from their extra time and sometimes entirely fund from their own pockets the costs of food and recreation, where underprivileged children are concerned. This organization and much of its equipment are peculiarly well suited to these programs. The costs of such, gasoline, lubricants, and so forth, are minimal. They cannot, of course, support all activities brought to their attention, as they are bound by certain Federal regulations relating to use of equipment and all programs must be consistent with the maintenance of their training and readiness levels.

A compilation of the accomplishments of the California National Guard in this area, which is referred to as domestic action programs, for the calendar year 1970 indicates a broad and varied spectrum of service involvement at the local level.

For the purpose of simplicity, statewide unit activities in these areas have been divided into five categories: ecology and reclamation projects; support to needy and underprivileged; support to community service organizations; support to governmental agencies; and miscellaneous assistance and service programs. Listed below are the five major categories and the involvement of the California National Guard in each.

First. Ecology and reclamation projects—1,335 California National Guardsmen and townspeople on 12 different occasions participated in these projects. This activity includes such programs as recycling waste material, cleanup projects and reseeding wilderness areas.

Second. National Guard support to needy and underprivileged—a total of 2,154 guardsmen sustained varied programs on 11 different occasions. National Guard support included such activities as delivering clothes and medical supplies to three Indian sites, distributing food and toys to needy children and providing campouts for underprivileged children.

Third. Support to community service organizations—The overall involvement of the National Guard in support of community service organizations was the most far-reaching and largest category. The Guard supported local civic groups 73 times during 1970 which encompassed activities ranging from construction of little league baseball fields to active involvement in all segments of the Boy Scout program. Approximately 47,000 participants and Guardsmen were involved in this category.

Fourth. Support given to governmental organizations—The California National Guard was requested on 21 occasions to assist governmental agencies that are primarily engaged in sustaining community and youth programs. In this respect local governmental and Guard personnel numbered approximately 25,500 in projects which included medical treatment and consultation with inmates at the San Francisco County jail to providing personnel and equipment in support of repair of flood-damaged roads, snow removal, construction, and cleanup assignments.

Fifth. Miscellaneous—The California National Guard participated in several programs which were initiated and conducted solely on the local unit level. These activities involved over 23,500 local citizens and Guardsmen on 11 separate occasions. Examples of their involvement in this area are safety classes on the care and use of hunting weapons and visits to veterans' hospitals.

I would like to note further that many of the above-mentioned programs are continuous year-round projects Additionally, many of the community relations events participated in by the California National Guard did not fall into the categories listed above. The Guard's involvement in these areas was, however, substantial. These included parades, concerts, radio broadcasts, providing speakers to civil clubs and seminars. For example, during 1970, 22 events of Guard involvement in color guard presentations, parades and radio broadcasts were either witnessed or heard by 1,800,000 citizens.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it would seem to me that Maj. Gen. Glenn C. Ames, commanding general of the California National Guard, and the thousands upon thousands of dedicated young men who devoted their spare time to prepare for the defense of this Nation, and then on top of meeting this first and foremost responsibility have added hundreds of thousands of hours of volunteer service to their fellow man, deserve the highest of commendations. Thank you.

A COLLEGE STUDENT'S VIEWS ON THE IRRESPONSIBLE INCREASE OF FEDERAL LARGESS

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, a day or two ago I received a letter from a young college student constituent which clearly expresses a feeling shared by a great many serious-minded students and others who see the consequences of an ultraliberal and irresponsible never-ending increase of Federal largess from an already empty larder.

Clearly recognizing and supporting a responsibility to assist those who cannot help themselves, I join this constituent in the firm conviction that idleness and indolence encouraged by a "spend and spend, tax and tax, elect and elect" attitude can only lead to a decaying society.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I enter this constituent's letter in the RECORD.

JULY 24, 1971.

The Honorable JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLYNT: On last night's news program on WAGA–TV it was reported that the federal food stamp program is now open to students and hippies, who, prior to the publicity afforded to such announcement, were not participating in the program to any large extent. I would like to know *why* the government is allowing this to happen.

I am a resident of Butts County. I am now attending Law School at the University. I graduated from Georgia Tech in September, 1970, and during the four years I was at Tech I became acquainted with many of the students and hippies in Atlanta. Although not an "expert" on them, I feel that because I was a student in Atlanta and the same age as many of those who are seeking to be fed by the government that I can speak for a large number of people in my age group.

There is no logical or valid reason for the government subsidizing this scum. There are many people in the State and in your district who, when their money ran low or out, had to give up the pursuit of their education in order to feed themselves and their families. Now these same people are being taxed heavily (and the news media tells of another tax increase for next year) to pay for the food this scum consumes. No one *gave* them food while they were in school, and I believe that even if it would have been available that their pride and honor would have kept them from taking it. Will these so-called "students" become self-reliant, develop any self-pride when they realize that when things are rough and they become financially distressed that the federal government will step in, give them a shoulder to cry on, lead them by the hand and develop a cure for every social and personal ill? I think not. The only result possible is that these people will lean more and more heavily on the government. They will not be able to solve their problems by themselves. They will not take the initiative, nor even look toward others for help. They will only cry, "Big Brother; do something, give me some money, give me this, give me that!" And of course Big Brother, bleeding at the heart, will stretch out his left hand and respond. "Give me your abused, discriminated-against hand, and I will do everything for you from your birth to your death." With his other hand he will reach out to those who work hard, and do not wish him to run their lives and make their decisions, and steal their money.

Of course, all of this is done in the name of "take from the haves and give to the have-nots", which could be more adequately described as "take from the industrious and reward the shiftless". It seems that the former phrase was the underlying basis of the government's taxation system at it inception and up to today, while the latter phrase has come to characterize the government's performance in relation to the scum in our society.

I cannot readily understand why I should be taxed to feed those students and especially the trashy hippies. My father and mother, who incidentally went to high school with you, have worked long and hard to be able to send me to Georgia Tech. I appreciate their efforts more than words can describe. My wife and I are both working now in order that I can go to Law School. We are not rich and are unable to afford any small luxuries. One reason for this is that we do not make a lot of money at our jobs and the other reason is that a large percentage of the money we do make is taken away, stolen if you will, by the federal government in order to subsidize those who are too damn lazy to work.

In short we are sick and tired of working hard and then having the government give a reward to those who won't work. Even more aggravating than the government's action is the basis for their action. The people of this State, and I believe the nation as a whole, are not fooled by the statements the leaders make when an announcement is made that the government is going to extend its rewards into a new area. So many times we hear that the poor, oppressed and downtrodden will be helped by showers of dollars. This is a farce. The social scientists can think up any reason for justifying government spending. But they fool no one any more. The taxpayer happens to live with the downtrodden souls and he, better than anyone else, knows the problem!

I have lived and still am living with the poor, helpless students and hippies. In the government's view they should be rewarded. Why? They have no money and therefore are unable to buy food. See how easily that follows. No money, no food. On the other hand, the government views me as having a little money, so therefore I should be willing to give part of it away to those who have no money. How logical! How neatly it fits into the mold that the social scientists have developed. That is the result which exactly coincides with the conclusions of their hypotheses.

But, other people, including myself, view the whole matter through a different pair of glasses. We keep focusing on leeches! No matter how much we keep trying to adjust our focus and expand our range of vision we continue to see the same thing—leeches. Try as we may, we cannot detach ourselves from the very real fact that we have to pay the ticket for those around us who will never try to buy their own.

Is this as it should be? To some, especially those on the receiving end, the answer is yes. To those on the giving end the answer is no.

I would like to urge you, as my Congressman, to use your efforts to have the government refrain from helping those who don't help themselves. If the students and hippies don't want to work, then why should I feed them. I work hard and if they want to sit around on their back sides, then by all means let them. If they get hungry enough, then maybe they will go to work. The government has not given me anything but less money than I earned. Where does the logic lie when a government penalizes those who try hard and then rewards those who don't? If you can give me an answer, then please do for somewhere in my education, I have missed it.

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely,

_____.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN HILL CITY, KANS.

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, for the past several years, there has been an overriding concern on the part of this body and the Government as a whole, regarding the pressing problems of urban America. Too often we have ignored the indirect cause of many of these problems—low farm income and a lack of opportunity in rural and small-town America.

During the decade of the 1960's, my congressional district, the First District of western Kansas, had a net population loss of 36,000. The rural State of Kansas ranked 41st on the list of the 50 States in total growth of payroll jobs from 1960–70. This outmigration and loss of job opportunity in our rural areas has, of course, caused many of our rural citizens to look for employment in our overcrowded cities. However, this has not been the case in one city in my congressional district, the community of Hill City.

In Hill City a small group of concerned citizens banded together to create an economic development group to try to improve their community's future. The result of this alliance of self-help enthusiasts including farmers, bankers, businessmen, and low income laborers was Kansas Food Products, Inc., a plant to slaughter and process rabbits, an idea conceived by Dr. Karl Kobler.

The farmers in the area produce the domestic rabbits and sell them to the plant. The rabbit meat and meat products are then marketed for domestic use. The byproducts and other portions of the rabbit carcass are sold on contract to medical research facilities. This plant has stimulated the local economy through jobs for unemployed citizens and provided an additional source of income for farmers with sagging farm profits.

The management wisely chose to build the plant to USDA meat inspection specifications, so the consumer would be assured of wholesome meat. Their participation in USDA inspection is strictly voluntary and costs over $15,000 annually.

I have introduced legislation to provide for the mandatory inspection of rabbits slaughtered for human food, H.R. 8714. Since rabbit meat and rabbit byproducts have the lowest cholesterol and the highest protein value of any meat, it seems reasonable to provide USDA inspection for rabbit processors on the same basis as Federal inspection of meat and poultry processing plants as authorized by the Federal Meat Inspection Act.

This would insure a constant supply of low cost, nutritive rabbit meat so important to the treatment of certain health problems and for medical research. It would also maintain the viability of Hill City's self-help initiative in providing new opportunity in rural America.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following articles in the RECORD to illustrate the value of the Kansas Food Products, Inc., rabbit processing plant and the importance of prompt, favorable consideration of H.R. 8714:

[Norton Daily Telegram (Kans.), April 19, 1971]

RABBIT PLANT PROSPECTS IMPROVE IN HILL CITY

HILL CITY.—Kansas Food Products, Inc., a rabbit processing plant here, has a new opportunity to grow as result of a stockholders decision.

The stockholders voted to allow a holding company to be formed from within their own membership and buy control of the company for $100,000.

This would enable the firm to qualify for a $200,000 loan from the Kansas Development

Credit Corporation, which would be 90 percent guaranteed by the Small Business administration.

Formation of the 10 to 15-member holding company, purchase of the 38 percent of stock necessary for control and the other arrangements are to be completed within 3 weeks.

Other changes are expected to place the company in a better situation to take advantage of potential markets. The total $300,000 in new working capital would permit the company to buy new equipment and embark on an advertising campaign to encourage more area persons to raise rabbits.

The plant began operations June 1, 1969, with capacity to slaughter about 2000 rabbits daily, but hasn't been able to obtain that many. Present operations are 800 to 1000 rabbits daily, according to Kevin Kobler, manager.

Rabbit seems more expensive in dollar-per-pound cost until buyers recognize its high-protein, low-fat content, high percentage of edible meat and other factors, Kobler said, and more rabbit would be eaten if it were available.

Company officials are negotiating for 2 new marketing outlets which should help expand business. They want to wholesale their processed rabbits on fresh basis to Thompson Poultry Co., Iola, instead of marketing it on fresh, frozen basis. Kobler said the fresh meat market is more profitable than frozen.

Also, the company hopes Munns Medical Supply Co., Topeka, will market its biological products from processed rabbits, such as blood serum and brain.

Kobler said the Hill City firm has done some of this, but the Topeka firm has better knowledge of the market available through pharmaceutical, hospital and medical uses.

Finally, the change by May 1 will include the arrival of Arkie Hudkins, now at Munns, as new KFP plant manager, and re-assignment of Kobler as his assistant. Kobler, 23, said the loan agency recommended that a manager with more marketing experience would help the plant.

Another factor in the KFP growth prospect is the announcement that the state Office of Economic Opportunity considers opening a Single Purpose Action agency here to loan funds to rabbit producers.

[From the Ulysses News, May 20, 1971]

EWING LYLE KIDS RAISE RABBITS—"HARE-RAISING EXPERIENCE" GOOD FOR YOUNGSTERS

Get four kids and about 50 white rabbits together and you have—well, what you have depends on the kids, and it depends on the rabbits.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Ewing Lyle began a rabbit-raising project a year ago, after purchasing breeding stock from the Vernon Koehn's, who have a full-scale rabbit venture in operation. The kids and the rabbits seem to be doing fine, though, like all stockmen, they have to have help sometimes.

The venture is paying to the extent that the youngsters are now beginning to pay for the equipment. They have only about $200 invested in the business, and when this is paid off they will put the money in a savings account. Penny, 12, Dan, 11, Kevin, 10 and Lyn, 9, all have a hand in the business. But Joan, 2, merely loves the rabbits.

They have 12 does and three bucks, and plan to remain at about this number in breeding stock, although the plans are to continue to boost the litter size by culling out the low producers. Rabbits produce about three litters a year, and there is a litter of 20 ready to go to market now. About 240 is Mrs. Lyle's estimate of a typical year's production.

The rabbits, when they reach the market size of four to 4½ pounds, go the Hill City Rabbitry. This takes about eight weeks. They stay in the cages with the does until they are four to six weeks old, and after that go into cages for weanlings.

The old chicken house that the youngsters took over for the project now has 15 cages full of thriving bunny life, and 15 more cages have been ordered. "They'll be put to use just as soon as they get here," Mrs. Lyle said.

The rabbits are fed on commercial feed mixed with milo and wheat straw, the breeding stock getting four ounces in the two daily feedings, and the growing rabbits all they want.

Mrs. Lyle praised the Koehns for their help in emergencies, and in giving advice on the project.

[From Midway, May 23, 1971]

LIKE THE MAN SAYS, "RABBITS ARE WHERE IT'S AT, BABY"

(By David Arnold)

(Note.—The table was a large one, but the three were crowded together at one corner of it. "No room! No room!" they cried when they saw Alice coming. "There's plenty of room!" said Alice indignantly, and she sat down in a large arm-chair at one end of the table.

"Have some wine," the March Hare said in an encouraging tone.

Alice looked all around the table, but there was nothing on it but tea. "I don't see any wine," she remarked.

"There isn't any" said the March Hare. . . .

"Your hair wants cutting," said the Hatter. He had been looking at Alice for some time with great curiousity, and this was his first speech.)

HILL CITY.—Arkie G. Hudkins acted a little like Alice in Wonderland when he arrived in Hill City recently to manage Kansas Food Products Inc.

Only Arkie, whose hair wants cutting, too, and who favors seven-inch ties that scream like a light show, saw much more than a cup of tea on the Western Kansas prairie.

Arkie saw a nice wine sauce, dripping lavishly over a boned, rolled and roasted rabbit—"a gourmet item."

Arkie, you see, loves rabbits. Not the wild variety, but the all-white meat kind that are ranch bred.

And Kansas Food Products is in the unlikely business of processing rabbits for the nation's dinner tables.

You might call it the Great Hill City Bunny Boom.

To Arkie, 32—with a background in stomping French grapes, selling motorcycles, working for a baroness, making ties like the ones he wears, planning cities, consulting with Kansas businessmen and advertising Topeka industry—the rabbit business can do no wrong.

"Rabbits are where it's at, baby!" he says, his eyes widening behind tinted glasses, his hands drawing enormous volumes of space into his grasp. Images are his business and selling is his trade. So Arkie wants to put a rabbit on every dinner table, a lucky charm in every kid's pocket, and a fur hat on every woman's head.

Kansas Food Products is one of only three U.S. Dept. of Agriculture-inspected rabbit processing plants in the United States. Each is surrounded by a few full-time rabbit growers and hundreds of backyard entrepeneurs who see the fun and profit of raising rabbits. The processor buys and collects the young rabbits by the truckload to kill, dress and package as fryers or roasters for the dinner table. The processors then can sell just about anything else as a biological by-product for research.

A week ago a man from Missouri pharmaceutical firm called Arkie.

"How much do you charge for rabbit urine, to use the biological term?" The man asked.

Arkie sat in silence, about to say he'd give the stuff away. Who ever heard of selling rabbit urine? he thought.

But he threw a number into the receiver, "Ten dollars a liter."

From the earphone came words of agreement.

"They don't know what they're talking about in this business and I don't either," the domesticated rabbit man said, "but the whole business is gonna boom.

"I've talked to people in research at the University of Southern California and just the other day a woman called me from Dow Chemical in New York.

"Man, I've never gotten a call from Dow before, have you? Wow! Why, I've never even gotten a letter from them before. This gal asked all sorts of questions like how many rabbits can we process in a day and how many raisers have we got and how far away are they. You know, the kind of information they can feed into one of their little computers and come up with an answer on.

"So I didn't tell her. I just wrote a letter asking what they wanted to know.

"Man, there's something going on when Dow Chemical calls you up like that.

"I come in here at six in the morning and I just sit here and grin.

"We're writing to all of the hospitals in the United States. Why do you know that rabbit meat is 85 per cent digestible and the next closest one is, I believe pork?", he added.

"How often do you serve your family rabbit, lady?"

"Have you bought rabbit here before?"

He got stares and puzzled faces, a few no's.

A few days later he got a call from the bank vice president. Do you want the job, the vice president asked: general manager of Kansas Food Products?

Arkie put him off a few days, designed the campaign and went to Hill City to Lem's Chinese Cafe to say yes to the vice president over sweet and sour pork.

"They're going to put rabbit on their menu at Lem's," Arkie says proudly.

He is pushing rabbits. Stewed, braised, fried, in spaghetti, pot pies, salad, in devil sauce, stuffed with sesame-thyme, or in the old country Hasenpfeffer recipe.

First, there were the letters to hospitals offering contracts for an 85 per cent digestible, all-white meat rabbit at low prices. Then, he shot a letter off to Swanks, the cuff link people. Want a few thousand rabbit feet a day? he asked.

Then the other day he talked to a Kansas City food broker and said he wanted Kroger's national rabbit account.

A week later, the broker agreed.

"It's gonna be like a snowball, now," Arkie said.

The meat of the rabbit should put the company's books in the black soon, Arkie believes. Then he'll go big in the biological byproducts. One pharmaceutical company lists prices for everything in the rabbit from carotid arteries, eyes, and livers to tongues, mammary glands, tonsils and a few other things that make amateur rabbit men blush.

Arkie has a glass tube the size of a fat pencil that is filled with a rabbit's crushed brains. Enough of the greyish-red powder to cover a little fingernail is worth $1.75.

And Swank sells lucky rabbit's foot charms for $7.50.

"I've got four letters in to them and I can give them about 8,000 feet a day," he said.

"Everybody I call on the phone, even the telephone operators, I ask, 'Have you ever eaten rabbit?' and they say 'Rabbit?' "

Kansas Food Products is now doing less than $500,000 a year in business. But Arkie sees the day when that will jump to maybe $1 million.

Arkie talks like the bunny business is going to boom any day now and he's worried. Ever since he got the call from Dow he has been saying to himself, "I think what's gonna happen is Dow or somebody might just come in and gobble us up."

Until he gets gobbled up, Arkie is going to push rabbits.

The rabbit business, of course, is no get-rich-overnight scheme. There are all the pitfalls present in any livestock business. The industry faces the task of convincing a T-bone generation that rabbit is just as good as beef or pork.

Still, there is the increasingly urgent question of producing more food for more people. And a few men like Arkie Hudkins see rabbits as playing a larger role in that increased food production.

"In any game the longer you kick on that door, the quicker you'll get in," he says without doubt. And he is kicking on doors in Houston and Denver, keeping an ear open for the Dow foot that might come through his own door.

It's a fast business with doors being kicked, while white California does deliver litters of seven or eight baby rabbits five times a year.

As one rabbit raiser in Hill City said, "You never quite catch up with rabbits."

Arkie will try because he saw wine sauce, dripping lavishly over a boned, rolled roast of rabbit, where Alice in Wonderland only saw tea.

Rabbit men deal in statistics. They have to prove what is mathematically fantastic, but has not yet caught the public's fancy. They say rabbit production is sure-fire—the old fun and profit motive. They say it is the most nutritious meat available and everybody should want to eat it. It tastes good. It's good for you. The processor can make money. Everything on the rabbit can be sold, even the ears.

Arkie has been a statistically minded rabbit industry spokesman four weeks now, ever since he accepted an offer to come to Hill City and take over the local industry, make a marketing and a promotional miracle out of a local man's dream.

The dream was Dr. Karl Kobler's. He is the town's general practitioner, the one who can trace his medical practice to delivering just about every baby in town and his family tree to most of the store front signs. The doctor and his family fell into the rabbit raising hobby many years ago and, as rabbits will do, the hobby exploded beyond the confines of the doctor's backyard.

So he built a company that today has about 300 mostly local stockholders and about 25 employes. The company and its board operate the rabbit processing plant.

Dr. Kobler wanted to go big in the rabbit business, but more than that, he wanted to create a few jobs in Hill City and he had this dream of putting highly nutritious, all-white, domesticated rabbit on America's dinner tables.

In a proposal that received some attention from legislators, Dr. Kobler said the poor, unemployed, and unskilled in the rural and depressed areas of the nation—the Indians on reservations, the Mexcan-Americans in migrant camps, the blacks in city ghettos—could raise the rabbits. Jobs for the jobless, income for the poor, the proposal seemed to give somethig to everybody. It could boost the gross national product by $70 million and exports to South America and Europe by $20 million, Dr. Kobler said.

There are about 1,400 rabbitries supplying Kansas Food Products with rabbits to process.

Most of them are backyard, part-time operations. Some are professionally run and full-time. Rabbitry experts have an economic formula: a brood doe (which costs about $7) and six litters will consume about $30 worth of food a year and produce about $50 worth of fryers. That is a paper net profit of about $1.70 per doe per month. If a rabbit raiser sells part of his litter for breeding and the rest for laboratory animals, the per doe profit can jump to $2.50. Some raisers have as many as 1,000 does in a herd.

A raiser can produce a thousand pounds of rabbit meat in a year on 40 or 45 square feet of land. It takes two acres to produce that much beef.

Smaller operations only take a couple of hours a day to maintain. Lea Worcester the owner of 200 does in Hill City, has running water and circulated air in the hutches and spends no more than two hours a day taking care of them, he said.

With clean hutches, bigger raisers claim the biggest problem with rabbits isn't disease, but nerves. And selective breeding produces calm does and offspring.

Some raisers like Worcester are putting beds of Texas hybrid worms underneath the rabbit cages to cycle the rabbit manure and help keep the place clean. What goes on beneath the pens of the breeding does is becoming big business, too. Some raisers are producing more worms than they can handle and are selling the extras, by the boxes, to other breeders and fishermen.

One of the biggest problems for the processor is collecting rabbits. Raisers are often far apart and the trucking operation is expensive.

Kansas Food Products slaughters about 2,000 rabbits a day three times a week. It can slaughter four times that many daily if the supply from raisers and the demand from the supermarkets increases.

Now, a two-pounder frozen roaster in a Topeka supermarket sells for $2.59.

But the young business isn't booming yet. The company is still running below capacity and below profit. The dream until Arkie came to town was no bigger than Hill City.

Then one day two men from a medical supply company in Topeka come to Hill City to talk rabbits. Arkie was one of them.

They sat in Lem's Chinese Cafe, talking to the local bank president and his vice president, a member of the rabbit company's board of directors. Over sweet and sour pork they talked about the rabbit and its biological byproducts. Arkie sat quietly, listening to the talk of intestines, and things, his mind drawing packages—bunnies on every dinner table. If you can eat pigs, chickens and ducks, why can't you eat rabbit? This is the Rabbit Revolution, he was thinking.

When the dinner was finished, the agreements made, Arkie's mind was churning out rabbit promotions.

The men shook hands and said goodby.

Arkie pushed rabbits in his mind. He hustled hutches and roamed supermarket meat counters in his head and his mind was sold on the rabbit industry. He was becoming one of the adventurous few souls who have put their future in rabbits.

Back in Topeka, he rushed to meat counters, stopping housewives and asking, "Hey, ma'am, have you ever had rabbit?"

[From the High Plains Journal, Mar. 1, 1971]

GRAHAM COUNTY BUCKS THE TREND

During the 1960s, much was said and little done about the decline of rural America—including much of rural Kansas. The prevailing attitude was that rural areas were dying and that fate was cast in that direction.

But the winds of fate didn't carry that message to Graham County, Kans. Folks in that northwestern Kansas county got a different message—that hard work and planning could stabilize, and maybe even improve, their area.

The 1960s brought many accomplishments to Graham county. They led to only a 50 person drop in county seat Hill City's population of 2,300 and a 500 person drop in the county population of 5,100.

Judging from community spirit, progress made to date, and a number of aggressive programs in the planning stages, the decade of the '70s promises to be even more exciting for Graham countians.

Graham county enjoyed an oil boom during the late '50s and early '60s that helped the area set the stage for the upcoming push in the '70s. Many new community services buildings were built at that time which will continue to serve the area in the future.

In Hill City a list of buildings less than 10 years old includes: courthouse, high school (including new FFA building and athletic facilities), 42-bed hospital, senior citizens center and nursing home, medical center, board of education building (built by high school carpentry class), Elks Club and golf course, fire station, U.S. Department of Agriculture Building, center for retarded children, and several new business establishments.

James Scott, Graham county Extension agricultural agent who is deeply involved in all the county's development plans, points out that a change in thinking has led county planners in a new direction.

"We used to think it was each community's responsibility to draw up its own development plan. Now we've seen the need for county-wide and even area-wide planning," he explains.

To get the development ball rolling, county officials have established a number of advisory groups to work with Hill City mayor Bob McCauley, the county commissioners, and city governing bodies or representatives in Hill City and the other county towns of Bogue, Nicodemus, Penokee, Morland, and St. Peter.

Advisory groups include a City-County Joint Planning Commission, a Hill City Planning Commission, and a USDA Committee for Rural Development.

In addition to establishing these county and local groups, Graham countians have recently joined Greater Northwest Kansas, Inc., (GNWK)—a non-profit area development corporation for 18 northwestern Kansas counties.

Tom Starns, the county's representative to GNWK and a member of the Joint Planning Commission, says Graham county decided to join GNWK because "we saw immediately that too often any single town or county lacks the necessary authority or resources to deal effectively with development. We believe small twons and rural areas must pool manpower and mobilize resources on a regional basis to survive."

"We've begun to think of our trade area in terms of travel time to Hill City rather than actual miles to the city," Sarns explains. "It only takes an hour to drive 60 miles in this area and it takes that long to go just a few miles in a large city. That's what we mean by a regional approach."

He say "Greater Northwest Kansas plans to pool resources and work as a unit to bring industry to the area and perhaps even more importantly develop what we already have going for us."

Graham county has already made strides in local development. The pride of Hill City is the new Kansas Food Products, Inc. plant. The plant processes domestic rabbits into a multitude of products ranging from attractively packaged rabbit meat to hides, blood serum, medicinal products and mink food.

The plant, which employ 29 persons, has a gross annual sales of $225,000 and an annual payroll of $90,000. It buys rabbits from Kansas and five surrounding states and has nation-wide sales. The plant has been a genuine boost to the local economy.

The town of Bogue in eastern Graham county has an industry that adds to the economic outlook of the county—the Bogue Cheese Inc. The cheese plant—a branch of a corporation with five Kansas and two Missouri plants—employs 12 to 15 persons and processes 70,000 pounds milk daily, five days a week. It buys milk in an area bordered by Hoisington, Hays, Stockton, Seldon, and Garden City.

Manager Fred C. Johnson and his son and plant foreman Fred R. Johnson report that they manufacture five kinds of cheese—Long-

horn, Monterey Jack, white cheddar, regular cheddar, and Daisy.

Extension agent Scott notes that the Bogue plant is a major factor in the county's number five ranking in the state on amount of dairy products sold.

Jim Smith, a member of the Hill City Planning Commission, say Hill City is capable of supporting additional industry and is vigorously seeking new industry by its own initiative and through GNWK.

Alvin Scranton, postmaster and chairman of the Hill City Planning Commission, which meets once a month to make recommendations to the city council, notes a number of activities designed to make Hill City an attractive place for business to locate and persons to live.

The Commission has proposed business and residential zoning as far as three miles from town.

The city has passed an ordinance to dispose of old cars, machinery and other blight, has set standards for trailer courts, standardized the civil defense program, and is looking into possibilities for low-cost housing.

Civic groups have joined in the task by encouraging merchants to engage a new store front campaign.

Cecil Fabricus of Bogue, chairman of the Joint Planning Commission, says the commission is in the process of completing a county-wide sewer and water survey and a community facilities survey. "We've got to know what we have to offer before we try selling ourselves to someone else," he relates.

In addition the county has three ambulances and a rural fire department that encompasses all the county except two townships.

The USDA Committee for Rural Development has as its task the job of developing the county's bountiful agricultural resources and working with the county's rural population.

Scott, who is a member of the committee, says one big goal is to develop the county's 30,000 acres with irrigation potential. "Our big problem is that the land with underground water for irrigation is hilly and rough. We've had a hard time coming up with an irrigation system that works but I think we've found one."

Eugene Worcester, who farms north of Hill City, has installed a low-pressure, irrigation system that has done a good job of irrigating rough ground the past two years. Scott believes Worcester's system has great potential throughout the county. "We can reap great dividends from increased livestock production once we get our irrigated acreage established," he emphasizes.

Extension home economist Rebecca Simpson, another member of the USDA committee, works in areas of human development that complement the economic development in the county.

Others on the USDA committee are Leo Frazey, ASC; Kelso Williams, SCS, and Charles Neighswonger, FHA, Stearns, Scranton, and Fabricus.

Imaginative ideas keep cropping up as Graham countians continue searching for new projects to enhance their community. For instance, C. E. Walts, Hill City airport manager and an aerial spray pilot, has established the Solomon Valley Air Service which will give training in FAA approved flight schools for private pilots, commercial pilots, flight instructors, and agricultural pilots.

Francis Davignon, a Brogue machinist, has built and reserved patent rights on a baseball pitching machine. He spent 1,200 to 1,800 hours developing the pitching machine which he says "is virtually indestructible, can pitch a ball up to 100 miles per hour, and even throw a curve."

Davignon has applied for a Small Business Administration loan for building a plant to manufacture the pitching machines.

Plans are well under way for hosting a New Ideas Fair in Hill City this spring. Jim Scott describes it as an event where people with new ideas or new products can display them. Graham countians naturally hope some of the persons and some of the new ideas will eventually settle in the county.

Cecil Fabricus sums up the county's development strategy this way: "We know we've got something to offer. We're enthused about our opportunities and we've already made progress in enthusing others about us. We think we can keep more of our young people here, bring in some new folks, and at least maintain our present population."

GULF HOTEL'S FINEST HOUR

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, July 25, marked the passing of a landmark much beloved by the people of the Mississippi gulf coast. On that day, the historic Edgewater Gulf Hotel, midway between Gulfport and Biloxi, Miss., fell victim to a demolition crew.

The Edgewater Gulf, during two hurricanes, provided a safe haven for members of my family and for literally thousands of others.

In a recent article in the New Orleans Times Picayune, a Mississippian and an outstanding journalist as executive editor, George W. Healy, Jr., recalled the happier days of this fine old hotel.

I am inserting his article in the RECORD and calling it to the attention of my colleagues:

GULF HOTEL'S FINEST HOUR

(By George W. Healy Jr.)

They dynamited the Edgewater Gulf hotel, midway between Gulfport and Biloxi, on Sunday.

Gulf Coast residents talked of the time former President Harry Truman was a guest there. New Orleans sailors regretted the removal of an aid to navigation. Sentimentalists lamented the end of an era.

I thought of the finest hour of the Edgewater Gulf, an hour that almost never arrived.

In the autumn of 1928 the future of the fine hotel was in doubt. Chicago promoters who raised money to build it had no money to promote it—particularly through advertising.

Mississippi's most popular and most courageous politician put his fortunes on the line to try to save the Mississippi Gulf Coast from humiliation and possible collapse. The Florida boom was bursting.

Sen. Byron Patton Harrison placed all his strength behind the candidacy of Gov. Alfred Emanuel Smith of New York for the presidency of the United States. In Mississippi in those days, his action involved great risk. "Pat" Harrison's state was predominantly Protestant. "Al" Smith was the first serious candidate for the Presidency who was a Roman Catholic.

Herber Hoover defeated Gov. Smith for the Presidency, but from "Pat" Harrison's point of view—all was not lost. Mississippi was the banner Smith state in the election, and "Pat" had "Al's" promise to visit Mississippi.

On the morning of Nov. 17, 1926, Governor Smith and his friends John J. Raskob and William Kenny detrained in a cold drizzle at Edgewater Park. With them were newspapermen, including Albert Warner of the New York Times and Ernest Lindley of the New York Herald-Tribune. "Al" Warner later went into radio as its finest voice before World War II and as the genius behind "The Army Hour" during that conflict. Ernest became a columnist for many newspapers and for Newsweek Magazine.

The Times-Picayune's reporter who met Gov. Smith was W. Boyd Gatewood. Boyd was one of the finest writers in journalism, also temperamental. He was not mean, but his pen could drip vitriol.

Tired, bitter after his defeat, "Al" Smith refused to talk with Gatewood.

Boyd, in turn, described without compassion the defeated candidate as he was. In his dispatch "Al" Smith was transformed from The Happy Warrior to The Harried Warrior.

"Pat" Harrison was a close friend of Leonard K. Nicholson, publisher of The Times-Picayune, who had a home at Waveland. He telephoned to tell Mr. Nicholson that "Al" Smith was packing his bags to leave the Gulf Coast, thanks to Boyd Gatewood's caustic report. "Do something," pleaded the senator.

Mr. Nicholson told me to get to the Edgewater Gulf hotel as soon as possible to replace Gatewood. "But I'm not in the same league with Boyd as a reporter," I protested.

"We don't need a fancy writer on the Gulf Coast right now," responded Mr. Nicholson. "We need somebody who can smooth Gov. Smith's ruffled feathers. Get going."

My mission was accomplished, but I claim no credit for it. That credit belongs to two little girls.

Soon after talking with "Pat" Harrison and with "Al" Warner, I realized it would do no good to make a direct approach to Gov. Smith. I had met him only once, at Houston shortly after former assistant secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, placed his name in nomination.

I told "Pat" that I thought we'd have to play our problem by ear. His distinguished guest hadn't packed up to leave, and a reception on the Edgewater Gulf front lawn, scheduled Nov. 23, still was on. Despite my published reports describing the governor as "a tired but still happy warrior" on fishing trips and golfing expeditions with the senator, as well as improvement in the weather, Gov. Smith still was testy. He told "Pat" Harrison that he wasn't going to attend the reception in his honor.

Early on the morning of the scheduled reception I went to the front lawn. A line of several hundreds had formed where they expected to get first chance to shake "Al" Smith's hand. At the head of the line were two little girls, one 13, the other 8. They told me they had been there all night.

I went to Sen. Harrison's suite. "Look out the window," I said. He did, and the long line with the little girls in front impressed him.

He went to Gov. Smith's suite and asked him to look at the line. The harried warrior became, at once, the happy warrior. He melted. When he walked out of the hotel to step into the receiving line, he was the smiling, affable, jovial "Al" Smith of brown derby fame. He shook thousands of hands, made Sen. Harrison happy and probably saved the Edgewater Gulf hotel—at least until 1971.

After the reception the governor violated a pledge he had made the day he arrived and granted me an interview. He apologized for having thought that he could go anywhere "without anyone wanting to see me." Being barely 23, I brashly told him that he should have known that Mississippi was the worst place he could have chosen to "get away from it all."

"Pat" Harrison told me years later he thought I "planted" the two little girls at the head of the line waiting to shake hands with Gov. Smith. I didn't. I didn't even know until after the reception that they were

Cherry Blossom and June Preisser of New Orleans, genuine "Al" Smith fans.

Cherry and June went on to attract millions of admirers of their own. They were stars of the Ziegfeld Follies half a dozen years. In night clubs and vaudeville they were headliners. They played command performances for European royalty.

Their great act stayed on the boards until Cherry broke up the sister team by eloping to Gretna to marry David Hopkins, son of Harry Hopkins, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's closest adviser. The last time we were with Cherry and David was in Beverly Hills, when they were preparing to move to Australia to represent America's largest advertising agency. Cherry died there in 1964.

"Al Smith is gone. "Pat" Harrison is gone. Cherry Blossom is gone. Now, the Edgewater Gulf hotel is gone.

But not forgotten.

A SIMPLER CREED

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Donald J. Glasser, a former major, U.S. Medical Corps, is now on the staff of the Hennepin County General Hospital in Minneapolis, Minn.

In September of this year, Dr. Glasser's book entitled "365 Days" will be published. An excerpt from the book was recently printed in Harpers magazine. It vividly describes the daily hazards faced by our young medics in Vietnam, and eloquently reveals their devotion to duty and the men with whom they serve.

I recommend that this article be read by my colleagues, and I look forward to the publication of Dr. Glasser's book.

The article follows:

A SIMPLER CREED

(By Ronald J. Glasser)

Watson had been a troublemaker since he was six. He was a bitter, imaginative, hate-filled kid who had been drafted and somehow had survived basic training without ending up in prison. He was assigned to the medics at an evac hospital and then to the field. When he went on line, the hospital personnel gave him a week to be busted and sent back to the States in irons.

When I met him he had been up front with his unit for almost five months. He was soft-spoken, but marvelously animated and alert. The old abusiveness was gone; even the adolescent arrogance I'd been told had for so long been the central pillar of his personality had disappeared. He was perfectly at ease and open. Those who had known him before were pleasantly surprised, if still a bit leery.

Watson didn't mind talk.ng. "Why not go all out, man? They need me, and I know what I'm doing out there. Hundreds of cases—hundreds. The big-shot dermatologists, they come down once a week. They look at all that rotting skin and shake their heads and leave. Know what we did? We got a Mixmaster, threw in a couple of quarts of calamine lotion, a few kilograms of Mycolog for the fungus, and figured some tetracycline and penicillin couldn't hurt, just in case there was any bacteria around. Called it jungle mix and bottled it and handed it out. Dermatologists couldn't believe it. Wanted to know where we'd read about it, what medical journal. Sure, I take chances. That's my job—to save lives. The VC—well, I ain't got nothing against 'em. Guess they're doing their job, too."

On a routine sweep through Tam Key, a squad of the Americal Division was ambushed. Watson was hit twice, both rounds shattering his leg. He kept helping the wounded, dragging himself from soldier to soldier until he was hit in the neck by a third round and paralyzed.

All the medics talk the same and they all act the same, whether they come from the ghetto or the suburbs. No one planned it this way. It was the kids themselves caught between their skeptical seventeenth or eighteenth years, and the war, the politicians, and the regular Army officers. Growing up in a hypocritical adult world and placed in the middle of a war that even the dullest of them find difficult to believe in, much less die for, very young and vulnerable, they are suddenly tapped not for their selfishness or greed but for their grace and wisdom, not for their brutality but for their love and concern.

The Army psychiatrists describe it as a matter of roles. The adolescent who becomes a medic begins after a very short time to think of himself as a doctor, not any doctor in particular, but the generalized family doctor, the idealized physician he's always heard about.

The excellent training the medics receive makes the whole thing possible, and the fact that the units return the corpman's concern and competence with their own wholehearted respect and affection makes the whole thing happen.

Medics in the 101st carried M & M candies in their medical kits long before the psychiatrists found it necessary to explain away their actions. They offered them as placebos for their wounded who were to broken for morphine, slipping the sweet between their lips as they whispered to them over the noise of the fighting that it was for the pain. In a world of suffering and death, Vietnam is like a Walt Disney true-life adventure, where the young are suddenly left alone to take care of the young.

A tour of Nam is twelve months; it is like a law of nature. The medics, though, stay on line only seven months. It is not due to the goodwill of the Army, but to their discovery that seven months is about all these kids can take. After that they start getting freaky, cutting down on their own water and food so they can carry more medical supplies; stealing plasma bottles and walking around on patrol with five or six pounds of glass in their rucksacks; writing parents and friends for medical catalogues so they can buy their own endotracheal tubes; or quite simply refusing to go home when their time is over.

And so it goes, and the VC know it. They will drop the point, trying not to kill him but to wound him, to get him screaming so they can get the medic too. He'll come. They know he will.

HANOI SHOULD ACT NOW ON PRISONERS OF WAR

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, 7 years and 126 days ago today the first American serviceman in Vietnam was captured. His name is Capt. Floyd Thompson, and he is still in captivity.

There are many others, Mr. Speaker, who have been living an empty existence somewhere in North Vietnamese prison camps. And the suffering which they and their families have endured should cause each of us to daily renew our efforts to obtain their release. In the case of my own constituents, I have three particular examples which have caused untold sorrow and distress.

Maj. Crosley Fitton, Jr., the brother of Mrs. George W. Stone, Jr., of Libertyville, Ill., has been missing in action since February 9, 1968, when he was shot down over North Vietnam. His parachute was seen to open and there is convincing evidence that he landed safely in enemy territory. However, no reported information regarding his welfare has been forthcoming from the North Vietnamese authorities.

Special Forces Sgt. John Young, the husband of Mrs. Erica Young of Lake Villa, Ill., has been missing in action since January 1968. His family has repeatedly sought information about Sergeant Young—but to no avail.

Navy Comdr. Robert Doremus, radar officer on a phantom jet, was shot down over Vietnam on August 24, 1965. After being declared dead in October 1965, Commander Doremus was seen by a visitor to North Vietnam. Later, his parents received brief letters from him. Last year his sister, Mrs. James Courter of Deerfield, Ill., identified him among the prisoners of war shown in a film released by North Vietnamese authorities.

Mr. Speaker, no problem facing our national leaders is fraught with more human compassion—nor greater personal frustration—than the prisoner-of-war issue. I hope and pray that the efforts of all of us will soon succeed and that the government of North Vietnam will act swiftly in what would surely be the most conciliatory act in the history of this terrible war.

DEFERMENT OF STUDENT LOAN PAYMENTS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, we are now in a period of sustained unemployment due to the administration's poor economic policies. Since this administration seems somewhat unconcerned about those unemployed and has thwarted congressional efforts to relieve unemployment, I think it is only right that the Congress take the next step and provide relief for those whom the administration has ignored.

One of the groups most severely affected is the recent college graduates who went through school under the aid and encouragement of the national defense loans. Once having completed their education, they are under obligation to repay those loans. But there are now no jobs, or few jobs, available to these graduates.

I am, therefore, today introducing legislation to suspend the obligation to repay national defense loans during periods of unemployment or underem-

ployment when the borrower is unemployed or underemployed commensurate with his education, experience, and capacities for a substantial period. The borrower must, however, be actively seeking employment and his situation must be due to factors beyond his control.

It is unfortunate that legislation of this purpose is necessary, but it obviously is. I am requesting the serious attention of the Congress and the committees to the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 205(a)(2)(A) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is amended by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (iv) and by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause: "(iii) during any period the borrower is determined under subsection (e) to be unemployed or underemployed,".

SEC. 2. Section 205 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) The Commissioner shall prescribe by regulations criteria for determining when a borrower is unemployed or underemployed for purposes of subsection (a)(2)(A)(iii). Such regulations shall prescribe that a borrower shall be deemed to be unemployed or underemployed when (1) he has been unemployed or without employment commensurate with his education, experience, and capacities for a substantial period, (2) he is actively seeking employment, and (3) his unemployment or underemployment is due to factors beyond his control."

SENATE—*Monday, August 2, 1971*

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Shepherd of our souls, who has watched over our going out and our coming in and hast brought us to this place and the tasks of a new week, may we shut out the busy world until we find Thee anew within, until our thoughts are reverent, our work is hallowed, and faith reconsecrates all common things as sacraments of love. Pour in upon our consciousness the sense of Thy nearness not only when we pray but moment by moment while we work.

Teach us the meaning of true greatness—that it is not in getting but in giving, not in being served but in serving, that it is in giving self to find a new self, that it is in walking in the way of the Man of Nazareth.

Lead us beside the still waters and through the green pastures of divine truth. May Thy rod and staff comfort and strengthen us. When evening comes may we lie down in safety and rest in the peace of those whose work is well done and whose souls are at peace with Thee. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, July 31, 1971, be dispensed with.

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

WAIVER OF THE CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

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

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of, first, Calendar Nos. 312, 313, and 317; and then Calendar Nos. 322 through 327.

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

PEACE CORPS AUTHORIZATIONS, 1972

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2260) to amend further the Peace Corps Act (75 Stat. 612), as amended, together with minority views, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment, at the beginning of line 7, strike out "$82,200,000" and insert "$77,200,000"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3(b) of the Peace Corps Act (22 U.S.C. 2502(b)), which authorizes appropriations to carry out the purposes of that Act, is amended by striking out "1971" and "$98,800,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972" and "$77,200,000", respectively.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 92-318), explaining the purposes of the measure.

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

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 2260, as proposed to be amended, is to authorize an appropriation of not to exceed $77,200,000 for the fiscal year 1972 operations of the Peace Corps. This compares with a fiscal year 1971 authorization of $98,800,000 and appropriation of $90 million of which $4,900,000 was estimated to be unobligated as of June 30, 1971. No other amendments to the Peace Corps Act are proposed.

BACKGROUND

On April 13, the Peace Corps submitted an authorization request for $72,300,000, which was introduced by Senator Fulbright (by request) on May 5 (S. 1711). Subsequently, on June 9, the revised request for $82,200,000 was submitted because "the recruiting program has been most successful" and a higher training input was anticipated. This proposal likewise was introduced (by request) as S. 2260.

On June 30, 1971, by Executive Order 11603, the Peace Corps was transferred to Action, an agency created by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1971, which in the absence of congressional disapproval became effective on July 1, 1971. At the same time, Joseph H. Blatchford, Director of the Peace Corps, was designated acting Director of Action and his nomination to be Director of Action was submitted to the Senate. While all the details of the reorganization are not completely agreed upon, the committee was told that the Deputy Director of the Peace Corps will also be the Deputy Director of Action in charge of international operations. The Peace Corps name and organization overseas will be kept according to assurances given to the committee. Certain offices and functions of the Peace Corps headquarters in Washington, on the other hand, have been combined with those of domestic voluntary programs—such as those of the General Counsel, public, minority, and congressional affairs, recruiting, training, placement, finance and accounting.

Appropriations made pursuant to the Peace Corps Act, which are subject to an annual authorization, are allocated to the Director of Action but available only for the purposes of the Peace Corps Act. The Committee on Foreign Relations expects strict accountability for these funds, especially in the administrative overhead categories.

COMMITTEE ACTION

Hearings on S. 2260 were announced on July 12 and took place on July 16. Mr. Joseph H. Blatchford, Director of the Peace Corps, accompanied by senior officials from the Peace Corps, was the principal Government witness on behalf of the bill. Thomas J. Scanlon, a former Peace Corps volunteer, testified not in opposition to S. 2260, but in opposition to the merger of the Peace Corps with Action. The hearings have been printed for the information of the Senate and the general public. On July 21, by voice vote, the committee ordered S. 2260 reported favorably to the Senate, with the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD subsequently said: Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which S. 2260, a bill to amend further the Peace Corps Act, was agreed to.

Mr. SCOTT. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.